тези от бронзовата епоха – 2,53 см. При тези данни се очертава тенденция към увеличение на ширините през времето от неолита до бронзовата епоха, което е пряко свързано с ефективността им при работа.

Дебелини. Те са важен фактор за стабилността на ЧС и определят здравината на оръдието, вида на ретуша, както и ъгъла на работния край. Дебелините през ранния неолит варират от 0,1 до 1,9 см, или в интервал от 1,8 см, като усредната стойност е 0,69 см. През средния неолит те се колебаят от 0,3 до 1,7 см, т.е. в обхват от 1,4 см, а усредната дебелина е 0,74 см. Вижда се занижения интервал и завишената дебелина. През късния неолит дебелините се променят от 0,3 до 1,8 св или в пределите на 1,5 см, като усредната е 0,73 см. Безспорно е увеличението на дебелините с 0,5 см през неолита. Усредната стойност за неолитната епоха е 0,72 см (Кънчев 1983, 217). Дебелините на халколитните екземпляри от Врачанско се изменят от 0,4 до 3,7 см, или в интервал от 3,3 см, като усредната стойност е от 0,83 см (Кънчев/Николов 1983, 32). Данните за коджадерменските образци варират от 0,4 до 1,3 см или в интервал от 0,9 см, като усредната дебелина е 0,97 см (Кънчев, ръкопис: а). Въпросната величина при багачинските екземпляри се изменя от 0,5 до 1,2 см, т.е. в диапазон от 0,7 см, а усредната дебелина е 0,93 см (Бонев и др., *ръкопис*). Усредната стойност за халколитните ЧС от Езеро е 0,77, а за тези от бронзовата епоха – 0,91 см. Налице е увеличение на усреднените дебелини от 0,14 см. При екземплярите от Евмолпия дебелините се колебаят от 0,4 до 1,1 см или в интервал от 0,7 см, а усредната е 0,97 см. От приведените данни се вижда, че усреднените дебелини през неолита нарастват от 0,72 до 0,88 см през халколита, за да стигнат до 0,94 см през бронзовата епоха, т.е. увеличили са се с 0,22 см.

По-важните резултати от метричния анализ на параметрите при ЧС имат следния вид (табл. 1).

Данните в скоби са усреднени стойности за неолитната епоха за параметрите на страничните стъргалки. Тях ги привеждаме за сравнение и ориентировка, както и да се подчертаят специфичнте особености на

| Параметри | Неолит | Халколит | Бронзова епоха | Общи стойности | Разлики между неолитни и бронзови стойности |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Тегло в гр | 7.17/6.35/ | 14.23 | 10.5 | 10.63 | +3.33 |
| 2. Дължини в см | 3.55/4.27/ | 5.53 | 5 | 4.69 | +1.45 |
| 3. Ширини в см | 2.25/1.97/ | 2.61 | 2.53 | 2.46 | +0.22 |
| 4. Дебелини в см | 0.72/0.59/ | 0.88 | 0.94 | 0.85 | +0.16 |

*Таблица 1. Метричен анализ на параметрите при челните стъргалки*

ЧС. При тази метрична информация добре се очертават различните тенденции в развитието на ЧС. По различни причини няма да се спираме на тези данни от анализите.

**5. Функционалност**

ЧС лесно се разпознават сред кремъчния инвентар по специфичното оформяне на работния край. Както вече отбелязахме, въпросът за функционалността на ЧС е бил отдавна дискутиран. Тази дискусия продължи до преди няколко години. Дали този спор е затихнал ще покаже времето. Ето накратко някои от по-важните моменти от тази дискусия. Въпросът за функционалното предназначение на ЧС се поставя за пръв път от Г. де Мортиле в началото на нашия век (Мортиле 1903, 143). По-късно, пак в началото на същото столетие, Л. Пфайфер счита ЧС за универсално режещо оръдие, което рядко бил употребявано без дръжка. Ф. Херинг счита, че с тези оръдия са били издълбавани жлебове по дървени и костно-рогови изделия. По-сетнешните проучвания в това направление подкрепиха това мнение. Основателят на експериментално-трасологическия метод – С.А. Семенов, след като е проучил следите от употреба по ЧС от палеолита, констатира, че те са били предимно кожообработващи оръдия с работен ъгъл от 75-80°. Тази кожообработваща функция беше възприета без възражения, тъй като беше доказана твърде убедително. В началото на 70-те години В. Сидров, след като се базира на морфологическата близост на ЧС с теслообразните сечива и експерименталните наблюдения, доказва дърводелската им

употреба, като не отрича кожообработващотоим приложение. Нашите проучвания през 80-те години хвърлиха светлина по този въпрос. Дотогава ние проучвахме трасологически предимно неолитни оръдия на труда, в частност и ЧС, при което се констатираше предимно кожообработващата им употреба. При проучването на флинтовия материал от халколита и бронзовата епоха (Русе, Коджадермен, Багачина, Езеро и Евмолпия) попаднахме на ЧС с линейни следи и износване, придобити при дървообработваща употреба. Такива екземпляри, след износване, са били модифицирани предимно в резци и по-рядко в зъбци за сърпове. Досегашните ни проучвания дават основание да се счита, че през неолита ЧС са били предимно кожообработващи оръдия. През времето на ранните епохи ЧС са участвали все по-широко в производството на дървени и костно-рогови изделия, в качеството на скобел или нож за стъргане. Поради значителната твърдост на обработваната материя и силния натиск те бързо се износвали, след което били модифицирани, както вече отбелязахме, по-често в резци и по-рядко в зъбци за сърпове.

Според нас спорът за дръжките на ЧС няма съществено значение. Ние считаме, че всички екземпляри с дължина над 4 см биха могли да се употребяват без дръжки. Присъствието или отсъствието на дръжка не променя характера на употребата им. Това може да повлияе на ефективността им при работа. И така, в заключение следва да отбележим, че ЧС са били универсално стържещо оръдие с най-широко приложение, в това число и кожообработването.

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# The Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara and Bronze Age Archaeology: an Archaeological Predicament

Mehmet Özdoğan

*Мехмет Йоздоган*

*Черно море, Мраморно море и археологията на бронзовата епоха: един археологически проблем*

*Корелацията на Егейско-Анатолийските култури от бронзовата епоха с тези от Балканите винаги е било спорно и все още няма консенсус по въпроса. Западноанатолийският и Егейският урбанистични модели, сравнени с модела на Сиро-Месопотамия, изглеждат дребни и провинциални, тъй като Тракия, както и голямата част от Балканите остават извън процеса на урбанизация, характерен за бронзовата епоха. Мраморно море, което е мост между културите през неолита и халколита, през бронзовата епоха е бариера между тях.*

*Един от основните проблеми е този за потъналите селища, вследствие на покачването нивото на Черно море. В района на Босфора има данни за такива обекти от палеолита, но няма нито един фрагмент, датиран в праисторията, за разлика от изобилието им в района на Дарданелите. Това води до извода, че между VI и I хил.пр.Хр. обстановката около Мраморно и Черно море не е била стабилна и не оговаря на онова което виждаме днес. Геоморфологическите данни показват, че между VI и VI хил.пр.Хр е имало не само съществени промени в нивото на Черно море но и тектонични движения.*

Scholars with an interest in the archaeology of the Balkans have always been impressed by the dynamic enthusiasm of Prof. Dr. Henrieta Todorova; during the last decades she has been the most simulating component of Balkan prehistory with her vigorous, but amicable stand in the chronological debates. Besides her major accomplishments, we are particularly indebted to her for persistent and meticulous work in divulging the significance of Late Chalcolithic cultures of Bulgaria. If there had not been her productive efforts, we would not be able to evaluate neither the Varna culture in the context, nor the transitional period to the Early Bronze Age.

During the last decade, substantial amount of new data has been available, both from the littoral areas of Bulgaria and from Northwestern Turkey concerning the Bronze Age cultures. However, at present there are substantial difficulties in interpreting this evidence. The present paper will try to display the discrepancies between these two regions, suggesting a rather controversial solution. In the course of last few years, we had the opportunity to discuss these issues with Dr. Todorova, without coming to a consensus. Nevertheless these discussions have been an incitement to consider these problems; accordingly, I humbly present this paper to her.

## Thrace and Northwestern Anatolia during the Bronze Age: A Prelude to the Problem

Correlation of Anatolian-Aegean Bronze Age cultures with those of the Balkans has always been a matter of dispute. In spite of the apparent differences in the cultural assemblages, in the prevailing types of settlements, as well as in architectural remains, the presence of some, seemingly similar elements between these two regions, have always tempted scholars to seek for common patterns. However, there is still no consensus, neither on correlation of the chronological sequences, nor on the presence of intensive interaction taking place between the Anatolian-Aegean and the Balkan cultural regions.

It seems evident that during the Bronze Age, in spite of the regional differences in the artifactural assemblages, Anatolia and the Aegeans have developed almost on similar lines; in both of these regions there is a rather sudden appearance of small, but fortified towns, and there are also indications of an emerging elite ruling class. Increasing implementation of wheel made

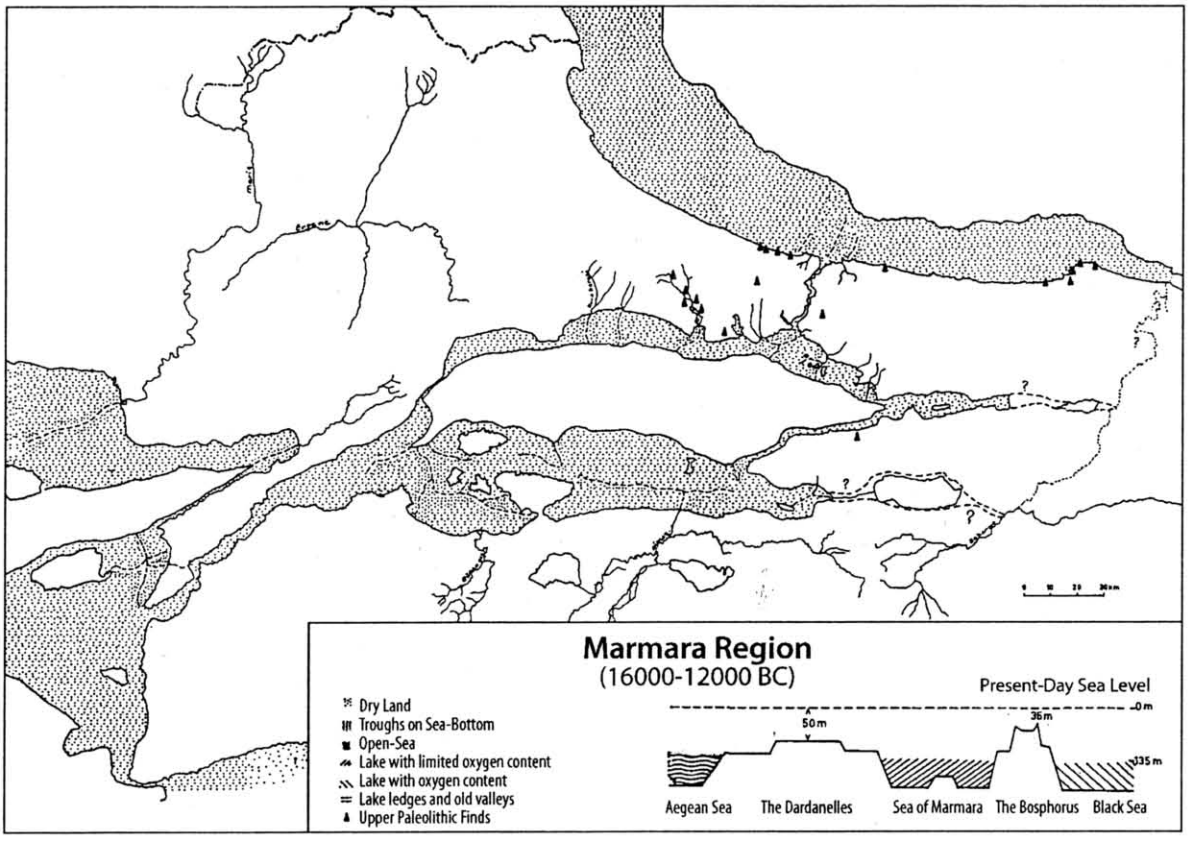



*Fig. 1. Marmara region during last glacial maximum, showing lake conditions of the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea. Triangles indicate Late Paleolithic sites*

pottery, the presence of status objects including sophisticated metallurgy are all indicative of a pre-sate stage of urbanization in the Anatolian-Aegean region. However, it should also be noted that in the course of the Early Bronze Age, the western Anatolian and the Aegean model of "urban" centers, when compared to the contemporary cities of Syro-Mesopotamia, are extremely small and provincial. On the other hand, during the Bronze Age, Thrace, like most of the Balkans, must have remained outside of the process of urbanization. Thus the Sea of Marmara, which was a cultural bridge between Anatolia and the Balkans throughout the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Period, now, for the entire span of the Bronze Age, became a barrier delimiting these two regions.

What appears as a strict cultural discontinuity between the Balkan and Northwestern Anatolian Bronze Age cultures is hard to conceive, as the geographical features of neither the Bosporus, nor the Sea of Marmara can hamper interaction between Thrace and Anatolia. Considering that during the Bronze Age the roots of an extensive maritime trade network was being established, it is rather strange that no such action took place through the Bosporus. Thus, the main problem would be to justify how such a barrier could have sustained between two neighboring regions for almost two thousand years. However, before going into the controversies of interpretation, it would be worth having a brief survey of the archaeological evidence from either side of the Sea of Marmara for the sake of clearance.

**The Archaeological Evidence**

The Early Bronze Age cultures of Northwestern Anatolia are relatively well documented, besides excavated major Bronze Age sites like Troy, Demirci Höyük, Beşiktepe, Kumtepe and Yortan cemeteries, recent excavations at Orhangazi Hacilartepe (for short notes on the recent work at Hacilartepe, see Rodenberg 1993; 1994), Şeyitömer Höyüğü (Topbaş 1993) and Early Bronze Age cemetery sites at Sariket

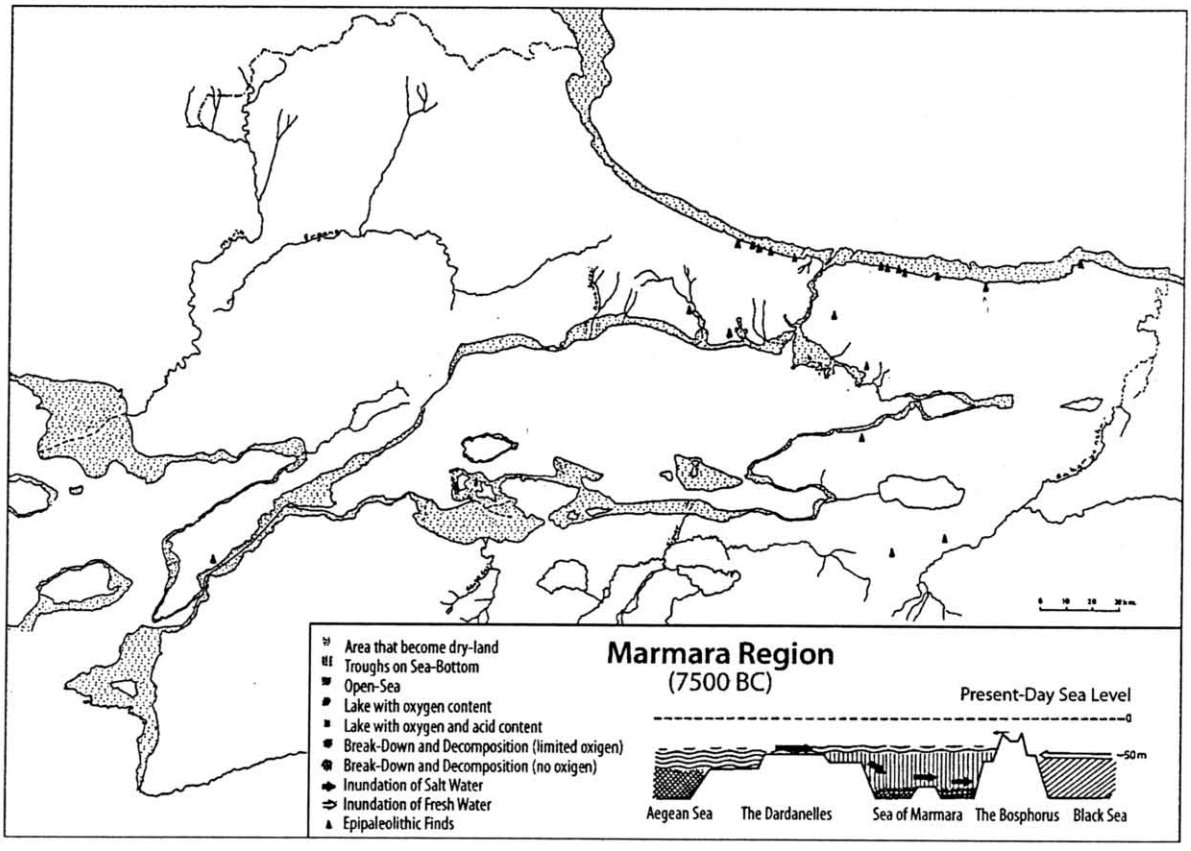



*Fig. 2. Marmara region in early Holocene, after the first penetration of saline waters from the Aegean. Triangles indicate Epi-Paleolithic sites*

(SEEHER 1991; 1992), Küçükhöyük (GÜRKAN/ SEEHER 1991), a number of surface surveys (for survey of Eastern Marmara see ÖZDOĞAN 1983, 1984; 1985b and for the Balikesir-Bandirma region ÖZDOĞAN 1990; for a general appraisal of the evidence see ÖZDOĞAN 1993) have increased our knowledge considerably. Concerning the distribution of sites and the boundaries of cultural assemblages, it is now possible to make the following assessements:

a) Northwestern Anatolia seems to be extensively inhabited during the Bronze Age; however, sites dateable to the first half of the Early Bronze Age are much more numerous. Even though the number of Early Bronze Age sites on the alluvial plains are more common, sites can be found on all geographic settings from intermountain valleys, to high plateaus (Fig. 5) (for a distribution of sites see KORFMANN ET AL. 1994).

b) Most of Anatolian sites are multi-layered mounds, indicating continuous occupation through the Early Bronze Age

c) Sites yielding EBA III pottery of the 2nd Millennium are much less then Early Bronze Age I and II, but wherever they occur, the sites are considerably bigger, possibly indicating a further step in centralized urbanism. It seems also possible that we could only recognize the fine wares of this period and that smaller settlement were using undiagnostic local pottery, which went unnoticed during the survey.

However, on the Thracian side of the Sea of Marmara, our evidence is still rather scanty and difficult to interpret (ÖZDOĞAN 1991). In the eastern Thrace, the only excavated and fully published Bronze Age site is still Karaağaçtepe-Protesilaos (DEMANGEL 1926). Our survey in Eastern Thrace has revealed a number of Early Bronze Age sites, but can be inferred through this survey is rather controversial: the Gelobolu Peninsula by the Dardanelles (ÖZDOĞAN 1986a) and the littoral areas along the Aegean have revealed mound sites yielding Anatolian type of pottery; at least there, on the surface we could not identify any "un-Anatolian" sherd. The

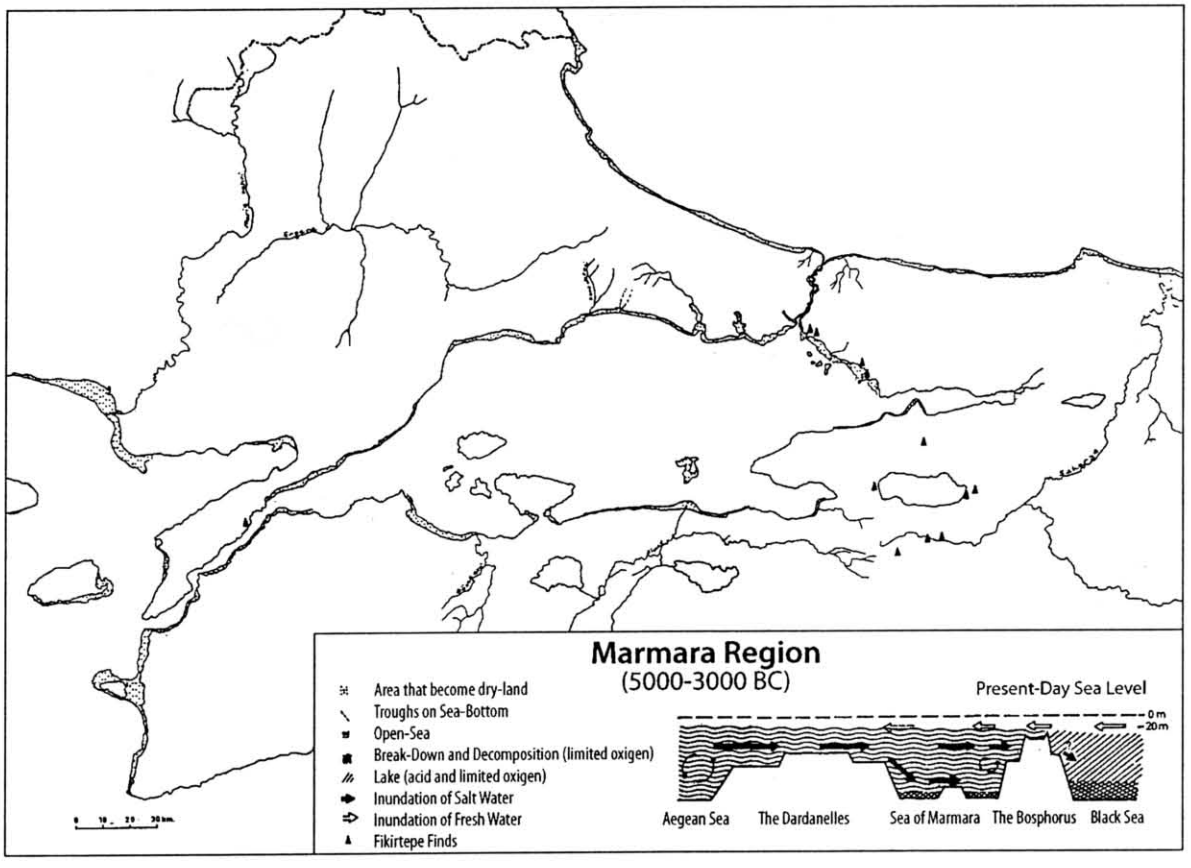



*Fig. 3. Marmara region during the Neolithic Period. Triangles indicate sites of Fikirtepe culture*

Northern coastline of the Sea of Marmara also seems to be densely occupied during the early part of the Early Bronze Age, between Istanbul and Kizilcaterzi we have identified 12 Early Bronze Age sites, four of them being sizable mounds. After evaluating the surface collection of Bronze Age sherds, some facts seemed evident:

a) The surface yield of these sites was very uniform, suggesting that they are all contemporary, and that they represented only a single cultural episode.

b) The material of these coastal sites clear affinities to the pottery assemblage of Troy I.

c) We have not recovered any similar assemblage from the Bronze Age sites that are further away from the coastal areas.

d) There were very few, if any, sherds that would definitely be related to the Ezero assemblage.

e) All along the coastal strip of Thrace, we could recover only one site, Karaevlialtı, that could possibly be dated to the 2nd Millennium BC.

f) The next clear evidence of settlements along the coastal area is from the Middle Iron Age, that is with the Greek colonization. Needless to say, it seems rather strange that all of the coastal zone became deserted, or being very thiny throughout the 2nd Millennium.

However, our recent work at Menekşe Çatağı have indicated that the situation was not as simple as we could interpret from the surface evidence. At least it is now evident that the architectural remains of the Bronze Age layers are typically "un-Anatolian", revealing apsidal post-hole buildings, and that there are also significant amount of local wares in the assemblage.

In the inner parts of Thrace, the number of Early Bronze Age sites that we could recover are minimal, all of them being flat without any indication of multi-layered mound formation. The surface evidence of these sites is also strikingly different from those along the Marmara coast, Ezero type of sherds being overwhelmingly predominant. Moreover, our evidence for

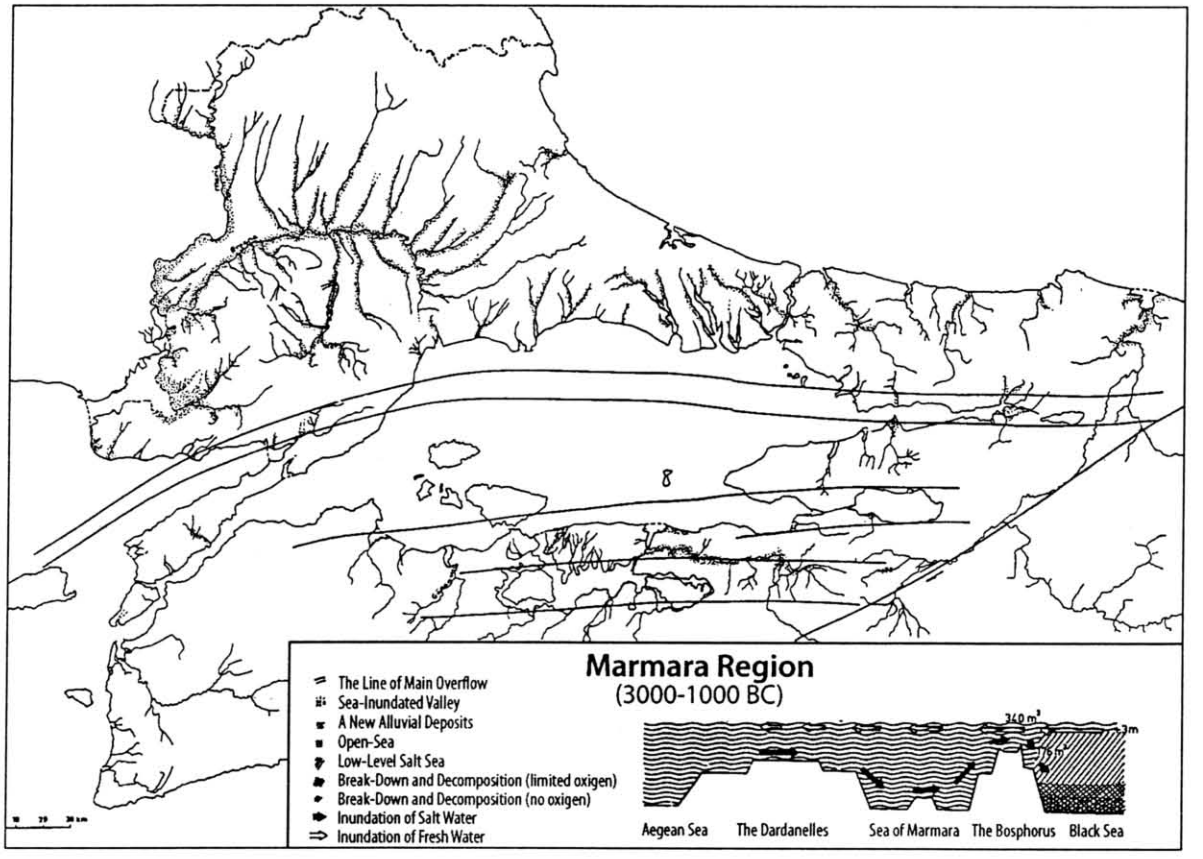



*Fig. 4. Marmara region, major fault lines and recent aluvial deposits*

the Middle and Late Bronze Age from the inner regions, is even more obscure; there are only a very limited number of cases where we could claim to have recovered clear 2nd Millennium material.

However still, our recent work at Kanligeçit is strongly suggestive of an Anatolian colonization penetrating into Eastern Thrace by the end of the 3rd Millennium BC, but whether or not this is an exceptional case, or indicative of a pattern which has not yet became apparent, is not clear. Accordingly, until there is more evidence available, our present level of archaeological record is not enough to make, even preliminary assessments concerning the Bronze Age of Eastern Thrace.

Evidently, the status of Bronze Age investigations in Bulgaria is on more firm bases; intensive work at stratified large sites such as Ezero, Karanovo, Yunatsite, Dyadovo and Galabovo have clearly established the bases for working out the artifactual sequence. A large number of minor excavations as well as surface surveys have also contributed to our understanding of the Thracian Bronze Age. As apparent from some recently published important papers (LESHTAKOV 1993a; PANAJOTOV 1989; 1995; NEMEJCOVA 1992), presenting an overview of the Bulgarian evidence for the Bronze Age, the following general statements can be made:

a) Unlike Eastern Thrace, there seems to be some, major Bronze Age centers, such as Ezero, Dyadovo, Yunatsite etc., indicating a continuous series of occupation in Southern Bulgaria.

b) however, besides these few mound sites, all other Bronze Age sites are small flat sites, more like temporary camp sites then continuous villages.

c) All of the Bulgarian Bronze Age sites, including mounds, have no indication of the presence of a complex society. They all lack the monumental architectural remains as well as the sophisticated artifactual assemblages. stone architecture, the use of massive defencewalls etc. are all absent from Thracian Bronze Age sites. The potters wheel, an indicator of urbani-

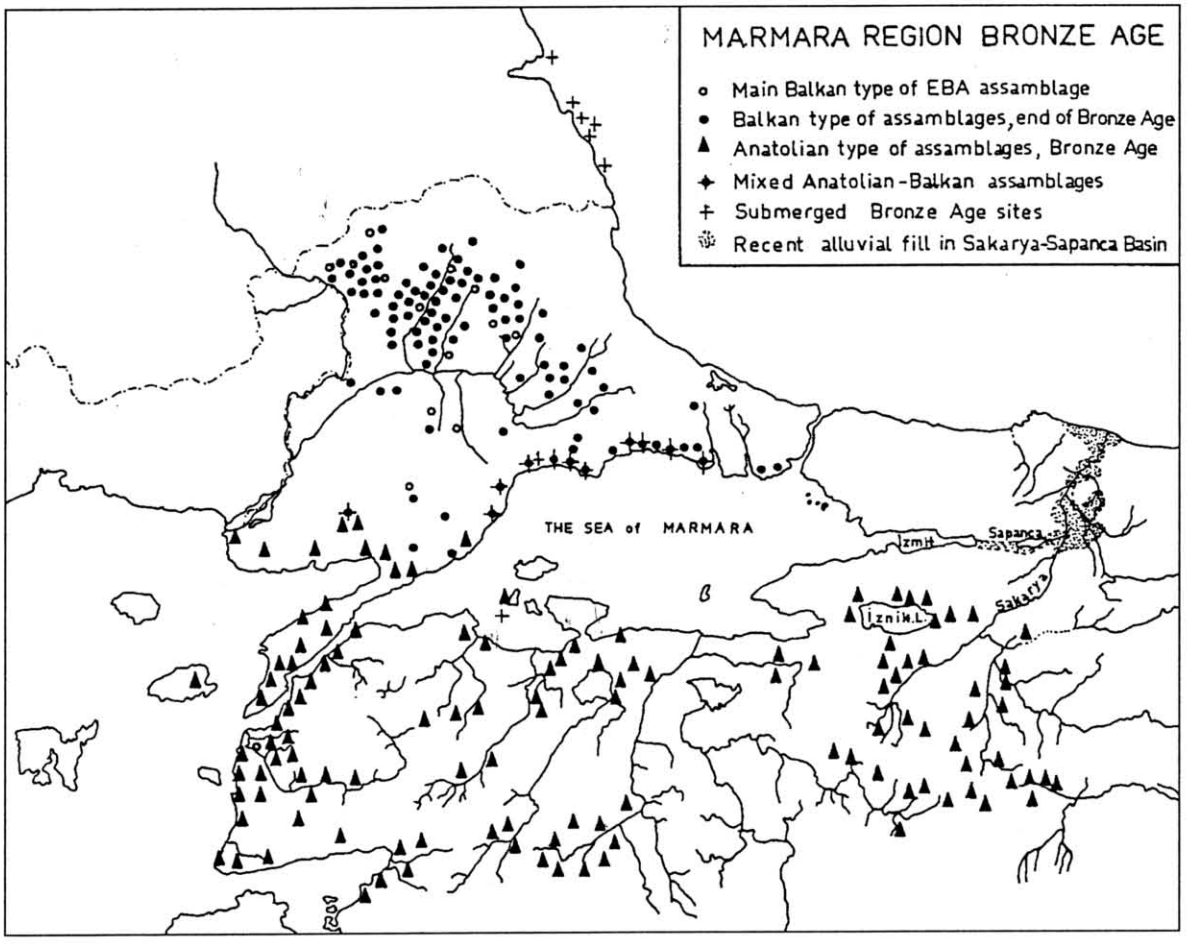



*Fig. 5. Distribution of Bronze Age sites in Northwestern Turkey*

zation, that began to be in use on the Anatolian side of the sea of Marmara by the middle of the Early Bronze Age practically appears in Thrace only during the Iron Age.

d) All the Bulgarian Bronze Age, including Thrace, what can be safely considered as imports from Anatolia or from the Aegean, are restricted to a few depaş and to 5 vessels from Galabovo (Panajotov/Leshtakov 1991, figs. 18-20). Thus, it seems evident that not only the settlement pattern in Thrace was different from Anatolia, but the interaction between these two regions were at minimal level.

e) There is a considerable degree of difference between the Northern and Southern Bulgarian Bronze Age cultures. By the end of the Early Bronze Age, Southeast and Southwest Bulgaria also seems to be parts of distinct cultural groups. In the course of the Early Bronze Age Southeastern Bulgaria seems to be an area marginal to the happenings in the Aegean and in Northeastern Turkey.

f) The traditional tripartite division of Bronze Age into Early, Middle and Late phases, perfectly applicable to Anatolia and to the Aegean, seems meaningless in Thrace.

g) Like in Eastern Thrace, in Southeast Bulgaria the evidence for most of the 2nd Millennium B.C. is also extremely inadequate; possibly indicating a total collapse of the social system.

h) Like in Eastern Thrace, intensive repopulation of the area will take place only by the end of the 2nd Millennium, by what seems as an intrusive group.

i) Like in Eastern Thrace and Northwestern Anatolia, the coastal areas of the Black Sea are void of intensive Bronze Age habitation. However, the recently discovered submerged Bronze Age sites in Bulgaria (Draganov 1995; Panajotov 1991; Boer 1994) are strongly suggestive that the Bronze Age coastline of the Black Sea was considerably different from that of the

present, and that all coastal settlements were submerged.

**A Major Problem: Submerged Bronze Age Sites in Black Sea**

As briefly summarized above, there are a number of discrepancies between Thrace and Northwestern Anatolia, two neighboring regions located on either side of a small land locked sea the Sea of Marmara. It is evident that some of these discrepancies are due to lack of research, mainly as in the case of Eastern Thrace. Some inconsistency between territories, may find explanations on cultural grounds, even though it is yet too early to formulate one. However, there are some facts that are difficult to explain with the present stand of our knowledge. Here we will try to draw attention to two of such problems; being neither a geologist nor a geomorphologist by profession, what we will connote as a solution, should be considered as a provocation to stimulate further interest on these issues by those who are experts.

1) The distribution of coastal Bronze Age sites around the Sea of Marmara is very strange (see Fig. 5). All through the Northern coast of Marmara, from the Westernmost tip of the Gelibolu peninsula, up to Istanbul, on every location suitable for habitation, there is an Early Bronze Age settlement. The same pattern can be seen on the Anatolian side of the Sea of Marmara, from Çanakkale up to Kapidağ peninsula. This is evidently a pattern that is strongly indicative of intensive utilization of maritime resources. However, to the east of the Kapidağ peninsula, in the entire extend of Southeastern Marmara, not a single Bronze Age site has been recorded. It may be argued that this is a result of survey bias; however, in the parts of this coastal strip where our surface cover was rather intensive. We specifically searched locations that would in other parts of Marmara, would definitely have yielded a Bronze Age site, but recovered nothing.

b) Not a single Bronze Age sherd have been recovered on the Bosporus. Considering the presence of numerous Bronze Age sites along the Dardanelles, this is very strange. Here, it may also be argued that Istanbul being a vast metropolis for over a millennium, might have destroyed all prehistoric sites. However, most of the areas around the Bosporus were void of intensive settlements during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, and when we surveyed the region, a number of Paleolithic sites were still available on the surface. Moreover, in spite of the intensive building activity that took place around the Bosporus during the last decade, not a single prehistoric sherd has been reported.

c) In the Eastern part of the Marmara region, the distribution of Bronze Age sites are also rather peculiar. Coming from the South, all the way up to the Iznik basin, and including this area, there are numerous Bronze Age sites, most of them being sizeable mounds, and all of them yielding typical Anatolian material. However, on the large terrain lying between the Iznik Lake and the Black Sea no Bronze Age sites, neither small or big, have ever been recorded. More specifically, the rich alluvial plains like the basin of the Sapanca Lake, the catchment of the Gulf of Izmit, the alluvial plain of Adapazari, the terraces along the delta of the Sakarya river etc. are all void of Bronze Age habitation. Neither there are any Bronze Age sites known from east of Istanbul, all the way up to Sakarya.

Accordingly the present evidence implies that the lake of Iznik constitutes the Northern limit of Anatolian Bronze Age cultures, and then there is an enormous territory void of any habitation. Considering the presence of several large Bronze Age mounds around the Iznik lake, the lack of sites around Sapanca lake, exactly a similar setting and located only 50 km to the North is very difficult to conceive.

d) On the Anatolian side, just to the north of Kapidağ peninsula which constitutes the eastern limit of coastal Bronze Age sites, a submerged mound has been recorded by the small island of Avşa. This site, named as the Manastir Mevkii, is a considerable mound, revealing a complete range of cultural horizons between Kumtepe Ib and Troy VII b2. The site is partially visible on the shore of the island, but extends under the sea up to the depth of 10 m, where a Bronze Age cemetery has also been recovered.

Considering the range of sea level changes during the late Holocene, it seems evident that the presence of this submerged site is related to local tectonics and not to eustatic events.

e) The presence of submerged Bronze Age

sites along the Bulgarian coast of the Black Sea presents the most difficult problem to explain. The number of recorded submerged sites are now over 10, and their number seems to be increasing almost every year. Geographically they are dispersed through the entire extent of Bulgarian territory, from Varna to Sozopol. Most of the sites are located between 6 to 8 meters below the present level of the Black Sea; however, there are also some claims of sites at lower depth, most of the sites cluster between 5 to 8 meters. As no site could have existed exactly on by the shore, and as most sites are located on small promontories, with some justification the Bronze Age level of the Black Sea can be placed at least to minus 10 meters.

The problem is to find an acceptable explanation to how all of these coastal sites could have been submerged. Almost unanimously, reports concerning these sites excludes the possibility of tectonic or epirogenic movements and relate this event to a regression phase of the Black Sea. However, in the publications of these submerged sites, we never came through an attempt in trying to correlate this regression of the Black Sea with the globular sea level fluctuation curves. To the best of our knowledge, there is no consensus on the sea level fluctuations during the late Holocene, however, the maximum estimates never exceed plus or minus 3 meters (MASTERS/FLEMMING 1983; KAYAN 1988) from the present levels. Thus it remains to be explained how a regression of the Black Sea of over a range of 10 meters could have happened, at a time when there is no record of such a significant change in worldwide sea levels.

Accordingly, if the Black Sea was connected to the worldwide sea systems, that is if the Bosporus was existing, then all over the oceans, one has to consider that the sea level was 10 meters below its present level during the Bronze Age; as this seems impossible, than the next possible solution would be to consider Black Sea as being isolated from the Marmara during the 3rd and 2nd Millennium B.C. One other possible solution, tectonic movements, seems anyhow to be rejected by all.

**A Controversial Solution:**
**An Alternative Bosporus**

Any major change in the levels, either of the oceans, or of the other seas, is the consequence of major climatic fluctuations. Accordingly, such changes occur at times of global warming or cooling, and having an impact in all littoral areas of the world. The last major marine regression taking place at the time of the last maximum phase of the Würm glaciation, is dated to about 16 000 BC, when the level of the sea was 100-120 m lower than of present. Even though there is some dispute on the exact dates and on the speed of the transgression that followed Würm maximum, there is a general consensus that velocity of the rise in sea levels was rather rapid until 5 000 BC, and from that time on, there were only some minor fluctuations.

Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara are two interconnected inner seas, linked to the worldwide ocean system by only narrow, long and relatively shallow straits. Accordingly, even minor climatic fluctuations, or changes in the worldwide sea levels, provokes exaggerated consequences in the closed basins of Marmara and Black Sea. Furthermore, at certain occasions this system becomes further complicated by being connected to the Caspian Sea

The water exchange between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara is a unique case, as the density of their water masses is significantly different from each other. Large rivers, such as Danube, Dniyepr and Don drain almost all of the surface water of Central and Eastern Europe into the Black Sea; thus it receives large masses of fresh and cold water. On the other hand, the Sea of Marmara receive highly saline warm waters from the Aegean through the Dardanelles. Accordingly the brackish waters of Black Sea is much lighter than that of Marmara, and at present the Black Sea has an excess input of water which almost completely fills up the Bosporus. Actually as the water discharge of the Black Sea is little more than the carrying capacity of this narrow and shallow strait, the present level of the Black Sea being considerably higher than that of Marmara.

This complicated system has some rather complex consequences: under certain of water masses according to their density and thus preventing vertical circulation of oxygen. At present the Black sea is under such conditions; the density stratification of its waters prevent dissolved oxygen to reach lower elevations result-

ing in anoxic conditions and to the formation of sapropels (see diagrams in ÖZDOĞAN 1985a, fig. 5.c; STANLEY/BLANPIED 1980, fig. 2), analysis of the deep sea cores indicate that Marmara had lived similar conditions during the last glacial period (STANLEY/BLANPIED 1980).

Accordingly, even a minute change in the system, either eustatic change of global sea levels, or due to water input of the Black Sea from river drainage has considerable effects on:

a) Whether or not saline waters can pass through the Bosporus

b) Marine ecology of Marmara and Black Sea are very unstable and are apt to go through radical changes.

How this system reacted to the radical changes that took place in the globular sea levels during the last glacial period, is far too complicated to be dealt within the scope of this paper. A simplistic overview of this system have already been published elsewhere (ÖZDOĞAN 1985a; MERIÇ ET AL. 1990, 107-111) and, here, for reminiscence, four synoptic charts (Figs. 1-4) have been appended on this issue.

It is clear that somewhere around 7 000 B.C. the Sea of Marmara was already receiving both saline waters from the Aegean and fresh waters from the Black Sea. When we had formulated the above mentioned model, we had taken as granted that the contact between Black Sea and Marmara was through Bosporus (figs. 2, 3). However, even then, it was clearly evident from the bottom sediments of both Marmara and Black Sea that the present conditions were established only by the first Millennium BC (ÖZDOĞAN 1985a, 155). Since then, there has been considerable amount of new data available (MERIÇ ET AL. 1990; DEUER 1972; KAPLIN ET AL. 1993) all of which clearly indicate that between the sixth and first Millennium BC, the environmental conditions of Marmara and Black Sea were not stable, and there were alternating short facies or episodes and that the present level of salinity was firmly established only by the first Millennium BC.

Besides these unstable marine conditions, archaeological evidence as well as the geomorphological studies imply that there were significant changes in the level of the Black Sea between the 6th and 1st Millennium BC (ORACHEV 1990). Archaeological evidence from Bulgaria and Romania strongly suggests that the Black Sea was recession from the beginning of the 4th Millennium up to, at least beginning of the 2nd.

It all concludes that the water discharge between the Black Sea and the Marmara, which was already established during the 6th Millennium, must have been interrupted at an uncertain point during the 4th Millennium. Sometime by the beginning of the 1st Millennium BC, a new connection must have taken place. We are conscious of the fact that this assumption will be considered as being far fetched by geomorphologists; however, than, a more convincing explanation should be presented to explain the archaeological evidence of submerged Bronze Age sites in the Black Sea.

Paleological evidence shows that, at least during the early Holocene, prior to the formation of the Sakarya Delta, the discharge of the Black Sea was through this depression. We might surmise that during the 4th Millennium, at a time when there was less input of water into the Black Sea basin, extensive silting as well as rapid built up of the Sakarya delta, possibly blocked this channel, in the same manner as the Manych channel between the Caspian and Black Sea was silted. What happened later is rather speculative, but a tectonic movement by the beginning of the 1st Millennium could have resulted in over flooding of the Marmara through the present valley of the Bosporus into the Black Sea.

As we had mentioned above, we are conscious of the fact that we have gone far beyond our field of specialization; however, we can still hope that this paper will provoke natural scientists in helping to solve this archaeological problem.

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# Zu Lanzenspitzen ägäischer Art aus Bulgarien

Olaf Höckmann

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*Aegean spearheads in MBA Bulgaria*

*It is well known that the most prominent finds from Bulgaria's MBA are rapiers of Aegean type, however produced locally. Two of them (Nr. 1, 3) were found in graves, together with one spearhead of Aegean type each. As opposed to the rapiers, the spearheads have hitherto not been scrutinised in an exhausting manner.*

*Two of them (No. 1-2) conform to Cretan finds of SM II-III A of the Aegean „standard type" D, and may be thought to have been produced in Crete. No. 3, though generally close close to them, differs in the execution of the mid-rib sufficiently as to suggest local production. Deep cuts in its cutting edges seem to have been caused by slashing swords of Continental flange-hilt type, not introduced into the Aegean until SM/SH III B. This together with its stepped cross section, makes no. 3 likely to have been produced when, in the late LBA, slashing swords had been introduced to the Aegean. There seems that Thracian warriors tried to counter them by grappling with their spears.*

*Nos. 4-5 conform to an Aegean type (H) thought to have been used in chariot warfare, which was introduced from the Near East. No. 4 (as no. 1-2) appears to be a Cretan product of LM II-IIIA date. No. 5 seems to be a local imitation, eventually produced and interred at a time when chariot battles had become outdated in Greece.*

*Why such Cretan involvement during LM II-III A, in Bulgaria? The distribution of Cretan spearheads in this country (fig. 2) suggests the river Marica to have formed a highway for contact among the Cretan, and the Continent (i.e. its resources of copper, gold, and eventually tin from Central Germany). - Greek mainlanders had from MH onward been in contact with the Axios/Vardar region. It seems that in LM II-IIIA when Crete's supply of tin from the East seems to have met a crisis, Crete turned its interest toward the Continent, bypassing the Axios/Vardar way firmly controlled by the mainlanders, by opening the Marica way. We might conceive the Cretan weapons of LM II-IIIA date found in Thrace to have arrived there as „diplomatic gifts" to local rulers for safeguarding Crete's supply of tin from the Continent. These weapons gave rise to local production in Thrace.*

*No Aegean originals could be identified North of Bulgaria, leaving aside a stray one from northern Germany which certainly cannot have formed the gift of an Aegean ruler.*

Die hochverdiente Honoranda hat einen langen Forscherweg vom Neolithikum zu späten Kulturperioden gemeistert. Dies ist Anlass genug, sie auf einem kurzen Stück dieses Weges zu begleiten und ihr eine Notiz zu den Fernverbindungen des bronzezeitlichen Thrakien zu widmen.

Die eindrucksvollsten Funde aus der mittleren Bronzezeit Bulgariens (etwa 15.[?] - 13. Jh.v.Chr.) sind Rapierschwerter einer Art, die eng mit Waffen in Griechenland zusammenhängt;[1] die Schwerter sind aber in Bulgarien gefunden worden.[2] Zwei dieser Rapiere (Peruštica [Nr. 1] umd Dolno Levski [Nr. 3] wurden zusammen mit je einer bronzenen Lanzenspitze ägäischen Typs gefunden; weitere kamen allein zutage. Die Forschung hat sich mit der Feststellung des ägäischen Charakters dieser Lanzen begnügt; nur N.K. Sandars (Anm. 1) deutete Zusammenhänge mit Kreta an. Dies legt den Versuch nahe, die Herkunft der ägäischen Lanzenspitzen aus Bulgarien näher zu lokalisieren.

Die folgenden ägäischen Lanzenspitzen sind mir aus Bulgarien bekannt:

1. ***Peruštica***, Bez. Plovdiv (Abb. 1,1)
Mus. Plovdiv
Fundart: Grab

Ein Rapier, eine Lanzenspitze, Bronze (Länge: 0,339 m). Sie hat ein schlankes Blatt von Weidenblattform, das ¾ der Gesamtlänge einnimmt. Die Schneiden stoßen winklig an die geschlitzte Zylindertülle. Dicht über ihrem Rand ist durch eine umlaufende Rille eine Art Ring angedeutet.[3] - Das Blatt hat eine flache Mittelrippe, von den Schneiden als Stufe abgesetzt (Form d).[4]

[1] Sandars 1963; Bouzek 1966, 254 f.; Hänsel 1970, 26 ff.; Hänsel 1973; Panajotov/Donevski 1977; Panajotov 1980, 173-178 ff.; Hiller 1984, 16; Harding 1984, 155 ff.; Bouzek 1985, 31-43; Bader 1986; Katinčarov 1989, 79 ff.; Kopcke 1990, 41; Wanzek 1991.

[2] Sandars 1963, 121; Hänsel 1970, 29-32; Panajotov 1980, 175-180 ff.; Katinčarov 1989, 79.

[3] Höckmann 1980, 50; Avila 1983, bes. 19 f., 21, 35, 78.

[4] Höckmann 1980, 76 ff., 117.

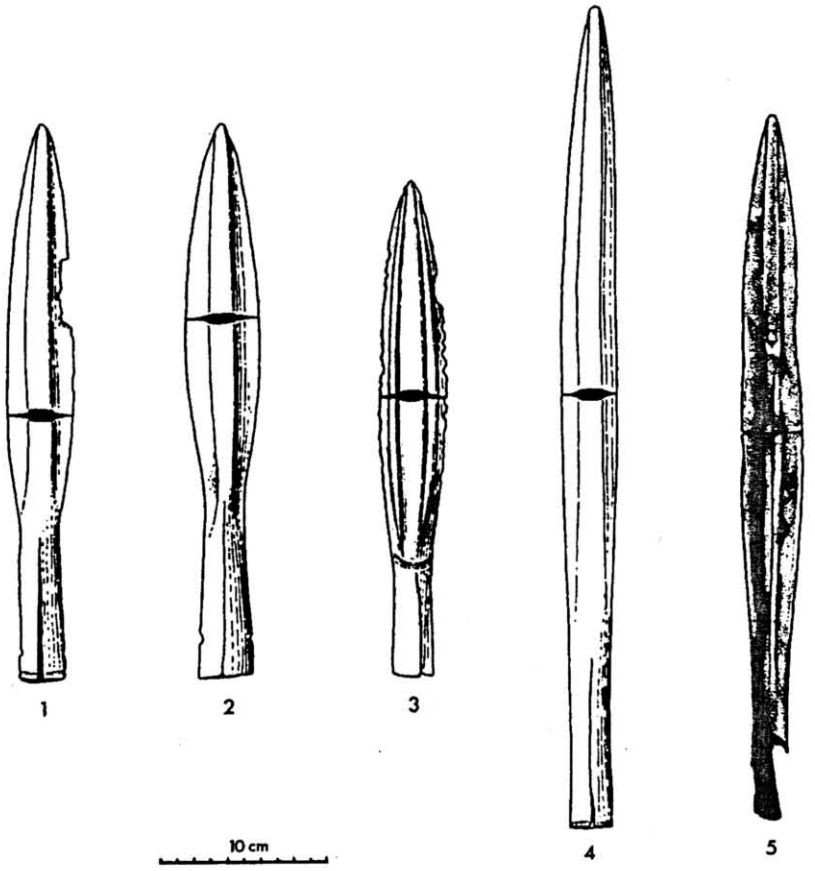



*Abb. 1. Bronzezeitliche Lanzenspitzen ägäischer Art aus Bulgarien: 1. Peruštica, Bez. Plovdiv; 2. Krasno Gradište, Bez. Sevlievo; 3. Dolno Levski, Bez. Pazardžik; Kričim, Bez. Plovdiv; 5. Lesura, Bez. Vraca*
*Bronze Age Spearheads of Aegean character from Bulgaria. 1-4: after N.K.Sandars.*

*Lit.*: Bouzek 1966, 247 Abb. 4,9; Sandars 1969, 121 (Vergleich mit Knossos und Ras Shamra [Libanon], Hortfund von 1929 aus dem 14. Jh.v.Chr.), 125, 146, Taf. 22.8, 28.62; Hänsel 1970, 28, Nr. 2, 27 Abb. 1.4; Harding 1984, 168, Abb. 45.1, 240; Bouzek 1985, 42, Abb. 12.6; Katinčarov 1988, 79.

2. ***Krasno Gradište*** *b. Kalakastrovo, Bez. Sevlievo* (Abb. 1,2)

Mus. - ? -

Fundart: Einzelfund

Lanzenspitze, Bronze (Länge: 0,339 m). Das weidenblattförmige Blatt nimmt ca. 2/3 der Gesamtlänge ein. Die Schneiden münden weich in die schwach konische, geschlitzte Tülle ein. - Das Blatt geht kantig in die Schneiden über, so dass ein sechseckiger Querschnitt entsteht (Form g; vgl. Anm. 4).

*Lit.*: Sandars 1969, 121 (Vergleich mit Knossos und Ras Shamra [Libanon], Hortfund von 1929 aus dem 14. Jh.v.Chr.), Taf. 22.11, 28.63; Bouzek 1966, Abb. 4.10; Hänsel 1970, 30, Anm. 5; Harding 1984, 241; Bouzek 1985, Abb. 12.7; Katinčarov 1989, 79-80, Abb. 7.

3. ***Dolno Levski****, Bez. Pazardzik* (Abb. 1,3)

Mus. Sofia

Fundart: Grab

Ein Rapier, eine Lanzenspitze, Bronze (Länge: 0,3 m). Ihr Blatt hat schlanke Weidenblattform und erstreckt sich über ca. 4/5 der Gesamtlänge. Die Schneiden stoßen winklig an die geschlitzte Zylindertülle. - Das Blatt hat eine Mittelrippe mit gerundeten Rändern (Form f; vgl. Anm. 4). Diese Ebene ist von den Rändern durch eine weitere Stufe abgesetzt. Beide Stufen folgen dem Umriss des Blatts, so dass die

Mittelrippe auf halber Länge breiter ist als am Übergang zur Tülle. - Beide Schneiden sind uneben: mindestens einige Scharten gehen wohl auf Schläge einer Hiebwaffe zurück. - Das Blatt ist von der Tülle durch eine nach oben offene Bogenrille abgesetzt.

*Lit.*: Sandars 1969, 121-125, Taf. 22.6, 28.65; Bouzek 1966, Abb. 4.7; Hänsel 1970, 28, Nr. 1, 27, Abb. 1.2; Fol 1979, 111, Abb. 6; Harding 1984, 240; Bouzek 1985, Abb. 12.8; Katinčarov 1989, 79, Abb. 7.

4. ***Kričim***, *Bez. Plovdiv* (Abb. 1,4)
Mus. Plovdiv
Fundart: Einzelfund

Lanzenspitze, Bronze (Länge: 0,5 m), sehr schlank. Das Blatt ist kaum breiter als die Tülle und nimmt ca. 4/5 der Gesamtlänge ein. Die Schneiden gehen unmerklich in die fast zylindrische Zylindertülle über. An ihrem Rand deutet eine Rille einen „Ring" an (vgl. Nr. 1). - Das Blatt hat keine Mittelrippe, sondern sechseckigen Querschnitt (Form g; vgl. Anm. 4).

*Lit.*: Sandars 1969, 121 (Vergleich mit Knossos und Dendra), Taf. 22.10, 28.67; Bouzek 1966, Abb. 4.8: Hänsel 1970, 30, Anm. 5 („ägäisch ?"); Harding 1984, 241; Hiller 1984, 16, Anm. 36 (ägäisch); Bouzek 1985, 42, Abb. 12,5.

5. ***Lesura***, *Bez. Vraca* (Abb. 1,5)
Mus. Vraca
Fundart: Hortfund

1 Armring, 3 Tüllenbeile, 1 Tüllenmeißel, 2 Dolchklingen, 1 Speerspitze Typ K[5], 1 Lanzenspitze. Die Lanzenspitze, Bronze (Länge: 0,43 m), in zwei Teilen, hat ein schlankes Blatt mit geschwungenen Schneiden, das etwa 4/5 der Gesamtlänge einnimmt. Die Schneiden gehen unmerklich in die (fragmentierte) kurze, leicht konische Schlitztülle über. Ihr Rand ist verdickt (durch Korrosion einer Blechmanschette ?). - Das Blatt hat eine dachförmige Mittelrippe, die bei ca. 2/3 der Länge in eine gerundete Form übergeht.

*Lit.*: Nikolov 1966, 50 f. mit Abb. 4.b; Hänsel 1970, 30 mit Anm. 5; Harding 1984, 241; Hiller 1984, 16 mit Anm. 36.

6. ***Sokol***, *Bez. Plovdiv*
Mus. Plovdiv, Inv. 3220
Fundart, Form und Maße sind unpubliziert. Hänsel erwähnt das Stück zusammen mit den ägäischen Lanzenspitzen Nr. 1-5.

*Lit.*: Hänsel 1970, 30, Anm. 5 (Erwähnung); Hiller 1984, 16, Anm. 36 (Erwähnung).

Alle Fundstücke haben Tüllen, die an einer Seite einen Schlitz aufweisen. Dieses Merkmal, im Nahen Osten bis in die Frühbronzezeit zurückzuverfolgen,[6] fehlt im kontinentalen Europa. Auch in der Ägäis kennzeichnet es nicht alle Lanzenspitzen.[7] Dass alle Fundstücke aus Bulgarien Schlitztüllen haben, verbindet sie unmittelbarer mit Südgriechenland, als es z.B. für thessalische Funde gilt[8]: der ägäische Charakter von Nr. 1-5 lässt sich nicht mit einer schrittweisen Weitergabe südlicher Anregungen nach Norden auf dem Landwege erklären.

Ägäisch ist auch die Verstärkung der Blätter durch eine Mittelrippe bzw. die Verdickung des Mittelteils, von dem die Schneiden kantig abgesetzt sind. Auch die Größe der bulgarischen Fundstücke weist auf ihre Abhängigkeit von der ägäischen Welt hin. Alle sind (z.T. erheblich) länger, als es auf dem Kontinent üblich war.

Diese Kriterien lassen es zu, die bulgarischen Lanzenspitzen generell mit der Ägäis zu verbinden (so schon Sandars, Hänsel, Hiller und Bouzek). Die Interpretationsmöglichkeiten sind damit nicht ausgeschöpft. Sandars deutet Detailparallelen in Kreta an, und sie wie auch Bouzek parallelisiert die bulgarischen Funde mit dem älteren Teil der spätminoischen-mykenischen Periode.

Betrachten wir zunächst die Formen der Blätter und ihr Verhältnis zu den Tüllen. Es zeigt sich, dass die Fundstücke Nr. 1-3 einander ähnlich genug sind, um demselben Typ („Gruppe D") zugewiesen zu werden, während Nr. 4-5 einen anderen Typ („Gruppe H") vertreten.

[5] Snodgrass 1964, 119 ff. *Type B*; Höckmann 1980, 53 f., 118 f. *Typ SB*; Avila 1983, 69-74 f; Bouzek 1985, 135 ff. *Type A*.

[6] Höckmann 1980, 21; Avila 1983, 81.

[7] Höckmann 1980, 19, 41, 47-50, 73, 95.

[8] Unter sechs ägäischen Lanzen- und Speerspitzen aus Thessalien, die im Museum Volos anonym ausgestellt sind, hat nur *eine* eine Schlitztülle. Die Grabfunde aus dem Fürstensitz und Hafen *Iolkos* haben dagegen stets geschlitzte Tüllen.

Als Gruppe D bezeichne ich Lanzenspitzen mit meist schlank weidenblattförmigem Blatt, das deutlich länger als die Tülle und von ihr auch dann abgehoben ist, wenn der Ansatz der Schneiden gerundet ist wie bei Nr. 3. Das Blatt ist durch eine Rippe verstärkt, und die Schneidenflächen weisen nur selten Stufen auf.[9] Diese Gruppe (mit mehreren Varianten) ist die größte und langlebigste unter allen ägäischen Lanzenformen, eine Art Standardform. In Bulgarien vertreten die Lanzenspitzen von Peruštica (Nr. 1) und Krasno Gradište (Nr. 2) diesen Typ genau; bei jener von Dolno Levski (Nr. 3) stimmt nur der Umriss mit dem ägäischen Typ überein (s. unten).

Die Lanzenspitze von Peruštica (Nr. 1) entspricht im Blattumriss ägäischen Fundstücken aus allen Teilen Griechenlands,[10] die sich über den Zeitraum SM II bis SH III C verteilen. Bei den späten Belegen (meist aus Makedonien und Epiros) ist das Blatt gedrungen (Var. D III): die kretischen Lanzenspitzen D 12-13 aus SM II sind die nächsten Parallelen zu Nr. 1.

Zylindertüllen wie an Nr. 1 sind im Süden nicht selten.[11] Anfangs beschränkt sich die Verbreitung auf Kreta, um sich dann auf das Festland und besonders auf die ostägäischen Inseln zu verlagern. In SH III B-C begegnet die Zylindertülle fast nur an Speerspitzen kontinentaler Typen. - Zusammen mit einer so schlanken Blattform wie an Nr. 1 erscheint die Zylindertülle nur einmal (D 20, „Epiros"). Diese Lanzenspitze ist im Epiros ein Unikum. Ihre Ähnlichkeit mit kretischen Waffen (Anm. 16) lässt die Entstehung in Kreta annehmen.

Ebenso nach Kreta weist die flache, kantige Mittelrippe (Form d; Anm. 4) der Lanze von Peruštica.[12] Dort begegnet auch eine Rille am Tüllenrand; das Merkmal ist im Süden aber selten.[13] Es lässt sich zusammenfassen: die Lanzenspitze Nr. 1 ist als kretisches Produkt aus SM II - III A anzusehen.

Die Lanze Nr. 2 von Krasno Gradište (Abb. 1,2) weicht von Nr. 1 nur in Details ab. Die Kegelform der Tülle ist insignifikant. Ihre Länge nähert Nr. 2 den in Kreta üblichen Proportionen etwas mehr an als Nr. 1. Die gerundete Einmündung der Schneiden in die Tülle kenn-

[9] Zu Belegen in den Gruppen G und besonders K: s. unten Anm. 19.

[10] Auf die ägäischen Parallelen in beiden Referenzwerken wird in abgekürzter Form verwiesen: *„F 3/Abb. 7"*: Höckmann 1980, Katalog S. 130 ff. Nr. F 3.- *„A. 27"*/Taf. 4": Avila 1983, Kat.-Nr. 27; der Katalog ist zwar über den Text verteilt, doch leicht zu erschließen. Ungenaue Parallelen: *„I 2 [?]"*. - Parallelen zu Nr. 1 aus Kreta, SM II: D 12-13/Abb. 4 (Knossos); ferner D 31/Abb. 5= A. 26/Taf. 4 (Vapheio/Lakonien). SH III A: D 4= A. 118/Taf. 17 (Mykene).- D 26 [?]/Abb. 5 (Ialysos/Rhodos). SH III B: D 22-24/Taf. 2 („Makedonien").- D 27/Taf. 2 (Fundort ?); alle haben breite Blätter. SH III C: D 28/Abb. 5= A. 101A/Taf. 15 (Troube/ Peloponnes; Avila: u.U. Eisenzeit).- A. 102/Taf. 15, A. 107/Taf. 16 (Kallithea/Pelop.).- A. 110/Taf. 16 (Palaiopyrgos/Pelop.). „SH III": D 18 [?]/Abb. 4 (Bikiorema/Lokris).- D 29/Abb. 5= A. 104/Taf. 16 (Siana/Rhodos).- A. 105/Taf. 16 (Preveza/Akarnanien); alle mit breitem Blatt.- Schlank: D 32/Abb. 5= A. 106/Taf. 16 (Lithovouni/Ätolien).- I 6/Abb. 14= A. 112/Taf. 17 (Lachanokastro/Epiros).- D 20/Abb. 5 („Epiros").

[11] *Kreta*, wohl MM III: F 27/Taf. 4 (Pseira).- SM II: F 11/Abb. 7= A. 55/Taf. 10; H 3/Abb. 11= A. 43/Taf. 7; H 7/Abb. 12= A. 876/Taf. 34 (alle: Knossos). SM II oder III A: H 9/Abb. 12= A. 870/Taf. 33 (Knossos). SM III A: D 25/Abb. 5; D 46/Abb. 6 („Kreta").- D 50/Taf. 3 (Agia Triada).- D 51/Taf. 3 (Knossos). SM III B: H 12/ Abb. 12 (Mouliana). - *Festland*, SH II: D 11/Abb. 4= A. 31/Taf. 5 (Vapheio). „SH II oder III": D 42 [?]/6 (Prosymna/Pelop.). SH III A: D 4= A. 118/Taf. 7 (Mykene/Pelop.).- D 15 [?]/Abb. 4= A. 69/Taf. 11 (Dendra/ Pelop.).- F 1/Taf. 3= A. 48/Taf. 8; G 10/Abb. 9= A. 80/Taf. 13 (Pylos/Pelop.).- H 1/Abb. 11= A. 42/ Taf. 7 (Athen). SH III A oder B: G 30/Taf. 4 („Achaia"). SH III B: D 23-24/Taf. 2 („Makedonien").- F 8-9/Abb. 7= A. 57, 59/Taf. 10 (Theben/Böotien).- K 7/Abb. 15= A. 152/Taf. 20 (Paramythia/Epiros). SH III C: D 28/Abb. 5= A. 101 A/Taf. 15 (Troube).-D 47/Abb. 6 (Kato Gioumenitsa/Pelop.).- I 6/Abb. 14= A. 112/ Taf. 17 (Lachanokastro).- A. 102/Taf. 15 [?] (Kallithea).- A. 111/Taf. 16 (Palaiopyrgos). „SH III": D 18 [?]/Abb. 4 (Bikiorema).- D 20/Abb. 5 („Epiros").- F 4/Abb. 7= A. 49/Taf. 9 (Pilion/Euböa).- F 28/Taf. 4 (Fundort ?).- A. 122, 124/Taf. 18 (Thermon/Ätolien).- G 24/Abb. 10 (Delphi/Phokis).- A. 47/Taf. 8 (Fundort ?).- A. 126 [?]/ Taf. 18 (Argos/Pelop.).- K 17/Abb. 15= A. 152/Taf. 20 (Paramythia/Epiros).- K 19/Abb. 15= A. 151/Taf. 20 (Pesta/Epiros).- G 25/Abb. 10= A. 999/Taf. 48; A. 997-998 (Delphi). *Ostägäis*, SH III A: E 11/Abb. 6 (Langada/Kos).- F 15/Abb. 8; F 16/Abb. 8= A. 61/Taf. 10; G 15/Abb. 10 (Ialysos/Rhodos).- F 20/Abb. 8 (Karpathos).- H 27/Abb. 13 (Karpathos). SH III B: H 22-23/Abb. 13 (Ialysos).- F 22/Abb. 8= A. 62A/Taf. 11; H 26/Abb. 13 (Kos). SH III C: H 13/Abb. 12= A. 868/Taf. 33 (Kos). „SH III": D 29/Abb. 5= A. 104/Taf. 16 (Siana), mit breitem Blatt.

[12] Bis SM I: F 10/Abb. 7= A. 53/Taf. 9 (Gournia).- G 3/Abb. 9 (Mochlos).- G 29/Abb. 10 („Kreta"). SM II: C 14/Abb. 3= A. 877/Taf. 34; E 4/Abb. 6; G 19/Abb. 10 (Knossos).- D 50/Taf. 3 (Agia Triada).- F 14/Abb. 8= A. 52/Taf. 9 („Kreta").

[13] SM II: D 33/Abb. 5= A. 67/Taf. 11 (Knossos). SM III A: H 19/Abb. 13= A. 867/Taf. 33 (Knossos). *Ostägäis*, SH III A: H 24/Abb. 13= A. 862/Taf. 32 (Ialysos).- A. 873/Taf. 34 (Karpathos). *Festland*, SH II A: D 31/Abb. 5= A. 26/Taf. 4 (Vapheio). SH III C: A. 107/Taf. 16 (Kallithea). „SH III": D 32/Abb. 5= A. 106/Taf. 16 (Lithovouni).- G 24/Abb. 10 (Delphi).

zeichnet Lanzenspitzen der Gruppe D aus Südgriechenland in SM/SH II-III A.[14] Mehrere Belege stammen aus Knossos, und die Dominanz Kretas wird noch deutlicher, wenn weiche Schneidenansätze auch an anderen Lanzentypen erfasst werden.[15] Im selben Sinne liegt, dass Nr. 2 keine Mittelrippe aufweist, sondern einen sechseckigen Querschnitt (Form g; Anm. 4). Von sechs ägäischen Parallelen[16] stammen vier aus dem SM II-zeitlichen Knossos und nur eine nicht von Kreta: Nr. 2 kann wie Nr. 1 als kretisches Produkt gelten.

Die dritte Lanzenspitze aus Gruppe D (Dolno Levski: Nr. 3; Abb. 1,3) steht im Umriss Nr. 2 nahe; die Tülle ist aber kürzer. Andere Unterschiede wiegen schwerer. So ist die Mittelrippe an den Kanten gerundet wie bei der seltenen ägäischen Form f.[17] Vermutlich ahmt die Rippenform von Nr. 3 aber lediglich Form d (vgl. Nr. 1) ungenau nach. - Eine Bogenrille unter der Rippe lässt sich mit der Ägäis verbinden.[18]

Die Abgrenzung der Schneiden von einem davor liegenden Streifen „Blattoberfläche" durch deutliche Stufen ist der Ägäis fremd und konzentriert sich auf späte kontinentale Speerspitzen; ihre Verbreitung reicht bis Kreta.[19] Eine Besonderheit von Nr. 3 differenziert dieses Bild: nahe der Tülle ist die Kante zwischen der Rippe und dem schmalen Streifen „Blattoberfläche" eingetieft, so dass der Streifen zur kantigen Rippe wird. Ähnliches sieht man an dem kontinental beeinflussten peloponnesischen Fundstück K 26 (Mitopolis; SH III C), auf dessen Blattflächen feine Zierrippen die Mittelrippe begleiten. Das Ornament setzt Vorstufen voraus, die man sich ähnlich wie an der Lanzenspitze von Dolno Levski (Nr. 3) vorstellen kann.

Diese Details nähern Nr. 3 kontinentalen Formen an, die in Griechenland kaum vor SH III C fassbar werden. In dieselbe Richtung weisen die Scharten in den Schneiden des bulgarischen Fundstücks. Sie kehren in SH III C an Lanzenspitzen der kontinentalen Typen *Pazhok* und *SB* wieder.[20] Einige Scharten an Nr. 3 sind so tief, dass sie auf Hiebschwerter zurückgehen können: eine Waffe, die in Bulgarien erst in der Spätbronzezeit nachweisbar wird.[21] Die Rapiere der mittleren Bronzezeit eigneten sich kaum zum Gefecht gegen die neuartige Waffe. Es scheint, dass urthrakische Krieger versucht haben, die gefährlichen Hiebschwerter mit der Lanze zu parieren.

Die Fundstücke von Kričim (Nr. 4) und Lesura (Nr. 5) wurden schon als ägäische Bajonettlanzen der Gruppe H identifiziert. Angesichts ihrer extremen Länge und der sehr schlanken Blattform, mit unmerklicher Einmündung der Schneiden in die Tülle, ist dafür eine besondere Kampfweise anzunehmen. Diese Merkmale machen sie zum Durchstoßen von Metallpanzern vom fahrenden Streitwagen aus optimal

[14] *Kreta*, SM II: D 12-13/Abb. 4= A. 878, 877/Taf. 34; D 33/Abb. 5= A. 67/Taf. (Knossos); Tülle kanneliert. „SM III": D 46/Abb. 5 („Kreta"). *Ostägäis*, SH II (?): D 7/Taf. 1= A. 36/Taf. 5 (Skopelos). *Festland*, SH II A: D 11/Abb. 4= A. 31/Taf. 5; D 31/Abb. 5= A. 26/Taf. 4 (Vapheio).- D 30/Abb. 5= A. 65/Taf. 11 (Prosymna). SH III A: D 15/Abb. 4= A. 69/Taf. 11 (Dendra).- D 40/Abb. 5= A. 29/Taf. 4 (Iolkos/Thessalien). SH III B: D 34/Abb. 5= A. 96/Taf. 15 (Eleusis/Attika). „SH III": D 17/Abb. 4 (Theben).

[15] *Kreta*, SM II: E 4/Abb. 6 (Knossos). SM III B: E 5/Abb. 6 (Stamnia). SM III (?): E 6/Abb. 6 („Kreta"). *Festland*, SH III A: D 4= A. 27/Taf. 4 (Mykene).- A. 28/Taf. 4 (Iolkos). SH III C: A. 111/Taf. 16 (Palaiopyrgos). „SH III": E 2/Abb. 6= A. 146/Taf. 19 (Tanagra/Böotien). „Mykenisch": E 1/Abb. 6 (Heiligtum des Apollon Malcatas/Pelop.). - Dieses Merkmal ist ferner spezifisch für Gruppe H (s. unten).

[16] *Kreta*, SM II: C 13/Abb. 3; D 12-13/Abb. 4= A. 878, 877/Taf. 34; H 7/Abb. 12= A. 876/Taf. 34 (Knossos). SM III C: H 10/Abb. 12 (Diktäische Grotte). *Ostägäis*, SH III A: F 17 [?]/Abb. 8= A. 56/Taf. 10 (Ialysos).

[17] *Kreta*, SM III A: D 52/Taf. 3 (Smari). *Ostägäis*, SH III B: G 16/Abb. 10 (Ialysos). „SH III": C 16, 19/Abb. 3= A. 161B,C/Taf. 21. *Festland*, SH III C: D 44/Abb. 6 (Perati/Attika).

[18] *Kreta*, MM ?: G 29/Abb. 10= A. 879 [?]/Taf. 34 („Kreta"). SM II: F 2/Abb. 7= A. 51/Taf. 9; F 11/Abb. 7= A. 55/Taf. 10; H 3/Abb. 11= A. 43/Taf. 7 (Knossos).- F 14/Abb. 8= A. 52/Taf. 9 („Chersonnes"). *Festland*, „SH II oder III": D 42/Abb. 6= A. 68/Taf. 11 (Prosymna). SH III A: D 38-39= A. 44-45/Taf. 8 (Traganes/ Pelop.). SH III A (?): F 1/Abb. 3= A. 48/Taf. 8 (Pylos).- A. 50/Taf. 9 (Tegea/Pelop.). SH III B: D 41/Abb. 5= A. 144/Taf. 19 (Mazaraki/Epiros).

[19] *Kreta*, SM III C: K 24/Taf. 6; K 28/Abb. 13 („Kreta"). *Ostägäis*, SH III B/C: K 25/Abb. 15= A. 129/Taf. 18 (Kos). *Festland*, SH III B/C: K 22/Abb. 15= A. 130/Taf. 18 (Kierion/Thessal.). Der kontinentale Ursprung solcher Schneidenbildungen wird z.B. an Lanzenspitzen des Typs *Pazhok* deutlich (Harding 1972, 218; Harding 1973, 141; Höckmann 1980, 52). - Verwandt: G 26/Abb. 10= A. 133/Taf. 18 (Lamia).- A. 134/Taf. 18 (Fundort ?).

[20] Hänsel 1970, 28; Höckmann 1980, 53 f., 121; Avila 1983, 56.

[21] Hänsel 1970, 33 ff; Ivanov 1977, Abb. 2 (Balkanski); Harding 1984, 162 ff; Bouzek 1985, 123 ff.

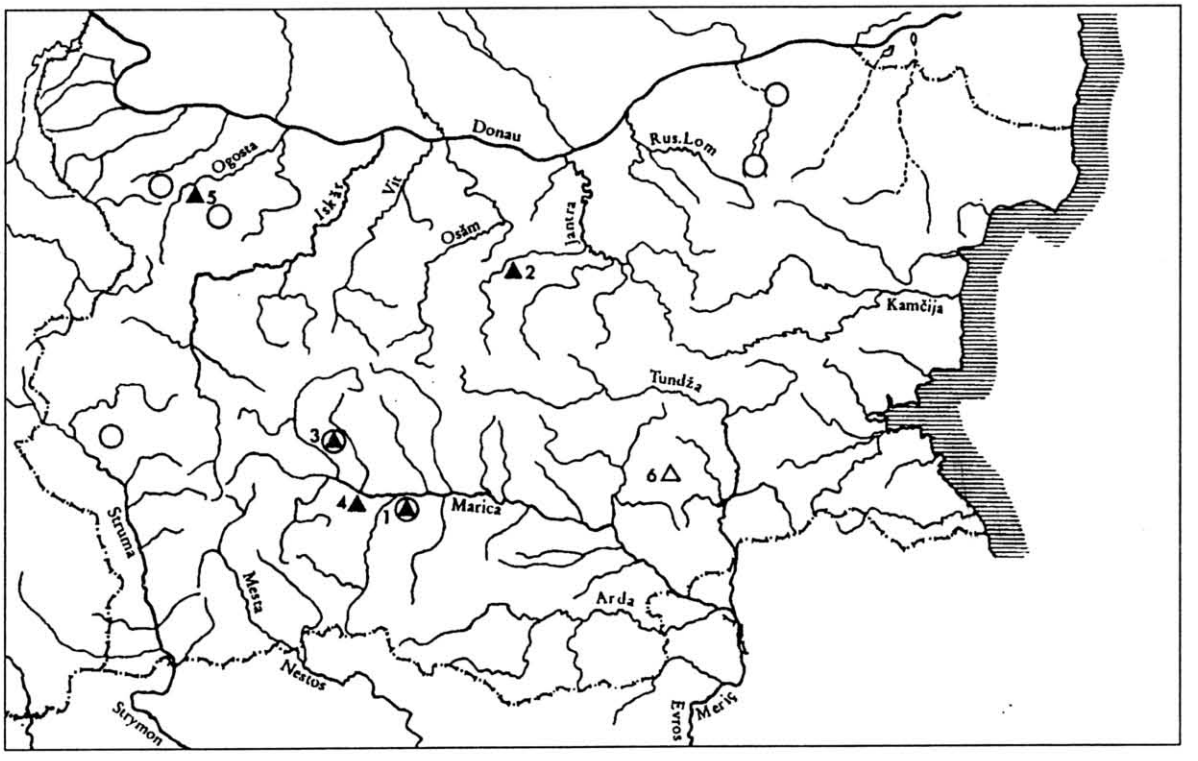



*Abb. 2. Verbreitung von Rapieren (Kreise) und Lanzenspitzen (Dreiecke) ägäischer Art aus Bulgarien. Nummern: vgl. Abb. 1.*

*Distribution of rapiers (circles and spearheads (triangles) of Aegean character in Bulgaria. Numbers: cf. Fig. 1.*

geeignet. Durch Homer sowie durch Bild- und Schriftquellen ist gesichert, dass in der ostmediterranen Spätbronzezeit vom Wagen aus mit Lanzen gekämpft worden ist.[22]

Die Lanzenspitze von Kričim (Nr. 4) entspricht, wie schon Sandars bemerkte, kretischen „Bajonetten" aus SM II - III A. Ihre Blattform hat in Knossos eine Entsprechung (H 3), während Parallelen auf dem Festland und in der Ostägäis fehlen. Auch Zylindertüllen waren derzeit in Kreta verbreitet (s. oben), und der sechseckige Querschnitt begegnet fast nur dort (Anm. 17). Ein weiteres Argument für engste Beziehungen zu Kreta ist die Länge von 0,5 m.[23]

Das „Bajonett" aus Lesura (Nr. 5; Abb. 1,5) unterscheidet sich von Nr. 4 schon durch die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Hort. Bronzen wie die Speerspitze vom Typ *SB* (Anm. 5) zeigen, dass dieses Ensemble zu einer Zeit vergraben wurde, als Bajonettlanzen in der Ägäis keine Rolle mehr spielten.

Nr. 5 hat ähnliche Form wie Nr. 4, kaum breiter. Vergleichbare Umrisse begegnen in SM II in Knossos und (später) in Rhodos.[24] Die Kürze der Tülle hat nur in Knossos und Athen Parallelen.[25] Ihre konische Form hat an Bajonettlanzen die beste Entsprechung in Knossos (H 6). Auch Manschetten am Tüllenrand begegnen bei Bajonettlanzen nur in Knossos und Athen.[26]

Dies, und die große Länge des Stückes,

[22] Ilias V, 25 ff.; 163 ff.; 261 ff.; 319 ff.; X, 470 ff.; 545 ff.; 564 ff.; Odyssee 5, 49. - Zu Streitwagen und Lanzen (z.B.): Höckmann 1980, 43; 58 ff.; 62; 64; 103.- Höckmann 1980a, E 283 ff; Bouzek 1985, 52 f; Kopcke 1990, M 41.

[23] Vgl. *Kreta*, SM II: H 6/Abb. 11.- H 20-21/Abb. 13= A. 865-866/Taf. 33.- H 21/Abb. 13= A. 866/Taf. 33. „SM III oder später" (SM II ?): H 11/Abb. 12= A. 35/Taf. 5 (Axos). Dazu Höckmann 1980, 182 f.; Tab. 11.

[24] *Kreta*, SM II: H 3/Abb. 11= A. 43/Taf. 7; H 20-21/Abb. 13= A. 866, 865/Taf. 33 (Knossos). *Ostägäis*, SH III A: H 24/Abb. 13 (Ialysos). SH III B: H 22 [?]/Abb. 13= A. 863/Taf. 32 (Ialysos). „SH III": H 23/Abb. 13= A. 863/Taf. 32 (Ialysos).

[25] *Kreta*, SM II: H 3/Abb. 11= A. 43/Taf. 7; H 20/Abb. 13= A. 865/Taf. 33 (Knossos). *Festland*, SH III A: H 1/Abb. 11= A. 42/Taf. 7 (Athen).

[26] *Kreta*, SM II: H 20/Abb. 13= A. 865/Taf. 33 (Knossos). SM III A: H 4/Abb. 11= A. 41/Taf. 7; H 19/Abb. 13= A. 867/Taf. 33 (Knossos). *Festland*, SH III A: H 1/Abb. 11= A. 42/Taf. 7 (Athen).

könnte kretische Herkunft erwägen lassen. Damit lässt sich die Form der Mittelrippe aber nicht vereinbaren. Sie hat auf 2/3 der Länge dachförmigen Querschnitt, der im Süden fast nur in SH I bezeugt ist.[27] Dann endet der kantige Grat; im letzten Drittel hat die Rippe halbkreis- oder wulstartigen Querschnitt (Anm. 4: Form b bzw. e). Dass eine Mittelrippe nicht in ganzer Länge denselben Querschnitt aufweist, ist aus der Ägäis nicht bekannt.

Dies zeigt, dass Nr. 5 von einem einheimischen Waffenschmied hergestellt worden ist. Er kannte kretische Waffen wie Nr. 4, wich aber in Einzelheiten von diesen Vorbildern ab.

Sandars, die schon Verbindungen mit Kreta sieht, erwägt dafür zwei Erklärungsmodelle.[28] Im ersten Fall könnten thrakische Söldner kretische Waffen in ihre Heimat mitgenommen haben, wenn sie nach dem Ende ihres Dienstes in Kreta nach Thrakien heimkehrten. - Die Existenz fremdländischer Söldner im palastzeitlichen Kreta ist durch das Fresko des „Captain of the Black" in Knossos erwiesen.[29] Wenn, gewiss mit ägyptischer Hilfe, Nubier in Dienst genommen werden konnten, bereitet die Annahme keine Schwierigkeiten, dass auch Krieger aus dem vergleichsweise leichter zu erreichenden Thrakien angeworben worden sind.

Sandars' zweites Modell erwägt, dass kretische Waffenschmiede nach dem Ende der Palastkultur ihr Heil in fernen Ländern gesucht haben könnten. Dort hätten ihre eigenen Produkte, oder die ihrer einheimischen Lehrlinge, allmählich einen Charakter angenommen, der von den kretischen Ausgangsformen abwich.

Beide Modelle sind ebenso attraktiv wie unbewiesen. Es muss berücksichtigt werden, dass die Bajonettlanzen (Nr. 4-5) für eine Taktik des Kampfs vom fahrenden Wagen aus spezialisiert sind, die im Nahen Osten, und auch in Kreta und Mykene, gängig war, doch bisher nicht für das bronzezeitliche Thrakien erwiesen ist. Dies liegt eher im Sinne von Sandars' erster Hypothese.

Es ließe sich noch ein weiteres Erklärungsmodell erwägen. - Betrachtet man die Verbreitung ägäischer Waffen in Bulgarien (Abb. 2), so zeichnet sich an den Garnituren aus Rapieren und ägäischen Lanzen (Peruštica und Dolno Levski; unfern die Wagenlanze von Kričim) eine Bindung an die Marica ab, die einen Weg von der Ägäis in den Kontinent anbietet. Er setzt sich zunächst zu Lande und dann entlang der Osam oder der Jantra fort.[30] Dort liegt Krasno Gradište. Es zeigt sich, dass alle *originalkretischen Lanzenspitzen* entlang dieser Route gefunden worden sind. Demgegenüber sind alle lokal-imitierten *Rapiere* (mit einer Ausnahme aus dem Struma-Gebiet) unabhängig von den Transitwegen zur Ägäis verteilt.

Dieser Befund deutet für SM II - III A Interesse Kretas am Marica-Weg an.[31] Zu dieser Zeit geriet Kretas Metallversorgung in eine Krise.[32]

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[27] *Festland*, SH I: C 1/Abb. 2= A. 13/Taf. 2; C 2/Abb. 2= A. 12/Taf. 2; C 3/Abb. 2= A. 9/Taf. 1; C 4/Abb. 2= A. 14/Taf. 2; C 5/Abb. 2= A. 16/Taf. 3; C 6/Abb. 2= A. 11/Taf. 2; C 7/Abb. 2= A. 8/Taf. 1; A. 15/Taf. 3 [Grab D] (Mykene). SH II A: D 31/Abb. 5= A. 26/Taf. 4 (Vapheio). SH III A: D 35= A. 27/Taf. 4 (Mykene). Wohl SH III B/C: Höckmann 1980, 119, Abb. 18.4= A. 139/Taf. 19 (Gribiani); Höckmann 1980, Abb. 18.10= A. 147/Taf. 19 [?] (Gardiki); Höckmann 1980, Abb. 18.11= A. 149/Taf. 19 (Konitsa) [alle Typ *SB*; Epiros]. *Ostägäis*, SH II [?]: D 7/Taf. 1= A. 36/Taf. 5 (Skopelos).

[28] Sandars 1963, 125. Demgegenüber für friedliche Handelskontakte: Harding 1984, 241; Bouzek 1985, 21.

[29] Evans 1928, Farbtaf. XIII.

[30] Gaul 1948, 4 ff. mit Map 1.

[31] Vgl. das ägäische Rapier von Tetovo am Axios/Vardar (Sandars 1963, 120; Bouzek 1985, 214) als Hinweis auf Interesse an diesem Weg in den Kontinent (skeptisch aber: Hiller 1984, 18); Beachtung verdient, dass R. Galovic in Isar Kale bei Skopje SH III B-Scherben fand (jetzt in der Sammlung des Seminars für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Münster/Westf. Ich danke Galovic herzlich für die Übereignung der Fundstücke). Noch klarer zeigt sich die Bedeutung des Axios/Vardar-Wegs an Keramik aus MH und SH in Kastanas, nahe seiner Mündung in den Thermaischen Golf (Hochstetter 1982, 100; 102; 114); Harding 1984, 238; Smit 1989, 176; Kopcke 1990, M 69; M 72 [„mykenisches Emporion"; Hänsel 1982, 200 konstatiert nur, dass sich zur Zeit des massenhaften Erscheinens von SH III B-Keramik in Kastanas der Haustyp ändert]). Es scheint, dass dieser Weg in den Kontinent den Festlandsgriechen seit MH vertraut war. Die Kreter scheinen diese mykenische Interessensphäre östlich umgangen zu haben, indem sie die Marica als Weg in den Kontinent erschlossen. Hierfür spricht auch die u.U. frühe kretische Speerspitze K 31/Abb. 15 von Maroneia an der Küste des östlichen Makedonien.

[32] Knapp 1990, 122; Dies wäre eine Wiederholung der Krise in der Zinnversorgung, als Hammurabi um 1785 v.Chr. Mari eroberte (Strøm 1980, bes. 116 f.). Strøm (für SM/SH auch Harding 1984, 56) vermutet, Kreta hätte daraufhin durch mykenischen Zwischenhandel böhmisches Zinn bezogen. Übersicht: Kopcke 1990, M 42.

Es erscheint denkbar, dass ein Zusammenhang besteht. Dann wäre zu erwägen, dass kretische Herrscher die Marica-Route durch Geschenke an lokale Fürsten gesichert hätten: eine merkantile Politik, wie sie z.B. H. Kyrieleis und G. Kopcke für das frühe 1. Jt.v.Chr. annehmen.[33] Mir scheint, dass Handelsinteressen der Kreter dazu beigetragen haben könnten, dass Thrakien sich ägäischen Importen und Einflüssen geöffnet hat.[34]

Minyer und Mykener hatten schon früher den Axios- (Vardar-) Weg erschlossen (Anm. 31). Eventuell wollten die Kreter diese „mykenische Interessensphäre" östlich umgehen, als sie zur Marica segelten. Kupferbarren ägäischer Form im Meer vor der bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste deuten die Möglichkeit an, dass sie auch in den Pontos reisten.[35] Die Rolle Kretas bei der „Ägäisierung" Thrakiens, wie sie Sandars und Samsaris annehmen, erscheint glaubhaft.

In welchem Maße auch die Mykener den Seeweg in der Ägäis genutzt haben, ist noch nicht recht zu beurteilen.[36] Mykenische Keramik und Hausarchitektur an der Axios- (Vardar-) Mündung (Anm. 31) sprechen aber für Seeverkehr.

Lassen sich ägäische Lanzenspitzen als Fürstengeschenke auch nördlich von Bulgarien nachweisen ? Ich betrachte nur Bajonettlanzen, da sie sich unmittelbar auf die Streitwagentaktik der ägäischen Herrenschicht beziehen.

Formal ähnliche Lanzenspitzen liegen aus Ungarn und Österreich vor. In Nordwest-Ungarn scheint sich für ein intaktes Exemplar aus dem Depotfund von Sághegy die Herkunft aus der Ägäis erwägen zu lassen.[36] Dafür könnte seine schlanke Form sprechen, die von den gedrungenen einheimischen Formen extrem abweicht. Eine ringartige Verstärkung des Tüllenrandes hätte Entsprechungen an Bajonetten meist von Knossos.[37] Auch für die nicht geschlitzte Tülle ließen sich Parallelen im Süden nennen.[38]

Dennoch kann die Lanzenspitze aus Sághegy nicht als ägäisches Original aus SM II-IIIA gelten. Dagegen spricht nur die überschlanke Form des Blatts ohne Verbreiterung im oberen Drittel,[39] sondern entscheidend die älterurnenfelderzeitliche Datierung (Ha A) des Depots von Sághegy,[40] erheblich später als SM II-IIIA. Eine direkte Verbindung mit der Palastzeit von Knossos oder auch der bulgarischen Fundgruppe ist nicht möglich.

Eine weitere Lanzenspitze von scheinbar ägäischer Form gehört zu dem Hort von Mezökövesd in Nordost-Ungarn.[41] Die größte Breite des Blatts im vorderen Drittel der Gesantlänge entspricht einem Exemplar von Knossos.[42] Der schräge Ab-

[33] Kyrieleis 1988, 57; Kopcke 1990, M 28, M 53, M 124 (zu Odyssee 7, 470 f.; 23, 741 ff.); Kopcke 1992, 109. Undeutlich formuliert nimmt wohl auch Melas 1988, 57 kretische Waffengeschenke an, zieht aber keine klare Grenze zur modischen Imitation bewunderter kretischer Vorbilder (p. 59: „Versailles-Effekt"). Die Vorbilder müssten aber auf irgendeine Weise bekannt gewesen sein, um imitiert werden zu können. Woudhuizen 1989, 201 rechnet konkret mit Geschenken auf Fürstenebene, doch (nur?) in Form von Kannen voll Olivenöl. Seine These stützt sich auf „Widmungen" in Linear B-Schrift sowie auf naturwissenschaftliche Herkunftsbestimmungen signierter Gefäße aus Mittelgriechenland, die diese als Geschenke des „mykenischen" Königs von Knossos (SM II [- III A]) ausweisen. Unter den Adressaten befinden sich auch *thrakische* Herrscher in dieser Landschaft. Demgegenüber meint Morris 1992, XVI aufgrund von Schriftquellen zum *archaischen* Griechenland, Ausländer hätten ihre Geschenke nicht an lokale Fürsten, sondern an die dortigen Heiligtümer gerichtet. Es gibt keine Quellen dazu, ob *thrakische* Heiligtümer der Bronzezeit Einfluss auf Politik und Handelsgeschäfte hatten: *Fürsten* als Adressaten für Geschenke erscheinen glaubhafter (so auch Matthäus 1989, 89; 91; 96; Samsaris 1989, 173). Hierfür spricht auch die Herkunft der kretischen Waffen von Perušticа und Dolno Levski aus Gräbern.

[34] Zur „Ägäisierung" Thrakiens (z.B.): Hänsel 1977, bes. 89; Hiller 1984; Bouzek 1985, 81, 213 f.; Vulpe 1986; Katinčarov 1989; Samsaris 1989; Fol 1989/90.

[35] Karajotov 1978; Fol 1979, 120; Panajotov 1980, 177 f.; Tonceva 1982, 179; Harding 1984, 49; 52; Bouzek 1985, 90; Velkov 1986, 287; Porozanov 1990, 288.

[36] Vasenbilder aus SH III C von Kynos/Livanates (Dakoroneia 1990) deuten Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen dem spätmykenischen und dem thrakischen Schiffbau in der Nordägäis an (Höckmann 1999). Dies lässt Kontakte zur See vermuten (für mykenischen Seeverkehr zum Axios auch: Harding 1984, 241). Bronzezeitliche Wrack- oder Ankerfunde in der Nordägäis sind noch nicht bekannt.

[36] Patek 1968, Taf. 33,3.

[37] H 4/Abb. 11= A. 41/Taf. 7; H 8/Abb. 12; H 9/Abb. 12= A. 870/Taf. 33; H 21/Abb. 13= A. 866/Taf. 33 (Knossos); H 27/Abb. 13 (Pegadia).

[38] H 1/Abb. 11= A. 42/Taf. 7 (Athen).- H 2[?]/Abb. 11= A. 1055/Taf. 52 (Delphi).- H 3/Abb. 11= A. 43/Taf. 7; H 6/Abb. 11; H 8/Abb. 12; H 9/Abb. 12= A. 870/Taf. 33 (Knossos).- H 22-23/Abb. 13= A. 862-863/Taf. 32 (Ialysos).- H 27[?]/Abb. 13 (Pegadia).

[39] Ähnlich nur: H 1 (Anm. 38).

[40] Patek 1968, 36.

[41] Kemenczei 1984, Taf. CXXII.14.

[42] H 19/Abb. 13= A. 867/Taf. 33.

schluss der Schneiden ließe sich etwa an einem Bajonett aus Athen (Anm. 38) erkennen, und die Mittelrippe vertritt die ägäische Form e.[43] Wie im vorigen Fall entspricht die Datierung in Ha A1 aber nicht der Palastzeit in Knossos, sondern erst SM IIIC1. Dasselbe gilt für ein überschlankes Blattfragment von Csabrendek[44] und ein fragmentiertes Fundstück von Csákberény.[45]

In Österreich ist eine Lanzenspitze vom Pass Luftenstein (Salzburg)[46] der Lanze von Mezökövesd (Anm. 41) so ähnlich, dass dieselben Bedingungen vorauszusetzen sind wie dort.

Die einzige mir bekannte original ägäische Lanzenspitze im Norden, allerdings kein Bajonett sondern ein Vertreter der Variante F IV[47], wurde wahrscheinlich auf der Insel Föhr in Nordfriesland gefunden.[48] Sie kann nur als exotischer „statistischer Ausreißer" gelten, nicht als gezieltes ägäisches Fürstengeschenk.

Fassen wir zusammen. Die Lanzenspitzen von Peruštica (Nr. 1), Krasno Gradište (Nr. 2) und Kričim (Nr. 4) sind wahrscheinlich in Kreta hergestellt worden, während jene von Dolno Levski (Nr. 3) und Lesura (Nr. 5) wohl in Thrakien entstanden sind. Beide stammen aus einer Zeit, aus der kein „Import" ägäischer Originale bekannt sind. Das archäologische Bild dieser Zeit ist durch das Erscheinen der Coslogeni - Noua - Kultur und der Griffzungenschwerter bestimmt.

Es ließen sich keine Lanzenspitzen als ägäische Geschenke nördlich von Bulgarien nachweisen. Dies bestärkt den Verdacht, dass die bulgarischen Funde mit der Absicht kretischer Fürsten zusammenhängen, die Marica als Flussweg in den Kontinent zu erschließen.

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[43] Höckmann 1980, 90 ff. mit 77 Abb. 16.
[44] Patek 1968, Taf. 59 ohne Nr.
[45] Ebd. Taf. 68,2.
[46] Museum in Trümmern 32 Abb. 25.
[47] Höckmann 1980, 40, 44 mit Abb. 8.
[48] Schauer 1985, 153, 157 f.; Ich danke K. Goldmann, mir das Stück 1982 zugänglich gemacht zu haben.

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# Bronze Age Materials From Bagacina (North-West Bulgaria)

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*Стефан Александров*

*Материали от бронзовата епоха от Багачина (Северозападна България)*

*В статията са представени материали от бронзовата епоха от разкопките на А. Бонев[†] и Г. Александров[†] на обект "Багачина", с. Сталийска махала, област Монтана. Материалите се отнасят към културите Коцофени, фаза III, Глина IV и Вербичоара IV.*

The site is located near the village of Staliiska mahala (present day district of Montana, Northwest Bulgaria) on a hill called "Bagacina" that rises approximately 40 m above the first terrace of river Lom. The top of the hill itself has a 4 m declination (Northwest–Southeast) and covers an area of approximately 500 m$^2$. The excavations have taken place during 1981–1991 under the direction of Dr. Alexander Bonev and Dr. Georgi Alexandrov. The results have been published in two articles and a monograph. According to them the stratigraphy of the site is as follows: a Late Enaeolithic settlement with four layers, sporadic materials from the "transitional period to the Bronze Age", Bronze Age (3rd – 2nd mill. BC) and 1st millennium BC materials. The 3rd–1st millennia materials were published as coming from ritual pits which is the reason for the authors to argue about the existence at Bagacina of a Thracian cult "pit" center during those millennia (Бонев/Александров 1986; 1993; 1996). Since the topic of the monograph was the Thracian cult center from the 1st mill. BC the prehistoric layers and materials were published in general only. That is why here I shall present the Bronze Age materials which, I hope, could be a small contribution to the better understanding of the nature of this important site.*

**The materials**

1. Early Bronze Age[1] - 2

A. Bowls

1. Hemispherical bowls:

a) the rim is thickened from the inside (Pl. II/1).

2. Bowls with elongated body:

a) the rim is thickened from the inside (Pl. I/1-2; II/2-7).

b) the rim is everted forming a short border and obliquely cut from the inside (Pl.II/8).

Bowls of types 1 and 2 have two pairs of three vertical relief bands starting from the rim and ending with a relief application at the body or just two applications on the body. The applications probably served as handles. All the bowls are decorated with incised lines: beneath the rim the so-called "fish bone" motif is disposed; sometimes from the "fish bone" band two or four vertical scratched bands come (Pl. I; II)

B. Cups

There is a complete cup and fragments from another two, all of them hemispherical body, short funnel-like neck and a tall looped-handle. All the cups are decorated with incised lines, one of them having "*linsen*" decoration as well (Pl. III.4-6). Handles from Pl. V.2, 5, 8 come from the same cups as well.

C. Askoi

There is a complete askoi and fragments from another one. The complete vessel is decorated with incised lines forming a zigzag band while the second one is decorated with hanging triangles made of dots (Pl. III.1, 2).

* The materials with secure cultural or chronological characterization will be presented.

[1] In the article the Bulgarian periodization of the Bronze Age is used (Alexandrov 1995).

D. Amphorae

There is a complete amphora and fragments from another two. The complete vessel is decorated with incised lines forming the so-called fir branches motif while the two others are decorated with vertical lines made with imprints (Pl. III.3, 7, 8). It is not excluded handles from Pl. V.3, 6, 9-11 to come from amphorae as well.

E. Big Jugs

The height of these vessels is around 1.0 m. The shape itself is with spherical body, tall cone-like neck and inverted to the outside rim forming a big border. The handle connects the maximum diameter of the body to the rim rising highly above it. The decoration patterns are disposed on the rim, on the body and on the handle. The technique used is incisions forming triangles in some cases marked with "*linsen*" ornament (Pl. IV).

F. Vessels For Liquids

Some rims discovered could have come from such vessels. All the fragments are decorated with incised lines or *linsen* ornaments (Pl. V.1, 4).

In spite of the already described decorative techniques and motifs I would like to mention some others specific for the site. Apart from the decoration with vertical lines made with imprints (Pl. III.3, 7, 8) this would be the vertical incised lines the space between them being filled with dots, scratches of stamped triangles (Pl. V.7, 9, 11).

Model of wheel (?) or a spindle-whorl (?) attracted my attention as well. It is made of clay; the surface is burnished dark brown in color. The decoration is fascinating made with imprinting a cord into the soft clay. At one of the sides of the spindle-whorl there is a rosette with seven leaves; the opposite side being decorated with curved lines making a circled band in the middle of which a representation of an eye is to be seen. The narrow part is also decorated (Pl. XII.8). I am inclined to assign the find to the EBA–2 thanks to the consideration that corded decoration was very rare in the periods following EBA-2.

2. Early Bronze Age–3

A. Bowls

1. Hemispherical bowls:

a) the rim is thickened from the inside (Pl. VII.1, 2);

b) the rim is everted forming a "border" (Pl. VIII.4, 8);

c) the rim is with a "T"–profile (Pl. VIII.12).

Most of the bowls of types A1b-c had short, symmetrically disposed vertical handles connecting rim to the body (Pl. VII.3-5).

2. Hemispherical bowls with inverted rims:

a) the rim is rounded; according to the handle three variants are presented:

a1) with a short vertical handle rising slightly above the rim (Pl. IX.2, 5). Most of the bowls of this variant had relief applications rising from the rim. Probably there were 3 of them (disposed symmetrically opposite and on both sides to the handle (Pl. VIII.2, 3, 9-11). The forth application is the place where the upper part of the handle starts (Pl. VIII.7);

a2) with a horizontal tunnel lugs (Pl. IX.3, 4, 6-8);

a3) with pseudo-horizontal tunnel lugs (pl. IX.9).

b) the rim is with a "T"- profile (Pl. VIII.1). Most of the bowls of this variant had two or four short, symmetrically disposed vertical handles connecting rim to the body (Pl. VII.6, 7).

Most of the bowls of type 1b-c and 2b have been decorated with incised lines and dots filled with white paste. The decoration is placed on the rim. The motifs are geometric in shape – hanging triangles, rectangles, oblique lines etc (Pl. VII.1, 4, 8, 12). The applications on the rims of bowls type 2a1 have also been decorated in the same manner and shape (Pl. VIII.3, 9, 11).

B. Cups

1. Two handle cups with an elongated "S"-profile of the so-called Bubanj-Hum III or "Vecina Mala" types. The handles connect body to the rim rising slightly above it. None of the cups is decorated (Pl. X.4, 7).

2. Base pointed cups with one handle of the so-called Junacite type. None of the cups is decorated (Pl. X.1-3, 5, 6).

C. Jugs

There is only one jug from the site. It has a pear-like body with an everted and obliquely

cut rim. The handle, decorated with a vertical relief band, connects the body to the neck (Pl. X.8).

D. Pots

There are no complete pots so the description of the shapes is not possible. However, there is a distinguished shape of a pot with two short vertical handles. According to their disposal three variants are seen:

1. The handles connect the neck to the rim not rising above it (Pl. XI.1);

2. The handles connect the neck to the rim not rising slightly above it (Pl. XI.2);

3. The handles are disposed at the neck (Pl. XI.4, 5).

E. Urn-like Vessels

There is only one fragment, which could be assigned to that shape. It is decorated with a relief band below the rim, which forms a sort of *manchette* (pl. XI.6).

Probably the tunnel lugs from Pl. XII.1-4 belong to the same period as well as the fragment of a stone axe from Pl. XII.7.

A bronze weapon with a missing edge comes from the site as well (Pl. XII.6 = Боневъ/ Александровъ 1996, 26, 118, обр. 47). Unfortunately there is no information for the context of discovering. It could be described both as a dagger or spear-head. Similar daggers have been found in Anatolia and Asia Minor dated to the end of 4th–beginning of the 3rd millennium BC (Müller-Karpe 1995, 274-276, Abb. 14). From the other site the weapon is very similar to the spear-heads of Xa type according to Branigan. Similar spear-heads come, for example, from Troy IIg (Branigan 1974, 163, pl. 10.461). In my opinion, the spear-head from Bagacina should date in EBA-3.

3. Late Bronze Age

Materials from that period are few in number but, however, very characteristic.

A. Kantharoi

This is the basic form from the site. Most of the fragments come from this shape. They are made of well-purified clay with some mica or quartz ingredients. The surface is burnished, often polished, gray or black in color. All the fragments are decorated with incised lines, fine *furchenstich* or combination of both techniques. The lines are filled with white paste (Pl. XIII.2, 3, 5-13). The same decoration techniques are to be met on the handles of the kantharoi as well (Pl. XIII.4; XIV). All the motifs have geometric shape, one of the fragments presenting a highly stylized anthropomorphic (woman?) representation (Pl. XIII.12).

B. Bowls

There is only one fragment that could be assigned to the period in discussion. It comes from a deep hemispherical bowls with curved rim. The rim itself is inverted to the outside forming a short border. There is a decoration of a line of incised triangles on the maximum diameter of the bowl (Pl. XIII.1).

**Chronological and cultural frame**

1. Early Bronze Age – 2

There is no doubt about the cultural definition of the materials from EBA-2. From the very beginning of the excavations they have been assigned to the Coţofeni culture. According to the typology of the Coţofeni pottery in Bulgaria and Romania the bowls with elongated body and everted rim forming a short border thickened from the inside as well (Pl. I.1-2; II.12-7) are included in type IId2 (IId).[2] Bowls with similar shape and obliquely cut from the inside rim (Pl.II.8) are included in type IIb4 (IIb). Hemispherical bowls with thickened from the inside rim (Pl. II.1) belong to type IIf (Alexandrov 1990; Roman 1976, 20, Pl. 15). Cups (Pl. III.4-6) enter type IIIc2b while askoi are included in type XIa1 and XIa2 (Alexandrov 1995, Fig. 4.72; Roman 1976, 21, 23, Pl. 17.9; 29.1-4). Amphorae (Pl. III.3) enter type V, the big jars (Pl. IV) – type X and the vessels for liquids (Pl. V.1-3) – type IX (Alexandrov 1990; Roman 1976, 21, 23, Pl. 23.4; 27; 28). It is clear from the parallels listed above that all the pottery presented in chapter EBA-2 is characteristic for the Coţofeni culture. The presence of this culture

[2] Here, the typology of the Coţofeni pottery for Bulgarian lands will be used (Alexandrov 1990). In brackets the general typology of the pottery proposed by P. Roman is shown.

in Staliiska mahala has been noticed from the very beginning of the excavations. The excavators looked for parallels in Coţofeni settlements such as Gradec and Magura, Vidin district (Йоцова 1988; Джамбазов/Катинчаров 1974) and Rassovo, Montana district[3] dating the materials in EBA (Бонев/Александров 1993, 25; 1996, 22-24). However, a more precise chronological attribution for the pottery is possible.

On both sides of the Danube a southern variant of the Coţofeni culture develops for which the name *Danubian* has been proposed. According to the chronology and periodisation of the Bronze Age accepted in Bulgaria this variant covers phases EBA 1c – EBA 2 (Alexandrov 1995, 256-260). Where is the place of Staliiska mahala materials in this chronological order? Bowls of types IIb4, IId2, and IIf1 are characteristic for Gradec and Magura sites most of all for horizons II-I in both sites (Alexandrov 1990). Those horizons are dated to the phase Coţofeni III (Alexandrov 1995, 262). North of the Danube such forms come from Basarabi and Ostrovul Corbului both sites dating from Coţofeni III (Roman 1976, Pl. 91, 92, 99). The same parallels could be found for cups of type IIIc2b, jugs of type X, amphorae of type V, askoi of type XI as well as vessels for liquids of type IX (Alexandrov 1990; Roman 1976, Pl.95; 99; 100). Considering the parallels listed, a date of the finds in Coţofeni III seems quite logic. Based on the parallels with Gradec II-I and its chronological position I am inclined to believe that Staliiska mahala dates to the end of Coţofeni III that would correspond to EBA 2b-c in Bulgarian chronology and periodisation of the Bronze Age (Alexandrov 1995, 256).

2. Early Bronze Age – 3

2.1. Chronological frame

Hemispherical bowls with thickened from the inside rim (Pl. VII.1,2) have good parallels in Glina settlement from Ostrovul Corbului – "Cliuci" (Roman 1985, fig.1.6, 7). The same is to be said for the bowls (Pl. VII.3-5) with everted rim forming a "border" and a short, symmetrically disposed vertical handles connecting rim to the body (Roman 1985, fig. 1.9, 11). The settlement was dated to the 4th phase of the Glina culture being synchronized to Monteoru Ic4 as well (Roman 1986). Same bowls have been attested in the Central Balkans' EBA site Južac (Jevtić 1997, Pl. XI.2) as well as in the EBA-3 level from Pernik (Alexandrov 1998, fig. 7.1, 2).

Bowls with "T" or closed to it profile of the rim (Pl. VII.5-7; VIII.1, 4-6, 8, 12) find their best parallels, including the incised decoration on the rim, in Bubanj-Hum group from the Central Balkans (Бубањ 1983, cat. Nos. 135, 142; Праисториске 1973, cat. No. 186). The chronological position of these bowls in Bubanj-Hum III has already been discussed (Alexandrov 1998, 225-226). Further south and southeast such bowls come from EBA-3 sites of Okol Glava and Ciukovec – Sofia and Pernik districts (Alexandrov 1998, 225, fig.7.3, 4) as well as from Sitagroi Vb (Renfrew et al. 1986, fig. 13:27. 9, 10, 12). Bowls with a "T" profile appear in Muntenia–Odaia Turcului–"Obere Schicht" (Tudor 1982, Abb. 7.1-5, 7, 16; Bājenaru 2003, Fig. 5). Similar shapes have been attested in Năeni – Zănoaga in levels I-II. It has been noted that their number increases from level I to level II. Both levels have been synchronized with Monteoru IC4-1 (levels IIa-b) and ante-Monteoru IC4 (1) - levels Ia-b respectively (Motzoi-Chicideanu/ Şandor-Chicideanu 2001, 79, fig. 15.4, 9).

Hemispherical bowls with inverted rims, relief applications and a short vertical handle rising slightly above it (Pl. VIII.2, 3, 7, 9-11; IX.2, 5) are also typical for the EBA-3 in the region. The nearest parallel is a complete bowl from Altimir, Vratza district (Николов 1965, 175, обр. 16.г).[4] Further east such shapes come from EBA-3 site Hotnitsa – V. Tarnovo district (Ilcheva 2000, fig. 2.9). Another complete vessel comes from Southwest Bulgaria – Djakovo, associated with cups of Junacite type (Alexandrov 1998, fig. 5.2-4, 7).[5] Bowls with short vertical handles are also known from Ostrovul Corbului–Glina IV settlement (Roman 1998, Abb. 3.5) as well as from the EBA in Central Balkans – Gradina

[3] Unpublished excavations A. Bonev and G. Alexandrov. The materials are in Montana museum now.

[4] The bowl is an accidental find published as coming from a destroyed barrow and dated to the Late Iron Age. However, there are no parallels shown for the vessel in discussion while the other three vessels could possible date to the LIA.

[5] There is a graphic mistake in Alexandrov 1998, fig. 5. The handle under No. 5 comes from Garlo while the cup under No. 4 actually comes from Djakovo.

and Južac sites near Pazarište (Jevtić 1997, Pl. V.4; XII.2). Relief application possibly from the same bowls come from Bubanj-Hum III (Бубањ 1983, cat. Nos. 137-138).[6]

Hemispherical bowls with inverted rim and tunnel or pseudo tunnel lugs on the rim (Pl. IX.3, 4, 6-9). The nearest parallel comes from Lovech – complete vessel associated with a Junacite type base pointed cup (Alexandrov 1998, fig.1.5-7). Close parallels of the bowls with pseudo- tunnel lugs come from Ostrovul Corbului – Glina IV site (Roman 1998, Abb. 3.2). The shape is typical for the EBA in Thrace appearing there from EBA-2 and continuing during EBA-3. It appears in the EBA-2 in Southwest Bulgaria continuing its presence there during EBA-3 as well (Alexandrov 1994). Generally speaking, north of the Danube bowls (different in shape) but with tunnel, or pseudo-tunnel lugs on the rim appear as early as Odaia Turcului - level 4, Năeni-Zănoaga I-II and Monteoru IC4 (Tudor 1982, Abb. 7/4,16; Bâjenaru 2003, Fig.5; Motzoi-Chicideanu/Şandor-Chicideanu 2001, 79, fig. 15.4,6; Zaharia 1987, fig. 15).

One of the most characteristic pottery forms from Staliiska mahala is the base-pointed cup of "Junacite" type (pl. X.1-3, 5, 6). The form itself is not a strange one for Northwest or Central North Bulgaria. The nearest parallel comes from Jakimovo, some 10 km east of Staliiska mahala. Such cups are known from Lovech, Zgalevo, Sadovec and Muselievo (Alexandrov 1999, 223, fig.1, 2). However, the shape is most characteristic for the Northwest Thrace. Majority of the cups known comes from Junacite-tell where they appear from 8th to 1st horizon (Миков 1933, обр. 38; КатинчаровМацанова 1933, 157). 8th to 3rd horizons from tell were dated by $^{14}$C in the period 2570/2530–2360/2330 cal. BC (Boyadziev 1995, 155-157). Such cups appear in Southwest Bulgaria, unfortunately without any stratigraphic data (Alexandrov 1998, Fig. 5) as well as in Velika Humska Čuka, phase Bubanj–Hum III and Pelince near Kumanovo associated with cups of Bubanj-Hum III type (Бубањ 1983, cat. Nos.187-188; Саржоски 1992, 34; Garašanin 1996, 103). A Junacite type cup comes from Sitagroi Vb, feature QO6. The last one is later than the "Long House" and the "Bin Complex" representing the end of the EBA-3 in tell. The EBA-3 there was dated by $^{14}$C between 2100 – 1800 BC, or 2700 – 2200 cal. BC (Renfrew et al. 1986, 173, 185, fig. 13:27.3).

Other characteristic forms are the two handle cups with an elongated "S"-profile of the so-called "Bubanj-Hum III" or "Vecina Mala" types (Pl. X.4, 7). Best analogies are to be found in Southwest Bulgaria – Pernik (Alexandrov 1998, 224, fig. 4), Bubanj-Hum III group and Vecina Mala from Nišava and Morava valleys (Бубањ 1983, cat. Nos.154-164; Стоић, 1986, Сл. 3-12) and, further south in the Armenochori group (Heurtley 1939). From Thrace, similar cups come from the upper horizons in Ezero-tell as well as from Djadovo-tell, horizons I-II dating to the end of the EBA (Лещаков 1997, обр. 4.м, 17.е). Considering the internal division of the EBA-3 in Northwest Bulgaria and Morava valley (Alexandrov 1995, 256; Garašanin 1996, 102-104). I am inclined to assign the Bagacina cups to EBA-3a.

Pots with handles connecting the neck to the rim not rising above it (Pl. XI.1) as well as those with handles disposed at the neck (Pl. XI.4, 5) have been attested in early Vinkovci pits from Golokut (Vojvodina), in Novacka Duprija (Morava valley) and in the Central Balkan EBA sites (Петровић 1996, 9, Табл. 3; Крстић et al. 1986, IX.1, 2; XV.4, 5; Jevtić 1997, IV.2, 4; VIII.1, 3). Pots with two handles connecting the neck to the rim rising slightly above it (Pl. XI.2) have their parallels in Kozlodui (Alexandrov 1998, fig. 2.6), Odaia Turcului (Tudor 1982, Abb. 8.1-3, 6) and Monteoru IC4 (Zaharia 1987, fig. 10). The shape was presented in the EBA Central Balkans as well (Jevtić 1997, VII.1,3).

Considering the above-mentioned parallels I am inclined to date the EBA-3 materials from Bagacina to the phase EBA-3a. This presumption is based mainly on the parallels with the Năeni – Zănoaga and Monteoru IC41 as well as on the lack of the so-called *besenstrich* decoration that marks the end of the EBA in some parts of the Lower Danube.

[6] For the discussion on actual date of these applications see Alexandrov 1998.

2.2. Cultural Interpretation

EBA-3 materials from Bagacina have already been subject to cultural interpretation. The authors of the investigations assigned some of the materials described above to the *"...cultural complex Late Glina–Schneckenberg–Bubanj-Hum III"* (Боневв/Александров 1996, 25). The existence of Late Glina culture materials in Bagacina has been noted in some other articles as well (Alexandrov 1995, 266; Alexandrov 1998, 230; Alexandrov et al. 1998, 26). However, there is an interpretation of the EBA-3 materials from the site as belonging to *"...EB III Zgalevo–Lovech group"* (Nikolova 1999, 33). In my opinion, resolving the problem with the cultural interpretation of the Bagacina EBA-3 is not possible outside the whole picture of the cultural development during the EBA-3 in North Bulgaria and Lower Danube as well.

The earliest Glina site south of the Danube (Russe) dates to phase II[7] (Змейкова 2003). The only excavated EBA-3 "closed" complex comes from Tutrakan. It has been assigned to Late Glina culture (Alexandrov et al. 1998, 26). However, there are some other opinions considering the cultural and chronological attribution of the site. In some recent studies the materials from Tutrakan have been associated with those from Militari–Câmpul Boja "aspect" (Negru et al. 2000) both sites being connected with a final Glina phase with strong southern influences as well (Băjenaru 2003, 115). According to L. Nikolova the stratigraphy of the EBA layer has been interpreted as *"... Glina II culture, EBA IIB–C; II–III?"* (Nikolova 1999, 50). Another opinion given by the same author says that *"...the settlement can be attributed not to the end of EB but to the end of EB IIIA dated to the third quarter of the Third Millennium BC. The absence of stratigraphic information published and especially the depth of the sherds discovered give no possibility of more detailed analysis of the ceramic material. However, some classic Glina sherds may indicate also an EB II occupation at the site"* (Nikolova 1999, 231). For the needs of this article it is necessary to remind once again the real stratigraphic situation in Tutrakan. The complex (part of a dwelling) has been discovered in Trench No.2 at a depth of 0.68-0.75 m. It consisted of two rows of post-holes and a floor of rammed gray-brown clay. On the floor level fragments of 10 vessels, flints and a fragment of stone axe have been discovered. (Alexandrov et al. 1998, 7-8, figs. 2, 3, Pl.1; 2.8, 11). Considering its nature – floor of a dwelling, the feature can be interpreted as a "closed" one. ***Thus, all the materials discovered in it are synchronous.*** In spite of that this is the only EBA complex at the site. Then, it is not understandable how a part of it (probably fragments decorated with "buttons" from Pl. 1.1-3) is to be assigned to one period – Glina II (EBA-2) and the other part to another one - EBA-3? If, according to L. Nikolova there are *"...some classic Glina sherds"* in the complex (Nikolova 1999, 131), which is my opinion as well (Alexandrov et al. 1998, 10) than the cultural attribution of the complex to Glina culture seems to me quite logic. The presence of fragments decorated with buttons is not so strange considering that they have been attested in the EBA-3a Late Glina layer from Ostrovul Corbului (Roman 1985, fig. 1.8). The Tutrakan complex has been dated to *"...the end of the EBA"* or *"...EBA-3 according to Bulgarian periodisation"* (Alexandrov et al. 1998, 15). In terms of relative chronology Tutrakan feature has been synchronized with *"...Monteoru IC4–Odaia Turcului "Obere Schicht"–Ostrovul Corbului* (Alexandrov et al. 1998, 15).

Thus, during the chronological horizon Monteoru IC4–Odaia Turcului there are two Late Glina sites placed at the eastern and the western parts of the Lower Danube – Tutrakan and Ostrovul Corbului (Roman 1985, 1998). South of the Danube, between these two settlements there are more than 15 sites which have also been assigned to Glina culture (Alexandrov et al. 1998, 26, fig. 5; Alexandrov 1998). Recently L. Nikolova has argued cultural attribution of most of them. Some of these sites have been assigned to a new cultural group called "Zgalevo-Lovech" (Nikolova 1999, 9-10, 234-235). What is the archaeological situation?

1. From the already published arguments the site from Jakimovo (Northwest Bulgaria) belongs to Glina culture (Alexandrov 1998;

[7] Here, the periodisation of Glina culture proposed by P. Roman will be used.

Nikolova 1999, 232-233). In the original publication of the materials Jakimovo has been dated to EBA–3 but, according to the last author they *"...can belong to two-levelled site from the EB II and EB III, with hiatus"* (Nikolova 1999, 232). Differences in the interpretation might have come from a different understanding of the chronological position of the end of Coţofeni culture in Northwest Bulgaria. According to L. Nikolova *"...there are no obvious arguments that the end of Coţofeni at least in Northwestern Bulgaria can be synchronized with the cultures from the EB IIC horizon in southern Balkans"* (Nikolova 1999, 232-233). Probably, this statement has been made due to the fact that there are no clear "classic" Vučedol elements in Northwest Bulgaria Coţofeni culture such as in Southwest Bulgaria for example (Alexandrov 1994). What is the situation in fact?

The internal division of Coţofeni III for its' Southern (Danubian) variant has been made based on stratigraphic data from Basarabi, Ostrovul Corbului and Moldova Veche. In fact, principle site was that at Ostrovul Corbului where, in spite of the stratigraphic data, Kostolac and Vučedol imports have been used for additional strengthening of the periodisation (Roman 1976). Such elements are rare in Oltenia and Northwest Bulgaria. However, according to the material published there is no difference between the pottery from the end of Coţofeni culture in Bulgaria (Gradec, Jakimovo, Bagacina etc.) and that from Ostrovul Corbului. That is a good reason for me to believe in their synchronism.

Second, sites of Glina II type enter Oltenia only in its' eastern part – Braneţ (Shuster 1997, fig.6). The 3rd phase of Glina culture (Govora–Runcuri) is attested in North Oltenia only. There is no clear evidence for Glina III sites in South Oltenia and Northwest Bulgaria. In spite of that there are sites which date to Glina IV–Verbiţa for example. Then, any materials later than Coţofeni ones in the region should have been dated to EBA-3a or later.

Third, according to C. Shuster at least a part of Glina III sites in Muntenia should have been contemporaneous to those of Glina IV (Shuster 1997, 87), a presumption which seems to me quite logic. From that point of view all the parallels between Jakimovo and classic Glina sited in Table 10.5 (Nikolova 1999, 233) have only an informative value. Considering the fact that in the original publication parallels of the same shapes with sites and cultures later then classic Glina have been shown (Monteoru IC4-3, Odaia Turcului, Vinkovci etc.) I think the date of the Jakimovo materials in EBA-3 much more accurate. Then, if the existence of Glina culture there is accepted (Nikolova 1999, 232) it should be only the Late Glina one.

2. Part of the Sadovec materials (Central North Bulgaria) belongs to Glina culture as well (Alexandrov 1998). As a specific decoration one could mention the holes under the rim (Todorova 1992, Abb. 14.14, 20-23) with parallels in Glina culture (Shuster 1997, 73, esp. fig. 70.2; 108.1). Unfortunately, Central North Bulgaria is not very well investigated considering the EBA. Therefore, the attribution of Sadovec materials to certain Glina culture phase is not possible. However, the existence of base-pointed cups (Todorova 1968, Abb. 12.47 = Alexandrov 1998, 7, 9) suggests at least an EBA-3 level. H. Todorova (1992, 365) was the first one to propose the attribution of the materials discussed to a southern variant of the Glina Culture.

3. From the above-mentioned one can draw some conclusions considering the Glina Culture presence south of the Danube. At present it is as earlier as Glina II in Central North Bulgaria. There are no straight evidences for Glina III sites in that region but they are to be expected. Glina IV sites (including vessels with typical Glina decoration with "buttons") are presented in Tutrakan (to the east) and Jakimovo (to the west). Then, attribution of the Bagacina EBA-3 materials to Glina Culture (with very strong south influences) is not so strange and looks logic at the present stage of the investigations.

3. Late Bronze Age

Kantharoi form is a characteristic one for the LBA in Balkan Peninsula. Richly decorated kantharoi from Bagacina find their parallels in a number of sites – Gradeshnitsa, Hayredin, Lesura in North-West and Muselievo, Devetaki etc. in Central North Bulgaria (Hänsel 1976, Taf.20; 36). Similar or identical decorative compositions are to be met in Verbicioara IV-V and Tei IV-V cultures north of the Danube (Berciu 1961a, Abb.8, 9, 18; Morintz 1976, 63, 69, 73;

Palincaş 1996, Fig.10-12). Considering a more accurate chronological position one can take into account some more sophisticated forms such as kantharoi from Pl. 13.13. Similar shape comes from Piatra (Oltenia) dated by M. Nica to its phase Verbicioara IIIA that corresponds to Verbicioara IV according to Berciu's periodization (Nica 2000, 152, fig. 16.4). Verbicioara IV, in my opinion, should be the date of the Bagacina LBA materials. In terms of Bulgarian periodization of the Bronze Age it would be the beginning of the LBA or LBA-1.

Some of the Bulgarian sites mentioned above have already been attributed to Verbicioara culture (Berciu 1961b; 1961c, 390) or Govora group (Hänsel, 1976, 59). Considering the present stage of the investigations in Bulgaria as well as the situation north of the Danube we are inclined to assign the discussed materials to Verbicioara IV culture. Its eastern border was Iskar river valley, the southern one being the Balkan mountains' range, Devetaki and Muselievo caves entering the Tei culture region. Until now in North-West Bulgaria 4 sites dated to Verbicioara III phase (MBA) – Biala Slatina, Altimir (Vratsa district), Jakimovo (Montana district) and Antimovo (Vidin district) as well as 3 sites dated to Verbicioara IV-V phases (LBA) - Gradeshnitsa, Hayredin, Lesura (Vratsa district) were known. Thus, Bagacina becomes the eight Verbicioara site south of the Danube.

**Final conclusions**

The analysis of the materials presented above shows that 3 Bronze Age archaeological phenomena were presented in Bagacina – Coţofeni, Glina and Verbicioara IV. Chronologically, they belong to EBA-2b-c, EBA–3a and LBA–1 according to the Bulgarian periodization of the Bronze Age. As presented above, the authors of the excavations connected all the Bronze Age materials to a "pit" sanctuary that existed on the hill from EBA-2 onwards. However, in the annual reports of the excavations the "Junacite" type cups were reported as coming from a floor level. In some articles existence of apsis houses is mentioned (Г. Александров, 1994, 11). Inside one of them *„...hand made thracian pottery was found"* (Бонев/Александров 1986, 51, обр. 2, 3). From the other site the surface of the hill has been ploughed for more than 40 years at a depth of 0.50 m that *"...disturbed the cultural layer in its upper part"* (Бонев/Александров 1996, 3). In my opinion all this is a good reason to argue the existence of ritual pits in Bagacina in 3rd millennium BC. "Pit" sanctuaries from EBA in Lower Danube have not been attested yet as well. Such "pits" appear as early as LBA – Govora for example. Then, the existence of a "pit" sanctuary in Bagacina should be dated not earlier than the LBA. In this case the stratigraphy of the site would be as follows: Enaeolithic settlement with four layers (Krivodol – Sălcuta – Bubanj – Hum Ia culture); Sălcuta IV – Galatin culture settlement probably with a single layer[8], Coţofeni III culture settlement; Glina culture settlement; LBA Verbicioara IV pits marking the beginning of the "pit" sanctuary that flourished during the 1st millennium BC.[9]

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[8] The materials show exact parallels with Baile Herculane, Salcuta IV and Galatin. For more information see Г. Ганецовски. Керамика от късноенеолитното селище до Сталийска махала, Монтанско, *ИМСЗБ* (in press).

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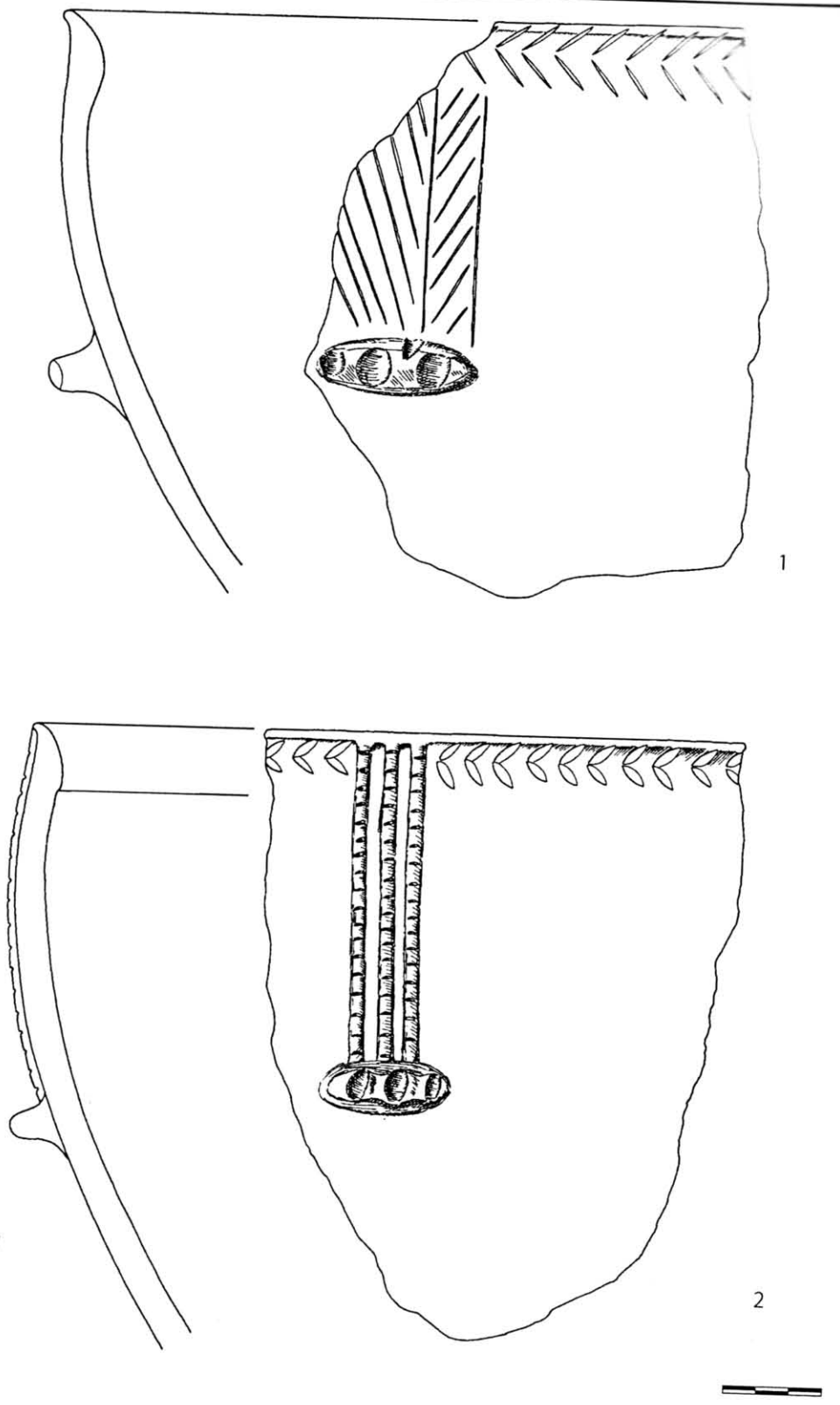



*Plate I. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-2. Coțofeni Culture Pottery*

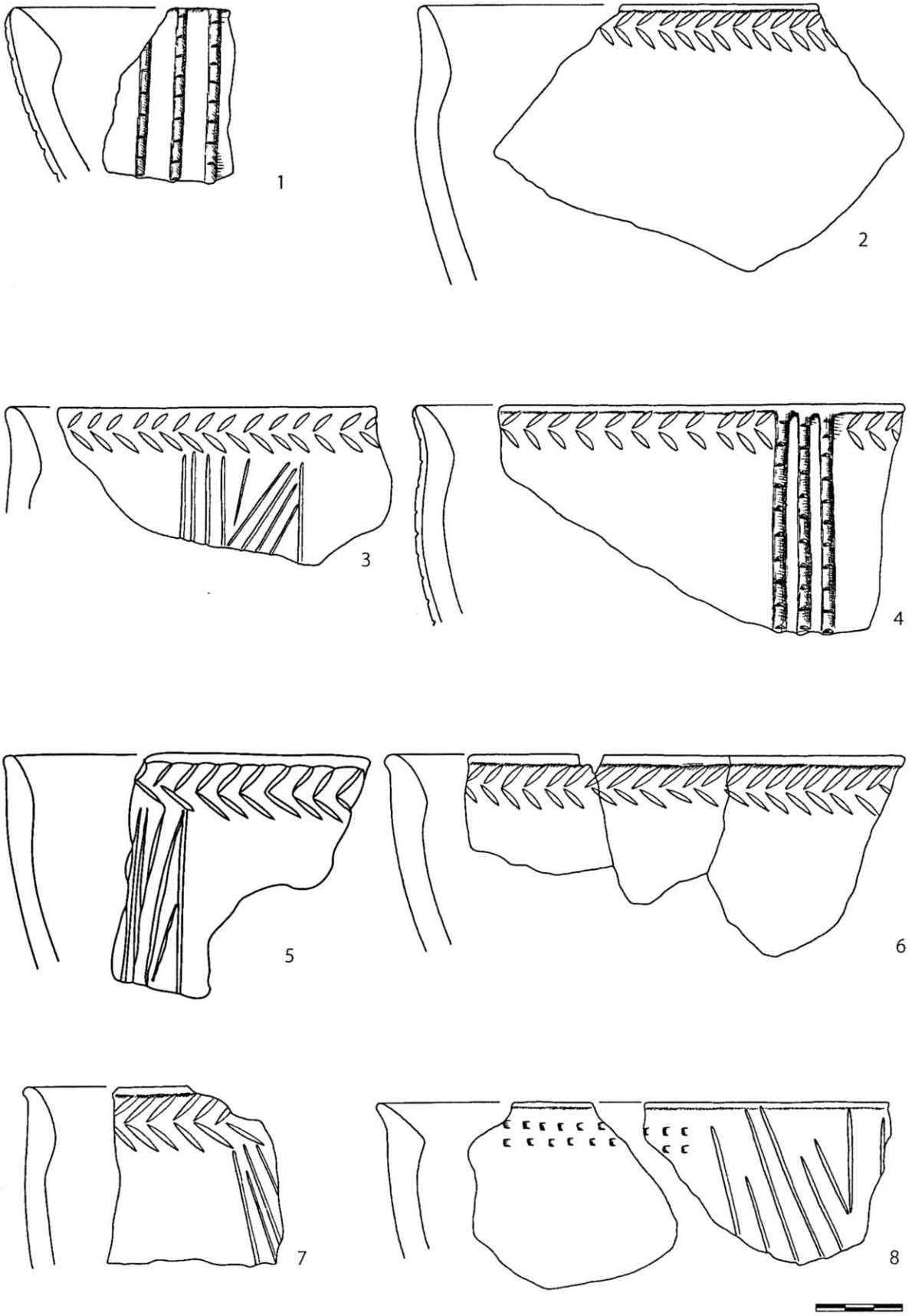



*Plate II. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-2. Coțofeni Culture Pottery*

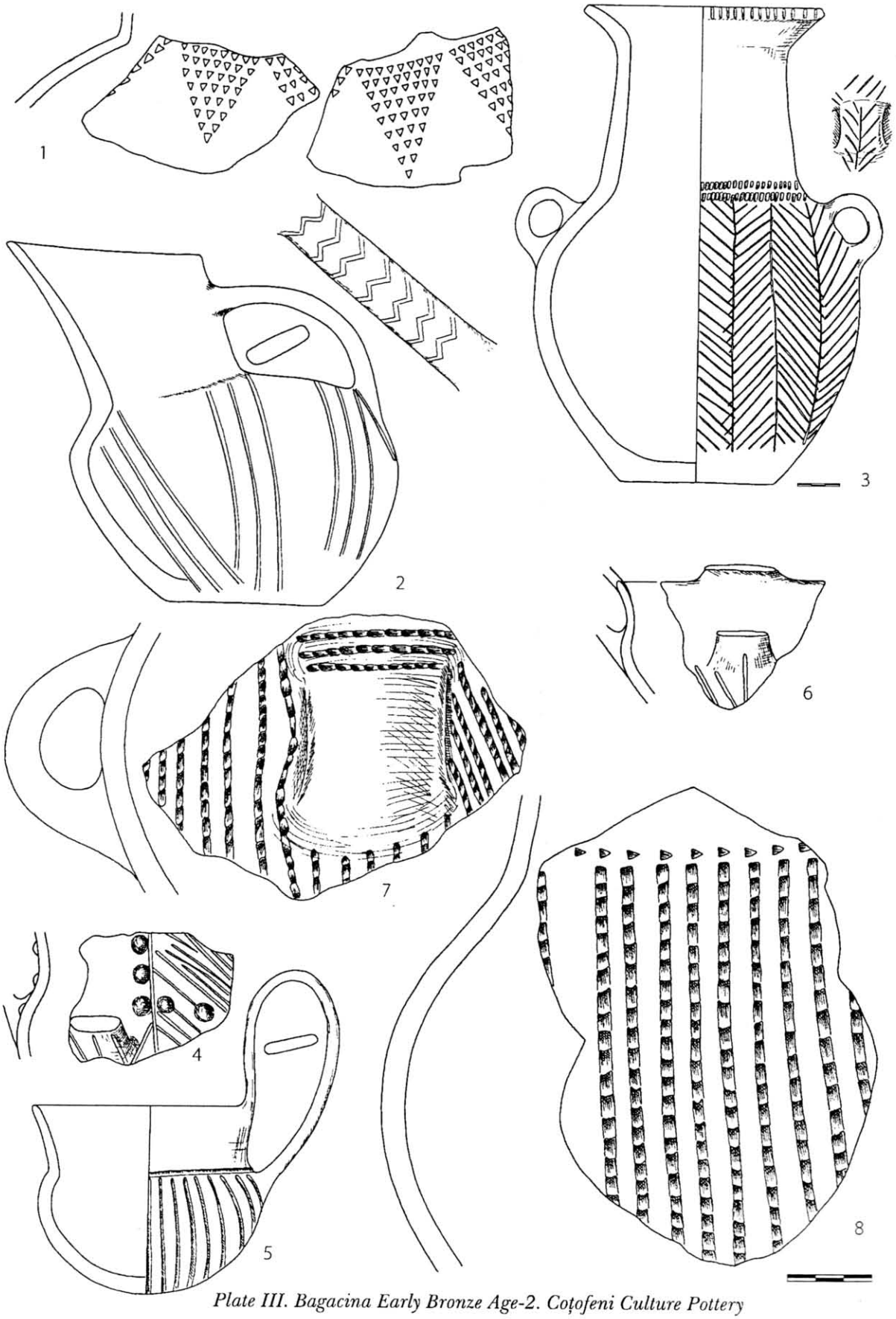



*Plate III. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-2. Coțofeni Culture Pottery*

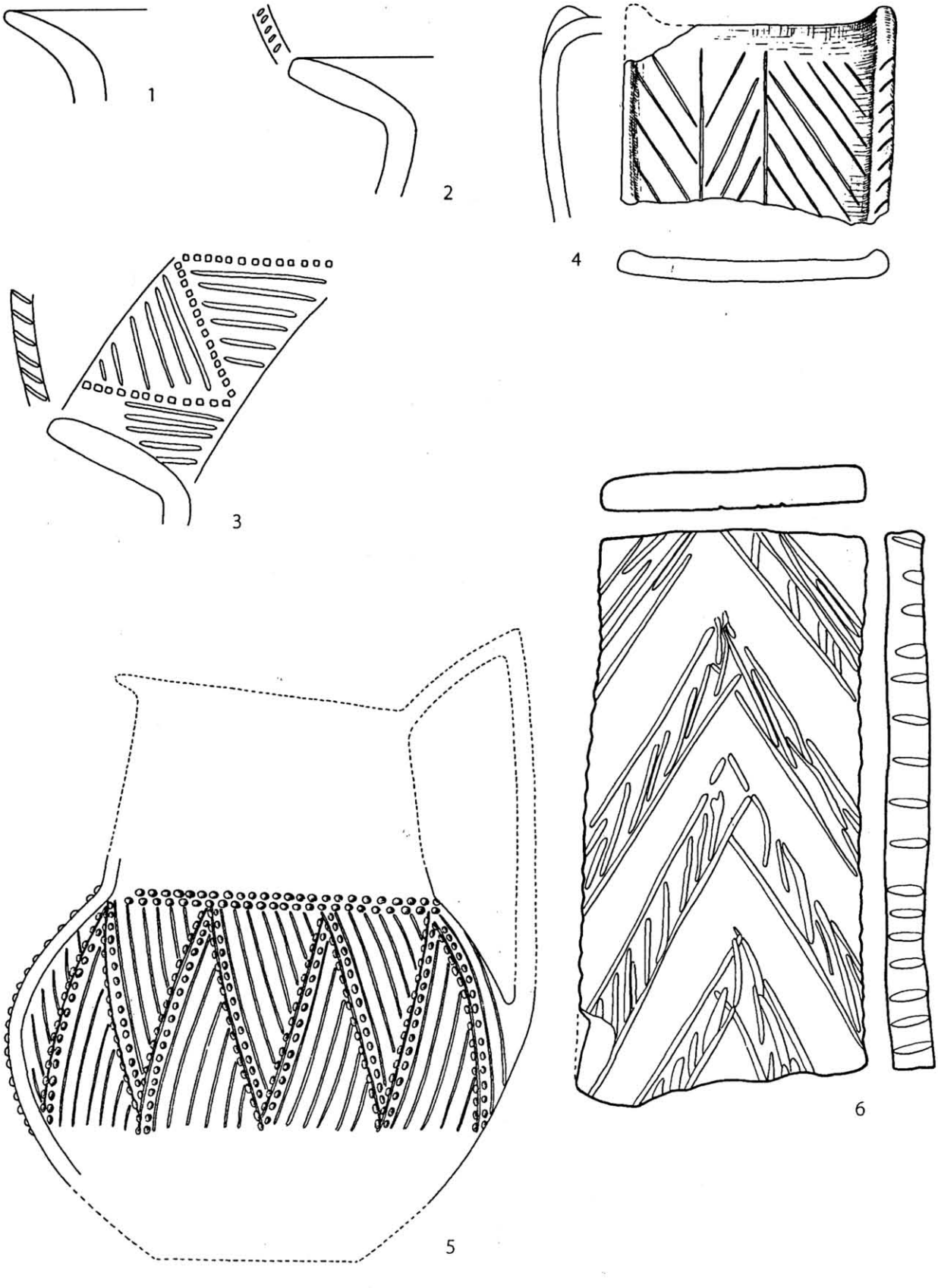



*Plate IV. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-2. Coțofeni Culture Pottery*

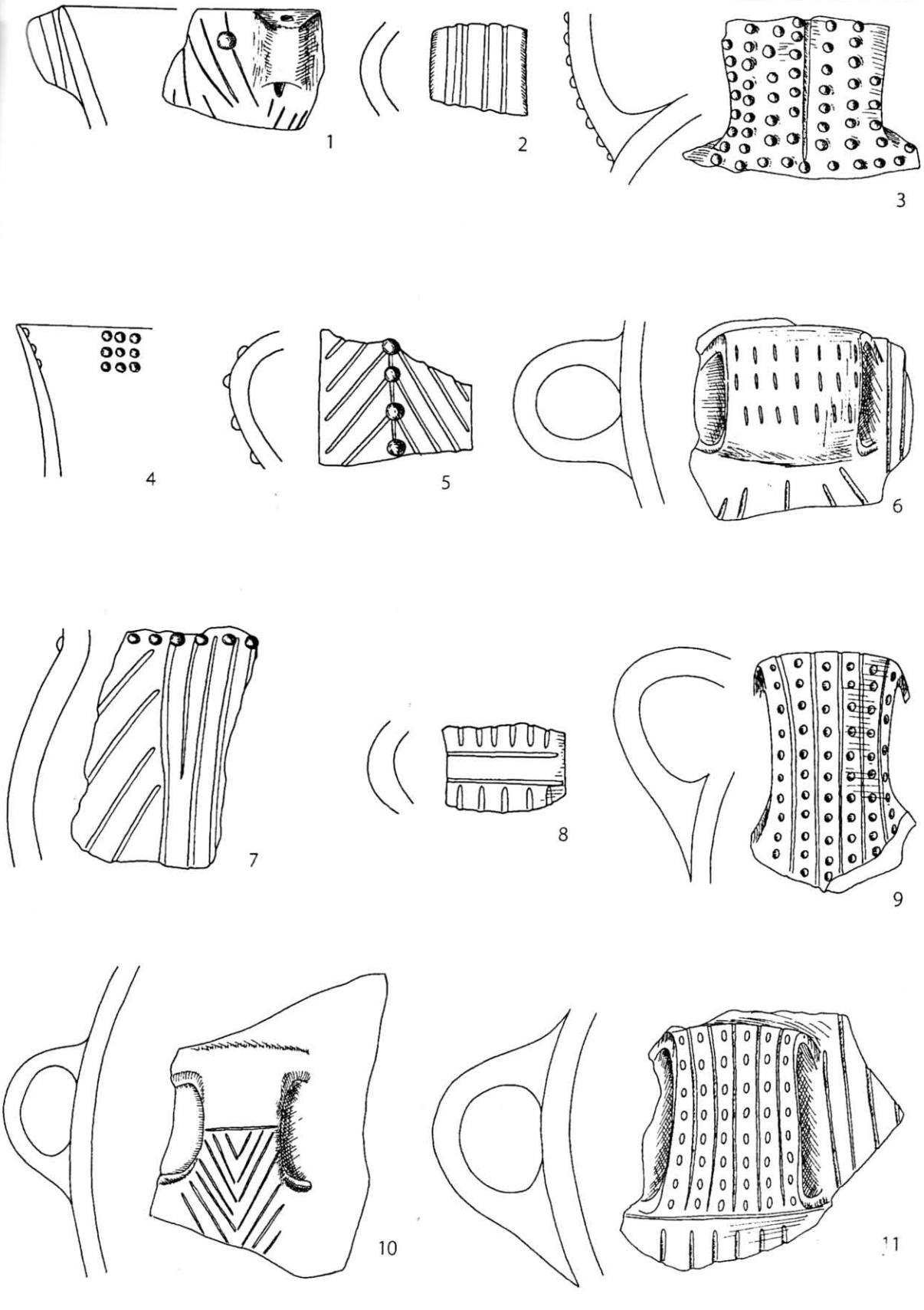



*Plate V. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-2. Coțofeni Culture Pottery*

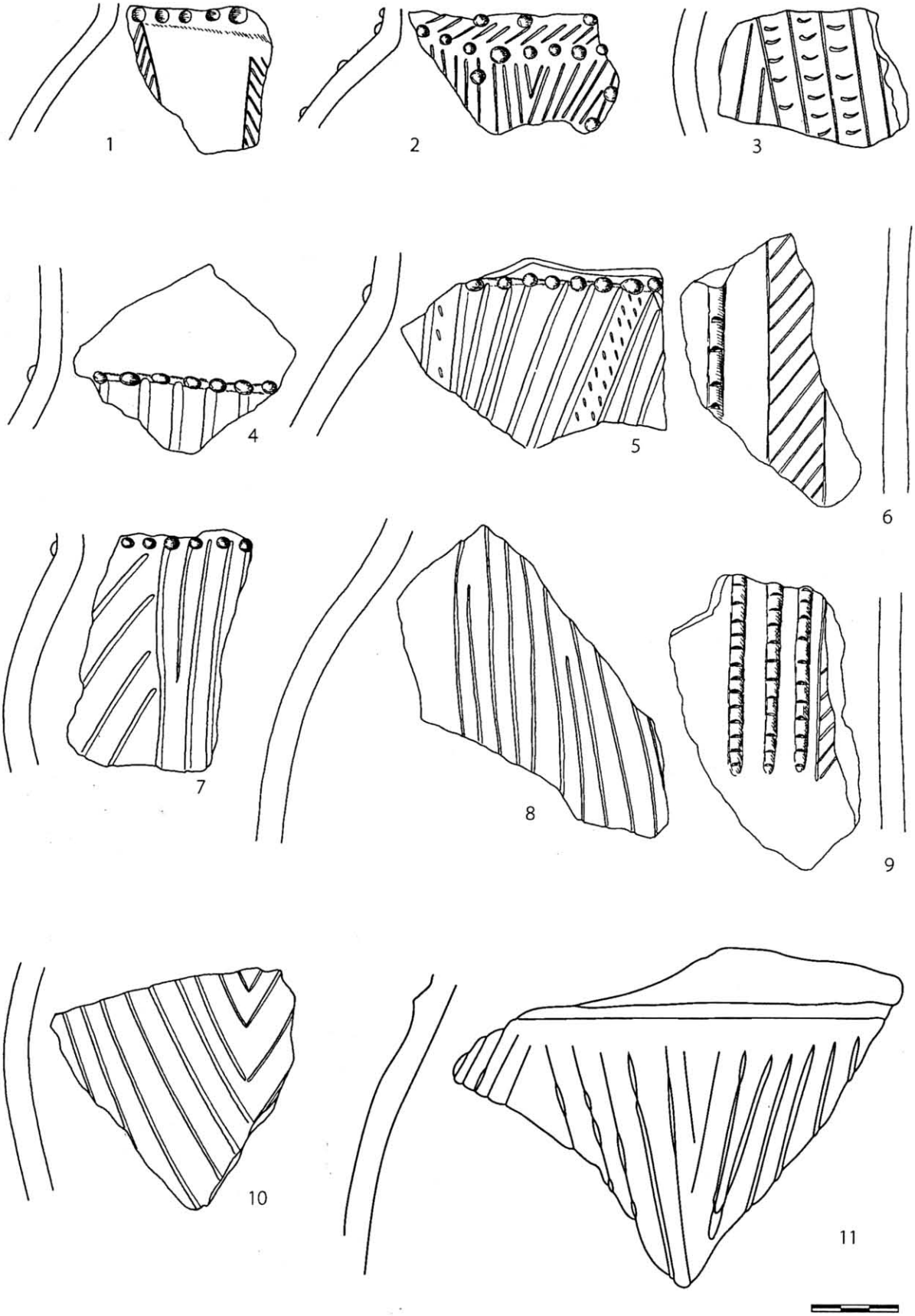



*Plate VI. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-2. Coţofeni Culture Pottery*

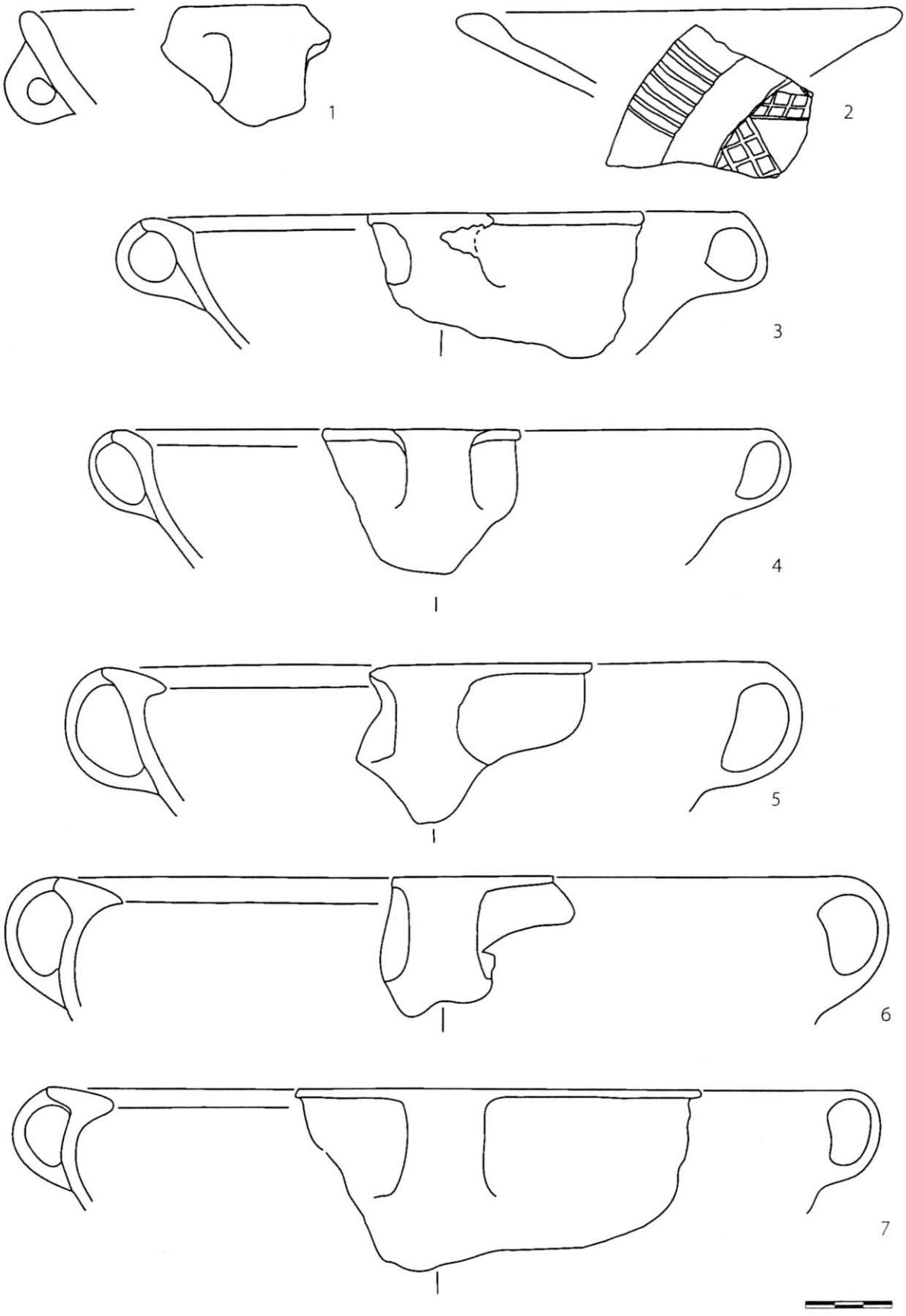



*Plate VII. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-3. Glina IV Pottery*

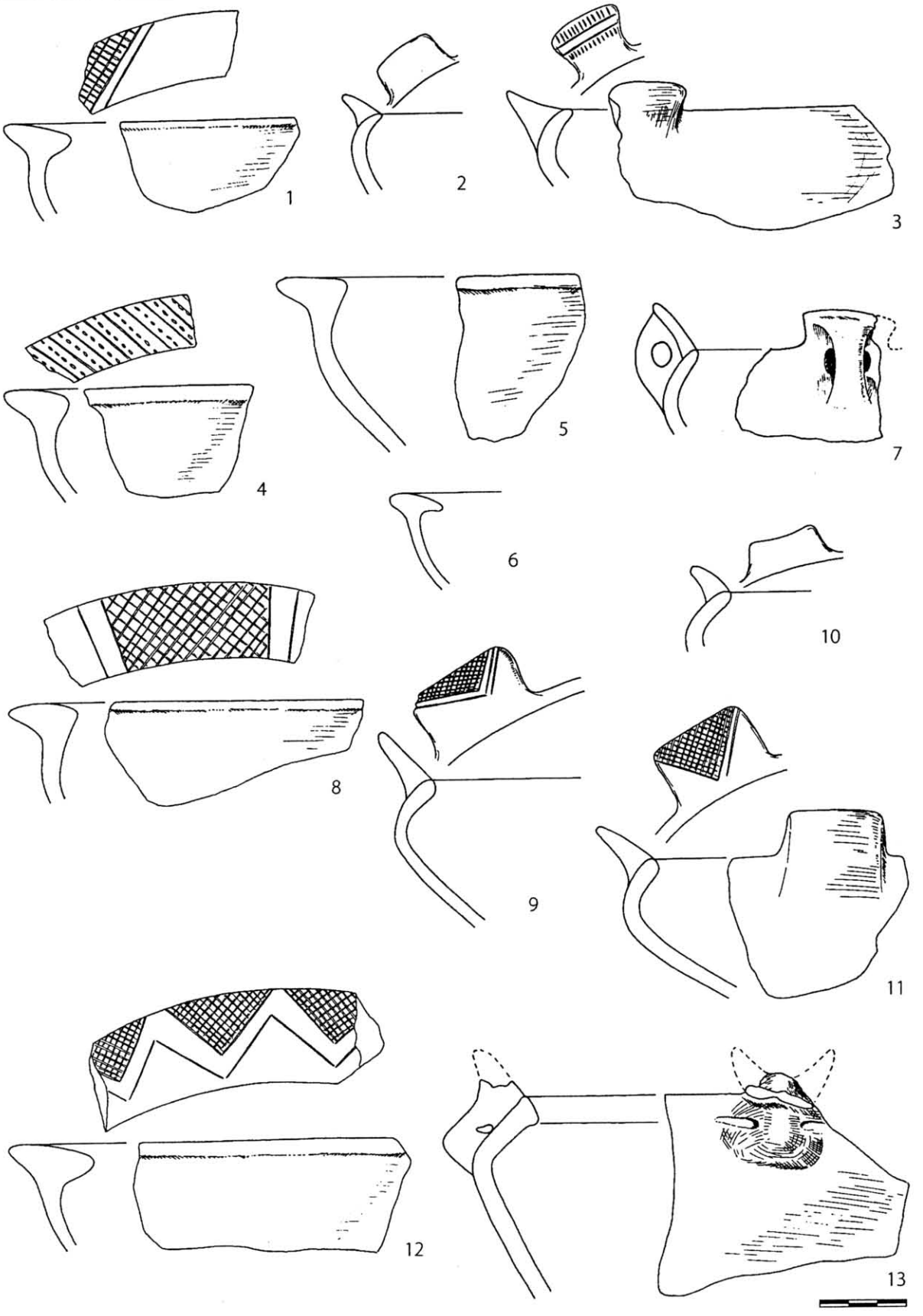



*Plate VIII. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-3. Glina IV Pottery*

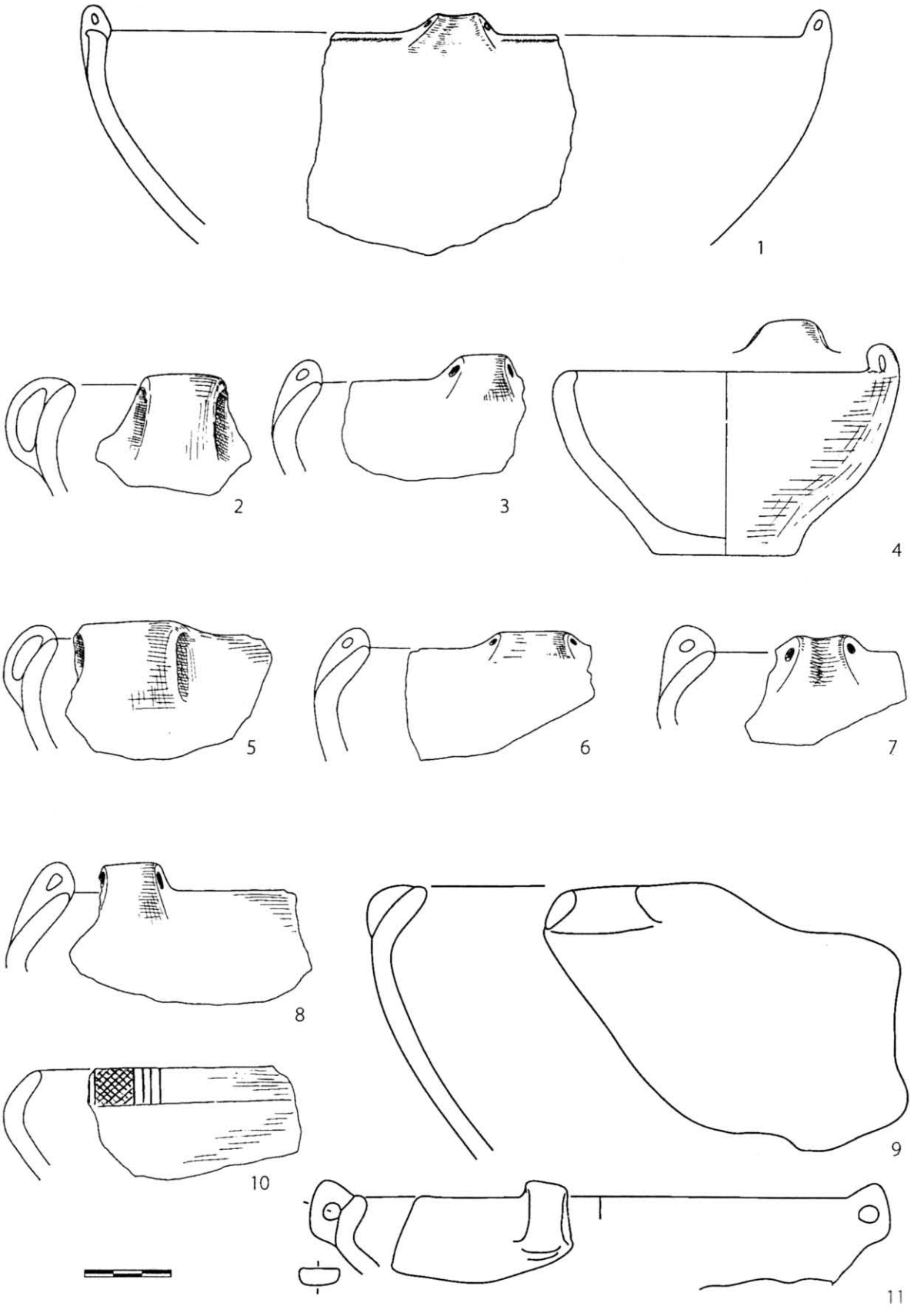



*Plate IX. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-3. Glina IV Pottery*

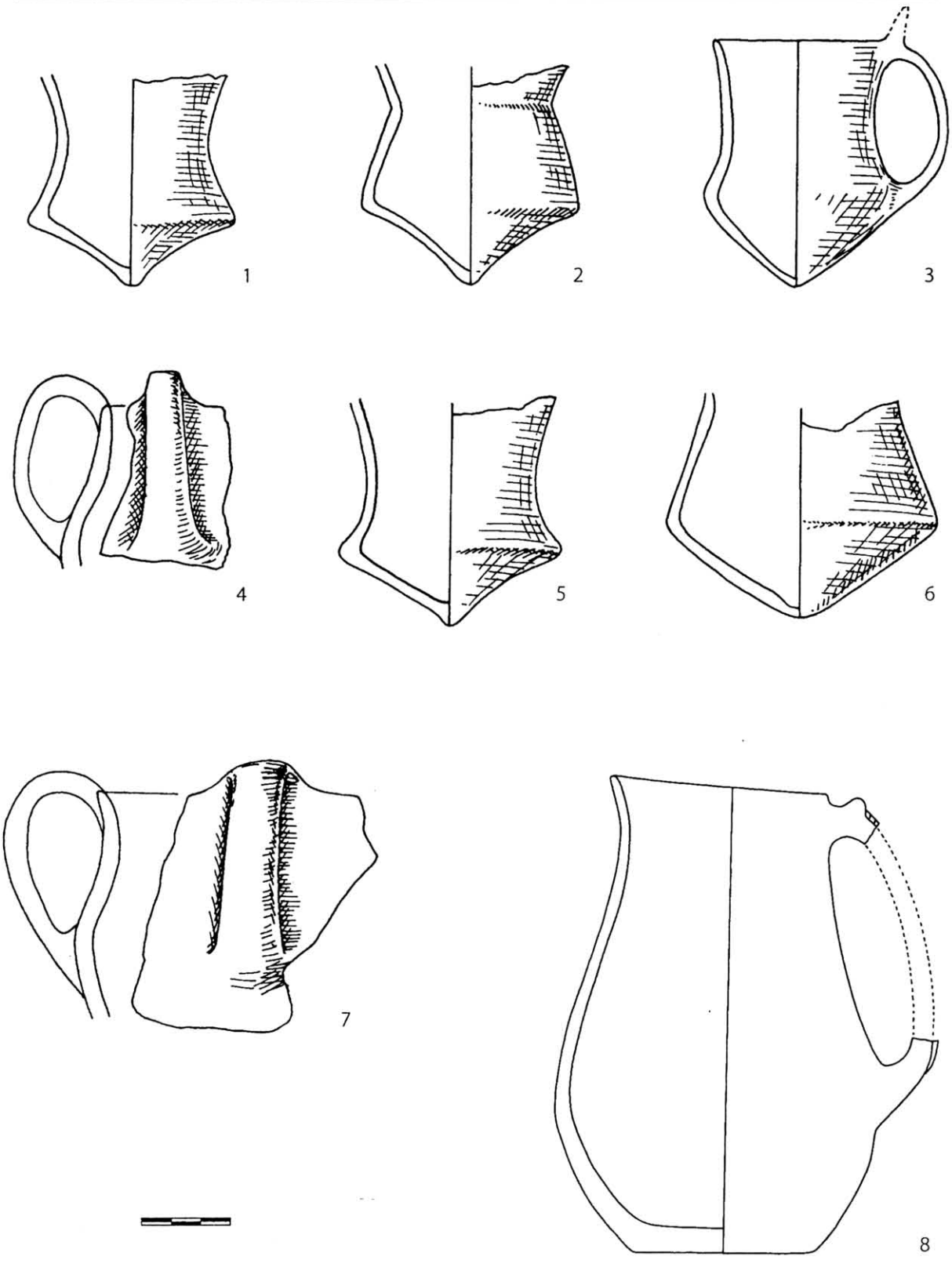



*Plate X. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-3. 1-6. "Junacite" type cups. 7-8. Glina IV Pottery*

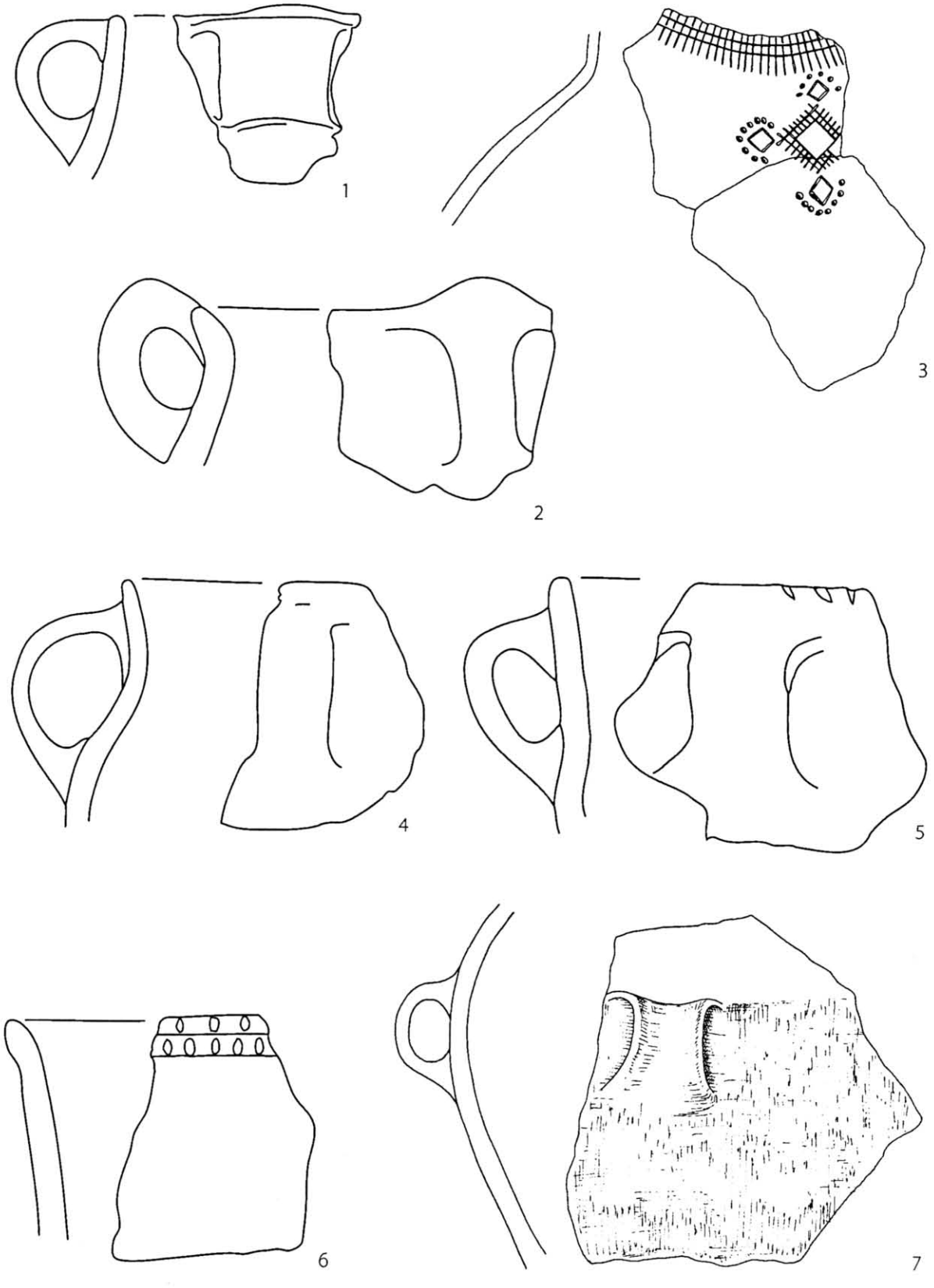



*Plate XI. Bagacina Early Bronze Age-3. Glina IV Pottery*

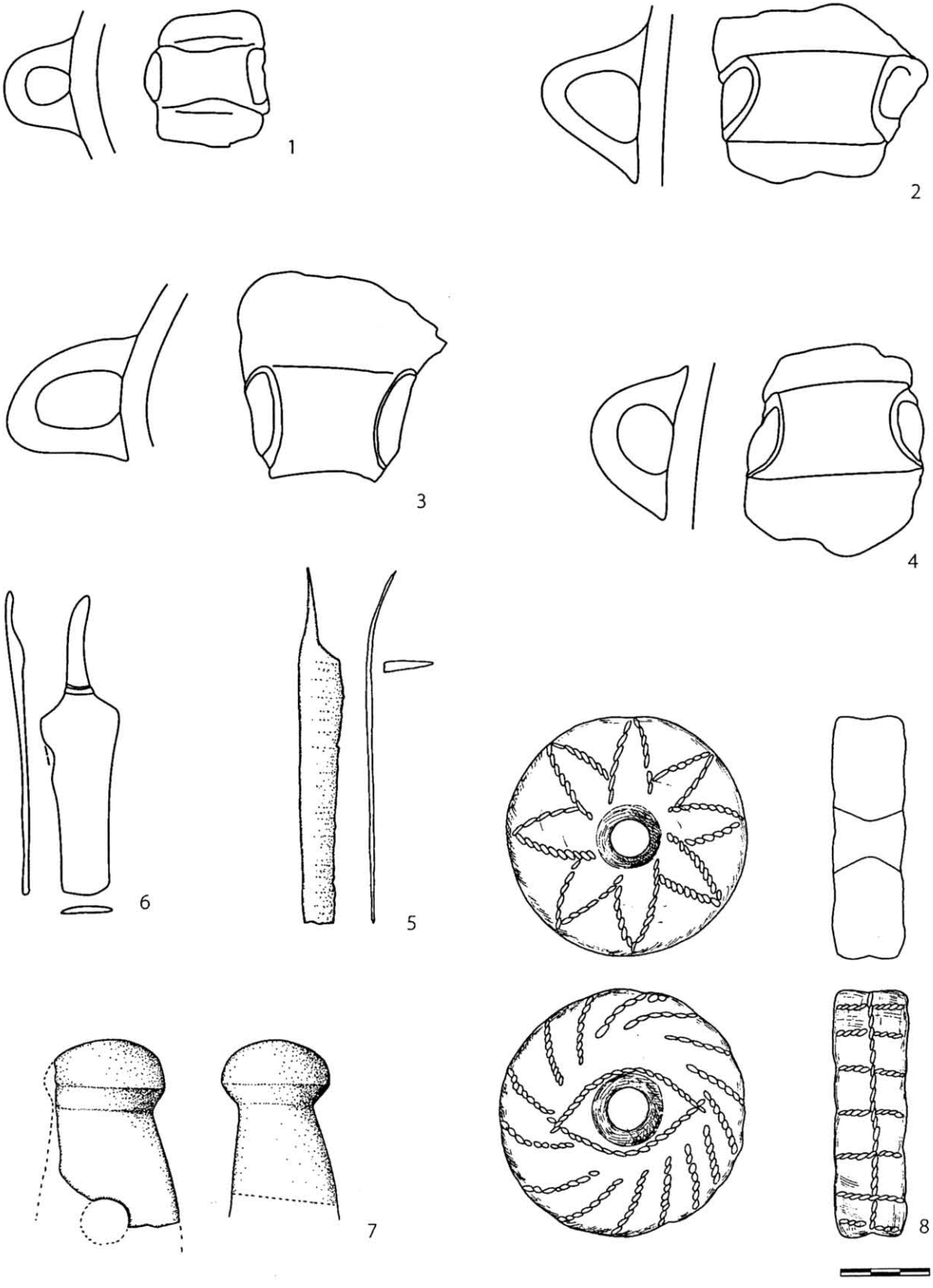



*Plate XII. Bagacina. 1-4: Early Bronze Age-3. Glina IV. Pottery, 5: bronze knife, 6: bronze dagger/spear head, 7: stone axe, 8: clay artifact*

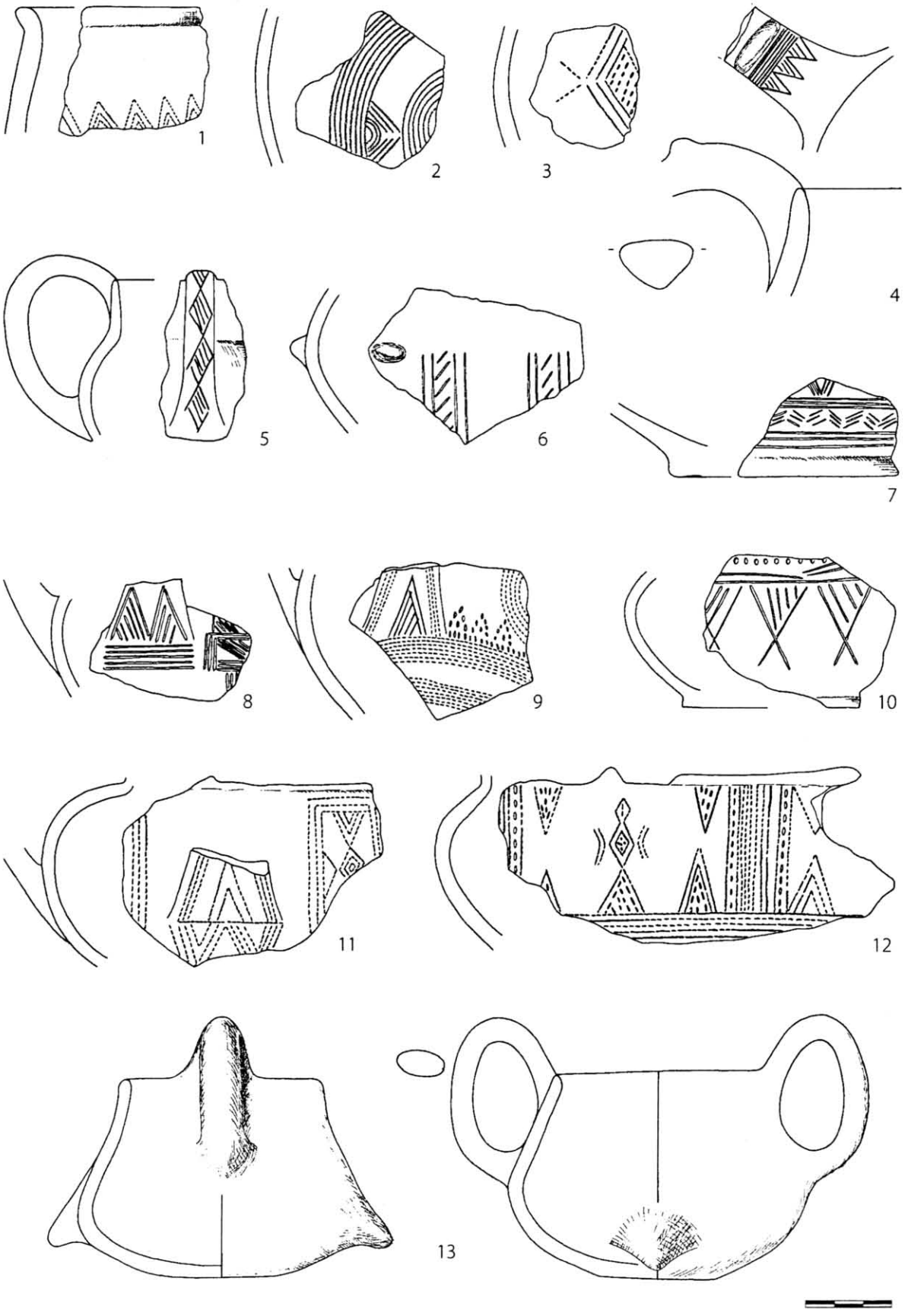



*Plate XIII. Bagacina. Verbicioara IV Culture. Late Bronze Age Pottery*

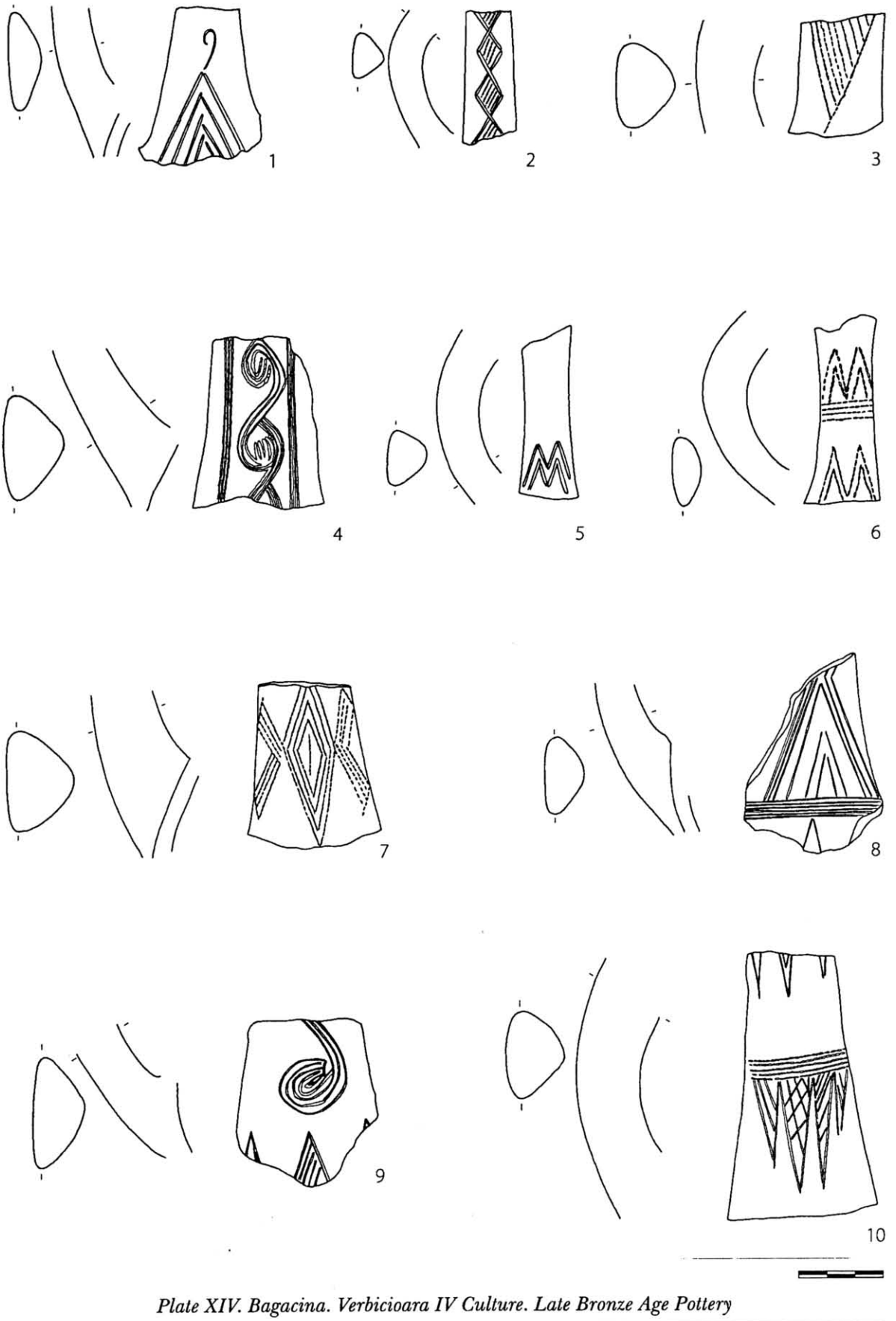



*Plate XIV. Bagacina. Verbicioara IV Culture. Late Bronze Age Pottery*

# Относно хронологията на некрополите на култура Брница в Централните Балкани

Георги Иванов

*Georgi Ivanov*

*About the Chronology of the Brnjica Culture Necropoleis in the Central Balkans*

*The work discusses the finds from the necropoleis of the Brnjica culture from the area of Central Balkans and presents their chronological position through a long-term research. The chronological sensitive information from the sites of lower Axios valley is used to set up the chronological borders of the culture. The finds from the necropolis in Sandanski are presented to determine the date of the most common pottery shape within the Brnjica grave finds. The appearance of the channelled pottery in the area of Central Balkans and lower Axios valley is placed in the beginning of the Iron Age (Wardle et al. 2007), and the grave finds from the Brnjica necropoleis can be dated before this period.*

Началото на проучването на култура Брница (култура *Доња Брњица-Горња Стражава* по М. Гарашанин (Garašanin, M., 1983a) е поставено от Д. Срейович през 1960 г. с публикуването на резултатите от разкопките на некропола Доня Брница (Srejović 1959/60). Оттогава информацията за тази култура многократно е допълвана, а редица нейни черти са прецизирани (Garašanin, M., 1983a; Garašanin, D., 1996; Jovanović 1997; Stojić 2000; Тасић 2001; и др.). Относителното датиране на културата винаги е бил един от най-важните проблеми и тук находките от некрополите й ще бъдат съпоставени спрямо скорошните данни от Северна Гърция и Югозападна България, спрямо керамиката от некропола в Сандански, датиран в края на КБЕ (Alexandrov et al. 2007).

Култура Брница е дефинирана чрез данните от некрополите. В тях се е практикувало изключително кремацията, като преобладава полагането на останките на мъртвия в глинени съдове-урни, покрити с купа или плосък камък. Белег на ритуала е и обграждането на урната или гробните останки с обли речни камъни или плочи. Погребалните практики имат регионални специфики, но и общи за един голям район белези, по които културата е разпознаваема (Garašanin, D., 1996, 219; Jovanović 1997, 71). Относно датирането на културите Бронзовата епоха на Балканите изобщо, някои автори обръщат внимание на факта, че са привличани данни само от близки обекти, а находките са разглеждани основно в рамките на тясната им културна принадлежност (Della Casa 1996, 144). Невинаги е възможно да се сравняват находките от съседните райони, но това е необходимо, за да се очертае общата картина на Балканите през тази епоха.

В тази работа керамиката на култура Брница е разгледана и в контекста на находките от хронологическия и културен хоризонт Зимничя-Пловдив. Относителната позиция на канелираната керамика от района е разгледана като маркер за началото на Желязната епоха (Wardle et al. 2007), и като *terminus ante quem* за находките на култура Брница.

**Проучванията на некрополите**

С откриването на първите находки на културата хронологическата й позиция е обект на прецизиране – процес, който отразява натрупването на информация за Бронзовата и Желязната епохи в Централните Балкани, и датирането й не може да се разглежда извън това развитие. В повечето изследвания находките са сравнявани преди всичко с Централноевропейската хронологическа скала на Райнеке/Мюлер-Карпе, и спрямо периодизационна схема на М. Гарашанин (Garašanin, M., 1983a). По-рядко са съпоставяни със северноегейските датиращи обекти, поради трудностите при съпоставянето на двете периодизационни схеми.

Проучването на културата е започнато от Д. Срейович с епонимния некропол Доня

Брница, в Косово (Srejović 1959/60). При датирането на находките авторът приема, че една характерна форма съдове – купите с хоризонтални или с вертикални високи дръжки (каквато е късномикенската форма *скифос)* има паралели само южно и югоизточно от Косово, в Република Македония, Тракия, Северна Гърция и Троада в периода LHIIIC (Srejović 1959/60, 108-116). Тези сходства показват, че контактите на района с южните части на полуострова са налице. При анализа на характерния тип на съдовете-урни авторът разполага само с паралели в района на Централна Европа и Северна Италия, като допуска, че те са познати от периода HaA2 насетне. Дръжките с конични израстъци върху някои съдове са сравнени с такива от периода HaB2-C1 (Srejović 1959/60, 108-116, 118-121; Srejović 1973, 49). Авторът поставя находките и в контекста на Егейската хронология – началото на некропола е поставено в края на Геометричния период, а краят е синхронен с Архаичния период (Srejović 1959/60, 122; Тасић 2001, 10).

През 1962 г. Д. Крстич проучва некропола Горня Стражава, до Прокуплье, в ареала на р. Южна Морава. Териториалните граници на културата са разширени (Garašanin, M. 1982a) и е преразгледано датирането на находките. Гробовете са разделени от Д. Крстич на три хронологически етапа, всички те поставени след хронологическия хоризонт Кърна-Жуто Бърдо-Орсоя, след колективната находка от Пловдив и хоризонта 14b в Кастанас. Гробовете са поставени в три фази, чието датиране спрямо Централноевропейската хронология е следното: I фаза – HaA2-A/B; II фаза – HaA/B–B2; III фаза – HaB2-B3 (Крстић 1994, 242).

В следващите години са проучени некрополите при Карагач (Srejović 1973) и Доня Топоница (Трбуховић/Трбуховић 1970). Натрупването на данни от няколкото проучени некропола позволява на Д. Срейович да определи периоди в развитието на културата, анализирайки и еволюцията на погребалния ритуал. Гробовете от Карагач имат по-неразвита в хронологически смисъл форма (Srejović 1973, 49), и сега хронологията на култура Брница добива следния вид: най-ранни са гробовете от Карагач и част от гробовете от Доня Брница (HaB1), в HaB2 са поставени повечето от Доня Брница, в HaB3 – Горня Стражава, Доня Топоница (Srejović 1973, 49). Допълваки чрез проучванията на некропола Дойевичи хронологията, сега тя добива следния вид: периода HaB е представен в некропола Доня Брница, в HaC е поставен Дойевичи и некропол II от Горня Стражава, в HaC-D – Дойевичи (Летица 1979, 75-77).

З. Летица проучва надгробната могила Латинско Гробље в същия район. Благодарение на стратифицирането на гробовете е възможно да се поставят по-сигурни дати на гробните находки на култура Брница като цяло. В най-ранния хоризонт на могилата са проучени гробове с инхумация от етап предхождащ урновите кремации. В следващия етап са гробовете с кремация и керамика, типични за културата, а двата по-късни хоризонта са отново с гробове с трупополагане, но от Ранната желязна епоха (Летица 1982, 12-13). Гробовете от култура Брница от втория хоризонт са датирани в периода HaB1/2 (Летица 1982, 14-15, T.V-VIII).

В следващия проучен некропол Улпиана, в Косово, гробните урни са полагани в обикновени ями. Отнесени са към HaA2-B1, и заедно с находките от Латинско Гробље изтеглят назад във времето началната дата на съществуване на културата (Цветковић-Томашевић 1983, 73-76).

До Пирот е поредният проучен некропол, сравнително отдалечен в източна посока от некрополите по долината на р. Южна Морава и от тези от Косово (Јевтић 1990, 98-101, T.I.1-37). Внимание заслужават фрагментите керамика, украсена със снопове врязани линии, открити в каменната обвивка на гробовете (Јевтић 1990, 98, T.III.7, 9, IV.1). Според автора тези находки може да се датират в края на Бронзовата епоха в Източните Балкани. Подобни се срещат в комплекса Зимнич-Пловдив, в Кастанас 14b-10 хоризонти, в могилите при Потами и Екзохи (Јевтић 1990, 101). В рамките на некропола е открита и по-груба керамика, украсена с дебели релефни ленти, с прищипвани от пръсти, както и с канелюрна украса (Јевтић 1990, T.III.6; V.12). Тя показва връзка с находки-

те от етапа Медиана I, което е и финала на гробните комплекси (Јевтић 1990, 101-102).

От северната част на Република Македония има няколко проучени некропола, отнесени към култура Брница (Mitrevski 2003b, 51). Некрополът Кучка, до Скопие, е важен както за определянето на географския обхват на групата, така и за хронологическата й позиция. Откритите там биконични съдове-урни са характерни за керамичната традиция на Брница. Те не се срещат след края на бронзовата епоха в района на Долен Вардар (Митревски 1995, 76). Хронологически индикатор е съда от гроб 4, копиращ формата на южногръцките късномикенски скифоси. Такива са открити и в другите некрополи на културата: Доня Брница, Карагач, Доня Топоница и Латинско Гробље (Митревски 1995, 77). От гроб 9 произхожда съд с две високи дръжки *(кантарос)*, украсен със снопове врязани спирали, вписани в правоъгълник и инкрустирани с бяла боя (Митревски 1995, 75). Както е известно, подобни украсени кантароси са налице в ареала на Пловдив-Зимнич (Черковна) в България и Южна Румъния, и по Долен Вардар, в Кастанас (Митревски 1995, 75). И тук, както в Пирот, в рамките на некропола е открита керамика с украса, характерна за Ранната желязна епоха. Тя маркира късната хронологическа граница на некропола, синхронна на Медиана I и II (Митревски 1995, 84; Митревски 1997, 29, 63-64).

В некропола при Врапце, в долината на р. Южна Морава, авторите разграничават две хронологически фази (Јоцић/Стојић 2000, 292; Stojić 2000, 17). Заедно с данните от редица обекти от района на Южна Морава дават основание на М. Стоич да разграничи 4 етапа в развитието на Брница в този район. В тази периодизационна схема некрополите попадат в периода Брница I, или в BrC-HaA1 (Stojić 2000, 22-24).

Един от последните проучени некрополи на културата е Селиште, разположен в западните склонове на Стара планина, до Пирот (Пејић 2001, 197). Керамиката като цяло е неукрасена, но се срещат и характерните кантароси с врязана и инкрустирана с бяло украса, поставяни като дарове към гробните комплекси. Некрополът е подобен на Пирот, Кучка и Дойевичи и е синхронен с тях (Пејић 2001, 202-204).

През годините редица автори са разглеждали относителната хронологическа позиция на култура Брница. Х. Мехметай поставя културата в етапа *Гвоздено доба* I по М. Гарашанин. Според него *Брница* е свързващо звено между по-ранната Парачин и по-късната Медиана в Централнобалканския регион (Garašanin, M., 1983a, 773-774; Мехметај 1993, 54). К. Люци поставя откритите в Гращица украшения от бронз, кост и кехлибар в периода BrD-HaA (Љуци 1998, 137). При новите проучвания в района на некропола Доня Брница К. Люци отнася находките от културата като цяло към BrD-HaA/B (Luci 1984, 31; Luci 2007, 359, tab.2). А. Хохщетер отнася културата към периоди KV и KVI (13-9 хоризонти) в Кастанас, най-вече заради специфичното оформяне на горната част на дръжките на някои съдове, каквито паралели има в етапа KVI (Hochstetter 1984, 350-351, Abb. 56). Ф. Дела Каза поставя голяма част от гробовете на културата в 1350-1200 г.пр.Хр, като некрополите, в които са открити фрагменти канелирана керамика са отнесени към XII в.пр.Хр. (Della Casa 1996, 166, Tab.24). Д. Гарашанин разглежда Брница в контекста на находките от Черковна и Пловдив, и по-късната Медиана (Garašanin, D. 1996, 223-224). Други автори поставят находките от Брница в XIII-XI в.пр.Хр., (Jovanović 1999, 71), в BrD-HaA1 (Лазић 2001, 188), между XIV и X в.пр.Хр. (Тасић 2003, 45).

**Индикативни находки**

Керамичният репертоар, известен от некрополите, представя малко на брой форми. В типологията на Д. Гарашанин водещ тип е съдът с биконично или сферично тяло и 2 или 4 дръжки, в четири варианта, използван като урна в повечето гробни комплекси (Garašanin, D., 1996, 223) (табл. 1.1-12). Подобни форми са познати от некропола Сандански (табл. 1.13) и от Северна Гърция.

В типологията на Д. Гарашанин са представени още три типа: 1. полусферична купа с цилиндрична шия, издадено навън устие и високи дръжки с конични издължения; 2. паници с S-овиден профил, наподобяващ

късномикенската форма скифос; 3. конични купи с дръжки върху устието (Garašanin, D. 1996, 221). Това са преобладаващите керамични форми. Всички те имат паралели преди всичко в Централните и Източните Балкани, както и в Северна Гърция. Освен тях се срещат и *кантароси*, някои от които са с врязана украса, като особено ценен в хронологическо отношение е съда от гроб 9 от Клучка (Garašanin, D., 1996, 223; Митревски 1997, 53, Сл. 13.9), както и фрагментите от Пирот (Јевтић 1990, T.III.7, 9, T.IV.1) и Селиште (Пејић 2001, T.II.2-3, 5). В селището Копривлен 1 хоризонт такива се срещат заедно с вносна керамика на колело, датирана в егейския LHIIIB етап (Alexandrov 2002, 79, fig.23.1, 2, 5, 6; fig. 30). В Кастанас сферичните кантароси с врязана украса са характерни за 17-14a хоризонти (форма 6a; Hochstetter 1984, Abb. 15). От 13 хоризонт насетне формата се запазва, но вече е без украса (форма 2; Hochstetter 1984, Abb.15). Кантаросите с врязана украса от Пирот, Клучка и Селиште дават основание за синхронизирането на гробните комплекси с втората половина на Късната бронзова епоха в източните Балкани и северна Егея, след 1400/1350 г.пр.Хр.

Допълнителни данни, които може да се използват за датирането на култура Брница, са налице в затворен комплекс от некропола с инхумация от **Сандански** (Alexandrov et al. 2007). Една от най-показателните форми от гроб 3 е гърнето с две дръжки и цилиндрична шия *(кантарос, two-handled pot)* (табл. 1.14). Формата е разпространена през Късната бронзова епоха в Долен Вардар и Северна Гърция, още от 18 хоризонт в Кастанас, като късните екземпляри са без украса (Hochstetter 1984, Abb. 54, Tafel 8.7, 8.6). След 13 хоризонт на Кастанас популярността ѝ намалява (Hochstetter 1984, Abb. 14, Tafel 39.10, 49.7, 73.1). Важен елемент за датирането на съда е израстъкът върху горната част на дръжките. В Кастанас подобни се срещат в (13)–14a и в 13 хоризонти (Hochstetter 1984, Tafel 60.1, 64.2), от 12 хоризонт насетне израстъка се променя (Hochstetter 1984, Tafel 80.3, 93.7, 71.3). Във фаза 6 на Асирос Тумба има подобен съд с две вертикални дръжки с израстъци, както и фрагменти от подобни дръжки (Wardle 1980, 247, fig. 12.21; Wardle 1997, 447). Подобни се срещат и в ареала на култура Уланци (Mitrevski 2003b, T. V.1, 2), разпространени са до устието на Вардар, в Тесалоники Тумба (Andreou/Psaraki 2007, 413, fig. 12.KA502). Дръжки с израстъци има и през Ранната желязна епоха, но с друга изработка, или украса с канелюри (Wardle 1980, fig. 16.40; 1997, 454, fig. 3.8).

Амфората *(four-handled jar)* (табл. 1.13) от гроб 3 е другата важна форма от Сандански, която се среща в един обширен район от Балканите през Късната бронзова епоха, една от основните в керамичния репертоар на култура Брница (табл. 1.1-12). Този съд от Сандански може да се отнесе към тип Ib по Д. Гарашанин (Garašanin, D., 1996, 220). Подобна форма се среща в Доня Брница (Srejović 1959/60, T.I.4, IV.6, V.1, VI.5; Lucі 1984, T.I.4, II.1, VII.1), Горня Стражава (Крстић 1994, T.III.3, V.1, VI.5), Доня Топоница (Трбуховић/Трбуховић 1970, 73, №18), Клучка (Митревски 1995, T.I, II.5), Улпиана (Цветковић-Томашевић 1983, Sl.14,VII. b), Пирот (I тип, Јевтић 1990, T.II. 8, III.10), Селиште (Пејић 2001, T.I.3, II.1, V.1), Варош-Урошевац (Srejović 1959/60, Sl.19), Врапце (Јоцић/Стојић 2000, T.I.1) и други.

Формата се среща в Тасос, без украса. Характерна е за фази IA и IB (тип VI 121 и VI 123, Κουκουλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 397, 420, Σχεδ. 11; 84; 112-113). Тип VIB от Тасос има релефни *пъпки* върху раменете на съда, характерна украса за фаза IB (Κουκουλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 543, Σχεδ. 146a). В Кастанас подобни амфори с 4 вертикални дръжки на тялото се датират преди 13 хоризонт (форма 3e2, Hochstetter 1984, 27-29, Abb. 9-10, Tafel 39.10, 45.4, 6, 48.1-2, 65.1, 36.2-3). В затворен комплекс от 14b хоризонт са открити две неукрасени амфори с по четири дръжки, и още две по-малки амфори, с две хоризонтални дръжки и с по две *релефни пъпки* върху тялото, на нивото на дръжките (Hochstetter 1984, Tafel 48.1-2, 50.1-2). В Асирос Тумба, фази 14–6, също се срещат релефни пъпки върху най-издутата част на съдовете (Wardle 1980, 247, fig. 9.7, 10.12, 12.22). Представените паралели позволяват

този гробен комплекс от Сандански, както и подобните урни, открити в ареала на култура Брница, да се датират в края на Късната бронзова епоха в Централните Балкани (Alexandrov et al. 2007, 385).

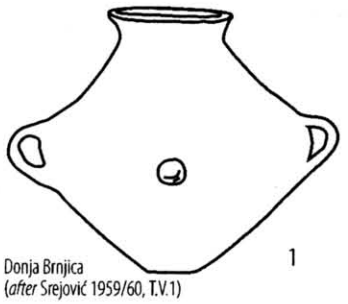
**Канелираната керамика в Централнобалканския район**

В проучената част на Клучка, на нивото на горните покривни камъни на гробните конструкции, е открита керамика с типичната за Ранната желязна епоха украса, канелюри върху тялото, характерните *turban-dish*, както и груба керамика с релефни ленти (Митревски 1995, 70-71, T.VI.4, 5, 7; Mitrevski 2003a, 34). Според Д. Митревски тези фрагменти са от разрушени гробове – в затворените гробни комплекси в некропола Клучка тази керамика не се среща. В Пирот, на нивото на каменната обвивка на гробовете също така са откривани фрагменти от конични паници, украсени с канелирани устия *(turban-dish)*, фрагмент извита дръжка *(twisted-handle)* (Јевтић 1990, T.IV.10; IV.8, V.7). Тази керамика предполага финалния етап на култура Брница да се постави в началния етап на разпространение на канелираната керамика по Долен Дунав и Централните Балкани (Јевтић 1990, 101-102; Stojić 2000, 22-24, Пејић 2001, 202-204; Mitrevski 2003a, 34).

Хронологията на канелираната керамика в Централнобалканския район е отдавна дискутиран проблем. В тази връзка е важно наличието ѝ в обектите с вертикална стратиграфия – селищата по Долен Вардар и в Троя. Внезапната поява на украса в този т.нар. "дунавски стил" в Северна Гърция е разглеждано дълго време и от различни гледни точки, преди всичко се свързва с миграцията на население от Балканите към района на Егея (Митревски 1995; Mitrevski 2007, 447-450; Wardle et al. 2007, 487). Относно времето на появата ѝ в Северна Гърция е прието, че е синхронна на последния Микенски период, поради докладваното едновременно присъствие на керамика в стил LHIIIC и канелирана в селището Вардаровци/Аксиохори. Така, резултатите от проучванията на У. Хъртли остават за дълго време основен индикатор за едновременното им съществуване (Heurtley 1939; Garašanin, M., 1983, 764; Митревски 1997, 63; Wardle et al. 2007, 487). Подобна ситуация е налице и в Троя VIIB2, където множеството *букел-керамика (Buckelkeramik, Knobbed Ware)* е открита заедно с фрагменти в стил LHIIIC (Mountjoy 1999, Tab.1, 333). Тази ситуация е преразгледана, като датирането на пласта Троя VIIB2, съответно на канелираната и букел-керамиката от пласта, са поставени след VIIB1, съдържащ също така няколко фрагмента керамика в късномикенски стил, и преди VIIB3, съдържащ вече Протогеометрична керамика (Lenz et al. 1998, 190-193, fig. 3, note 25; Wardle et al. 2007, 485). К. Уордъл, М. Нютън и П. Кунихолм приемат, че малкото LHIIIC фрагменти от пласта VIIB2 (няма цели съдове, противоположно на целите съдове от *букел-керамиката*) са *остатъчни*, и представляват *terminus post quem* за пласта VIIB2 (Wardle et al. 2007, 485). По сходен начин е преразгледано и положението на канелираната керамика в Кастанас (Wardle et al. 2007, 489, fig. 3). В Асирос Тумба фрагментите Микенска керамика, откривани след 4 фаза са разгледани като *остатъчни*, не произхождащи от затворени комплекси. В заключение авторите смятат, че канелираната и букел-керамиката трябва да се поставят едва *след* края на Микенския период (Wardle et al. 2007, 496, fig. 7).

Важни наблюдения има и Х. Кукули-Хризантаки за обектите източно от Струма/Стримон в Северна Гърция. В тях не е регистрирано едновременно присъствие на характерна за Ранната желязна епоха от района т.нар. *grooved-pottery*, от една страна, и от друга – типичната за региона неукрасена от края на КБЕ, както и вносната или местна на колело, изработена в LHIIIC стил. Това е наблюдавано в стратиграфията на селището Статмос Ангиста до Серес. Важно е, че в гробните комплекси от Тасос няма смесване на канелирана керамика и типичната за района от края на Бронзовата епоха (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1982, 255; Κουκουλή-Χρυσανθάκη 1992, 420, 475-476).

В Централните Балкани керамика с характерни белези както за Късната бронзова, така и за Ранната желязна епоха, е налице в селището Медиана (Garašanin, M., 1983). При датирането на етапа Медиана I са използ-



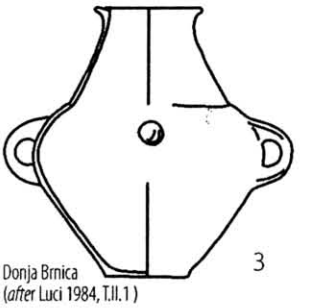
Donja Brnjica
(*after* Srejović 1959/60, T.V.1)

1



Donja Brnjica
(*after* Srejović 1959/60, T.VI.5)

2



Donja Brnica
(*after* Luci 1984, T.II.1)

3



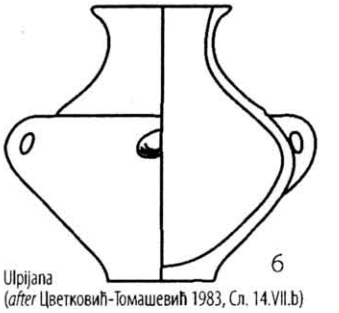
Gornja Stražava
(*after* Крстић 1994, T.V.1)

4



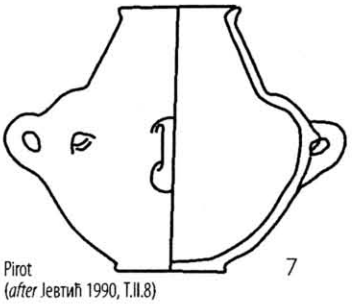
Gornja Stražava
(*after* Крстић 1994, T.VII.3)

5



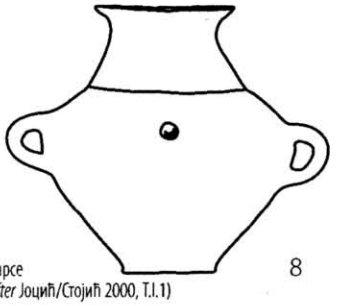
Ulpijana
(*after* Цветковић-Томашевић 1983, Сл. 14.VII.b)

6



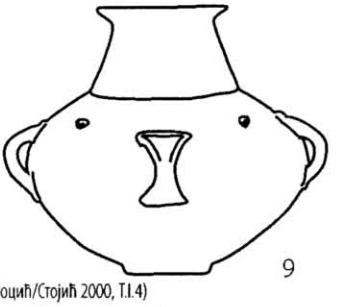
Pirot
(*after* Јевтић 1990, T.II.8)

7



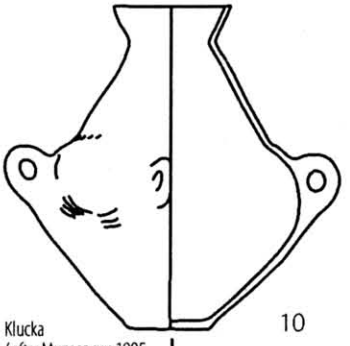
Vrapce
(*after* Јоцић/Стојић 2000, T.I.1)

8



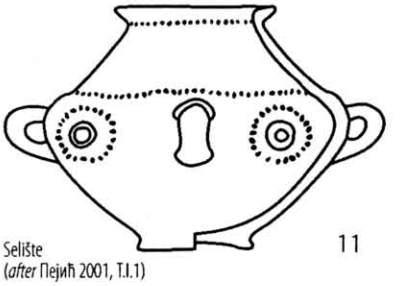
Vrapce
(*after* Јоцић/Стојић 2000, T.I.4)

9



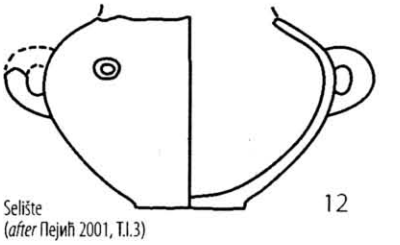
Klucka
(*after* Митревски 1995, T.I.5)

10



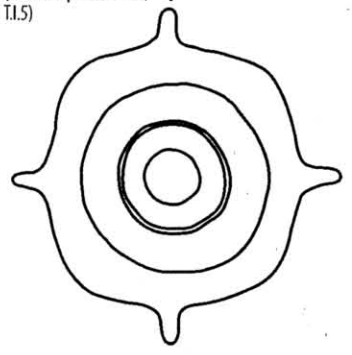
Selište
(*after* Пејић 2001, T.I.1)

11



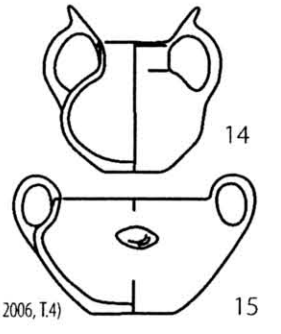
Selište
(*after* Пејић 2001, T.I.3)

12





13



14

Sandanski
(grave no.3, *after* Alexandrov et al. 2006, T.4)

15

*Табл. 1. 1-12. Характерни съдове от некрополите на култура Брница, от трите главни района на разпространението ѝ. 13-15. Керамика от гроб 3 от Сандански. Различни мащаби*

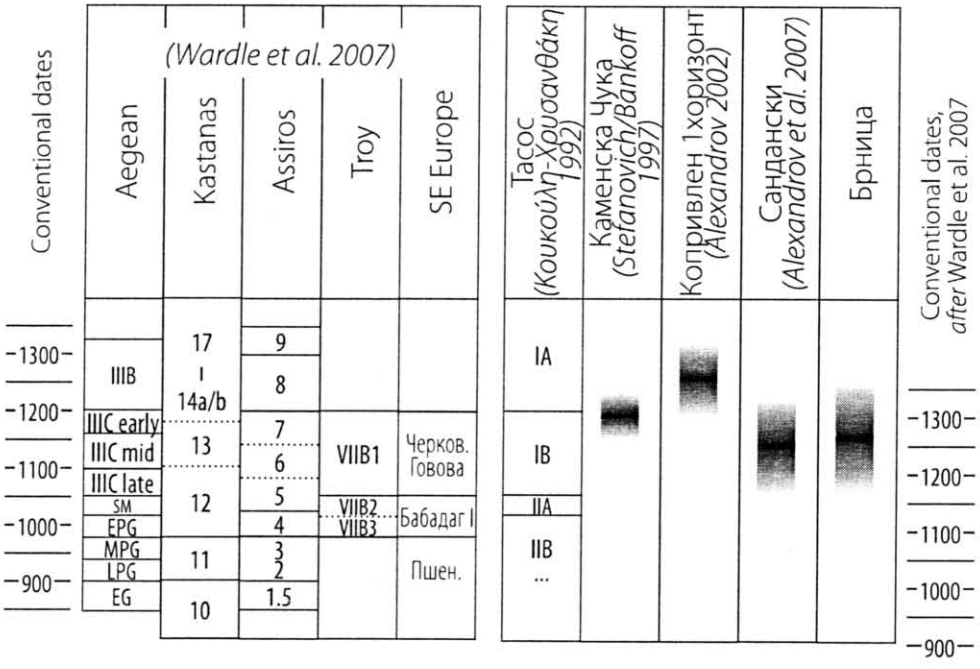



*Табл. 3. Относителна хронология на разглежданите обекти, и отношението им с култура Брница.*

вани кантаросите, срещащи се и в периода KIV в Кастанас (форми B20 и B21; Garašanin, M. 1996, 211, 217, Beilage Ia). За етапа Медиана II вече е индикативна появата на съдове тип *Гава,* също така *turban-dish,* които са синхронизирани с началото на KV в Кастанас. Медиана I е поставена в BrD-началото на HaA1, а Медиана II в HaA1/2 (Garašanin, M., 1996, 213-217). Въпреки това наличието на керамика с по-късни белези: конични паници с извит навътре и фасетиран ръб на устието, на тордирани дръжки с овално сечение, в етапа Медиана I (форма B1b, форма Ba2c; Garašanin, M., 1996, 203, 207, Beilage I, II) предполага синхронизирането й с Ранножелезните хоризонти от Кастанас или Асирос Тумба (Wardle et al. 2007, fig. 2-3).

От изложеното е възможно да се заключи, че от този район в затворен комплекс с керамика от Късната бронзова епоха не е открита керамика с канелюрна украса или с белези, характерни за ранножелезните етапи. Канелираната керамика очертава един хронологически хоризонт от началото на Желязната епоха в Централните Балкани и Северна Егея (Wardle et al., 2007, 496), спрямо който могат да се отнесат находките от региона. Отделните хронологически етапи при керамиката на ръка от Късната бронзова епоха е по-трудно да бъдат детайлно дефинирани, както това е възможно за локалното производство на керамика на колело, което следва и копира в голяма степен южногръцкото микенско керамично производство. Редица форми керамика е невъзможно да бъдат разграничени хронологически без характерната украса (Wardle 1997, 452, fig. 1-3; Георгиева 2003, 167-168). Един указател за късните етапи на Късната бронзова епоха е съотношението между украсената с врязани линии и неукрасената керамика от даден обект или пласт – към края на периода голямата част от съдовете са неукрасени (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1982, 254-256; Alexandrov 2002, 80-82; Andreou/Psaraki 2007, 412, fig. 3). Това съотношение е трудно доловимо, тъй като е възможно да бъде установено при сигурен стратиграфски пласт или в затворени комплекси.

От култура Брница няма публикувана керамика с ранножелезни белези (Jovanović/Janković 1996, 196-197). От позицията на Северна Гърция и Югозападна България, в по-голямата си част гробните комплекси могат

да бъдат отнесени към един етап от края на Късната бронзова епоха, синхронни със Сандански (Alexandrov et al. 2007), Тасос IB (Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη 1992) и селищата Каменска Чука (Stefanovich/Bankoff 1998), Кастанас 14b–14a–13 хоризонт (Hochstetter 1984), Асирос 7–6 фази (Wardle 1980), и *преди* появата на канелюрния стил в украсата на керамиката в Централните Балкани. Керамиката с врязана и инкрустирана украса от Брница е възможно да маркира един по-ранен период, в който е по-често срещана (табл. 2).

В следващия хронологически период на Ранната желязна епоха в Централните Балкани се срещат находки в стила *Гава-Белегиш II* (Медовић 2001, 219-220; Tasić/Tasić 2003, 103).

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# Колективна находка от глинени съдове в праисторическото селище от бронзовата епоха в гр. Нова Загора

Татяна Кънчева-Русева

*Tatyana Kuncheva-Ruseva*

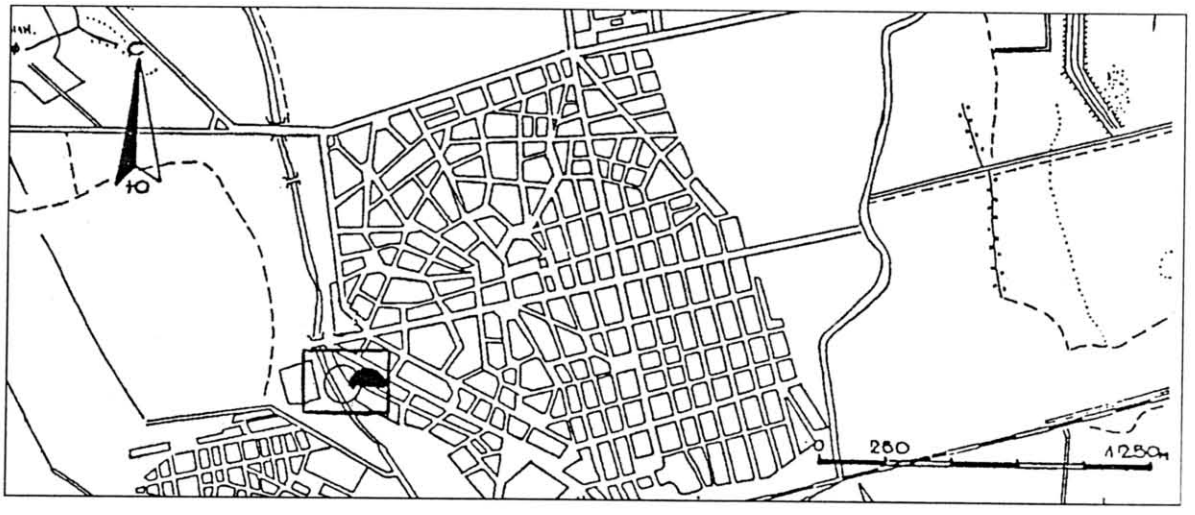
*Collective Find of Pottery in the Bronze Age prehistoric village in the town of Nova Zagora*

*This article presents the finds from the Early Iron Age, found in a pit at the settlement (обр. 4-5). Most probably this pit was used as pottery depot, a situation known from other sites and periods. From this complex 6 vessels were restored (рис. 1-6), dated at the end of 9th–the beginning of 8th century BC.*

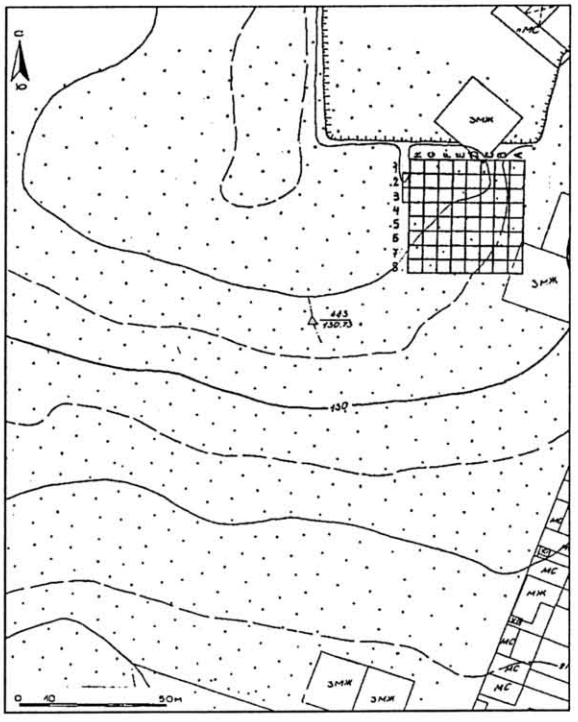
Праисторическото селище се намира в непосредствена близост с проучената изцяло селищна могила от средната бронзова епоха в западната част на гр. Нова Загора. Разположено е върху ниска тераса на левия бряг на р. Блатница. Обхваща площ над 20 дка (обр. 1) (Георгиев и др. 1979, обр. 4; Кънчев 1984, 155-156; 1990, 70).

Поради опасността от разрушаване на източната му част при жилищно строителство, през 1989 г. започнаха спасителни разкопки. Заложен беше сондаж с площ 1600 кв. м. (обр. 2). Проучванията продължиха и през 1990 и 1993 г., когато беше достигната материковата основа (Кънчева-Русева/Кънчев 1991, 42-43; Кънчева-Русева/Гоцев 1994, 30-31).

Културният пласт в сондажа се оказа нарушен от съществувалото на това място циганско селище, гробове и съвременни ями, някои от които достигащи на дълбочина до материковата основа. В най-горния разрушен слой са намерени материали от бронзовата, ранната и късната желязна епоха, средновековието и съвременни, без стратиграфия. Изцяло са унищожени вероятно тънките пластове от ранната и късната желязна епоха, а частично и пластът от бронзовата епоха. Въпреки силните нарушения, в сондажа бяха разкрити части от планове на жилища и жилищни съоръжения, въз основа на които бяха разграничени четири




*Обр. 1. Местоположение на праисторическото селище със селищната могила от бронзовата епоха*

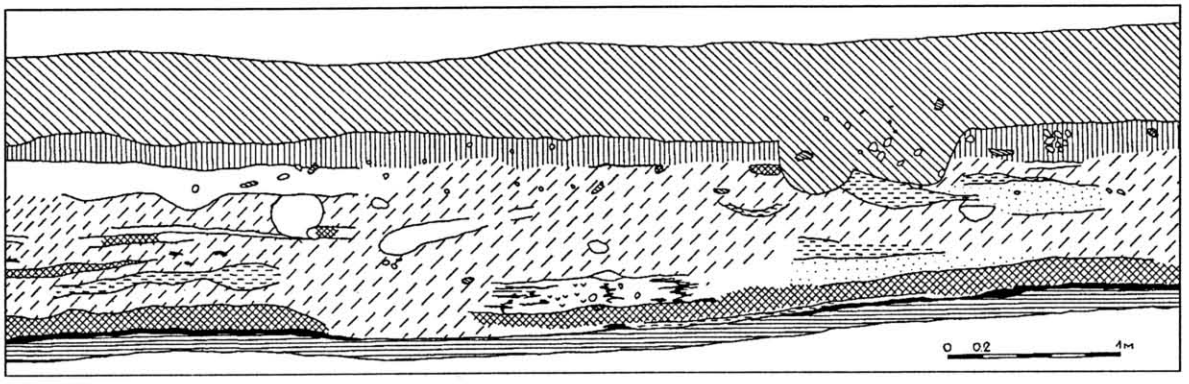


*Обр. 2. Скица на праисторическото селище с план-квадратната мрежа*

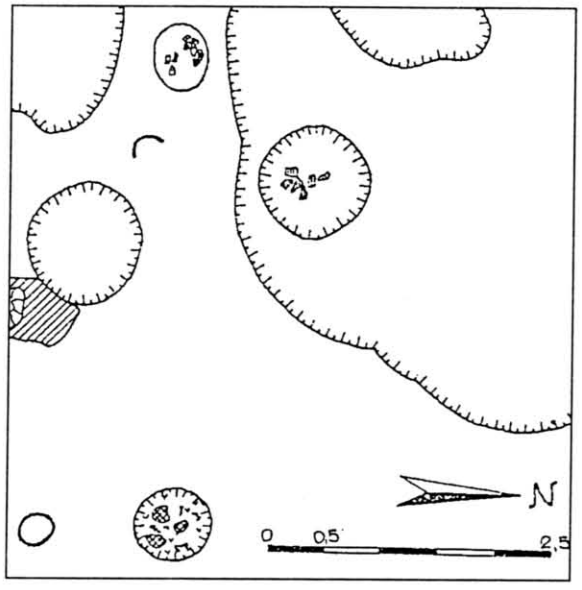
строителни хоризонта от бронзовата епоха (Обр.3). Намерените археологически материали от този период имат паралели в близката селищна могила. Вероятно селището е било колония на могилата, създадено след увеличаване на нейното население. Материалите от ранната и късната желязна епоха произхождат от най-горния, разрушен слой и от ями, вкопани в културния пласт на бронзовата епоха.

Предмет на настоящото съобщение са глинените съдове от ранната желязна епоха, открити в яма в западната част на сондажа – квадрат Н4 (обр. 4-5). Северната половина на квадрат Н4 бе заета от голяма яма, в която се намериха съвременни материали и отделни керамични фрагменти от бронзовата и ранната желязна епоха. Тя достига на дълбочина до материковата основа и е унищожила изцяло праисторическия културен пласт в тази част на квадрата. Прерязала е и яма от ранната желязна епоха. При проучването беше разкрита част от нея, вкопана в материковата глина, под основата на съвременната яма. Размерите на запазената й част са: диам. 1 м, дълб. 0.60 м. Ямата има почти цилиндрична форма, кръгъл отвор и равно дъно. Съдържавието й е от еднородна кафявочерна пръст, примесена с камъчета и късчета горяла глина. В ямата беше рзчистено струпване от фрагментирани глинени съдове от ранната желязна епоха. След проучване на съоръжението и вдигане на керамиката, бяха възстановени шест съда (Рис. 1–6).

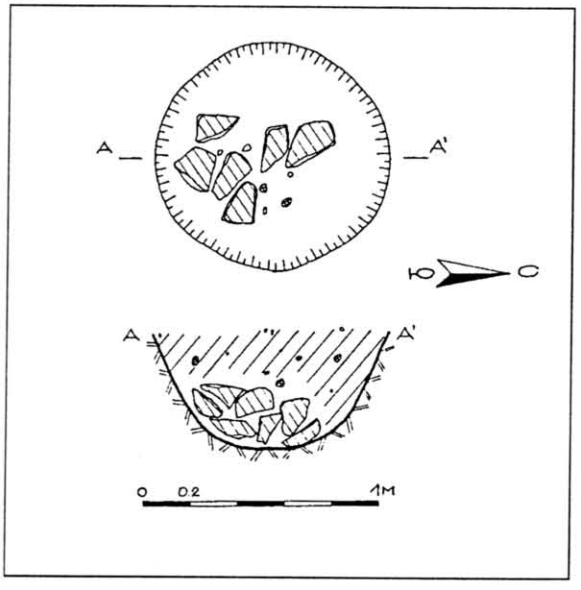
Съдовете са изработени от глина, примесена с кварцови частици, повърхността е с различна степен на заглаждане, със сив и сиво-кафяв цвят. Наблюдава се значително разнообразие на форми и украса. Представени са няколко типа съдове: урна, съдове с висока дръжка, купа, биконични съдове. Преобладават биконичните форми. Украсата е разнообразна: релефна (езичести израстъци, релефни ръбове с насечки и ямички, резки и канелюри. Наблюдават се съчетания на различни видове украса: врязана и релефна; канелюри и релефна. Интересна е орнаменталната композиция върху чаша кат. No 2 (Рис. 2). В централната част на съда са разположени три релефни изображения на котви в комбинация с релефен и врязан орнамент. Известен е само един паралел –



*Обр. 3. Стратиграфски профил на културните напластявания.*




*Обр. 4. План на кв. Н4*




*Обр. 5. Яма в кв. Н4*

подобно изображение на котва върху керамичен фрагмент от крепостта Малкото кале в землището на с. Равадиново, който обаче е датиран в късната желязна епоха (Влахов и др. 1982, 367-368, рис. 788). Урната кат. № 1 (рис. 1) има паралели с подобни материали от селището в Раднево, датирани в началото на ранната желязна епоха (Ников 1994, обр. 4, а.б.в), Главан (Шейлева 1994, обр. 4), Румъния (Dragomir 1983, fig. 6, 4). Съдове подобни на купата от Нова Загора кат. No 4 (Рис. 4) са известни и от Унгария (Ратек 1980, fig. 1, 9) и др. Съдът с висока дръжка кат. No 3 (Рис. 3) намира аналогии с подобни съдове от Минерални бани, Хасковско (Аладжов/Балабанян 1984, обр. 33, 1) и от един долмен до с. Ябълково в Странджа (Влахов и др. 1982, рис. 560, No 127). Форми, подобни на съда с висока дръжка кат. No 2 (Рис. 2) са известни от крепостта Малкото кале (Влахов и др. 1982, 367-368, рис. 788) и от Унгария (Ратек 1980, fig. 2, 5).

Ями с материали от ранната желязна епоха, вкопани в културния пласт на поранно селище са констатирани и в селищната могила от бронзовата епоха в Нова Загора (Катинчаров/Кънчев 1978, 40; Катинчаров/Кънчев/Кънчева 1979, 38) и от енеолитното селище в местността Багачина до с. Сталийска махала, обл. Монтана (Бонев/Александров 1986, 51) и др.

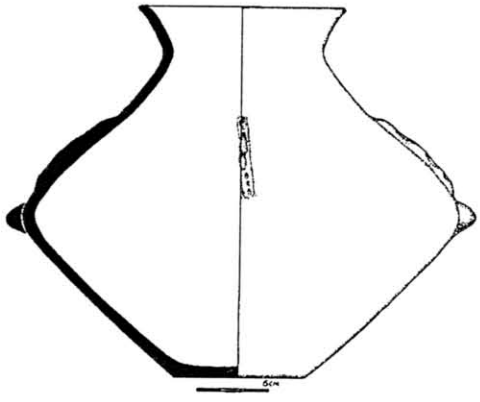


*Рис. 1. Глинена урна № 1*

Що се отнася до характера на ямата в праисторическото селище в Нова Загора то може да се предположи, че се касае за склад за съхраняване на глинени съдове. Подобни съоръжения са известни и от други места в България (Детев 1964, 66-70; Георгиева 1991, 1).

Въз основа на посочените паралели глинените съдове датират в края на IX и началото на VIII в.пр.н.е. Прецизиране на датировката може де се направи след обработката на целия керамичен материал от ранната желязна епоха от праисторическото селище в Нова Загора.

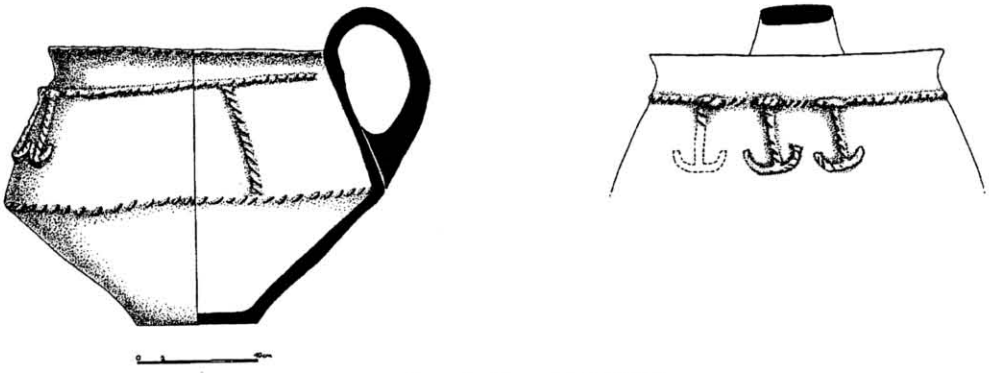


*Рис. 2. Глинен съд №2*

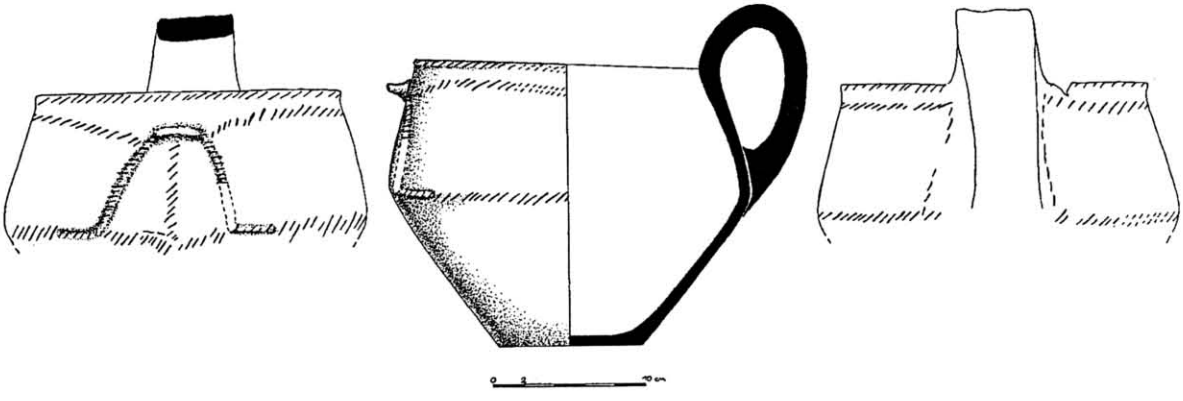


*Рис. 3. Глинен съд № 3*

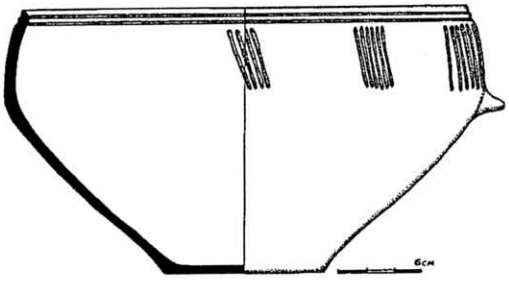


*Рис. 4. Гливена купа № 4*

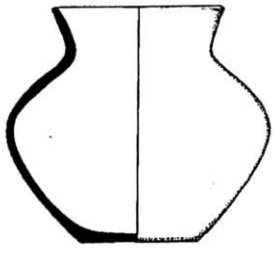


*Рис. 5. Глинен съд № 5*

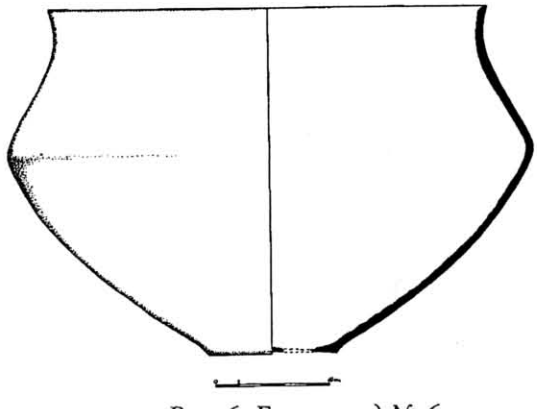


*Рис. 6. Глинен съд № 6*

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## Описание на глинените съдове

1. Урна с фуниевидно устие, скосен навътре устен ръб, биконично тяло и равно дъно. Недобре пречистена глина с кварцови частици, тъмносив цвят с по-светли, кафяви петна. Недобре загладена повърхност. Украса: четири симетрично разположени под основата на шията наклонени релефни ръбчета, прекъснати с елипсовидни ямички. Върху най-широката част на тялото – два срещуположни езически израстъка (единият – счупен). Вис. 29 см. Рис. 1.
2. Съд с леко скосен навън ръб на устието, биконично тяло и равно дъно, снабден с висока лентовидна дръжка с правоъгълно сечение, излизаща от ръба на устието - до най-широката част на тялото. Недобре пречистета глина, примесена с кварцови частици, сивокафяв цвят. Недобре загладена повърхност. Украса: два реда наклонени продълговати ямички върху устието и върху най-широката част на тялото, под устието - хоризонтален релефен ръб с наклонени продълговати ямички, прекъсващ в задната част на съда. Върху релефния ръб, срещу дръжката – три езически израстъка. От всеки израстък се спуска вертикално по едно релефно изображение на котва, едното – отчупено. В задната част на съда, от релефния ръб се спускат надолу две симетрични наклонени релефни ръбчета, прекъснати с продълговати ямички и достигащи до ред ямички върху най-широката част на тялото. Вис. с дръжката 28 см. Рис. 2
3. Съд с леко профилиран, заоблен навън ръб на устието, биконично тяло и равно дъно, снабден с висока лентовидна дръжка с правоъгълно сечение, излизаща от ръба на устието – до най-широката част на тялото. Добре пречистета глина, примесена с дребни кварцови частици и слюда. Светлокафяв цвят с тъмносиви петна. Недобре загладена повърхност. Украсен с комбинация от три хоризонтални успоредни реда наклонени резки върху и под ръба на устието и върху най-широката част на тялото. Вторият ред резки (отгоре надолу) прекъсва в задната част на съда. Срещу дръжката има езичест израстък. От краищата на израстъка се спускат под наклон две релефни ръбчета, прекъснати с наклонени резки и достигащи до третия ред. От долната част на израстъка се спуска отвесно ред наклонени резки, който също достига до третия ред резки. Вис. с дръжката 23 см. Рис. 3.
4. Купа със завит и скосен навътре ръб на устието, биконично тяло и равно дъно. Недобре пречистета глина, примесена с кварцови частици, сиво-кафяв цвят. Недобре загладена повърхност. Украса: две хоризонтални, успоредни канелюри непосредствено под устието и редуващи се пояси от коси и вертикални канелюри под тях. Върху най-широката част на тялото – езичест израстък. Вис. 19 см. Рис. 4.
5. Съд с профилиран и леко скосен навън ръб на устието, ниска шия с форма на обърнат пресечен конус, биконично тяло и равно дъно. Добре пречистета глина, сивокафяв цвят. Огладена повърхност, на места – излъскана. Вис. 17.4 см. Рис. 5.
6. Съд с профилиран и скосен навътре ръб на устието, биконично тяло и леко конкавно дъно – пробито. Недобре пречистета глина с едри кварцови частици. Сив цвят с кафяви петна. Недобре загладена повърхност. Вис. 30 см. Рис. 6.

# Tombs of Thracian Kings in the Region of Kazanluk

Georgi Kitov

*Георги Китов*

*Гробници на Тракийски царе в Казанлъшко*

*Сензационното откриване на Казанлъшката гробница остава за дълъг период единствената находка, маркираща наличието на тракийска школа в античното изкуство. 20 години след това в същия район се откриха още две гробници и започнаха интензивни проучвания на тракийските могили в района. В тях бяха открити множество накити и апликации, предмети на въоръжението, местни и вносни съдове и редица други археологически материали. За повечето от могилите се предполага, че са съдържали царски погребения, поради което районът около Казанлък бе наречен "Долина на Тракийските царе".*

On April 19, 1944, an interesting archaeological discovery was made in the region of Kazanluk, under the embankment of a Thracian mound – the Kazanluk tomb, as it is well-known in science today, with its multicolored drawings. The sensational discovery of the Kazanluk tomb[1] remained isolated for more than 20 years. It became the reason for writing and arguing about the existence of a Thracian school in the antique art of painting (Dimitrov 1966).

The tomb consists of a corridor and a circular beehive chamber. The walls are covered with a multicolored stuccatura, most of which represents different scenes. The ones in the corridor illustrate the military exploits of the buried Thracian ruler. The chamber is covered with numerous plant, geometric, and animal ornaments. The basic part of the image field is also occupied by scenes. A contest with galloping chariots is depicted in the uppermost frieze. Another scene is drawn under the frieze, most probably of a funeral feast in honor of a deceased and deified Thracian ruler. He is seated on a throne, with a wreath on his head, and is stretching his hand in farewell to his distressed wife. Around them, servants and relatives carry funeral gifts, while a young chariot-driver holds the reins of the horses, which would be offered as a ritual sacrifice. The colors are harmonic, the contours of the images are precise and sure, most of the participants in the scenes possess individualized traits. The Kazanluk tomb still remains one of the masterpieces of the Thracian tomb architecture and art of painting (Ognenova-Marinova 1991, 12 ff).

Two tombs, which were not so well preserved and were less impressive, were found a little more than twenty years later, in the same region. The one at Muglizh has a long corridor, brick chambers, but is devastated to a large extent, still preserving mural fragments, which are in a process of restoration[2]. The tomb at Krun is less preserved; its walls had been covered with multicolored parget, the precise outlines of which could only be supposed (Getov 1991, 42)[3].

As soon as thirty years later intensive research began in the region of Shipka, Kazanluk region (Kitov 1995a). During the very first days of the excavations, a peculiar tomb was found. Its walls were built up of raw stones and its interior was filled with soil and small stones. It turned out that it was not looted. Moreover, it can be concluded that it has belonged to a ruler because of two bone scepters, which are in the shape of a double-axe, and a massive golden ring with an engraved scene of an investitura.

[1] The first serious investigation is carried out by V. Mikov (Mikov 1954). The subsequent literature on the Kazanluk tomb is tremendous, both in terms of specialized research, and in terms of review works on the antique art. The more important ones are given by Ognenova-Marinova (1991, 22 ff).

[2] The tomb is discovered in 1965 (Tzanova and Getov 1973, 15 ff.).

[3] The tomb is discovered in the same 1965. It is located closer to Shipka than to Krun. Now it is buried under an embankment, which has naturally slid down. Near the mound, in which it is discovered, a larger mound embankment is situated. In its southwestern sector a drilling was made in 1992. The embankment is filled up with beehive-like ritual pits.



*Fig. 1. Part of the tumular necropolis Shipka-Sheynovo.*
*In the background the munition factory Arsenal (left), Golyama Kosmatka mound (right).*
*Photo: Georgi Kitov.*



*Fig. 2. A bronze situla with representation of a bearded silenus. The Small mound, 4th century BC.*
*Photo: Zhelian Nikolov*

The rest of the funeral gifts from the stock are incredibly ornate and diverse as well. A superb golden necklace stands out among them. Its chain consists of thousands of miniature, inner-soldered rings. The clasps are artistically made of thin soldered golden fibers. A pendant in the shape of a miniature amphora is a masterpiece of the art of jewelry. Its body is covered with thin golden fibers and a multitude of microscopic golden balls, which are arranged in stripes or heaped in clusters. Another similar pendant is not so precisely carried out. The places of joints between the separate elements of the necklace are discovered through small oval plates, over which a small female face is portrayed – probably belonging to the gorgone Medusa. Another golden necklace consists of richly ornamented beads, covered with a multitude of rosettes, which are a result of the bending and welding of golden wires. Its richly ornamented bi-coni-

cal pendant is not less elegantly made. Ten more golden objects, a multitude of silver ornaments, two silver phialae, two bronze vessels, one of which displaying precisely made plastic images of a bearded male face and a three-dimensional lion's head, a lot of clay vessels, some of which imported from ancient Greece, and lots of other, more insignificant objects illustrate the high aesthetic needs of the Thracian aristocracy during IV century BC (KITOV 1994a, 5 ff.; KITOV/THEODOSSIEV 1995, 317 ff., bibl.).

On April 13, 1973 near the town of Shipka, one of the biggest Thracian mounds revealed another sensational archeological discovery. It turned out that the largest and most imposing Thracian tomb, known so far in general in the Thracian world, was located in the southern periphery of the embankment. It astounds with numerous idiosyncrasies, each of which is new to science (KITOV 1994b, 13 ff.; KITOV 1995, 245 ff.)

The device constitutes an enormous funeral and cult complex, which consists of six premises, five of which are rectangular and one is circular. With its area of 100 $m^2$ it is at least two times bigger than that of any of the known so far Thracian tombs. The central funeral chamber is impressing and is carved out of a huge monolithic block[4]. The ceiling is covered with a multitude of miniature fields, which are filled out with magnificent colorful images.

The formation of the complex has started in the middle of IV century BC, when the monolithic block at hand had been carved and mounted. A three-stair rectangular platform (stereobate) was built up for its fixing and attachment. An enormous chamber was placed in the middle of the platform, after it had been poured on with lead. Its size – 3,5 m × 2,5 m × 2,5 m, prove that its total weight is greater than 60 tons. An entrance, a threshold, a free space, and a large rectangular funeral bed with stone legs, that are imitating lion's paws, are carved in the block. Aediculas have been modelled at the two ends of the bed, but they are pretty "vague". Obviously, the bed had been covered with a carpet or some other expensive fabric. The chamber is covered with a 5-wall block. Its eastern and western front parts are formed from the outside like frontons. A band of a jagged ornament – alternating concave and convex rectangles, imitating trimmer joists, pass under the frontons along the whole length of the block. Analogical "beams" divide the ceiling from the inside into 42 squares with murals[5]. The composition is perfect and is arranged around a big central circle, which symbolizes the sun. It had been thoroughly and thickly gilded. The eight triangles around it resemble sunrays. The rest of the area of the ceiling is divided into two levels, each of which consists of square image fields. Their size in the upper level is 14 cm × 14 cm. The corner fields are filled with 16-leaf rosettes of alternating oak and laurel leaves, every other of which colored in red and green. The rest of the fields have portrait images of male and female heads. The male ones carry wreaths on their heads, which legitimizes them as rulers. From the female ones, the most-preserved face is that of a young woman in 3/4 profile, with a sweet expression, auburn hair, with earrings on her ears and a necklace on her neck. An incrustation of thick golden plates, which have been wrenched, had additionally emphasized the ornaments. The female image is expressive, realistic, and of a high artistic value, as is the case with the rest of the frescoes.

The lower outer level consists of larger squares – 18 cm × 18 cm. They had been filled with scenes from the Thracian mythology and perhaps with the life of the buried Thracian king. On the better preserved scenes, one can see a seated warrior with a big golden shield in his hand; two talking human figures, which re-

[4] A similar case in Thrace is not known. Besides, the chamber is situated perpendicularly to the entrance, and the frontons are not over it, but toward the lateral walls, which contradicts the principles of antique architecture. Remote parallels to the sarcophagus-like chamber in the Ostrusha mound, can be seen in the tomb of Kir Stari in Persia (LUKONIN 1977, 61 FF.) -- the tomb, however, is built in and its entrance is on the narrow side, and in a tomb from Iznik, Nikea in Turkey (VULEVA 1994, 60 AND LIT.). Here, I will not have the opportunity to present my arguments about the lack of direct connections between the building traditions, which gave birth to the mentioned tombs, and the traditions, which resulted in the Shipka tomb-mausoleum.

[5] The earliest cassette ceilings in Thrace date back to the Roman epoch. They are presented with numerous monuments in the Greek and Etruscan worlds (KITOV 1994B, 18 ff.).

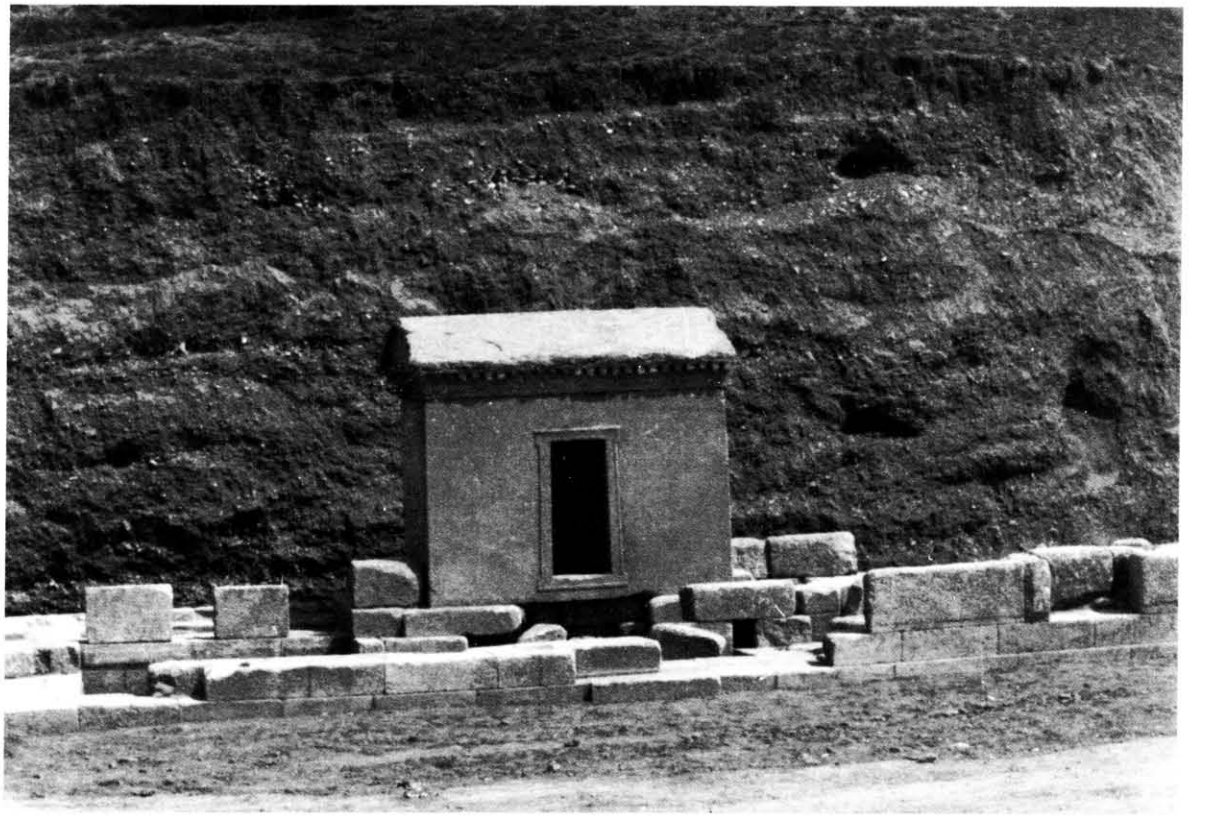


*Fig. 3. The Shipka tomb-mausoleum in the Ostrusha mound. 4th century BC. Photo: Georgi Kitov*

*Fig. 4. The tomb in the Sashova mound – not plundered the central chamber. Photo: Georgi Dimov*



semble a scene from the golden treasure from Panagyurishte (MARAZOV 1978, p.104 ff. and lit.)[6]. One of the figures rests on a club and resembles Heracles. There are also scenes of animal fights, that are typical for the traditional Thracian art (VENEDIKOV/GERASSIMOV 1973, 119)[7]. Some fields are filled with plant ornaments. All "beams" are covered with a rich geometric and plant decoration. The frescoes are painted in red, blue, yellow, and green, which is rarely found in such murals. Besides, strokes had been used, as well as nuances, among the separate colors. In its original appearance, the ceiling of the central chamber in the Shipka tomb had possessed higher artistic value than the frescoes of the Kazanluk tomb[7], mostly because of the fact that the images are on fields, several times smaller, and contain much more details on a significantly smaller area. Besides, the Shipka murals are at least half a century older than the ones at Kazanluk and confirm the hypothesis about the existence of a Thracian artistic school in the Hellenistic and antique art of painting (DIMITROV 1966). Some of the portraits and scenes could be regarded as masterpieces of the art of painting, and reveal the high artistic and technical demands and capabilities of the Thracian society as early as the middle of IV century BC.

The central monolithic chamber of the Shipka tomb had existed separately for some time, maybe for about a decade. The other five premises were attached to it subsequently, and thus it acquired its final appearance of a mausoleum[8] of a Thracian king, who was deified meanwhile. Undoubtedly, his image is drawn on the ceiling, as well as the images of the members of his family – ancestors or future rulers, who should have been buried in the same place.

Two of the additional rectangular premises flanquer the central monolithic chamber and are constructively closed. There the funerals of members of the dynastic family had been probably carried out. The premises had been immediately blocked up, which did not hinder their subsequent pillage. An antechamber is built up in front of the central chamber with two premises on its two sides, which are connected with it through entrances. The walls of the antechamber, its entrance from the south, and the entrances to its lateral chambers, had been decorated with plastic ornamentation, from which too little has been preserved. The thresholds had been covered with organic matter, which has left pale brown imprints.

The southeastern premises is circular and some arch-like incisions are distinguished in the preserved 3-4 rows, which point out to its beehive shape[9]. The premises had been pillaged. The bones found here, show that at least two horses were buried here.

Fortunately the southwestern premises, which is almost square, turned out unplundered[10]. A horse skeleton, with its legs to the south and its skull to the east, was cleared out in the southern part of the premises. Objects of the blow-piercing armament, with which the animal was killed, were found in the area of the chest. Obviously the horse (stallion) had to accompany the Thracian king in his afterlife. In the northern half of the chamber, a complete set of silver ornaments for horse ammunition was put in a bag. The set is one of the few found in Thrace, both with its complete content and of such a high

[6] In my opinion, the interpretation of the scene is unacceptable. It seems more plausible that the basic scene represents a Thracian ritual dance in front of the tomb, while the lonely and indifferent old man and lad should be perceived as priests in a process of preparation of the ritual act (KITOV, *in press*).

[7] A fight between animals can be seen in applications from Lukovit, Letnitza, Vratza, and many other finds.

[8] The term "mausoleum" (KITOV 1977, 12 ff.) seems to me more suitable than the often used instead "heroon", "sanctuary" (ROUSSEVA 1987, 30 ff.), and others. Historically and religiously A. Fol has substantiated it (FOL 1990, 171).

[9] This is the 22nd beehive chamber in Thrace-6 in Northern Bulgaria, 15 in Southern, and second in European Turkey (KITOV 1990, 116 ff.). The 23rd one was found in 1995 in the mound Golyama Arsenalka in the region of Shipka-Sheynovo – here, later on.

[10] The mound Ostrusha is used as a necropolis during the early Byzantine epoch. The device has been found probably at one of the pits, has been robbed, and partly destroyed in IV century AC. The crypt had been searched for under the central funeral chamber, and a tunnel was dug, in which a part of the plates of the stereobate have sunk. Dozens of coins of Constantine the Great, shoe tacks, and other materials were found in the tunnel and in front of it. Because of intolerance to human images, and because of the plates of incrusted gold, many of the frescoes are scraped off and partly or completely destroyed. Fortunately, the robbers have not reached the floor of the southwestern chamber.



*Fig. 5. A gold decorations on the inside walls of the silver phiale from Sashova mound. III-II century BC. Photo: Georgi Kitov*



*Fig. 6. The first chamber with the entrance toward the central room of the tomb with polychrome decorations in the Sarafova mound after opening the door. Photo: Georgi Kitov*

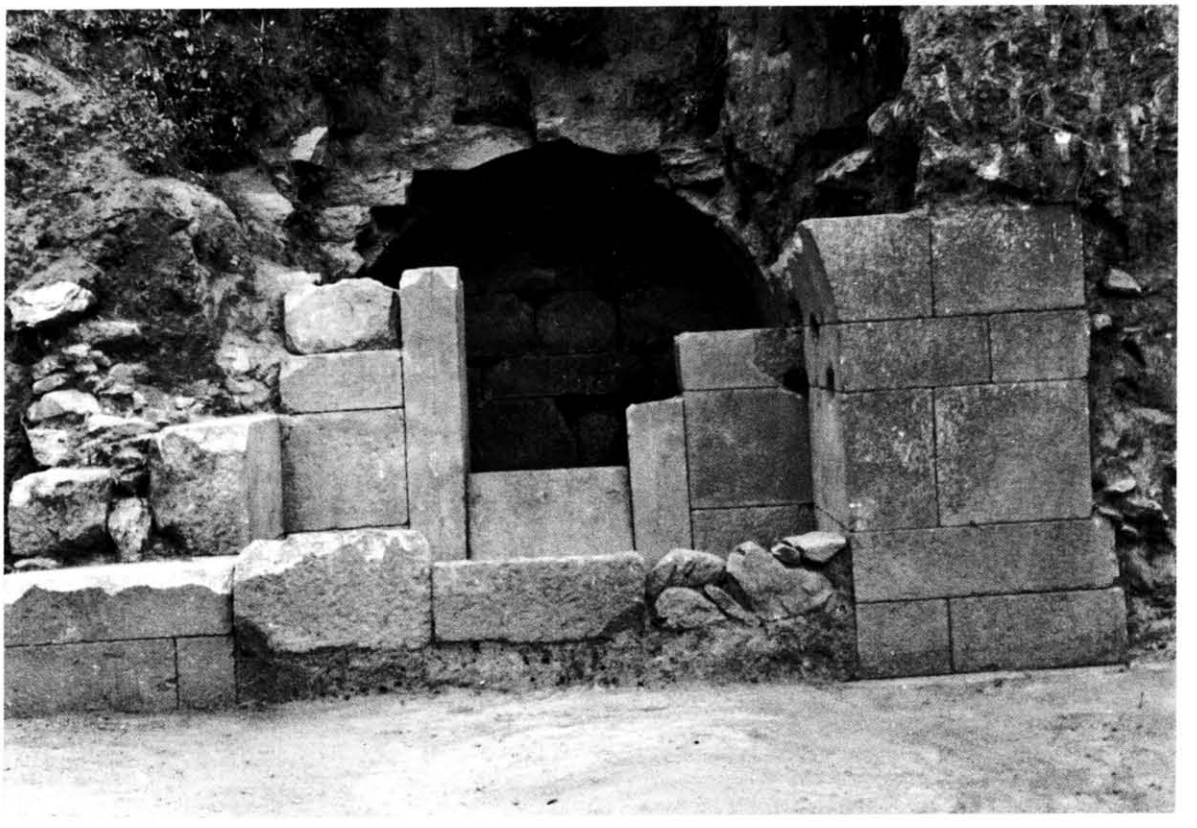


*Fig. 7. The antechamber and the chamber of the tomb in Slavchova mound with partitioned wall from south. Photo: Georgi Kitov*

artistic value. It consists of a three-dimensional forehead-plate, six cheekpieces with an engraved decoration, a multitude of circular smooth applications, rings, and a bridle. Plant ornaments are presented on the plate of the forehead-plate, which resembles the symbol of power in ancient societies – the double axe. These elements are an echo of earlier animal images, which were modified meanwhile according to the tendencies of development of the Thracian art during this epoch (KITOV 1992, 71). The front part of the body of a griffin, which was a favorite monster in Thrace – a combination of a lion's body and an eagle's head, is depicted in the middle. The stylistic traits of this griffin give us the connecting unit between similar earlier and later images in the Thracian art, which was missing till now. The fact, that similar monuments, which were much more roughly made and without an understanding of the initial meaning, are widespread in Scythia (MOZOLEVSKII 1975, 166 FF.; MELIUKOVA 1979, 37 ff. and lit.; 1981, 67 ff.), hints that their prototypes should be sought in the works of Thracian art. The forehead-plate of the Shipka tomb belongs to these prototypes. The rest of the applications of the horse ammunition have engraved animal images. On four of them there are three griffin heads, which are twisted spirally so that each bites in the mane of the previous one[11]. The other two are variations of the "connected lion's paws", which are widespread in the Thracian subject-matter[12].

Two silver vessels were found in the western chamber. The pitcher is of the so-called "Derveni" type[13] – with a leaf-like decoration on its body, which is well-known from the large Rogozen treasure (NIKOLOV/MASHOV/IVANOV 1988, 119, 143-153). The phiale has vertical embossed edges. A pectoral could be almost entirely restored from a multitude of silver fragments. It has an iron base and is covered with a silver, gilded foil with engraved plant and geometric ornamentation. The overall outline of the pectoral is sickle-like. It had been used undoubtedly as a front collar of a chain-mail or an armor [14]. Other similar fragments are still being processed and we cannot determine for sure whether they are pieces of a separate object or were used for the decoration of this chain-mail or armor, which is not preserved.

A sarcophagus-like grave, smoothed by huge stone blocks, was uncovered in front of the tomb. No archaeological materials were found in it although it turned out to be intact. Perhaps it had been a place for a symbolic funeral.

The last ones are acroterium and six antefixes. All of them are covered with plastic palmettes of a Thracian type, with leaves coiled inwards[15], some of which resemble birds' or griffins' heads. Three of the antefixes are painted in pale pink and the other three in pale blue. Obviously they had crowned the edges of a fronton on a pleks. Judging from some analogies, the pink ones were along the eastern sides, and the blue along the western. Their placement and conscious arrangement out of the complex, which resembles a ritual "funeral", sets us before an unknown custom in the Thracian funeral practices, which needs further clarification[16].

The Shipka tomb-mausoleum is a unique

[11] The closest analogy to the Shipka applications are the ones at the Mogilanska mound in Vratza (VENEDIKOV 1975, 18 ff.).

[12] The most characteristic similar applications, but carried out worse, are the ones at Panagyurishte and Bednyakovo (now Stoyan Zaimovo, Chirpan region) (FILOV 1916, 18, 23, № 29, 30, 45).

[13] This name originates from the village Derveni near Thessalonica, where a pitcher with a leaf-like decoration on its body, was found (ANDRONICOS 1975, 22). In fact, a pitcher with such a decoration was found already in the second half of the last century in Rozovetz (former Rahmanli), between Brezovo and Pavel Banya, at about 35 km to the southeast of Shipka (FILOV 1934, 170, № 3, table 11, 1).

[14] The only whole pectoral of this type is the one at Mezek (FILOV 1937, № 43). Two other similar, but fragmented pectorals are known from Vurbitza and Yankovo. L. Ognenova-Marinova made a successful attempt for their graphic restoration (OGNENOVA-MARINOVA 1969, 407 ff.). Two more similar pectorals, but very fragmented were found in 1995 in Tzviatkova mound and Golyama Arsenalka. They are in a process of restoration. So, three of the six similar pectorals originate from the Shipka-Sheynovo necropolis.

[15] This type of palmettes prevails over the monuments of Thracian art. Besides on the architectural details, they are modeled on numerous ornaments and applications for horse ammunitions from the Shipka-Sheynovo necropolis.

[16] The cases at Strelcha and Sveshtari are the most indicative ones. A chariot is buried in front of the beehive tomb in Zhaba-mound. It is covered up carefully with stones, so that its wheels could stand upright. Among the stones there are two acroteriums with highly artistic images, as well as pieces of a stone door with a plastic decoration. Similarly, architectural details, for which it is assumed that they have not been scattered by plunderers, were found in front of the tomb in Ginina mound, near Sveshtari.



*Fig. 8. The façade of the domed tomb in the Goliama Arsenalka mound with fallen down leaf from the two-leaved door and a part from partitioned wall. Photo: Georgi Kitov*



*Fig. 9. A small silver jug and silver phiale from Leshnikova mound. End of the 5th century BC. Photo: Georgi Kitov*



*Fig. 10. A bronze vessel from the grave from Leshnikova mound. Second half if the 5th century BC. Photo: Georgi Kitov*

monument of the Thracian tomb architecture and of the art of painting, also because of the invested in it ideas. It has suggested what unexpected discoveries could be anticipated in the Kazanluk valley. And they were not late. In 1994 a tomb, which is particularly important from a scientific viewpoint, was found but, however, it did not reveal attractive building techniques or archaeological materials. It is in a way a tomb in a negative. It has a circular shape with a beehive cover and a corridor. The interior, however, is entirely filled with stones, which were firmly coated with a mud solution (KITOV 1995b, 65). The device had been pillaged during ancient times. Only fragmented objects of armament and clay vessels were found, which allow us to say that it dates back to the end of 4th or the beginning of 3rd century BC[17].

The following year, 1995, turned out to be the most successful in the history of Thracian archaeology[18]. The series of sensational discoveries continued with the discovery and research of four monumental, completely preserved Thracian tombs and over 450 objects of museum value, a large part of which are unique. Lots of new data about the Thracian antiquity was obtained, some of which would probably cause changes in the traditional interpretation of the Thracian history, culture, and religion.

The tomb in Sashova mound is unique not only with its peculiar design and with the unknown so far arrangement of the central tomb chamber, which is transverse to its axis line[19], but also with the fact that it is the first monumental tomb in Thrace, which has not been pillaged and where the funerals are intact. The device has a 13-meter-long corridor, which leads to an ante-tomb chamber and through it, to the virtual funeral premises. The latter has a semi-cylindrical arch[20], located perpendicularly to the entrance. A stone bed[21], over which the corpse of the first Thracian man has been laid, most probably of the king, is built to the left (to the West). He has a very well preserved bronze helmet of a Thracian type[22]. He has a wriggled silver torqua (a bracelet for the neck) on his neck.

[17] This device obviously belongs to the necropolis of the capital of Sevt III, which has existed in the end of IV and the beginning of III century – Sevtopolis. Nowadays it is at the bottom of the "Koprinka" dam. Most of the mounds, which have been investigated in the last years in the region of Kazanluk, are out of the chronological frames of Sevtopolis. Imposing graves and tombs date back between VIII and I century BC, which is an evidence for the existence of another important city center in the region, which has not been localized yet. The literature about Sevtopolis is by D. Nikolov (Nikolov 1991, 71 ff.); about other centers (KITOV 1994, 89.)

[18] I mean that other important monuments of Thracian antiquity like the treasures from Vulchitrun, Panagyurishte, Lukovit, Letnitza, etc., as well as the tombs near Kazanluk and Mezek, for example, were found by chance. Here, for the first time a short review of the research in 1995 is made. Since a little more than a month has passed since the end of the excavations, it is natural that some formulations are not precise, and that the dating is liable to further precision. I was heading the investigation, while G. Lazov, E. Docheva, and G. Vuzvuzova from the National Historical Museum, K. Zafirov and E. Dimitrova from Historical Museum "Iskra", Kazanluk, the geophysicists I. Katevski and N. Tonkov from AIM at the Bulgarian Academy of Science, other specialists, students and technical collaborators, were participating.

[19] In contrast with the typical tombs with a semi-cylindrical arch, where the entrance is on the narrow side and the chambers are situated along the axis line.

[20] As it is known, these tombs carry the name "Macedonian" type because of the fact that they were found for the first time in the region of the ancient Macedonian kingdom and are still most numerous there (VULEVA 1994, 55 ff.). Until recently, only seven similar devices were known in our country, six in Northern Bulgaria and only one in Southern -- Mezek. With the discovery of the tombs in Slavchova and Sashova mound in the region of Kazanluk in 1995, their number has increased to nine. Obviously, more tombs with a semi-cylindrical arch will be found in the future and it is not impossible that some of them turn out to be earlier than the Macedonian ones. Unfortunately, the precise dating of the building of the last two tombs in the region of Kazanluk, as well as that of most of the others, is complicated by the fact that they had been used for a long time, and that the materials are characteristic of the last funeral. Slavchova mound has considerable chances because under the floor of the chamber there is a level of traces from ritual actions, which precede the building of the device. When the fragments of clay vessels are cleaned up, possibly pasted together, and analyzed, perhaps a more precise dating would be possible. Here, I would like to mention that in 1981, near the village Slavyani, Lovech district, a stone tomb with a semi-cylindrical cover was found. There are reasons for it to be dated back to the end of V or the beginning of IV century AC.

[21] The stone beds, which are characteristic for the "Macedonian type" tombs (VULEVA 1994, 55), had been also built in many typical Thracian tombs, as the beehive ones in Mezek, Malko Belovo, the newly found one in Goliama Arsenalka, in the necropolis of Shipka-Sheynovo, etc.

[22] As the discovery of a helmet of a Thracian type during archaeological excavations was considered an extraordinary event, besides the one in Sashova mound, two other were found during the last summer. The one in Zareva mound is made of bronze and has superbly made cheek-pieces with a stylized beard on them. The other one was found in a complex funeral device in the mound Fomus and is made of iron.

An iron chain-mail[23] lies on his breast. The bed and the wall have fallen, a huge iron sword, an iron umbo for a shield with arch-like incisions, with which he resembles the symbol of the king's power – the double axe. A small bronze pitcher, with an egg-like body and an embossed image of a human head on the lower part of the handle, was also found there[24]. A silver phiale of an unknown type lay near the pitcher. A 12-leaf star is modeled from gold on its bottom. It resembles the Macedonian star from the tomb of Philip of Macedon in the mound near Vergina in Northern Greece[25]. The interior part of the walls of the phiale is decorated with three golden belts. The lowest constitutes the motif of the running wave, which is known from other monuments of the Thracian art as well. The middle one has alternating rhomboids and laurel leaves, which are stylized like a wreath[26]. The upper belt, which is parallel to the mouth, consists of two rows of pearls, among which there are circles, connected with tangents. On the bottom there is an inscription, which has not been deciphered yet. A golden fibula of an unknown type was found at the same place. Three vertebrae with nests, incrusted with a dark blue material, the character of which is to be determined, are strung on the fibula's bow.

A horse is buried to the right of the entrance. The rest of the objects from the funeral stock – an iron bridle, a great number of clay vessels, some of which imported from Greece, 150 glass beads, and many other objects of an extraordinary scientific and artistic value, are situated between the skeleton of the horse and the bed.

The tomb seems to have been built in the middle or in the second half of 4th century BC, and was used for more than a century as a mausoleum of the Thracian ruler, who was deified meanwhile. It was finally closed in the beginning of 2nd century BC, when the last funeral was performed there[27].

Another unique tomb, but with merits in other aspects, was researched in Sarafova mound. It has a corridor and two chambers. The corridor is built of stone blocks. It has had a flat ceiling and a two-slope ceiling, covered with well-baked and even artistically made flat and bent tiles. A horse, preserved in a full anatomical order, is buried in the corridor. Both premises are made of bricks[28]. The first chamber does not have any archaeological materials. The second one was firmly sealed with a massive stone door[29]. It had not been opened. When we opened it, we were standing in front of a difficult to describe view. Bones of human skeleton and an insignificant quantity of silver, clay, and bronze objects, were diffused on the floor. What caused admiration and surprise, however, were the elegant outlines of the space and the belts with multicolored decoration on the walls. The colors were fresh and strong as if they had just been laid on. Belts in pompous red, black-orange, violet, and pale pink alternated one over another. The walls gradually narrow from all directions and end up in a pointed roof.

The walls of the corridor and the first chamber had been decorated in the same way but

[23] The information that in the mound near Rozovetz (former Rahmanlii) a knitted iron chain-mail was found (Shkorpil, H., K. Shkorpil 1898, 125) as early as the middle of the last century, was perceived with distrust until the explosive increase of the finds of whole or fragmented chain-mails first in Kulnovo, Shumen region (G. Atanassov's excavations), later in Doyrentzi and Smochan, Lovech region (G. Kitov's excavations), Ravnogor in the Rhodopi mountains (Kitov 1989, 36 and note 22), and now, besides in Sashova mound, also in Slavchova, Tzviatkova, and others near Kazanluk.

[24] The pitcher is in a process of a laboratory treatment.

[25] As it is known, 8-, 12-, and 16-ray stars are modelled on gold there (Andronicos 1984, 80 ff.).

[26] The ornaments on the forehead-plate from Ravnogor (Kitov 1986, 46) and the phalerae from Ivaylovgrad region are very similar in terms of the way of execution and the content (Filov 1925, 33). In later researches these phalerae are mistakenly referred to as if they were found in the Krumovgrad region.

[27] The fact that during the entire 3rd century BC the tomb has been functioning as a mausoleum and has not been destroyed, casts suspicion on the widespread opinion about the strong Celtic attack on the Odriss state, especially in the region of Kazanluk.

[28] This confirms the opinion, which was already expressed, about the early introduction of the brick in the Thracian tomb architecture (Chichikova 1975, 129 ff.).

[29] For the first time such a door is found in place. It is a thick stone plate, smooth on the outside and cassetted on the inside. Its right long side (when looked from the outside) is round and ends up and down with cylindrical protuberances. The lower one fits into a cove in the stone threshold, and is strengthened with lead and iron. The upper one goes into a wide and thick iron loop, which is attached to the page by means of two wedges, which were fixed in it and connected with a lead backing. The plate was firmly stuck to the pages and its opening was not an easy work. After the opening the door was freely hanging on its axis.

their colors have significantly faded away. The tomb at Sarafovo mound is of a type, unknown to the Thracian tomb architecture. The arrangement of belts of polychrome decoration is also a novelty. It is older than the Kazanluk tomb[30] and is an evidence of the striking diversity in the works of the Thracian mural school.

The discovery of the tomb at Sarafova mound and of the other devices in the region can be accepted as a confirmation of the hypothesis for the existence of tombs-mausoleums in Thrace[31]. Simultaneously, this tomb poses another question. Why were so few archaeological materials found behind the firmly closed stone door? Furthermore, there were imprints of the bases of three large, probably metal vessels on the ground of lime plaster, as well as imprints of their handles near the wall. The most plausible explanation so far is the hypothesis that the gifts had been consciously taken out in a moment of danger for the Thracian state, in order to provide for the means for the collection of mercenaries and for the purchase of weapons[32]. After that the door has been closed again and remained in this way until nowadays.

Two other tombs were found in 1995. The one in Slavovo mound has a tomb chamber and an antechamber, opened to the south. Both are built of huge, well-processed stone blocks, connected with iron clamps, which were poured on with lead[33]. The chamber was pillaged in ancient times. In spite of this, when sifting the soil, there were found a silver application with the image of a lion-griffin, an iron scepter with a handle of a stag horn, some insignificant elements of a gilded wreath, pieces of clay vessels. A horse in a full anatomical state was cleared out in the antechamber. Besides a silver application, fragments of two large amphorae, which were restored, lay there. One of them has a rectangular seal of the manufacturer.

The most beautiful and the most architecturally valuable beehive[34] tomb among the 22 in Thrace, was found in the mound Goliama Arsenalka. It has an imposing façade, a rectangular and circular chamber. The latter's floor is covered with big stone plates, arranged in three belts around a central one, with an excavation in the middle. It obviously symbolizes the sun, and the three belts around it illustrate the idea of the old Thracians about the structure of the world. A beautiful funeral bed is built opposite the entrance. The dome is 3,3 m high[35], and consists of precisely carved and arranged stone blocks, welded together with iron clamps, which were poured on with lead. The beehive tomb was also plundered during antiquity. The bones of the horse skeleton in the first chamber are scattered[36]. Four golden applications[37], pieces of a silver gilded pectoral[38], and fragments of a golden wreath, all of which had remained from the gorgeous funeral, were found in the gaps between the floor plates and the bed. They allow us to judge that the tomb was designed for a Thracian king, who had deceased most probably in the beginning of 5th century BC. It was

[30] A black-firnis kantharos with vertical ribs was partially recovered from fragments, which were found in the corridor. It cannot in any way be dated back later than the last quarter of IV century BC, which is several decades earlier than the time in which the Kazanluk tomb was built and its frescoes drawn.

[31] See note 14. It has been definitely determined stratigraphically that the tomb has been built after the removal of part of the embankment of a ready mound. The foundations lie at a level not less than 1 m over the old terrain. Besides, under their own weight the walls have fallen into the weak embankment layer below them and the floor is warped upwards.

[32] It is possible that this has happened during the time of some of the crusades of Lizimach or in the beginning of the Celtic invasions around 280 BC.

[33] The chamber and the antechamber are covered with a false semi-cylindrical arch. The cutting of the blocks is after the third vertical row and is extremely precise. See notes 30 and 31 with regard to this type of tombs. The arching is along the axis line of the antechamber and the chamber.

[34] See note 15.

[35] The difference between the height and the diameter of the chamber is only 2-3 cm in favor of the height. This distinguishes it from the one at Mezek, where with the same diameter the height is over 5 m.

[36] In the other three tombs the horse skeletons are in a full anatomical condition. Six more horse skeletons were found in the excavations -- two in Tzviatkova mound and one in four other mounds.

[37] The applications have a rosette at one end, transverse embossed edges in the middle, and a griffin's head, when looked from above, at the other end. Similar applications, but which were made of gilded silver, were found in Tzviatkova mound, and purely silver applications -- in Sarafova mound. They are similar in type with the others from Mezek (Filov 1937, p. 30 ff.), Kralevo (Ginev 1983, 31 ff.), Koprinka in Kazanluk region and Dolna Koznitza in Kyustendil region (The Riches of the Thracian Rivers. Tokyo, 1994, N 14, 25, 7), and others.

[38] See note 23.

used as a mausoleum subsequently. During the plunder, the two two-wing stone doors have been taken out of their axes, and have fallen on the ground.

Golden, silver, bronze, and iron ornaments, a multitude of applications for horse ammunitions, objects of the armament, local and imported[39] vessels of clay, bronze, and silver, and many other archaeological materials, were found in the rest of the mounds in the region of Shipka-Sheynovo in 1995. With the discovery of the last four tombs, their number in the region of Kazanluk grew up to twelve[40]. There is no doubt that most of them are kings'. This gives us grounds to define the region around Kazanluk as the Valley of the Thracian kings. New interesting finds expect us in the forthcoming research of the other, several hundred unexcavated mounds in this valley[41].

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[39] Three big craters with a rich black-figured decoration are among them, including Dionytsius's scenes.

[40] Apart from those, mentioned here, there are two half-destroyed brick beehive tombs in mounds #2 and #3 in Sevtopolis (Chichikova 1975, 133 ff)

[41] A partial review of the mounds in the region of Kazanluk is done by Tabakova-Tzvetkova (1991, 105 ff.); Domaradski (1991, 126 ff.): In reality, the mounds are much more than the ones, noted in the mentioned publications and marked on the used topographic and cadastral maps. The collaborators at the Historical Museum "Iskra", Kazanluk estimate them at around 1500.

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# Jewellery Fashion of the Western Pontic Colonies in the Hellenistic Times (from the territory of Bulgaria)

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*Милена Тонкова*

*Ювелирството в Западнопонтийските колонии през Елинизма (от територията на България)*

*В статията са разгледани елинистическите ювелирни находки от Западнопонтийските колонии. Те дават ценна информация за контактите между тези градове и останалите центрове от периода, както и за местните предпочитания или художествени умения. Освен това те показват ролята на колониите при дистрибуцията на вносните стоки към вътрешността на Тракия. Импортирани или произведени в местни работилници, те носят са работени в стила на гръцката елинистическа бижутерия..*

*През ранния елинистически период Одесос е играл важна роля, през средния елинистически период Месамбрия и Аполония са били по-активни, а през късния - доминира Анхиало. Разцветът на тези градове е предствен и чрез предметите на лукса, някои от които са импортирани от задморски ателиета.*

Fine gold jewels, most often with polychrome decoration, were fashionable during the Hellenistic period in the colonies on the western Black Sea coast. These objects give information about the connections between the coastal cities and their relations with the other Hellenistic centres, as well as about the local tastes and artistic faculties. Such finds speak also of the role the colonies played in the distribution of the imported goods into the interior of Thrace. Imported, or products of local workshops, as a whole they belong to the artistic traditions of the Greek jewellery and follow its rhythm of development through the three stages of the Hellenistic Age – Early, Middle and Late.

During each of these periods different centres from the coast were more active. Through the first one that was Odessos, during the 2nd-Messambria and part of the time - Apollonia and during the 3rd - Anhialo. To some extent this conclusion is a result of the differences in the stage of investigation of the necropolises. It also reflects the peculiarities of the cultural processes that took place there. It is logical that the flourishing of the towns often found expression in luxurious gold jewellery usually imported from overseas workshops.

**Odessos and its hinterland Early Hellenistic jewellery fashion**

Almost all of the Early Hellenistic jewellery which has reached us was found in the necropolises of Odessos and its hinterland. We have no data about the fashion in the southern colonies - Messambria and Apollonia. Graves of this period with jewellery until recently were not found in Nessebar. Examples of precious metal are almost absent in the ancient cemetery of Sozopol. At the same time, gold jewellery, often masterpieces of the Greek goldsmiths, have inevitably presented amongst the burial offerings in the rich mound graves of the interior of Thrace south of Balkan[1]. Obviously, these objects reached the Thracian centres through different roads and the two Pontic colonies had not always got a primary importance (Tonkova 1994b, 165-166).

The repertoire of the fashionable jewellery in Odessos and its region includes representative earrings, exquisite necklaces and fingerings and large decorative buttons, rich clothes accessories. Most of the finds come from graves dated from the end of the fourth century till the beginning of the 3rd century BC. There are adornments from burial mounds from Odessos

[1] The comparisons between the jewellery fashion of the coast and that of internal Thracia, the argumentation of the date of the burial complexes with jewellery as well as all conclusions on the development of jewellery in Thracia during the Hellenistic Age are a result of the author's studies in her Ph.D. thesis on this theme



*Plate I. Jewellery from the Odessos necropolis: 1-4 - Early Hellenistic Age; 5 - Late Hellenistic Age*

(present Varna) (Иванов 1956; Сабова 1971; Minchev 1988) and from the Thracian necropolis situated not far from the city of Galata (now a quarter of Varna) (Тончева 1951; Иванов 1956, 92; Higgins 1961, 217; Минчев 1975). Several objects found in Kavarna come also from the same region (Димитрова 1989, табл.15; Василев 1985, 23: табл. III, 1; Theodossiev 1994, 113).

The earrings, usually with lion head terminals belong to a type which was very popular in the Hellenistic world and was disseminated in the Thrace too (Димитрова 1989, 3, табл. I, 1-3, 5. - *here Pl. I, 3*). There were also earrings in the form of a disc. Wonderful examples of this type were found in mound No 6 in the necropolis of Galata (Тончева 1951, 61, обр. 112 а, б. - *here Pl. II, 4*). In mound No7 there was also one local imitation of the same type (Минчев 1975, 137, 140, табл. III, 2-4 - *here Pl. II, 6*). Closest parallels to the discs from Galata are the earrings from Kyme, Asia Minor (Marshall 1911, N 2059) and from South Italy (Van den Driesche 1971, 88). From Odessos comes a pair of disc earrings executed with perfection. They have pendant shaped as winged female figurine, identified usually as Nike (Сабова 1971, 6-8, обр. 6-10. - *here Pl. I, 2*). These earrings with complicated construction made with great skill have exact parallels from Izmit, situated on the coast of Asia Minor at the Straits and also from North Greece (Firatli 1964, 109-110, pl. 43, 2; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 228, fig. 165). Though these examples were found at places situated quite far from each other, their style and way of manufacture give reason to consider that they were made in one and the same workshop in the Aegean region. As far as the identification of the figurines is concerned, most reasonable is the opinion of M. Andronikos, according to which they do not represent Nike but a female hypostasis of Eros (Andronikos/Yalouris 1980, 136). It is based on the insignia fairy from Varna - a rhyton and phiala.

The necklaces from Galata, made of simple spherical beads (Тончева 1951, 61, обр. 113.- *here Pl. II, 3*), as well as those from Varna, represent a popular Greek variant (Ruxer 1938, 381). Such were also found in the interior of Thrace (Филов 1937, 75, 77, обр. 33, 8-9; 84, 3). Anoth-

er kind of Greek necklace, made both of simple and of decorated beads, and a pendant shaped as a bull's head is typical of Odessos (Сабова 1971, 5, обр. 5; Minchiev 1988, 463, pl. 70, 1.- *here Pl. I, 1*). It has no parallels in Thrace but is typical of the jewellery of the colonies from the coast of Asia Minor and the northern Black Sea coast, especially for Pantikapaion (Greifenhagen 1975, fig.1; Amandry 1963, 234, fig. 138; Толстой/Кондаков 1889, 59, обр.79; Mins 1913, 400, tabl. 12, g; Greifenhagen 1970, 42, tabl. 19, 6-8). Parts of necklace from Odessos belong to a comparatively rare type of Greek jewellery consisting of cylindrical beads and a pendant in the shape of a pyramid (Иванов 1956, 93, обр. III, 2). Similar one was found in Istria (Burda 1979, kat. 34).

The fingerings from the first period have a smooth plate or a decoration in relief. On the specimens from the necropolis at Galata this is a representation of a female face (Тончева 1951, 60, фиг. 102-103; Мишчев 1975, 137, табл. III, 1а, б.- *here Pl. II, 1-2*) and on the ring from Varna - of Eros (Иванов 1956, 89, табл. I, 2.- *here Pl. I, 4*). The big buttons or claps in the shape of discs are also characteristic of the necropolis of Odessos (Иванов 1956, 89, табл. I, 2. - *here Pl. I, 4*). They were being fastened by means of a cylindrical element and not of pin or a fibula. The latter is typical of similar adornments from Messambria (Гълъбов 1955, 141-142, обр. 7).

The adornments from Odessos belong to types well known in the Early Hellenistic Period. Most of these objects are among the best examples from this time and their style, as well as the techniques which were used, like for instance the earrings with the winged figurine, give a reason to consider them real masterpieces. They bear the characteristic of the typical of the Greek art realistic style. All techniques known at that time were used by the artist who made them. Among them is hammering on a die to obtain relief representations on earrings, rings and pendants. Only in one case casting was used for the making of the winged female figurine from Odessos. For decoration of most of the objects was used fine granulation for covering the surface, marking the centres of rosettes and spirals, for covering the edge of the disk-shaped earrings and buttons and only in one case (the necklace of cylindrical beads) for covering the whole surface. Filigree was used for the outlining of all kinds of elements of the decoration. More rarely were applied inlay and enamel for obtaining polychrome impressions (Тонкова 2002). With little color stones were marked the eyes on the lions' heads on two earrings from Odessos. With enamel was decorated a pendant of a necklace in the shape of a pyramid from the same place. There was used the technique of covering the hole element with blue enamel, a manner characteristic of the late fourth century BC as well as of the following periods (Hoffman/Davidson 1965, 10; Ruxer 1938, 381). Typical of the imported Greek adornments from the region of Odessos is the applying of a technique which has not been often described in publications - filling, consisting of cork or resin for making some elements firm, like for example the beads and the pendants shaped as a bull's head or pyramid. In Thrace, according to our observations, this technique was used for the making of the gold wreath from Rozovets (Филов 1934, 164-166).

There is no doubt that more of the objects described above were imported in the colonies on the Black Sea coast. Notable is their great resemblance to adornments from the Aegean region where were situated the crafts centres creating the jewellery fashion during the Early Hellenistic Period. As it was pointed out, some adornments, like the winged figurine from Odessos and the necklace with a bull's head, have exact parallels from different regions of ancient Greece. To our opinion, the presence of similar and even identical objects of this kind which represent a long tradition in the Greek jewellery typical of these Black Sea centers, could be explained with the fact, that these places were situated on the trade route between the eastern Mediterranean and the Western and Northern Black Sea regions. The population in the latter regions was consumer of fashionable goods, disseminated from one and the same groups of famous workshops in the Aegean region. About the characteristic features of these workshops have written several authors like St. Miller (Miller 1979, 8, 49-51) and P. Amandry (Amandry 1953, 88). For the present, as far as these regions are concerned, we cannot speak of another direction of dissemination of the early Hellenistic jewellery (for example from north to south).




*Plate II. Jewellery from the thracian necropolis of Galata - Early Hellenistic Age*

The popularity of the imported Hellenistic jewellery naturally resulted in imitations made in local workshops. Many finds from the region of the western Black Sea coast speak of their production (Coja 1962, 115-119; Минчев 1980, 19; Kolkowna 1980; Tonkova 1994a, 185). Such adornment, obviously preferred in Odessos can be found among the earrings with lions' heads and in the shape of discs, as well as the fingerings with a plain or relief plate from Galata. Such are also the gold lamellae from Kavarna. It is not easy to evaluate the artistic of the craftsmen representing the different workshops. Among the adornments there are some, the quality and the style of which are very different from those of the imported (Минчев 1975, 141), but there are others which differ only in some details concerning the decoration or the workmanship. The later objects could be considered imported as well as products of skilful local craftsmen.

The assortments from Odessos are very similar to those from the necropolis at Galata and this can be explained with the trade activities of Odessos which was a mediator in the process of dissemination of imported goods into the neighboring settlements (Брашински 1970, 15). However, it is possible that the local fashion had its own peculiarities in the different districts. For example in the burials from Odessos most often are presented earrings with lions' heads and necklaces with a pendant shaped as a bull's head. These varieties are not represented in the necropolis at Galata. Here have been found mostly disc-like earrings without pendants and fingerings with a relief representation of a female face which are not known from Odessos. However, these adornments represent only varieties of the main types and their distribution could be a chance phenomenon, or they might have been used in different time within the boundaries of the Early Hellenistic Period which is difficult to be established.

Several types of jewellery were typical of Odessos and its district during the period - different disc-like earrings and earrings with lions' heads, necklaces with a bull's heads pendant, and rings with plain or decorated in relief plate. They are decorated with floral motifs or figures including anthropomorphic ones. Of those, only the lion-head earrings especially preferred by the Thracian aristocracy were disseminated in the interior. This is an expression of an intentional choice made from among the

Hellenistic jewellery coming from the colonies, because only the traditional forms and motifs were accepted in Thrace. The comparison between several such examples of this type of earrings from Odessos and some settlements near the Balkan (without engraved spirals on the collars) shows that in Northeast Thrace this type came from Odessos where it was first imported (Димитрова 1989, 10).

**Jewellery fashion of the Middle Hellenistic Age - the workshops of Odessos, Messambria and Apollonia**

During the 2nd period of development of jewellery, coinciding with the Middle Hellenistic Period (2nd half of 3rd and the 2nd century BC), gold adornments typical of the Hellenistic fashion were disseminated extremely seldom in the interior of Thrace. In these regions were popular the traditional Thracian forms and motifs, imported La Tene jewellery or adornments made in local workshops influenced by the La Tène ones (Домарадски 1984, 138-142; Tonkova 1997). Almost all Hellenistic adornments were found on the Black Sea coast not in the interior. As a rule these are new types or developed jewellery forms and motifs known from the Early Hellenistic Period.

*Odessos*

Evidence of the active role of Odessos during the second period is one burial with finds including gold jewellery - a necklace consisting of band-chains with a medallion and appliqués decorated with relief representations of Eros, Aphrodite and Artemis and a hoop earring with a lion head terminal (Мирчев 1947, 239-241, обр. 1-3. - *here Pl. I, 5*). The stylistic peculiarities of the adornments characteristic of the end of 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century BC give reason to date the burial a century later than the date pointed in the first publication on them. The busts of the deities represented on the necklace are typical of the jewellery fashion of this period. The closest parallels of these images are from the eastern Mediterranean coast (Miller 1979, 35, pl. 20 a; 21; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 278). Their style and iconography are similar but the workmanship is very different. For the making of the medallions from Odessos were used the traditional of the period techniques and no enamel or inlay were applied. This professional conservatism speaks that the workshop in which they were made was situated far from the Mediterranean centres of jewellery production, which were leading in the establishing of the fashionable for the period polychrome style. Good evidence of the dating of the find gives the earring which can be dated to the 2nd century BC. It represents a late variety of the earrings with lion-head terminals and its elements (hoop, collar, proportion) have parallels only from the territory of present Northeastern Bulgaria, of the northwestern and northern Black Sea coast (Димитрова 1989, 3, 8, табл. I, 16, Вариант II). Therefore, we may suppose that this is a local variety. Odessos is one of the possible centres of production of such jewellery or at least one of the centres whence they were disseminated. Almost identical earrings were found in Thracian territories near the Balkan to the north of it (Димитрова 1989, 9) with which Odessos maintained active contacts like in the previous period. This workshop had created its own aesthetic conception (though within the frames of the Hellenistic fashion) and defended it on a high professional level.

Another set of adornments with unknown origin has characteristic features typical of the same workshop. It could be related with Odessos as well as with other colonies situated to the north of the Balkan. This find consists of a hoop earring terminating in a head of a lion-griffin and several elements of a necklace - a medallion shaped as a disc and crescent-like pendants (*Pl. IV*). They could be dated to the end of the 3rd and the 2nd century BC. This type of necklace and earring has close parallels among the Greek adornments of different centres. However, identical specimens or objects with identical characteristic elements were found only on the northern and northeastern Black Sea coast where most likely they were made (Димитрова/Тонкова 1989, 70-75).

Of interest is a pair of earrings with bull-head terminals about which there is information that were found in the district of "Dionysopolis (present Baltchik) or in Dobroudja" (Филов 1910, 225, обр. 1.- *here Pl. III, 2*). They could be taken as evidence of the role of mediators which the Black Sea centers played in this region. These earrings are considered products of

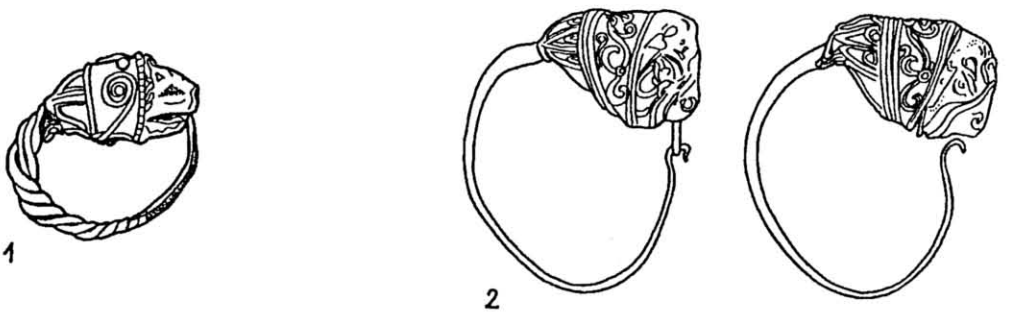



*Plate III. 1. Earring from Kavarna - Early Hellenistic Age; Earrings from the region of Balchik or Dobrudja - Middle Hellenistic Age*

an eastern workshop because of the characteristic stylization of the bull's head (Венедиков/Герасимов 1973, 101). Most of the identical objects were found on Cyprus where we may look for the origin of the type (Hadaczek 1903, 46; Higgins 1961, 161, 213). Conservatism is characteristic of its development, which might be explained with the supposition that it was traditional in the centres where it was produced. I. Venedikov has dated the earring to the 3rd century BC (Венедиков/Герасимов 1973, кат. 184). In consideration of their closest parallels, we may date them more precisely to the period after the middle of the 3rd century and even to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century BC (Hoffman/Claer 1968, kat.76; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, fig. 191). This date is confirmed also by the techniques applied - enamel, pseudo filigree and pseudo granulation. The earliest earrings with enamel found in Thrace are from a grave from Messambria dated to the second half of the 3rd century BC (Чимбулева 1964, 58, обр. 3, а-в). In a grave from Apollonia (present Sozopol) dated to the end of the 3rd century BC were found earrings decorated with pseudo filigree and pseudo granulation (Младенова 1963, 294, табл.159). The proportions between the different elements of the earrings with bulls' heads which are similar to those of the earrings with lion-head terminals from the second period (Димитрова 1989, 8-9, вариант II - *here Pl. I, 5*) also support the supposed date.



*Plate IV. Set of Jewellery with unknown provenance - Middle Hellenistic Age*

*Messambria*

Most of the finds from Messambria can be referred to the very end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC. This mark a comparatively short but very fruitful period of the development of jewellery in the colony. These chronological boundaries have been established considering the dating of the burial complexes as well as the style of the adornments offered in the graves.

In the outset of their study the jewellery from Messambria has been referred to the second half of the 3rd century, but now they can be related with a better certainty to the jewellery fashion of the 2nd century. I. Galabov has dated the rich graves with gold jewellery generally to the 3rd century BC, pointing out grounds certain complexes to be dated also after the mid-

dle of the 3rd century (Гълъбов 1955, 129-147). In an article devoted especially to the jewellery I.Frel has dated most of the jewellery from Messambria to the period around the middle of the 3rd century BC (Frel 1963, 61- 69). In the graves which were excavated later and dated to the 2nd half of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century BC were found many specimens belonging to the same types and even identical ones (Петров/Чимбулева 1963, 26; Чимбулева 1964, 61; Cimbuleva 2005, 91-103). In his turn M. Pfrommer dated the adornments from Messambria to a shorter period - from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 2nd century and pointed out that one of the complexes with adornments came from the second half of the 2nd century (Pfrommer 1990, 249- 250, FK 95-98).

These chronological frames are accepted in the present study on the base of the following arguments. The earlier complex with jewellery in polychrome style is dated in the very end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century according to the date of a black-glazed cup decorated with a rosette and a frieze of dolphins in a West slope style. A cup from Pergamom with a rosette in the same style is related towards 220 BC (Schafer 1968, 58-59, Taf. 10, D2), and another similar cup from Messambria, but with a different frieze, is dated in the 2nd century (Ognenova 1960, 230, Abb.9; Pfrommer 1990, 250, K 98, ref. 2035). The blossoming of the jewellery fashion in Messambria continued at least to the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century. Grounds for this conclusion gives the cup with a relief decoration with a frieze of galloping bigas with Nike and floral patterns found in a grave abundant in gold jewellery (Гълъбов 1955, 134-135, обр. 5). It has been considered as a product of one of the most significant Ionian workshops functioning in the late 2nd century. For the date of the articles from Mesambria of particular importance is the fact that the production of the workshop, called "Atelier du Monogramme", was in circulation before 125 BC, too, when a Celtic *oppidum* was destroyed and where fragments of vases of this type were found (Laumonier 1977, 131-132).

The fact that several types and components of decoration were repeated so often can be explained by the relative ephemeral flourishing of the splendid jewellery fashion in Messambria. The adornments from Messambria are mainly golden, most of them with polychrome decoration. In this city were popular the hoop earrings terminating with a head of lion-griffin, head of a maenad or a protome of Pegasos; chains with golden terminals decorated with a colour bead and a head of a lion-griffin, spiral snake rings, ring with a profiled bezel as well as brooches. Here we would like to point out some arguments concerning their dating. The earrings with a head of a maenad (Чимбулева 1964, 58, обр.3, а-в.- *here Pl. V, 4*; Cimbuleva 2005, 104-105, fig. 17/1) were popular in the 3rd century and later on (Higgins 1961, 162; Greifenhagen 1975, 58-59, pl. 471, 2, 3; Marshall 1911, N 1699-1700). The earrings with a forepart of Pegasos (Гълъбов 1955, 141, обр. 15, а, б) have close parallels of the 3rd century BC found at Montefortino at Arcevia (Hadaczek 1903, 50, fig. 90; for the date cp. Higgins 1961, 164). M. Pfrommer (1990, 249, OR 471) dates the examples from Messambria in the early 2nd century. A pair of brilliant hoop-earrings terminating with a head of a lion-griffin and a bead of cornelian was found in a grave from Messambria with materials of the late 3rd – 2nd century BC (Cimbuleva 2005, 99-100, fig. 13/1). The very characteristic of Messambrian chains with golden terminals with the same motif (Гълъбов 1955, 141-144, обр. 9; 10, д; Петров/Чимбулева 1963, 25; Чимбулева 1964, 58, обр.4, а, б. - *here Pl. V:1*) have many parallels of the end of 3rd and the next century (Greifenhagen 1975, 119, pl. 9; Higgins 1961, pl. 51 B; Marshall 1911, N 1964; Максимова 1979, 54, фиг. 10). However, some of the terminals from Messambria have some peculiarities like the elongated silhouette of the lions' heads, collars profiled like triangles and other characteristics of the style repeating in a great number of articles, a fact showing that they are a product of one and the same workshop.

Another peculiarity of Messambrian jewellery fashion are the spiral serpentiform fingerings, a type broadly attested in the Greek jewellery (Greifenhagen 1975, 119, pl. 9; Higgins 1961, pl. 51 B; Marshall 1911, N 1964; Максимова 1979, 54, фиг. 10). A fingering with a snake's head was found in a grave from Messambria of the end of the 3rd century BC

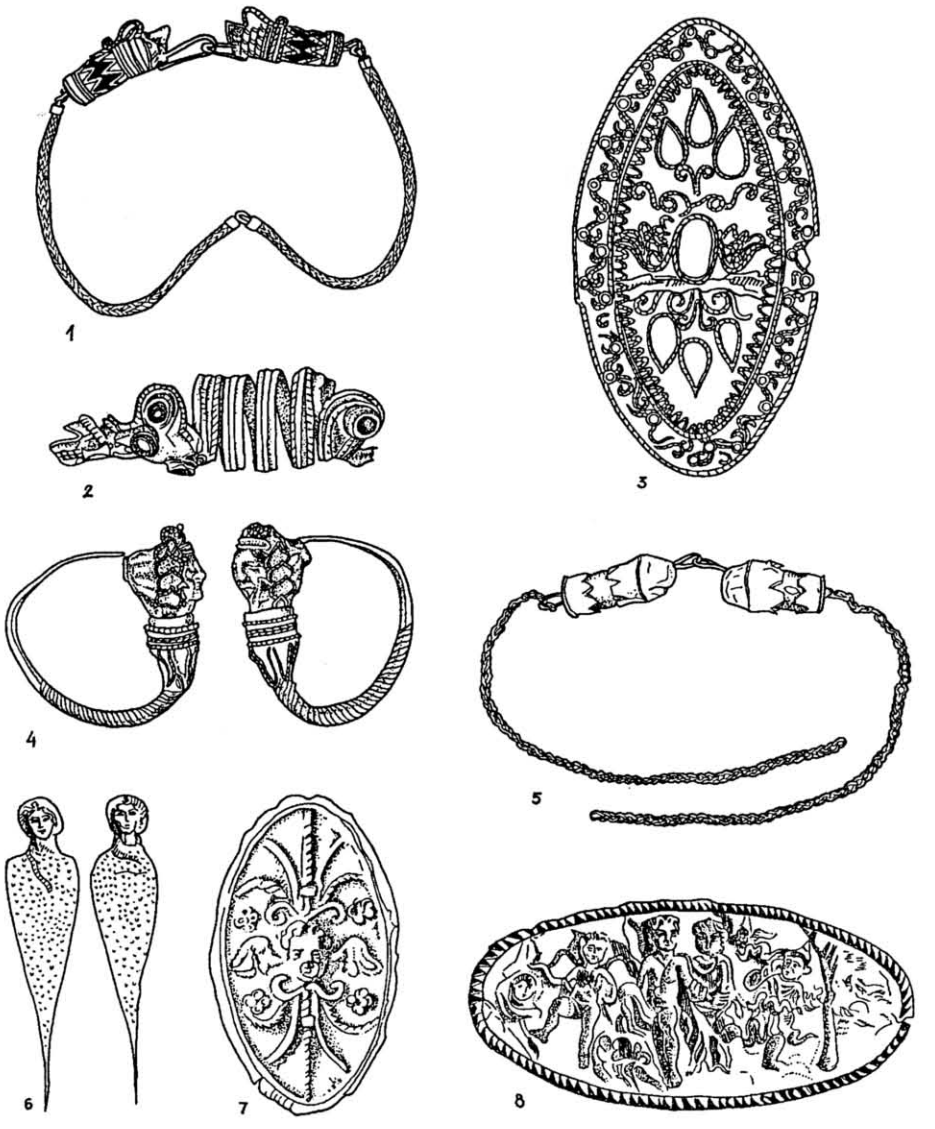


*Plate V. Jewellery from necropolis of Messambria - Middle Hellenistic Age*

(Чимбулева 1964, 57, обр.1; ср. also the commentary above). Similar to that but terminating in a head of a demon and with inlay decoration is another well-known fingering from Messambria *(Pl. V.2)*. Taking into consideration the style of the ring it has been dated to the middle of the 3rd century (Венедиков/Герасимов 1973, кат. 202) or the first half of the 2nd century BC (Deppert-Lippits 1985, 273-274).

According to some opinions the earrings with a demon's head could not be Greek (Frel 1963, 66) but might be Thracian (Гълъбов 1955, 135; Венедиков/Герасимов 1973, 102). However, the opinion that they have a Thracian origin is disputable since there are spiral bracelets with identical images identified as Ketos found in several Mediterranean centres - from Eretria, of the end of the 3rd century BC (Hoffman/Davidson 1965, N 68), and from the hoard Carpenisi (?) in Thessaly, of the first half of the 2nd century BC (Amandry 1953, NN 262-263; 1963, 249). A bracelet of this variety is represented on the hand of Artemis on a medallion from the same hoard. This personage is represented on other kinds of adornments too (Amandry 1953, 118).

Characteristic only of Messambria are also the rings with a profiled bezel. There are six rings of this type belonging to two variants. The first are with broadened shoulders which join

the plate forming an acute angle (Чимбулева 1964, 58, обр. 2, а; 60, обр. 26). The second are with straight shoulders (Гълъбов 1955, 141, обр.9, г,.д; 145, обр.10, а, б). Three of the rings are local imitations. This type is characteristic of the period 3rd-2nd century BC (Laffineur 1980, 414; Henkel 1913, 103). Rings, identical or similar to those from Messambria were found in Crete, Thessaly, Kertch and Tarentum, others now belonging to the collection "Canellopoulos" (Higgins 1961, 174, pl.54, d; Amandry 1953, 105-106, pl.XII, fig. 65; Ondzejova 1975, 35, pl. I,II, N 4; Laffineur 1980, kat. 106, figs. 115-116; Alessio 1985, 296, kat. 226). A glass ring belonging to the first variant was found in a grave in Apollonia of the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century BC (Младенова 1963, 310, табл.166, N 1000.- *here Pl. VI, 6*).

The brooches are another typical representative of the fashion of Messambria. This kind of adornment consists of a plate with a fibula for fastening it. Five of those were found - three gold ones, one made of silver and one made of bronze (Гълъбов 1955, 141 сл., обр.7; 8, б; 9, б; 11; Чимбулева 1964, 58, обр. 5.- *here Pl. V, 3,7,8*). Only one of them could be considered imported (Чимбулева 1964, обр. 5. - *here Pl. V, 3*). Similar to it (as far as the shape, the style and the details of the decoration are concerned) are two brooches from Melos from the 3rd-2nd century BC which are considered Ionian production (Hoffman/Davidson 1965, 196, N 74). The way the brooches were fastened also signifies that they date in the 2nd half of the 3rd century or later on (Домарадски 1984, 139). According to some opinions these decorative plates have a mutual origin with the Thracian pectorals (Венедиков/Герасимов 1973, 106). However, their style and construction as well as the pointed out comparisons with similar adornments show that they were used in more conventional way - to fasten the piece of cloth on the shoulder or on the breast.

I. Frel divided the adornments from Messambria into two groups - imported and produced in a local workshop according to the quality of the jewellery workmanship (Frel 1963, 63-65). In the first one are included objects which can be considered belonging to the masterpieces of the Hellenistic jewellery. Many adornments belonging to several types and variants and even identical objects were found in Messambria. This could be explained with the links of Messambria established for a short period with one or several jewellery centres where these similar objects were made. It is difficult to locate these foreign centres because of this period was characteristic homogeneous style of jewellery which makes the regional differentiation not easy to establish (Miller 1979, 50). Very often almost identical adornments are found on the northern and the western Black Sea coast, in the Aegean region, in the Eastern Mediterranean region as well as in South Italy. In spite of this fact, it is reasonable to look at the Aegean region for the centers with which Messambria was in contact because there were found the closest parallels belonging to the same types, variants and even identical objects. The homogeneous style and the high quality of workmanship of the gold jewels from Messambria can also find another explanation which seems to be more reasonable. These characteristics are perhaps, sooner, an indication of the high professionalism of the local craftsmen and workshops. It is more probable that Messambria itself, showing an economic prosperity in this period, would have been amongst the leading centres of Greek jewellery.

The adornments from Messambria give reason to draw conclusions on the development of the Hellenistic jewellery in general. They represent evidence illustrating the change in the jewellery fashion after the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century, represented by new forms and motifs, executed in a different style. The brooches can be considered as a new kind of adornment. Many of the examples from Messambria are decorated with a winged thunderbolt. New forms were accepted especially among the rings – spiral rings and such massive or hollow with a profiled bezel. As far as the other kinds of jewellery are concerned new motifs came into use. The hoop earrings for example were decorated with lion-griffin, maenad, forepart of Pegasos. The chronology of these hoop earrings offered here (the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC) confirms the B. Deppert-Lippitz's supposition about the time of introducing of the different motifs in the Hellenistic jewellery. According to it, the hoop earrings were decorated first with




*Plate VI. Jewellery from necropolis of Apollonia - Middle Hellenistic Age*

lions' heads and then appeared the other figural representations (Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 202). According to the examples from Messambria it can be supposed that this change occurred around and after the end of the 3rd century. The dating of the spiral serpentiform fingerings to the end of the 3rd or in the first half of the 2nd century makes the chronology of the dissemination of this type more precise. This fact may be used as a fulcrum of the supposition that the spiral rings as well as perhaps the spiral bracelets were in use in the Middle and the Late Hellenistic Period and not earlier (Pfeiler-Lippitz 1972, 114; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 273).

Another characteristic feature of the jewellery from Messambria is the polychrome decoration (Тонкова 2002). Almost all objects are decorated with inlay and one with enamel. According to the publications the stones used are opal (actually cornelian), amethyst, red, green and brown stones, blue glass pearls etc. The finds from Messambria have helped for making more precise the chronology of one typical of this region type of jewellery - the necklaces with terminals composed of a colour bead (of cornelian or glass paste with red colour, according to professional expertise performed recently by Ruslan Kostov) and a lion-griffin head. They have shown that in the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century the golden collar was replaced by a colour stone bead or a glass one in a gold casing. From the interior of Thrace, the early Hellenistic chains with gold terminals from the mound of Mezek (Филов 1937, 77, обр. 84, 4) represent a suitable example for comparison. M. Maximova has recorded a similar observation on the chains from the Artuhovsky kurgan. According to her the change took place around the middle of the 2nd century BC (Максимова 1979, 34). According to the existing date of the complexes with chains from Messambria obviously this change had already occurred a little bit earlier. It has to be taken into account that in one of the complexes along with an adornment of this type the already described cup with relief decoration which, as it was mentioned, dates after the middle of the 2nd century.

The second group of adornments from the cemetery of Messambria consists of gold foil imitations of original gold specimens (*Pl. V, 6-8*) which are products of local workshops. Since they are fragile and their workmanship is not precise, they have been considered as objects used in the funerary rites (Гълъбов 1955, 138-139; Frel 1963, 63). There are imitations of the most kinds of the "solid" adornments from Messambria like earrings with a maenad head (*Pl.V, 6*), chains with lion-griffin terminals (*Pl.V, 5*), rings with profiled bezels, the snake fingerings. Through other examples made of gold foil like

disc earrings with a pendant shaped as Nike, earrings with a pigeon, brooches with figural compositions etc. (Гълъбов 1955, 135, 144, обр.8, в, г; 11, 14) we receive information about other types of original gold adornments which are expected to be found in Messambria. The jeweller has tried to make a relief representation without paying much attention to the details. I. Frel supposes that they were made into imported dies (Frel 1963, 65). According to me, it is possible that they were hammered over models of perishable material. Another manner for manufacturing some of the decorations is also presumable. The great resemblance to "solid" adornments from the same necropolis, as well as the often amorphous character of the images, makes us suppose that they were made by pressing the foil on original gold objects of the same type. According to the observations of P. Amandry (Amandry 1963, 215) in this way most likely were made imitations of adornments belonging now to the collection of H. Stathatos.

*Apollonia*

In Apollonia too, the Middle Hellenistic Period was marked by flourishing of the jewellery fashion. The number of the gold adornments increased. In fact, almost all gold specimens found in the ancient necropolis of Apollonia belong to this period (Младенова 1963, 293). In a grave of the end of the 3rd century was found a ring with a relief representation of Aphrodite and Eros, terminals of a necklace with a garnet in a casing and a Negro head and hoop earrings with a head of a maenad (Младенова 1963, 302, 294-296, N 956,909-912, табл.158, 159, гроб 702.- *here Pl.VI,1,3,4*). Another pair of earrings of the same type but representing another variant was found in a grave of the end of 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century BC (Младенова 1963, 296, N 913-914, табл.159.- *here Pl.VI, 2*). The first two finds can be considered Hellenistic adornments imported in Apollonia because of their complicated construction, precise workmanship and numerous parallels among the Hellenistic jewellery. There is not evidence that in Apollonia there was a workshop with these professional characteristics.

The number of the finds from Apollonia is not great so we should not draw general conclusions. However each of the objects gives opportunity interesting observations to be carried out. The ring with representations of Aphrodite and Eros (pl. VI, 3) was found in a grave from the end of the 3rd century BC, but J. Mladenova has expressed the opinion that its shape is closer to the 4th-century rings, so she has dated it "not later than the end of the century" (Младенова 1963, 300). It is true that the shape (hoop fitting the from of the finger, round shoulders and raised bezel or plate) relates it to a type which existed for a long period of time among the Hellenistic jewellery (Boardman 1970, 219, type XI, XII, XIII), but the images represented associates it with the production of the period 3rd-2nd century BC. Two parallels come from this time - a ring from Tanais and a die for production of similar rings from Tirytake (Kolkowna 1980, 112-114). Another example - the image on a ring from the hoard Carpenisi (?) in Thessaly (Amandry 1953, 105-106) is closest to that from Apollonia. These images were very popular in the 2nd half of the 3rd century BC and later on, a fact confirmed by many medallions of the same period from Kampanari, Thessaly as well as from the northern and western Black Sea coast (Greifenhagen 1975, pl. 68, 4; Hoffman/Davidson 1965, N 91; Amandry 1953, 99-100, N 235; Greifenhagen 1970, 40, pl.17; Младенова 1963, 299, табл. 158А).

In the same grave of the end of the 3rd century were found also the terminals of a necklace *(Pl. VI, 4)* with obliterate Negro heads of colour stones, probably garnet. For the reconstruction of the motif we have found a base in modern earrings and necklace terminals. The closest parallel of the manner the hair is represented is the earring from Kyme in Asia Minor of the end of the 4th century or later (Higgins 1961, pl. 47G), and of the construction of the whole fastener - the necklace from Budva dated to the 3rd-2nd century BC in accordance with the dating of the necropolis in which it was found (Rendic-Miocevic 1959, IV, 15, fig.5). It supposed that the necklace and the earrings with Negro heads from Budva had come from Tarentum. Reason for this statement has not been the motif, which is considered of oriental origin and typical of Alexandria but some peculiarities of the technique used as well as the style. Considering the great resemblance between the fastener from Apollonia and the earring from Kyme we may

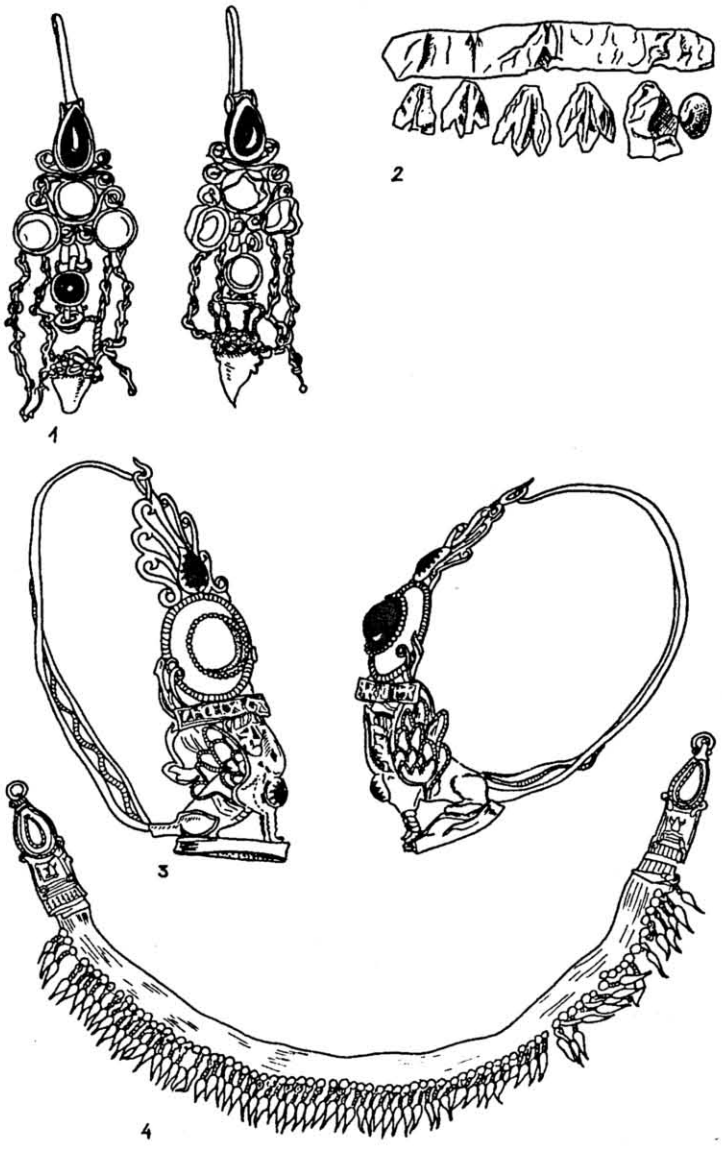



*Plate VII. Jewellery from a burial mound of Anchialo - Late Hellenistic Age*

look for a connection between this find and an eastern workshop. Other parallels to the fastener from Apollonia can also be pointed out - from the museum at Houston, dated to the late 3rd century BC (Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 221, fig.157), from Melos, dated after the 3rd century BC (Marshall 1911, pl.XXXVI, N 1961), etc.

The earrings with female head *(pl. VI, 1)* from the same grave are not of good quality. The craftsman had a good die for the face but the rest of the elements were not carefully made. The decoration of the collar is hammered on the inner side (pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation) and the places of the joints are not covered. The hoop is made of gold band which makes it unstable. The local craftsman did not follow exactly the pattern of the original earrings (compare the earrings from Messambria) and applied a composition known from the earrings with animal heads.

The second pair of earrings of this type *(pl. VI, 2)* could be considered product of a local workshop. The earrings are quite precisely manufactured and bear traces of a long use. Obviously they were roughly repaired - the front part of one of them was replaced by a plain plate, perhaps because of lack of a suitable die.

The style of the adornments from Apollonia is different from those found in Odessos and to a great extent from the Messambrian ones. This

fact supposes connection with different Hellenistic centres and limited links between these colonies themselves. We may, however, speak about some similarities between the taste and fashion of Apollonia and Messambria - at both places were popular earrings with a head of maenad - but the adornments belong to different variants so they could not be considered evidence of direct links between these two cities.

For this period too there is not evidence that Messambria and Apollonia were mediators in the dissemination of the Hellenistic jewellery into the interior of Thrace. In Thrace there are no traces of the jewellery fashion popular in the two colonies and as a whole the gold adornments (all of them imitations of Early Hellenistic ones) are very rare. During the 2nd half of the 3rd and the 2nd century BC the culture in Thrace was, as it has been mentioned, under the strong La Tène influence and the leading tendency in the development of jewellery was different.

**Jewellery fashion of the Late Hellenistic Age: jewellery of Anchialo**

We have scarce evidence about the development of the jewellery in the colonies on the western Black Sea coast in the period 1st century BC - 1st century AD. There is almost no information about Apollonia and Messambria. The few late Hellenistic and early Roman adornments (a gem and a fingering with a gem, Димитрова-Милачева 1980, 9 с бел. 11) found in Odessos will be discussed after their publication.

A rich find of gold adornments from Anchialo (present Pomorie) can be outlined against this general situation. It consists of a pair of hoop earrings with a figurine of a sphinx and another type composed of plate with inlayed stones and an amphora pendant, two necklaces - one of plaited band with amphora-like pendants and another one consisting of separate elements and lion-head terminals, and a golden funeral wreath. The adornments are from a rich burial mound dated to the end of the 1st century BC or the beginning of the 1st century AD (Балабанов 1976, 4, 28-30 - *here Pl. VII*). Most of these objects are related to the late Hellenistic jewellery (Димитрова 1982, 3, 35 с бел.6) fashion and only some of them could be dated to the very end of this period to which also belongs the burial itself. Though the two pair of earrings and the plated band necklace belongs to types which appeared in different periods they have similarly executed elements so they make a set created by one and the same jeweller.

The earrings have inlayed stones and amphora-like pendants *(Pl. VII,1)*. This type of earrings appeared, and different variants were being disseminated, in the period 2nd–1st century BC (Higgins 1961, 166, type 5C; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, pl. XXXI). The necklace *(Pl VII, 4)* could hardly be dated after the beginning of the 2nd century BC, which would lead some changes in the conclusions concerning the development of this type. According to the accepted for the present dating the necklace from Anchialo is not only one of its late representatives but it is separated by more than a century from identical specimens from the hoard from Halmyros in Thessaly (Ruxer/Kubczak 1972, 239, pl. XII, 1, XXXI, 3, fig.8,h; Amandry 1953, 110-112, pl.XIII, kat.252; Segall 1938, 39, N 33, pl.XII). There would not have been such a contradiction if the supposition of R. Higgins concerning the necklaces with polychrome decoration was taken into consideration. According to it "the terminals decorated with inlayed garnet appeared on a later stage, probably not before 200 BC" (Higgins 1961, 168). The necklace from Anchialo cannot be dated to a period later than the 1st half of the 2nd century BC. To the same time is dated an identical necklace from Messambria recently displayed in the History Museum of Nessebar (Чимбулева/Кожухаров 2000, 84, обр. 1).

The earrings with a figurine of a sphinx *(pl. VII, 3)* represent a variety of the earrings with whole figures. Though R. Higgins has not paid special attention to the period of dissemination of these earrings, he has pointed out that above the figures usually there is an inlayed garnet and he has gave examples from the late 3rd and the 2nd century BC (Higgins 1961, 168). As far as the earrings from Pomorie are concerned the dating element is the decoration on the head of the sphinx - garnets in a drop-like casing which appears on different types of earrings from the 2nd and first century BC (Miller 1979, 62, pl.25; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 256, pl.XXXI; Amandry, 1963, 115, 218, fig.123).

The second necklace from this grave is not published yet. Only separate elements of it have

been preserved – terminals with zoomorphic decoration. It is also simultaneous to the rest of the objects from the set. It belongs to a type popular in the 2nd and the 1st centuries BC as well as later in the Roman period. A more precise dating of the necklace can be based on the combination of two specific elements - animal-head terminals and precious stones in casing. This combination we also see on the necklace from Artyuhovsky kurgan (from the middle of the 2nd century or little later) considered one of the earlier representatives of this type (Higgins 1961, 169, type 4; Максимова 1979, 23, 57, обр. на стр. 29)

All this means that the adornment from Anchialo found in a grave from the end of the first century BC - the beginning of the first century AD, bear the specific stylistic features of the Hellenistic jewellery of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century BC. In the lavish decoration of some specimens with polychrome stones could be found the further trends of the development of the craft.

The conservatism in the choice of forms and motives, the use of Early Hellenistic construction for the composition of the plated band necklace, the skilful applying of jewellery techniques speak of a professional workshop with long traditions. For the present, there is not enough evidence of its location in the region of the bay of Bourgas, nevertheless as it was mentioned, it can be supposed that in the 2nd century BC such leading jewellery centre was Messambria. The same opinion has been expressed by P. Balabanov who thinks that it is very likely these adornments to have been produced in a local workshop (Балабанов 1976, 31).

The wreath *(pl. VII, 2)* is the only gold adornment from this find which can be considered with a certainty as a local product made in a time close to that when finds were buried in the grave. It belongs to a type of funerary wreaths, the appearance of which is related to the end of the first century BC (Максимова 1979, 131). In contrast to the representative "solid" Earlyhellenistic examples these objects consist of a band with fastened foil leaves. Their specific function and fragile construction suppose that they were made in a local workshop right before being put in the grave. This statement supports the supposition that the wreath and the grave itself date from the end of the first century BC or the beginning of the first century AD (Балабанов 1976, 31).

The fact that the wreaths appeared once more in Thrace can be explained with the new cultural situation on the Balkan peninsula and in particular with the strengthening positions of Rome through which was revived an old tradition preserved in other centers during the whole Hellenistic period. The wreath from Anchialo is the earliest example of this new period. Later, these wreaths were put mainly in rich graves in South Thrace which date from the middle and the 2nd half of the firs century AD (Балабанов 1976, 31).

The jewellery fashion in Anhialo in the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD was totally under the influence of the late Hellenistic traditions. At the same time (and especially in the 2nd half of the 1st century AD) into the interior of Thrace products of Italian and provincial roman workshops penetrated. They expressed the two tendencies in the development of Roman jewellery - the Hellenistic and the Italian one. What was the role of the coastal centres in the process of dissemination of these new stylistic trends is difficult to suppose. For the present, we may judge only by several finds from the 1st century AD from the Roman pool of the sanctuary at Aquae Calidae near Burgas (Димитрова-Милчева 1980, кат. 98, 115, 213).

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# Belgae Expansion Into South Eastern Europe and Asia Minor (4th–3rd century B.C.)

Brendan Mac Congail

*Брендан МакКонгал*

*Експанзията на белгите в Югоизточна Европа и Мала Азия (IV–III в.пр.Хр.)*

*Келтското нашествие към Югоизточна Европа и Мала Азия в края на IV и в началото на III в.пр.Хр. оставя след себе си кратък политически, но дълготраен културен отзвук на Балканите. Въпросната експанзия бива приписвана или просто на "келти" с неуточнен произход или, погрешно, на "галите". Подобен феномен откриваме не само у съвременните автори, но и в древните гръцки и римски извори. Всички налични свидетелства навеждат на мисълта, че воините, водени от Бренос през 279 г.пр.Хр., са били всъщност белги – една самостоятелна в политическо и културно отношение племенна група келти, която има тесни генетични връзки с германските племена. Авторът счита, че този факт би могъл да хвърли до известна степен светлина върху все още спорния въпрос относно етническата принадлежност на племето бастарни. Оказва се, че докато келтската вълна, заляла Италийския полуостров, се е състояла от галски племена, то инвазията на Балканите и основаването на Галатея в Мала Азия са извършени от белги.*

As has been said of the Thracians – 'the ethnonym does not denote the united people of a single state but covers an innumerable population that inhabited vast territories in Europe, the demographic core of whom manifests identical or similar culture-historical features during all the main periods of its existence' (Fol. et al. 2000, 8). A similar distinction must be made when one talks of the Celtic expansion into the Balkans and ultimately into Asia Minor during the period in question. A tendency to lump these Celtic forces together under the terms 'Gauls' or 'Celts' (a phenomenon common even in ancient historical sources) has hitherto failed to take into account the different ethnic and cultural groupings within the race which falls within this umbrella term. It is of paramount importance, therefore to establish more precisely the ethnic origins of the participants in this invasion. In the name of the Celtic general – Bolgios/Belgius – who attacked on the western flank through Macedonia, ultimately destroying the Macedonian army and killing Ptolemy Keraunos, we have the first indication as to the ethnic/tribal origin of the Celtic armies. It is quite probable that the name of the leader of the western Celtic army – Bolgios, is derived from an ethnic appellation. The testimony of Justin adds weight to the theory, referring to this leader not as Bolgios, but as Belgio:

Igitur Galli duce Belgio ad temptandos Macedonum animos legatos ad Ptolomeum mittunt, offerentes pacem, si emere uelit (Just. XXIV, 5; Cf. Trog. Pomp., Prol., XXIV – 'Belgius, Leader Of The Gauls').

Classical authors mistaking 'barbarian' titles for personal names is certainly not without precedent. A number of factors give us reason to believe that there were members of the Celtic Belgae confederation among the expedition. We know for example that the Volcae Tectosages were one of the three tribes later to cross into Asia Minor and participate in the subsequent establishment of the Celtic state of Galatia under Lutarios and Leonorios (Memnon, XI, 6; Pliny V, 42; Strabo XII, 5, 2). In Caesar's time the Belgae were a confederation of tribes who were settled between the Seine and the Rhine. The peoples comprising this nation are well documented in historical sources. (The Treviri, Mediomatrici and Leuci tribes in the east; the Remi, Suessiones, Catuvellauni, Meldi, Parisii, Silvanectes in the west, and in the north and west the Veliocasses, Bellovaci, Caleti, Ambiani, Atrebates and Morini, Adatuci, Eburones, Nervii and Menapii (Plin. IV, 105; Ptol. II, 9; Caesar, II, 3, 4, 11; IV, 19). The Treviri, Remi, Meldi and Volcae Tectosagae tribes are of particular interest to us in the present context.

The Belgae confederation were a distinct group within the Celtic family. Caesar, in the first lines of his Commentaries on the Gallic

War, states this clearly ('Gallia est omnis in partis tres, quarum incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitaini, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur'). While Caesar's Aquitania was bounded by the Garonne, that of Agustus reached to the Loire, but the eleven tribes of the greater Acquitania, living between the Garonne and Loire – the Pictones, Santones, Bituriges, Cubi, Lemovices, Cadurci, Petrucorii, Nitiobriges, Arverni, Vellavi, Gabali and Rutini – formed a group distinct from the province as a whole. Evidence of this is provided by the method of recruiting troops, for under the empire these peoples had a special dilectator. The peoples north of the Garonne formed another unit and their territories in the third century were separate. In these two cases, as in that of the Belgae, we have pre-existing relationships between the natives taken into consideration by the Romans. They were similar to the distinctions which made Belgica and Aquitania south of the Garonne separate regions from the rest of Gaul. These were associations which were political in some cases but had a racial element at their core and were thus different from political associations created simply by the alliance of two nations or the subordination of one to another. The same considerations may explain why certain neighboring civitates are placed together in small groups, for example for the collection of taxes, and also the subdivisions of the provinces introduced under Diocletian (Holder II, 128; Nonetheless their underlying ethnicity, as with the Belgae was Celtic – 'About the same time Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus, subjugated nearly all of Aquitania. The people are themselves Gauls and dwell next to Celtica, and the territory extends right along the Pyrenees to the ocean' – Dio. Cass. 39, 46,1). Caesar, in his Commentaries, continues: 'Of all the people the bravest are the Belgae. They are the furthest away from the culture and civilized way of the Roman province, and are least often visited by the merchants who bring luxuries which tend to make people soft; also they are nearest to the Germani across the Rhine and are continually at war with them'. The evidence of Strabo substantiates this ethnic division. He tells us that the country next in order after the Aquitanian division and Narbonitis reaches as far as the whole of the Rhenus, extending from the Liger river and also from the Rhodanus at the point where the Rhodanus, after it runs down from its source, touches Lugdunum. He adds –'Now of this country the upper parts that are next to the sources of the rivers (the Rhenus and the Rhodanus, extending as far, approximately, as the centre of the plains, have been classified under Lugdunum; whereas the remaining parts, including the parts along the ocean, have been classified under another division, I mean that division which is specifically assigned to the Belgae'; Strabo IV, 3).[1] Strabo also mentions the Germani living mixed among Celtic tribes, including the Belgic Mediomatrici and Sequani and as neighbours of the Leuci ('After the Elvetii, along the Rhenus, dwell the Sequani and the Mediomatrici, in whose territory are situated the Tribocchi, a Germanic tribe which crossed the river from their homeland. Mount Jura is in the territory of the Sequani; it marks the boundary between the Elvetii and the Sequani. So it is beyond the Elvetii and the Sequani, towards the west, that the Aedui and the Lingones dwell; and beyond the Mediomatrici, that the Leuci and a part of the Lingones dwell; Strabo, IV, 3). Of the Sequani, Pliny (Pliny IV, 106) explicitly states that they were Belgae. They seem to have had a particularly close relationship with the Germani. Strabo informs us that the Romans bore a grudge against them because they had helped the Germani to invade Italy and indeed appear to have been in some sort of alliance with them.

'But across the Arar dwell the Sequani, who, for a long time, in fact, had been at variance with the Romans as well as with the Aedui. This was because they often joined forces with the Germans in their attacks upon Italy; aye, and they demonstrated that theirs was no ordinary power: they made the Germans strong when they took part with them and weak when they stood aloof' (Strabo, IV, 3).

This comparison and Belgae links to the Germani is indeed significant (particularly in relation to the ongoing dispute among academics as to whether the Bastarnae were of Germanic or Celtic origin.) However, despite Caesar's as-

[1] <http://www.ukans.edu/history/index/europe/ancient_rome/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/4C*.html>

signing the Belgae as a different ethnic group, there is little doubt that they were ethnically Celtic. While the Belgae may have had links to the peoples across the Rhine, they also retained strong ties with Celtic peoples outside their confederation. The Remi tribe were patrons of the Carnutes (B.G. IV, 5) and the Bellovaci had strong links with the Aedui tribe (B.G. II, 14,2). In the first page of his Commentaries, he also writes of them speaking a different dialect from other Gauls (not a different language), while Strabo (IV, 1,7,6), also speaks of slight differences of dialect and indeed says that the Gaulish of Belgica was not much different from the language of the Ædui, the Gaulish tribe settled between the Loire and the Seine.We also know from Ausonius that the Volcae Tectosages tribe called themselves Belcae Tectosagi:

> Qua rapitur præceps Rhodanus genitore Lemanno,
> Interiusque premunt Aquitanica rura Cebennæ,
> Usque in Tectosages paganaque Belcas,
> Totum Narbo fuit
> (Ordu Urbium Nobilium, XIII, 7–10; 'Belcae = Volcae' – Cf. Pauly CCCIXVIII, III, Cols. 198–199).

Of the Volcae Tectosages tribe Caesar further informs us that they had occupied territory inside Germania itself, – 'It was in this way that the Volcae Tectosages came to take possession of the most fertile districts of Germania, near the Hercynian forest, which seems to have been known to Eratosthenes and some other Greeks under the name of Orcynian. There that tribe has maintained itself to this day, and enjoys a great reputation for justice and courage' (B.G. VI, 24). Tacitus (Tac. Germania, XXVIII) repeats Caesars' information and mentions other Celtic people east of the Volcae – the Boii in Bohemia and the Cottini in Silesia. Ammianus Marcellinus, in a detailed passage about the Gauls also adds – 'the Druids relate that part of the population was really indigenous, but that others had come in from the outermost isles and the regions beyond the Rhine: ('Drasidæ memorant revera fuisse populi partem indigenam sed alios quoque ab insulis extimis confluxisse et tractibus Transrhenais; XV, 9,2; Ammianus's source is Timagenes of Alexandria, a valuable historian who relates most of the classical traditions about the Celts.). Marcellinus propounds another reason for their migration – 'They were driven from their homes by the frequency of wars and the violent rising of the waves', (Crebritae bellorumet adluvione fervidi marissedibus suisexpulsos; op cit), which suggests earlier contacts with the Germani.

The expansionist tendency of the Belgae tribes is well attested to. In Hispania Tarraconensis we find the placename Belgida (Diod. XXXI, 39), and also a Belgica. Another city Suessatium recalls the name of the Belgic Suessiones (*see* HUBERT II, 77). Interestingly we also find in Spain a people called the Germani who were Celto-Iberians (Pliny III, 25). Possibly best documented in historical, archaeological and numismatic sources is the Belgae expansion into s. Britain and Ptolemy (Ptolemy 3,13) mentions a civitas Belgarum, which covered eastern Somerset, Wiltshire and the north of Hampshire. In writing of Britain, Caesar commented that the coastal areas, 'maritima pars', had by his time come under the influence of people of a Belgic origin – 'ex Belgio transierant'. He further describes Kent, the territory over which he advanced, as 'quae regio est maritima omnis', which some historians, have interpreted to mean that it was the only maritime territory. However, as Rodwell comments, "the sense of Caesar's account suggests that it was an important part of a wider maritime district", an assumption that can be supported by evidence of coinage (*see* RODWELL 1976, 208).While it has usually been argued that the invaders settled in Kent and the Thames valley region and that Gallo-Belgic coins were associated with the incoming migration, this now seems less likely , and a stronger case can be made for a limited incursion into the east Solent region penetrating Hampshire. The strongest evidence for this is that under the early Roman reorganization of the province this area of Hampshire was known as the canton of the Belgae. One of their main towns was called Venta Belgarum, now Winchester. Caesar (B.G. V, 12, 1–2) informs us that, 'The interior of Britain is inhabited by people who, according to their own tradition, are aboriginal. The coast is occupied by others, who came from Belgia on looting or warlike expeditions, and have almost all kept as tribal names those of the

tribes from which they are descended. Brought in by war, they settled down and proceeded to cultivate the land.'

The Belgae had also expanded into the s.e. of Gaul by the 3rd century B.C. Here we find them in the province of Gallia Narbonensis occupyng the district between the Garumna, Cerbenna mons and the Rhodanus. They appear to have been divided into two main groups – the Volcae Arecomici and the Volcae Tectosages (whose territory included that of the Tolosate tribe) on the west seperated by the river Arauris or a line between the Arauris and Orbis. The chief town of the Tectosages was Tolosa (On further topographical links between the Tectosages in Gaul and those in Galatia see Mac Congail 2004, 171–176) and of the Arecomici, Nemausus (Nimes) (Ptolemy, Geography II, 9). Their presence in this region is further attested to at the onset of the Second Punic War, when Livy describes the negotiations of the Volcae with the envoys of the Roman senate returning from Carthage where war had been decided on (Livy XXI, 20).

In relation to the Belgae presence in Asia Minor particularly relevant is the testimony of St. Jerome who states that in Galatia, the area populated by the descendants of those Celts participating in the expansion of the 3rd century B.C. into the region, the language spoken by the Galatians even in his time was very similar to that of the Treviri tribe who were also part of the Belgae confederation (Comm. On Galatians, II, 3: 'Galatas , excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treviros, nec referre si aliqua exinde corruperint'). One further important piece of information on the Treviri tribe is also given by Caesar who informs us that they were a fierce tribe, 'not much different from the Germani' (B.G., VIII, 25, 2: 'Labienum cum duabuslegionibus in Treveros mittit, quorum civitas propter Germaniae vicinitatem cotidianis exercitata bellis cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat neque imperata umquam nisi exercitu coacta faciebat'). The Treveri inhabited the lower valley of the Mosella within the southern fringes of the vast Arduenna Silva (Ardennes forest) The tribal capital of the Treveri tribe was Colonia, Agusta Trevorum (Trier, Germany), was later the site of a Roman colony, and the provincial capital of Belgica itself. This close comparison of Celts and Germani is not only a Roman trait. Compare the words also of Strabo who informs us:

'Now the parts beyond the Rhenus, immediately after the country of the Celti, slope towards the east and are occupied by the Germani, who, though they vary slightly from the Celtic stock in that they are wilder, taller, and have yellower hair, are in all other respects similar, for in build, habits, and modes of life they are such as I have said the Celti are. And I also think that it was for this reason that the Romans assigned to them the name "Germani" as though they wished to indicate thereby that they were "genuine" Galatae, for in the language of the Romans "germani" means "genuine" (Strabo VII, 1, 2).

In the Balkan context, place-names in the Belgic areas of S. Britain and Belgic-Gaul appear to have strong parallels with the Celtic topographical traces on the Danube among the Scordisci and in north-eastern Thrace. In terms of Celtic placenames in this area, containing the same element as the settlements in Scordiscian territory – *Δορίες* and *Olodoris* (Duridanov 1997, 143) the settlement Durostorum, today's Silistra, appears to carry a Celtic name (*see* Tomaschek II, 2, 73; Duridanov 1980, II, 5; Beševliev 1968, 422). This is particularly important as the element was obviously a common one among the Remi tribe – compare also – Durocortum, capital of the aforementioned (Belgic) Remi tribe (today's Reims) in Britain, *cf.* also: Duriarno (site uncertain but probably Plymouth – (RC 105.52); Durnouaria *Durotragum – Dorchester (Ai Itin. XIV ); Durobriuis - Rochester (Ai Itin. II,III, IV; RC 106.37); Durocinto - Dorchester on Thames (RC 106.12); Duroleuo - Sittingbourne (Ai Iten. II, RC 108. 37); Duroliponte - Cambridge (Ai Iten. V, RC 106.52) etc.

Further topographical traces of these Belgic tribes are to be ascertained in the Balkans and in Galatia in the aftermath of the Celtic expansion into the region. In Moesia Superior we find a further link in the capital of the region *Remesiana* (Itin. Ant.), *Ρεμεσιανά* (Hierokl. Synekd.), *Romesiana* (Tab. Peut.) (*see* Tomaschek I, 90–91; Tomaschek II, 2, 69). Tomaschek first linked the name to the Belgic Remi tribe. This position is

echoed by academics such as Holder (II, 1904, 1116); Kazarov (1919, 61) and Beševliev (1968, 420). Duridanov comments that, 'Der name ist m.e. eine latenische Bildung auf -iana (vgl. die ONN Φλορεντιανα, Longiana, Candidiana) von dem lat. Adj. Reme (n)- leitet zu schein scheint' (Duridanov 1997, 136). Lending weight to this is the presence in the same area of the Kastell Βριττουρα, which is 'certainly Celtic' according to Detschew (1957, 90).

Further: on the right bank of the Danube, between Ratiaria and Almus (todays village Orsoja) the Roman Station (mansio) Remetodia (Tab. Peut.) is mentioned by Duridanov (1997, 134) as a Celtic structure. In addition we find an area in eastern or central Haemus (Tab. Peut. VIII, 3) - Remesica. First identified by Miller (1916, 594) as, 'ein von keltischen Rimesii bewohnter Landstrich (Strategia)' who, in his opinion dwelt in the area between Naissus and Serdica (*see* Tomaschek I, 91; Holder II, 868; Kazarow 1919, 67). The Belgic Remi tribe occupied the northern Plaine de Champagne on the southern fringes of the Ardennes (therefore neighbours of the aforementioned Treviri tribe) between the rivers Mosa (Meuse) and Matrona (Marne) with their capital at Durocortum ('But the most noteworthy of all the tribes in this region of Celtica is that of the Remi; their metropolis, Duricortora, is most thickly settled and is the city that entertains the Roman governors'; Strabo, IV, 3) There is, therefore, sufficient topographical evidence that the Belgic Remi tribe were one of the components of the Celtic force which expanded into the Balkans in the first quarter of the 3rd century B.C.

Besides the well documented Volcae Tectosages, a further Gallo-Belgic tribe mentioned in the Balkan context have been the abovementioned neighbours of the Remi in Gaul – the Meldi. Tomaschek (Tomaschek I, 91) mentions them in connection with the mansio Meldia. (Cass. Dio LI 25,4). In Pannonia, Pliny further mentions a town called Belgites (Pliny III, 148), providing additional evidence of the presence of the Belgae in the region. Of paramount importance in the present context, are the aforementioned Tectosages tribe. The testimony of Strabo makes the fact that they were Belgae even more crucial. He informs us clearly that the Tectosages tribe who crossed over into Galatia, 'is named after the tribe in Celtica' (Strabo XII, 5, 1). The moved into Galatia along with two other tribes, the Trocmi and Tolistobogi ( -boii) (Memnon XI, 6; Pliny V, 42) who we are informed are named after their leaders (Strabo VII, 5, 1). This would suggest that the Trocmi and Tolistobogi were not intact tribal units per se but probably made up of elements of different tribes and therefore took their titles from their leaders. Even more important is that all of these three groups displayed no ethnic or linguistic differences each other – 'All three spoke the same language and differed from each other in no respect' (Strabo VII, 5, 1). If the Trocmi and Tolistobogi differed in 'no respect' from the Tectosages then it logically follows that they were also Belgae. One may conclude with a degree of certainty that the Galatians were ethnically Belgic which leads to the logical conclusion, in combination with the topographic evidence outlined above, that the Celtic invasion force into South-Eastern Europe and Asia Minor, was comprised of tribes from this confederation.

How does this then fit in with the testimony (Polyaen VII, 4) that these Celts were descendants of those who had advanced into Italy a century earlier? The question remains whether the Celts who settled in Pannonia, as proved by archaeological material from LT B1 (Domaradski 1984, 72) (beginning of the 4th century B.C.), came from the Po valley. Fortunately the Gaulish tribes who moved into Italy at this juncture are well documented. They crossed the Alps in several successive waves. Bellovesus, who directed the whole operation, had with him the Insubres tribe (Livy V, 34–35; Jullian CCXLVII, I) and was afterwards followed by the Cenomani under Elitovius (Livy V, 35, 2). Following them came the Libui and Saluvi, the Boii and Lingones (Livy V, 35, 2). The Senones arrived last and subsequently provided the army of about 30,000 which crossed the Appenines and took Rome (Livy V, 35, 2–3).

The effect of the terror on the Italian peninsula died hard and until the middle of the 4th century B.C., the Romans remained on the defensive. From that period on they began to turn on their enemies. Polybius tells us that at the first Roman attacked the Gauls were so surprised that they stopped short and scattered

(Polyb. II, 18, 7) and peace seems to have been concluded around 335 BC (Polyb. XIX, 1). The general outcome had been that while Celtic inroads had penetrated to the end of Italy, their conquest stopped at the Appennines. Of these five main tribes who moved across the Alps we are informed that the Insubres, Cenomani, Boii, Lingones and Senones all came direct from a great distance – from the banks of the Rhine (App., Celt., I, 2; Prop. X, 10,19). In the time of Tarquin the Proud we are told that 'Gaul was so fertile and populous that that the immense multitude threatened to be hard to rule. So the King, being old and wishing to relieve his kingdom of its excess population, declared that he would send his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, who were energetic youths, to whatever country the Gods should indicate by omens, and they should take as many men as they wished, so that no people should be able to resist their advance. The omens assigned the Hercynian Forests to Sigovesus, and to the much more fortunate Bellovesus the road to Italy' (Livy V, 34). Livy also gives us a list of the peoples among whom Bellovesus raised his army – namely the Bituriges, Averni, Senones, Aedui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci (Livy V, 34). Of all the tribes mentioned in the Italian expansion only the Boii tribe is specifically mentioned later in the Balkan context and they formed a separate entity from those Celts who expanded into the central and eastern Balkans and Asia Minor (Strabo VII, 2, 2; VII, 3, 2; VII, 3, 11).

Many archaeologists, based on the available archaeological data, believe that there was another, more important wave of Celtic expansion coming directly from the west and north-west (*see* Domaradski 1984,72). The lack of evidence for the main tribes who took part in the invasion of Italy and the presence of traces of (Belgic) tribes, particularly the Remi and Tectosages, in the Balkans and Asia Minor in the aftermath of the invasion of the 3rd century B.C. militates in favour of this theory. It also appears that, unlike those which had expanded across the Alps, the expansion into the Balkans was not made up of whole tribes but smaller client-tribes. All indications are that although the 'Italian expedition' mainly consisted of Gaulish tribes, the eastern expansion during the later period was composed of forces which had among them a dominant Belgae element.

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