
Cultural Exchanges between Macedonia and Thrace in the Fourth and Third Centuries BC

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ABSTRACT In the second half of the fourth and the first half of the third century BC elite burials in Macedonia and Thrace consisted of chamber tombs furnished with wooden or stone couches, vessels for eating and drinking, weapons, clothes, and jewels. Chamber tombs were usually covered with mounds and were accessible via built corridors. Macedonian tombs, however, were built underground while Thracian tombs were at ground level or higher. The Thracians preferred beehive tombs and corbel vault roofs, whereas Macedonian tombs were covered with the barrel vault, which was probably invented in Macedonia. The barrel vaults of Macedonian tombs were disguised behind elaborate architectural façades, but Thracian tombs generally lacked façades. The higher echelons of the Macedonian army complemented their defensive armor with iron pectorals carrying silver gilt decoration which were manufactured in Thrace or imitated Thracian models. After Philip II's conquest of the Odrysian kingdom, the Macedonians introduced a burial ritual which involved transport amphorae, inspired by Thracian practice. The builders of Thracian tombs occasionally imitated the marble doors of Macedonian tombs. The drinking sets found in Thracian tombs have their closest parallels in Macedonia. The influence of Macedonian chamber tombs can be detected, among others, in the Naip tomb in southeastern Thrace and in a number of chamber tombs with barrel vaults in the Getic kingdom. The Sveshtari tomb, attributed to one of the rulers of the Getai, includes a wall-painting showing the ruler on horseback, wearing a ram's horn over his right ear in imitation of Alexander the Great on the coinage of Lysimachos. This represents the pinnacle of Macedonian influence on the culture of Thrace.

KEYWORDS Macedonia, Thrace, chamber tomb, barrel vault, corbel vault, pectoral.

The Thracians came into close contact with the Macedonians after Philip II's conquest of the Odrysian kingdom in 340 BC, during Alexander III's Asian campaign and again during the rule of Lysimachos (322-281 BC)¹. Philip's foundation of the city of Philippiopolis (modern Plovdiv) surely had an impact on the interaction between

¹ I am grateful to Daniela Stoyanova and Chavdar Tzochev for help and advice. Chavdar Tzochev has kindly allowed the reproduction of the hypothetical reconstruction of the Starosel tomb (here Fig. 1) and the plan of the Mal Tepe tomb (here Fig. 2). On the historical events in Thrace in the period 342-281 BC, see DELEV 2015, 50-55. On Lysimachos' relations with Seuthes III, see ARCHIBALD 1998, 308-309. Lysimachos' conflicts with the Getai are discussed by DELEV 2000.

Macedonian and Thracians. In addition, it was during this campaign that Philip made an alliance with the Getic king Kothelas and married his daughter, Meda². Thracian contingents participated in Alexander III's expeditionary forces against the Persian Empire and there is no doubt that Thracian veterans returning to either Macedonia or Thrace after the war introduced new luxury items acquired as booty³.

Interaction between the kingdoms of Macedonia and Thrace has been repeatedly scrutinized and cultural influences among the elites are often discussed in publications of individual monuments. This paper attempts to highlight some salient points of cultural exchange as evidenced in Thracian tombs and in Thracian grave goods found in Macedonian tombs from the mid fourth to the mid third centuries BC.

The preferred mode of elite burials in both Macedonia and Thrace was the chamber tomb. Such tombs contained wooden or stone furniture and were equipped with an array of grave goods, often in precious metals, which included drinking sets, weapons, jewellery, and textiles. There are, however, distinct differences in tomb architecture between the two regions. Although the majority of both Thracian and Macedonian tombs were covered by mounds (*tumuli*) and were accessible through a built corridor (*dromos*), the Thracians had a predilection for beehive round tombs. Rectangular chambers, antechambers and corridors were roofed with corbel vaults as opposed to the barrel vault that was used extensively in Macedonia. Thracian chamber tombs were built of ashlar masonry and often consisted of a main chamber and one or two antechambers, all on the same level⁴. They were built overground and were occasionally accessible through a staircase leading up⁵. A good example is the Starosel Tomb, which is still covered by a mound (Fig. 1)⁶. A small number of tombs covered with a barrel vault found in the area of the Odrysian kingdom in Thrace are usually attributed to Macedonian owners⁷. On the whole, however, these are built at ground level and their vaults are visible, not disguised behind an architectural façade as was the standard practice in Macedonia.

A section of the tomb at Mal Tepe, Mezek provides a good illustration of an early Hellenistic Thracian tomb consisting of a long corridor leading to two rectangular antechambers and a beehive main chamber (Fig. 2)⁸. It is covered with an artificial mound, supported by a retaining wall. It does not have a painted architectural façade and the entrance was sealed with stone blocks. In Thracian chamber tombs, painted decoration was reserved for the interior, for example the tholos, as in the Kazanlak and Alexandrovo Tombs, the corridors, also in the Kazanlak and Alexandrovo Tombs, and in one instance the interior ceiling coffers as in Ostrusha (Fig. 3)⁹. In addition, the Maglij Tomb carried a painted frieze above the funerary couch¹⁰. In some instances Thracian tombs had stone doors imitating wooden examples¹¹. We have a unique

² Ath. 13.557d.

³ On the Thracian recruits of Alexander's army, see D.S. 17.17.4; Arr. *An.*3.5.1 and 6.15.2; Curt. 5.1.41 and 9.3.21. See also ARCHIBALD 1998, 305.

⁴ For general introductions to Thracian tombs, see STOYANOVA 2015; VALEVA 2015; STOYANOV–STOYANOVA 2016; DELEMEN 2016.

⁵ See RABADJIEV 2016, 287-288.

⁶ On the Starosel tomb, see TZOCHEV 2022.

⁷ STOYANOVA 2007.

⁸ For the Mal Tepe tomb, see TZOCHEV 2014; STOYANOV–STOYANOVA 2016, 317-318.

⁹ Kazanlak: SHIRKOVA 1973; MANETTA 2019, figs. 13 and 17. Alexandrovo: KITOV 2001; NANKOV 2010; MANETTA 2019, figs. 12, 15, 16. Ostrusha: VALEVA 2005; STOYANOV–TONKOVA 2015, 923-924, figs. 6a-b (with earlier references).

¹⁰ MARTINEZ *et al.* 2015, 152-153, cat. 112.

¹¹ On the doors of Thracian tombs, see STOYANOVA 2017.

occurrence of a bronze door: this sealed the entrance between the second antechamber and the chamber of the Mal Tepe Tomb¹². It was made up of two leaves and carried a bronze door knocker in the shape of a lion head with a ring in its mouth¹³. An additional door ornament consisted of a roundel with a bearded male head¹⁴. Bronze door knockers have also been found in Macedonian tombs, for example, a bronze roundel depicting a lion with a ring in its mouth from a wooden door came to light in a Macedonian tomb in Pydna¹⁵. Door knockers were also added to the doors of wooden structures employed in the funerary pyres of Vergina, for example in Tomb II and in the so-called Tomb of Eurydice¹⁶.

Only one instance of a Thracian beehive tomb is attested in Macedonia so far. It was excavated in the cemetery of Lete (Derвени) and consists of a corridor, rectangular antechamber and round chamber¹⁷. The masonry had been robbed in the Roman period, but enough pottery survives to help date the tomb to the early third century. The excavator has attributed the tomb to a member of the Thracian elite who may have been one of the veterans of the army of Alexander the Great.

Macedonian chamber tombs were underground affairs, often provided with steps leading down¹⁸. They were covered by artificial mounds and were accessible through a corridor (Fig 4). They often had a main chamber and an antechamber which could be built at different levels and were occasionally of different widths. Their main characteristic is the articulated architectural façade built in the Doric or Ionic order or a combination of the two, often topped with a pediment and acroteria¹⁹. The façades very probably imitated gateways²⁰. They carried painted decoration, often featuring figural paintings with a great range of themes. Macedonian tombs are first and foremost characterized by their barrel vault (Fig. 4). The barrel vault may well have been invented in Macedonia. The date of its inception depends on the date of the earliest known Macedonian tomb, and that remains controversial, though a date in the 330s seems likely. Macedonian chamber tombs were sealed with a wooden or marble door imitating a wooden design. These were functioning doors as attested by grooves on the floor slabs so that they could open inwards, running on rollers.

The Macedonians came in close contact with the Thracians thanks to Philip's campaigns in Thrace and his conquest of the Odrysian kingdom in 340 BC²¹. Henceforth there is intermittent Macedonian penetration into the region, culminating in the rule of Lysimachos from 322 to 281 BC²², when we can observe several instances of Macedonian influence on the art and architecture of Thrace.

But first, a brief mention of some aspects of the impact of Thracian culture on the Macedonians.

¹² STOYANOVA 2017, 38-41.

¹³ STOYANOVA 2017, 40-41, figs. 12a-c.

¹⁴ STOYANOVA 2017, 41-42, figs. 13a-c.

¹⁵ BESIOS 2010, 248. For further examples, see STOYANOVA 2017, 42.

¹⁶ KOTTARIDI-WALKER 2011, cat. no. 122, fig. 167; KOTTARIDI 2020, 78 and 80, figs. 5 and 9.

¹⁷ TZANAVARI 2021.

¹⁸ For overviews of Macedonian tombs, see VON MANGOLDT 2012; PALAGIA 2022.

¹⁹ The façade of the Macedonian tomb at Xerokambos, Beroea, exceptionally had Corinthian columns: VON MANGOLDT 2012, 303-304, B142, pl. 115.

²⁰ Thracian tombs did not usually have monumental facades but there are exceptions, like the gateway to Starosel: TZOCHEV 2022, 109-127, and the two monumental façades of the Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus: DIMITROVA 2015, 51-54, 62-65, figs. 42 and 55.

²¹ ARCHIBALD 1998, 231-237; DELEV 2015, 49-51.

²² DELEV 2000; 2015, 54-55.

Plutarch, in his *Life of Alexander* (32.8-12), gives a full account of Alexander's armor as he rode to battle at Gaugamela. It was thoroughly eclectic, consisting of spoils, gifts, antiques and items made to order. He wore an iron helmet made by Theophilos, which gleamed as if it was of silver; a linen corselet from the spoils of the battle of Issos worn over a chiton made in Sicily; a belt made by Helikon the ancient (and therefore an antique) and presented to him by the city of Rhodes, and finally an iron pectoral inlaid with precious stones. Plutarch does not specify the provenance of this pectoral, but it may well have come from Thrace. This type of protective collar was combined with a cuirass and consisted of an iron crescent mounted on leather, veneered with metal scales or silver gilt appliqués. Several examples have been found in the monumental tombs of Thrace. Among the earliest, and earlier than any known from Macedonia, is a leather pectoral overlaid with iron scales from the tumulus of Golyamata Mogila (at Zlatinitsa-Malomirovo) in the Odrysian kingdom, dated to the mid fourth century and attributed to one of the sons of the last Odrysian king Kersebleptes²³. Later examples from the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries in Thrace comprise the silver gilt pectoral from Ostrusha, the pectoral from the tomb in the Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus in the former Odrysian territory (made of gold sheets attached to an iron crescent placed on a cloth background), and the iron pectoral with silver gilt decoration from the Mal Tepe Tomb²⁴. The pectoral from the Mal Tepe Tomb was found without a cuirass but it is assumed that the cuirass was made of linen and has since disintegrated²⁵. Equally valuable and very elaborate is the gilded pectoral (Fig. 5) found in the antechamber of Tomb II in Vergina, which is variously attributed to Philip II or Philip III Arrhidaios of Macedon²⁶. It is made of leather, overlaid with iron and topped by a silver-gilt crescent. It is decorated with bands of rosettes and flowers. The inner band carries four images of horsemen, their right arm raised as if attacking. The horsemen are flanked by two youthful male heads. The top band imitates a necklace. It is interesting that this pectoral was found in the antechamber along with the military equipment of the woman buried and was probably intended for a female customer. Pectorals in female burials were also found in Thrace, for example the iron scale pectoral in Tumulus IV at Kyolmen²⁷. Manolis Andronikos, the excavator of Tomb II, suggested that the pectoral from the antechamber of Tomb II was of Thracian manufacture on account of its distinct quality which differs from the other precious grave goods deposited in the tomb. I would like to point out that the figural decoration of this pectoral is exceptional and that the four horsemen probably allude to the Thracian rider hero; this can be taken as another indication of Thracian provenance. In addition to the gilt pectoral of the antechamber, an iron pectoral was found in the main chamber of Tomb II, accompanying the man's cuirass²⁸. The fact that the gilt pectoral of the antechamber was found without a cuirass probably indicates that the cuirass was

²³ MARTINEZ *et al.* 2015, 60-61, fig. 1. For the tomb, see MARTINEZ *et al.* 2015, 88.

²⁴ Pectoral from Ostrusha, DIMITROVA 2015, 181, fig. 147; STOYANOV-TONKOVA 2015, 925. Pectoral from the Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus, DIMITROVA 2015, 178, fig. 146. Pectoral from Mal Tepe, OGNENOVA 1961, 530-535, figs. 15-18. Further pectorals from Thrace: OGNENOVA 1961, 531, 533, pl. 17; FAKLARI 1985, 8, pl. 9.

²⁵ See FAKLARI 1985, 10.

²⁶ Pectoral, Vergina, Museum of the Royal Tombs, ANDRONIKOS 1984, 189, fig. 151. The attribution of Vergina Tomb II is controversial and the bibliography extensive. For the original attribution to Philip II, see ANDRONIKOS 1984, 221-233, arguments now updated in CHRYSOSTOMOU 2019, 742-743. For the main arguments in favour of Philip III Arrhidaios, see BORZA-PALAGIA 2007, now updated in PALAGIA 2017.

²⁷ ARCHIBALD 1998, 255.

²⁸ Vergina, Museum of the Royal Tombs, KOTTARIDI 2011, 53.

of linen and has since perished, especially as it was found next to a pair of metal gorgoneia, which presumably formed part of this cuirass²⁹.

A few more pectorals, either of Thracian manufacture or of Thracian inspiration, have been excavated in cist graves in Macedonia dating from the second half of the fourth century, for example, an iron pectoral decorated with a silver gilt crescent, with leather at the back, was found in Pydna, and another in the antechamber of cist grave A in Katerini³⁰.

Elite burials in both Macedonia and Thrace in the fourth and third centuries contained banqueting vessels in bronze, silver, and gold, notably *oinochoai*, wine strainers, and drinking cups. It is generally assumed that the Thracian drinking sets were inspired by Macedonian examples and indeed most vessels found in Thrace reflect designs that were already current in Macedonia. Beaked *oinochoai* with concave cylindrical bodies and quadrangular faceted handles have been found in Naip in Thrace, as well as in Lete (Derveni) and Vergina Tomb III in Macedonia³¹. We can easily compare the shapes of wine strainers from Naip with Vergina Tomb III³². Very popular in both regions was the calyx cup, of Achaemenid inspiration, found in a variety of designs, plain or decorated, as in the tomb in the Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus in Thrace and in tombs in Lete (Derveni) in Macedonia³³. However, the banqueting equipment of Thracian tombs also comprised clay transport amphorae from Greece, notably Thasos. These amphorae were occasionally stamped with an official's name which facilitates dating even though they may not have been placed in the tomb in the years immediately following production. In any case, the amphorae are related to a specific burial and some tombs contain multiple burials that took place at different times. Transport amphorae are usually found in pairs. There are notable examples from the tombs at Starosel, Mal Tepe, Naip and the Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus³⁴. Macedonian funerary rituals did not include transport amphorae. Nevertheless, there are a few exceptions, all dated after Philip's conquest of the Odrysian kingdom in 340, which suggest that the introduction of transport amphorae to Macedonian funerary rituals was due to Thracian influence³⁵. In Macedonia transport amphorae were excavated, among others, in the fourth-century tombs of Nikesiani and Phoinikas, as well as in Pella, in the early-third-century Tomb IV and in the early-second-century Tomb II, which was found unlooted³⁶.

²⁹ For the *gorgoneia*, see KOTTARIDI 2011, 50, n° 175.

³⁰ Pectoral from Pydna, Thessaloniki Museum, FAKLARIS 1985, 1-6, pls. 1b, 2, 4-7; BESIOS 2010, 199. Pectoral from Katerini, Thessaloniki Museum 7483, SCHMIDT-DOUNAS 2017, 65-72, pl. 33.

³¹ Bronze beaked *oinochoe* from Naip, Tekirdağ Museum 1945, DELEMEN 2006, 263, fig. 16. Silver beaked *oinochoai* from Derveni, Thessaloniki Museum, THEMELIS–TOURATSOGLU 1997, 35, pls. 39-40. Silver beaked *oinochoe* from Vergina Tomb III, Vergina, Museum of the Royal Tombs, ANDRONICOS 1984, fig. 172.

³² Silver wine strainer from Naip, Tekirdağ Museum 1941, DELEMEN 2006, 262, fig. 11; from Vergina Tomb III, Vergina, Museum of the Royal Tombs, ANDRONICOS 1984, fig. 178.

³³ Silver calyx cup from the Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus, DIMITROVA 2015, 268-70, cat. no. 32, figs. 157 and 206. Silver calyx cup from Derveni, Thessaloniki Museum, THEMELIS–TOURATSOGLU 1997, 65-66, col. pl. 8, pl. 65.

³⁴ Amphorae from Starosel: TZOCHEV 2022, 147-149. Mal Tepe: TZOCHEV 2014, 55-59. Naip: DELEMEN 2006, 262, fig. 12. Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus: DIMITROVA 2015, 314-315, figs. 263-268.

³⁵ See TZOCHEV 2014, 58 with n. 32.

³⁶ Nikesiani: LAZARIDIS–RHOMIOPOULOU–TOURATSOGLU 1992, 21, 25, 28-29, pl. 12. Phoinikas: TSIMBIDOU–AVLONITI 2005, 65. Pella Tomb IV: CHRYSOSTOMOU 2019, 349. Pella Tomb II: CHRYSOSTOMOU 1998, 69, pl. 11.

We will conclude this paper with Macedonian influences on Thracian culture as attested by the architecture, art, and burial goods of three Thracian tombs dating from the reign of Lysimachos.

The Thracian tomb at Naip in south-eastern Thrace (in modern Turkey) demonstrates Macedonian inspiration in the substantial difference in floor levels between the corridor and the chamber, with the steps going down rather than up³⁷. It was sealed by a marble door imitating Macedonian prototypes³⁸. This was, however, a false door as it did not pivot inward. Moreover, it imitates a door with double leaves even though it is monolithic. Finally, the tomb contained a unique find, which has a single parallel from Vergina Tomb II: a tubular shaft for the insertion of a torch³⁹. The torch stand found in Vergina has been considered a token of royal paraphernalia, but this obviously does not apply to the Naip torch. The tomb has nevertheless been attributed to an Odrysian prince on the strength of the name Teres inscribed on the inside of the rim of a silver *oinochoe*⁴⁰.

The most exceptional marble door of a Thracian tomb is without doubt the door leading to the round chamber of the tomb in the Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus (Fig. 6). This tomb has been attributed to Seuthes III⁴¹, who died sometime in the first quarter of the third century BC⁴². The marble door is thought to belong to the third-century phase of the tomb. It was a functioning door, constructed of two leaves, similar to several doors from Macedonian tombs⁴³. It is decorated with two relief medallions on its top panels, one carrying a gorgon head, the other a head of Helios distinguished by his sun rays (Fig. 7). We have no other example of a marble door from either Macedonia or Thrace decorated with a head of Helios. But we do have examples of doors with gorgoneia from Macedonian tombs. Pella Tomb IV with the Doric façade, for example, has gorgon medallions on both the outer door of the tomb (made of limestone) and the inner door (made of marble) leading from the antechamber to the main chamber⁴⁴. This tomb is one of the largest and most monumental tombs in Pella and dates from the late fourth or early third century BC. Its doors or the prototype of such doors must have been available to the architects of the Golyama Kosmatka Tomb, who spared no effort to construct a spectacular tomb.

The Macedonian barrel vault was imitated in a number of chamber tombs in the Getic kingdom, located near its ancient capital Helis, in the region of Sboryanovo⁴⁵. The most spectacular is the Caryatid Tomb at Sveshtari, dated to the 280s or 270s and attributed to one of the rulers of the Getai⁴⁶. It consists of three chambers, each covered

³⁷ DELEMEN 2006.

³⁸ Tekirdağ Museum 1958. DELEMEN 2006, 255, fig. 3; STOYANOVA 2017, 51-52, fig. 21.

³⁹ Torch stand from Naip: DELEMEN 2006, 266; from Vergina Tomb II: ANDRONICOS 1984, 166-167, fig. 132.

⁴⁰ Tekirdağ Museum 1942. DELEMEN 2006, 261, 267-268, fig. 10.

⁴¹ DIMITROVA 2015.

⁴² On the question of chronology and the different construction phases of this tomb, see STOYANOV–TONKOVA 2015, 934-940; STOYANOV–STOYANOVA 2016, 320-322.

⁴³ DIMITROVA 2015, 81-88, figs. 73-76; STOYANOVA 2017, 43-44, figs. 14a-c.

⁴⁴ CHRYSOSTOMOU 2019, 274-284, figs. 65-66, pls. VII and VIII. Other gorgoneia from Macedonian tomb doors: a) Palmettes Tomb in Lefkadia, marble gorgoneion from door of chamber, RHOMIOPOULOU–SCHMIDT–DOUNAS 2010, 22-23, Beil. 17 and pl. 9,1. b) Tomb of Langada or Macridy Bey, gilt bronze gorgoneion from wooden door of antechamber, Istanbul Museum 2167, FLOREN 1977, pl. 17,3. On the tomb of Langada/Macridy Bey (Fig. 4), see now PROTOSALTI–KATSAVELI 2013. c) Macedonian tomb in Pydna, bronze gorgoneion from wooden door, BESIOS 2010, 248. For further examples of gorgoneia on Macedonian tomb doors, see STOYANOVA 2017, 42; CHRYSOSTOMOU 2019, 280, n. 99.

⁴⁵ CHICHICOVA 2016.

⁴⁶ CHICHICOVA 2012.

with its own separate barrel vault (Fig. 8). Unlike Macedonian tombs, the barrel vaults here are not disguised behind an elaborate façade but are in plain view. The lunette of the main chamber is decorated with a wall-painting depicting the ruler on horseback (Fig. 9). A ram's horn is painted over his right ear, obviously inspired by the ram's horns worn by Alexander the Great on the coins of Lysimachos, which are a token of the ruler's deification. I have argued elsewhere that the procession represented here is a depiction of the king's return from a triumphant campaign, as documented by Hellenistic inscriptions, and that the scene forms part of Hellenistic royal imagery as it was developed in the Successor kingdoms⁴⁷. The self-representation of the Thracian ruler is here assimilated to that of Alexander's Successors and the tomb thus represents the pinnacle of Macedonian influence on the culture of Thrace.

In conclusion, we may highlight the most salient instances of cultural interaction between Macedonia and Thrace as evidenced in funerary art and architecture in the early Hellenistic period. The Macedonian cultural impact on Thrace is evident in selected Thracian tombs acquiring marble doors decorated with gorgoneia, inspired by Macedonian examples. Both Macedonian and Thracian tomb doors could be embellished with bronze door knockers. A ruler of the Getai in the second quarter of the third century had himself represented on the Caryatid Tomb at Sveshtari with ram's horns over the ears, in direct imitation of the image of Alexander the Great on the coins of Lysimachos. A unique example of a Thracian beehive tomb in Macedonia appears in the cemetery of Lete (Derveni) after the return of Alexander's veterans from Persia. A Thracian funerary ritual involving transport amphorae is selectively adopted in Macedonia after Philip II's conquest of the Odrysian kingdom. Thracian metal pectorals complementing body armor were introduced into Macedonia and one was even worn by Alexander the Great at the battle of Gaugamela. The woman's burial in the antechamber of Vergina Tomb II included an elaborate gilded pectoral. It is interesting that pectorals were also excavated in female burials in Thrace. And finally, the torch stand, interpreted as a token of royalty, found in the main chamber of Vergina Tomb II, has a parallel in the non-royal Naip Tomb in Thrace. There are no doubt further examples of cultural interaction testifying to the close contact of Macedonian and Thracian elites even during periods of conflict.

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⁴⁷ PALAGIA 2021, 673-674, figs. 1-2.

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FIGURES

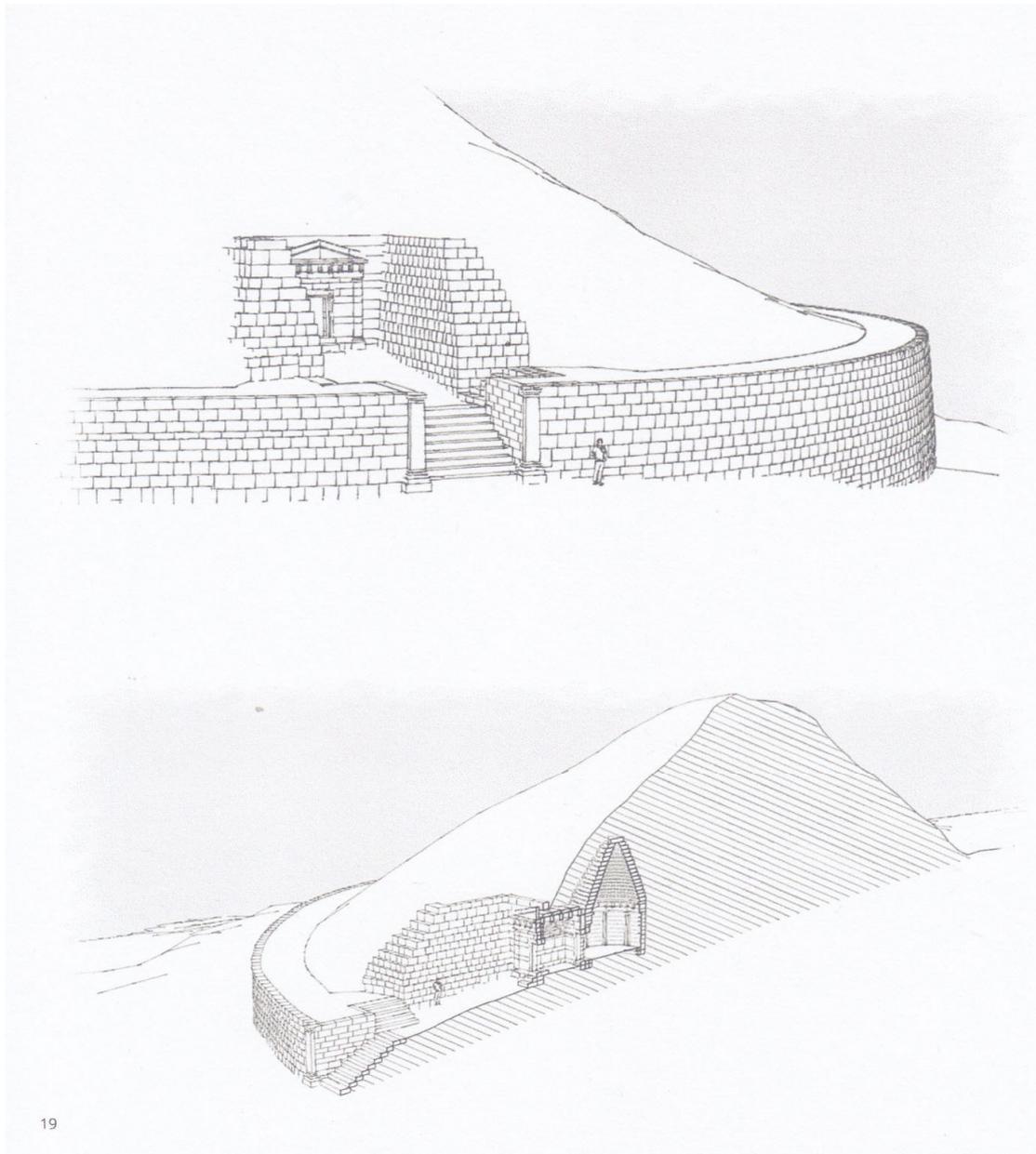


Fig. 1: Starosel tomb. Hypothetical reconstruction (from TZOCHEV 2022, fig. 19).

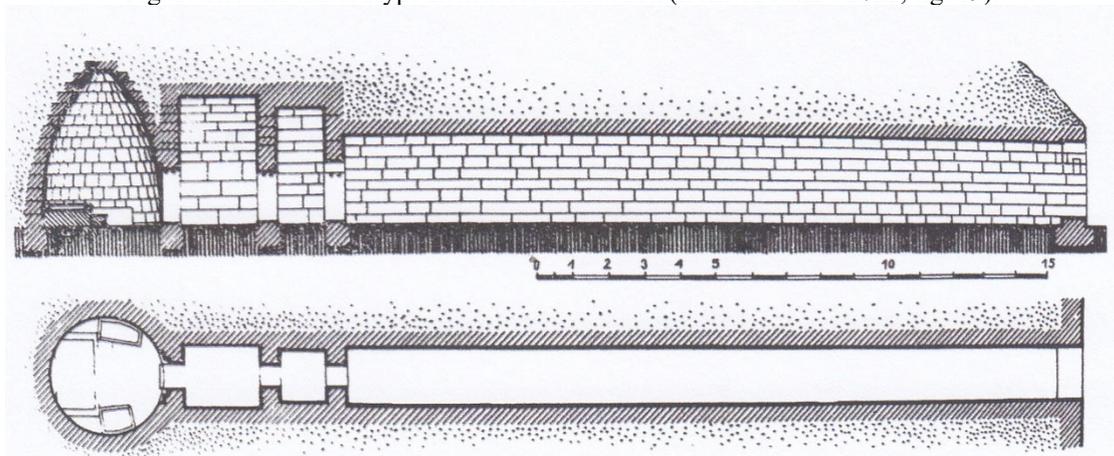


Fig. 2: Plan of Mal Tepe tomb (from TZOCHEV 2014, fig. 1).

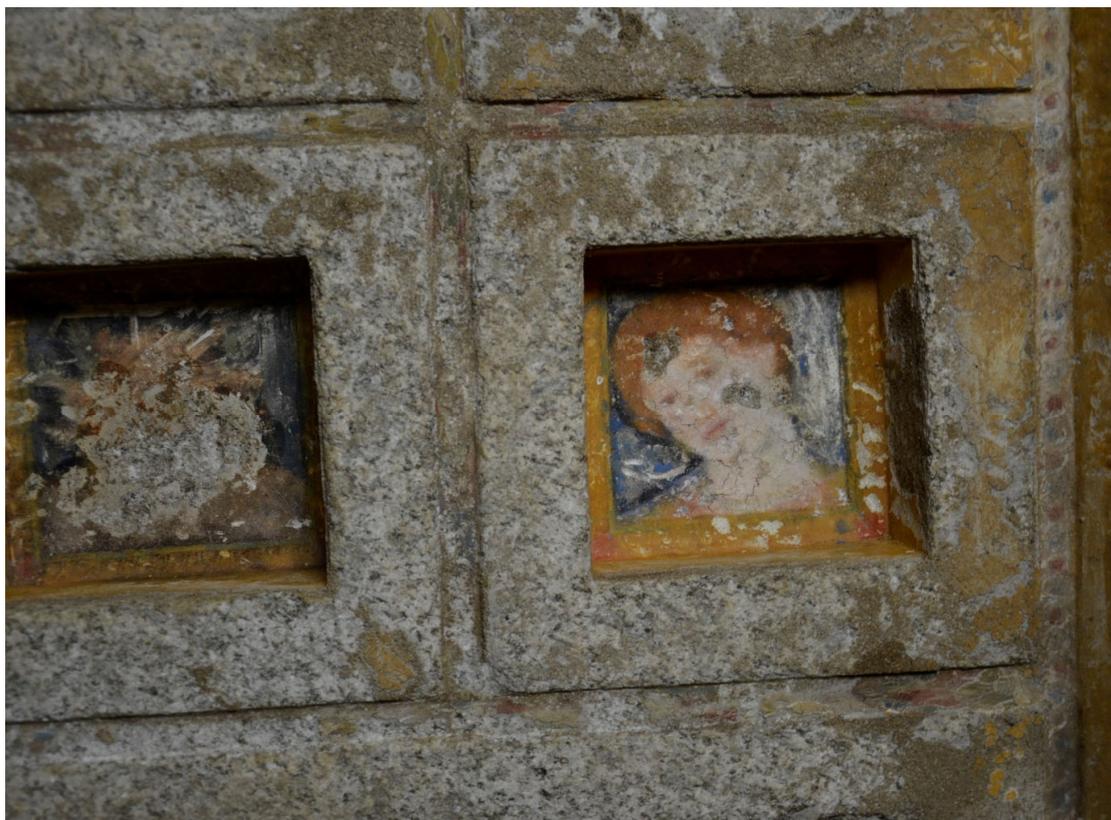


Fig. 3: Painted ceiling coffers of the Ostrusha tomb. Photo Olga Palagia.



Fig. 4: Macedonian tomb of Langada (Macridy Bey). Photo Olga Palagia.



Fig. 5: Silver gilt pectoral from the antechamber of Vergina Tomb II. Vergina, Museum of the Royal Tombs. Photo Olga Palagia.



Fig. 6: Marble door of round chamber, tomb in Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus, Photo Olga Palagia.



Fig. 7: Head of Helios on marble door of round chamber, tomb in Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus.
Photo: Olga Palagia.



Fig. 8: Caryatid Tomb, Sveshtari. Photo: Olga Palagia.



Fig. 9: Wall-painting of Getic ruler in Sveshtari tomb. Photo: Olga Palagia.