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İçindekiler

Early Iron Age Carian Material Culture: The Beginning of Fibula Production in the Region

Erken Demir Çağı Karia Maddi Kültürü: Fibula Üretiminin Başlangıcı

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Keywords: Early Iron Age, Caria, Keramos Chora, grave, fibula

In 2019, one of the fibulae among the metal finds in a rectangular chamber tomb unearthed in Belentepe / Kavaklı in the Keramos Chora drew attention as a "new" type of fibula not previously encountered in the region. The artifacts recovered from the burial chamber indicate that the tomb was used almost throughout the Early Iron Age. Fibulae consistently and regularly appear as characteristic finds in Carian burial contexts from the middle of 11th century BC to the first half of the seventh century BC. The early series fibulae of Caner Type II d, produced in two different sizes, should be seen as indisputable evidence of the widespread use of fibulae in Caria and the production of local forms. Establishing a connection with the asymmetrical twisted bow fibulae known from Sub-Mycenaean burial contexts and exhibiting sufficient similarities that indicate it as a precursor to Caner Type II d fibulae, the fibula from Grave 78 in Belentepe/Kavaklı should be dated to the first half of the 11th century BC, likely its early years. Fibulae, along with Naue II type swords and other metal artifacts, indicate the inclusion of the Carian region in the commonality observed in metal objects across the Mediterranean world.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Erken Demir Çağı, Karia, Keramos Kırsalı, mezar, fibula*

2019 yılında Keramos Kırsalı Belentepe / Kavaklı'da ortaya çıkarılan dikdörtgen planlı bir oda mezarın metal buluntuları arasında yer alan fibulalardan bir tanesinin, bölgede şimdiye kadar benzerine rastlamadığımız "yeni" bir tip fibula olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Mezar odasından ele geçen buluntular, mezarın neredeyse Erken Demir Çağı boyunca kullanıldığına işaret eder. Fibulalar, MÖ 11. yüzyıl içlerinden MÖ 7. yüzyılın ilk yarısına değin sürekli ve düzenli olarak Karia mezar kontekstlerinin karakteristik buluntuları olarak karşımıza çıkar. İki farklı boyutta üretilmiş olan Caner tip II d erken seri fibulaları, Karia'da fibula kullanımının yaygınlaştığına ve yerel formların üretilmekte olduğunun tartışmasız kanıtları olarak görülmelidir. Sub-Miken mezar kontekstlerinden bilinen asimetrik twisted bow fibulalarla kurulan ilişki ve Caner tip II d fibulalarının öncüsü olduğuna işaret eden yeterli benzerlikleri ile Belentepe / Kavaklı Mezar 78 fibulası, MÖ 11. yüzyılın ilk yarısına, muhtemelen başlarına ait olmalıdır. Fibulalar, Nau II tipi kılıçlar ve diğer metal buluntular, Akdeniz dünyası metal buluntularında gözlenen ortaklığa Karia bölgesinin de dahil olduğuna işaret eder.

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Introduction

Recent excavations and research concerning the Lelegian Peninsula (Özer 2018; Diler 2019; 2020) and the Keramos Chora (Özer 2019, 2020) have significantly contributed to our understanding of the material culture of the Early Iron Age Caria, allowing us to evaluate, compare and classify the archaeological evidence from various centers (Fig. 1). Current publications also allow us to begin to understand the similarities and the differences of sub-regional characteristics of Caria. This study is a part of the ongoing research on the material culture of Early Iron Age Caria. In 2019, a fibula of a previously unknown type in the region was discovered along the other metal finds from a rectangular chamber tomb in the Keramos Chora, Belentepe/Kavaklı. In this study, this new fibula form (Fig. 2) will be evaluated in terms of its shape, origin, chronology, typological development and intercultural relations.

The archaeological evidence from the Carian Early Iron Age burials reveals continuity in certain sites allowing us to follow the similarities and differences in terms of material cultural considering various groups of material starting from the end of the Late Bronze Age. The fibulae form the most common group of finds among the Early Iron Age grave contexts. The earliest known example is dated to the end of the 12th century BC. It was uncovered in the pithos urn of "Grave O"; a circular platform tomb in Asarlık / Termera by Paton in the nineteenth century (Paton 1887: fig. 17; Caner 1983: taf 1.3; Özer, Şimşek-Özer 2017: fig. 4). The fibula has been redated to the end of the 12th century BC due to the reevaluation of a stirrup jar belonging to the same context with current data and similar fibulae examples being known from other Late Helladic IIIC contexts (Özer, Şimşek-Özer 2017: 144-46).

On the other hand, it is rather surprising that the violin bow fibulae (Pabst 2018) well known from the Aegean cultural contexts of the end of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages are absent in Caria. In fact, Müsgebi, Pedasa, Asarlık, Çömlekçi and Keramos Chora provide sufficient evidence in regard to intensive usage of graves and a broad range of grave finds during the period when the violin bow fibulae were commonly used.

The Aegean/Mycenaean type Müsgebi chamber tombs (Boysal 1964, 1965, 1967; Mee 1978, 137-42; Benzi 2013: 538-39; Özgünel 2013; Özer, Şimşek-Özer 2017) the Pilavtepe chamber tomb (Benter 2009a; Kalaitzoglou 2013) provide ample evidence in terms of the 13th and the early 12th centuries BC grave contexts. Consequently, Pedasa (Diler *et al.* 2014; Diler *et al.* 2019; Özer 2018; Özer, Şimşek-Özer 2017) from the mid 12th century B C and Asarlık / Termera (Diler 2015, 2019; Özer, Şimşek-Özer 2017) from the end of the 12th century BC provide good amount of information for defining the material culture of the region. The evidence from the Lelegian Peninsula where Pedasa and Asarlık / Termera located confirms that the sole grave type is the platform-grave where cremation is practised in the beginning of the Early Iron Age. Although the funerary architecture of Asarlık / Termera seems very close to Pedasa along with its burial practises and the grave offerings,

Figure 1 *Southeastern Aegean centers mentioned in the text.*

so far we do not have any finds from the middle of 12th century BC at this settlement. Our main sources defining the material culture of the region are mainly consisted of the Çömlekçi tholos and cist graves and rectangular chamber tombs (Boysal 1967, 1968: 77; 1969, 29-31; Özgünel 2013: 111) and the rectangular chamber tombs of Keramos Chora starting from the end of 12th century BC. Specifically, the graves and the related finds uncovered at the closely situated settlements of the Keramos Chora, namely Belentepe, Hüsamlar and Mengefe have contributed much to our understanding of the culture across the sub-region (Özer 2019, 2020). It is clear that while cremation is the common type of burial on the Lelegian Peninsula, inhumation in multiple burials seems to be preferred in the region which includes Çömlekçi, Hüsamlar, Belentepe and Mengefe. However, while these two cultural sub-regions are certainly different in terms of the funerary architecture and the burial customs, metal finds from both sub-regions seem to share more common features in comparison to other cultural elements (Özer 2020).

Explaining the absence of the violin bow fibulae in the region becomes even more challenging while there is a certain correlation across the Aegean cultural regions in terms of the grave finds and the density of certain ceramic groups of the 12th and the 11th centuries BC (Diler *et al.* 2014; Özer 2019, 2020; Özer, Şimşek-Özer 2017; Diler *et al.* 2019). The existence of the violin bow fibulae among the finds from the island of Kos (Vitale, Blackwell 2017: pl. LXXIX, f-g; Pabst 2018: abb. 12.2) along with the resemblance between the ceramic assemblages from Kos and the Lelegian Peninsula (Diler *et al.* 2014; Diler *et al.* 2019; Özer, Şimşek-Özer 2017) in the 13th and the 12th centuries BC, may indicate that it is not a coincidence that Caria is actually not one of the regions where the violin bow fibulae are in existence. At the moment, we do not actually know to what extent the facts such as the Carian clothing habits or the scarsity of metal finds in Pedasa graves of the 12th century BC can explain the lack of the violin bow fibulae in these regions. It becomes even more complicated and harder to explain this picture considering the continuity of the violin bow fibulae into the 11th century BC. Perhaps, it is best to suggest the scarsity of metal finds in the region in the 12th century BC as the reason for the lack of the violin bow fibulae (Özer 2020: 227-28).

The fibulae are among the most characteristic finds of the grave contexts between the mid 11th to the first half of seventh centuries BC (Özer 2020; Gürbüzer 2022: fig. 10). Eventually, they appear to be more numerous and varied (Özer 2020). The dimensions of the fibulae seem to decrease as new typological variations come along. In relation to these changes, the evidence from Pedasa, Iasos (Caner 1983: taf. 4.49-54, 57-58, taf. 5.75, taf 7.109, taf. 8.114A.B-115, 117), Damlıboğaz / Hydai (Diler 2009: fig. 5), Beçin (Akarca 1971: lev. 4.12-14; Arslan, Kızıl 2007: fig.10), Keramos Chora (Tırpan 2008: res. 5.35; Tırpan, Söğüt 2009: res. 15; Erdoğan, Aytaçlar 2012: res. 5, 9, 13; Ekici 2012: res. 6-7; Özbey 2014: res. 8), Belentepe, Hüsamlar, Mengefe and Hydas (Benter 2009b: abb. 13) excavations clearly point out that different fibula types coexisted. Their numbers were greatly diminished by the first half of the seventh century BC and in the Archaic Period

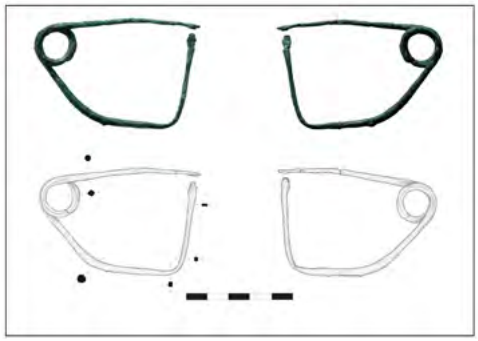

Figure 2. *Belentepe / Kavaklı Tomb 78 fibula (HED.55).*

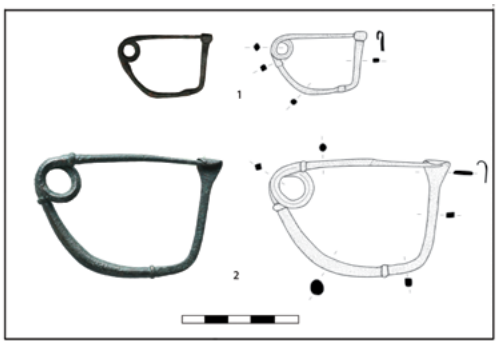

Figure 3. *Caner Type II d Early Series Fibulae (After Özer 2020, Fig.2).*

the fibulae almost disappear from the grave contexts. However, they continue to exist in the Carian sanctuaries in the Archaic period for a little longer (Slawisch 2006: 189-90; Sakarya, Atıcı 2022: 228-29).

Carian Fibulae from the Beginning of the Early Iron Age: A Short Summary

The earliest known fibula from Caria dated to the 12th century BC excavated from Asarlık Grave O is chronologically followed by the examples classified as Type II d group by Caner in the region (Caner 1983: 29-31, taf. 1.7-9, taf. 2.10-13; Carstens 2008: fig. 22; Özer 2020) (Fig. 3). Caner Type II d is the most common fibula type found in Carian grave contexts in the first centuries of the Early Iron Age. The characteristic features of this type are the double beaded mouldings defining a circular or oval bow, a wide double spring starting right off one of the mouldings, the rectangular form of the spiral and the slim, rectangular form of the forearm.

Caner Type II d fibula type has been discussed in detail regarding the typology, chronology, types of graves they were found and cultural interrelations along with the current evidence (Özer 2020). The fibulae of this type are well represented in Keramos Chora and the Lelegian Peninsula starting from the first half of the 11th century until the mid ninth century BC and they form about 90% of all fibulae from this period. From the burial evidence of both sub-culture regions, it is understood that this fibula type undergoes a rather slow form change and remains in use for an extended period. The earliest examples must date to 1100-1050/30 BC, considering the Sub-Mycenaean grave contexts of Kerameikos and Lefkandi and the dating suggestions for the similar examples from various centers from the Eastern Mediterranean, mainly Cyprus (Özer 2020: 230-31). The fibulae were excavated from the platform graves (Özer 2018: res. 8, 18), above ground chamber tombs (Diler 2020: fig. 16) and the tumuli of the Lelegian Peninsula and from the rectangular chamber tombs of the Keramos Chora (Özer 2019: fig.10; 2020, fig. 6) (Fig. 4).

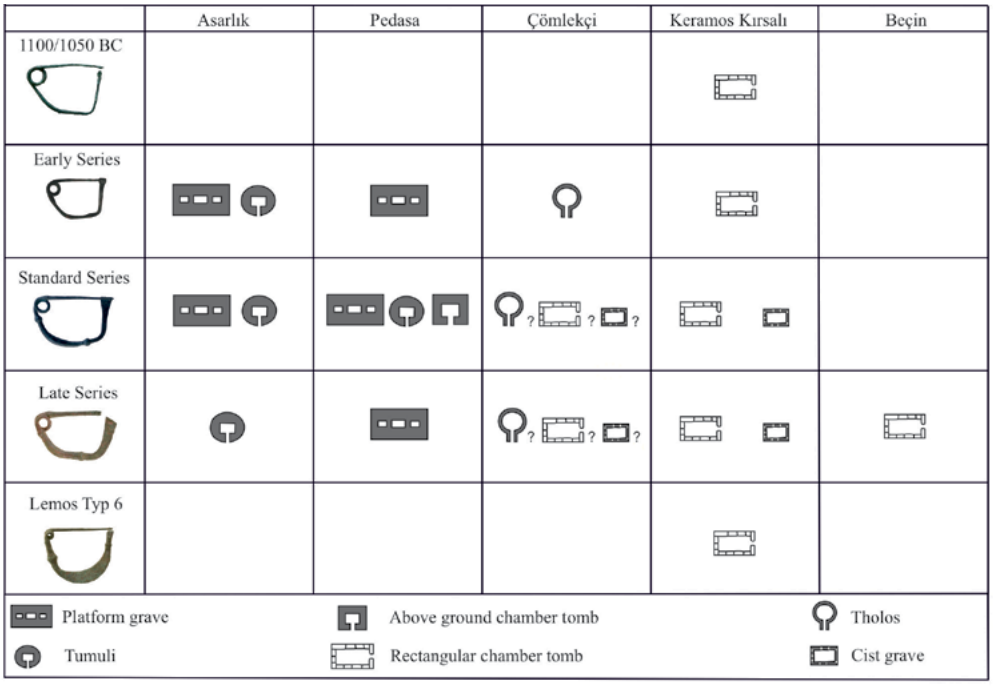

Figure 4. *The places where the fibulae were found and the types of graves discussed in the text.*

Keramos Chora Belentepe/Kavaklı Grave 78 and Related Finds

In 2019, a rectangular chamber tomb, namely Grave 78 has been excavated in Keramos Chora Belentepe / Kavaklı and amongst the finds is an asymmetrical bow fibula representing a new type in the region (Fig. 2). Grave 78 is a part of burial cluster including both contemporary and later graves located on a hill. Recent research reveals that the Early Iron Age tombs in the region along with later burials in their circumference grew into a considerable necropolis in time. Since the burials were built in form of separate clusters, it has been suggested that there might actually have been a certain type of land organization and a burial arrangement with respect to clan or kinship (Özer 2019).

Grave 78 built on the north-west and the south-east direction is consisted of a grave chamber and a vestibule located on its west (Fig. 5). The grave chamber has been built into the bedrock and the upper part of walls can be followed on top of the surface code of the bedrock. The dimensions of the the grave chamber are 3.53x1.98 m and its walls have been preserved in the height of 1.77 m. The floor of the chamber is 0.90 m lower than that of the vestibule and has been covered with flat stones of varied size. The upper structure of the grave has not been preserved and the large size flat stones scattered around must belong to the lid covering the grave. The preliminary observations on the skeletons point out that the grave included at least 15 inhumation and one cremation burials.

The related finds attest that the grave has been almost continuously used along the Early Iron Age (Fig. 6). It is the earliest grave amongst the burial cluster it belongs. Nearly

half of its finds are consisted of 38 fibulae. In terms of quantity of finds, fibulae are followed by bronze rings (Fig. 6). Other finds include armbands, personal objects made of bronze, cloth ornaments, a single golden earring and sharp tools made of iron. The ceramic finds of Grave 78 are in limited numbers as the other Early Iron Age tombs in the Keramos Chora. The finds are consisted of two belly-handled amphoriskoi (Fig. 6) and a small jug with a spout in the belly, a rare find in Carian grave contexts (Özer 2019).

Another common feature that Grave 78 shares with the rest of the graves at Keramos Chora is the fact that they all contain more burials starting from the end of the ninth century BC continuing along the eighth century BC. The abundance of fibulae indicates a significant increase in the number of burials. The multiple burial practise in the region point out that the tombs constructed in the 11th and the 10th centuries were used in the following centuries. However, there are some graves which were only in use in the 11th and the 10th centuries, although their numbers are quite limited. In relation of the grave structure (Papadimitriou 2001) and the related finds, we can clearly say that rectangular chamber tombs appear as a continuation of the Bronze Age Aegean tradition in the second half of the 12th century BC, specifically in Çömlekçi and Keramos Chora. This new grave structure, previously unknown in Caria must have been brought to the region by the new arrivers who must have come from the other regions of the Aegean (Özer 2019).

Grave 78 Fibula: A New Type of Fibula in Caria

Grave 78 fibula with its 7.2 cm height and 4.9 cm width bears resemblance to the large examples of Caner Type II d early series (Fig. 3). Stylistically, it follows the form of the early series of Caner Type II d, having a large spiral with double beaded moldings, a slightly swollen round bow placed between the spiral and the spring of the forearm and the rectangular forearm widening at the catchplate. However, it also differs from Caner Type II d fibulae in that the bow section is less swollen, and there are no plastic nodes limiting this section. It seems that Grave 78 fibula is the predecessor of Caner Type II d fibulae. Since no similar example has been published so far, we can clearly say that it is a new fibula type in the region. The absence of a similar example from its contemporary period and its typologically less developed form compared to Caner Type II d fibulae may provide evidence that this fibula marks the beginning of local fibula production in the Carian region. It can also be concluded that the Grave 78 fibula might represent the preliminary stage of the standardization of local types.

The examples related to Grave 78 fibula were found in the Aegean grave contexts, mainly in Lefkandi and Kerameikos. The finds from Kerameikos Grave 108 (Kraiker, Kübler 1939: taf. 28; Müller-Karpe 1962: 87, abb. 5.12; Desborough 1964: pl. 21; Snodgrass 2000: fig. 80; Ruppenstein 2007: 217-18), from Grave 42 (Kraiker, Kübler 1939: 83, abb. 2; Müller-Karpe 1962: 85, abb. 3.10; Mountjoy 1995: 60, fig. 79; Ruppenstein 2007: 218) and Lefkandi Skoubris Grave 43 (Catling, Catling 1980, 237: pl. 247.18) have

Figure 5. *Belentepe / Kavaklı Tomb 78.*

similar form features with the double beaded asymmetrical bow fibulae. Fibulae of this type have been found together with asymmetrical twisted bow fibulae in the contexts of Kerameikos grave 108 and Lefkandi Skoubris Grave 43 (Müller-Karpe 1962: 87; Ruppenstein 2007: 217-18; Catling, Catling 1980: pl.104.43.1-7). These asymmetrical twisted bow fibulae have rather common features with Belentepe / Kavaklı Grave 78 fibula in terms of their bows, forearms and large spirals. In comparison to bow fibulae, asymmetrical bow fibulae are less represented in 11th century BC grave contexts (Pare 2008: fig. 5.10 A-B).

The fact that the fibula types represented in other Aegean cultural regions were not known here except the ones related to Caner Type II d despite the existence of numerous graves that were in use in Lelegian Peninsula, Keramos Chora and Çömlekçi by the 11th century BC points out an interesting disconnection. Yet, the Aegean cultural regions in the Late Helladic IIIC late phase and Sub-Mycenaean grave contexts provide sufficient information about the common usage of slim and light bow fibula types (Blinkenberg 1926: 73-75; Müller-Karpe 1962: 60, abb. 1-6; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978; Catling, Catling 1980: 236-37; Lemos 2002: 109; Ruppenstein 2007: 217-19, typ 1a, b, c, typ 2b, c; Pare 2008: fig. 5.10.A.B; Papadopoulos 2017: type 1, 909-11). The reason for the absence of the slim and light fibula types in Caria that were in use in the Mainland Greece 11th century BC graves might be related to our rather limited findings and little knowledge about this period in Caria. However, ceramic finds from the grave contexts of the region provide firm information that 11th century BC was actually represented in Caria and that we can

easily link these finds with the examples from mainland Greece (Özgünel 2013: lev. 56.b-e, lev.57. a-c, lev. 58. a-d, lev. 59. a, b, lev. 60. c-h, lev.61. e-f, lev. 62. e-f, lev. 64.g, lev. 65. a, f, lev. 66. a, c, d, lev.68.a-g, lev. 69. a-d; Boysal 1969; Özer 2018, 2019; Diler 2015: fig.10; 2019, fig.13; 2020, fig.16). In any case, well-defined Caner type II d fibulae constitute an important find group in terms of proving the existence of the relations between Caria and the Mainland Greece and Cyprus. Even though the findings that contribute to the material culture of Caria have not been treated broadly within a chronological sequence, there are indications that the communication network of the Late Bronze Age persisted continuously from the beginning of 12th century BC and also at certain periods, such as the first half of the 10th century BC, there are clues suggesting brief interruptions or weaknesses (Özer 2020: 237-38). Due to the numerous excavated graves, we can clearly say that the slim and light fibula types that were common in the Mainland Greece 11th century BC graves were not represented in Carian grave contexts. It becomes rather difficult to explain the absence of the this type of fibulae in Caria that were in use in the 11th century BC Aegean graves considering the widespread use of fibulae in dress customs and assuming there was no issue with metal supply. At this point, the necessity for thicker fibulae in the attire used by Carian communities provides a convincing explanation.

Taking into account that Caner Type II d fibulae were in use according to burial contexts in Mainland Greece, Caria, and Cyprus before the mid 11th century BCE, it can comfortably be stated that the fibula from Grave 78, which bears a close form resemblance to the early series of this fibula type and asymmetrical twisted bow fibulae, was in use in the first half of the 11th century BC. The absence of this type in Caria grave contexts apart from the Grave 78 fibula might point to the fact that this type of fibula was used within a limited time frame, only in the first half of 11th century BC and even indicate an experimental period in fibula production. The Grave 78 fibula is an exceptional and unexpected case being the sole representative of its type despite the sufficient evidence from the 11th century BC Carian graves. On the other side, Cyprus evidence reveals a shorter time frame for similar examples in comparison to other fibula types (Catling 1964: 243; Giesen 2001: 88-90, taf. 15.9). If we consider the Grave 78 fibula as an imported object, we must also consider the possibility of Cyprus as its origin.

The Grave 78 has been used starting from the 11th century BC until the beginning of the seventh century BC, and this does not allow a safe dating for the fibula. The other fibula types from the grave; one example from each of Caner Type II d early, standard and late series; one example from Lemos type VI group (Lemos 2002: 113), one bronze ring and a number of earrings prove that the grave has been used continiously along the first centuries of the Early Iron Age. The fact that the belly handled amphoriskoi, the most common finds of the 11th century BC grave contexts, also known from the end of 12th century BC (Özer 2019: fig. 9-10) are amongst the ceramic finds from the Grave 78 (fig. 6) indicate that the grave was in use in this century. The belly handled amphoriskoi are among the earliest finds of the Early Iron Age graves of Keramos Chora. The fact that

Figure 6. *Belentepe / Kavaklı Tomb 78, selected finds.*

the earliest finds from the region consists of the fibulae and the belly handled amphoriskoi corresponds to the evidence from Kerameikos (Ruppenstein 1999: tab. 1; Özer 2019; Özer 2020: 237). In fact, the weak representation of dress pins in the beginning of the Early Iron Age perhaps is due to the same reason for the absence of slim and light bow fibulae. At the time, perhaps fibulae had not yet been part of the dress customs in the region or the dress repertoire was consisted of rather heavy fabrics that would have required large fibulae. The long term usage of the graves could have disturbed the homogeneity of the earlier finds. Would this be a sufficient answer for the scarcity or the absence of certain finds? We do not have the answer yet.

It has been observed that many vase forms and metal objects forming part of the Early Iron Age Carian material culture were in use for a long period of time undergoing slow typological changes over time. This situation is particularly noticable in rural areas such as the Keramos Chora. Locally made ceramics in Keramos Chora, inspired by Aegean models, were used for an extended period, maintaining unchanged form characteristics (Özer 2020: 234). The long-term use of objects such as vase forms and fibulae indicates the persistence of traditions over generations. A similar situation is also observed in some vase forms that were widely used in the Archaic period in the region (Özer 2017). Therefore, it is quite challenging to determine the specific usage periods of the finds from Early Iron Age Carian tombs and living spaces within short time frames (Özer 2020: 226-27). Regional local production or imported finds associated with the artifacts known from Aegean cultural contexts indicate the existence of intercultural relations for specific periods

and support the establishment of chronological sequences. Particularly for the first half of 10th century BC and the ninth century, it becomes increasingly difficult to integrate Carian context finds with the evidence from the Aegean world. Differences in the material culture among the sub-regions of the Carian region further complicate the situation.

Before addressing the conditions behind the initiation of local fibula production in the Caria region, it is necessary to briefly touch upon the fibula types of the Late Helladic IIIC period: Asymmetrical bow fibulae, dated to the 12th century and early 11th century BC, found in Naxos (Vlachopoulos 2006: fig. 38.3573, pl. 23), Argos (Piteros 2001: fig. 19; Thomatos 2006, 234, fig. 5.1) and Eleteia (Pare 2008: fig. 5.10.A2) are typically considered among the imported examples of Balkan origin (Ruppenstein 2007: 221). Similar proposals are suggested for the fibulae from Asarlık / Termera (Paton 1887: fig. 17; Caner 1983: taf. 1.3; Özer, Şimşek-Özer 2017: fig. 4) and Pylona (Karantzali 2001: 70-71, fig. 42.1352, pl. 47a; Thomatos 2006: 238, 240, fig. 5.15; Pare 2008: fig. 5.10.A3; Benzi 2013: 525). The fibulae from Crete Mouliana (Blinkenberg 1926, 67, fig. 44; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 52, taf. 8.222; Steinmann 2012, taf. 59) and Perati (Iakovides 1969 / 1970: 276, M83, fig. 122, pl. 80; Harding 1984: fig. 38.15; Thomatos 2006: fig. 5.9, M83; Teržan 2007: 161, fig. XXXVIb) are other bow fibula examples encountered in Late Helladic IIIC middle and late phase contexts. Among these, the Eleteia, Argos, and Kamini fibulae are the earliest dated examples of asymmetrical bow fibula types.

The relationship of precedence and succession between these fibulae known from Late Helladic IIIC contexts and the fibulae with double beaded mouldings encountered in Sub-Mycenaean Period contexts has not been sufficiently discussed. Following Catling's proposition (Catling, Catling 1980: 237), the view that the fibulae with double beaded mouldings type originated in Cyprus and subsequently its manufacture persisted in the Aegean world, has been widely accepted, despite being controversial (Papadopoulos 2017: 913-14). Archaeological evidence leaves no room for doubt that the fibulae with double beaded mouldings were particularly favored in Cyprus and Caria. The fibulae that likely pioneered this form are the examples from Naxos, Argos, and Eleteia. Features like the double beaded mouldings and the swollen bow center offer sufficient form resemblances to draw parallels between Late Helladic IIIC types and Sub-Mycenaean types. The advanced examples of the Late Helladic IIIC period must be the pioneers of the double beaded asymmetrical bow fibulae of the 11th century BC and they were produced in several regions, primarily Cyprus and Caria, during the 11th century BC, and have gradually transformed into forms embodying local features over time (Teržan 2007: 161).

The typological and chronological continuity of the double beaded asymmetrical bow fibulae during the 11th and 10th centuries BC can be traced exceptionally well thanks to examples from Caria (Özer 2020) and Cyprus (Giesen 2001: taf. 17.3-7, taf. 32.108, 110, taf. 35.24, taf. 37.44; Karageorghis, Raptou 2016: Tomb 192, no. 26, pl. XXVIII, LXXXVI, Tomb 197, no. 6, 45-46, pl. XLII, XC). Cyprus and other Eastern Mediterranean centers constitute the source of chronological and typological evidence for the first examples of

similar fibulae (Stronach 1959: 183-85; Birmingham 1963: 89; Demetriou 1989: 65-66; Peddle 2001: 486; Pruss 2002: 171, abb. 8b; Welton *et al.* 2019: fig. 21.6-7).

Mainland Greece provides fewer in number, but offers examples that enable us to observe a sense of continuity. The finds from Vergina (Radt 1974: 125, 141, 144, taf. 38.25), Halos / Voulokalyva (Malakasioti, Tsiouka 2011: 612, fig. 8), Volos / Nea Ionia (Batzio-Efstathiou 1999: 124, fig. 19) and Torone (Papadopoulos 2005: fig. 171.b, pl. 453.a-b) are successors of the Sub-Mycenaean types with double beaded mouldings. An increase in the number and find spots of fibulae is observed in the Aegean world cultural regions in the second half of the 10th century BC (Lemos 2002: 111-12; Papadopoulos 2017: 914), in centers such as Lefkandi (Catling, Catling 1980: 238-40, pl. 167.1.10-11, pl. 248.5-8; Popham, Lemos 1996: pl. 67.6, pl. 69, bottom left), Attica (Nea Ionia: Smithson 1961: 173, pl. 27.58; Athens Agora: Papadopoulos 2017: 911; Kerameikos: Müller-Karpe 1962: Tomb 39, abb. 12.1, Tomb 48, abb. 15.2), Northern Peloponnese (Snodgrass 2000: fig. 87), Skyros (Vlavianou-Tsliki 1998: 129, pl. 42, 703), Kameiros (Jacopi 1932 / 1933: 356, fig. 84.1) and Kos (Morricone 1978: fig. 433, 505).

The findings obtained from different centers of the Aegean and Mediterranean world listed above, and the related examples from Italy, prove that the double beaded bow fibulae and the asymmetrical bow fibulae of the Late Helladic IIIC period are the precursors of the double beaded asymmetrical bow fibulae from the 11th century BC. The limited imported examples from the Late Helladic IIIC period have been produced locally in many regions ranging from Vergina to Euboia and Attica, and from Caria to Cyprus and other Eastern Mediterranean centers. Finds from the Central Mediterranean region can also be added to the related examples (Tanasi 2004: fig. 21; Pare 2008: 95; Savella 2016: 298, 300). The Carian and Cypriot examples show much more similarity compared to other regions, indicating that these two regions were in constant and regular communication. The suggestion that the copper used in Carian bronzes originated from Cyprus supports the notion of collaboration and technology transfer in metal productions between Carian region types and Cyprus (Özer 2020).

Conclusion

Chronologically, the fibula from Grave 78 must be an example that was produced and used just before the standardization phase of the Caner Type II d fibulae. The fibulae obtained from the Pedasa platform tomb 72 (Özer 2020: fig. 2.1), Asarlık platform tomb N (Caner 1983: taf. 2. 12) and the fibulae obtained from the circular grave 50 during the 2012 excavations (Diler 2019: fig.13. h, i, j) which are early series of Caner type II d fibulae, are immediate successors to the Belentepe / Kavaklı Grave 78 fibula in terms of form development. The early series of Caner type II d fibulae, produced in two different sizes, should be seen as indisputable evidence that the use of fibulae has become widespread in Caria and that local forms were being produced.

Evaluating the current archaeological evidence, the Belentepe / Kavaklı Grave 78 fibula of Keramos Chora seems to be the first fibula encountered in the Caria region after the Asarlık Grave O fibula, which is dated to the 12th century BC in the Lelegian Peninsula. Apart from the plastic knobs placed on both edges of the bow section, it is observed that the Caner type II d fibulae are very similar to the early series examples. Due to the fact that the fibulae related to the early series examples of Caner Type II d are found together with finds from the first half of the 11th century BC in the contexts of mainland Greece and Carian graves, and similar examples from Cyprus and Eastern Mediterranean centers are also dated to the 11th century BC, these fibulae must have been used between the years 1100-1050/30 BC. Given its established connection with asymmetrical twisted bow fibulae known from Sub-Mycenaean grave contexts and its substantial similarities that indicate it is a precursor to the Caner Type II d fibulae, the Belentepe / Kavaklı Grave 78 fibula should be dated to the first half of the 11th century BC (but more precisely within the earlier segment of the first half, rather than towards the middle). Even though the unchanged or minimally changed forms of the fibulae over a span of 2 to 6 generations demand a more cautious approach in suggesting dates, the reasons outlined above, coupled with this fibula not transforming into a widely used type, supports the proposition that its use was short-lived. There is no doubt that the Iron Age communities in Caria preferred fibulae that featured mouldings on either side of the bow section during the 11th and ninth centuries BC.

Fibulae, Naue II type swords, and other metal finds indicate that the Caria was also part of the commonality observed in the Mediterranean metal finds, defined as the *koine of international bronzes* (Pare 2008: 95) or *metallurgical koine* (Mehofer, Jung 2017). As can be understood from the wide geographic distribution of similar examples, fibulae of the Caria region, which are the descendants of the Late Helladic IIIC period fibulae, must have begun to be produced locally, based on common models, at the beginning of the 11th century BC. The fact that the fibulae of the Lelegian Peninsula and Keramos Chora are quite similar examples in the early centuries of the Early Iron Age indicates that their places of production were common. As previously suggested, the copper used in regional bronzes and the techniques used in metal production are indicators of close relationships established with Cyprus (Özer 2020: 226, 237-38).

The components forming the material culture of the Early Iron Age in Caria leave no doubt that the region participated in the international communication network. Detailed research on the material groups of the region will present us with the character and dynamics of the communication network established with the Mediterranean and Aegean cultural regions by the communities living in the sub-cultural regions of Caria from the beginning of the 12th century BC. The form/typological development of Caner Type II d fibulae exhibits parallels with Cyprus until the middle of 10th century BC, and from the mid 10th century BC onwards, increasingly with the Aegean cultural regions, particularly Euboea. By the end of the 9th century BC and into the eighth century, the types of fibulae

were composed of local examples of types we know very well from the Aegean Islands. The representation of fibulae in Aegean world grave contexts in terms of number and variety remains far behind the Lelegian Peninsula, Mylasa, and Keramos Chora. One of the main reasons for the striking richness in Caria region grave data should be the far greater representation of double moulded asymmetrical fibulae than in other regions and the traceability of their continuity.

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