

The Adventure of the Illustrious Scholar

Papers Presented to Oscar White Muscarella



Edited by

Elizabeth Simpson



BRILL

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Of Fibulae, Of Course!

Maya Vassileva

“Fibulae don’t lie!” This is what I have heard so often from Oscar Muscarella. His belief in the dating potential of fibulae (ancient safety pins) has always been very stimulating for me, as were our countless conversations on Gordion bronzes and fibulae in particular. His book, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion*, was my first guide and is still the major reference work for my research. For these reasons I wish to present some preliminary results of my study of the fibulae from the Gordion City Mound to Oscar for inclusion in his *Festschrift*. The focus of this paper will be on the examples excavated from the Destruction Level (DL).

Fibula Classification and Typology

To begin, I wish to argue in favor of the old classification of fibulae created by Christian Blinkenberg in 1926, used also by Muscarella, instead of the newer one proposed by Ertuğrul Caner.¹ My first examples for the typology discussion relate to the earliest Phrygian fibulae with a flat arc and simple moldings at both ends, usually one torus flanked by two abaci: types XII.7A and XII.7.

It is not just the crescent- or horseshoe-shape of the arc that differentiates type XII.7A from XII.7, taken by Caner to be the distinguishing factor.² Often the arc of type XII.7A fibulae is narrower at both ends, while that of XII.7 is uniform in width throughout its length. The two types differ also in cross section: XII.7A is rectangular in section, often with rounded corners, while XII.7 is strictly rectangular in section. Moldings at the ends also differ. In XII.7A fibulae, the abaci are more often of the same width as the arc and proceed smoothly from it, unlike those of the XII.7 examples. The latter have more

* I would like to thank Elizabeth Simpson and Heather Jane McCormick for editing my English and gracefully rearranging my phrases so as to better articulate my meanings.

1 Muscarella has already argued in detail in favor of Blinkenberg’s classification in *Fibules grecques et orientales*: Muscarella, “Review of Caner,” 198–200; I would only like to offer additional support and re-confirm some of his observations.

2 Caner, *Fibeln in Anatolien*, 51.

clearly defined, protruding abaci, mostly flattened on the back side. The XII.7A type fibulae have cylindrical or conical spring ends.

Caner is correct that some transitional shapes are hard to classify.³ Among the fibulae from the Gordion City Mound, I can offer as examples three fibulae whose arcs are of equal width and rectangular in cross section; the first abacus on the arc does not protrude very much, and there is a conical spring at one end (B575, B1684b, and J131) (Plate 10.1). Similar to these is another example with an arc that is almost triangular in cross section: flat on the back and with a rounded ridge that runs in the middle of the front side (B1544, Caner's type B11).⁴ I would rather classify these fibulae with XII.7A, as I do not think that a separate subtype should be created for fibulae that have all characteristics of XII.7A and differ only in the regular width of the arc or slight variations in the form of the cross section. I would prefer a combination of several criteria when defining types of fibulae and find unnecessary the creation of four subtypes out of the former two (from XII.7 and XII.7A: AII,1, AII,2, AIII,1, and AIII,2).⁵

Another interesting example of a fibula from Gordion that is hard to classify is B1988a, which is not listed in Caner's work (Figure 10.1).⁶ Its moldings, a thick abacus and two discs at each end, more closely resemble those of type XII.5, but here the arc is rectangular in cross section and not oval or round. The spring end is conical like those of the XII.7A fibulae. Because of the shape of the arc and the preserved end I would rather classify this piece with type XII.7A, despite its obvious hybrid nature. Its mixing of different features can hardly be assigned to later developments, as this fibula originates from CC3 of the Destruction Level at Gordion.

Isolating separate subtypes with a double pin and lock-plate (fixed or removable) (Caner's S1 and S11) also seems to me inappropriate.⁷ Rather, these fibulae should be classified according to their arcs and moldings, and the double pins/decorative plates should be considered as embellishments of the respective types, probably for special occasions. Such fibulae are rare, found mainly in Tumulus MM at Gordion. Single examples are also known from Ankara, Boğazköy, Ephesos, Thasos, and Samos, in the context of special gifts or votives.⁸

3 Caner, *Fibeln in Anatolien*, 51.

4 Accidental circumstances during casting could have resulted in an irregular cross section.

5 Caner, *Fibeln in Anatolien*, 63, 68–69. All AIII,2 fibulae were found outside of Phrygian territory; Caner admits the closeness of type AIII to A1,2.

6 The damaged state of the fibula also contributes to the difficulties in defining its type.

7 As in Muscarella, "Review of Caner," 199.

8 Boehmer, "Phrygische Prunkgewänder," 151, figure 2c; Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Fibeln der griechischen Inseln*, nos. 1615, 1678; Klebinder-Gauß, *Bronzefunde aus dem Artemision*, 66–70, nos. 215–216, 218; Ebbinghaus, "Begegnungen," 208, figure 6.

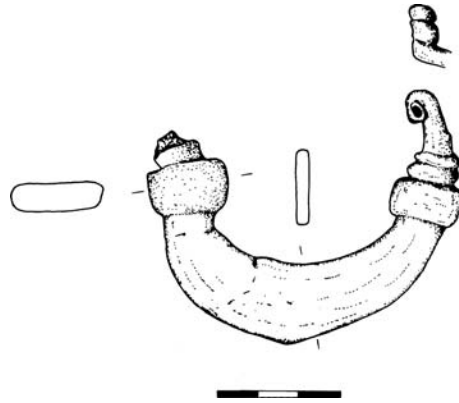


FIGURE 10.1 Drawing of the bronze fibula B1988a from CC-3, Gordion City Mound, Destruction Level.

Similar reasoning can be applied for examples of studded fibulae with two T-shaped bars (Caner's AIV.2) or two transverse bars attached to the arc.⁹ These can be isolated in separate types for the sake of classification, but most probably they were Greek developments of the XII.9 and XII.10 types, as most of them were found in Greek contexts (with one from Alişar).¹⁰ Their relation to belt buckles with one bar connecting both ends of the arc, found mainly in Greek sanctuaries, should be further investigated (see the example from Delphi¹¹).

I would also suggest that belt buckles of fibula form should be grouped with the respective fibula types, instead of isolating these buckles in a separate group. They correspond mainly to type XII.14 fibulae; perhaps additional subtypes marked with Latin letters should be added for buckles with more than five moldings on the arc, as with Muscarella's XII.14A.¹² Thus, B1685, found under the floor of the South Cellar at Gordion, with 13 moldings¹³ could be classified as XII.14B.

Examples can be further extended to the other types of Phrygian/Anatolian fibulae. My point is that classification according to a single feature is senseless. Typology should, if possible, give an idea of fibulae development, both in terms

9 Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion*, nos. 35–40.

10 Ibid., 20; Caner, *Fibeln in Anatolien*, no. 408.

11 Perdrizet, *Monuments figurés*, 130, no. 702.

12 Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion*, 25–26.

13 *Gordion Field Book (GFB)* 121 (1965), 159, no. 7.

of meaning and manufacture. Caner's typology is confusing, difficult to use,¹⁴ and, in my opinion, does not really reflect the development of Phrygian/Anatolian fibulae. Thus, I will be using Blinkenberg's typology supplemented by a few subtypes introduced by Muscarella and R.M. Boehmer (marked by capital Latin and small Greek letters following the main subtypes). This is the system of classification followed to date in Gordion monograph publications.¹⁵

Fibulae from Early Phrygian Gordion

What follows is an overview of the context of the fibulae found in the Early Phrygian Citadel at Gordion. In terms of archaeological context, this type of metal dress fastener can be said to be associated with the costume of the dead and with grave offerings much more frequently than with evidence of its use in everyday life. The quantity of fibulae discovered in the earliest Phrygian tumuli outnumbers by far the examples from the Early Phrygian City Mound. It was Middle Phrygian Gordion that really saw common use of fibulae in daily life. The same can be said for bronze belts, which were placed in early Phrygian tombs but are found in the city only in post-Destruction Level contexts.¹⁶

Thirty-eight fibulae¹⁷—one of gold, one silver, one electrum, and the rest bronze—were excavated from the Destruction Level of the Gordion City Mound. On the whole, bronzes were not found in abundance in the megarons, a number of which were empty at the time of the destruction.¹⁸ Only two yielded bronze objects, mainly vessels and furniture elements. One fibula and a small fragment of another were found in Megaron 4, while the remaining fibulae originated from the “industrial” area: the rooms of the Terrace Building (TB) and the corresponding Clay Cut (CC) structures. All three locations belong to the latest phase of the Early Phrygian Citadel.¹⁹

The industrial quarter comprises a multi-room building of eight megaron-type units (TB), and, facing it across a broad street, a similar structure of

14 This has already been expressed by Muscarella in his review of Caner's book and in “Date of the Destruction,” 229, and “Again Gordion's Early Phrygian Destruction Date,” 180.

15 Caner's classification has consistently been followed recently by Klebinder-Gauß, *Bronzefunde aus dem Artemision*, 37–67. Keith DeVries, in his last article, also used it together with the older one: DeVries, “Date of the Destruction Level.”

16 Vassileva, “Early Bronze Fibulae and Belts.”

17 Or 39 if the small fragment B1596 from Megaron 4 is counted. See Table 10.1.

18 Sams, *Early Phrygian Pottery*, 3, 15.

19 *Ibid.*, 3; Sams, “Early Phrygian Architecture,” 211. TB and CC “arbitrarily dated to ca. 825”: Sams and Voigt, “In Conclusion,” 161.

which only four rooms were partially excavated (CC). Most of the units had installations and equipment for food processing and textile production on a massive scale. Two units, TB-1 and TB-2, were special in lacking cooking installations—ovens and hearths—but having the greatest number of loom weights in their main halls,²⁰ as well as the largest concentration of bronze objects in the building complex. Remains of at least four bronze cauldrons were found in TB-1. TB-2 produced extraordinary finds, and could be defined as a treasury.²¹ Numerous luxury items, such as ivory horse trappings, a silver bird, bronze vessels, bronze animal figurines, glass beads, and iron horse bits were discovered there.²² The only fibulae made of precious metals known from this early period were also found in TB-2: the electrum, gold, and silver fibulae mentioned above (the latter two being miniature). However, more fibulae per room were discovered in TB-7 and TB-8, as well as in CC3. CC3 ranks second in the number of loom weights recovered (509).²³

In view of the quantity of loom weights and spindle whorls excavated in these rooms, it is not surprising that fibulae were found together with or near these objects, along with knives and other iron tools likely used in the fabrication of textiles.²⁴ Mere statistical frequency suggests that fibulae were associated here with textile production. It is worth noting that 75 loom weights and 20 spindle whorls were discovered in Megaron 4²⁵ where the only complete fibula in the entire “royal” residential quarter was recovered.

While a number of these fibulae could have been worn by people working in the TB and CC buildings, certain examples obviously enjoyed special attention. These were wrapped in cloth and placed in clay pots: five fibulae were found in pots and at least two show evidence of cloth in the form of textile pseudomorphs. The only contents of one particular pot were two fibulae, one of which had been in contact with a textile. Another eight fibulae were discovered near clay vessels, four with traces of cloth; three more such examples were found in other locations. A total of nine fibulae were probably wrapped in cloth (see Table 10.1).²⁶

20 Sams, *Early Phrygian Pottery*, 6; Burke, “Textile Production,” 71, figure 6–2.

21 DeVries, “Greeks and Phrygians,” 38; Sams, *Early Phrygian Pottery*, 6. See also Sheftel, *Ivory, Bone, and Shell*, 421, who suggested if not a shrine, a storeroom for royal gifts or votive deposits.

22 Young, “The 1961 Campaign at Gordion,” 165–167.

23 Burke, “Textile Production,” 71, figure 6–2.

24 Burke, “Textile Production,” 79–80.

25 DeVries, “Greeks and Phrygians,” 37.

26 The number of fibulae found in or near pots and associated with textiles is probably greater, as a few pieces are not catalogued: *GFB* 120 (1965), 39, 45; *GFB* 164 (1973), 162.

TABLE 10.1 *Fibulae from the Destruction Level of the Gordion City Mound and their archaeological context.*

Catalogue number	Type	Find spot	Context	With other uncatalogued fibulae	With textile pseudomorphs
B1454	XII.9	Megaron 4, in Section S1			
B1596, fragment	XII.13 or XII.14	under Megaron 4 west terrace, stony fill below terrace floor (pre-DL?)			
B1361	XII.7A	TB-2, main room	in a pot, by the doorway; the only object in the pot		
J130	XII.5, gold	TB-2, main room	along the N wall, together with J131 and J132, inside a gold ring		
J131	XII.7A, electrum	TB-2, main room	along the N wall, together with J130 and J132		
J132	XII.5, silver	TB-2, main room	along the N wall, together with J130 and J131		
B1294	XII.7A	TB-3, main room	in a pot, the only object in the pot		x
B1295-4	leech	TB-3, main room, NE post hole	NE post hole, with fragments of bronze chain, 3 iron knives, loom weights, drilled knuckle bone	1 flat arc fibula and 1 leech with iron pin	

TABLE 10.1 *Fibulae from the Destruction Level of the Gordion City Mound and their archaeological context. (cont.)*

Catalogue number	Type	Find spot	Context	With other uncatalogued fibulae	With textile pseudomorphs
B1532	XII.7A	TB-7, main room	in a pot (?)	fragment of another fibula	
B1587	wire-wrapped arc (type?)	TB-7, main room, along S wall		1 crescent-shaped fibula (XII.7A?) and 2 fibulae with spools	
B1936	leech	TB-7, anteroom, floor	on the bottom of a pile of loom weights; over it in the pile, an incised spindle whorl		
B1937	XII.7A	TB-7, anteroom, floor, final cleaning			
B1752	Near Eastern	TB-8, main room, floor, Cut 1	with B1755, B1764, B1779, B1789		
B1755	XII.7A	TB-8, main room, floor, Cut 1	with B1752, B1764, B1779, B1789		
B1764	XII.14	TB-8, main room, floor, Cut 1	with B1752, B1755, B1779, B1789		
B1779	Near Eastern	TB-8, main room, floor, Cut 1	with B1752, B1764, B1789		
B1789	XII.7A	TB-8, main room, floor, Cut 1	with B1752, B1755, 1764, B1779		

B1778	Near Eastern	TB-8, anteroom, Cut S1	2 iron knives, bronze needle, 3 glass beads, near a pot, 1 knife inside	2 plus several (?) fibulae, unidentified	
B564a	XII.7A	CC2, S room	with B564b; wheat and spindle whorls		
B564b	XII.7A	CC2, S room	as above		
B565	XII.7A	CC2, N room	in a pot (?)		
B673	leech	CC2, N room	in the general tumble fill area, near grinding stones		
B1971	XII.7A	CC3, Cut 2, floor; final cleaning	with B1972, near a pot and a cloth, iron	below them another fibula (?)	x
B1972	XII.7A	CC3, Cut 2, just above the floor	with B1971, near a pot and cloth, iron	below them another fibula (?)	x
B1976a	XII.7A	CC3, Cut 2	near a pot		x
B1976b	XII.7A	CC3, Cut 2	near a pot		x
B1977a	XII.7A	CC3, post hole	in a clump with B1977b-e, spindle whorl in the clump; with iron knife and 2 matlocks		x
B1977b	XII.7A	CC3, post hole	in a clump with B1977a, c-e; spindle whorl in the clump; with iron knife and 2 matlocks		
B1977c	leech	CC3, post hole	in a clump with B1977a-b, d-e; spindle whorl in the clump; with iron knife and 2 matlocks		
B1977d	XII.7A	CC3, post hole	in a clump with B1977a-c, e; spindle whorl in the clump; with iron knife and 2 matlocks		x

TABLE 10.1 *Fibulae from the Destruction Level of the Gordion City Mound and their archaeological context. (cont.)*

Catalogue number	Type	Find spot	Context	With other uncatalogued fibulae	With textile pseudomorphs
B1977e	XII.7A (?)	CC3, post hole	in a clump with B1977a-d; spindle whorl in the clump; with iron knife and 2 matlocks		
B1988a	XII.7A (?)	CC3, Cut 4, floor	around pots and loom weights, in a clump with B1988b-c		
B1988b	XII.7A	CC3, Cut 4, floor	around pots and loom weights, in a clump with B1988a, c		
B1988c	Aegean, arched	CC3, Cut 4, floor	around pots and loom weights, in a clump with B1988a-b		x
B1988d	Aegean, arched	CC3, Cut 4, floor	around pots and loom weights, detached from the clump		
B2006	leech	CC3	in a pot, together with an oval clay plaque		x

Some of the various prestige objects found in TB-2 also seem to have been wrapped in or covered with cloth. For example, most of the bronze animal figurines show traces of textile pseudomorphs and were probably carefully wrapped or stored with textiles in a bronze cauldron.²⁷ In TB-3, a pair of bronze bracelets was wrapped in cloth and placed in a pot, together with a knife.²⁸ Personal luxury items, such as a necklace of glass beads, were found near the bronze fibulae from TB-8.

It is worth noting that foreign imports account for approximately one third of the total number of fibulae discovered in the Early Phrygian Citadel (14 in total). Eight are of the so-called “leech” type (or boat-like fibulae),²⁹ which were western imports at Gordion, either from Aegean or mainland Greece. Examples of this type appear also in some of the Gordion tumuli and in later levels of the City Mound, and thus enjoyed a longer use.³⁰ Three fibulae are Near Eastern in origin with a triangular bow; a fourth, fragmentary example had a wire-wrapped arc, rectangular in cross section, with no moldings at the spring end.³¹ Finally, two arched fibulae (*Bogenfibeln*), each with a bow that is round in section and a torus with two discs at each end, probably also originated from the Aegean world.³²

One “leech” fibula enjoyed special treatment, being placed in a pot along with an unusual oval clay plaque (MC303).³³ The other foreign fibulae were found together with Phrygian examples (mostly type XII.7A). However, one arched fibula bears traces of textile pseudomorphs thus suggesting that the entire clump of four, two of which are of the XII.7A type, may possibly have been covered with cloth. In general, the foreign pieces do not display evidence of special consideration.

This evidence suggests that many of the fibulae discovered in the Early Phrygian Citadel were somehow connected to textiles and textile production. Except for one example (and one small fragment) from Megaron 4, all the pre-Destruction Level and Destruction Level fibulae were discovered in the “industrial” area. Most came from the main halls of the TB and CC megaron units; in TB-7 and TB-8, fibulae were found in both the main rooms and

27 Vassileva, “Bronze Animal Figurines.”

28 Young, “Gordion Campaign of 1959,” 242; *GFB* 81 (1959), 91.

29 B1936 from TB-7, B1977c and B2006 from CC3, B673 from CC2, and B1295a–d from TB-3, see below.

30 See below and Vassileva, “Early Bronze Fibulae and Belts.”

31 B1779, B1778, and B1752, all from TB-8; B1587 from TB-7.

32 B1988c–d.

33 B2006: *GFB* 167 (1973), 54.

anterooms.³⁴ Some were carefully wrapped in fabric and placed in clay vessels. A number of fibulae appear to have been kept together with weaver's kits. It has been suggested that examples found in post holes had initially hung from the wooden posts. Some fibulae might have been worn by the people working and residing in the Terrace Building and CC rooms (those found near the grinding stones?).³⁵ Those kept in jars might have been stored as accessories for special clothes when ready. In the case of the imported fibulae, one can envision either foreign workers or distant customers for the textiles and clothing.

Fibulae, Belts, and the Phrygian Goddess

As indicated above, fibulae and bronze belts with fibula-type buckles seem to have been valued more as grave offerings and adornments for the dead in early Gordion than as accessories of daily use. Thus, they may have held special significance for Phrygian cult and burial rites. In a number of works and in her recent book Elizabeth Simpson has demonstrated a close relationship between the decorative patterns on the wooden furniture from Gordion and those on monumental Phrygian rock-cut façades, showing that the inlaid furniture was associated with the cult of Phrygian *Matar*.³⁶ The designs can also be compared to those on bronze belts as well as surviving fragments of Phrygian textiles.³⁷ Besides conveying an elite status, fibulae and bronze belts were themselves probably connected with the cult of *Matar*.³⁸ The arcs of Phrygian fibulae and belt clasps recall similar forms used as design elements in furniture and other objects from Gordion.

One of the furniture elements associated with the iconography of *Matar* is the so-called "scroll foot," found on the wooden tables and serving stands from Gordion, and interpreted as an abstract representation of a lion's paw.³⁹ The scroll-like paws of a small wooden lion sculpture from Tumulus P and of two stone lions from the Gordion City Mound relate closely to the feet on the

34 The anterooms of TB-3 and TB-6 are not excavated; the anteroom of CC1 is only partially uncovered.

35 Presumably women: DeVries, "Greeks and Phrygians," 40.

36 Simpson, "Phrygian Artistic Intellect"; "Symbols on the Gordion Screens"; *Furniture from Tumulus MM*, 48–56, 83–110.

37 Simpson, *Furniture from Tumulus MM*, 49; Ellis, "Textiles," 307, figure 148.

38 Vassileva, "Belt of the Goddess."

39 Simpson, *Furniture from Tumulus MM*, 38, figures 18–21, plate 31; 95, figures 48, 50, 56, 58–59.

furniture, validating this interpretation.⁴⁰ Similar paw-like elements can also be distinguished on an inlaid wooden stool from Tumulus P.⁴¹ Although lions were not always depicted with *Matar*, they appear prominently as guardian figures of the goddess in several rock monuments, notably Arslan Kaya in the Phrygian highlands. And, as Simpson has shown, they were often present on an abstract level in cult-related objects. As is now recognized, Phrygian art is notable for its highly abstracted imagery and principles of design. Thus, I would cautiously suggest that Phrygian fibulae themselves, with their scroll-like form, may allude to a lion's paw in abstract form, associating them with the iconography of *Matar*.

I would add that parts of the stylized handles and rear leg struts of the inlaid table from Tumulus MM⁴² also evoke the shape of a Phrygian fibula arc. These wooden elements were inlaid with patterns of triangles and lozenges, motifs that sometimes appear incised on bronze fibulae. The upper sections of the legs of the same piece of furniture take the form of a biconical abacus between two discs,⁴³ one of the most common combinations of moldings on Phrygian fibulae. Several pieces of furniture from Gordion were ornamented with bronze studs, including the stool from Tumulus P; studded semicircular elements of this tool connect the furniture in yet another way to Phrygian fibulae—notably the type XII.9 fibula, which features bronze studs (and one could point to examples of oversized fibulae, e.g. B1520, which is 17 cm long).

One more element of Phrygian fibulae could be associated with the iconography of the goddess: the catch-end. Three stone reliefs depicting *Matar*, found at Gordion and in Ankara, show her left hand grasping firmly the legs of a bird of prey.⁴⁴ Birds, especially raptors, are the animals most often featured in the incised drawings from the Gordion City Mound.⁴⁵ These birds had a special significance for the goddess's cult, although their symbolism remains elusive. Most of the catch-ends of Phrygian fibulae resemble a raptor's claw, with three front toes bent (to hold the pin), and two outstretched ones at both sides. Thus,

40 Young, *Three Great Early Tumuli*, 51, TumP 107; Simpson, *Furniture from Tumulus MM*, 95, nn. 198–199, plate 122B–C.

41 Young, *Three Great Early Tumuli*, 72–74, TumP 157. On its design being related to that of the inlaid table from Tumulus MM, see Simpson and Spirydowicz, *Gordion Wooden Furniture*, 55; Simpson, “Phrygian Artistic Intellect,” 35, 38.

42 Simpson, *Furniture from Tumulus MM*, figures 10–11, 13–16; plates 14A–B, 18A–B, 20A–D, 21C–F.

43 *Ibid.*, figures 18–20, plate 30.

44 Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele*, 294–295, nos. 18–20, plate 5.2–4; Roller, *In Search of God the Mother*, 72–73, figures 7–9.

45 Roller, *Incised Drawings*, 26–29.

the shape of the Phrygian bronze safety pin could be considered a stylized combination of elements from the two animals most often accompanying the Phrygian goddess: the scroll-foot shape of the arc implying a lion's paw, and the catch-end standing for the spurs and talons of a predatory bird.

Dating the Fibulae from the City Mound at Gordion

My final point in this paper relates to the dating potential of the bronze fibulae from the City Mound in view of the new dating of the Destruction Level. The date of the destruction has now been moved back to the late ninth century B.C., based on C-14 dates for seeds excavated from the Terrace Building.⁴⁶ As the number of foreign fibulae in the Early Phrygian Citadel is significant, I have attempted to assess their value for the dating of the Destruction Level.

The arched fibulae mentioned above, B1988c and B1988d (Figure 10.2), do not find exact parallels, but their bows and catch-ends (such as preserved) suggest Aegean inspiration.⁴⁷ Their prototypes can be sought among the arched fibulae of Caner's type II*d*, with a slightly swollen bow at the middle



FIGURE 10.2 Drawing of the two arched fibulae B1988c and d from CC-3, Gordion City Mound, Destruction Level.

46 This date is currently accepted by most of the members of the Gordion team: Rose and Darbyshire, *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*; and see below. Muscarella argues for a date in the late eighth century B.C., based on analysis of the artifacts recovered from the DL: Muscarella, "Date of the Destruction" and "Again Gordion's Early Phrygian Destruction Date."

47 Vassileva, "Early Bronze Fibulae and Belts."

and two moldings at the ends, often asymmetrically set.⁴⁸ These are dated to ca. 1125–950 B.C., with all examples coming from the Carian coast. The asymmetrical types from the Aegean and Near East have long, arm-shaped catch-ends, while the Phrygian catch-end, where preserved (B1988d), follows directly from the molding. For the two Phrygian fibulae cited here, both catch-ends are broken, so the exact form of their finials is unknown. Parallels can be cited from the Kerameikos (of PG date),⁴⁹ Lefkandi (of MPG/LPG date),⁵⁰ Cyprus,⁵¹ and Crete,⁵² as well as from Alishar, Zincirli, Megiddo, and Hama.⁵³

Recently two examples of arched fibulae were reported from stratum IIa at Kaman-Kalehöyük, which provide close parallels for the Gordion pieces.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the strata of this site cannot be dated particularly precisely and cannot offer much insight into the Gordion finds in this respect.⁵⁵

Arched fibulae existed in the Mediterranean from Sub-Mycenaean times, becoming more popular in the LPG period, and continuing into the Archaic period as well. Some scholars consider their origins to be in the Greek islands.⁵⁶ Recently, claims for the Cypriot origin of asymmetrical fibulae have been reasserted.⁵⁷ It is probably better to assume varied contacts within the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean area (as accepted by Giesen),⁵⁸ than to attempt to trace the exact origin of this type of fibula. It is possible that the earlier Sub-Mycenaean arched fibulae, both asymmetrical and symmetrical with wide arcs, contributed to the appearance of the wide-arched fibulae in the Near East, ca. 900 B.C.⁵⁹ It should be noted that some of the possible parallels mentioned above do not come from well dated strata and thus cannot offer secure chronological anchors. Most of the more reliably dated examples point

48 Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, 11 17–19; Caner, *Fibeln in Anatolien*, 29–31.

49 Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*, 110, figure 2.10.

50 Popham, et al., *Lefkandi 1*, 238, T17.4, plate 248.6; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*, 111, figure 3.1–3.

51 From Idalion: Gjerstad, *Cyprus Expedition*, 348, figure 25, 3a, no. 40.

52 From Vrocastro: Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Fibeln der griechischen Inseln*, plate 11, 611; and Knossos: Coldstream and Catling, *North Cemetery 2*, 551, D.f4.

53 Pedde, *Vorderasiatische Fibeln*, plate 5, 47–48, plate 11, 129–130; plate 25, 351–353, 358, 360.

54 Omura, “Preliminary Report,” 7–8, 14, figures 7–8.

55 Stratum IIa is dated seventh–fourth century B.C.: Omori and Nakamura, “Radiocarbon Dating,” 267.

56 Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Fibeln der griechischen Inseln*, 85, type IV.

57 Giesen, *Zyprische Fibeln*, 109, 371; Lemos, *Protogeometric Aegean*, 111, contra Caner, *Fibeln in Anatolien*, 30.

58 Giesen, *Zyprische Fibeln*, 63.

59 Stronach, “Development of the Fibula,” 191, figure 6, 4–6.

to the eighth century B.C.⁶⁰ No other arched fibulae were found at Gordion, either in the tumuli or in the later levels of the City Mound.

While the arched fibula type apparently originated in the Aegean, the Gordion examples may not have been imported directly from this source. The possibility cannot be excluded that, once the type was introduced to the East, fibulae were transmitted within the region, moving between various Anatolian and Near Eastern sites.

As the arched fibula does not occur in any later level of the City Mound, one can suggest that the evidence shows a decline in its use (or possibly its sporadic appearance) at Gordion. This observation, together with the early history of these fibulae in the Aegean, prompts a cautious hypothesis of an earlier date for the Gordion arched fibulae, perhaps the ninth century B.C. Only new evidence drawn from more securely dated parallels can yield a more definitive conclusion.

A second, larger group of foreign fibulae at Gordion comprises the so-called “leech” fibulae: B1936 from TB-7, B1977c and B2006 from CC3, B673 from CC2, and B1295a–d from TB-3 (Figure 10.3, Plate 10.2). Only the swollen “leech” bow with tapering ends, round in section, is preserved in most cases. Two examples (B673 and B2006) show fragments of trapezoidal or triangular catch-plates. One or two molded rings (on B1295a and B1295c, and possibly on B673 and B2006) or several milled rings (B1295b and B1936) occur at each end.

Four leech fibulae were discovered in Gordion tumuli as well. Probably the best-preserved example is one of two miniature fibulae found in Tumulus C (B13a). These originate from “Stone Complex 4,” a pre-tumulus inhumation burial, originally considered by the excavator to be the main one.⁶¹ This burial is earlier than the tumulus itself, and the fibulae might therefore be of DL or pre-DL date.⁶² Two more leech fibulae were discovered in the tomb chamber of Tumulus G (B11, B17),⁶³ which is considered to be among the earliest Phrygian burials at the site. In addition, one leech fibula was found in the mantle of Tumulus B (B29) and is possibly earlier than the tumulus itself, which is dated to ca. 630 B.C.⁶⁴

60 See for example, Pedde's C1.2 group: Pedde, *Vorderasiatische Fibeln*, 175–176.

61 Kohler, *Lesser Phrygian Tumuli*, 25, figure 11B.

62 “Pre-Kimmerian” according to the previous terminology: Kohler, *Lesser Phrygian Tumuli*, 26, n. 5, not illustrated; photograph in Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion*, plate xviii, 94.

63 Kohler, *Lesser Phrygian Tumuli*, 37, 39, TumG 3 and 4, plate 21C–D.

64 *Ibid.*, 21, TumB 19; 1, 39, 192.

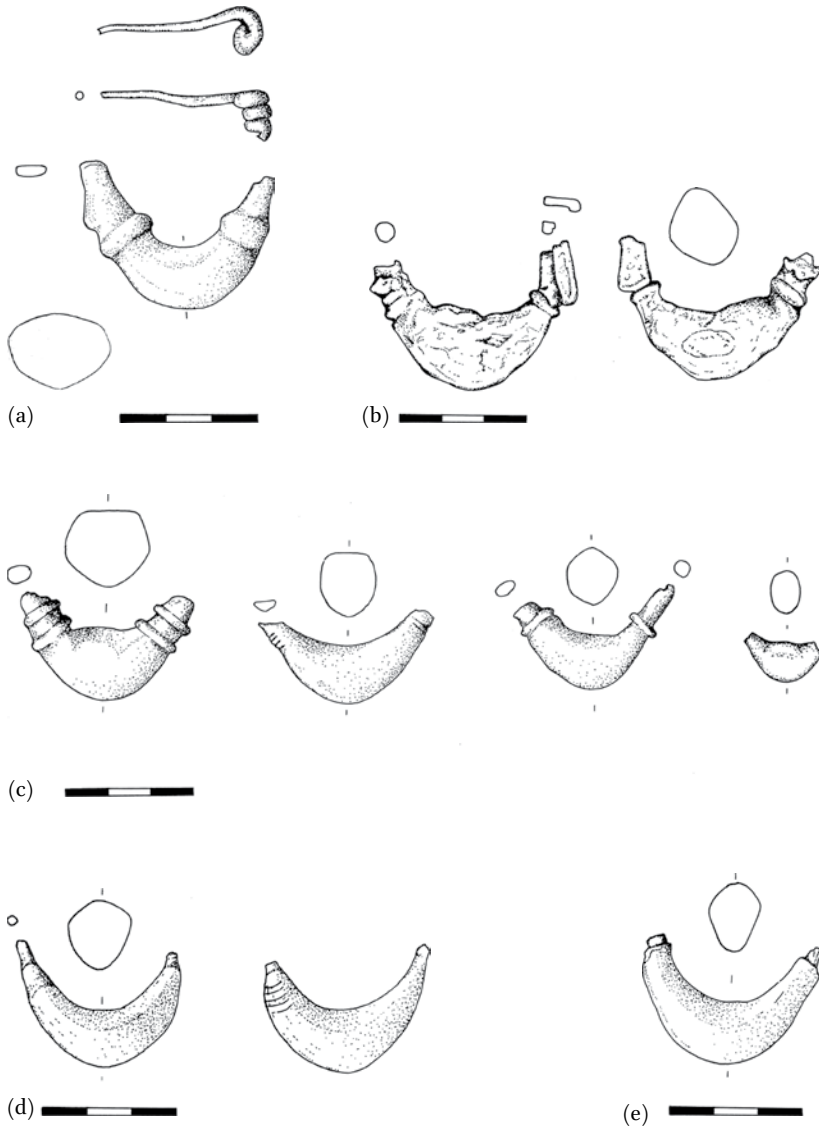


FIGURE 10.3 Drawings of the leech fibulae from the Gordion City Mound, Destruction Level. (a) B673 from CC-2. (b) B2006 from CC-3, front and back. (c) B1295a-d from TB-3. (d) B1936 from TB-7, front and back. (e) B1977c from CC-3.

These leech fibulae fall within Efi Sapouna-Sakellarakis's type IV, especially IVd, and within Kilian's types D Ia and b.⁶⁵ Kilian considers these to be Thesalian, because of the large number of similar examples found at Pherai, and dates them to the eighth or seventh century B.C.⁶⁶ Whatever their exact origin, these fibulae were western imports (either Aegean or mainland Greek) at Gordion.

As comparanda, examples from Lefkandi of Sub-Protogeometric date can also be cited (ca. 850–750 B.C.).⁶⁷ Unlike the previous group of arched fibulae, which are found only in the Destruction Level at Gordion, at least two examples of leech fibulae have been recovered from post-DL contexts at Gordion (B534 and B606).⁶⁸ If these two fibulae can be assigned to later contexts, and were not from disturbed earlier layers, they can offer evidence for a longer use of this type. Most of the leech fibula parallels date from the eighth century B.C., although the Lefkandi comparanda might allow for an earlier date for the Gordion DL examples.

The third group of imported fibulae from the Destruction Level of the Gordion City Mound consists of three Near Eastern fibulae: B1778, B1779, and B1752, all from TB-8 (Figure 10.4, Plate 10.3). These have approximately triangular-shaped bows, swollen in the middle, and two biconical moldings between two or more discs at each end. The swellings in the middle of the bow resemble those of the leech fibulae, but are only slightly flattened on top and bottom. Caner assigned them to the group of Cypriot and Oriental fibulae, type v.⁶⁹ Two fibulae from Alişar may possibly provide parallels for the slightly swollen bow with biconical beads at both ends.⁷⁰ These fall within Friedhelm Pedde's C1.2 group, dated to the eighth or seventh century B.C.⁷¹ While Caner assumes this type to be an import from Alişar,⁷² classification with the Near Eastern fibulae seems more plausible.

65 Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Fibeln der griechischen Inseln*, 68–69, 77–78; Kilian, *Fibeln in Thessalien*, 31–34, plate 6, 221–237.

66 He mentions the Gordion examples published by Muscarella and considers them Greek mainland imports at Gordion; Kilian, *Fibeln in Thessalien*, 32.

67 Popham, et al., *Lefkandi I*, S59.32, plate 249.2; *Lefkandi III*, T.80.65, plate 140, SPG II/IIIA, T.34.37, SPG IIIA, plate 129—some of them already noted by K. DeVries, "Date of the Destruction Level," 95, followed by Sams "Artifacts," 65.

68 Or four, if the two from Tumulus B (TumB 18 and 20) are of later date.

69 Caner, *Fibeln in Anatolien*, 180–182.

70 Pedde, *Vorderasiatische Fibeln*, nos. 378–379, plate 26.

71 *Ibid.*, 175–176.

72 Caner, *Fibeln in Anatolien*, 181, following Przeworski, *Metallindustrie*, 177.

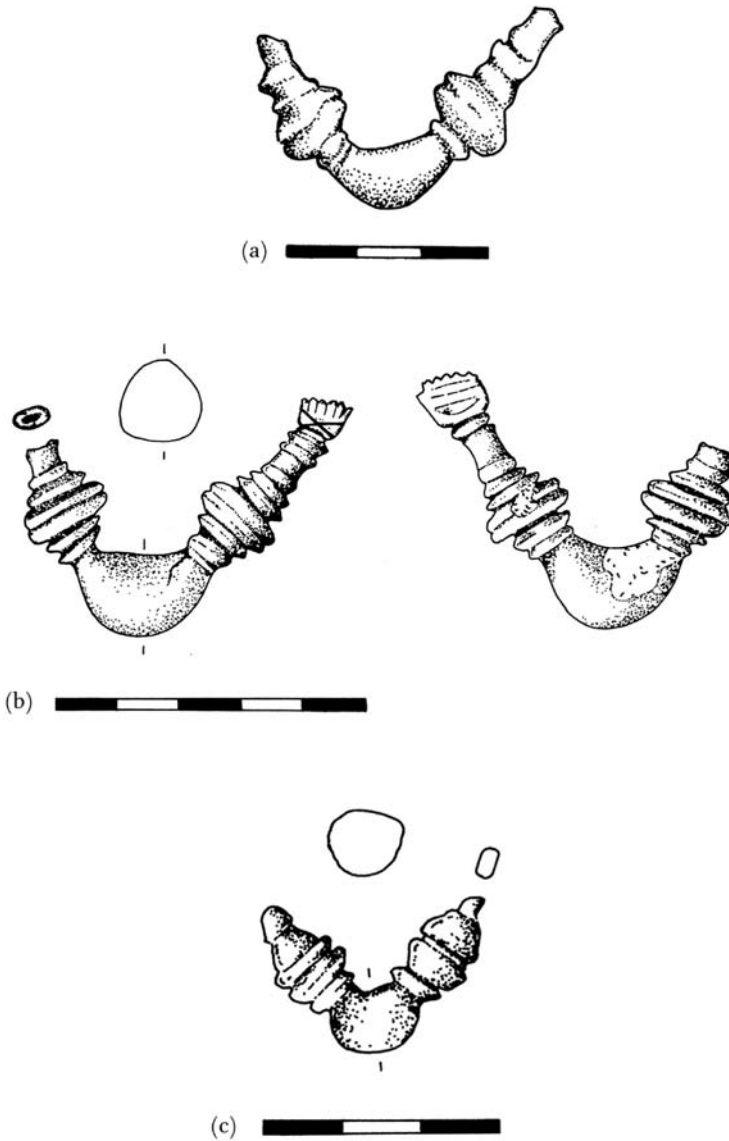


FIGURE 10.4 Drawings of the Near Eastern fibulae from the Gordion City Mound, Destruction Level, all from TB-8. (a) B1778. (b) B1779, front and back. (c) B1752.

Similar fibulae occurred in other levels of the City Mound and in tumulus burials at Gordion: B₅ (Tumulus B),⁷³ B₁₇₇₇ (WCW-2), B₁₅₉₅ (TrQ, clay), and B₁₁₄₉ (Küçük Höyük).⁷⁴ Two pieces (B₁₈₆₁, B₁₈₈₁) were found in a fourth century B.C. context (PPB-7 and PPB-SE3).⁷⁵ The swellings on their bows are smaller and more spherical; they resemble more closely the Near Eastern triangular fibulae. More examples of classical Near Eastern triangular fibulae (“knee-bow” or “elbow” fibulae) are recorded from later contexts in the Gordion City Mound (B₁₁₉₁, B₁₂₀₁, and B₁₈₇₈). These seem to have enjoyed a wider distribution and longer use.

Despite my initial expectations, the foreign, imported fibulae at Gordion cannot provide a decisive chronological framework for the Destruction Level, since the comparanda fall within a rather wide range, although centering on the eighth century B.C. Parallels for the arched and leech fibulae may offer the possibility of support for an earlier dating of the Gordion DL (i.e. ninth century B.C.), if combined with other evidence. They may also indicate earlier contacts with the Aegean than previously thought.⁷⁶ Intermediate Anatolian sources (coastal Anatolia or North Syria) for Aegean influence or contacts cannot be ruled out.

Regarding the chronology of Phrygian fibulae, most scholars agree that Blinkenberg’s type XII.7A is the earliest. The spread and use of these fibulae seem to be short-lived: they did not outlast by much the rebuilding of the Middle Phrygian Citadel, and only one example was found in the clay that overlay the Early Phrygian Destruction Level (see Table 10.2). Most of the various Phrygian fibula types known from later contexts and other locations are missing from the DL city repertoire.⁷⁷ The only exceptions are two fibulae (B₁₇₆₄, B₁₄₅₄) and a small fibula fragment (B₁₅₉₆) of types that are abundant in later contexts (XII.14 and XII.9). These fibulae have been noted in terms of the controversy over the dating of the Destruction Level. A discussion in writing between Keith DeVries and Oscar Muscarella examined the find spot and context of the XII.9 type fibula (B₁₄₅₄) as well as its chronological value.⁷⁸ Regarding the other two examples, B₁₇₆₄ is an earlier form of the type XII.14 fibula, in my

73 Kohler, *Lesser Phrygian Tumuli*, 21, TumB 20, figure 9D, plate11E.

74 Sixth century B.C. or earlier, Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion*, 83, B4.

75 Caner, *Fibeln in Anatolien*, 181.

76 As already pointed out by Muscarella, “Again Gordion’s Early Phrygian Destruction Date,” 180, contra previous opinions.

77 Already noted by Mellink, “Conclusions,” 269.

78 Muscarella, “Date of the Destruction,” 233, n. 35; DeVries, “Date of the Destruction Level,” 89–90.

TABLE 10.2 *Fibulae from Gordion, found in clay.*^a

No.	Type	Find spot
B1599	XII.5	TB7
B1495	XII.7	TN
B1217	XII.7A	WML-4, S end
B1344	XII.9	W2S3
B1308	XII.13	WML-4
B1610	XII.13	M6C, below cellar
B1170	XII.14	MW2
B1304	XII.14	TBT-2
B1381	XII.14	PS-2
B1447	XII.14	NCB-SW
B1564	XII.14	M5J
B1588	XII.14	TB7
B1838	XII.14	TBW-3, layer 5
B1891	XII.14	PhW-N
B1921	XII.14	TB8-So1
B1191	NE	WML-1/2, Area C, layer 5
B1595	NE	Tr. Q

a Oscar Muscarella has long urged me to investigate the fibulae found in the clay level. A careful check of the *Gordion Field Books* allows me to supplement the number of fibulae already noted by Muscarella, "Date of the Destruction," 182. These are presented here in Table 10.2. On the other hand, several clay contexts seem unclear or dubious, and I did not include these fibulae in the list: B1337, XII.9; B1666, XII.14 and B1480, XII.2. These finds, however, should be used with caution, as it has been suggested that half a century or so might be supposed for the remodeling of the city, or some parts of it: Sams, "Artifacts," 66.

opinion,⁷⁹ and suggests an early appearance of these fibulae, which became popular in the Middle Phrygian period. They already prevail in number among the fibulae found in the clay. This fibula has an arc that is round in section as

79 DeVries, "Date of the Destruction Level," 86. There are two similar fibulae with discs that are not well-profiled at each quarter (B483 and B488), which come from much later and possibly disturbed contexts of the City Mound: *GFB* 27 (1951), 80.

does the small fibula fragment (B1596), which could be type XII.13 or XII.14.⁸⁰ Although fibulae with bows that are round in section are not in evidence in the Early Phrygian city, except for these two examples, their early attestation would not be surprising, as six XII.13 type fibulae were found in Tumulus W, the earliest Gordion tumulus.⁸¹ Other comparable pieces are known from the DL, as indicated by fragments of a fibula “with spools” found together with B1587 (wire-wrapped arc) in TB-7 but not catalogued because of its poor state of preservation.⁸² Thus, we may assume the early use of fibulae with arcs that are round in section, and type XII.14 fibulae in particular, in the Early Phrygian city.

The XII.9 fibula (B1454) comes from Megaron 4, which suffered later disturbances in addition to being the latest structure built before the destruction of the Early Phrygian Citadel.⁸³ The possibility that it is an intrusion cannot be ruled out in view of the floating coarse ware sherds reported for its context.⁸⁴ Considering its controversial recording,⁸⁵ this fibula should probably be discounted as a piece of evidence in the argument.

While the exact sequence of the Gordion tumuli is still debated, one cannot fail to notice that fibulae of types XII.9 and XII.14 appear in tumuli K-III, K-IV, MM, and S1. Both types are found in the clay above the Destruction Level and in the subsequent Middle Phrygian city, where XII.14 fibulae prevail in number (Table 10.2). If we accept the early appearance of type XII.14 fibulae in DL contexts, we can speculate further about the place of the tumuli that yielded such fibulae in the sequence.

The hotly contested evidence of the Phrygian fibulae cannot, unfortunately, give a reliable chronological anchor for the Early Phrygian Citadel at Gordion

80 If we follow the context as already published, this fibula fragment should be of pre-DL date since it originates from the Megaron 4 terrace fill: Sams, *Early Phrygian Pottery*, 16; *GFB* 121 (1965), 45.

81 Young, *Three Great Early Tumuli*, 210, 212, TumW 34, 56–60.

82 *GFB* 120 (1965), 45.

83 Both Megaron 4 and TB-8 suffered later intrusions, but B1764 seems to have been found away from the disturbed area of a later cellar, in the NE quarter of the room. *GFB* 128 (1967), 177, and plan #24.

84 *GFB* 106 (1963), 64. Its intrusive nature is accepted by DeVries, n. 70 above, followed by Sams, “Artifacts,” 64. See Muscarella, “Date of the Destruction,” 233, n. 35, who believes that the worn appearance of the fibula (studs missing) does not corroborate the idea of an accidental dropping of the fibula by a later inhabitant of the city.

85 DeVries, “Date of the Destruction Level,” 89–90.

unless combined with analyses of other artifacts.⁸⁶ Analogies with those found in the Phrygian tumuli (whose sequence is still debated)⁸⁷ would again offer only a relative chronological determination and not a certain date. Comparisons between types of fibulae occurring in the Citadel and in the tumuli must take into account the differing motivations regarding the placement and deposition of these fibulae in their various contexts. Phrygian fibulae and belts found in the East Greek sanctuaries and in sites on the Greek mainland cannot help here, as the Greeks imported and imitated these Phrygian objects, but in their developed and therefore later forms.⁸⁸ The lack of related, well-stratified, early first millennium B.C. sites in Anatolia makes the effort to establish a precise chronology of the Early Phrygian period at Gordion even more difficult. Nonetheless, an examination of the fibulae from the Destruction Level has clarified aspects of the controversy and produced some interesting results.

86 This has long been Muscarella's contention. Further contributions can be found in Keralhofer, *Archaeology of Midas*, and Rose and Darbyshire, *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*.

87 Sams "Artifacts," 59–60; Sams and Voigt, "In Conclusion," 166.

88 Klebinder-Gauß, *Bronzefunde aus dem Artemision*, 40, 104–105.

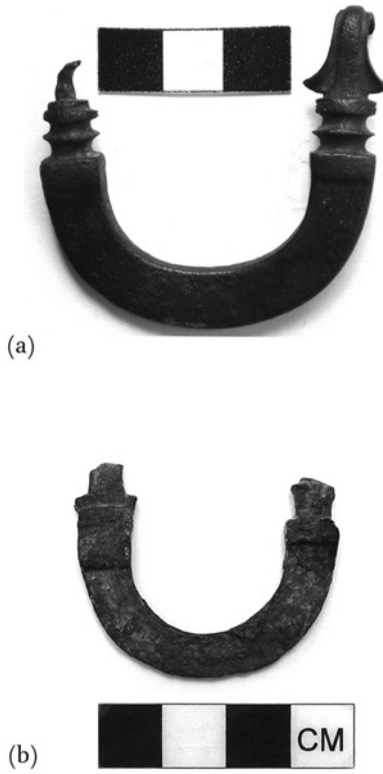


PLATE 10.1 *Examples of transitional shapes of fibulae, Gordion City Mound, not from a Destruction Level context. (a) B575. (b) B1684b.*

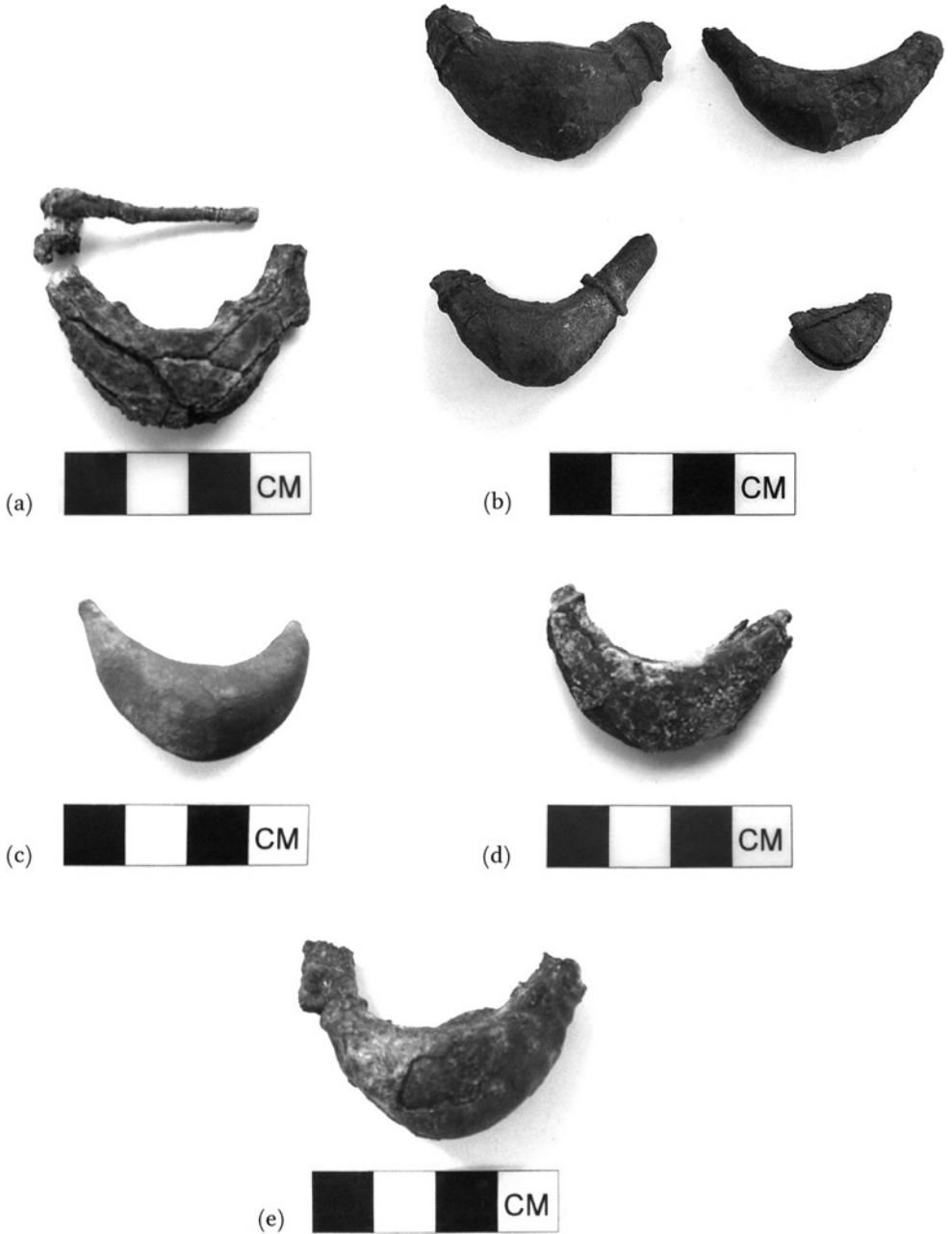


PLATE 10.2 *Leech fibulae from the Gordion City Mound, Destruction Level.* (a) B673 from CC-2. (b) B1295a-d from TB-3. (c) B1936 from TB-7. (d) B1977c from CC-3. (e) B2006 from CC-3.



PLATE 10.3 *Near Eastern fibulae from the Gordion City Mound, Destruction Level, all from TB-8. (a) B1778. (b) B1779. (c) B1752.*