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SOME REFLECTIONS CONCERNING THE PHIALE WITH THE IMAGES OF HERACLES AND AUGE FROM THE ROGOZEN TREASURE*

One of the most important finds from the richest of the Thracian hoards, the Rogozen Treasure, is the so-called Auge Phiale. Its chronological position is crucial for the dating of the Hoard and had already been a point of debates. Its decoration, which consists of a mythological scene in high relief occupying the interior of the flat bottom and a relief pattern of alternating palmettes and lotus flowers grouped around the central rosette on the outside is discussed, thus allow us not only to determine the position of the vessel among the masterpieces of the Late Classical/Early Hellenistic metalware, but also to dwell on the genesis of the main subject of the composition. Clarifying the chronological position of the phiale is also extremely important for the establishment of the date, when the Treasure was hidden.

Both the analysis of the general shape, the construction and composition of the elements of the vessel, the ornamental patterns decorating its bottom and the parallels of the figural composition on the inner medallion do not allow dating earlier than 350/340 BCE. Moreover, there is strong evidence that the phiale should be dated in the chronological frames of the last quarter of the 4th — first decades of the 3rd century BCE. The shape of the vessel and the decoration of its bottom may suggest a somewhat earlier dating, whereas that of the medallion — somewhat later, within the frames of the chronological period mentioned above. Thus, it may be a further confirmation of the history of the vessel, reconstructed on the grounds of its technological examination.

This is not the only vessel from the Rogozen Treasure for which a dating after 340 BCE and as late as the last quarter of the 4th/early 3rd century BCE, first decades or even the second quarter of the 3rd century BCE has been already proposed. Consequently, it provides another argument that the Treasure was buried much later than it was usually suggested before (330s BCE).

Key words: Thrace, Rogozen Treasure, Scythia, Greek toreutics, phialai, palmettes, vessel medallions, Heracles, Auge, iconography.

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НЕКОТОРЫЕ РАЗМЫШЛЕНИЯ ОТНОСИТЕЛЬНО ФИАЛЫ С ГЕРАКЛОМ И АВГОЙ ИЗ РОГОЗЕНСКОГО СОКРОВИЩА

Одной из самых важных находок из богатейшего фракийского клада, найденного в Рогозене, является фиала с изображением Геракла и Авги. Ее хронологическая позиция имеет решающее значение для датировки клада и уже была предметом споров. Рассматривается форма чаши, ее

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детали, представленные выполненной в высоком рельефе мифологической сценой, занимающей внутреннюю часть плоского дна, и рельефного декора из чередующихся пальметт и цветов лотоса, сгруппированных вокруг центральной розетты снаружи. Это позволяет нам не только определить место сосуда среди шедевров позднеклассической / раннеэллинистической торевтики, но и остановиться на генезисе основного предмета композиции. Уточнение датировки фиалы также чрезвычайно важно для установления даты тезаврации клада.

Как анализ общей формы сосуда, конструкции и состава его элементов, декора, украшающего его дно, так и параллели фигурной композиции на внутреннем медальоне не позволяют датировать чашу ранее 350/340 гг. до н.э. Более того, есть веские основания относить ее к период последней четверти IV — первых десятилетий III в. до н.э. Форма сосуда и декор его дна могут свидетельствовать о несколько более ранней датировке, а медальона — о более поздней, в рамках указанного выше хронологического периода. Таким образом, это может быть еще одним подтверждением истории чаши, реконструированного на основании его технологического осмотра.

Это не единственный сосуд из Рогозенского клада, для которого предлагалась датировка после 340 г. до н.э., в том числе последней четвертью IV / началом III в. до н.э., первыми десятилетиями или даже второй четвертью III в. до н.э. Следовательно, это еще один аргумент в пользу того, что клад был спрятан намного позже, чем обычно предполагалось ранее (330-е гг. до н. э.).

Ключевые слова: Фракия, Рогозенский клад, Скифия, греческая торевтика, фиалы, пальметты, медальоны сосудов, Геракл, Авга, иконография.

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Introduction

One of the most important finds from the Rogozen Treasure is the so-called Auge Phiale (figs. 1—7) (Nikolov et al. 1987: 18, figs. 3—4; 90, no. 4; Ognenova-Marinova 1987: 47—55; Fol et al. 1989: 67—69, no. 4; Archibald 1989: 19; Byvank-Qarles van Ufford 1989: 212; 1990: 51, fig. 1; 57—58; Shefton 1989: 82—90; Fol 1990: 195—196: before the mid-4th century BCE, based on the form of the inscription; Sparkes 1996: 149, 152, fig. VI: *11*: early 4th century BCE; Marazov 1996: 109—130; Schwarzmaier 1997: 93, 169—170: early 3rd century BCE, based on the stylistic parallels to the figure of Herakles and ornamental pattern; Kull 1997: 698; Archibald 1998: 265; Cat. Saint Louis 1998: 176—177, no. 107 (4th century BCE); Zazoff 1998: 89—95=2011: 327—331; Stoyanov 2003: 88; Cat. Basel 2007: 168—169, no. 120h (third quarter? of the 4th century BCE); Ambrosini 2020: 92, figs. 9—10)[1]. Its chronological position is crucial for the dating of the Hoard and had already been a point of debates. The shape of the bowl is characterized by the absence of *omphalos.* Therefore, it may scarcely even be called a phiale. I will discuss its decoration, which consists of a mythological scene in high relief occupying the interior of the flat bottom and a relief pattern of alternating palmettes and lotus flowers grouped around the central rosette on the outside. It will allow us not only to determine the position of the vessel among the masterpieces of the Late Classical/Early Hellenistic metalware, but also to dwell on the genesis of the main subject of the composition. Clarifying the chronological position of the phiale is also extremely important for the establishment of the date, when the Treasure was hidden (See Fol 1990: 195—96).

In general, the piece was dated within the 4th century BCE B. Shefton found “it hard to put the image later than the beginning of the 4th century B.C.E.” (Shefton 1989: 85). At the same time, he thought that “both pointillé ownership mark “Didykaimou” and the chisel-made labels next to the

[1] Vratsa Museum, inv. Б 464. Dm. 13,6 cm (dm. of the medallion — *ca.* 10.0 cm), ht. 2,0 cm. Wt. 182,8 g.

two figures are much later, hardly earlier than the last quarter of the fourth century and perhaps even beyond that" (Shefton 1989: 86). Other scholars (L. Ognenova-Marinova, M. Tatcheva) considered the piece later, dating it to the third quarter (Ognenova-Marinova 1987: 53) or to the late 4th century, or even to early 3rd century BCE (Tacheva 1986: 15—30; 1987: 8—9; Tatcheva 1990: 72—73; Tatcheva, Valtchinova 1998: 274). In any case, all scholars accept that this bowl is different in shape and technique from the rest of the vessels of the Rogozen Treasure. The technological examination of the phiale, conducted soon after the Treasure was found, led to the conclusion that the bowl itself was manufactured originally, while the combination of the bowl and the medallion, which could have a different provenance, was secondary. At a certain point the bowl was deformed so that the medallion could fit into it (Inkova et al. 1987: 28—45, esp. 39—40).

The shape

Analyzing the phiale we should pay a special attention to its shape, which, for instance, was almost completely ignored by B. Shefton.

To judge from the arrangement of the base of the phiale, there is a reason to assign it to a later development of phiale *omphalos* — the bowls with shallow bodies without *omphalos*. That means that the discussed piece should be later than the transitional variant with a very small rudimentary and decorated *omphalos*, like that on the silver phiale from the Early Sarmatian burial at Prokhorovka in the Southern Urals (Rostovtzeff 1918: 6, no. 7, pl. I: *1*; Luschey 1939: 61, no. EB7; 72—73; Pfrommer 1987a: 98, notes 582—583; 158; Abka 'i-Khavari 1988: 107; 108; 125—126, no. F3c17; Treister 2009b: 95—135; 2012: 75—81; Treister et al. 2012: 66—67, no. A11.1.1.1 with complete bibliography). The analysis of this phiale allowed me to conclude that it was manufactured in the second half of the 4th century BCE. It most probably found its way to the nomads during the campaign of Alexander the Great to the East and was used later, together with a fifth-century BCE phiale, as phalerae on a horse harness buried in the 3rd century BCE (Treister 2009b: 95—135; 2012: 75—81).

Comparable in shape (see the cross-section, fig. 1: *3*) is, for instance, a small silver phiale from grave B in the tumulus at Nikesiani, Macedonia, which was also dated to the second half of the 4th century BCE (Zimi 2011: 201—202, no. 38 with bibliography).

What about the phialai without an umbo, with decorated central part of the flat bottom? We know of three such phialai.

One of these was a chance find near the *stanitsa* Mariinskaya in the region of the Kuban River (Bapst 1887a: 121; 1887b: 147—148, pl. 21; Odobesco 1889/1890: 510, fig. 214; Mayer 1910: 31, fig. 2; Reinsberg 1980: 47—49; Pfrommer 1987a: 100—101, 261, no. KBk 106; Schwarzmaier 1997: 167—169; Cat. Moscow 2002: 108, no. 514; Treister 2009b: 108, 109, fig. 11; 112; Firsov 2010: 334, 335, fig. 12; Sideris 2021: 302, 305, 309, fig. 280: *a*). The second one — the so-called *Coppa Tarantina* — originated from Tarentum. It was acquired by the Museum of Bari, from where it was stolen in 1923 (Delbrueck 1912: 315—316, figs. 31—32; Nachod 1918: 115—118, pls. IV—V; Segall 1965: 557—558, fig. 1; Wuilleumier 1968: 338—343, pls. VII—VIII; XIX: *1*; Reinsberg 1980: 47—49, 124—126, fig. 17; Hausmann 1981: 215, fig. 80; Pfrommer 1987a: 132—136, 249, no. Kbk 17, pl. 35; Hausmann 1995: 88—97, fig. 2; Webster 1995: 81, no. ITA 1; Schwarzmaier 1997: 94—95, 168—169, pl. 19: *2*; Cat. Trieste 2002: 119, fig. 3; Treister 2009b: 108, 110, fig. 12; 112; Sideris 2021: 302, 305, 309, fig. 280: *b*—*c*). Among the moulds used for manufacturing metal items, found in Mit Rahine in Egypt, there is one for a phiale with a similar ornamental pattern (Rubensohn 1911: 26—27, no. 16, pl. 9; Luschey 1939: 62, no. 12; Reinsberg 1980: 55—56, 299, no. 13, fig. 21; Pfrommer 1999: 44—45, 48, figs.

79—80; Treister 2009b: 108, 111, fig. 13; 112). The third vessel of the unknown provenance with the medallion representing the birth of Aphrodite was acquired by the Vasil Bojkov collection (Sideris 2021: 298—309, no. 280).

The decoration of the phiale found near Mariinskaya employs an intricate pattern: a double, intricate rosette with eight oval petals grouped around a circle occupies the centre. A 16-petal one with straight alternating acanthus and lily leaves encircles the central rosette. Four whimsical tendrils with scrolls alternating with depictions of *Rankengöttinen* emerge out of the lily leaves. The central medallion is framed by a ridge decorated a gilded frieze in the form of a double plait, which is, to some extent, reminiscent of the ridge found on the Prokhorovka phiale. The edge of the phiale is decorated with a frieze consisting of 18 raised sections. Their ends point towards the centre and pairs of lotus flowers are placed between them.

The phiale from Tarentum is usually dated in the modern scholarship to the second quarter of the 3rd century BCE and it is defined as a product of a workshop in Tarentum or Alexandria. The dates given for the phiale from Mariinskaya vary from the end of the 4th century BCE (Luschey 1939: 61, no. 6; 71) to the beginning (Reinsberg 1980: 47—49; Schwarzmaier 1997: 167—169) or second quarter (Pfrommer 1987a: 100—101, 261, no. KBk 106: find-spot incorrectly indicated as: “Mariinskaya Hill”, as was its current location as the “Pushkin Museum”, pl. 59a. The mistake was repeated by A. Schwarzmaier (1997: 167)) of the 3rd century BCE. The cast from Hildesheim is dated to the very beginning (Reinsberg 1980, 299, no. 13: *ca.* 290 BCE) or the first half (Pfrommer 1999: 44—45, 48) of the 3rd century BCE. The very close resemblance between the cast from Mit Rahine and the phiale from Mariinskaya is one of the arguments cited in favour of the likely origin of the Mariinskaya phiale from Alexandria. At this point we shall not launch into a further analysis of the discussed group of phialai. Instead, we would merely point out that in this particular case it is not so crucial whether we date the Mariinskaya phiale to the end of the 4th or first half of the 3rd century BCE, although an earlier date would seem to us preferable (Treister 2009b: 112).

Concerning the Bojkov phiale, A. Sideris came to the following conclusion: “our plate was made most probably either in Athens or in an Atticizing workshop of Alexandria, before the last decade of the 4th century BCE, and it is thus slightly more recent than the *Auge* plate, and slightly more ancient than the *Coppa Tarantina*” (Sideris 2021: 309).

In any case, given the genesis of the phialai, we can hardly date the Heracles and Auge phiale earlier than the late 4th century BCE, whereas a dating in the early 3rd century BCE cannot be excluded given the evident proximity of the main structural elements to *Coppa Tarantina*. Like the piece from the Rogozen Treasure the phiale from Tarentum is decorated with a medallion with a figural composition in high relief. The attribution of the figures is not clear. These were identified in relevant scholarship as Kephalos and Prokris, Aphrodite and Adonis, Io and Hermes or in general as Heros with a Nymph. Furthermore, the narrow, gilded frieze of crossing notches (fig. 1: *2—3*) on the lower exterior of the bowl is a feature unknown on earlier bowls and should be considered a rather late feature, though I am not aware of direct parallels.

The decoration of the bottom of the phiale

Let us discuss now the decoration of the bottom of the phiale (figs. 2: *2*; 3) (Marazov 1996: 117, fig. 109). B. Shefton only very briefly discussed it, stating the difficulty of its dating (Shefton 1989: 90, note 36).

Firstly, I would mention that the central rosette with eight rounded petals (figs. 2: *2*; 3: *2*) finds close parallels in the decoration of the so-called Achaemenid bowls of Macedonian type or calyx cups, dating mainly to the last third of the 4th century BCE (Stavroupolis, Cist Grave. Thessaloniki,

inv. 7427: Zimi 2011: 220, no. 74 with bibliography. — Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. 1917.11: Zimi 2011: 227, no. 82 with bibliography).

Of special interest is a lotus-and-palmette chain on the bottom of the Rogozen phiale (figs. 2: *2*; 3). This pattern was widely employed in Greek art since the Archaic period, in vase-painting, architectural terracotta, and silverware as well. It was often used in the late 5th — first half of the 4th century BCE for framing the *omphaloi* of phialai, as on a piece from Bashova Mogila (Cat. Saint Louis 1998: 138—139, no. 64; Cat. Bonn 2004: 155, 157, no. 211e; Cat. Basel 2007: 182, no. 125e; 183), as well as on a silver rhyton with horse protome from the same burial (Cat. Saint Louis 1998: 187, no. 124; Cat. Bonn 2004: 155, 156, no. 211b; Cat. Basel 2007: 179, 180, no. 125b). However, the palmettes on these vessels have different proportions and shapes and the tendrils are encircling the palmettes. In addition, the examples of jewelry and metalwork executed in the so-called Graeco-Scythian style and dated primarily to the middle and the third quarter of the 4th century BCE were very often decorated with lotus-and-palmette friezes. Among these are hammered friezes, as on the overlays of goryti of the Chertomlyk type (Treister 1999b: 71—81) and filigree friezes, in some cases with inlays of blue and green enamel. The examples include those on the terminals of the pectoral from Tolstaya Mogila (Mozolevs'kiy 1979: 73—77, no. 135; Galanina, Grach 1986: figs. 119—120; Boardman 1994: 210—211, fig. 6.35; Cat. Vienna 1993: 205—207, no. 59; Schiltz 1994: 202, fig. 158; Cat. San Antonio 1999: 329—330, no. 172), on collars of the torques (Kul-Oba, with terminals shaped as riders: Williams, Ogden 1994: 137—139, no. 81; Alekseev 2012: 184—189. — Kul-Oba, a terminal with a lion head: Galanina, Grach 1986: fig. 212; Cat. Zurich 1993: 84, no. 37; Williams 1998: 101, color pl. 16. Solokha: Galanina, Grach 1986: fig. 122; Mantsevich 1987: 55—57, no. 33; Williams 1998: 101, color pl. 15; Alekseev 2012: 148—149) and bracelets (Theodosia, excavations by I. Ayvazovskiy, 1853: Kalashnik 2004: 107, fig. 66; 2014: 100—101. — Elder Three Brothers tumulus in the Crimea: Cat. Vienna 1993: 186—189, no. 53; Cat. Milan 1995: 87, 191, no. 35; Cat. San Antonio 1999: 214—216, no. 97; Treister 2006: 176—180, figs. 23—26, 31; 189—190, no. 14; 2007: 136—138, no. 5, figs. 23—26, 31; 143, no. 14; 2008: 117—119, no. 21 with bibliography. pl. 62; 108; 109, left)), on caps of the touchstones (Kul-Oba: Williams, Ogden 1994: 142, no. 84; Cat. Bonn 1997: 165—166, no. 71; Kalashnik 2014: 126—127. — Talaev burial mound: Galanina, Grach 1986: fig. 175; Cat. Zurich 1993: 112, no. 57), as well as on female heads-shaped pendants (From the burial mound no. 2/1972 (burial no. 3) near the village of Bol'shaya Belozerka: Cat. Milan 1995: 86, 191, no. 36; Cat. San Antonio 1999: 212—213, no. 95. — From excavations by D.V. Kareisha in Pantikapaion in 1840: Williams, Ogden 1994: 163, no. 103; Cat. Bonn 1997: 149—150, no. 61; Kalashnik 2004: 84, fig. 51; 2014: 94—95; Cat. Malibu 2007: 168—169, no. 71). Although the shape of the lotus flowers on these pieces more or less corresponds with that on the bottom of the phiale from Rogozen, the palmettes are different — with the drooping, instead of flame-shaped petals.

Of special attention are such openwork, flame-shaped palmettes on the central floral frieze of the pectoral from Tolstaya Mogila (thus, there are two types of palmettes on the pectoral) (Cat. Vienna 1993: 205—207, no. 59; Cat. San Antonio 1999: 329—330, no. 172), which was most probably not later than 350 BCE (Polin 2014: 273—279). The same combination of the two types of palmettes (none of them as part of lotus-and-palmette friezes) occurs on a golden pediment-shaped brooch said to be from Patras, now in the Metropolitan Museum. It was dated on stylistic grounds to 340—320 BCE (Williams, Ogden 1994: 71, no. 24). Additional comparanda comes from a golden strap necklace with beech-nut pendants from tomb 1 of the Great Bliznitsa, dated to the last third of the 4th century BCE (Williams, Ogden 1994: 191, no. 123) and from an Early Hellenistic golden, pyramid-shaped pendant from Odessos (Ivanov 1956: 93, pl. III: *2*; Cat. Cologne 1979: 188—189, no. 372; Cat. Montreal 1987: 250, no. 450; Tonkova 1997a: 84, fig. 2; 1997b: 24, fig. 20; 2002: 103—104, fig. 4).

Both types of palmettes (with drooping and with flame-shaped petals) appear alternately on the painted lotus-and-palmette frieze on the entrance of the tomb of Eurydice, mother of Philip II — the so-called Tomb I at Vergina (fig. 8: *1*) (Andronikos 1987: 82, fig. 8; Andronicos 1993: 101, fig. 57; Kottaridi 2006: 159, pl. 60: *1—2*; Cat. Oxford 2011: 145, 146, fig. 165; Haddad 2015: 145, fig. 2). It was securely dated to *ca.* 340 BCE (given the finds of fragments of three Panathenaic amphorae, the tomb was already built in 343 BCE) (Kottaridi 2011: 302, note 18; Cat. Oxford 2011: 149, fig. 168). Even if the new hypothesis that this was the tomb where Philipp II, his wife and child were buried, is correct, and the burial in the tomb dated to 336 BCE (the tomb itself should have been built somewhat earlier), while Philipp III Arrhidaios and Eurydice were buried in Tomb II (if we consider the publications of the last decade; see, e.g., *pro*: Gill 2008: 354; Borza, Palagia 2008: 117—118; Bartsiokas et al. 2015: 9844—9848. — *Contra*: Hatzopoulus 2008: 116—117; Polin 2014: 468—471; Haddad 2015: 143—162; Delides 2016: 239), it does not change significantly the dating of the ornamental patterns. Similar frieze (with two types of palmettes) decorates the temple of Zeus and other buildings in the Sanctuary of Zeus in Labraunda, constructed by Maussolus and other representatives of the Hekatomniden Dynasty after 355/354 BCE (friezes with two types of palmettes and with one) (Praschniker, Theuer 1979: 185, fig. 150; Rumscheid 1994: 21—22, pls. 64: *6*; 65: *5—6*; 68: *5*). The list of comparable examples includes the Arsinoeion on the island of Samothrace, sponsored by the Ptolemaic Queen Arsinoe and constructed between 289 and 281 BCE (see, e.g. the block in Vienna (fig. 8: *2*): khm.at: 1; Praschniker, Theuer 1979: 183, fig. 147; Frazer 1990: 193, fig. 149; see block in the Louvre: louvre.fr: 1; Mc Credie et al. 1992: 45—46, figs. 25—26; 108, fig. 72; 111—113, fig. 76; 172, fig. 115; pls. XXIII— XXV); the temple of Dionysos in Miletus, the *terminus ante quem* of which is 277/276 BCE (Rumscheid 1994: 29—30, pl. 97: *3*), according to an inscription; as well as the basements of the columns and the anta capitals of naiskos in Didyma (fig. 8: *3*) (arachne.dainst.org: 1; See also detail of anta capital: Praschniker, Theuer 1979: 182, fig. 145; Pfrommer 1987b: pl. 44: *1—2*; McCredie et al. 1992: 111, fig. 75; Rumscheid 1994: pl. 31: *2—4*), which was planned in the second quarter of the 3rd and constructed between the middle of the 3rd and the late 3rd/early 2nd century BCE (Pfrommer 1987b: 185; Rumscheid 1994: 12—13).

Friezes with alternating palmettes with inverted (flame-shaped) petals and lotus flowers decorate marble blocks from various Early Hellenistic buildings in Asia Minor[2]. Such are the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (de.pinterest.com: 1; Pfrommer 1987b: 159, 165, pl. 52: *4*; Jeppesen 2002: 125—132, figs. 13.5—7, Rumscheid 1994: pl. 47: *1—3*)[3] and the Belevi Mausoleum (arachne.dainst.org: 2; arachne.dainst.org: 3; arachne.dainst.org: 4; Praschniker, Theuer 1979: 33, fig. 24; 36, fig. 26b; 38, fig. 27; Rumscheid 1994: pls. 14: *1—2*; 15: *1*), the burial place of the Seleucid King Antiochus II Theos, who reigned 261—246 BCE. The latter one was first erected, according to the archaeological dating of architectural ornaments and ceramics, between *ca.* 290 and 270 BCE (Rumscheid 1994: 9; 70—76).

The closest parallel, among the finds from the North Pontic area, is a middle frieze on a golden circular plaque, the *periamma*, from the second stone tomb excavated by D.V. Kareisha in the necropolis of Pantikapaion in 1834. It could be dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century BCE (Schefold 1934: 63; Axmann 1986: 27—28, 225—226, no. 36, pl. 1: *3*; Pfrommer 1990: 278, FK 140, note 2519; Treister 2010: 589—591; Kalashnik 2014: 226—227), although the medallion itself may be somewhat earlier than the date of the burial. In the Thracian and Graeco-Thracian metalwork the closest examples of such frieze of alternating flame-shaped palmettes and lotus flowers, come from a golden amphora from Panagyurishte (Simon 1960: 11—17, pls. II: *5*; III:

[2] On the development of lotus-palmette frieze in the Hellenistic architecture of Asia Minor, see in general: Pfrommer 1987b: 165—172; McCredie et al. 1992: 110—113; Rumscheid 1994: 288—290.

[3] The architectural decoration of the building is dated to *ca.* 350 BCE (Rumscheid 1994: 18).

4—5; IV; Venedikov 1961: 14—16, fig. 25—34; Marazov 1978: 100—109; Cat. Saint Louis 1998: 144—145, no. 71; Cat. Bonn 2004: 225—226, no. 233a; Kitov 2006a: 43—71; Cat. Paris 2006: 166—167, no. 65; Cat. Basel 2007: 200—201, no. 137a; Manassero 2007: 116—117; Valeva 2008: 9, 11, fig. 1; Rehm 2010: 177, 178, fig. 13; Cat. Paris 2015: 222—223, no. 185), and from a gold applique for leather armor from Golyama Kosmatka, dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BCE, *terminus ante quem* 297/295 BCE (Kitov 2006b: 76, fig. 61; Dimitrova 2006: 105, no. 21; 2015: 251—252, no. 19, figs. 188—189; Cat. Paris 2015: 132—133, no. 98a).

Comparable palmettes without lotus flowers decorate the golden elements for a horse harness from the same securely dated burial (plaques: Kitov 2006a: 100, fig. 63; 2006b: 80, fig. 65; Dimitrova 2006: 109—110, no. 33; 2015: 211—213, fig. 168; 247—252, nos. 16—18, figs. 184—187; Cat. Paris 2006: 156—157, nos. 59—62; Cat. Paris 2015: 132—133, no. 97b. — Frontlet: Kitov 2006b: 80, fig. 65; Cat. Paris 2006: 154, no. 56; Dimitrova 2006: 109, no. 30; 2015: 211, 217, fig. 171; 245—247, no. 15, figs. 182—183; Cat. Paris 2015: 132—133, no. 100). Moreover, such a palmette is decorating a silver gilt shell-pyxis shaped (Kitov 2006b: 75, fig. 55; Dimitrova 2006: 105, no. 22; 2015: 207—209, figs. 166—167; 264—267, no. 30, figs. 202—203; Nankov 2011: 3—4, fig. 4a—d; Cat. Paris 2015: 134, no. 101). Continuing the list of sole palmettes of the type discussed we should mention the gold frontlets from Lukovit (Cat. Cologne 1979: 164, no. 327), Kavarna (Mintschev 1983: 313—14, fig. 4; Tonkova 2010: 50—51, fig. 13), Kralevo (Ginev 1983: 37, fig. 26; 39, fig. 27; Cat. Saint Louis 1998: 118, no. 37; Cat. Bonn 2004: 169, no. 224j; Cat. Basel 2007: 194, no. 135j; Tonkova 2010: 53, fig. 17) and Shipka (Tonkova 2010: 56, fig. 23), dated to the first half of the 3rd century BCE and to the 4th century BCE, from Biniova Mogila (Cat. Saint Louis 1998: 98, no. 6; Cat. Bonn 2004: 236, no. 243a), as well as the example from the Scythian Alexandropol burial mound (Artamonov 1970: 70, fig. 132; Marazov 1981: 20, (bottom right); Cat. St. Petersburg 2004: 42—43, no. 45; Alekseev 2012: 16, 250—251; 2018: 550, no. 66, fig. 278).

Significantly, we find sole images of flame-shaped palmettes (not as elements of lotus-and-palmette friezes) morphologically comparable to that on the bottom of the phiale, as details of architectural decoration of monuments, which could not be dated before the late second/third quarter of the 4th century BCE Examples are the Tholos and North Propylaea from Epidauros (McCredie et al. 1992: 152, fig. 108: *b—c*), built between 360 and 325 BCE (Winter 2006: 73) (it is noteworthy that on the orthostate crowning the Tholos we see a lotus-palmette frieze with the palmettes with drooping petals) (McCredie et al. 1992: 110—111, fig. 74). Such palmettes are also decorating the terracotta and stone antefixes from Aegae, dated to *ca.* 340 BCE (Cat. Oxford 2011: 159, fig. 177; 161; 256, nos. 544—548), Olympia (Leonidaion, third quarter of the 4th century BCE) (deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de: 1), Seutopolis (exhibited in the National Historical Museum, Sofia. See: Dimitrov 1960: 3—15), Ostrousha tumulus (Dimitrova 2006: 102, no. 13), the later, 3rd century BCE antefixes from Pergamum (deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de: 2) and Aegina (arachne.dainst.org: 5), as well as the grave stelae of the second half of the 4th century BCE from Macedonia (Kavala, inv. Λ318: Cat. Hanover 1994: 236, no. 282). Such a palmette, combined with the images of two griffins, decorates a bronze silver-plated Chalcidian helmet Type V of unknown provenance, kept in Sofia. The helmet was dated sometimes even to the second half of the 5th century BCE, although stylistically, as it was mentioned by I. Venedikov, it should be dated to the first half or the middle of the 4th century BCE (Cat. Cologne 1979: 101—102, no. 187; Cat. Montreal 1987: 165, no. 240; Venedikov, Gerassimov 1973: 109; Ognenova, Stoyanov 2005: 522, figs. 1—2). The latter dating, even a dating in the third quarter of the 4th century BCE seems to be more plausible, given the style of the griffin figures on the helmet.

Such palmettes also decorate items of jewelry of the middle — second half of the 4th century BCE originating from the North Pontic barrow-mounds. These include examples of Greek (Macedonian?,

Asia Minor?) origin such as earrings from Kul-Oba (Williams, Ogden 1994: 146—149, nos. 88—89; Kalashnik 2004: 39, 94, fig. 14; 2014: 140—145; Cat. Malibu 2007: 244—245, no. 142), Theodosia (Artamonow 1970: pls. 326—328; Williams, Ogden 1995: 264—265, no. 200; Saverkina 2000: 15—17, fig. 5; 2014: 196—197) and Chersonesos (Manzewitsch 1932: 12, no. 7, pl. II: *2*; Saverkina 2000: 17—18, figs. 6—7; Kalashnik 2014: 206—207), terminals of necklaces with three rows of seed-like pendants from tomb 1 of Great Bliznitsa (Williams, Ogden 1994: 188—189, no. 121; Cat. Bonn 1997: 191—193, no. 88; Cat. Malibu 2007: 273—274, no. 163; Kalashnik 2014: 170—171) and from Theodosia (Williams, Ogden 1995: no. 201; Kalashnik 2014: 198—199), lion-shaped terminals of bracelets originating from stone tomb no. 4 of Great Bliznitsa (Artamonow 1970: fig. 152; Kalashnik 2014: 194—195). Likewise, pieces of North Pontic or Scythian origin bear the same decoration. Among these are gold appliques for a gorytus from Soboleva Mogila and sewn appliques from burial mound no. 15 of Zolotaya Balka, from Melitopol burial mound, Babina Mogila, Five-Brothers burial mound no. 8, burial no. 4 of Gaimanova Mogila, Kul-Oba etc., i.e. from burial complexes dated to the late second quarter-third quarter of the 4th century BCE[4]. These palmettes also decorate the pediment-shaped diadems from the necropoleis of Makriyialos, Pieria (Cat. Thessaloniki 1997: 137, no. 134) and Pydna in Macedonia, found in burials of the late 4th — early 3rd century BCE (Tsigarida 2006: 156—157, 162, figs. 5—6), from the 4th century tomb in Soloi (Kaba 2016: 226—227, 237, fig. 2) and from Tamassos (Pierides 1971: 28, pl. XVII: *1*) on Cyprus, as well as from Kyme (Marshall 1911: no. 1611, pl. 53; Scatozza Höricht 2010: 108—109, figs. 7—8; 113—114) and the gulf of Elia (Konze 1884: 90, pl. 7: *1*; Scatozza Höricht 2010: 113—114, fig. 14) in Asia Minor. The same type of palmette is incised on the pediment-shaped diadem on the head of Amazon or Hera of one of the golden rhyta from the Panagyurishte Treasure (Venedikov 1961: 13, figs. 19—21; Marazov 1978: 93—96; Kitov 2006a: 72—76; Cat. Paris 2006: 178—179, no. 71; Cat. Basel 2007: 206, no. 137i; Cat. Paris 2015: 228—229, no. 191).

We also find comparable, though strongly schematized palmettes on silver cups from the Treasure of Paternó in Sicily (Platz-Horster 2003: 210—217, nos. 2—4; 250—252, pls. 8—10; 254—256, pls. 12—14). These cups, occupy a chronologically transitional place between the Macedonian silverware of the late 4th century BCE and the silver vessels from the Gallic burial at Montefortino, dated to *ca.* 275—225 BCE, as was shown by G. Platz-Horster (Cat. Toledo 1977: 64—65, nos. 31—32; Platz-Horster 2003: 216, 261, pl. 19).

Thus, the analysis of the decoration of the bottom of the Heracles and Auge phiale (fig. 2: *2*; 3) confirms the suggestion based on the general shape and tectonic of the vessel that it cannot be dated before 350/340 BCE. A manufacture in the time-frames of the last quarter of the 4th or even early 3rd century BCE seems most plausible.

The medallion

Now let us turn to the medallion of the phiale (figs. 1: *1*; 2: *1*; 4—6). A scene of the seduction of Auge by Heracles is represented on this partially gilt medallion in high relief. This composition (with a female figure on the left and a seated male figure on the right) can be compared, as it had already been done by B. Shefton (Shefton 1989: 82—90) and most recently by L. Ambrosini

[4] See the complete lists of such appliques: Bidzilya, Polin 2012: 504; Polin 2014: 132. See also contour appliques from Kul-Oba in State Historical Museum, Moscow: Zhuravlev et al. 2014: 124—125, no. 40, 255, pl. 12. In his discussion of the parallels to the appliqués, Polin however, makes no difference in the shape of the palmettes discussing all together the appliqués with the leaves turned inside with those turned outside the palmette shown on the earrings and vessels (cf. Bidzilya, Polin 2012: 505; Polin 2014: 133—134).

(Ambrosini 2020: 89—99), to examples of Greek metalwork of the 4th century BCE. The only difference is that the female figure has been depicted standing in this instance.

We encounter this motif in reliefs decorating lids of bronze mirrors such as a mirror assumed to be from Elis and held in the National Museum of Athens (fig. 9: *3*). This mirror was decorated with a comparable palmette with petals turned inwards. It was dated by A. Schwarzmaier to *ca.* 340 BCE, therefore is most probably the earliest example of the discussed scene in metalwork (Schwarzmaier 1997: 252, no. 43 with bibliography, pl. 6: *1*: *ca.* 340 BCE; Zazoff 1998: 92—93, fig. 7=2011: 328, fig. 5; Ambrosini 2020: 93, fig. 12). Another example comes from the Loeb collection in Munich (fig. 9: *2*) (Sieveking 1930: 5—6, pl. 6; Schwarzmaier 1997: 305, no. 175 with bibliography; Zazoff 1998: 92, fig. 6=2011: 328, fig. 4; Ambrosini 2020: 93—94, fig. 14). One more mirror, assumed to be from Thessaly, is held in the collection of Christos G. Bastis in New York (fig. 9: *4*) and was dated by A. Schwarzmaier to the middle of the 3rd century BCE (Schwarzmaier 1997: 333—334, no. 243 with bibliography, pl. 6: *2*: *ca.* mid-3rd century BCE; Zazoff 1998: 92, 94, fig. 8; Ambrosini 2020: 93, fig. 13). The motif is also found on a silver medallion assumed to have originated from Syria and held in the Czartoryski Collection in the Cracow Museum (fig. 9: *1*) (Shefton 1989: 83—84, note 3, pl. XV*A*; Schwarzmaier 1997: 45, 105, 108—109, pl. 31: *1*; Ambrosini 2020: 92—93, fig. 11), as well as on the lids of two pyxides from the Lipari Island: one — in golden leaf pottery and one in silvered pottery (fig. 10) (Ambrosini 2020: 88—92, figs. 1—8).

There is every reason to assume that this composition had been adopted for depictions of the scene with a satyr and a maenad no later than the turn of the 4th century BCE (Zazoff 1998: 89—93, fig. 6=2011: 327—328; Treister 2016: 69). Among the earliest examples is a bronze mirror from the collection of the British Museum (Schwarzmaier 1997: 47—48, 200, no. 136, pl. 85: *2*: *ca*. 300 BCE; Zazoff 1998: 92, fig. 5=2011: 328, fig. 6).

A different composition is found on a silver medallion from a dish in the Pomerance collection, which is assumed to have originated from Asia Minor and has been dated by A. Oliver to the end of the 2nd century BCE. A kneeling satyr, depicted in profile, attacks a bathing nymph, shown on the left, and embraces her. The nymph, depicted at a complicated angle and leaning with her right hand on the ground, has raised her left arm bent at the elbow in an effort to push away the satyr's head (Oliver 1977: 16—20, figs. 3—4; Cat. Toledo 1977: 90, no. 53 assigned a date at the end of the 2nd century BCE; Pfrommer 1993: 64; 98, note 774: 2nd century BCE; LIMC VIII, 1997, *s. v*. Mainades (I. Krauskopf & E. Simon), 789, no. 80, Prittwitz und Gaffron 1999: 184, pl. 59: *2*; Treister 2016: 69). Another such scene is represented on the relief medallion of the Calenian bowl (dm. 21.5 cm), which originated from Acarnania and is held in Brussels. A satyr, half-seated on a rock and leaning on it with his left hand, is depicted to the left; in his right hand he is holding a *lagobolon*. Opposite him, stands a nymph. The satyr is pulling off the nymph's garments with his outstretched right hand. The nymph is pushing him away with her right hand, which she has placed on satyr' elbow. Behind the nymph's back there is a *hydria* on a column (fig. 11: *4*). According to U. Hausmann, the Brussels medallion is stylistically linked with the *Coppa Tarantina* medallion and dates most probably to *ca.* 200 BCE or to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, to judge from the decoration on the pyxis lid (Mus. Cinquantenaire A 1028: Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. 3 IB/IIIN, pls. 4—5 (Belgique 142); Courby 1922: 247—248, note 37; Züchner 1942: 116; Matz 1956: 26; Hausmann 1981: 211—212; 213, fig. 79). Finally, I would mention a scene with a satyr and a nymph on a silver 2nd century BCE dish medallion, secondary used as a phalera of a horse harness. The phalera must have been made between the late-2nd or mid-1st century BCE, most probably in a Pontic workshop. It incorporated the medallion of a silver plate, a phiale or a conic cup, perhaps manufactured in Asia Minor in the second half of the 2nd century BCE. The phalera was placed in a Xiongnu burial-ground in Northern Mongolia no later than the middle of the 1st century

CE and is currently the easternmost find of Hellenistic silver plate (Polos'mak et al. 2011: 92—109; Treister 2016: 55—95).

Size wise (dm. 13.6 cm, dm. of the medallion *ca.* 10.0 cm) the bowl differs from other examples from the Rogozen hoard (see, Kull 1997: 698, fig. 4). On the other hand, it fits well in the group of Hellenistic plates and cups with medallions. The medallion with a depiction of Scylla originating from Southern Italy (Bothmer 1984: 55, no. 95; Guzzo 2003: 51—52, no. 4 with bibliography), which, at least when being reused, decorated a conical cup (Bothmer 1984: 55, no. 93; Guzzo 2003: 47—50, no. 2 with bibliography), has a diameter of 10.5 cm. A medallion of similar dimensions, held in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum (10.3—10.5 cm), is decorating a dish with a depiction of Dionysos, Ariadne and Silenos (Pfrommer 1993: 64—66, 218—219, no. 127; Treister 1997: 128—131, figs. 7—8; 1999a: 568—569, fig. 5; Carter 2015: 139, fig. 2.12), and a medallion with a depiction of Pentheus being torn apart by Bacchae, found in a hoard in Inner Asia (10 cm), which used to decorate a phiale (LIMC VII, 1994, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bažant & G. Berger-Doer), 310, no. 27: *ca.* 150 BCE; cf. Baratte 2002: 21—23, no. 3, fig. 6). The medallion from a dish in the Pomerance collection is only very slightly larger (diameter *ca.* 11.3 cm) (Oliver 1977: 16—20, figs. 3—4; Cat. Toledo 1977: 90, no. 53 assigned a date at the end of the 2nd century BC; Pfrommer 1993: 64; 98, note 774: 2nd century BCE; LIMC VIII, 1997, s.v. Mainades (I. Krauskopf & E. Simon), 789, no. 80; Prittwitz und Gaffron 1999: 184, pl. 59: *2*)[5].

As it has been already discussed (Antonov, Torbov 2002: 578, fig. 13C; Treister 2009a: 124, fig. 6), there is an earring with pyramidal pendant (*Kegelanhänger*) on the ear of Auge (fig. 7: *1—2*). This type became widespread especially in Macedonia and Asia Minor, but also in South Italy and North Pontic area in the second half of the 4th century BCE (Pfrommer 1990: 223—225, fig. 41; Williams 1996: 119—121; Treister 2002: 67; 2003: 69—72; 2009a: 123). Such earrings are shown in detail on a gilt medallion with the head of Aphrodite on a silver phiale from tomb no. 2 in Mogilanska burial mound (Cat. Cologne 1979: 149—150, no. 297; Archibald 1998: 320—321, pl. 18; Theodosiev 2000: 146, fig. 94; Antonov, Torbov 2002: 578, fig. 13A; Stoyanov 2003: 87, fig. 1: *1—2*; Cat. Bonn 2004: 151, no. 206j; Torbov 2005: 77—78, 101, no. 67; pl. X: *2*; 22: *2*; 2015: 65, no. 67; pl. X: *2*; XXX: *3а—bж*; Stoychev 2012: 95—96, figs. 6—7), on the ears of Athena, whose protome is decorating bronze greaves from Golyamata Kosmatka (Kitov 2006b: 76—78, figs. 58—60; Cat. Paris 2006: 158—161, no. 63, see esp. illustration on p. 161; Cat. Basel 2007: 159—161, no. 118c; Dimitrova 2015: 173—178, figs. 141—144; 282—283, no. 40, figs. 221—223; Cat. Paris 2015: 128—129, no. 93), as well as on the ears of Medusa on a bronze breastplate from Elizavetinskaya burial mound no. 6 in the Lower Don area (Treister 2009a: 123—124, fig. 4: *2*).

I also need to make another remark regarding the composition and the details of the medallion of the Heracles and Auge phiale. Let us have a look at a silver medallion (d. 9.3 cm) from Tarentum with the toilet of Aphrodite (fig. 11: *1—3*), perhaps from a bowl, now in the British Museum. It was dated on stylistic grounds unanimously to the 3rd century BCE (Walters 1921: no. 71; Wuilleumier 1930: 62—66, pl. X: *2*; 1968: 350—351, pl. XXIII: *5*; Strong 1966: 104, pl. 29b; Gehrig 1977: 7—9, fig. 2; Künzl 1979: 290, fig. 165; Reinsberg 1980: 260, note 951; Cat. Milan 1984: 45; Hausmann 1995: 92, note 24; Carter 2015: 154, fig. 2.15; Kan Şahin et al. 2019: 129—130, fig. 9; Lafli, Çetingöz 2021: 8—9, fig. 8; Laflı, Kan Şahin 2021: 71—72, fig. 11.8). It is also suggested, that the figure of Aphrodite may represent the ideal and sacred image of Arsinoe II and thus the medallion may be dated to 269—251 BCE (Bonivento Pupino 1994: 335—336, pl. XVIII;

[5] The diameter of the dish is 15.6 cm (on the basis of the photograph the size of the medallion can be determined as *ca.* 11.3 cm).

1995: 131—155). The ornaments in the background and below are incised into the metal, with details emphasized by gilding. There is a long-handled, heart-shaped fan on the left (fig. 11: *1*), while a flower and a butterfly with half-folded wings decorate in the background (fig. 11: *2*). Below are musical instruments, a set of pipes on the left and a lyre to the right, with a bird and a grasshopper (cicada) between, each with a star or flower (fig. 11: *3*).

Not only the pose of Aphrodite, leaning with her hand on the rock, reminds of the pose of Heracles on the discussed phiale from Rogozen, but also the use of small rosettes in the field on the booth medallion (fig. 7: *3*) — a feature which provides a further argument in favor of their possible chronological proximity.

Conclusion

To conclude, I see no reasons for dating the Heracles and Auge phiale to the first half of the 4th century BCE. Both the analysis of the general shape, the construction and composition of the elements of the vessel, the ornamental patterns decorating its bottom and the parallels of the figural composition on the inner medallion do not allow dating earlier than 350/340 BCE. Moreover, there is strong evidence that the phiale should be dated in the chronological frames of the last quarter of the 4th — first decades of the 3rd century BCE. The shape of the vessel and the decoration of its bottom may suggest a somewhat earlier dating, whereas that of the medallion — somewhat later, within the frames of the chronological period mentioned above. Thus, it may be a further confirmation of the history of the vessel, reconstructed on the grounds of its technological examination (Inkova et al. 1994: 28—45). Moreover, this may also explain the possible discrepancy in the identification of the centers of manufacture of the vessel. For instance, it is quite possible, that the vessel, manufactured in Greece, Macedonia or Asia Minor, was adopted to fit the medallion, executed in Thrace, the latter assumption, put forward by P. Zazoff (Zazoff 1998: 93—95=2011: 328—329; cf. various views on the centres of manufacture of the vessel: Byvank-Qarles van Ufford 1989: 57—58: Propontide, Cyzicus (?)),to my mind explains well the inscriptions made by the craftsmen on the medallion.

This is not the only vessel from the Rogozen Treasure for which a dating after 340 BCE and as late as the last quarter of the 4th/early 3rd century BCE (Kull 1997: esp. 689—699; Stoyanov 1991: 31—32), first decades (Stoyanov 2005: 237) or even the second quarter of the 3rd century BCE (Stoyanov 2007: 561—574) has been already proposed. Consequently, it provides another argument that the Treasure was buried much later than it was usually suggested before (330s BCE) (See above p. 10—11 and also: Fol 1990: 195—196; Archibald 1998: 265—269 and 274—275: “With the possible exception of no. 97, there is nothing in the Rogozen hoard which need be later than 340 BC.” (cf. Archibald 1989: 21 with the dating of the phialai from the treasure from the second quarter of the 4th to the first quarter of the 3rd century BCE); Loukopoulou 2008: 161; Delev 2015: 52; Dana 2015: 251; Avramidou**,** Tsiafaki 2015: 157).

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Fig. 1. "Heracles and Auge phiale". Rogozen Treasure. Vratsa, Regional Museum, inv. Б464. General views and the cross-section. *1—2* — photos, M. Treister, 2016, *3* — after Nikolov et al. 1987: 18, fig. 4.



Fig. 2. “Heracles and Auge phiale”. Rogozen Treasure. Vratsa, Regional Museum, inv. Б464. General views. *1* — inner side from the perspective; *2* — the bottom. Photos, M. Treister, 2016.



Fig. 3. "Heracles and Auge phiale". Rogozen Treasure. Vratsa, Regional Museum, inv. Б464. The bottom. Details. Photos, M. Treister, 2016.



Fig. 4. “Heracles and Auge phiale”. Rogozen Treasure. Vratsa, Regional Museum, inv. Б464. Medallion. Detail. Photos, M. Treister, 2016.



Fig. 5. “Heracles and Auge phiale”. Rogozen Treasure. Vratsa, Regional Museum, inv. Б464. Medallion. Detail. Photo, M. Treister, 2016.

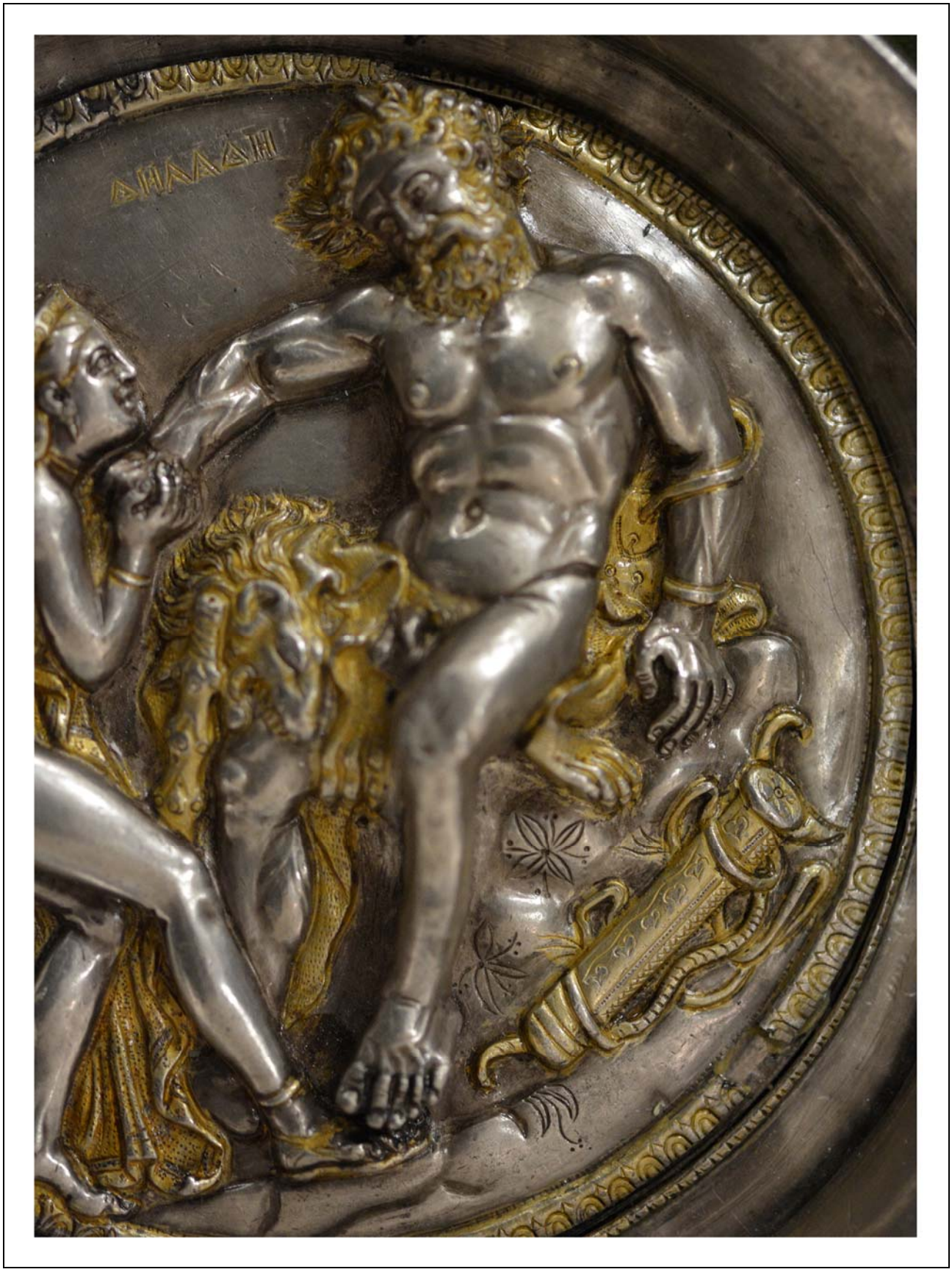

Fig. 6. “Heracles and Auge phiale”. Rogozen Treasure. Vratsa, Regional Museum, inv. Б464. Medallion. Detail. Photo, M. Treister, 2016.

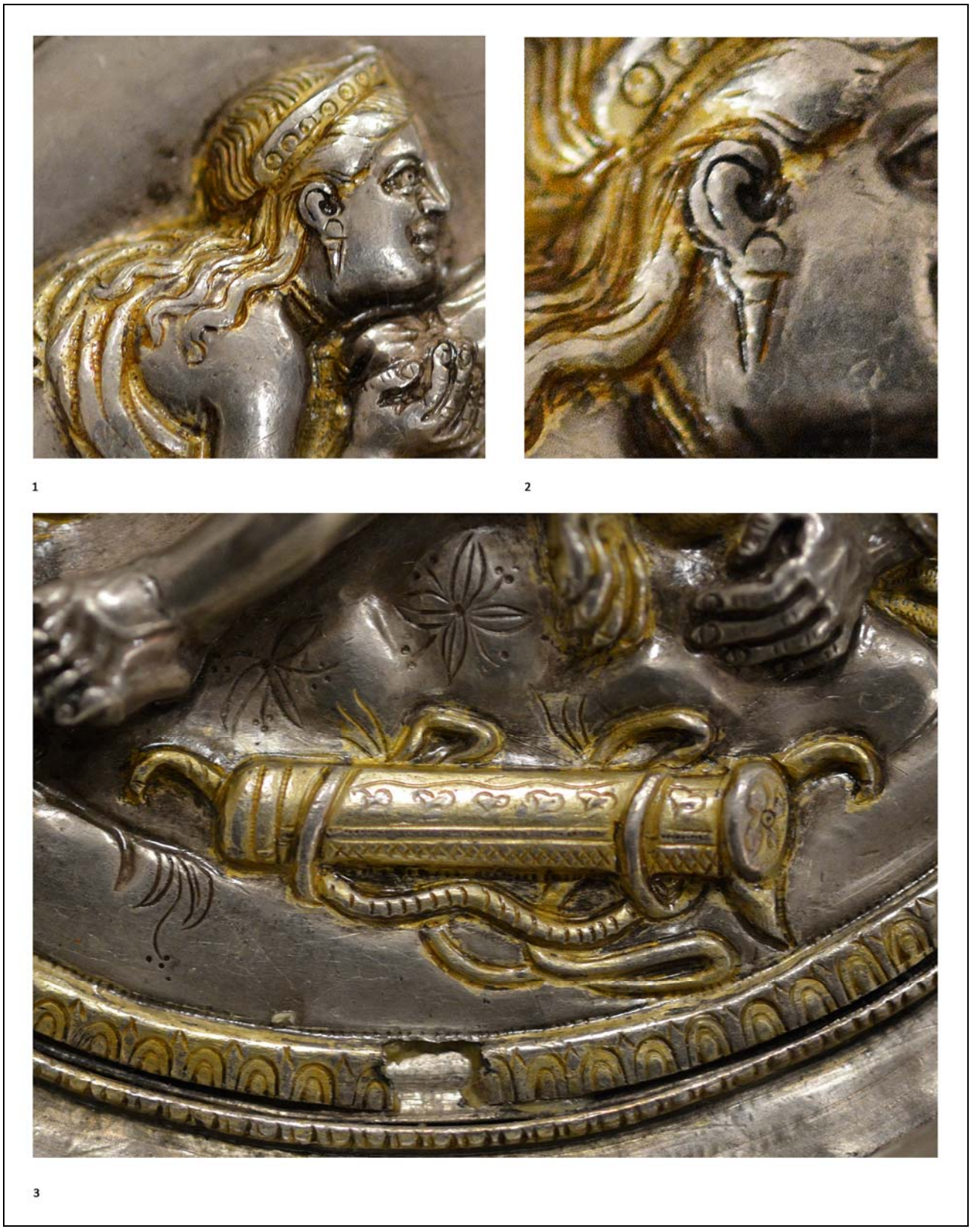

Fig. 7. "Heracles and Auge phiale". Rogozen Treasure. Vratsa, Regional Museum, inv. Б464. Medallion. Details. Photos, M. Treister, 2016.



Fig. 8. Lotus-and-palmette friezes. *1* — painted entrance of the Tomb I at Vergina (after Haddad 2015: 145, fig. 2); *2* — Arsinoeion on Samothrace. Cornice block. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, inv.-no. I 698 (photo, Museum); *3* — Didyma, Apollo temple. Frieze block (after arachne.dainst.org: 1).



Fig. 9. Reliefs with the scenes of Heracles and Auge. *1* — silver medallion allegedly from Syria. Cracow, National Museum, Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv.-no. XI-441 (photo, Museum); *2* — bronze mirror cover. Munich, Antikensammlung, inv.-no. Loeb 45 (after: Sieveking 1930: pl. 6); *3* — bronze mirror allegedly from Elis. Athens, National Museum, inv.-no. St. 312 (after: Ambrosini 2020: 93, fig. 12); *4* — bronze mirror allegedly from Thessaly. New York. Collection of Christos G. Bastis (after: Ambrosini 2020: 93, fig. 13).



Fig. 10. Pyxides from the Lipari Island with the scenes of Heracles and Auge (after Ambrosini 2020: 88—92, figs. 1, 3—4, 8).



Fig. 11. *1—3* — silver medallion from Tarentum. London, British Museum, inv.-no. 1853,0314.1 (photos, Museum); *4* — Calenian medallion from Acarnania. Brussels, Musée Cinquantenaire, inv.-no. A 1028 (after Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. 3 IB/IIIN).