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Η ΘΡΑΚΗ ΣΤΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΟ-ΡΩΜΑΪΚΟ ΚΟΣΜΟ THRACE IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD



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FIRST MILLENNIUM BC RITUAL BRONZE BELTS IN AN ANATOLIAN AND BALKAN CONTEXT

Bronze belts were prestigious objects in many ancient cultures. In the ancient Near East belts were usually royal insignia and dedications related to the king's warrior costume. In the Balkans they are found in 1st millennium BC graves marking the high social status of the deceased. The present paper considers the bronze belts discovered in Phrygian tombs and those (or their Greek imitations) deposited in Ionian sanctuaries. In order to further elucidate their ritual significance, the comparative data of bronze belts found in Thrace and Macedonia is brought forward.

Belts are known and published from the tumuli excavated at Gordion, as well as from the City Mound (fig. 2; cf. Young 1981, 17-20; 147-54; 207-208; Kohler 1995, 207-210). Phrygian imports or imitations have been found in many Greek sanctuaries. Probably the most exquisite among the previously published belts are the three ones from Tumulus P, a child's burial at Gordion (fig. 1), as well as those found in Tumulus W (Young 1981, TumP 34-36, TumW 25-26). Fragments of a belt come from one of the Ankara tumuli (Özgüç and Akok 1947, fig. 23, 25-6). Belt fragments were found in Bogazköy. A silver belt was discovered in Tumulus D at Bayındır, in ancient Lycia (Pehlivaner 1996, 40-41).

The major part of the belts, or the typical "Phrygian" belt, consist of solid bronze bands with small holes running along both long sides, probably for them to be sewn on leather or tissue. A set of parallel incised lines also borders both long sides. Sometimes the bronze band is covered with an incised geometric design. The belt buckle is of a Phrygian fibula type, covering the base of a long hook. It has no functional meaning. It has long been suggested by J. Boardman that the fibulae had initially been used to fasten linen belts and later survived as a decorative element of the bronze belts (Boardman 1961/1962, 184). The catch plate is a rectangular open-work piece with a rounded end, usually riveted to the band. The hook is cut out of the same bronze sheet and comes out of two semi-circular cut-outs. Sometimes it is also decorated with incised meander or guilloche patterns. Compass drawn rosette is found at the base of the hook on some items.

Phrygian belts differ from the Caucasian, Iranian and Urartian belts (Moorey 1967; Kellner 1991; Ziffer 2002, 645-57). The bronze band is usually narrower and lacks decoration with figural scenes. However, there is another type of belts discovered in Tumulus MM and W at Gordion. Nine wide bands of leather, decorated with bronze studs and wide discs in repoussé were hanged on the west wall of the Tumulus MM and eventually collapsed on the floor (Young 1981, TumMM 170-8). In addition, separate rectangular bronze open-work plaques with studs were found (Young 1981, TumMM 179A-E); they were probably arranged on a leather band. The fragment discovered on the waist of the skeleton in Tumulus W (fig. 3) is from a leather belt with a bronze disc open in the middle and decorated with studs in different patterns (Young 1981, TumW 25). The central part, inside the disc, resembles a stylised rosette.

The large size of the discs and their location in Tumulus MM shed some doubts on their definition as belts. Although smaller in size, the belt from Tumulus W shows that such leather examples with bronze discs were actually used as belts. Comparative data from the Balkans can

¹ I would like to express my sincere thanks to Prof. G. Kenneth Sams, Gordion Project Director, who offered me the opportunity to work with the unpublished bronze objects from the settlement, belts included, and with the Gordion field notebooks.

² Only one of these originates from a Phrygian urn burial, while the other pieces are unstratified; probably, they also once belonged to grave goods (Boehmer 1979, 7, pl. 5-6).

support such a function of the Phrygian finds. At Olympia big discs, often with *umbos*, were deposited (Fellmann 1984, 109-117). Similar bronze discs are known from the Vergina Early Iron Age necropolis, dated to the 10th-9th centuries BC (Radt 1974, 98-149, pl. 39, 29-33; Fellmann 1984, 75, Nos. 1-10); they were also related to leather studded belts. Discs/ *phalerae*, placed across the middle of the deceased, were found in the central Balkans, usually assigned to the 8th-7th c. BC (Mitrevski 1991).³

Large bronze cast discs with open-work patterns in the middle were also found in the Balkans. Some of them have two narrow lugs at opposite ends, bent back on themselves, similarly to the Gordion discs, to serve as clamps for holding the backing material, while others have rings in the middle of the back side for stringing on leather.⁴ A lot of them were stray finds, or lacked secure archaeological context. That is why they were till recently addressed just as *phalerae*. Recent archaeological progress in Macedonia, especially the discovery of a rich female burial in western Macedonia, showed that these heavy discs were part of leather studded belts (figs 4-5; cf. Mitrevski 1996-97, 79-81, fig. 4, table III.3).

The rectangular bronze open-work plaques found in the two Gordion tumuli suggest that a type of belt composed of separate oblong elements, attached or stringed on a strap or a leather band was in use in Phrygia as well. Such belts are known from Iran and from the Balkans (Moorey 1967; Ziffer 2002, 645-57).

In the central and northern parts of the Balkans composite bronze belts consisting of cast openwork plaques are known (figs 6-7; cf. Gergova 1987, 61-63, A30-9; *Die Thraker* 2004, 145, no. 197b/c). They were cast hollow or their ends are bent and overlap on the back side to accommodate a leather (tissue) band. The back side is also open-work: usually a cut-out square or rectangle. The end-plaques taper at one end and terminate with a ring for fastening, cast together. These are usually decorated with oppositely placed cut-out triangles arranged in linear patterns. The solid bronze parts are often embellished with incised concentric circles and dots. The main area of their distribution is between the Morava and the Iskur Rivers, although examples from sites much further south are also known along the lower Vardar River. These belts are dated to the 7th-early 6th c. BC.

Most of the visual representations from the Near East depict belts of the same tissue as the dress, or made of one or several strings, fastened on the front. More visual data is provided by the Neo-Assyrian reliefs of the 9th and 8th c. BC (Calmeyer 1971, 690). Some of them have rounded or triangular (open-work or knitted?) ends (Vassileva 2005).

The Near Eastern belts were part of the warrior's attire, and as such, were also king's attributes in his representations as a warrior. Weapons are extremely rare in Phrygian tombs and we can hardly associate the Phrygian belts with a warrior's costume. We cannot doubt, however, their aristocratic or royal contexts. The very few Phrygian representations of human figure are not very informative about this dress accessory.

Greek Archaic sculpture and other representations also suggest belts of tissue or leather, fastened with strings or straps on the front. An ivory statuette of a *kouros* from Samos displays a rectangular belt decorated with lines of bosses running along the edges, separated by plain relief lines. A wooden statuette of a goddess (?), again from Samos, depicts a more elaborate costume. The female figure wears a high *polos* decorated with a pattern of rectangles, a shawl and a decorated long skirt. The belt is similar to the one of the abovementioned *kouros*.

³ In eastern Serbia: Vasić 1987, 661, T. 68, 20-1. Some of these are small pieces: Bouzek 1974, figs 43-4, but the ones from Vergina and Olympia are comparable in size with the Gordion items: Fellmann 1984, 79, 111.

⁴ From eastern Serbia and the area of the Glasinac culture: Vasić 1987, 662, fig. 37, 10, table 68, 10; Čović 1987, 596, fig. 35, 7, 8, 23-4, as well as along the Lower Vardar River (Mitrevski 1991, 19-20, grave 14, 5; 30, grave 52, 6).

⁵ Examples from the territory of the present-day Romania are also known: Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, Pl. 403. 1.

⁶ Vasić 1971, 1; Mitrevski 1991, 34, 62, grave 71, 3; 1997, cat. no. 15. It is dated to the late 7th c. BC, or c. 630 (Boardman 1978, fig. 54; Guralnick 1989, fig. 20b).

⁷ Boardman (1978, fig. 49) dated it to the same late 7th c. BC; Kopcke 1967, Beilage 45.

Except for those from the City Mound at Gordion, all other Phrygian belts of known provenance originate from burials. Some were worn by the deceased, others were obviously grave goods, like the hundreds of fibulae discovered in the richest tombs. Together with the other objects found in the graves, they marked the high social status of the buried: a royal or priestly person.

The evidence for the gendering of the belts is scarce. In Tumulus MM a male in his 60s was buried (though not Midas, as originally suggested). Despite the claims for a female child in Tumulus P (Boardman 19961/1962, 188; Völling 1998, 251), anthropologically the sex of the dead cannot be determined; most probably it was a boy that was buried there. A young adult, possibly male, was the occupant of Tumulus W (Young 1981, 196-97). It was suggested that it was a woman buried in Tumulus D in Bayindir (Mellink 1990, 140; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 27), but this information is not seriously confirmed as the tomb has not yet been published. The cremations in the Ankara tumuli and the tumulus in Kaynarca are beyond gender definition. Among the 'lesser' Gordion tumuli (inhumations), belt fragments were discovered in Tumulus S1 and in Tumulus J, 22-9: there is a male skeleton in J; the dead in S is assumed to be male because of the fragments of studded leather belt and two fibulae, while there is no identification data for the scattered bones in S1 (Kohler 1995, Tum S1: 11-16, Tum J: 22-29, 57, 95).

The research situation can find parallels in the data from the Balkans: except for the stray finds, all belts were found in graves, mainly in tumuli, but also in cist graves. It seems that the leather studded belts with large discs as belt buckles were reserved mainly for women. It has been suggested that the rich burial at Marvinci is that of a priestess (Mitrevski 1996-97). The major argument is the opium residue found in a miniature vessel with a lid, a very popular type among the so-called "Macedonian bronzes". The open-work composite belts are found in male burials, sometimes together with weapons. They seem to form sets with fibulae, armlets and long bronze spirals. Four pieces of such type of belt were discovered in a tumulus near the village of Gumoshtnik (district of Lovech, central northern Bulgaria). They were found together with four armlets but probably belonged to a symbolic burial, as no skeleton was discovered there (Kitov 1980, 15; Gergova 1987, A33).

Entire belts of Phrygian type, or parts of them, were excavated at many Greek, mostly East Greek, sanctuaries: on Samos, ¹² Chios (Lamb 1934-1935, 149, figs 32-33; Boardman 1961/1962, 179-89; 1966, 193-94; 1967, 205-221), at Ephesus (Hogarth 1908, pl. 19, 1-2; Bammer 1991/1992, 37-43, figs 28-33; Bammer and Muss 1996, 78, figs 93-94; Klebinder 2001, 111-22; 2002, 79, pl. 15.1, 3), Miletus (Donder 2002, 3, fig. 4), Didyma (Naumann and Tuchelt 1963/1964, 47-48, pl. 31, 2-4), Old Smyrna (Boardman 1961/1962, fig. 21b), Erythrae (Caner 1983, G18, G21, pl. 79), as well as in Delphi (Perdrizet 1908, 130, figs 485-86) and Olympia (Völling 1998; 243-52), not always in well stratified contexts. The best dated seem to be those from the Harbour Sanctuary on Chios belonging to the 7th c. BC (Boardman 1961/1962, 183; 1967, 217). ¹³ A number of these belts, as well as some of the Phrygian fibulae found in the sanctuaries are Greek imitations (Donder 2002, 3; Klebinder 2001, 115-17; 2002, 78-79).

⁸ Only five teeth were found in the burial chamber (Young 1981, 7, 9; Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999, 32, 63; Muscarella 1999, 4).

⁹ Özgüç and Akok 1947, 63-69, 70-77; seven spearheads were found among the grave goods, thus a man was supposed (Akkay 1992).

¹⁰ For example, Mitrevski 1991, 34, grave 71.

¹¹ It is hard to define such sets of objects among the rich grave goods in the Phrygian tumuli, but Phrygian belts seem to have been closely associated with fibulae both in the graves and among the votives in Greek sanctuaries.

¹² Jantzen (1972, 49-53, pl. 44-48) listed 21 pieces.

¹³ Most of the rest are of the same date; see Donder 2002, 2-3. There is already an attempt at correcting the date of the belts found in Boğazköy in view of the new chronology of the Gordion "Destruction Level", but also considering the time of the Greek adaptations of old Anatolian and Phrygian prototypes (Prayon 2004). On the Gordion new chronology, see DeVries *et al.* 2003.

There has been an ongoing discussion about the Phrygian and Phrygian-type belts from the Greek sanctuaries. Some scholars believe that they were part of the clothing of the cult statue. ¹⁴ Recently however, it is accepted that these belts were rather votives (Fleischer 1999, 608-609; Völling 1998, 251; Klebinder 2001, 119). A number of Phrygian or Phrygian-imitated fibulae were also discovered in the Greek sanctuaries (Boardman 1967, 205-206, fig. 136; Jantzen 1972, 48-49; Klebinder 2002, 77-78). It has been supposed that not only the belts, but the whole dress or garment was dedicated (Jantzen 1972, 53; Boehmer 1973). ¹⁵

There are not many visual representations of human figures from Phrygia. Most of them depict the Phrygian Mother Goddess, known to the Greeks as Kybele. On a couple of reliefs, dated to the 7th-6th c. BC, she is represented frontally standing with a long belted dress. However, no details of the belt can be seen. The goddess wears a high *polos* with a veil, sometimes tucked in the belt. Similar costume is displayed by the statuettes of ivory, gold and silver, dated to the 7th-6th centuries BC and found in the east Greek cities, as well as by the ivory figurine from Tumulus D in Bayındır. It was suggested that they reflect indirectly an earlier Anatolian fashion (Özgen 1982; 254, 263–86), possibly through Phrygian intermediaries.

It could hardly be just a coincidence that a winged goddess, a *Potnia Theron* type, was depicted with a similar belt fastening on a bronze plaque from Olympia, dated to the last quarter of the 6th c. BC (Boardman 1961/1962, 189, fig. 5; Völling 1998, 247, fig. 6; Klebinder 2001, 119-20; Prayon 2004, 616-17, fig. 11).

Most of the Phrygian belts and the fibulae are found in sanctuaries of goddesses: Artemis in Ephesus, a goddess in the Harbour Sanctuary in Chios, ¹⁸ Hera in Samos (Boardman 1961/1962, 189), Athena Pronaia in Marmaria, Delphi, ¹⁹ Aphrodite at Zeytintepe, Miletus (Donder 2002, 3; Senff 2003), a goddess at Old Smyrna. At Didyma, however, Apollo was worshipped together with his twin sister Artemis. ²⁰

It is known from literary sources and epigraphic data that Greek women dedicated their belts to Hera or Artemis before marriage, or as an offering for a successful childbirth.²¹ It has been noted that Artemis received the most numerous dedications of clothes according to the written evidence (Günter 1988, 233-37). In *The Illiad* the belts are special king's attributes and royal gifts: Agamemnon had a silver belt (Hom. *Il.* 11.236-37),²² and Nestor - a shining one; Bellerophon received a belt from Oineus (Hom. *Il.* 10.77-79; 6.219-20). Usually their shining surface and red colour are emphasised.²³ It is worth noting that the initiates at Samothrace received red girdles (Mylonas 1974, 279; Cole 1984, 29). As early as the epics, goddesses and immortal women wore belts whose sexual meaning has long been acknowledged (cf. Circe; Bennett 1997, 125, 157-59).

There are no specific indications to claim the Phrygian belt as part of the panoplia. As far as our evidence goes, typological parallels between Phrygian and Achaean societies are justified (Vassileva

¹⁴ A late Roman copy of an earlier statue of Artemis from the prytaneiom at Ephesus was used as an argument (Muss 1999, 603; Bammer and Muss 1996, 78, fig. 95; Prayon 2004, 615-17).

¹⁵ Fellmann (1984, 117) supposed the same practice for Olympia.

¹⁶ Most recently, Roller 1999, 72-75, figs 7-10; Berndt-Ersöz 2003, 146-49.

¹⁷ Bammer and Muss 1996, 76-77, fig. 87; Özgen and Özgen 1988, figs 41-42 and the so-called Megabyzos figures from Ephesos and Bayındır (Akurgal 1961, figs 158-59; Özgen 1982, 121-26; Roller 1999, 104, fig. 36; Prayon 2004, passim).

¹⁸ Boardman 1961/1962; Osborne (2004, 5) suggested that the votives at the Harbour Sanctuary display celebration of female sensuality compared to the 'civic' cult on the acropolis.

¹⁹ Diodorus (22.9.5) speaks about a temple of Artemis in Marmaria (Völling 1998, 250).

 $^{^{20}}$ Boardman 1961/1962, 189; 1966, 194. There is an epigraphic evidence for a sanctuary of Artemis (Günter 1988, 216).

²¹ The data gathered by Rouse (1902, 249) has recurrently been quoted by later scholarship (Boardman 1961/1962, 189; Günter 1988, 233; Losfeld 1991, 313, 324-25; Muss 1999, 603).

²² This is the only occurrence of a silver belt in *The Iliad*; Bennett (1997, 48) compares these verses with the silver belt from Tumulus D in Bayındır.

²³ Young (1981, 208) noted the bright "vermillion" colour of the belt in Tumulus W in Gordion; Bennett 1997, 50.

1994, 221-27).²⁴ Thus, the meaning of the Phrygian bronze belts probably came closer to the epic texts,²⁵ than to later evidence on the common Greek practice of women dedicating belts before marriage. Their use could match the epic sense of a royal gift and a sign of distinction, rather than the panoply. Nevertheless, the above mentioned representations of Cybele from Phrygia and of goddesses (?) (or priestesses) from Ephesus and Bayındır speak in favour of a goddess attribute.

The evidence from the Phrygian burials suggests that in most of the cases the belts were associated with men. Also, that they, together with the fibulae, were special grave offerings of great value and not only an adornment of the deceased. The bronze belts from the Gordion citadel are the only ones that do not come from burials. One from the "South Cellar" was found in a pot, three more come from the same spot, one was found in clay under the cellar and two more were discovered in the fill of the cellar (B1510, B1604 - 07, B1638, B1685; Kohler 1995, 209). Even if their chronology is different, the concentration of seven belts in one construction could hardly be a coincidence. They can be dated to the late 8th and early 7th c. BC. Bearing in mind the type of the City Mound, a royal citadel itself, I would assume a special ritual deposit (or re-deposit) for the belts from the "South Cellar"; those in the pits may have had a similar fate. Maybe the situation in the "South Cellar" comes closer to that in the Greek sanctuaries.

Similarities between the geometric decorative designs on some of the belts, the patterns on the Phrygian rock-cut façades and on wooden inlayed furniture from the Gordion tombs have long been discussed (Simpson 1988, 34-35; Simpson 1998, 636; Vasileva 2001, 59-60). They are considered to have been related to the symbolism of Cybele's cult and the goddess' role in Phrygian burial custom has been established (Buluç 1988, 22; Roller 1999, 102, 104, 111-2).

I would suggest that the bronze belts were attributes of a goddess and were worn by the dead kings/aristocrats, placed as grave offerings or dedicated as a mark of special relation to the Mother goddess and her cult. Could they possibly be marks of initiation and their different number a sign for different stages of initiation? As we know from Greek literary sources, king Midas was a priest (or considered the son) of the Great Mother-Goddess and founder of her mysteries (Vassileva 1997). The literary evidence for his dedicating his throne in Delphi has often been quoted, as well as the text about Croesus dedicating his wife's belts to Delphi (Hdt. 1.14; 51). Some scholars even suppose that Midas made dedications to other Greek sanctuaries where Phrygian objects were found.²⁸

We have no way of knowing who the dedicators to these sanctuaries were, as no inscribed belt has been found, but the concentration of Phrygian belts and fibulae in East Greek sanctuaries is impressive. The choice of Phrygian objects, imports or imitations, strongly suggest a relation with a goddess of Anatolian nature. Artemis is the best Greek 'translation' of the Anatolian Mother-Goddess. Most probably both men and women, as well as both Greeks and foreigners, dedicated these objects in Greek sanctuaries.²⁹

Similarly, in Thrace and Macedonia the belts were found only in graves and marked the high social rank of the deceased. They were possibly a priestly attribute as well. When performing certain rites where priestesses were involved, belts and other bronze decorations could have been part of women's costume.

²⁴ Mycenaean survivals can be detected in king Midas' titles: *lawagetas wanax*, carved on a rock-cut façade in the so-called "Midas City" (Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, M-01a, 8-9; Huxley 1959).

²⁵ A similar idea in Bennett 1997, 180.

²⁶ A total of 16 belts or fragments of belts were found on the City Mound (Kohler 1995, 209, and B 2003 in addition to her list).

²⁷ A recent study offered a more precise chronological arrangement (DeVries 2005). More on the rest of the belts from the City Mound in Vassileva 2005.

²⁸ Boehmer 1973, 166; Völling 1998, 251-52; Prayon 2004, 617. On the relation of Midas and the Phrygians with the Greek world, see Muscarella 1989.

²⁹ As was the case with the other type of belts with big *phalerae* in Olympia (Fellmann 1984, 118-19).

Again similarly, belts and belt parts, typical of the Central Balkan area, or other bronze decorations from the so-called "Macedonian Bronzes" appear in Greek sanctuaries (Bouzek 1974, 14, 18-20, 31; Mitrevski 1997, 131). A buckle of an open-work belt was dedicated to Hera Limenia at Perachora (Payne 1930-1933, 124-26, pl. 34.1, 3; 182, pl. 82.27); more examples originated from sanctuaries in Philia, Olympia and Delphi, while bird-shaped bronze pendants were found as votives in the Artemision at Ephesus. Other bronze items of Balkan origin were obviously adapted to a Greek milieu (Kilian 1975, 109). While the *phalerae*/discs for belts were discovered in graves in Greece as well, the open-work belts appear only in sanctuaries. These bronze votives in Greek sanctuaries have also prompted a discussion on the identity of their dedicators. Some scholars concluded that both Greeks and foreigners ("barbarians") offered them. However, it is hard to accept that the Greeks valued these objects only as exotic "souvenirs".

The data on bronzes of northern Balkan origin dedicated in Greek sanctuaries is much more scarce than the Phrygian/Anatolian ones. A great part of them have also been deposited in sanctuaries of goddesses (Kilian 1975, 105). In the present state of the literary evidence on the Thracian and Macedonian religion we could hardly go further in suggesting to which cult/deity these were related. The big belt discs with an open-work centre are usually interpreted as solar symbols (Mitrevski 1996-97, 85). This view would not contradict the hypothesis of worship of other deities as well. A northern contribution to the Greek cult and ritual could also be supposed.

Phrygian bronze belts can furnish one more piece of evidence for the Phrygian contribution to Greek art and cult. I would suggest that the Greeks were not just fascinated by exotic foreign accessories, but borrowed some major traits of Phrygian cult symbolism. Phrygian objects and their imitations in Greek sanctuaries betray the Greek way of adaptation of an old Anatolian/Phrygian cult of the Great Goddess. A similar process, probably on a different scale, could have possibly occurred on the northern fringes of the Greek world. The situation was similar both in Thrace and in Phrygia: clothing decorations of bronze that were valued as accessories to the grave costume or as grave offerings by the Phrygians and the Thracians were found as dedications in Greek sanctuaries.

The similarities and the differences in the ritual use of the belts discussed above attest to the cultural interactions occurring between the 'barbaric' periphery and the Greek world. Thus the contribution of the 'periphery' in Greek ritual and cult can be further studied.

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³⁰ Maps of distribution in Vasić 1971, Karte 1; Bouzek 1974, passim; Kilian 1975, Taf. 84.

³¹ Bammer 1991/1992, 36, Nos. 9-11; Bammer and Muss 1996, 31-2, fig. 29. However, this double-headed bird belongs to the so-called "Macedonian bronzes" rather than to the Cimmerian "Nomadenkunst" as claimed by the authors.

³² Summarised by Kilian 1975.

³³ As Kilian (1975, 109), quoting G. Karo's earlier idea, suggests.

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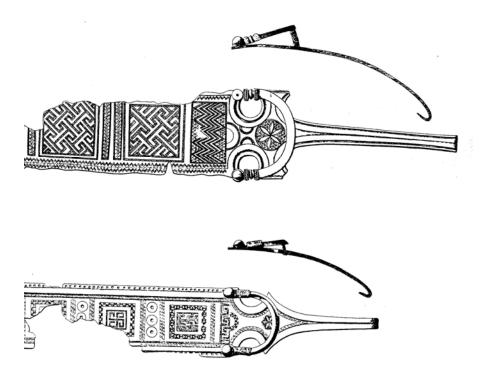


Fig. 1. Two bronze belts from Tumulus P at Gordion: TumP 35-6. After Young 1981, Figs 10-11

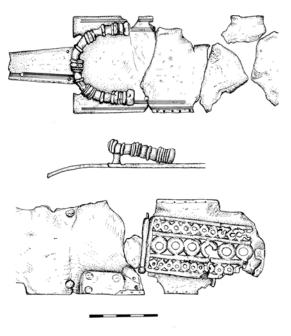


Fig. 2. Bronze belt from the Gordion City Mound: B 1605, M6C, South cellar. Drawing M. Vassileva. Courtesy The Gordion Project

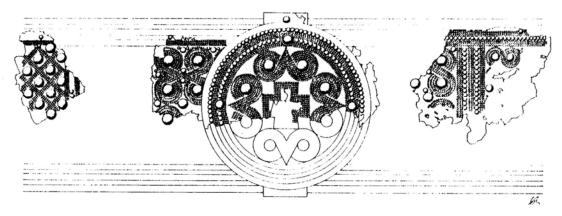


Fig. 3. Bronze and leather belt from Tumulus W at Gordion: TumW 25. After Young 1981, Fig. 126

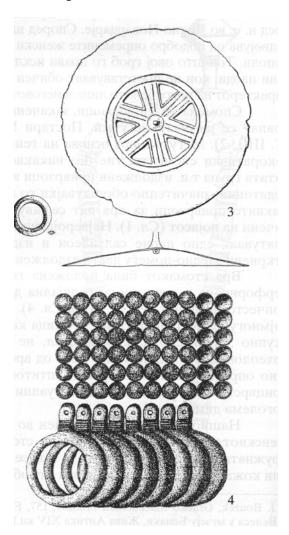


Fig. 4. Bronze parts of the ceremonial leather belt from Grave 15 at Lisichin Dol, Marvinci, Macedonia. After Mitrevski 1996-1997, T. III

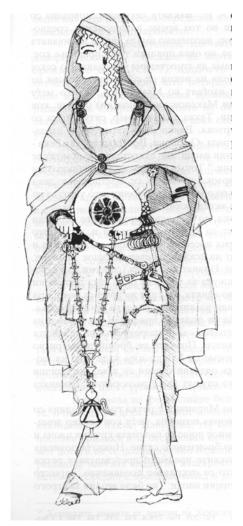


Fig. 5. Drawing reconstruction of the costume of the priestess buried at Lisichin Dol, Marvinci, Macedonia. After Mitrevski 1996-1997, T. IV

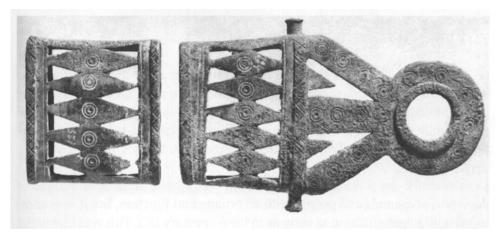


Fig. 6. Bronze belt fragments from Vidin, northwestern Bulgaria. After Fol et al. 2000, 155



Fig. 7. Bronze belt fragments from a tumulus near the village of Belish, District of Troyan, central Bulgaria. After $\it Die Thraker 2004$, Abb. 197b/c