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The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas

C. Brian Rose, editor

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ENDPAPERS: Map of the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean featuring sites mentioned in this volume. Drawing: Kimberly Leaman.

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Early Bronze Fibulae and Belts from the Gordion Citadel Mound

Maya Vassileva

Gordion has yielded one of the largest collections of bronze objects in the Near East from the early 1st millennium BC, rivaled only by the finds from Hasanlu and Luristan in northwestern Iran. This extensive bronze assemblage clearly demonstrates the role of Gordion, and Phrygia in general, as a major bronze-producing center in Anatolia. Nearly a thousand bronze objects of Phrygian date were excavated on the Citadel Mound between 1950 and 1974, and although all of them form part of my research, I present here my preliminary conclusions concerning only two categories of objects: fibulae and belts.[1]

Fibulae

The fibulae are the most abundant group of bronze objects found at the Citadel Mound. In view of the current re-examination of artifacts and stratigraphy prompted by the new Gordion chronology, the fibulae from this stratum are of special interest.[2] The Destruction Level on the Citadel Mound (hereafter, DL) yielded 41 fibulae: 38 are bronze, and the remaining 3 are gold, silver, and electrum (Table 8.1). It is not a coincidence that the only fibulae of precious metals were discovered in Terrace Building 2, which has often been considered a treasury because of the other elite goods found in the same room (Young 1962a:165–67, pls. 46–47; DeVries 1980a:38; Sams 1993:552).

There are several conclusions that emerge from a statistical and stylistic analysis of the fibulae. The earliest type in the city is XII.7A (Caner 1983:51–60, type A I, 1-2; Muscarella 2003:229), and they are the most frequently discovered: 23 out of 41.[3] These fibulae have a large flat, D- or horseshoe-shaped arc, and the ends, with the characteristic "horned" catch, are usually narrower than the middle of the arc. Two rather crudely manufactured pieces have very wide arcs (B1977a and B564b), and the cone-shaped catch-ends are cast together with the pin. One interesting example shows a detachable spring and pin that fit to the catch-end by a hollow cone. The tension of the spring keeps the pin in place (B1971) (Fig. 8.1a, b).[4]

These fibulae seem earlier than the main XII.7 type, and indeed, it has already been observed that the XII.7 types derived from XII.7A, although they had a chronological overlap (Young 1981:244; Muscarella 1967:43; 2003:231). Fibulae of the XII.7A type were discovered in Tumuli W, G, KIII and IV, and S (Table 8.2), which are the earliest in the tumuli sequence (Young 1981:209–11, TumW 29–33, 35–55; Kohler 1995:39, TumG 5, pl. 21E; 97, TumS 2, pl. 52E; Körte and Körte 1904:78, No. 26; 102, Nos. 11-12). It is worth noting that in Tumulus W, which is the earliest, 26 examples of the XII.7A fibula type were discovered, but none of XII.7 type.

There are three more unpublished fibulae of this type from tumuli (two from cremation burials), but none of them originates from the burial chamber; they come either from earlier, pre-burial contexts or from secondary deposits.[5] These fibulae are mostly found in Phrygia proper, primarily at Gordion and Ankara, and so far no examples are known from the western Anatolian coast (Caner 1983:53, 68).[6] Their spread and use seem to be short-lived: they did not

Table 8.1. Types of fibulae found in the Destruction Level at the Gordion Citadel Mound.

Type of Fibulae	XII.5	XII.7A	XII.9	XII.14	'Leech'	Arched	Near Eastern	Other
Building								
CC2		3			1			
CC3		10			2	2		
Megaron 4			1					
TB2	2 (gold and silver)	1 + 1 electrum						
TB3		1			4			
TB7		2			1			1 wire-wrapped
TB8		2		1			3	
Uncatalogued		3*						

* These uninventoried fibulae were found in the Gordion Museum depot, without any reference to their context. They might have originated from the DL as they are XII.7A type, badly burned, and cracked from bronze disease.

Fig. 8.1a. Fibula B1971 from CC3, DL. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

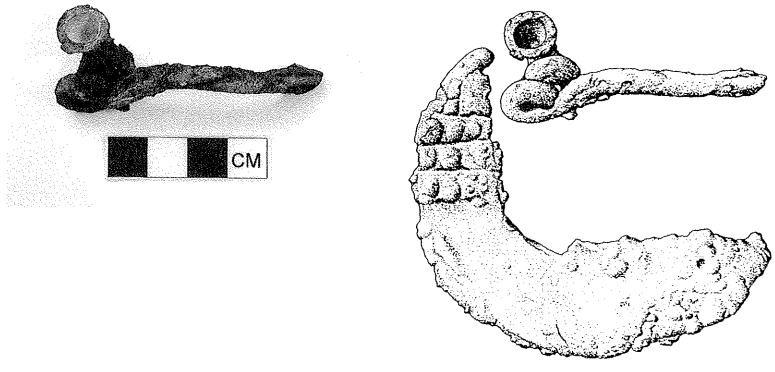


Fig. 8.1b. Drawing of Fibula B1971 from CC3, DL. Source: Caner 1983: No. 1176.

outlive by much the rebuilding of the Middle Phrygian Citadel (such as B1217, which was found in the clay deposit), and therefore help us identify the earliest contexts at Gordion.

Almost the entire variety of Phrygian (and Anatolian) fibulae types known from later contexts and other locations are missing from the DL city repertoire (already noted by Mellink 1981:269). The only

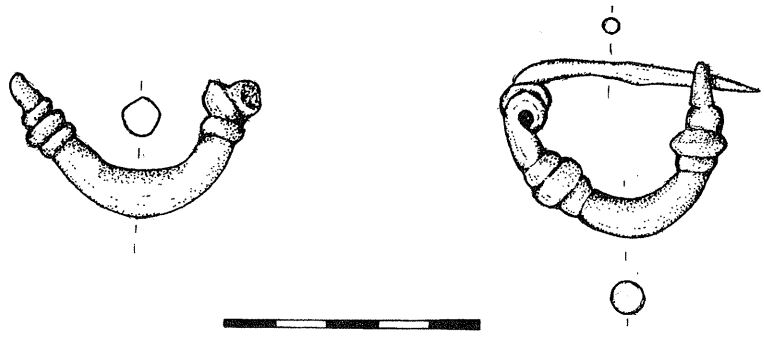


Fig. 8.2. The two arched fibulae B1988c and d from CC3, DL. Illustrations: author. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

Table 8.2. Types of fibulae found in the Gordion tumuli.

Type of fibulae	*XII.2*	*XII.2A*	*XII.3*	*XII.4*	*XII.5*	*XII.7*	*XII.7A*	*XII.9*	*XII.9β*	*XII.11*	*XII.13*	*XII.14*	*Leach*	*NE*	*Other*
TUMULI															
W				2					26				6		
G							1						2		
Y											1		1(?)*		1**
Q							2(?)***				1				
S							1								
KIII	1			8(?)****	1	5	24(?)	1			2				
P			14												
KIV						6	11(?)	5			3	6			
MM						40		51		33	1	19			
S1	2	3						1	7	4	19	28			
N										3	5				
J							1				3				
B														1	

* This miniature fibula lacks both ends and it is difficult to properly classify. E. Kohler considered it an imported leech fibula.

** The ends of this fibula come closer to the XII.7A type, but the arc is round in section and transversally ridged. E. Kohler described it as XII.2. Caner (1983:NI.1) regarded it as a unique type.

*** These two fibulae are badly corroded and difficult to classify. E. Kohler listed them as XII.4. My examination of the objects suggests that they are probably of XII.7A type.

**** The statistics of the fibulae found by the Körte brothers is based on their descriptions, as not all fibulae are illustrated.

exceptions are three fibulae (B1764, B1596, B1454) of type XII.14 and a XII.9, which are abundant in later contexts.[7] DeVries devoted considerable attention to an examination of their provenance.[8] If their DL context is to be accepted, then it looks as if they were already in circulation at the time of the destruction, although they became far more popular during the Middle Phrygian period. While the exact sequence of the Gordion tombs is still debated, it is significant that fibulae of types XII.9 and XII.14 appear in tumuli KIII, KIV, MM, and S1, all of which are now dated after the destruction.

It is worth noting that there are 12 imported fibulae in the DL context, which is a relatively high number, and they help in pinpointing the date of the Destruction Level. Two arched (Bogenfibeln) fibulae

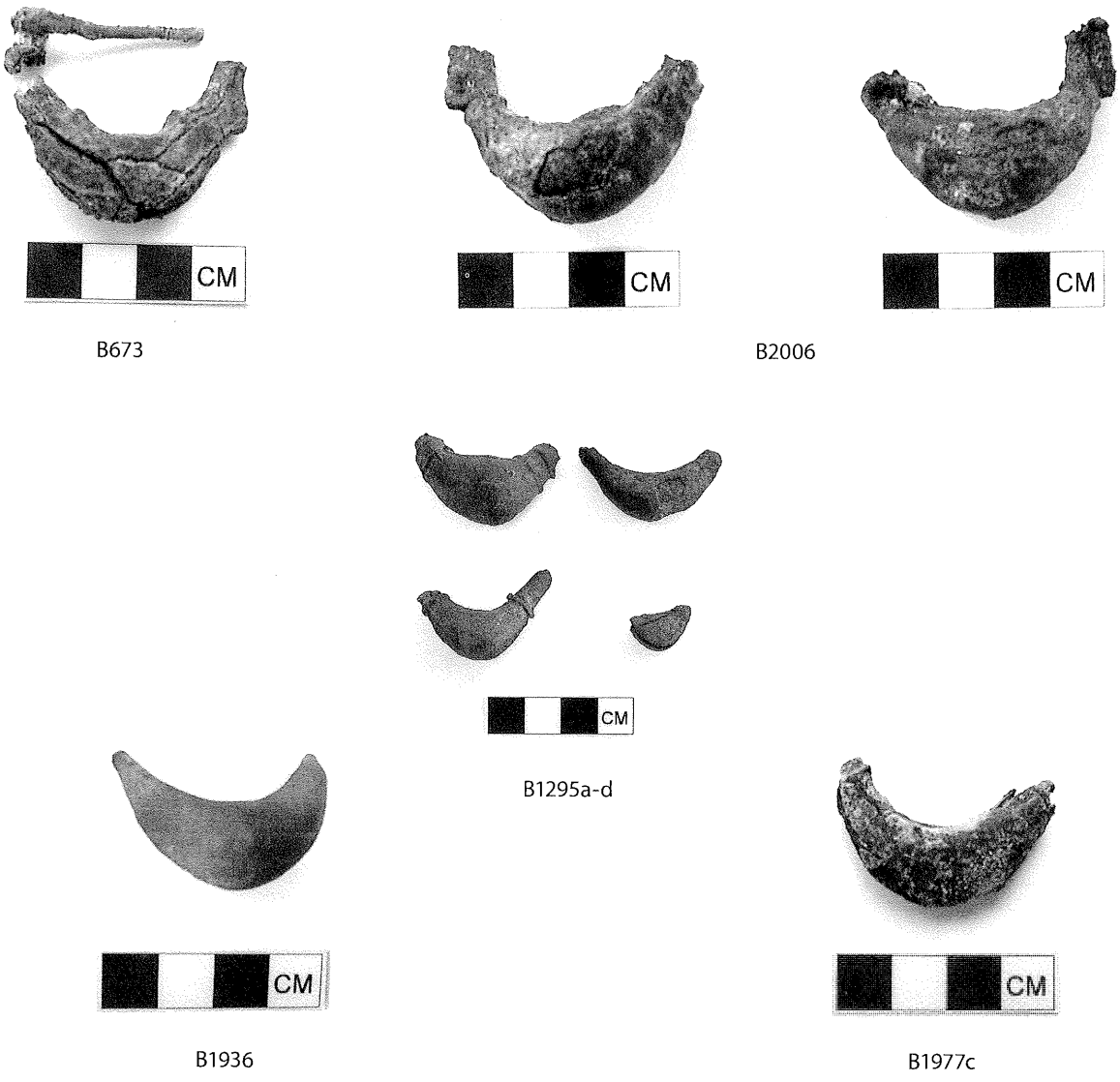


Fig. 8.3a. Leech fibulae from the Gordion City Mound, DL. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

(B1988c and d), one symmetrical and one asymmetrical, were found in a clump with two XII.7A fibulae in CC3 (Fig. 8.2). They feature arcs with round sections and moldings at each end, and display Aegean affinities, although no exact parallel can be identified. Their prototypes can be found among the arched fibulae of Ertuğrul Caner's type IId, with a slightly swollen bow in the middle and two moldings at the ends, often asymmetrically set (Blinkenberg 1926, type II:7–19; Caner 1983:29–31, Nos. 7–13). They are dated ca. 1125–950 BC and all of the Anatolian examples come from the Carian coast. The asymmetrical types in the Aegean and in the Near East, however, have long arm-shaped catch-ends, while the Phrygian examples display catches that lead directly to the molding. The exact shape of the two catch-end finials is unknown. Parallels can be cited from Cyprus (Idalion: Gjerstad 1948:348, fig. 25, 3a, No. 40), from Crete (Vrokastro: Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978: Taf. 11, 611), as well as from Alişar, Zincirli, and Megiddo (Pedde 2000: Taf. 5, 46–47; Taf. 11, 129–130; Taf. 25, 351–353, 358, C1.2 type).

Recently, two examples of the arched fibula type were found in stratum IIa at Kaman-Kalehöyük,

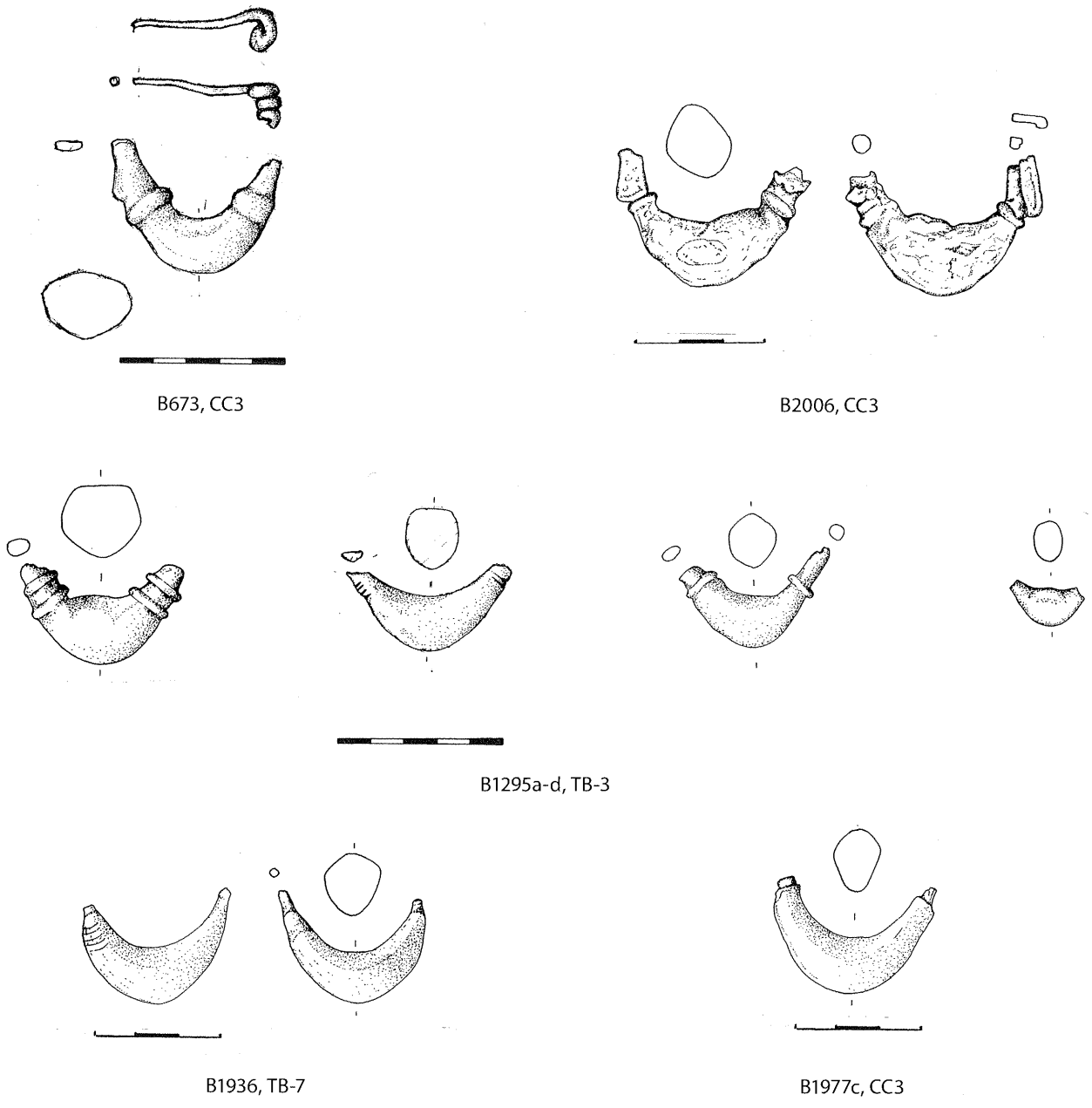


Fig. 8.3b. Drawings of leech fibulae from the Gordion City Mound, DL. Illustrations: author. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

100 km southeast of Ankara, and they provide close parallels to the Gordion pieces (Omura 2006:6, 8, 14, figs. 8.7–8.8). Unfortunately, the strata of this site are not precisely dated and cannot offer much support to the Gordion finds in this respect (Omori and Nakamura 2006:267).

Arched fibulae began to be used in the Mediterranean during Sub-Mycenaean times and continued into the Archaic period. Some scholars believe that they originated on Greek islands (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978:85, type IV), and recently, a Cypriot origin for asymmetrical fibulae has been advanced with additional evidence (Giesen 2001:109, 371; *contra* Caner 1983:30). It is probably best to assume that the type developed as a result of varied contacts in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean (as accept-

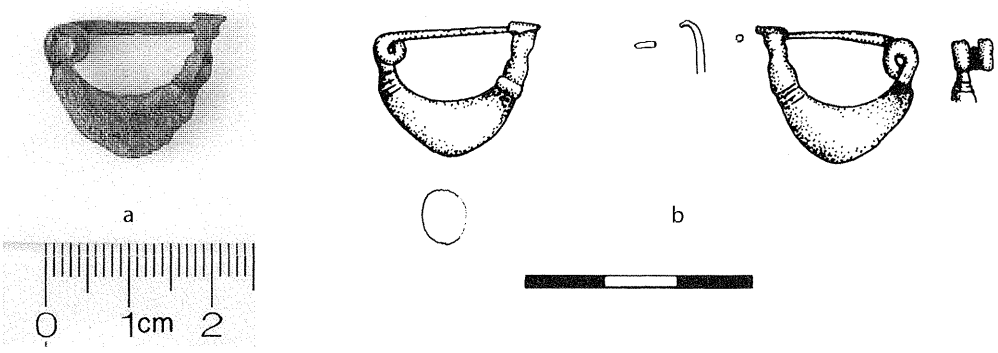


Fig. 8.4a, b. (a) Leech fibula B13a from Tumulus C. Photo: Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara. (b) Drawing of the leech fibula B13a from Tumulus C. Illustrations: author. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

ed by Giesen 2001:63), rather than to attempt to identify a precise point of origin.

The earlier Sub-Mycenaean arched fibulae, both asymmetrical and symmetrical, may have contributed to the appearance of the wide arc fibulae in the Near East ca. 900 BC (Stronach 1959:191, figs. 6.4–6.6). Our problem is that few are securely datable. The examples from Tarsus (Goldman 1956: pls. 247–249) cannot be of LBA date (Pedde 2000:175), and the Alişar parallels come from layers with a wide range of dates (von der Osten 1937:110). Most of the cited parallels that can be dated, however, fall in the late 9th/8th century BC (see Pedde's C1.2 group, Pedde 2000:175–76). No other examples of these arched fibulae were found at Gordion, either in the tumuli or in the later levels of the Citadel Mound.[9]

It is not easy to pinpoint the source of the Gordion imports. They may have originated in Cyprus, Crete, or the Aegean islands, where the arched fibula had a long history.[10] Once the fibulae began to circulate in the East, they may also have been shared among different Anatolian and Near Eastern sites. In view of the problematic dating of the Tarsus, Alişar, and Kaman-Kalehöyük parallels, however, it is still difficult to determine whether Gordion provided the immediate source for these Aegean-inspired fibulae, or vice versa. What one can say is that this type of fibula does not occur in any strata later than the Destruction Level of the Citadel Mound, which suggests its disappearance after the destruction. This assumption, together with the early history of these fibulae in the Aegean, might point to a date in the 9th century BC for the Gordion arched fibulae.

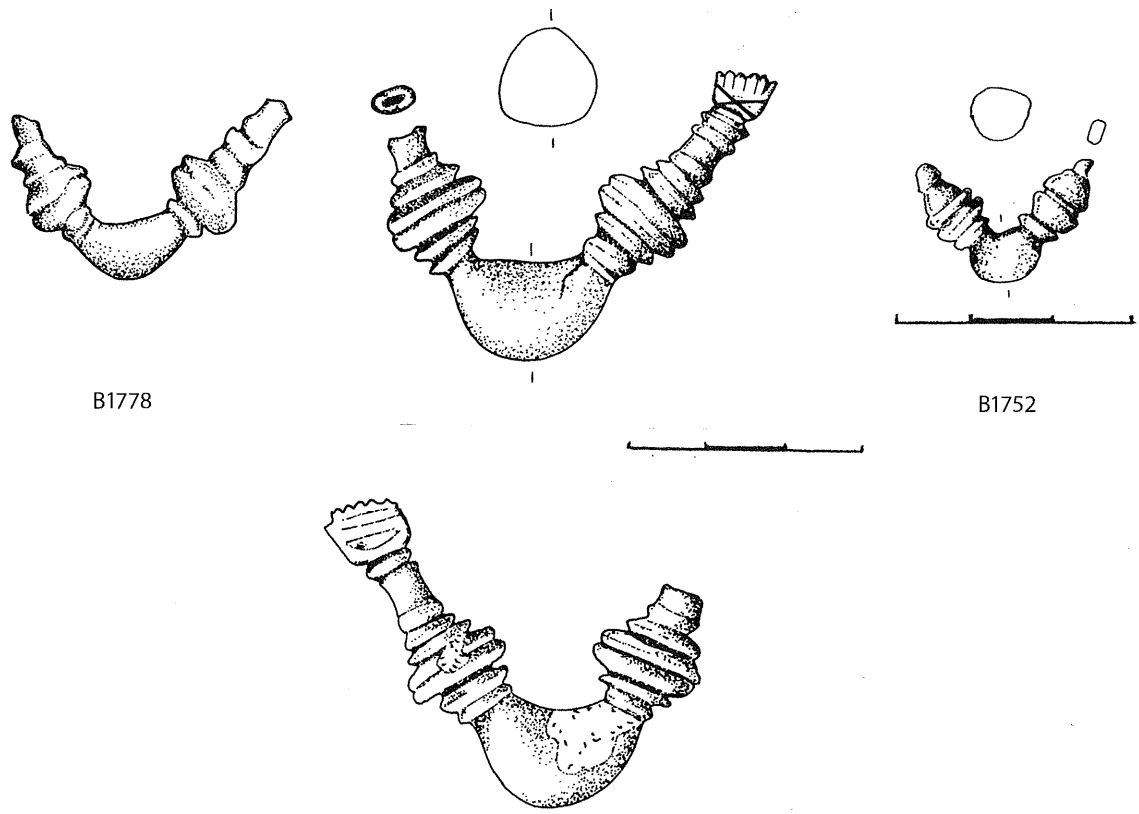
The other group of foreign fibulae at Gordion, more numerous than the previous one, is the so-called leech fibulae (B1936–TB-7; B1977b, B2006–CC3; B673–CC2; B1295a-d–TB-3) (Fig. 8.3a, b). Only the swollen, "leech," bow with tapering ends and round section is preserved in most cases. Two items (B673 and B2006) show fragments of trapezoidal or triangular catch-plates, the former having the spring and pin as well. One or two molded rings at each end can also be seen (on B1295c and B1295a, respectively, and possibly on B673 and B2006 as well). Some examples display several horizontally milled lines at each end (B1295b and B1936).

The tumuli of Gordion have furnished four specimens of this fibula type, which are among the earliest examples. Probably the best-preserved item is one of two miniature fibulae that come from Tumulus C (B13a). They originate in "Stone Complex 4," a pre-tumulus inhumation burial, originally considered by the excavator to be the main burial (Kohler 1995:25, fig. 11B). This feature is earlier than the tumulus itself, and the fibulae might be of DL or pre-DL date (Kohler 1995:26n5; Muscarella 1967: pl. XVIII.94). The piece displays a slightly different catch than the rest of the leech fibulae: it has no triangular flat catch but rather a plain hook that comes out of the bow. Its damaged state makes its outline difficult to define; it could be either rectangular or triangular (Muscarella 1967: pl. XVIII.94) (Fig. 8.4a, b).

Two more leech fibulae were discovered in the tomb chamber of Tumulus G (B11, B17), which

B1778 B1779 B1752

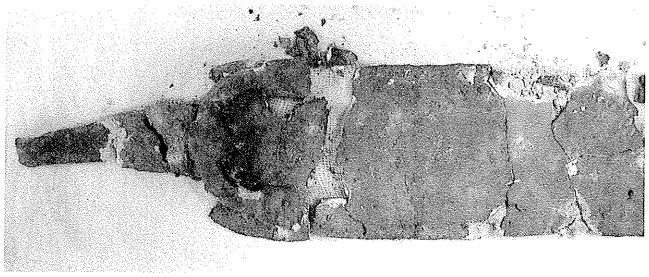
Fig.8.5a. Near Eastern fibulae from the Gordion Citadel Mound, DL. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.



B1778 B1752

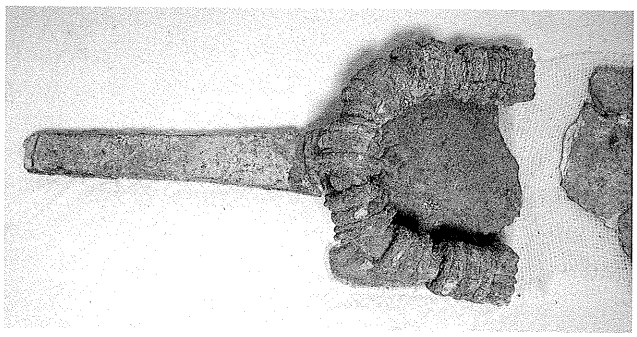
B1779

Fig. 8.5b. Drawings of the Near Eastern fibulae from the Gordion City Mound, DL. Illustrations: author. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

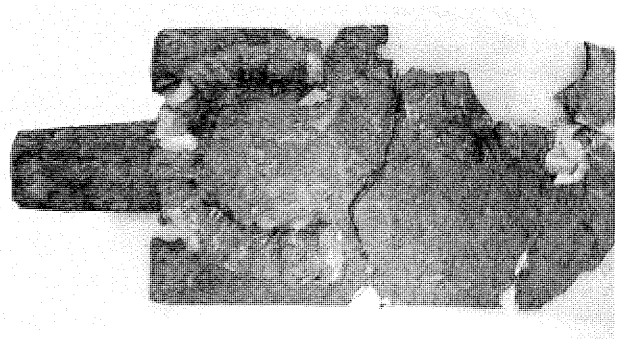


B1669, WSlope, 5-6, N, layer 6, Pit B

B1320, WIS, layer 5



B1604, M6C, South Cellar



B1605, M6C, South Cellar, lower layer

is also considered to be among the earliest (Kohler 1995:37, 39, TumG3 and 4, pl. 21C and D). One leech fibula (B29) found in the mantle of Tumulus B may also be earlier than the tumulus itself, which is dated ca. 630 BC (Kohler 1995:1, 21, 39, 192, TumB 19).

These fibulae fall within Sapouna-Sakellarakis' type IV, especially IVd, and within Kilian's types D Ia and b (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978:68–69, 77–78; Kilian 1975:31–34, Taf. 6.221–237). Several SPG (ca. 850–750 BC) examples from Lefkandi can be cited as comparanda (Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980:S59.32, pl. 249.2; 1996:T.80.65, pl. 140, SPG II/IIIa; T.34.37, SPG IIIa, pl. 129). Kilian, however, considers them to be of Thessalian origin, because so many of them were found at Pherai, and he dates them to the 8th /7th century BC.[11] Other scholars think this type appeared under the influence of the Villanova circle in the 8th century BC, although the Italian fibulae generally have bigger swollen and hollow bows, while the Gordion examples are solid cast. Whatever their exact origin, these fibulae were certainly western imports (either Aegean or mainland Greek) to Gordion.

Unlike the case of the group of arched fibulae, we have at least two leech examples (B534 and B606) from post-DL contexts, and probably four, if the two from Tumulus B (TumB 18 and 20) are of post-DL date. Most of the parallels are again from the 8th century BC, but the Lefkandi pieces indicate that the type may date to the late 9th century BC.

The third group of imported fibulae at the Gordion Citadel Mound consists of three items with more or less triangular-shaped bows, swollen in the middle, and two bi-coni-

Fig. 8.6. Belts from the Gordion Citadel Mound: B1669, B1320, B1604, B1605. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

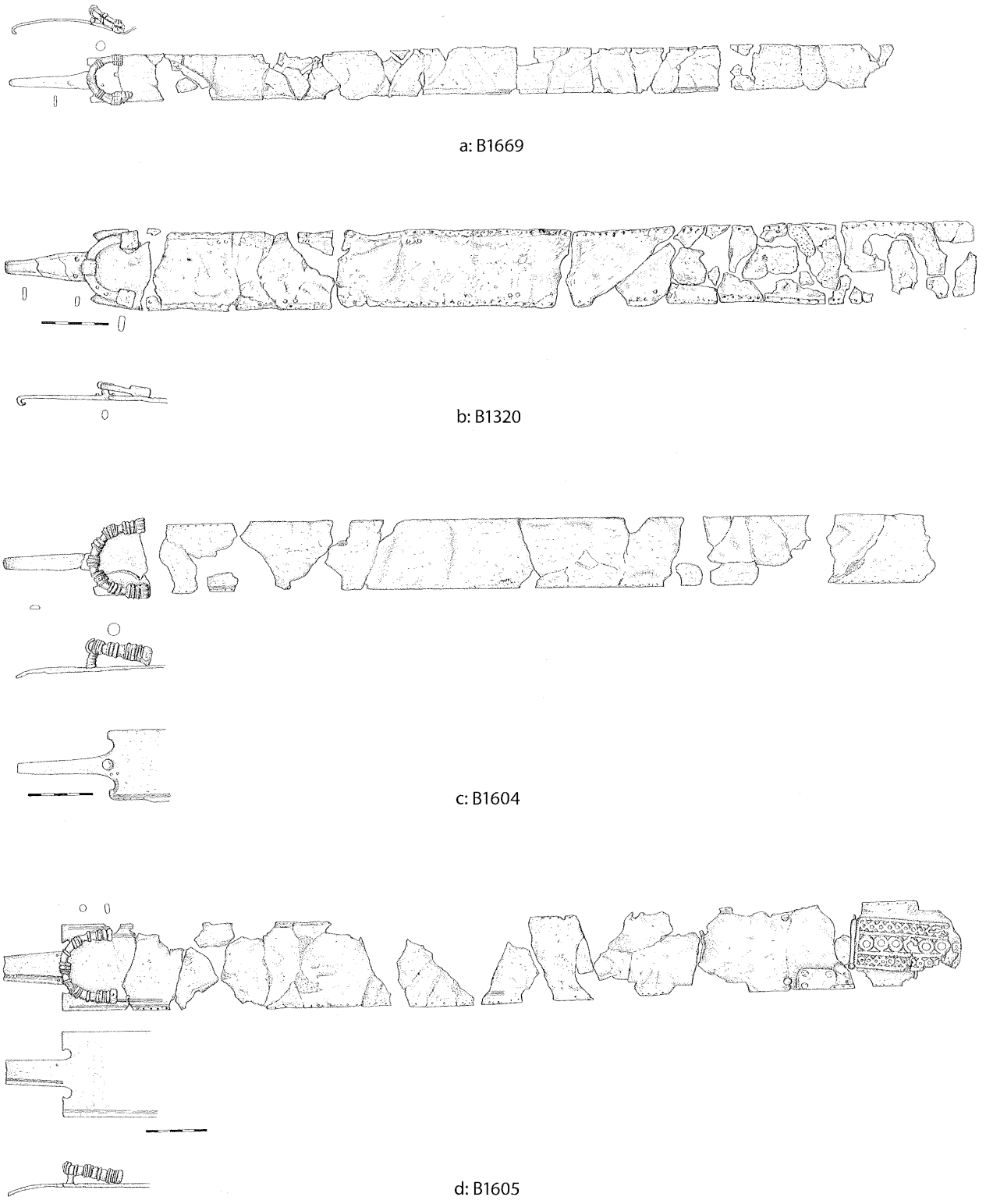


Fig. 8.7a-d. Drawings of belts from the Gordion Citadel Mound: (a) B1669, (b) B1320, (c) B1604, (d) B1605. Illustrations: author. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

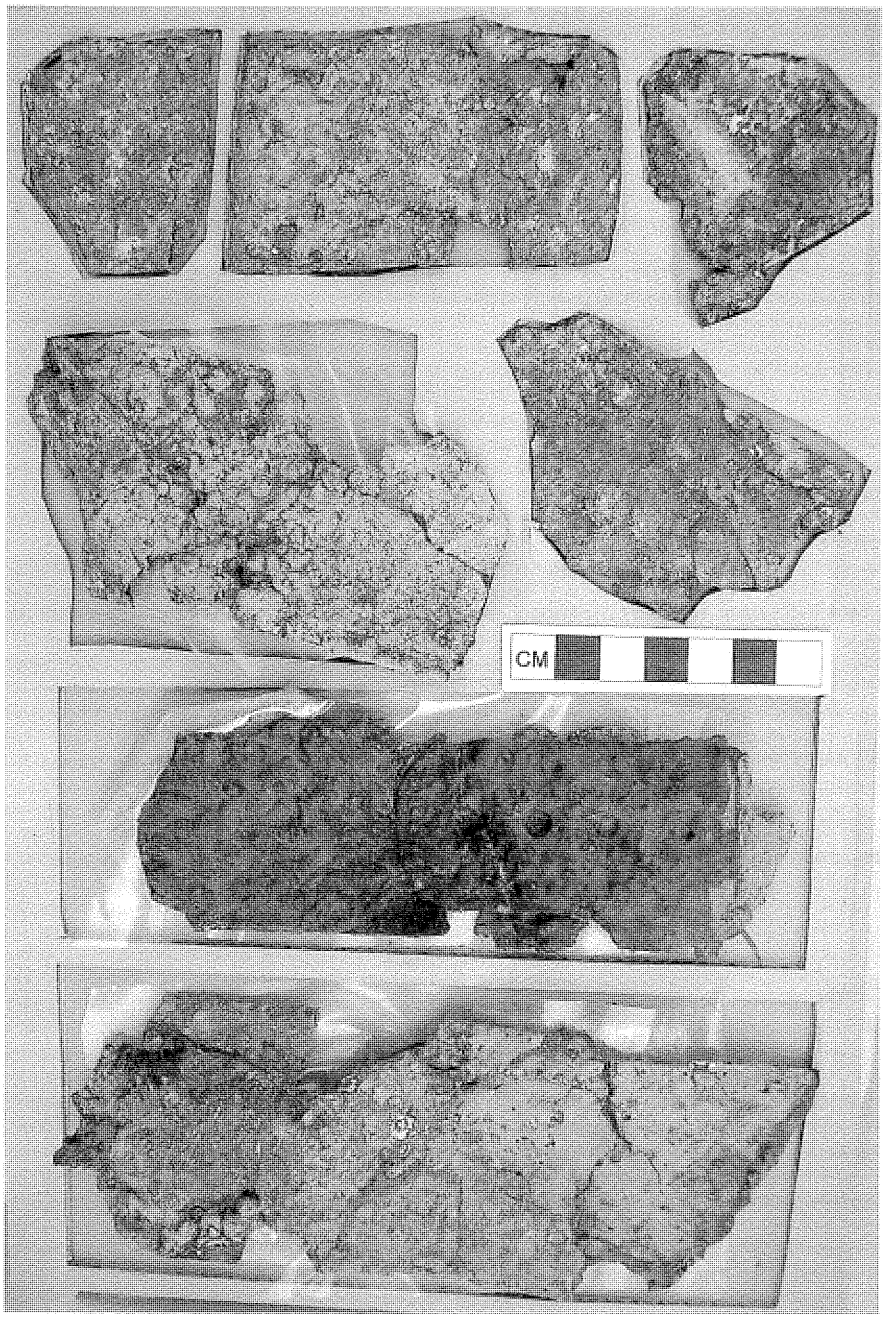


Fig. 8.8a. Bronze belt B677 from the Gordion Citadel Mound. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

cal moldings between two or more discs at each end. Most of the swellings in the middle of the bow resemble the leech fibulae, but are slightly flattened (B1779, B1778 and B1752, all from TB-8) (Fig. 8.5a, b). Caner assigned them to the group of Cypriotic and Oriental fibulae, type V (1983:180–82), while O.W. Muscarella listed a similar piece from Tumulus B (B5) among the Aegean or western imports at Gordion (1967:82, B2, pl. XVIII.92). The preserved catch-end of B1779 is shaped in the form of a hand which bears an incised cross on the outer side. The parallel for this ornamentation on Boeo-

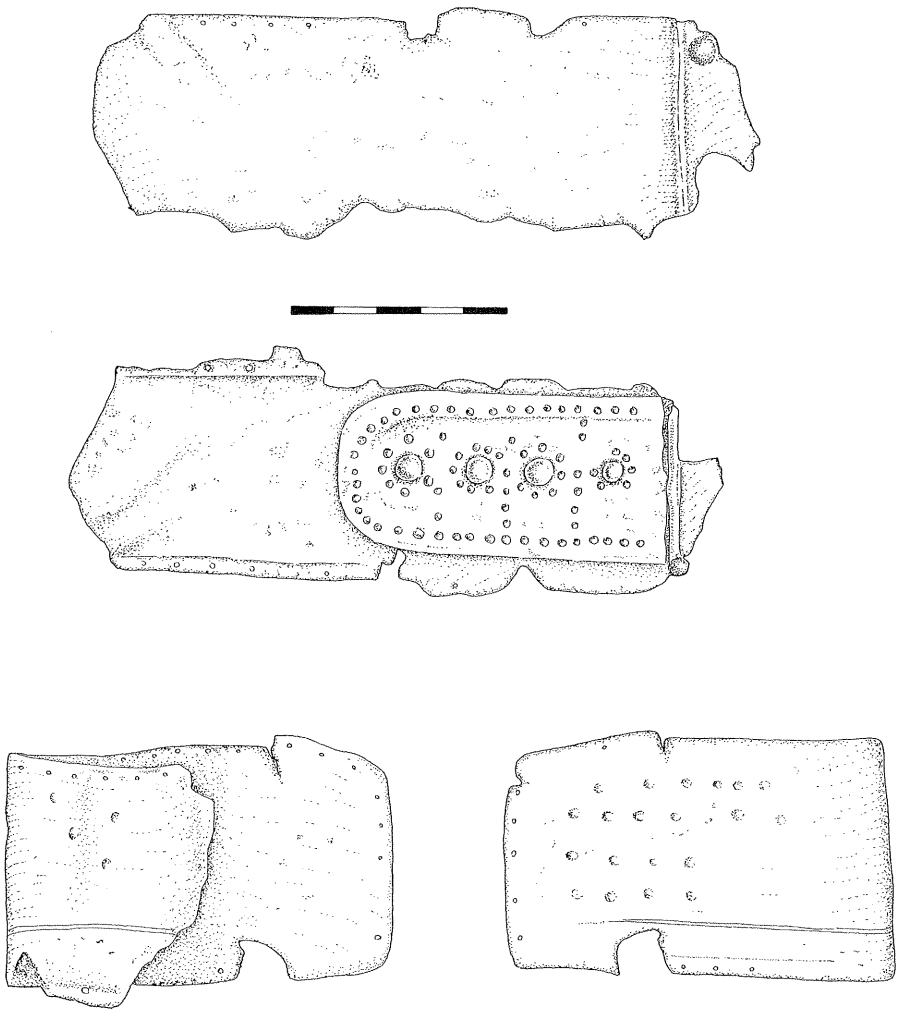


Fig. 8.8b. Drawing of parts of the belt B677 from the Gordion Citadel Mound. Illustrations: author. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

tian fibulae in Euboia, cited by Caner (1983:181), is not convincing. There is a closer example from Assur with the same ornamented hand (Pedde 2000: Taf. 23, No. 301). Two fibulae from Alişar could possibly provide parallels for the slightly swollen bow with bi-conical beads at both ends (Pedde 2000: Nos. 378–379, Taf. 26). These fall within Pedde's C1.2 group, dated to the 8th–7th century BC (Pedde 2000:175–76). Caner regards this type of fibula as an import from Alişar, which sounds plausible (1983:181, following Przeworski 1939:177).

Similar fibulae are found in other levels of the Citadel Mound and in tumuli: B5 (Tumulus B: Kohler 1995:21, TumB20, fig. 9D, pl. 11E), B1777 (WCW-2), B1595 (TrQ, clay), B1149 (KH; 6th c. BC or earlier, Muscarella 1967:83, B4). Two (B1861, B1881) were found in a 4th century BC context (PPB-7 and PPB-SE3; Caner 1983:181). Their bow swellings are smaller and more ball-like, and they bear a closer resemblance to Near Eastern triangular fibulae. Additional examples of Near Eastern triangular, or "knee-bow/elbow" fibulae have been found in Middle and Late Phrygian contexts at Gordion (B1191, B1201, B1878). These seem to have had a long period of use.

Despite initial expectations, the imported fibulae at Gordion do not offer decisive chronological guidance for the dating of the Destruction Level,

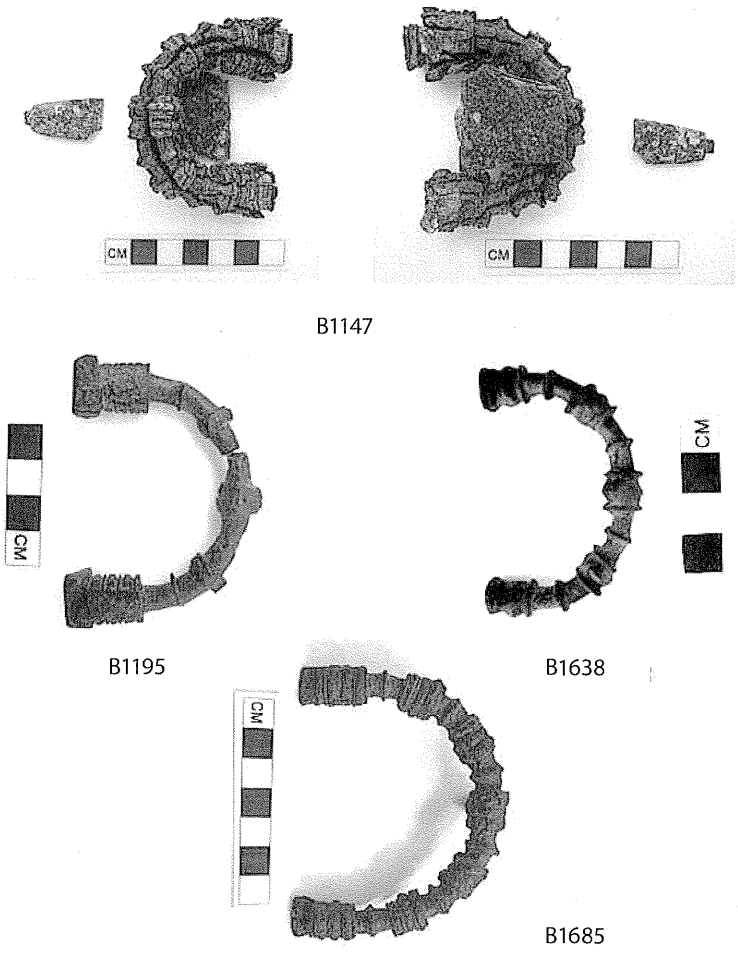


Fig. 8.9. Fibula-type belt buckles from the Gordion Citadel Mound. Source: Gordion Project, Penn Museum.

nor do the parallels of the arched and the leech types. The imported fibulae do, however, indicate early and relatively frequent contacts with the Aegean.

Belts

Bronze belts are among the most attractive objects found in Gordion and constitute a hallmark of Phrygian metalworking, which was widely imitated and exported to Greek sanctuaries. All of the examples published so far were found in tumuli. Probably the most exquisite are the three belts from Tumulus P, a child's burial at Gordion (Young 1981:17–20, TumP 34–36), which is now dated to ca. 760 BC (Sams and Voigt 2011: fig. 7.10). There are, however, more examples that were excavated on the Citadel Mound of Gordion: five complete (or almost complete) belts (Figs. 8.6, 8.7a-d, 8.8a,b), four belt buckles, and more fragments from hooks, catchplates, and bronze bands.[12] All of these examples were found in contexts that postdate the Destruction Level.

There are two pieces from the clay filling that probably represent Early Phrygian products. Both of these are belt buckles: one with a hook (B1685), which was found in the clay under the South Cellar, and another (B1147) that was discovered in a pit dug into the clay (MW2; Kohler 1995:209). It is worth noting that the former has 13 moldings on the arc and shows that pieces with numerous moldings appear relatively early in the sequence.

In his final publications, DeVries devoted considerable effort to defining the early contexts of the South Cellar. Based on the types of fibulae and belts in the deposit, he synchronized the South Cellar and

Tumulus S1 (which is later than Tumulus P: Kohler 1995:192; DeVries 2005:37–40). Two complete belts, a belt buckle, a catch-plate, and more belt fragments were discovered in this context, which DeVries dated to the late 8th–early 7th century BC (B1604, B1605, B1638, B1510, B1606, and B1607). One additional belt may also come from a similar early context (B1669). The others derive from layers and fills that can be dated between the 5th and 3rd century BC, but the bronze objects can be dated only roughly (B1320, B1195).

Phrygian belts consist of solid bronze bands with small holes running along both long sides, probably for sewing them to leather or cloth. A set of parallel incised lines also flanks both long sides, and often the lines run along the two edges of the hook. The belt buckle is of a Phrygian fibula type, covering the base of a long hook. The catch plate is a rectangular openwork piece with one rounded end, usually riveted to the band. The hook is cut from the same bronze sheet and comes out of two semi-circular cut-outs.

The bronze bands of the Tumulus P belts (as well as the silver one from the Bayındır Tumulus) show intricate patterns of incised geometric decoration. Unfortunately, x-rays of the five complete belts from Gordion revealed no decoration on the bands.[13]

One of the Tumulus P belts has a buckle resembling the XII.7 fibula type, although the front side of the bow has a ridge in the middle (TumP 36). Other examples contain more moldings on the bow, and most of them fall within the XII.14A fibula type, with 9 or 10 moldings (Muscarella 1967:25–26; Caner 1983:147–49, JIII type), although one has as many as 13 (B1685) (Fig. 8.9).[14] The Early Phrygian contexts of B1685 and B1147 are secure, which means that the number of moldings on the buckle arcs cannot be used for chronological purposes. In other words, it would be difficult to claim that earlier belts feature plainer buckles with fewer moldings.

The typological development of Phrygian belts is still unclear in many respects, but some observations on changes in shape can be made (Kohler 1995:207–10). The hook gradually becomes shorter and thicker, and is sometimes riveted to the bronze band. The bands of incised parallel lines that run along the long sides of the belt also tend to grow wider (TumS1 11–12, Ankara Tumulus I, Boğazköy Nos. 2561 and 2566; Kohler 1995:126; Özgüç and Akok 1947:63, Res. 25; Boehmer 1979:7–8). The openwork catch-plate becomes finer; relatively large arcs or circles (as on TumP 34–36) provide between two and four options for fastening, and develop into a network of smaller circles or squares with triangles, resembling weaving to some extent (Kohler 1995:126–27, TumS1 13 and 15; B1605; B1510).

The catch-plate is subsequently replaced by solid bronze plaques with a greater number of circular or square holes for the hooks (B1147, B677).[15] A border of embossed dots surrounds the holes and runs along the perimeter of the plate. The catch-plates of the earlier belts are riveted to the band and immovable, while later they are attached by a hinge (B1605, B1441, B677, and possibly B1509).[16] The hook also becomes more decorated, and a rod connecting both ends of the belt buckle is also present (Boardman 1961–62: pl. 21.c; 1967: Nos. 279, 294, 295, 298, 302). Only one of the earliest Phrygian belts has this type of buckle (Young 1981: TumP 34, fig. 9A), while it becomes frequent in the Greek examples (Jantzen 1972: Taf. 45, B116; Taf. 46, B1691, B605, B614).

The end moldings of the belt buckle become ridged rectangular blocks, while on the Greek examples they are most often hemispherical and button-like (Kohler 1995:127–28, TumS1 18, compared to the Emporio type C). Openwork D-shaped buckles consisting of two or three concentric wires are also absent from the Phrygian repertoire (Boardman 1961–62: pl. 20 d; 1967: No. 293). The use of lion heads on the ends of the fibula-type buckle seems to be an Ionian innovation and appears never to have been popular in Phrygia (Naumann and Tuchelt 1963–64:47, Taf. 31, 2–4; Barnett 1963–64: pl. 31 g; Boardman 1967:217, No. 293; Caner 1983:198, G21; Klebinder 2001:114–15; 2002:79; 2007:100–101, Kat. Nos. 711, 730, 731).[17] The belt buckles mentioned above might be compared with the exquisite gold examples from Ephesos which have a lion's head in the middle of the fibula bow (Bammer and Muss 1996: Abb. 99–100).

Recent finds at the Artemision at Ephesos and in Miletos prompt a closer examination of Phrygian-type belts (and other bronze objects) found as votives in East Greek sanctuaries (Donder 2002; Klebinder 2007). Phrygian-type belts were adopted

in Ionia at the beginning of the 7th century BC and became more popular during the second half of the same century (Klebinder 2001:117; 2007:104–5). Their Phrygian prototypes can be dated to the late 8th century BC and later (i.e., those from the South Cellar, Tumuli S1 and J: Kohler 1995:64–65, TumJ 21; 126–28, TumS1 11–19). Belts like those from Tumulus P have not been found in Ionia, but the Greek items do resemble the pieces from the Gordion Citadel Mound.

Phrygian bronze belts are known primarily as grave goods in burials, either on or to the side of the skeleton. Since two of the belts and many belt fragments come from the South Cellar on the Citadel Mound, I would suggest that it was a special deposit. The elite artifacts from this deposit, such as stamp seals, an ivory figurine, and an abundance of Greek pottery also support the hypothesis that this deposit was distinct from the others (DeVries 2005:42; Dusinberre 2005: Cat. Nos. 19 and 20, 45). One of the belts was found in a pot (B1604), while the other was discovered lying partly in a pit (B1605). The latter has been repaired, and the x-rays revealed at least one additional mending. B1320 also has a repair. The fact that they were repaired suggests that at least some of them were used publicly.

I have argued elsewhere that Phrygian belts were related to the cult of the Great Goddess (Vassileva 2005b), and my belief in this link has only grown stronger. The geometric designs on some of the belts echo the patterns on Phrygian rock-cut façades and on inlaid wooden furniture from the Gordion tombs (Simpson 1988:34–35; 1998:636; Simpson 2010:91–99; Vassileva 2001:59–60). Both of these have been linked to the symbolism of Kybele's cult and to the goddess' role in Phrygian burial customs (Buluç 1988:22; Roller 1999b:102, 104, 111–12). Moreover, most of the Phrygian-type belts and fibulae found in the Greek world came from sanctuaries of goddesses: Artemis in Ephesos; a goddess in the Harbor Sanctuary on Chios (Boardman 1961–62); Hera in Samos (Boardman 1961–62:189); Athena in Erythrai (Akurgal 1993: fig. 93d); Athena Pronaia in Marmaria at Delphi (Perdrizet 1908:130, No. 702; Diod. 22.9.5; Völling 1998:250); and Aphrodite at Zeytintepe, Miletos (Donder 2002:3; Senff 2003).[18]

The use of Phrygian-type belts and fibulae as votives in Greek sanctuaries has sometimes been linked to dedications by women on the occasion of marriage or childbirth (Boardman 1961–62:189). In some cases this may have been true, but in Phrygia the belts appear to have been the attributes of men, especially rulers and aristocrats, and they seem to have been connected to the cult of the Mother (Matar). Elements of Matar's cult may have been adopted and adapted by the eastern Greeks, both men and women, who subsequently purchased or imitated the exotic belts and fibulae and used them as votives (cf. also Ebbinghaus 2006:209, 217).

If we now return to the belts from the South Cellar, a parallel with the Greek practice can be drawn if one assumes that the South Cellar belts were a special assemblage, similar to the votive deposits in sanctuaries. The belts were clearly treated with special care judging by the textile pseudomorphs found on some of their surfaces (B1605, B1510). Another interesting feature of one of the belts (B1320) is its length: one end is missing and yet the preserved length is still 1.08 m, the longest Phrygian belt for which we have evidence.[19] Beneath one of the belts (B1320) were a toggle and small chain on which a miniature silver bird was hanging (B1321, B1322, ILS322).[20] One can only guess as to the original relationship among these objects, but the bird was an attribute of Phrygian Kybele, and it is tempting to regard the entire deposit as having been related to her cult.

As I hope to have shown, fibulae and belts are among the most important bronze artifacts to have been found at Gordion. To some extent, the earliest fibulae can supplement other evidence regarding the dating of the early Phrygian city, as well as contribute to the relative chronology of the tombs. The fibulae and the belts also testify to a wider range of contacts and influences than one might have expected. In other words, the inhabitants of Gordion during the Early Phrygian period may not have been as isolated from the Aegean world as previously assumed. The belts also have the potential to lead us into the realm of Phrygian religion and its links with Aegean sanctuaries, although our grasp of these issues is still rather tenuous.

Acknowledgments

I would like to pay my respects to the memory of the late Keith DeVries, who was always so friendly and

helpful and encouraged my research in countless ways. I am also happy to offer this contribution in memory of Ellen Kohler and in celebration of her long career at Gordion and in the Gordion archives of the Penn Museum.

NOTES

8.1. The chapter presents some of the results of my research as a Mellon fellow at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, 2002–04, and my initial research as a 2007–08 ARIT Mellon fellow in Turkey.

8.2. Hereafter I will use the conventional abbreviations for strata and loci accepted by the Gordion team: DL = Destruction Level, TB = Terrace Building, CC = Clay Cut, KH = Küçuk Höyük, NB = Gordion Notebook. I will also use the standard chronological abbreviations of Aegean archaeologists: LPG = Late Proto-Geometric, LG = Late Geometric, EO = Early Orientalizing, SPG = Sub-Proto-Geometric, and LBA = Late Bronze Age. The ramifications of the new Gordion chronology for the dating of small finds, including fibulae, are addressed in Rose and Darbyshire 2011.

8.3. I use the old fibula classification system of C. Blinkenberg, supplemented with a few subtypes described by O.W. Muscarella and R.M. Boehmer (Boehmer 1972; 1979).

8.4. Ertuğrul Caner did not believe that it fit into any of his groups (1983:175, No. 1176). All characteristics of this fibula, however, other than the attachment of the pin, fall within the XII.7A type.

8.5. One from Tumulus K (B437), one from the surface of Tumulus E (B508), and one from the habitation gravel fill under Tumulus J (B139).

8.6. An item from the Manisa Museum with unknown provenance may be an exception: Dedeoğlu 2003:29.

8.7. Judging by the published context, fibula fragment B1596 may actually be of pre-DL date. It was found in the Megaron 4 Terrace fill: NB 121:45; Sams 1994a:16. Only the catch-end is preserved, but it could pertain to a XII.13 or 14 type fibula. The possibility that it is a later intrusion cannot be completely ruled out.

8.8. Again, the possibility that it is a later intrusion cannot be excluded due to the later coarse-ware sherds reported in the notebook for the context of B1545: NB 106, 64. Muscarella (2003:233n35), however, believes that the worn appearance of B1454 (studs missing) does not support the idea that it was discarded by a later inhabitant of the city.

8.9. If the fragmentary fibula from Tumulus Y (B1513: Kohler 1995: pl. 57A) can be considered an arched fibula, it would be the only example in a later context (see Table 8.2). The incised cross on the preserved end, however, speaks in favor of Near Eastern inspiration.

8.10. The Cretan parallels require further research. Three horse trappings from the early Greek cemetery at Knossos (Coldstream and Catling 1996a:219.f92, f102, f103a; a LG burial) provide a parallel for the iron horse bit with crescent-shaped cheekpieces from Gordion (ILS 334 and 335, TB2), discussed by Muscarella (2003:237–39). There are two more horse bit parallels from Crete, but these are not so compelling: Arkades and Prinias (Donder 1980:44; type VIe). Tomb 219 at Knossos has yielded two(?) pairs of bronze lotus-bud vessel handles (219.f85, f93, f97), very much like those of the Tumulus K-III vessel (Körte and Körte 1904:72, No. 57, Abb. 51) and similar to the Egyptian-blue lotus handles from Tumulus P (TumP 47:Young 1981:31). The few fibulae that are somewhat comparable to the Phrygian arched ones are of LPG–EO date (Coldstream and Catling 1996b:551–52).

8.11. He mentions the Gordion examples, published by O.W. Muscarella, and considers them Greek mainland imports at Gordion: Kilian 1975:32.

8.12. The total number of belts and belt fragments found on the Citadel Mound is 17. One hook (B2003) and a hinge rod (B2061), both without a context, can be added to the list in Kohler 1995:209.

8.13. Performed on August 1, 2005, in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. For this I am grateful to Mr. Latif Özen, Chemical Engineer and head conservator at the Museum Laboratory.

8.14. This is unlike the NIII type in Caner 1983: Taf. 63.1141–48).

8.15. See also the examples from Samos (Jantzen 1972: Taf. 47) and Chios (Boardman 1967: pl. 90). In personal communication (June 2004), E. Kohler suggested to me that she regards B677 as Celtic rather than Phrygian. It was, in fact, found in a very late stratum on the Citadel Mound, and the x-rays show a slightly different pattern of corrosion on the belt's bronze band. Its clasp, however, is very similar to the later variants of Phrygian catch-plates: a solid bronze plate on a hinge with embossed dots surrounding the holes. See Figure 8a, b here.

8.16. See Tumulus I at Ankara (Boğazköy No. 2562), as well as the above-mentioned examples from Samos, namely B447 and B1328, and Chios; Klebinder 2001:117; 2002:79; 2007:103).

8.17. The one from Didyma was published by the excavators as an appliqué (for a furniture piece?). The lion head, which is 4 cm long, looks unusually large for the end molding of a fibula-type belt buckle. But there is an example with lion heads from Kaynarca, near Tyana in southeastern Anatolia: Akkay 1992. An example with ram heads is known from Phanai and Chios: Boardman 1967:217. Buckle ends in the shape of stylized human (?) faces can be seen on one of the Tumulus P belts: Young 1981:20, TumP 36, fig. 11.

8.18. The Samos example is the only one that comes from a burial: Völling 1998:246–47, n28; Boehlau and Habich 1996:124, Abb. 3.

8.19. Ranking second in length is TumP 35, ca. 0.95 m, but the catch-plate was shifted backwards to make it shorter (and fit the wearer). We may have a similar situation here.

8.20. The toggle is probably too heavy to have been suspended from the belt, but the silver bird might have been hanging from the bronze band.