

THE GOLD TREASURE OF PANAGURISCHTE

The treasure of nine richly-decorated gold vessels found near Panagurischte, Bulgaria, in 1949, is one of the most important finds of recent years and a unique example of toreutic art of the ancients¹. This is the first time that such a number of gold vessels from the post-Mycenaean period is found. Even from Thrace and from the region around the Black Sea where gold was in abundance—contrary to the main part of Greece, where it was scant—mostly gold jewelry was found and only very few vessels.

A recent publication of this treasure by Dim. Zontschew², curator of the Museum of Philippopolis³ where the treasure is in display, gives us the opportunity to present it in this journal: the 73 color plates give every detail one would wish for as well as whole views that help greatly to a better understanding of these works of art on which the intense and changeable glow of the color of the gold is an essential element of their artistic value.

The importance of the find, which is evidenced by the extensive biblio-

1. First reports: *Oesterr. Jahresh.* 38, 1950, *Beiblatt* p. 225 sq. *Revue Archéologique*, 1950, II, p. 154; 1954, II, p. 91 sq. *Ill. London News*, Dec. 11, 1954, p. 1056. *Archaeology* 8, 1955, p. 218 sq. *Parola del Passato* 10, 1955, p. 215 sq. In Greece the finds were first announced by Prof. S. Marinatos, in an article in the newspaper *Tachydromos* [Ταχυδρόμος] July 6, 1957, p. 22. Detailed publication: Bedrich Svoboda - Dimiter Cončev, *Neue Denkmäler antiker Toreutik*, in *Monumenta archaeologica Academiae scientiarum Bohemoslavicae*, IV, Prague 1956 (concerning the two independent publications in the same number of a rhyton in the museum of Prague by B. Svoboda p. 5 sq. and the treasure of Panagurischte by Cončev p. 115 sq.). A more brief publication by Zontschew (=Cončev) in *Das Altertum* 3, 1957, p. 150 sq.

2. Dimiter Zontschew, *Der Goldschatz von Panagurischte*, in *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft* No. 16, Akademie - Verlag, Berlin 1959.

3. Ancient finds were known also previously from the region of Panagurischte, north of Philippopolis, occupying the location of an ancient settlement of the Byse, which belonged to the Kingdom of the Odrussians. Cf. B. Filow, *Röm. Mitt.* 1917, p. 21 sq., and, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duwanlij in Südbulgarien*, Sophia 1934, p. 158, 216 sq. See D. Cončev, *Monumenta* 1956, p. 118 sq. The region was conquered by Philip II in 341 B.C.

graphy⁴, does not concern only the precious material of these vessels⁵. The shapes, the rich decoration with the various motifs, the destination of the «σύνθεσις» (surely they all belong to and were made for an ensemble); all these are elements extremely interesting in themselves. Of interest also are the determination of their style and the place of their origin. The enthusiasm stirred immediately after the discovery of this treasure led to the hypothesis that Alexander the Great himself might have drunk from these vessels⁶. Be that as it may, they surely belong to his time.

Zontschew dated this treasure in the transition from the Classical to Hellenistic times and considered it as a work of "an Attic rather than an Ionian workshop"⁷.

Objections were raised concerning the dating but they did not have much foundation. There is no great connection between these vessels and the art of the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.; on the other hand

4. H. Hoffmann in *Amer. Journal of Archeology* 61, 1957, p. 389 sq. J. Jucker in *Atlantis*, 1957, p. 137 sq. H. Hoffmann, The date of the Panagurishte Treasure, in *Röm. Mitt.* 65, 1958, p. 121 sq. Ivan Venedikov, Sur la date et l'origine du trésor de Panagurichte, in *Acta Antiqua Acad. scient. Hungaricae* 6, 1958, p. 67 sq. P. Aman-dry, La toreutique achéménide, in *Antike Kunst* 2, 1959, p. 38 sq. Erica Simon, Der Goldschatz von Panagurische - Eine Schöpfung der Alexanderzeit. Mit einem Beitrag von Herbert A. Cahn, in *Antike Kunst* 3, 1960, p. 3. Ivan Venedikov, *The Panagurische Gold Treasure*, "Bulgarski Houdozhnik" Publishing House, Sophia 1961. Saul S. Weinberg, How was the Panagurishte gold phiale made? In *Amer. Journal of Archaeology* 66, 1962, p. 201 sq.

5. The total weight in gold of the nine vessels is more than six kilograms.

6. *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 11, 1954, p. 1056.

7. Cončev, *Monumenta*, 1956, p. 159 sq., *Der Goldschatz*, 1959, p. 16, where Hoffmann's low dating is rejected.

8. I. Venedikov, 1958, p. 84, and 1961, p. 17 sq. The characteristics of the beginning of the third century mentioned by Venedikov are found in the period of Alexander the Great. However Venedikov in both of his publications thinks that the vessels have been made in Lampsakus during Lysimachus' period and been brought over at various times so that the set was formed gradually. This is the reason why he dates each one from a different period and that he does not find stylistic affinities among them. He believes that the three head-rhyta were bought first, then the fourth rhyton and the phiale, the latter not acquired from the workshop, "being acquired second hand", and last, the three oinochoai and the amphora were added. This seems very improbable. Cf. below. End of the 4th cent. B.C. or beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C., according to the dating by Aman-dry, *op. cit.* p. 55, who is specifically referring to the amphora. Instead of an extensive discussion about the analysis of the style of the vessels in general, I try to place the style of these vessels in their period, independently from the proposed datings. This paper does not intend to be a long specific publication.

dating them seven centuries later, in the period of Constantine the Great, is entirely baseless⁹. The transitional period between the Classical and the Hellenistic era coincides to the period of Alexander the Great and E. Simon¹⁰ suggested the decade 330-320 as the probable time of their execution.



Fig. 1. Rhyton No 1. Judgement of Paris.

Against Zontschew's opinion, that these vessels are of Greek origin, some scholars suggested that in spite of the Greek origin of the motifs and the relation of these vessels to the Greek art, they should be considered as products of Greek craftsmen settled in Thrace many generations ago, who, in the midst of the alien environment, had lost their Greek perception of art, and, consequently, they should be considered as works of a Thracian workshop where Greek and Thracian elements were blended¹¹. In this

9. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, believes that the phiale only can be dated from the Hellenistic times. Head - oinochoai come from earlier periods too. The oinochoe head of Const. Chloros, *Münch. Jahrb. für Bildkunst*, 1919, p. 3, shows the difference very evidently. Hoffmann's dating was rejected by P. Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 55, note 121, and by E. Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 3 sq.

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 3, for stylistic reasons, as well as for interpretation which he gives of the treasure, see below.

11. For that reason see P. Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 54 sq.: «Dans l'exécution du décor, trop riche, de ces vases somptueux, les maladresses abondent. Ce serait faire injure à un orfèvre athénien, ou même ionien, de lui imputer la responsabilité de telles fautes de goût et d'exécution... Dans l'«amphore» de Panagurichte la forme est purement «perse»; les sujets sont grecs, mais le style ne l'est qu'à demi. Le vase a dû être exécuté pas très loin du lieu où il a été trouvé... par un de ces *Μιξέλληνες* du Pont - Euxin». E. Simon is of the same opinion, *op. cit.*, p. 6: «Die

respect, the distinction of these elements in an explicit and definite manner would have been an important contribution to the knowledge of art in Thrace, a neighbour region to Greece.

In the following pages the question of the Thracian art will not be discussed. Only an attempt will be made to see whether there are non Greek elements in the art of these vessels.

Only one of these vessels—the phiale—does not belong to the category of *ῥέοντα* or *ῥυτά*, *rhyta*¹², i.e. cups from which wine is not drunk as usually, but, held high, they let the wine flow to the mouth by a small hole or from a spout. But the phiale also is characterized by Athenaeus as *ῥύσις* (XI, 496 *ῥύσις· φιάλη χρυσῆ· Θεόδωρος· Κρατίνος ἐν νόμοις· ῥυσίδι σπένδων*).

The name *rhyton* is usually given to the shape of four of these ves-

Werkstatt unseres Schatzes ist also in einer aussergriechischen Gegend zu suchen, wo griechische, vor allem attische, und persische Einflüsse zugleich vorauszusetzen sind. Da bietet sich wie von selber Thrakien an» . . . where besides the clearly Greek and the clearly barbarian there is a third group: «in der (Gruppe) sich diese beiden Elemente in verschiedenen Verhältnissen mischen. Zu ihr gehört der Schatz von Panagurishte». = Also I. Venedikov, *op. cit.* (1961), p. 18. "All the goddesses are garbed in numerous garments so that their bodies cannot be seen . . . This preference for the clothed figure is alien to Greek tradition. It is, however, a familiar feature of Persian art. It is correctly considered to be a Persian tradition in the Hellenistic art of Asia Minor". Considering that the place of the manufacture of the treasure is Lampsakus, he thinks the treasure: "was produced not in a country with ancient Greek traditions of art, but somewhere in the Hellenistic East which had not yet rid itself completely of its Persian traditions", *op. cit.*, p. 19; he ends by saying that (p. 26) the gold treasure of Panagurishte: "is important to us because it gives us an idea of the art of a region which included the southern parts of ancient Thrace". As it is noted in *Rev. Arch.* 1954, II, p. 94, T.H. Blavatskaia thinks that it is a blended local art, practiced in the courts of the Odrussian rulers. The argumentation of Venedikov about garments is curious. Hera, Athena and Nike are never represented nude in the Greek art, nor Anahrodite, in the Judgement of Paris-Alexandros.

12. Athenaeus XI, 496 e: *ῥέοντα· οὕτως ποτήριά τινα ἐκαλεῖτο . . . ῥέοντα δῶδεχ' ὄν δέκ' ἀργυρᾶ / ἦν, δύο χρυσᾶ, γρύψ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον πήγασος*. We should figure these *rhyta*, which were named after the form of the protome, in the shape of our fourth *rhyton*. Athenaeus 497 b: *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ ῥυτὸν πρότερον κέρασ . . . 497 e: Δωρόθεος δ' ὁ Σιδώνιος φησιν τὰ ῥυτὰ κέρασιν ὁμοια εἶναι, διατετραγώνια δ' εἶναι, ἐξ ὧν κρουνιζόντων λεπτῶς κάτωθεν πίνουσιν, ὀνομάσθαι τε ἀπὸ τῆς ῥύσεως*. The name *παλλήμποτον* is given to *rhyta* of the same make. Cf. Didyma, II, p. 256. Inscriptions designating the names of the figures are incised with hammered dots, on the *rhyton* No 1: 'Αθηνᾶ, 'Αλέξανδρος, "Ἡρα, 'Αφροδίτη' on *rhyton* No 3: Διόνυσος, 'Ἡριόπη' on *rhyton* No 4: 'Απόλλων, "Ἡρη, 'Αρτεμις, Νίκη. The form of the letters is more characteristic of the 4th cent. B.C. than of the 3rd.

sels, three of which form a special group. They are *rhyta* in the shape of animal heads—the first and second represent a deer, the third a ram—joined in an obtuse angle in the upper part in the form of a funnel whose neck is decorated with a relief on the entire surface: Paris Judgement on the first *rhyton* (fig. 1, pl. I, 1-2); Theseus and the Marathon Bull, also Heracles and the Hind of Ceryneia on the second (fig. 2, pl. II, 1-2); Dionysus and Eriope seated between two dancing Maenads, on the third



Fig. 2. *Rhyton* No 2. Labours of Theseus and Heracles.

(fig. 3, pl. III, 1-2). The handle in all three originates from a female head in relief and ends above in the shape of a lion stepping with his front paws on the rim of the vessel. The fourth *rhyton* is a variation of the above three, preserving more the resemblance to a bull's horn. It has no handle and ends in the shape of the front part of a wild goat (pl. IV, 1). So the horn-like part of the *rhyton* is longer and it is decorated, in its upper part under the rim, with a relief representing Hera seated between Apollo on her right and Artemis on her left and Nike on the rear (fig. 4).

Plastic vases are also the three oinochoai in the shape of female heads, above which is the neck and the handle of the vessel. The first two (pl. IV, 2 and 5) are almost identical. The hair is abundant, held at the back of the head by a kind of kekryphalos, whose ends are tied above the forehead. Both have a necklace with a lion head, whose mouth is perforated, in the middle. The third (pl. V, 1-2) bears a Thracian head-dress (*ἀλωπεκίς*) with griffins in high relief on either side. Above the forehead one can discern a diadem and on the neck, a lion head without necklace. The handles of these three oinochoai end in sphinxes which stand on the rim of the vessel.

The amphora too, has been transformed to a rhyton: a double rhyton, with two spouts in its unsteady bottom which is also decorated in relief. The two spouts¹³ are in the shape of negro heads (fig. 6), one of which cor-



Fig. 3. Rhyton No 3. Dionysus and Eriope.



Fig. 4. Rhyton No 4. Apollo, Hera, Artemis, Nike.

responds to a Papposilenus filling with wine his cantharus which he holds near the spout, while the other, on the opposite side, corresponds to Her-

13. The vessels in the shape of rhyta were called κρουγεία (Athenaeus XI, 480 a), when instead of a simple hole in the perforated mouth of the animal there was a small spout, as in rhyton No 4 (in the belly of the goat) or in the bottom of the amphora. For the ancients, this amphora was a δίχροονος (with two spouts).

acles shown as a baby strangling the two snakes. But the main subject, which decorates the body of the amphora is "The Seven against Thebes" (fig. 5).

The negro heads in the bottom of the amphora are found again in the main decoration of the phiale (pl. VI and VII, 1-2). On its outer surface there are twenty five rows in relief having as starting point the circumference of the omphalos of the phiale that end around the rim. In each row there is an acorn near the bottom and above it three heads of negroes growing larger as they reach the rims of the vessel. In front of every other acorn there is a small tendril of ivy. The space between these motifs is filled with volute scrolls and palmettes. Between two negro heads in the upper part, near the rim, is the indication of the weight of the phiale incised in Attic, "Herodianic", system numbers (pl. VII, 2). In the first line one reads 196 and a quarter and in the second simply a hundred. The phiale weighs 845,7 grammes which corresponds exactly to 100 daricoi which equal to 196 Attic drachmae¹⁴ (each drachma weighing 4,31 gr.).

The phiale is connected to Attica not only by the indication of its weight in Attic numbers but also by the subject of its decoration; it is a replica of the phiale held by the statue of Nemesis in the temple of Ramnous: «Αἰθίοπες δὲ ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ πεποίησται»¹⁵. Representations of Ethiopians — attributed to the Greek art with features of negroes — were known from earlier times, but it is impossible that the craftsman who made this phiale ignored such a famous sculptured work as the phiale of Nemesis¹⁶.

14. Cf. the Appendix by Herbert A. Cahn in E. Simon paper, which gives the following corresponding tables. Rhyta: I = 674,6 gr. = 80 daricoi (ideal weight 676 gr.). II = 689 gr. 80 Alexandrian staters = 160 Attic drachmae (694,4 gr.). III = 505,05 gr. = 60 daricoi (507 gr.). IV = 439,05 gr. = 50 Alex. staters = 100 Attic drachmae (434 gr.). Oinochoai: I = 460,75 gr. = 55 daricoi (464,75 gr.). II = 466,75 gr. = 55 daricoi (464,75 gr.). III = 387,3 gr. = 90 Attic drachmae = 45 Alex. staters (390,6 gr.). = 100 Thasian drachmae (385 in 395 gr.). Amphora = 1695,25 gr. that is the double weight of the phiale (+ 3,85 gr.) that is 200 daricoi and part of them. So the inscription under the rim, in the inside part of the amphora, (Cončev, 1956, plate XVI, middle) could be read according to Venedikov's reading (Cahn does not find a better solution) as ΣΨ, that is two hundred (=Σ) daricoi and four oboloi. Venedikov thinks that the use of the alphabetical system for numbering strenghtens his opinion about the Hellenistic dating of the treasure, on the other hand the use of daricoi helps to localize the execution of the vessels in Lampsakos or Propontis. See, nevertheless, Cahn's objections, p. 27, note 4, who proposes that the vessels were made in Thasos because of the use of the Thasian drachmae, which does not exist after the time of Alexander the Great. There are many doubts also concerning the interpretation of the graffito ΣΨ. The first letter could be read either M or Σ — and might belong to the 4th cent. B.C. The Ψ is a ligature, difficult to interpret.

15. Pausanias, 1, 33,3. H. Kenner, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* 1950, p. 227.

16. Phialai decorated in that manner were evidently the ones mentioned as

The second rhyton, representing labours of Hercules and Theseus is also connected with Attica¹⁷. This connection is obvious not only because Theseus was the Athenaeon hero but mainly because we find in Athens this exaltation and association of both heroes, Heracles and Theseus, expressed in such a monumental way as it is on the metopae of the Treasury of the Athenians in Delphi.

I think that the third oinochoe, the one with the helmet, is also connected in a way to Athens. The sphinx of the handle, with the griffins on either side, is superposed above the brim of the vessel. Sphinx with griffins on either side was the decoration of the helmet of Phidias' Athena statue in the Parthenon as well as of an other Attic bronze statue of Athena, that of the Hope - Farnese¹⁸, which is related to Phidias or to his school and to which the resemblance is, probably, greater. The diadem above the forehead of the oinochoe has the same shape as the prometopis of Athena's Hope - Farnese helmet. Evidently in the one case we have an Attic helmet and in the other a Thracian ἀλωπεκίς¹⁹, but the resemblance of the decoration is not fortuitous. The memory of these great Attic works of art abides in this gold oinochoe.

The connection of these vessels to Attica is emphasized more characteristically, first, by the shape of the upper part, that is to say of the neck and of the rim, the moulding of which gets enlarged below the rim and, secondly, by its decoration with a large cymatium below and a narrow bead - and - reel above. A second similar cymatium between the neck and the body of the vessel, on the amphora and on the oinochoai, as well as

offerings to Athena «φιάλαι αἰθιοπίδες τέτρα[ρς] σταθμὸν (eight hundred fifty three drachmas) IG, II/III² No 1425 l. 25 - 26 (368/7 B.C.). The name αἰθιοπίδες was surely applied to the decoration. Lippold, in *R.E.*, VI, A², s.v. Toreutik, p. 1766, already connected the αἰθιοπίδες to the phiale of Nemesis, but curiously enough he refers to them as non Greek toreutic works. He thinks they are alien, or imitation of alien craftsmanship. However, if the «αἰθιοπίδες φιάλαι» were not Greek, then the phiale «ἔκτυπα ἔχουσα Περσῶν πρόσωπα» Delos IG, XI, 2, 161 B 115, would not be Greek either. In that case also the Greek vases portraying Persians should not be Greek. It is worthy to be noted that the weight of each of the four (not six, as Lippold mentions) αἰθιοπίδες, golden undoubtedly (they are mentioned among the gold offerings to Athena), is equal to the Panagurische phiale. A clay phiale with relief figures of negroes also, comes from Locris, Cončev 1956, plate IX.

17. Cf E. Simon *op. cit.*, p. 5.

18. Buschor, *Phidias der Mensch*, p. 21, fig. 12; Lippold, *Griech. Plastik*, p. 190, pl. 66,4. About the type, see Preyss' study in *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 27, 1912, p. 88sq.

19. About the Thracian helmets see B. Schrader in *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 27, 1912, p. 317sq.

the slender moulding of the neck, are characteristic of the Attic vases of the 4th cent. B. C., usually called the Kertsch vases²⁰.

It might seem that the shapes of the vessels, the material out of which they were made²¹, and the use of only rhyta in the set (instead of the traditional shapes, as oinochoe, cylix, etc.) point to preferences characteristic of these border regions of Hellenism. Horn-like rhyta ending in animal protomae—Pegasus, etc., as in the fourth rhyton in question—were not found in the main part of Greece. The information about these horn-like rhyta given by Athenaeus XI, 476 reveals that they were used by the First Men, the Centaurs, the Perrhaivoi, the Paionians, the Macedonians, the Thracians, the Paphlagonians. Rhyta of that kind incidentally discovered (Athenaeus mentions real horns and replicas) come from these border regions and are usually made of silver. However Athenaeus mentions also, ib. 476e: «'Αθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ποιοῦντες κέρατα ἔπινον ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἔστι γοῦν τοῦτο εὐρεῖν ἐν τοῖς δημοπρατοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένον οὕτως ..ἐκ στήλης ἀνακειμένης ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἢ τὰ ἀναθήματα περιέχει κέρας ἔκπωμα ἀργυροῦν καὶ περισκελὶς πρόσεστιν ἀργυρᾶ». Very often horns or protomae are mentioned in the catalogues of the various Greek sanctuaries²².

Horns held by Dionysus or Silenoi appear on Attic vases as early as the 6th cent. B. C. Also known are vases of the early part of the 5th cent. in the shape of a horn in combination with the figure of a sphinx or Silenus or a crocodile devouring a negro. These are plastic vases, often with a spout supported by a stem. On reliefs, especially, and in paintings on vases of the 5th and 4th cent. B. C. we often find representations of rhyta in the shape of horns and protomae—as the rhyta Nos 1 - 3 of the set—, on which the Greek origin is more evident. Animal head with a funnel neck above is a usual, beloved, motif of the Attic ceramic as

20. K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, 1930 and *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, 1934.

21. "Ein gewisses "barbarisches" Prahlen mit der Fülle des Goldes, ein Vordrängen des Stoffes auf Kosten des Gehalts ist nicht zu verkennen", E. Simon op. cit. p. 5. Would the impression be different if we figured the Spina crater (Simon op. cit. pl. 5, 2 — Hirmer, Alfieri, Arias, *Spina*, pl. 43), with the Seven against Thebes, being gold and decorated in relief?

22. Athenaeus' statement is found in the inscriptions, IG II/III², 1406, 37 and 1408, 16. A. Boeckh proposed this connection to Athenaeus. Svoboda, op. cit. p. 68 note 232, refers to these vases mentioned in the inscriptions among the other offerings. Cf. also Lippold's article (note 16). The list is not complete. Relatively recent is the find of more than forty ivory rhyta from Old Nisaea in Parthia (belonging to the period and art of the Seleucidae).

well as deer-heads²³. The difference is that the Attic vases are straight, that is to say without the bending between the animal-head and the neck which exists in the rhyta of the treasure and in those resembling them, influenced by the shape of the horn-rhyta²⁴. At that time, the protomae-vessels²⁵ are also being used as rhyta.

The shape of female head-oinochoe is an old Greek shape. However, it was not used as rhyton in the beginning. The Attic vase pl. IV, 3-4 differs from the Panagurische head-oinochoe only by being a century and a half earlier.

The amphora of the treasure was considered as an undoubtedly non Greek shape. Its form is traced back to the art of the Achaemenids²⁶, where the second animal-handle is hollow, communicating with the interior of the amphora and having a spout in the middle; so this is a compound shape of an amphora-oinochoe. Vessels with one handle and a vertical spout on the shoulder were used in antiquity as they are today. Surely it must have been the inspiration of a 6th or 7th century artist, probably from Anatolia, to assimilate this spout to a handle with a cavity inside, and add a spout in the middle. The amphora of Panagurische does not resemble at all this shape of amphora-oinochoe: instead of a spout in the middle of the handle it has two masks of negroes in the bottom²⁷. The oriental animals of the handles turning their heads backwards, in the Anatolian parallels, have been substituted here by two Greek Centaurs, who

23. Attic clay rhyton from the end of the 4th cent. B.C., *Amer. Journal of Arch.* 1960, p. 278, pl. 78, 8-9.

24. Even if we assume that rhyton No 4 (in the shape of a horn) is an evidence of Thracian traditions (though this form was adopted very early by the Greek art), the triple number of protome-rhyta, strongly influenced by Greek tradition, shows that the Greek conception predominates in the treasure. There is no question that the three rhyta, the oinochoai, and the phiale have non-Greek elements. The Persian protome-rhyta, Svoboda, op. cit. p. 36, fig. 9, 10, are undoubtedly imitations of Greek prototypes.

25. E. Buschor, *Das Krokodil des Sotades*, in *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, 1919, 1920, p. 27sq. This work stands as a fundamental study about these vases. Most recently discussed by B. Svoboda op. cit.. H. Hoffmann's, *Attic Red-Figured Rhyta* has been announced.

26. P. Amandry, in his study, mentioned above, discusses the shape.

27. Amphorae with a hole in the bottom are the Chalcidian amphorapsyktēr. Rumpf, *Chalk. Vasen*, p.121 fig. 11. Zontschew considers this amphora as a psyktēr. The shape of the amphora reminds that of the oinochoe, except for the handles and the wide orifice. Cf. also the silver oinochoe in B. Filow, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvantij*, pl. XI,I that has no handles. This oinochoe has a rosette decoration in the bottom also.

thirsty as they are for wine, look into the vessel. The Hellenization of the shape is complete, but this is not the first time we come across to such a case: it has been observed in a similar amphora of the 5th cent.B.C., in a private collection, published by P. Amandry²⁸, deriving from the region between Sinope and Trebizond.

If we are to accept the dating of these vessels from the time of Alexander, we should take into consideration the prevailing tendencies in the art of that period in order to have a clear knowledge of their style. In this period there is a crisis in vase-painting: it is the period when Greek vase-painting dies away, at least in the current sense, and what follows during the Hellenistic period is entirely different. Already from the middle of the 4th cent.B.C. the harmony between the body of the vase and its decoration, in the red-figured vases, is broken up. In some vases the figures are accumulated so closely as if they are statues with no relation to each other, facing the spectator in the manner of the relief-figures of that period. This tendency continues till the last quarter of the 4th cent. B.C. which is the end of the red-figured style²⁹.

From that point of view the subject on rhyton No 4 is very revealing. The subject, fig. 4, pl. IV, 1, is intended to be a composition. In reality there are four isolated figures which are not related by a common action. Turned toward the spectator in full front view they look like statues, one next to the other, projected on a common background with no unity in the composition. There is unity only in the subject: figures of gods existing by themselves.

The four figures in the Judgement of Paris, on the first rhyton, are represented also in full front view; here, too, there is no connection in action. Each figure exists by itself, the relation being external. All four figures are seated, and if Aphrodite appears standing,—not seated, as the artist really intended—this is due to a conventionality common in the painting on vases of this period, where the plasticity of the figures is given only by the vigorous drawing, so that the spectator is in doubt as to whether the figures are standing or seated. The spherical surface of the vase often hinders the rendering of the subject in all its details. In rhyton No. 3 the relationship in action is preserved on account of the two Maenads represented in profile each on either side of the couple Dionysus and Eriope. However, these look more like a group of two statues than two

28. Op. cit. p. 48, pl. 24.

29. E. Buschor, *Griech. Vasen*, p. 257 sq.

figures in action. On rhyton No. 2 the center of the composition is lacking because of the repetition of the same subject on either side; on the front part of the vessel we see the two heads of the animals bordered by the beautiful horns of the deer, we can perceive however the subject only on the side parts of the vessel. The oblique way in which the central figures of the rhyta Nos. I and 2 are seated, diverging strongly the lower part of the body to the sides, is very common in the contemporary vase-painting, where we find in the figures similarities as to the posture, the garments and their ornaments, the hair - style etc., to the Panagurische vessels.

The technique of the Panagurische reliefs cannot be compared with accuracy to the linear design of the clay vessels since the requirements of each technique are different. The representation of "The Seven against Thebes", as it is in the amphora, should be compared to relief representations of the second half of the 4th cent. B. C. It is a creation up to the highest standards of its time. Here, too, the common action is suggested, there is no connection of one figure to the other, except for the two on the side who are related more internally. Here the fight³⁰ is not shown but instead there are portraits of each of the seven figures. The enemy is not represented, the gate - only one - symbolized Thebes with the seven gates and is used also for the scout observing the enemy battle array. This small frieze gives more the impression of a sculptural group of the Seven with variations in the action, movement, the turn of the body, than of a real scene. It appears that Tydeus is knocking at the gate, his gesture, nevertheless, can hardly be referred to the definite gate pictured here. The differentiation among the figures, the rendering of the special nature of each figure in the group has its roots in the "pathos" of the period of Alexander, and is expressed here fully. The theme of the trumpeter, very probably Adrastos, is found in the representation of the same subject in the frieze of Trysa. The motif of Amphiaraios, represented usually sinking with his chariot into a chasm of the earth, diverges from the habitual way of depicting the subject. The beginning of the fight has not been chosen accidentally here: «Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς πύλαισι Προϊτίσιν | βρέμει, πόρον δ' Ἰσμηνὸν οὐκ ἔᾶ περᾶν | ὁ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίγνεται καλά». (Aesch., *Sept.*, 377 sq.).

The moment, when the herald in Aeschylus' Seven against Thebes,

30. As e.g. the amphora of Spina by the Niobid Painter (cf. note 22), or the frieze of Trysa F. Eichler, *Gjölbaschi-Trysa* pl. 2/3. About the representation of the motif in general, see E. Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 12sq.

having observed as a scout the battle array of the enemies—the figure appearing in the half - open gate—, begins his narrative, was the most appropriate for the representation of each personality and the distinction of each one. So, Amphiaraios, the μάντις, to whom «τὰ σφάγια οὐ γίννεται καλά», opposed to the ἄβρις of the other leaders very definitely, examines the liver staying away from the battle, the young Parthenopeus by his side. The effort to present the personality of each of the Seven³¹, instead of the



Fig. 5. Seven against Thebes.

battle, is shown in the fact that neither their chariots nor their weapons—shields e.g. with the fearful episema—are represented, only the figures are shown holding their swords. The interpretation of this scene by E. Simon, is evidently correct or, in any case, more probable than the hypothesis that these are Achaean heroes under the leadership of Odysseus and Diomedes in front of Lycomedes' palace trying to find Achilles, who is hiding there.

The connection between the decoration and the surface of the vase is not satisfactory if we are to compare it to vase-painting of the 5th cent. B.C., obviously because similar toreutic works in sufficient number are lacking. Our knowledge would be fuller had we more relief-vases, even clay ones, from this period to which we could make a detailed comparison. Let us, however, take note of some small lekythoi with decorations in relief from the end of the 5th cent. B.C. which are older than the vessels we discuss here. On these lekythoi the whole of the spherical part is covered with reliefs so that only the neck and the spout of the vessel can be seen. The exaggerated decoration on these lekythoi is ostentatious,

31. According to the identification by E. Simon, who discusses the subject in length, the figures represented here, are the following: the first to attack is Tydeus, then Hippomedon, Polynices, Capaneus, Adrastus, Parthenopaeus, Amphiaraios.

because of the size of the vases³². The "barock" of Alexander's period on the gold vessels of Panagurischte is very glaring on the whole and in the details, with the richness of the plastic decoration, because the bodies of the vessels have been transformed into sculptures, with high relief decorations and animals on the handles.

Still it could be mentioned in relation to these head-oinochoai, that similar female heads painted on vases are more frequent in this period though not missing in previous periods. We can discern easily similarities between the Panagurischte oinochoai and those female heads in pottery³³.

The connection of this treasure with Attica has been discussed above. Zontschew too, is of the opinion that the origin of this set is Attic. Even



Fig. 6. Papposilenus and Heracles.

though these vessels were not made in Athenian workshops, but in some other place³⁴ close to where they were discovered, their relation to Attica cannot be denied; at least it is as close as the relation of the Kertsch vases is to Attica. Positive elements of a style alien to the Greek are not

32. Cf. F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, Pl. 4-5.

33. E. g. the female protome on the hydria in Brussels, Schefold, *Unters.* pl. I, Buschor *op. cit.* fig. 260, shows the same kekryphalos and the same hair style as on the Nos 1 and 2 oinochoai.

34. About Thasos, see note 14.

to be found. If there is a clumsiness in the details, if the rendering of the figures is somewhat harsh³⁵, we must not forget that these works do not belong to the monumental sculpture, but to the toreutic art, where the interest is not limited only to the plastic rendering of the figures. If the heads of the animals seem to have been worked out more awkwardly than in the silver protome of Trieste, this is due to the chronological difference.

If there is a non-Greek element, such would be—at the most—a diminished skilfulness of the craftsman. Instead, it is more accurate to take into consideration the artistic tendencies of the period and the kind of art to which this treasure belongs. The above reasons explain the supposedly awkwardness in the workmanship.

The material out of which these vessels were made might be considered as a proof of their Thracian origin. But while from Thrace, in general, and from the region of the Black Sea, especially Southern Russia, gold jewelry has been found in abundance, it must be noted that very few gold vessels have been discovered. Nowhere in the regions mentioned above the quality of the finds, which could prove a toreutic tradition, equals the Panagurischte vessels.

As we have mentioned above, the ἀλωπεκίς of the third oinochoe remains the most definite Thracian element. Its decoration however, with the sphinx and the griffins, connects it to Athens³⁶.

We could deduct that, for a king of Macedonia or for a local ruler, a set consisting of rhyta for the symposia would be the self-evident destination of the treasure. On the other hand the religious use of the set is also probable and the likely interpretation by E. Simon who relates closely these vessels and their decorations to Alexander the Great excludes their profane use. According to E. Simon, these representations symbolize the high aims of Alexander the Great, who considered himself as the instrument of Nemesis against Hybris for the establishment of Order in the world.

The starting point for this interpretation is the negroes of the gold phiale which is a replica of the phiale of Nemesis in Ramnous. This statue

35. P. Amandry (cf. note 11) insists on the awkwardness of the execution; E. Simon remarks that: diese Tier- und Menschenköpfe (of the Panagurischte vessels) atmen nicht, trotz ihrer sorgfältigen, aber allzu scharfen Modellierung . . . (die) figürlichen Reliefs sind rein griechische Kompositionen, die nicht auf rein griechisch wirkenden Gefäß-Körpern sitzen.

36. Representation of Athena's protome on vases is known from the black-figured vases already, C.V.A. Br. Mus. He, pl. 97, II; from the 4th cent. B.C.; Schefold, *op. cit.* No 329, while on the pelike No 336 Athena wears a ἀλωπεκίς.

was made, according to tradition, from the marble the Persians had brought over with them to Marathon hoping to build a trophy for their victory, which they were certain to win and then left it there. This fact symbolizes in a marking way the meaning of Nemesis. The reason why these Ethiopians were represented on the phiale of Rhamnous was to show that the influence of Nemesis is extended all over the world. The Ethiopians occupy «*πείρατα γαίης*» on the East and on the West. Alexander, as the two sons of Zeus, Heracles and Dionysus (both especially honored by Alexander) had reached the East and the West ends of the world: Heracles to the West (the *σπῆλαι* of Heracles) and Dionysus to the East (India), which is represented in the bottom of the amphora. On the third rhyton are portrayed Dionysus and Eriope; the latter unknown from elsewhere, whose name (Ἡριόπιη) nonetheless leads us to the East. Ἡριόπιη as ἠριγένεια could mean the nymph of the Dawn—a companion of Dionysus in India. The Judgement of Paris on the first rhyton was the cause for the first ὕβρις of Asia against Greece and Nemesis was Helen's mother. The expedition of the Seven against Thebes was also an unjust act that the Gods revenged. Adrastus is often connected with Nemesis. The Thebans, during the Persian wars, were against the Hellenes, and the destruction of Thebes by Philip and Alexander was also a punishment. Hera was always the Goddess of Argos protecting the Achaeans in Troy, while Apollo and Artemis were by the side of the Trojans. The Nike on the fourth rhyton belongs to Hera. So the subjects on the rhyta symbolize the defeats of Asia: the destruction of Troy on the first, with the Judgement of Paris; the defeat in Marathon, on the second, with Theseus attacking the Marathonian Bull; the submission of Asia to Alexander, on the third, with the theme of Dionysus in India. In all these cases the notion of Nemesis is prevailing. So, this treasure could very possibly be an offering to Nemesis whose cult had been established by Alexander in the place where the treasure was found. This is not mentioned by the sources, it is known nevertheless from later periods that the cult of Nemesis existed in that region.

This interpretation, by which even the last detail fits into the scheme of the decoration of the treasure, may permit some doubts. However, the general idea of connecting Nemesis to Alexander is undoubtedly correct. From that point of view it is difficult for us to assume that the representation of Alexander's program would be entrusted, by those who ordered the set, to alien craftsmen, who could be able to render so adequately the spirit that was prevailing at this great period, which is represented, in a remarkable manner, by the Panagurische treasure.



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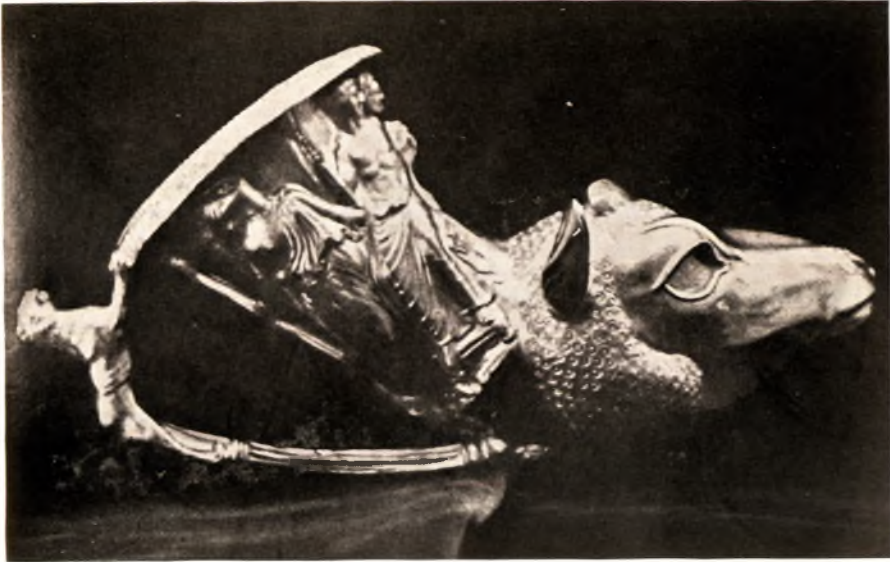
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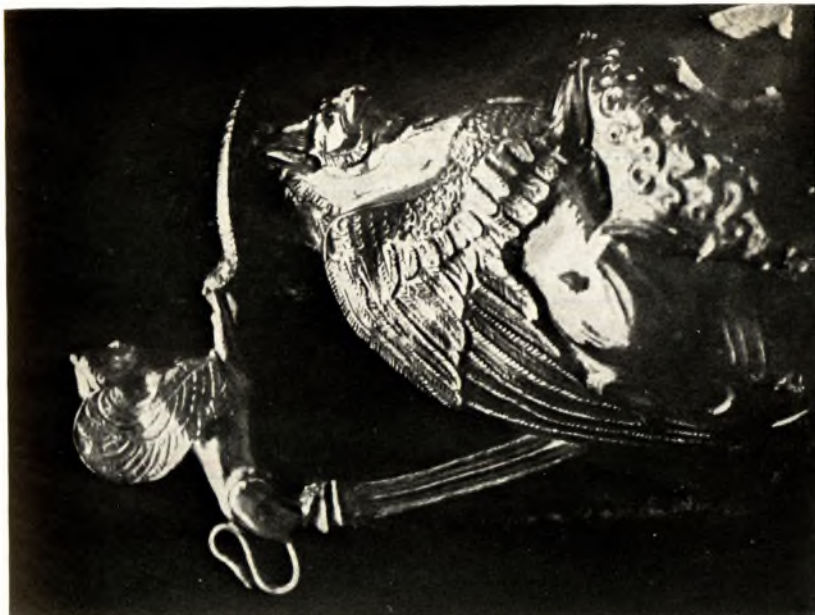
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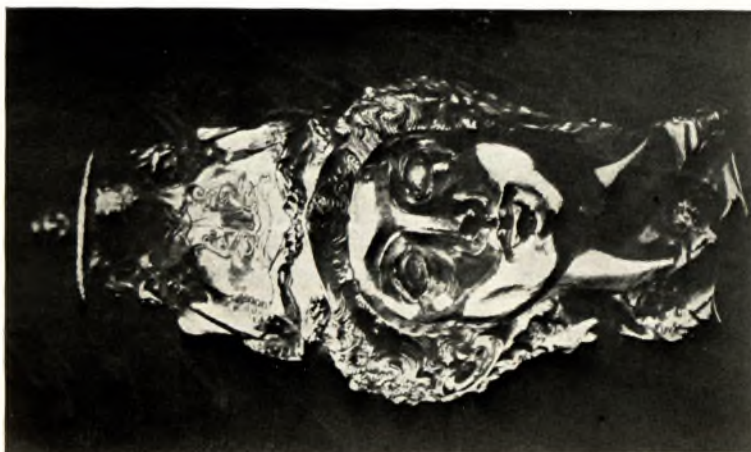
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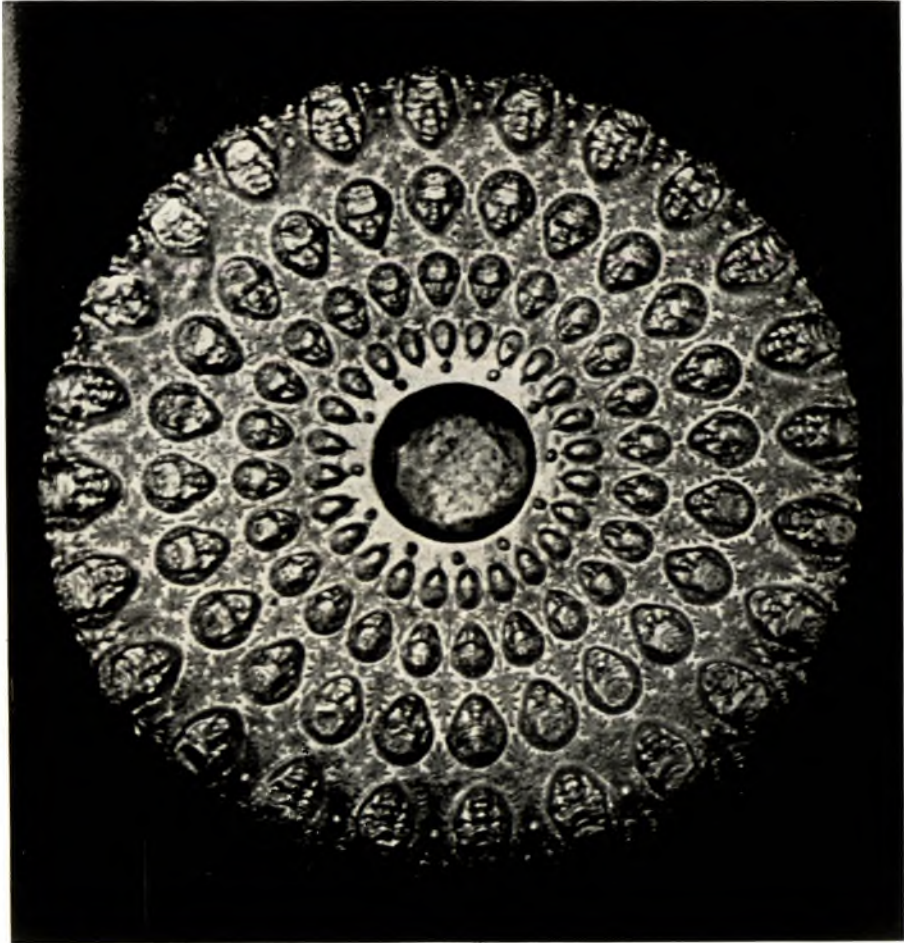
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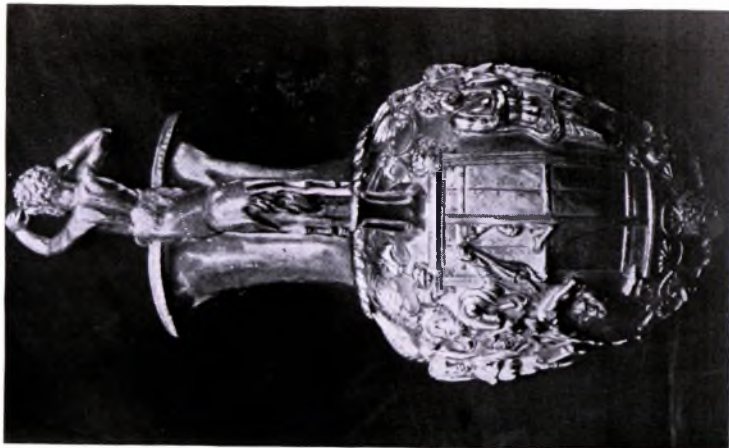
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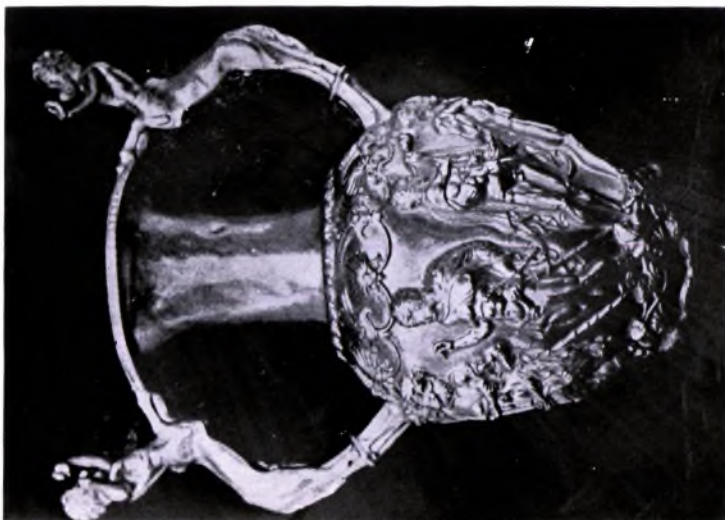
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