

**FROM MACEDONIA TO ANATOLIA.  
SOME COMMENTS  
ON THE PHRYGIANS AND THEIR MIGRATION**

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**Introduction**

It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this text to my teacher Stella Drougou, to whom, like many other students and colleagues, I owe so much. The topic I have chosen has to do with two different geographical regions and the link between them: on the one hand Macedonia, a land about which Professor Drougou has taught me much, and on the other Anatolia, or the great land mass to the south of the Black Sea, my work on which is also closely associated with Stella Drougou, since the post-graduate programme in Black Sea Studies at my university was a project we started together.

The link between these two regions dates back to the very dawn of history. And the people that – perhaps among other contributing factors – is responsible for that link is none other than the Phrygians, who having migrated from Macedonia to Anatolia remained the dominant culture there for many centuries. Much has been written about this people, their origins, the route they followed into Asia Minor, and the probable timeline and causes of this migration. Just recently, however, a new linguistic discovery<sup>1</sup> has added a further dimension to the Phrygian question.

Incited by this discovery, I will endeavour in this paper to address some of the basic issues relating to the Phrygians. Obviously, no extensive treatment of the subject can be attempted in the space available to us here. Moreover, much of what I will be saying is not offered as solid conclusion, but does raise valid questions. In any case, I hope that it will be enough to kindle a new round of discussion on the matter.

1. This discovery was made by Christos Tzitzilis, a scholar to whom I am also immensely indebted, not least for the long discussions from which springs much of what is said here.

2. Aelius Herodianus, *De Prosodia Catholica* 3.1.61. Cf. Scholiast in Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 302.23.
3. Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika* 187.
4. According to Photius, *Bibliotheca* 186.130b.25-131a.3.
5. *Chrestomathia* 313-320.
6. *Argonautica* 4.330 and 470. Cf. also Scholiast in Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 302-303.
7. Herodotus 8.138; Conon in Photius, *Bibliotheca* 186.130-131.
8. *FrGrHist* 2b 124 F 54.

## The position of the Phrygians in Europe and Asia

### The Brygians in the Balkans

The first to ascribe a European origin to the Phrygians was Herodotus (7.73), who wrote that “According to the Macedonian account, the Phrygians were called Briges as long as they dwelt in Europe, where they were neighbors of the Macedonians; but when they changed their home to Asia, they changed their name also and were called Phrygians.”

That the Brygians lived in the region of Macedonia is also evident from the writings of Pseudo-Scymnus (434), who says that the lands inhabited by the Brygians, whom he calls barbarians, reached as far as Illyria, Epidamnus and Lake Lychnitis (Ochrid), and Strabo (7.7.8), according to whom “the Brygi dwell above Epidamnus and Apollonia as far as the Ceranium Mountains, close to the Bylliones, the Taulantii and the Parthini”, while their lands, like those of the Lyncestae, Deuriopes and Pelagonians, were watered by tributaries of the Erigon, and the city of Cydrae belonged to them (7.7.9).

Later writers say less about the Brygians, merely naming them as a neighboring people to the Illyrians in Macedonia<sup>2</sup>, or mentioning the cities of Brygia and Brygion as situated in that land<sup>3</sup>. Nor must we forget the “Brygeides lakes”, known today as the Prespes. Conon<sup>4</sup> records the tradition that the Phrygian king Midas lived in Macedonia, between the Pieria massif and Mt. Bermium, before deciding to move into Asia Minor, while Proclus<sup>5</sup> mentions a war between the Brygians and the Thesprotians.

These various references give a fairly clear picture of where the land inhabited by the Brygians was situated, with the additional detail that it was a maritime region, given that Apollonius of Rhodes mentions the “Brygeides” islands of Artemis in the Adriatic<sup>6</sup>. The reference to the gardens of Midas, king of the Phrygians, in the foothills of Mt. Bermium<sup>7</sup> also helps in identifying the location and extent of their territory, as does the information, provided by Callisthenes, that the Brygians owed their prosperity to the minerals they mined from Mt. Bermium<sup>8</sup>.

Hammond thinks that the capital of the Brygians in Macedonia before the 8th century BC was probably Edessa, beneath the northern end of Mt. Bermium, which took its name from the Phrygian word for water and near which were the famous

gardens of Midas<sup>9</sup>. The rest of what he says, however, generates some confusion as regards Edessa, Aigai and Vergina. In order to remain strong, he says, the Brygians had to control the foothills fringing the plain west of the Axios. One of these was the site of the Phrygian settlement of Vergina, which had been called Edessa and was renamed Aigai by the Macedonians when they took it. Until that time, from roughly 1140 to ca. 800 BC<sup>10</sup>, Vergina-Edessa had been one of the great Phrygian centres. Hammond's words suggest the existence of two cities called Edessa, one the present-day Edessa (north of Mt. Bermium) and the other at Vergina (north of the Pieria), which was called Edessa before being renamed Aigai. The question of the name and identity of Vergina has been too extensively discussed to return here<sup>11</sup>. What does need to be pointed out is Hammond's failure, in the specific text, to make clear which of the two Edessas he means.

### The Phrygians in Asia Minor

The first mention of the Phrygians in Anatolia occurs in the *Iliad*, where<sup>12</sup> they are described as coming from 'remote Ascania' (mod. İznik Gölü) and the banks of the river Sangarius<sup>13</sup>, a territory much smaller than that, which they would later occupy, which extended at least as far east as the Halys river (Herod. 5.52). According to Strabo<sup>14</sup> the Troas was called Phrygia because, after Troy was sacked, the Phrygians, whose territory bordered on that region, got the mastery over it<sup>15</sup>. In general lines, this is not at odds with Homer's placing of the Phrygians to the east of Troy, although his use of the word τῆλε indicates a considerable distance from that city<sup>16</sup>.

9. HAMMOND 1972, p. 410.
10. HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 410-411.
11. See recently MANOLEDAKIS 2005 and MANOLEDAKIS, LIVIERATOS 2006, with the previous bibliography.
12. In the Trojan Catalogue: *Iliad* 2.862-863.
13. *Iliad* 3.187.
14. Strabo 10.3.22; cf. 12.8.3.
15. Whence Strabo's remark in 12.8.7 that the tragic poets called the Trojans Phrygians (cf. Euripides, *Hecuba* 1-41; *Rhesos* 585-586; Sophocles, *Antigone* 823-827. Cf. also Aelius Herodianus, *De Prosodia Catholica* 3.1.61; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika* 186), although in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 113 a distinction is made between Phrygian and the language of the Trojans.
16. For the use of this word in the Trojan Catalogue, see MANOLEDAKIS 2013, p. 26, 33-34.

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- HAMMOND [N. G. L.] 1972 = *A History of Macedonia*, vol. 1, Oxford
  - MANOLEDAKIS [M.] 2005 = "The Placement of Aegae in the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy", *AEMΘ* 19, p. 483-494
  - MANOLEDAKIS [M.], LIVIERATOS [E.] 2006 = "On the digital placement of Aegae, the first capital of ancient Macedonia, according to Ptolemy's *Geographia*", *Proceedings of the First International Workshop "Digital Approaches to Cartographic Heritage"*, Thessaloniki, p. 262-270. Also in *e-Perimetreion* 2.1 (2007), 31-41 ([www.e-perimetreion.org](http://www.e-perimetreion.org)).
  - MANOLEDAKIS [M.] 2013 = "The Southern Black Sea in the Homeric *Iliad*: Some Geographical, Philological and Historical Remarks", in M. MANOLEDAKIS (ed.), *Exploring the Hospitable Sea. Proceedings of the International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity, Thessaloniki, 21-23 September 2012*, Oxford, p. 19-37

17. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.11.
18. Strabo 12.4.4-12.5.4; 12.7.2; 12.8.
19. See indicatively ROLLER 2011, p. 565. Cf. KERSCHNER 2005, p. 115.
20. Pliny, *Natural History* 5.41.
21. Cf. also Ptolemy 5.2.4, 5.2.14, 5.2.20-22, 5.5.4, 8.17.17.

According to Xenophon<sup>17</sup>, the most north-westerly Phrygian city was Ceramon Agora. The full territorial extent of Phrygia and its division into Lesser Phrygia or Phrygia Epictetus, roughly corresponding to the region indicated in the Trojan Catalogue, and Greater Phrygia, is not described until the Roman period, and basically through the extended references in Strabo<sup>18</sup>. The sites where Phrygian inscriptions have been found are also helpful<sup>19</sup>. Pliny<sup>20</sup> mentions that Phrygia lies above the Troas; on its northern side it borders upon Galatia, on the south it joins Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Mygdonia, and on the east it touches upon Cappadocia<sup>21</sup>.

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- ROLLER [L. E.] 2011 = “Phrygian and the Phrygians”, in S. R. STEADMAN, G. MCMAHON (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (10.000-323 BCE)*, Oxford, p. 560-578
  - KERSCHNER [M.] 2005 = “Die Ionier und ihr Verhältnis zu den Phrygern und Lydern. Beobachtungen zur archäologischen Evidenz”, *Asia Minor Studien* 54. *Neue Forschungen zu Ionien*, p. 113-146

## On the origins of the Phrygians

For a long time the Phrygians were clearly associated in the literature with the Thracians. Directly or indirectly, we are told that “the Phrygians were Thracians”<sup>22</sup>, and read of “Thraco-Phrygian peoples and tribes” and “Thraco-Phrygian migrations” from Europe to Asia<sup>23</sup>. Sometimes, indeed, these migrations are said to have led, together with the Cimmerian and Scythian invasions of Anatolia, to the creation of the Phrygian kingdom<sup>24</sup>. This is manifestly false since, firstly, the Phrygian state seems to have come into being considerably before any Cimmerian invasion<sup>25</sup>, secondly, it was the Phrygian state itself that suffered from this invasion, and thirdly, there is not even solid evidence of a Scythian invasion<sup>26</sup>.

This view is no longer rock-solid, and the tendency now is to avoid the term “Thraco-Phrygian”<sup>27</sup>.

22. MUSCARELLA 1995, p. 95. Cf. KRETSCHMER 1970, p. 171 ff.; LASZLO 1998, p. 44. Moreu (MOREU 2003, p. 121-122) mentions the Muski, whom he considers as “related to the Phrygians” who “may have been people of Thracian origin”.
23. KRETSCHMER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 171 ff.; DÖNMEZ 2006, p. 13, 16, 38; DÖNMEZ 2010, p. 166.
24. DÖNMEZ 2006, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 23), p. 13, 38.
25. See *infra*, p. 66-68.
26. Cf. TSETSKHLADZE 2012a, p. 331-332; TSETSKHLADZE 2012b, p. 237.
27. Cf. HAAS 1966, p. 229-230; FOL 1997, p. 261. Woudhuizen insists in keeping the term. His connection of the Kaska of northern Anatolia with the Phrygians (WOUDHUIZEN 2012, p. 265, 267) cannot be proven yet.

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- MUSCARELLA [O. W.] 1995 = “The Iron Age Background to the Formation of the Phrygian State”, *BASOR* 299/300, p. 91-101
  - KRETSCHMER [P.] 1970 = *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen
  - LASZLO [A.] 1998 = “Some Connections Between the Northern Thrace and Asia Minor During the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age”, in N. TUNA, Z. AKTÜRE, M. LYNCH (eds), *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism*, Ankara, p. 41-44
  - MOREU [C. J.] 2003 = “The Sea Peoples and the Historical Backgrounds of the Trojan War”, *Mediterranean Archaeology* 16, p. 107-124
  - DÖNMEZ [S.] 2006 = “Some Observations of the Socio-Economic Structure and Ethnic Make-up of the Central Black Sea Region of Turkey during the Iron Age in the Light of New Evidence”, *Ancient West and East* 5, p. 13-43
  - DÖNMEZ [S.] 2010 = “An Overview of the 2nd Millennium BC and Iron Age Cultures of the Province of Sinop in the Light of New Research”, *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16, p. 153-174
  - TSETSKHLADZE [G. R.] 2012a = “Pots versus People: Further Consideration of the Earliest Examples of East Greek Pottery in Native Settlements of the Northern Pontus”, in A. HERMARY, G. R. TSETSKHLADZE (eds), *From the Pillars of Hercules to the Footsteps of the Argonauts*, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, p. 315-374
  - TSETSKHLADZE [G. R.] 2012b = “The Southern Black Sea Coast and its Hinterland: An Ethno-Cultural Perspective”, in G. R. TSETSKHLADZE (ed.), *The Black Sea, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Phrygia in Antiquity*, Oxford, p. 235-241
  - HAAS [O.] 1966 = *Die Phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler*, Sofia
  - FOL [A.] 1997 = “The Paredroi between ‘Midas’ City’ and ‘Midas’ Gardens’”, in R. GUSMANI, M. SALVINI, P. VANNICELLI (eds), *Frigi e Frigio*, Roma, p. 261-266
  - WOUDHUIZEN [F. C.] 2012 = “The Saga of the Argonauts: A Reflex of Thraco-Phrygian Maritime Encroachment on the Southern Pontic Littoral”, in G. R. TSETSKHLADZE (ed.), *The Black Sea, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Phrygia in Antiquity*, Oxford, p. 263-271

28. See e.g. FOL 1998; ÖZDOĞAN 1993; GEORGIEVA 1998; TSETSKHLADZE 2007.
29. Cf. Sams in the panel discussion in TUNA *et al.* 1998, p. 166; TSETSKHLADZE 2007, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 28), p. 284.
30. Cf. indicatively VASSILEVA 1998, p. 14; TSETSKHLADZE 2007, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 28).
31. For the Phrygian language, see in greater detail below, p. 63-65.
32. E.g. LASZLO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 41.
33. See in detail in VASSILEVA 1998, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 30).
34. FOL 1997, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 261.
35. See e.g. ΕΥΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 2007.

The only monuments that might justify this view are the megaliths and some funerary structures<sup>28</sup>, which however yield no specific information, not even a common date<sup>29</sup>, while similar rituals and cult practices between Thracians and Phrygians<sup>30</sup> are now considered too general to imply a close Phrygian association with the Thracians specifically rather than with the Balkans generally, for many peoples had similar monuments and rituals. Most importantly, of course, Phrygian is now commonly agreed to be a *centum* language<sup>31</sup>, while Thracian is a *satem* language. Other scholars<sup>32</sup> identify Macedonia as the source of the elements of Balkan origin that we find in Anatolia and of which we will be speaking later. Thus, the so-called “Thracian-Phrygian cultural zone”<sup>33</sup> ought perhaps to be called something else, for instance the “Zone between Midas’ city and Midas’ gardens”<sup>34</sup>. It could also be called the “Balkan-Phrygian zone” or the “Balkan-Anatolian zone” or something along those lines, since the terms “Thrace” and “Thracian” may cause confusion between the geographical and the ethnic element<sup>35</sup>.

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- FOL [V.] 1998 = “Megaliths in Thrace and Phrygia”, in N. TUNA, Z. AKTÜRE, M. LYNCH (eds), *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism*, Ankara, p. 19-27
  - ÖZDOĞAN [M.] 1993 = “The Second Millennium of the Marmara Region”, *Ist-Mitt* 43, p. 151-163
  - GEORGIEVA [R.] 1998 = “Burial Rites in Thrace and Phrygia”, in N. TUNA, Z. AKTÜRE, M. LYNCH (eds), *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism*, Ankara, p. 61-64
  - TSETSKHLADZE [G. R.] 2007 = “Thracians Versus Phrygians: About the Origin of the Phrygians Once Again”, in A. ÇILINGIROGLU, A. SAGONA (eds), *Anatolian Iron Ages 6*, p. 283-310
  - TUNA [N.] *et al.* 1998 = N. TUNA, Z. AKTÜRE, M. LYNCH (eds), *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Archaeology, History and Ancient Languages of Thrace and Phrygia. Ankara 3-4 June 1995*, Ankara
  - VASSILEVA [M.] 1998 = “Thracian-Phrygian Cultural Zone”, in N. TUNA, Z. AKTÜRE, M. LYNCH (eds), *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism*, Ankara, p. 13-17
  - ΕΥΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ [I.] 2007 = *Η Εικόνα των Θρακών στην κλασική ιστοριογραφία*, Θεσσαλονίκη

### The archaeological evidence

From the purely archaeological point of view Phrygia's link with the Balkans, and more specifically with Macedonia, begins in the 13th century BC and is due essentially to a particular kind of pottery. Pottery that in the 13th and 12th centuries BC is found both in Macedonia and at Gordium, the Phrygian capital, as well as in various other parts of Mycenaean Greece in the LH IIIB and the LH IIIC. This is the so-called "barbarian pottery" that has also been found at Troy VIIb2<sup>36</sup> and is known as "Handmade and Burnished Ware (HBW)" or "Coarse Ware". This pottery is held by the great majority of scholars to have come from the Balkans and is attributed to the Brygians, the ancestors of the Phrygians of Anatolia<sup>37</sup>.

Thus, based on finds of this pottery, Troy VIIb2 is considered to have been captured by peoples who came from the Balkans in the 12th century BC, that is, after the destruction of Troy VIIa, the Troy associated with the Trojan War<sup>38</sup>.

36. BLEGEN 1963, p. 165-172; BARNETT 1975, p. 418; RUTTER 1975, p. 17, 23 ff.; HARDING 1984, p. 221-222; BLOEDOW 1985; DE VRIES 1990, p. 372; MUSCARELLA 1995, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 93; KOPPENHÖFER 1997, p. 298, 305, 316-325, 332 ff.; LASZLO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22); MOUNTJOY 1998; MOUNTJOY 1999; CHIAI 2006, p. 280-281.
37. Some indeed believe it to have come from the Northern Balkans or even farther north, in what is now Hungary. See e.g. HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 406-407; PETROVA 1998, p. 45.
38. BLEGEN 1963, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 165-172; SANDARS 1978, p. 192-193; HILLER 1991, p. 207;

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- BLEGEN [C. W.] 1963 = *Troy and the Trojans*, London
  - BARNETT [R. D.] 1975 = "Phrygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age", in I. E. S. EDWARDS, C. J. GADD, N. G. L. HAMMOND, E. SOLLBERGER (eds), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, part 2, 3rd edition, Cambridge, p. 417-442
  - RUTTER [J. B.] 1975 = "Ceramic Evidence for Northern Intruders in Southern Greece at the Beginning of the Late Helladic IIIC Period", *AJA* 79.1, p. 17-32
  - HARDING [A. F.] 1984 = *The Mycenaean and Europe*, London
  - BLOEDOW [E. F.] 1985 = "Handmade Furnished Ware or 'Barbarian' Pottery and Troy VIIIB", *La Parola del Passato* 40, p. 161-199
  - DE VRIES [K.] 1990 = "The Gordion Excavation Seasons of 1969-1973 and Subsequent Research", *AJA* 94, p. 371-406
  - KOPPENHÖFER [D.] 1997 = "Troia VII. Versuch einer Zusammenschau einschließlich der Ergebnisse des Jahres 1995", *Studia Troica* 7, p. 295-354
  - MOUNTJOY [P. A.] 1998 = "The East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface in Late Bronze Age. Mycenaean and the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa", *Anatolian Studies* 48, p. 33-67
  - MOUNTJOY [P. A.] 1999 = "Troia VII. Reconsidered", *Studia Troica* 9, p. 295-346
  - CHIAI [G. F.] 2006 = "Völker, Sprachen und Kulturen der Troas in der archaischen Zeit (9.-8. Jh. v. Chr.)", in E. OLSHAUSEN, H. SONNABEND (eds), *Troianer sind wir gewesen' -Migrationen in der antiken Welt*, Stuttgart, p. 276-290
  - PETROVA [E.] 1998 = "Bryges and Phrygians: Parallelism Between the Balkans and Asia Minor Through Archaeological, Linguistic and Historical Evidence", in N. TUNA, Z. AKTÜRE, M. LYNCH (eds), *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism*, Ankara, p. 45-54
  - SANDARS [N. K.] 1978 = *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean 1250-1150 BC*, London
  - HILLER [S.] 1991 = "The Mycenaean and the Black Sea", in R. LAFFINEUR, L. BASCH (eds), *Thalassa. L'Égée préhistorique et la mer*, Liège, p. 207-216

- MUSCARELLA 1995, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 93; BOARDMAN 1999, p. 84; BAKIR-AKBAŞOĞLU 1997, p. 231; BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1997, p. 256; CHIAI, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 280 ff.
39. SAMS 1994a, p. xxx, 20-21; HENRICKSON, VOIGT 1998, p. 85 ff., 101-103; VOIGT 2011, p. 1077. Cf. BLEGEN 1963, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 167, 171-172; SANDARS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38), p. 84-88, 191-192; BLOEDOW, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 167 ff.; MUSCARELLA 1995, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 94; MOUNTJOY 1998, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36); KULLMANN 1999, p. 191; WEBER 2011, p. 240.
40. RUTTER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 17-32; FRENCH, RUTTER 1977; SANDARS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38), p. 191-192; CATLING, CATLING 1981; DEGER-JALKOTZY 1983; BANKOFF, WINTER 1984; HARDING, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 213-221; BLOEDOW, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), with all the sites that yielded this pottery in p. 161-162 n. 1; FRENCH 1989; KATINTCHAROV 1989, p. 83-

Meanwhile, in the heart of Phrygia, archaeologists think that a new population group must have occupied Gordium towards the end of the second millennium BC. The similarities between the pottery of this group and the contemporary pottery of the Balkans and Troy VIIb2 point to a link between that group and populations that had come to Anatolia from the Balkans, although this does not necessarily mean that the same Balkan populations that came to Troy also occupied Gordium<sup>39</sup>.

Finds similar to this “barbarian pottery” occur at the same time in Tiryns, Mycenae, Korakou, Menelaion, Kalapodi, Asine, Lefkandi, Athens, Cyprus and elsewhere<sup>40</sup>, along with the

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- BOARDMAN [J.] 1999<sup>4</sup> = *The Greeks Overseas*, London
- BAKIR-AKBAŞOĞLU [T.] 1997 = “Phryger in Daskyleion”, in R. GUSMANI, M. SALVINI, P. VANNICELLI (eds), *Frigi e Frigio*, Roma, p. 229-238
- BÖRKER-KLÄHN [J.] 1997 = “Zur Herkunft der Bezeichnung ‘Muski’”, in R. GUSMANI, M. SALVINI, P. VANNICELLI (eds), *Frigi e Frigio*, Roma, p. 249-260
- SAMS [G. K.] 1994a = *The Early Phrygian Pottery*, Philadelphia
- HENRICKSON [R. C.], VOIGT [M. M.] 1998 = “The Early Iron Age at Gordion: The Evidence from the Yassihöyük Stratigraphic Sequence”, in N. TUNA, Z. AKTÜRE, M. LYNCH (eds), *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism*, Ankara, p. 79-106
- VOIGT [M. M.] 2011 = “The Changing Political and Economic Roles of a First Millennium B.C.E. City”, in S. R. STEADMAN, G. MCMAHON (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (10,000-323 BCE)*, Oxford, p. 1069-1094
- KULLMANN [W.] 1999 = “Homer und Kleinasien”, in J. KAZAZIS, A. RENGAKOS (eds), *Euphrosyne: Studies in Ancient Epic and its Legacy in Honor of Dimitris N. Maronitis*, Stuttgart, p. 189-201
- WEBER [G.] 2011 = “Der Troianische Krieg: Historische Realität oder poetische Fiktion”, in A. RENGAKOS, B. ZIMMERMANN (eds), *Homer-Handbuch. Leben - Werk - Wirkung*, Stuttgart, p. 228-256
- FRENCH [E.], RUTTER [J.] 1977 = “The Handmade Burnished Ware of the Late Helladic IIIC Period: Its Modern Historical Context”, *AJA* 81.1, p. 111-112
- CATLING [H. W.], CATLING [E. A.] 1981 = “‘Barbarian’ Pottery from the Mycenaean Settlement at the Menelaion, Sparta”, *BSA* 76, p. 71-82
- DEGER-JALKOTZY [S.] 1983 = “Das Problem der ‘Handmade Burnished Ware’ von MYK. IIIC”, in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der ‘Dark Ages’ vom 12. bis zum 9. Jh. v. Chr.*, Wien, p. 161-178
- BANKOFF [H. A.], WINTER [F. A.] 1984 = “Northern Intruders in LH IIIC Greece: A View from the North”, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 12.1, p. 1-30
- FRENCH [E.] 1989 = “Possible Northern Intrusions at Mycenae”, in J. G. P. BEST, M. W. DEVRIES (eds), *Thracians and Mycenaean. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Thracology, Rotterdam, 24-26 September 1984*, Leiden, p. 39-51
- KATINTCHAROV [R.] 1989 = “Relations culturelles entre la Thrace, la Grèce et l’Anatolie du nord-ouest à l’Âge du Bronze moyen et récent”, in J. G. P. BEST, M. W. DE VRIES (eds), *Thracians and Mycenaean. Proceedings of the Fourth In-*

much more plentiful Mycenaean pottery, which suggests that the people who brought it did not come as conquerors of those sites, as might be said of Gordium, the only site in Phrygia that has been extensively excavated and seems to have been inhabited continuously from the Bronze Age onwards<sup>41</sup>.

In any case, petrographic analysis of samples of this HBW from Menelaion has clearly shown that it is not a Mycenaean product<sup>42</sup>, and that its likeliest origin is from the Balkans and the region of Macedonia<sup>43</sup>.

This leads to the conclusion that there were relations between the populations of Macedonia<sup>44</sup> that used that pottery, in other words most probably the Brygians, and the Mycenaean south. These relations are also apparent in reverse: a Mycenaean presence is observed through the LH IIIA and B pottery at Asseros and LH IIIB and C pottery at Therme, Gona, Perivolaki and Kastanas – essentially, in other words, in the area around the Thermaic Gulf and the delta of the Axios. This pottery is usually interpreted as a sign of Mycenaean expansion into and influence on Macedonia<sup>45</sup>, marking the particular area as an important contact zone for the two civilisations, the Mycenaean and the South Balkan.

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*ternational Congress of Thracology. Rotterdam, 24-26 September 1984*, Leiden, p. 68-85

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- WHITBREAD [I. K.] 1992 = “Petrographic Analysis of Barbarian Ware from the Menelaion, Sparta”, in J. M. SANDERS (ed.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Laconian Studies in Honor of Hector Catling*, London, p. 297-306
- BANKOFF [H. A.], MEYER [N.], STEFANOVICH [M.] 1996 = “Handmade Burnished Ware and the Late Bronze Age of the Balkans”, *JMA* 9.2, p. 193-209
- KARAGEORGHIS [V.] 2000 = “Cultural Innovations in Cyprus Relating to the Sea Peoples”, in E. D. OREN (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*, Philadelphia, p. 255-280
- DEMAND [N. H.] 2011 = *The Mediterranean Context of Early Greek History*, Oxford
- BRIAN ROSE [C.] (ed.) 2013 = *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*, Philadelphia
- KEALHOFER [L.] (ed.) 2005 = *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, Philadelphia
- SMALL [D. B.] 1997 = “Can We Move Forward? Comments on the Current Debate over Handmade Burnished Ware”, *JMA* 10.2, p. 223-228
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- SMIT [D. W.] 1989 = “Mycenaean Penetration into Northern Greece”, in J. G. P. BEST, M. W. DE VRIES (eds), *Thracians and Mycenaean. Proceedings of the*

85; SMALL 1990, p. 5; WHITBREAD 1992, p. 297; BANKOFF, MEYER, STEFANOVICH 1996; KOPPENHÖFER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 332 ff.; LASZLO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22); KARAGEORGHIS 2000, p. 257; DEMAND 2011, p. 212-214, with the most recent data and all the previous bibliography.

- 41. ROLLER 2011, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19), p. 561; VOIGT 2011, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39). For the archaeological work at Gordium, see also BRIAN ROSE 2013. Cf. also KEALHOFER 2005.
- 42. WHITBREAD, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 40).
- 43. See above, notes 36-40. Cf. HENRICKSON, VOIGT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 103; Rutter (RUTTER, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 36], p. 30-31) sees Thrace and the Eastern Balkans as a more probable place of origin than the Western Balkans. Reservations about the Balkan origin are expressed by Small (SMALL 1990, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 40]; SMALL 1997).
- 44. Where this pottery may have arrived from even farther north.
- 45. HODDINOTT 1989, esp. p. 64. Cf. BANKOFF, WINTER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 40), p. 6, 19-21; HARDING, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 237-238 and fig. 54, p. 241; SMIT 1989; WARDLE 1993; BANKOFF,

MEYER, STEFANOVICH, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 40), p. 194, 200-201; TIVERIOS 2008, p. 19, 124; Harding is particularly sceptical of another view that has been expressed, namely about “northern invaders in Mycenaean Greece” (HARDING 1984, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 36], p. 226).

46. The archaeological data show that “Gordion provided its first evidence for politic and economic power [...] in the early 9th century BC”. VOIGT 2009, p. 235. Cf. MUSCARELLA 1995, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 96. The new dating of the famous destruction layer at Gordium, drawn from dendrochronological and radiocarbon datings, shows that the destruction took place in the late 9th century (and therefore has nothing to do with the Cimmerians), while the city was rebuilt immediately (YHSS 6-5), without causing a break in its evolution. For the new dating, which led to a revision of the Iron Age chronology in central Anatolia generally, see more recently VOIGT 2005, p. 29-31; VOIGT 2009, *op. cit.*; MATSUMURA, OMORI 2010; GENZ 2011; BRIAN ROSE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 41), p. 1. Some scholars persist with the old chronology, e.g. MUSCARELLA 2003.
47. BOARDMAN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38), p. 88-93. Cf. COLDSTREAM 1968, p. 378-379. Especially for the fibulae see also YOUNG 1981, p. 156 ff., 239-249. For the revetments see indicatively SUMMERS 2006; SUMMERER 2008, with previous bibliography.
48. BOARDMAN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38), p. 235. Cf. also HAAS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 12.

Later, too, after the founding of the powerful Phrygian kingdom in Anatolia, considerable similarity between Greek and Phrygian products is observed from the 9th century BC<sup>46</sup>, particularly in pottery, bronze fibulae, painting and especially the decoration of clay relief revetments in Phrygian sites, which suggests that the influences between Greece and Phrygia worked both ways<sup>47</sup>. We note, however, that of all the Greek pottery it is the Geometric pottery of Macedonia that displays the closest affinity with Phrygian pottery, at least from the 8th century BC if not before<sup>48</sup>.

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*Fourth International Congress of Thracology. Rotterdam, 24-26 September 1984, Leiden, p. 174-180*

- WARDLE [K. A.] 1993 = “Mycenaean Trade and Influence in Northern Greece”, in C. ZERNER, P. ZERNER, J. WINDER (eds), *Wace and Blegen. Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age 1939-1989*, Amsterdam, p. 117-141
- TIVERIOS [M.] 2008 = “Greek Colonization of the Northern Aegean”, in G. R. TSETSKHLADZE (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, Leiden/Boston, p. 1-154
- VOIGT [M. M.] 2009 = “The Chronology of Phrygian Gordion”, in S. W. MANNING, M. J. BRUCE (eds), *Tree-Rings, Kings, and Old World Archaeology and Environment: Papers Presented in Honor of P. I. Kuniholm*, Oxford/Oakville, p. 219-237
- VOIGT [M. M.] 2005 = “Old Problems and New Solutions: Recent Excavations at Gordion”, in L. KEALHOFER (ed.), *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, Philadelphia
- MATSUMURA [K.], OMORI [T.] 2010 = “The Iron Age Chronology in Anatolia Reconsidered: The Results of the Excavations at Kaman Kalehöyük”, in P. MATTHIAE, F. PINNOCK, L. NIGRO, N. MARCHETTI (eds), *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden, p. 443-455
- GENZ [H.] 2011 = “The Iron Age in Central Anatolia”, in G. R. TSETSKHLADZE (ed.), *The Black Sea, Greece, Anatolia and Europe in the First Millennium BC*, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, p. 331-368
- MUSCARELLA [O. W.] 2003 = “The Date of the Destruction of the Early Phrygian Period at Gordion”, *Ancient West and East* 2.2, p. 225-252
- COLDSTREAM [J. N.] 1968 = *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London
- YOUNG [R. S.] 1981 = *The Gordion Excavations Final Reports I: Three Great Early Tumuli*, Philadelphia
- SUMMERS [G. D.] 2006 = “Architectural Terracottas in Greater Phrygia: Problems of Chronology and Distribution”, in A. ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ (ed.), *Studies in Honor of Hayat Erkanal*, Istanbul, p. 684-688
- SUMMERER [L.] 2008 = “Indigenous Responses to Encounters with the Greeks in Northern Anatolia: The Reception of Architectural Terracottas in the Iron Age Settlements of the Halys Basin”, in P. G. BILDE, J. H. PETERSEN (eds), *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between Conflicts and Coexistence*, Aarhus, p. 263-286

The coarse black polished ware and grey-ware of the 9th century BC, like those found at Gordium, occur together with other indications of Phrygian presence and material culture at sites in Macedonia, including Axiochori (Vardarophtsa), Tsautsitsa, Kilindir, Limnotopos (Vardina) and Vergina<sup>49</sup>, while pottery from the 8th century BC at Daskylion has parallels in Macedonia, for instance at Pateli<sup>50</sup>. Daskylion was an important Phrygian settlement, and the finds from it suggest that the whole region of Propontis was a contact zone for Greek and Phrygian culture, and a crossroads of civilisations generally<sup>51</sup>.

In general terms, Early Phrygian Pottery has significant parallels not only in Macedonia but also in Thessaly, where the Phrygian influence was also felt in some areas<sup>52</sup>, while at the same time there was a region in Thessaly with a strong Mycenaean presence<sup>53</sup>.

### The evidence of the sources

What the sources have to say about the origins of the Phrygians is almost entirely legend and of no particular assistance in clarifying the question. That is natural, of course, since mythical traditions could be created at any time, by anyone, for any reason. Thus there are traditions linking Midas with various places, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia<sup>54</sup>. The later sources that refer to the ethnic identity of the Brygians<sup>55</sup>, especially the lexicographical works, differ in their views. Sometimes the Brygians are simply described as barbarians<sup>56</sup>, elsewhere, there is a confusion between Macedonian and Thracian origin<sup>57</sup>, although it should be noted that the Thracian origin is often

49. HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 408, 410; SAMS 1994a, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 53, 65. Cf. BORZA 1990, p. 74.
50. BAKIR 1995, p. 272; BAKIR-AKBAŞOĞLU, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38), p. 232. Cf. HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 412.
51. BAKIR, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 50); BAKIR-AKBAŞOĞLU, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38); VASSILEVA 1998, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 30), p. 15; ROLLER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19), p. 562; VAN DONGEN 2013, p. 58. For the possible importance of the Daskylion region as a contact zone between Greeks and Phrygians from the 8th c. BC on, see KERSCHNER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19), p. 124-125.
52. E.g. in Theotokou, Kalpakli, Marmariani. See HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 412; SAMS 1994a, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 134-135, 176.
53. See e.g. HARDING, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 237, 242-243; SMIT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 45), p. 175. Cf. also HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 400-404, for the relations between Macedonia and Thessaly from the Mycenaean to the Early Iron Age.
54. Very analytical on this issue is the valuable article of CASSOLA 1997. Cf. also SAMS 1997, p. 245.
55. For their geographical position see the first chapter.
56. Pseudo-Scymnus 434; *Etymologicum Magnum* 213.40-44; *Etymologicum Genuinum* 259.
57. Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika* 186-187.

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- BORZA [E. N.] 1990 = *In the Shadow of Olympus. The Emergence of Macedon*, Princeton/New Jersey
  - BAKIR [T.] 1995 = “Archäologische Beobachtungen über die Residenz in Daskyleion”, in P. BRIANT (ed.), *Dans les pas des Dix-Mille : peuples et pays du Proche-Orient vus par un Grec*, *Pallas* 43, Toulouse, p. 269-285
  - VAN DONGEN [E.] 2013 = “The overland Route: Intra- Anatolia Interaction ca. 1000-540 BC and the Transmission of the Alphabet”, *Ancient West and East* 12, p. 47-70
  - CASSOLA [F.] 1997 = “Rapporti tra Greci e Frigi al tempo di Mida”, in R. GUSMANI, M. SALVINI, P. VANNICELLI (eds), *Frigi e Frigio*, Roma, p. 131-152
  - SAMS [G. K.] 1997 = “Gordion and the Kingdom of Phrygia”, in R. GUSMANI, M. SALVINI, P. VANNICELLI (eds), *Frigi e Frigio*, Roma, p. 239-248

58. For example, Stephanus (186) says that Herodotus identifies the Brygians as Thracians, when in fact he says nothing of the kind. The same is true of the *Etymologicum Symeonis* 1.527.11-12, which wrongly ascribes the information to Herodotus 7.73. The only exception is Strabo (7.fr.25. Cf. 10.3.16), who seems to be convinced that they were a Thracian nation. It is, however, highly probably that the phrase ‘a Thracian nation’ designated a geographical rather than an ethnic origin, in the manner of the ‘Illyrian nation’ used in the Schol. Apoll. Rhod. *Argonautica* 286.9. For the problem of interpreting the epithet ‘Thracian’ as a geographic or racial term in the ancient sources, see ΞΥΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 35), e.g. 45-53, 86 ff., 117, 129 ff., 151 ff.
59. Aelius Herodianus (*De prosodia catholica* 3.1.61) calls the Brygians a Macedonian nation, and mentions Brygion as a city of Macedonia (3.1.359). Stephanus of Byzantium says the same (187), despite the confusion noted above.
60. See CASSOLA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 54), p. 131-136, with all the ancient sources; VASSILEVA 1998, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 30), p. 14. Cf. ROLLER 1983, p. 305-307.
61. Conon in Photius, *Bibliotheca* 186.130b.25-131a.3; Justin 7.1.
62. There is in any case no indication of hostility. Cf. HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 412. For the land where the Brygians lived when in Europe see the first chapter. Cf. also BORZA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 49), p. 74. For the word ‘σύνοιχος’ see the entry in *LSJ*. Whether the Brygians belonged to the Lausitz culture, as Hammond (HAMMOND, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 9], p. 407) and Borza (BORZA, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 49], p. 64-65) argue, or not is a matter of no concern to us here.
63. Arrian, *Anabasis* 2.3; Plutarch, *Alexander* 18.1-4; Curtius 3.2.11-18; Justin 11.7.
64. As argued also by ROLLER 1984, p. 261-262, 269-270.
65. *FrGrHist* 135-136 F 4.

wrongly attributed to other sources that in fact say no such thing<sup>58</sup>, while in yet other cases the Brygians are called a Macedonian people<sup>59</sup>.

In the mythology Midas is very frequently associated with the cult of Dionysos<sup>60</sup> in a way that suggests a link with Macedonia. This is reinforced by the traditions relating to Midas’ gardens on Mt. Bermium, while there are also references to Midas as the king of Macedonia<sup>61</sup>. When Herodotus (7.73) says that the Brygians “were σύνοιχοι of” (dwelt with) the Macedonians, he is documenting at least co-existence within the same geographical region, if nothing more<sup>62</sup>.

One tradition of exceptional importance, however, is the familiar story of the Gordian knot and the dedication by the king of the Phrygians of the chariot to which the knot was tied<sup>63</sup>. Upon reaching Gordium, Alexander is said to have been seized with the desire to mount to the citadel and see the royal palace of Gordius and Midas and the chariot with the knot. This legendary story very probably points to a Macedonian origin for the Phrygians<sup>64</sup>. It is no accident that the person who tested the prophecy associated with the chariot and untied the knot upon his arrival in Gordium in 333 BC was Alexander the Great, who must surely have been aware of the relationship between the Macedonians and the Phrygians (their putative ancestors), which would have made him even more eager, as a member of the Macedonian royal family, both to cut the knot and to visit the palace of the Phrygian kings. In a later version of the story, indeed<sup>65</sup>, the famous chariot is the very one that Midas used on his people’s migration from Macedonia to Anatolia.

In the *Argonautica* Apollonius (4.330) mentions the “Brygeides” islands in the Adriatic. The significant thing here is that he refers to them as islands of Artemis and records that ‘the Brygians had *once* built a temple to Artemis on one of them’ (4.469-470). This was the temple where Jason slew his pursuer Apsyrtus, the son of Aeetes and brother of Medea. ‘Once’ means before the expedition of the Argonauts, which in the timeline of mythology is placed in the 13th century BC, and in

– ROLLER [L. E.] 1983 = “The Legend of Midas”, *ClAnt* 2.2, p. 299-313

– ROLLER [L. E.] 1984 = “Midas and the Gordian Knot”, *ClAnt* 3.2, p. 256-271

any case refers to the time when the Brygians were still in Macedonia. The fact that they built a temple to Artemis is one more element connecting the Brygians with the Greeks and distancing them from other peoples, e.g. the Thracians – always assuming, of course, that Apollonius was not influenced here by the age in which he lived, for there was nothing unusual at that time about Thracians venerating Greek gods.

Petrova has made an interesting observation: referring to the “*Βρύγοι Θρήικες*” who, Herodotus tells us, having fought in the Persian wars were subdued and made subjects of Persia (6.45), she says that they are described by the historian as living east of the Axios, near Athos, and that they must have been “enclaves of Bryges in the Thracian area, assimilated completely during the fifth to fourth century BC”<sup>66</sup>. These may have been Brygians who found themselves in the region precisely for the purpose of fighting against the Persians, although in the remainder of the text Herodotus seems to indicate that they lived there (without being absolutely clear on the subject). If they were indeed dwelling in that land<sup>67</sup>, then perhaps they were a remnant of those Brygians who had crossed into Anatolia via the Hellespont, in which case they would have been assimilated by the Thracians long before the 5th century BC. In any case, if there were indeed enclaves of Brygians in Thrace, this tends to strengthen the view that they were not of Thracian origin<sup>68</sup>. Herodotus’ account, however, does not unambiguously place those Brygians<sup>69</sup> in Thracian territory in the early 5th century BC. They may well have dwelt in a place “east of the Axios” (Petrova) but near the Thermaic Gulf, as indicated in Herodotus 7.185<sup>70</sup>. Brygians do not appear with certainty farther east, near the Strymon, until much later, with Brutus’ army (Plut., *Brutus* 45)<sup>71</sup>.

An interesting tradition is recorded in the Hellenistic period, which has the Phrygians moving in the other direction, from Anatolia to Macedonia. According to Euphorion, Lycophron and Nicander<sup>72</sup>, Midas traversed Europe and apparently Macedonia. Lycophron mentions an expedition conducted by Midas citing places in Chalcidice, while Nicander states that while travelling from Asia Midas passed through the region of Pangaion, where he gathered roses which he took with him to plant in his garden in Emathia. According to Huxley, neither the creator of this tradition nor the reasons behind it are known, but it could be another instance of the clash between East and West, a tradition expressing the revenge of the East

66. PETROVA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37), p. 49.

67. Cf. HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 411.

68. The phrase “*Βρύγοι Θρήικες*” used by Herodotus could refer to the geographic placement and not the national identity of the Brygians. See above and ΞΥΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 35), p. 88.

69. Who in the end seem to have been absorbed a little later into the Persian army. Herodotus 7.185.

70. Cf. *RE* III.1, s.v. “Brygians”, 921 [Oberhummer].

71. Procopius (*De aedificiis* 4.44) mentions a place in Macedonia called Brigizes, without further clarification. I. von Bredow’s distinction between Brygians and Phrygians (*Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. “Brygians”) is unique in the literature, and appears to be an error of identification. She uses the name Brygians only for those who fought against the Persian forces (Herod. 6.45; 7.185), but gives no reason for dissociating them from their namesakes in all the other sources.

72. Euphorion, *fr.* 30; Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1397-1408; Nicander, *fr.* 74.11-13.

73. HUXLEY 1972, p. 314-315.  
 74. Appian, *Bellum Civile* 2.6.39.  
 75. All that has been said in this regard is wholly hypothetical and unproven, although according to Hammond (HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 411) Mygdonia is a name of Phrygian origin.  
 76. Cf. BANKOFF, MEYER, STEFANOVICH, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 40), p. 194, 200.  
 77. Aelius Herodianus, *De Prosodia Catholica* 3.1.297.23; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika* 459.5.

after its defeat in the Trojan War and many centuries before the Persian wars<sup>73</sup>.

A little later, however, we find the Roman-era historian Diodorus (5.64.4) saying that “some historians, and Ephorus is one of them, record that the Idaean Dactyli were in fact born (not in Crete, but) on the Mt. Idê which is in Phrygia and passed over to Europe together with Mygdon”. If this is true, then the tradition which has the Phrygians moving from Asia into Europe is not Hellenistic but dates from the 4th century BC (Ephorus) at the latest. Not only that, but this migration involved not just Macedonia but Crete as well, and in a manner that linked the two regions together, since the Idaean Dactyli “passed over to Europe together with Mygdon”. It is obvious that here we begin to have serious gaps and problems of interpretation, and the only reasonably solid observation that can be made is once again the link between Phrygia and Macedonia.

Later still, Appian<sup>74</sup> records that “at a later (than the mythical) period the Briges, returning from Phrygia, took possession of the city of Dyrrachium and the surrounding country”. Here, the reference to a ‘return’ suggests that the initial movement was indeed from the Balkans to Asia.

It is unfortunate that we know nothing about the Mygdones and their ethnic identity<sup>75</sup>, for that could have been helpful here, since the Mygdones seem to be associated with the Brygians in several places. In the *Iliad* Mygdon is mentioned as a Phrygian hero of an earlier period (3.186). The Mygdones were a people who lived in Mygdonia, the lands around the Axios, where both HBW and LH III pottery have been found<sup>76</sup>. The same name is given to the area of Daskylion<sup>77</sup>, which as we have seen was a contact zone between Greeks and Phrygians; this seems to suggest that the Mygdones too migrated from Macedonia into Anatolia.

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– HUXLEY [G.] 1972 = “Two Notes on Hellenistic Poems”, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 13.3, p. 309-315

### The linguistic evidence

Possibly the most important legacy of the Phrygians is their language. Our current knowledge of it comes from the Phrygian inscriptions that have come to light across virtually the entire Phrygian territory (from Daskylion in Propontis to the region east of the Halys river, and even as far as Tyana), and from names and other words described as Phrygian by ancient writers, such as Hesychius. The Phrygian inscriptions fall into two groups: the Old Phrygian inscriptions, of which there are more than two hundred, which were written, between the 8th and 4th centuries BC, in an alphabet derived from an archaic Greek alphabet; and the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, numbering slightly over one hundred, which were written in the Greek alphabet of the Imperial Period in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

Much has been written in recent decades about the Phrygian dialect and its close connection with Greek<sup>78</sup>. Given the use of the Greek alphabet in Phrygian, one of the fundamental questions that scholars have been attempting to answer is whether the Phrygians took the alphabet from the Greeks, who had taken it from the Phoenicians, or the Phrygians took it from the Phoenicians and then the Greeks from the Phrygians, or whether both took it independently from the Phoenicians<sup>79</sup>. The most important question, however, has to be what the Phrygian language truly is. This question has now been answered by a revolutionary study, the results of which were published just recently<sup>80</sup>. In it, Neo-Phrygian inscriptions were

78. See indicatively HAAS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 236-238; BRUXHE 2002; BRUXHE 2008; TZITZILIS 2007; WOUDHUIZEN 2008-2009; ROLLER 2011, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 41), p. 565-568; TZITZILIS 2014a. Cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 410.
79. See indicatively COLDSTREAM, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 47), p. 379-380; YOUNG 1969, p. 264-265, 294-296; BARNETT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 434; DE VRIES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 390; CASSOLA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 54), p. 145; MUSCARELLA 2003, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 46), p. 246-247; VAN DONGEN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 51), p. 61, 64.
80. The study was presented in October 2012 at an International Congress of Linguistics. See TZITZILIS 2014a, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 78).

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- BRUXHE [C.] 2002 = “Interactions between Greek and Phrygian under the Roman Empire”, in J. N. ADAMS, M. JANSE, S. SWAIN (eds), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society*, Oxford, p. 246-266
- BRUXHE [C.] 2008 = “Phrygian”, in R. D. WOODARD (ed.), *The Ancient Languages of Asia Minor*, Cambridge, p. 69-75
- TZITZILIS [Chr.] 2007 = “Greek and Phrygian”, in A. F. CHRISTIDIS (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, p. 752-762
- WOUDHUIZEN [F. C.] 2008-2009 = “Phrygian and Greek”, *Talanta* XL-XL1, p. 181-217
- TZITZILIS [Chr.] 2014a = “Greek and Phrygian”, in G. K. GIANNAKIS (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, Leiden/Boston, p. 72-77
- YOUNG [R. S.] 1969 = “Old Phrygian Inscriptions from Gordion: Toward a History the Phrygian Alphabet”, *Hesperia* 38.2, p. 252-296

81. For the contribution of Modern Greek dialects to the study of Ancient Greek ones, see TZITZILIS 2014b.
82. TZITZILIS 2014a, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 78).
83. See in detail in TZITZILIS 2014a, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 78). Cf. TZITZILIS 2014b, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 81).
84. As can be seen by the fact that it has already found a place in the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*.
85. YOUNG 1969, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 79), p. 273, who dates the inscription to the first half of the 7th c. BC. WOUDHUIZEN 2008-2009, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 78), p. 192, who dates the monument to 750-700 BC.
86. See above, p. 55-59.
87. TZITZILIS 1995, p. 85-88.

studied with the help of Medieval and Modern Greek dialects<sup>81</sup>. The results clearly demonstrated that “the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, found in several places of central Anatolia, are actually written in a Greek, and more specifically in an archaic Achaean dialect, with some phonetic peculiarities that should be attributed to Anatolian influence”<sup>82</sup>. In most cases, comparison with Medieval and Modern Greek dialect forms yielded immediate and persuasive interpretations of the Neo-Phrygian data, while “the Greek character of many Neo-Phrygian inscriptions is more transparent than that of other Achaean dialects, such as Pamphylian”<sup>83</sup>. This new theory is already widely accepted by linguists<sup>84</sup>.

One phrase that it would be remiss not to cite is that describing Midas as ‘Midai lavagtaei vanaktei’ in one of the Old Phrygian inscriptions, carved on a rock monument in Midas City, with its characteristic use of the Mycenaean terms *lawagetās* (leader of the people) and *wanaktei* (king), which are found on Linear B tablets (ra-wa-ke-ta, wa-na-ka-te)<sup>85</sup>.

It is also worth adding that the Phrygian (according to Hesychius) word γάνος (hyena) survived as γάνε in a Modern Greek dialect, Tsakonian, which until the exchange of populations in 1922 was also spoken in two villages in Propontis, Votka and Havutsi, which had been Tsakonian settlements. It is no accident that these villages are in a region where Phrygian was spoken – and indeed are very close to Daskylion, an important centre where Old Phrygian inscriptions and Phrygian pottery attest to the existence of a Phrygian population at a period when Greek pottery is also present<sup>86</sup>. It is not unlikely, then, that the word survived from the Phrygians to the Greeks who lived in the area for a long period of time, eventually passing from them to the Tsakonians<sup>87</sup>.

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- TZITZILIS [Chr.] 2014b = “Archaisms in Modern Dialects”, in: G. K. GIANNAKIS (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, Leiden/Boston, p. 158-171
- TZITZILIS [Chr.] 1995 = “Die paläobalkanischen Sprachen im Lichte der neu-griechischen Dialekte”, *Die Sprache* 37.1, p. 85-94

## Conclusions

It should be perfectly clear, from all that has been said, that there is a significant connection between the Phrygians and Macedonia. The archaeological evidence, from the Mycenaean age and from the 9th–8th centuries BC<sup>88</sup>, is nothing new; nor is the information from the sources, nor even the link between Phrygian and the Balkan dialects<sup>89</sup>. But what has been presented here in the last chapter makes things much more specific, taken together with the familiar archaeological and written data. The Macedonian dialect shows exactly the same pattern of change in the voiced fricatives (from *bh* to *ph*, and from *gh* to *kh*)<sup>90</sup> that occurs in Phrygian (see above), a fact that links the two dialects, which is hardly strange considering the geographic proximity of the Phrygians and Macedonians until roughly 1200.

If the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions are written in a Greek dialect, and if Neo-Phrygian is a development of Old Phrygian, as is most likely and most logical<sup>91</sup>, then Macedonian and Phrygian are not simply related but would seem from certain common phonetic and morphological features to precede Mycenaean itself, and are therefore among the most archaic Greek dialects<sup>92</sup>. Bearing all this in mind, how unlikely a hypothesis would it be that the Phrygians and Macedonians belonged to a common racial group? And what might that mean for the Macedonian dialect and its position (particularly in terms of time) in the Greek language?<sup>93</sup>.

88. Cf. also Sams in the panel discussion in TUNA *et al.*, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 29), p. 170.

89. Cf. ROLLER 1984, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 64), p. 261, n. 24.

90. HAAS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 11, 232-233; PANAYOTOU 2007a, p. 438-439; BRIXHE 2008, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 78), p. 69. Cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* 179.16-20; *Etymologicum Gudicum* 246.3.

91. Cf. OREL 1997, p. 6: “The linguistic tradition of Phrygia is one: it begins after 1200 BCE and continues, with certain interruptions, to the 3rd century CE”.

92. TZITZILIS 2014a, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 78).

93. These are merely questions, which cannot be answered without many more stages of study.

– PANAYOTOU [A.] 2007a = “The Position of the Macedonian Dialect”, in A. F. CHRISTIDIS (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, p. 433-443

– OREL [Vl.] 1997 = *The language of Phrygians. Description and Analysis*, New York

94. HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 413; BORZA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 49), p. 74.
95. See more for this criticism in MANOLEDAKIS 2013, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), p. 26.
96. For the relevant issues of the Trojan Catalogue see MANOLEDAKIS 2013, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), p. 29-33, with bibliography.
97. KULLMANN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 196; WEBER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 240.
98. *Alexandra* 1397-1408.

## The time and the route of the migration from the Balkans to Anatolia

Herodotus, as we have seen, is the first to mention the migration of the Brygians from Europe to Asia and the change in their designation. What he does not say is when and why this happened, and what route they followed from Macedonia into Asia. The underlying cause of this migration remains unknown<sup>94</sup>.

### The time

We are still unable to give a firm answer to the question of when the Brygians migrated from the Balkans into Anatolia. The written sources offer conflicting evidence as regards whether this took place before or after the Trojan War. Their naming in the Trojan Catalogue (*Iliad* 2.862-863) as allies of the Trojans in that conflict suggests that the Phrygians had already settled in northwest Anatolia before that time, thus at the latest by the end of the 13th century BC. This inference is shaken, however, by the account of Xanthus of Lydia, who affirms that the Phrygians arrived from Europe after the war. While the original text has been lost, it is quoted by Strabo (14.5.29), who seems to be bothered by the fact that Apollodorus spotted the discrepancy, and levels harsh criticisms at him, as befits a staunch supporter of Homer<sup>95</sup>. Both sources, however, have their weaknesses and perhaps are not in the end entirely contradictory.

In the *Iliad* we have the problem of the dating of the Trojan Catalogue and the question of to what extent all or parts of it are later additions, and how much later<sup>96</sup>. This is not, however, the only place in the epic where the Phrygians appear: we find them in lines 3.184-190, where their alliance with the Trojans is explained – Priam had once gone to the aid of the Phrygians in their war against the Amazons. At another point (*Iliad* 16.718-719) we are told that Hecuba, Priam's wife, was a Phrygian by birth, while the genealogy of the Trojan royal house, which is given in lines 20.215-240, is thought to denote a Balkan origin, stemming from Dardanus<sup>97</sup>.

This not only places the arrival of the Phrygians in Asia Minor before the Trojan War, but points to a legendary kinship between the Phrygians and the Trojans, which could historically indicate close relations between the two peoples. Which is confirmed by Lycophron<sup>98</sup>, who describes Midas' expedition into

Macedonia<sup>99</sup> to avenge the blood of his kinsmen at the sack of Troy.

The question would be perfectly simple, were it not for another passage in the *Iliad*, at lines 18.285-292, where Hector speaks of the lost riches of Troy and the treasures now in Phrygian hands because the Trojans had incurred the wrath of Zeus. These words also appear to have an historical subtext, which could refer to the change in population of Troy VIIb2, which was mentioned earlier. How, then, did the Phrygians end up as allies of the Trojans? There would appear to be an inconsistency within the text on this point, which could be explained by treating certain passages as interventions in the text dating from different periods (interpolations). According to some scholars, the information about the Phrygians in the *Iliad* reflects the age of the poet himself, that is, *ca.* 700 BC<sup>100</sup>, who regarded the peoples who were living in the Troas in his day as having been there for ages past<sup>101</sup>.

Clearly, one cannot rely solely on the *Iliad* to resolve the question of when the Phrygian migration took place. Similarly, the information provided by Xanthus may also be wrong, or wrongly conveyed, since it does not come directly from him. It could, however, simply refer to a specific wave of Phrygian migration<sup>102</sup>, which was not the earliest. And here we reach a crucial question: is it certain that the Phrygian migration was a single, mass event?

That there were at least two different waves of Phrygian migration into Anatolia would not be at all strange and indeed has already been argued by certain scholars<sup>103</sup>. A first wave of “Proto-Bryges”<sup>104</sup> from the Balkans into Anatolia is thought by some, despite there being no archaeological evidence for it, to have taken place in the middle of the second millennium BC, particularly because of the implication in the *Iliad* that the Brygians had long been present in NW Asia Minor at the time of the Trojan War<sup>105</sup>. According to this theory<sup>106</sup>, there was a second migration after the Trojan War and a third in the 8th century BC, which is attested both archaeologically, from the end of the Phrygian settlements in the Balkans, at sites like Vergina and Pateli, and the strengthening of the Phrygian element in Anatolia (although this begins to be evident already from the end of the 9th century BC on), and textually, from the written references to Midas in the 8th century BC and to his kingdom which was laid waste by the Cimmerians. Although Hammond entertains the possibility of the Phrygians moving *en masse* to Asia Minor<sup>107</sup>, elsewhere he seems to argue that the migration

99. See below, p. 68-72.

100. Cf. KULLMANN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 194, 197-198. See all the literature on the more recent dating of the epic (early 7th c. BC) in MANOLEDAKIS 2013, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), p. 29-30.

101. KULLMANN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 192, 200; WEBER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 240.

102. As we shall see, it is highly probable that there were different waves of Brygian migration from the Balkans into Anatolia, at different periods of time.

103. HAAS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 11-13, 16-17, 231-232, 239, who however thinks that it was the Phrygians of Macedonian origin (the Brygians) who first settled in NE Phrygia. MUSCARELLA 1995, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 94-95, with further bibliography.

104. The term is used e.g. by PETROVA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37). It is not necessary to point out here the difficulty in explaining the first element ‘Proto-’, not only for the Brygians but also in many other cases.

105. PETROVA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37), p. 47. Kretschmer places the start of European migrations into Anatolia in the third millennium BC (KRETSCHMER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 181).

106. PETROVA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37), p. 47-49.

107. HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 412-413.

108. HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 407.  
 109. Pliny, *Natural History* 5.41.  
 110. According to Photius, *Bibliotheca* 186.130b.25-131a.3.  
 111. See above, p. 55-59.  
 112. TZITZILIS 2014a, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 78); TZITZILIS 2014b, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 81). Cf. BRIXHE 1976, esp. p. 147.

was not total, or that there were two different migrations, one into Macedonia (from farther north) and one into Anatolia, since, as he says, in the 12th century the Brygians of the Troas were in contact with their kindred in Macedonia<sup>108</sup>. This may be another confusion in his text on the Brygians, whose arrival in Pelagonia from the northern Balkans he places “soon after 1200 BC”.

The clinching evidence as to when the migration or migrations of the Brygians took place must surely now be the information derived from linguistic research, which can also help determine the route followed by those waves.

### The route(s)

Herodotus does not tell us what route the Brygians followed from Europe into Anatolia. And while Pliny<sup>109</sup> mentions that there are authors who say that the Moesi, the Brygi, and the Thyni crossed over from Europe, and that from them are descended the peoples called the Mysi, Phryges, and Bithyni, nowhere does he say where they crossed over from. The only one who does is Conon, who says<sup>110</sup> that Midas persuaded the Phrygians to move from Macedonia into Asia via the Hellespont.

In any case, the fact that the Trojan Catalogue places the Phrygians south of the Propontis makes it very likely that they arrived from Macedonia via the Hellespont, a classic crossing point for many tribes moving from the Balkans into Anatolia at various historical periods. The presence of *bucchero* pottery at sites northwest of Phrygia and Troy<sup>111</sup> further strengthens the likelihood of this route. This does not, however, mean that it was the only route followed by the Brygians, as may be seen also in the theories of different waves of migration.

It is now entirely possible to posit another route: according to the linguistic study described earlier, the Arcado-Cypriot and Pamphylian dialects belong to the same Achaean dialect group as the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions<sup>112</sup>. This is enormously important. Arcado-Cypriot is now held to be directly descended

– BRIXHE [C.] 1976 = *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie*, Paris

from Mycenaean<sup>113</sup>, while isoglosses between Arcado-Cypriot and Pamphylian lead to the view that these dialects belong to the same dialect group, which is Achaean<sup>114</sup>. We have, therefore, the same dialect group occurring in the following regions: Macedonia (with the Brygians), the Peloponnese, Cyprus<sup>115</sup>, Pamphylia and Phrygia.

On this basis, it would not be impossible to imagine another route for the Brygian migration from northern Greece to central Anatolia, maybe even older than that via the Hellespont mentioned by Conon, namely southwards to the Peloponnese (Arcadic), thence to Cyprus (Cypriot) and from there to southern Anatolia (Pamphylian) and on directly to the north (Phrygian). It is highly significant that this seems to be precisely the path taken by the HBW pottery<sup>116</sup>, with the same points of departure (Macedonia) and arrival (Phrygia), at roughly the same time. Both the pottery and the dialect most probably belong to the same racial group, which was, or included, the Brygians.

This journey seems to have preceded that via the Hellespont (12th century BC), and probably took place no later than the 13th. This second path is explained as follows: the shift from voiced fricatives (*bh*) to unvoiced (*ph*) (*Bhryges* - *Phryges*) is a development of Greek that took place in mainland Greece, particularly in the Achaean dialect. If the Brygian migration into Anatolia had been confined only to the route via Thrace and the Hellespont, then the Brygians would still have been called Brygians. Consequently, even if there really was a migration of Brygians via the Hellespont (12th century), there must have

113. CHADWICK 2007, p. 402; PANAYOTOU 2007c, p. 424-425.

114. PANAYOTOU 2007c, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 113), p. 417; PANAYOTOU 2007b, p. 428.

115. We know, from archaeological as well as other evidence, that by the 12th century at the latest a Greek population from the Peloponnese inhabited Cyprus. BLEGEN 1975, p. 181-182; CATLING 1975, p. 199-201, 207-209; PANAYOTOU 2007c, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 113), p. 417-418, 424-425, with bibliography. Cf. KARAGEORGHIS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 40), p. 256 ff.; MOREU, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 108-109, 113, 116, 119-120, 123. We note that a type of sword of northern origin and a Mycenaean bronze greave were found in a Mycenaean tomb of the LH IIIB period at Enkomi, in Cyprus (CATLING 1955; CATLING 1975, *op. cit.*, p. 208; HARDING, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 36], p. 138-140), while of course numerous finds of HBW have been made at different sites around the island (See above, in the subchapter «The archaeological evidence»; DE-MAND, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 40], p. 213).

116. See above, p. 55-59.

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– CHADWICK [J.] 2007 = “Mycenaean Greek”, in A. F. CHRISTIDIS (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, p. 395-404

– PANAYOTOU [A.] 2007b = “Pamphylian”, in A. F. CHRISTIDIS (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, p. 427-432

– PANAYOTOU [A.] 2007c = “Arcado-Cypriot”, in A. F. CHRISTIDIS (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, p. 417-426

– BLEGEN [C. W.] 1975 = “The Expansion of the Mycenaean Civilization”, in I. E. S. EDWARDS, C. J. GADD, N. G. L. HAMMOND, E. SOLLBERGER (eds), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, part 2, 3rd edition, Cambridge, p. 165-187

– CATLING [H. W.] 1975 = “Cyprus in the Late Bronze Ages”, in I. E. S. EDWARDS, C. J. GADD, N. G. L. HAMMOND, E. SOLLBERGER (eds), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, part 2, 3rd edition, Cambridge, p. 188-216

– CATLING [H. W.] 1955 = “A Bronze Greave from a 13th Century B.C. Tomb at Enkomi”, *OpAth* 2, p. 21-36

117. Relations between Phrygia and Cyprus are observed archaeologically up until at least the 8th century BC. See e.g. YOUNG, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 47), *passim*, esp. p. 37.
118. This is a scenario – in my opinion very plausible, particularly given the parallel movement of the HBW pottery – which is based on the linguistic discovery and the thoughts of Chr. Tzitzilis, and which coincides so closely with certain archaeological data.
119. Barnett’s observation that Phrygia was a “coalition of several tribes or elements” (BARNETT, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 36], p. 421) could be considered germane to the matter. Of course, Drews’ forceful criticism (DREWS 1993) of the whole theory of the migration from Europe and his rejection of it based on the absence of archaeological, historical and linguistic evidence no longer stands. In any case, his opinion was not shared by any other scholars, and some of his arguments are somewhat naïve.
120. From the references in the Assyrian, Hittite and Greek texts it is evident that the name Midas was borne by many men, in different periods, which suggests a dynastic name rather than a single individual. Even the Greek texts seem to refer to more than one Midas, and not only the 8th century BC king, while it is not always clear either which Midas is meant on each occasion or whether the person named was an historical or a mythical figure. See ROLLER 1984, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 64), esp. p. 263; CASSOLA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 54), p. 131-133, 141-143; BERNDT-ERSÖZ 2008. Cf. MUSCARELLA 1995, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 97; VASSILEVA 2006.
121. For the identification of Mita with Midas, and of the Muski with the Phrygians, see MUSCARELLA 1995, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 92; BÖRKER-KLÄHN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38). Cf. also HAAS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 12; BARNETT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 420; CASSOLA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 54), p. 139-141; SAMS 1997, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 54), p. 239; DÖNMEZ 2006, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 23), p. 16-17; VASSILEVA 2008, p. 165; ROLLER 2011, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19), p. 563; VAN DONGEN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 51), p. 51. Genz (GENZ, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 46], p. 361) is less positive about the identification of Mita with Midas, as is Roller (ROLLER 1983, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 60], p. 300) about the identification of the Phrygians with the Muski, while Moreu (MOREU, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 22], p. 121-122) considers the Muski to have been “related to the Phrygians”. Some scholars identify the Muski with the Moschoi, as well, but this can not be easily proved.
122. These sources are a Hittite text of the 15th-14th century BC, which speaks of Mita of Pah-huva, and Castor of Rhodes, who (according

been an earlier one via Greece proper. The dialect of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions is the product of this other migration. It did not necessarily take place all at once, but in successive stages. Some of the Brygians who took the southern route may have remained in the Peloponnese. Some of those who went on to Cyprus<sup>117</sup> presumably crossed over into Pamphylia; of these, some continued on into what later became Phrygia. It is impossible to pinpoint precisely when each of these stages took place, or in what order, or how many subsequent migrations occurred, but they most probably all preceded the other Brygian migration via Thrace and the Hellespont<sup>118</sup>. This could have occurred sometime closer to the Trojan War, since the Brygians had already become Phrygians by the time the two groups (the one which had arrived from South Greece and the one which had taken the route via the Hellespont) met in Anatolia and the name of the first group came to cover the second as well<sup>119</sup>.

Thus, the first migrations via Cyprus may have taken place in the 13th century BC, if not even earlier, bearing in mind that the earliest references to a Midas<sup>120</sup> or Mita<sup>121</sup> occur, as some scholars state, already from the 15th-14th centuries BC<sup>122</sup>.

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- DREWS [R.] 1993 = “Myths of Midas and the Phrygian Migration from Europe”, *Klio* 75, p. 9-26
- BERNDT-ERSÖZ [S.] 2008 = “The Chronology and Historical Context of Midas”, *Historia* 57, p. 1-37
- VASSILEVA [M.] 2006 = “King Midas: History and Archaeology”, in C. C. MATTUSCH, A. A. DONOHUE, A. BRAUER (eds), *Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Boston, August 23-26, 2003*, Oxford, p. 15-17
- VASSILEVA [M.] 2008 = “King Midas in Southeastern Anatolia”, in B. J. COLLINS, M. R. BACHVAROVA, I. C. RUTHERFORD (eds), *An offprint from Anatolian Interfaces. Hittites, Greeks and their Neighbors*, Oxford, p. 165-171
- MILLER [M.] 1971 = *The Thalassocracies. Studies in Chronography* 2, New York
- SWEENEY [E. J.] 2007 = *The Pyramid Age*, New York

These different routes could also explain the dissimilar treatments of the Phrygians in the various mythological traditions preserved in the texts, including the *Iliad* itself<sup>123</sup>. The Achaean-speaking Brygians, those who came via mainland Greece and Cyprus, brought with them elements that were plainly Mycenaean. The use of the Mycenaean terms *lawagetas* and *wanaktei* (see above) is evidence of more than just a linguistic kinship between Phrygian and Achaean: it also speaks of a cultural affinity, since it seems that the Phrygians had adopted political functions from the Mycenaean political world<sup>124</sup>. The Mycenaean presence in Asia Minor – probably brought in with those waves of migration – is also attested by the Hittite texts<sup>125</sup> and finds, e.g. Mycenaean tombs<sup>126</sup>. These Phrygians can much more readily be associated with the Mycenaean assault on Troy (regardless of whether they took part in the pillaging or simply occupied the city afterwards), and with those into whose hands Hector says the treasures of the city passed (*Iliad* 18.285-292)<sup>127</sup>.

Moreover, the relations of the Phrygians with the Greeks seem almost uniformly to have been good:<sup>128</sup> Midas is named as the first foreign king to have placed offerings at Delphi<sup>129</sup>. Also, there is a tradition<sup>130</sup> that Midas married Demodice or Hermodice, daughter of Agamemnon, king of Cyme, indicating a link between the Phrygians and the Greeks, at least or particularly with the Aeolians, from the 8th century BC on, as is also confirmed by various finds from Greece and Ionia at Gordium and Phrygian finds in Ionia<sup>131</sup>.

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- DE GRAAF [F.] 1989 = “Midas Wanax Lawagetas”, in J. G. P. BEST, M. W. DE VRIES (eds), *Thracians and Mycenaean. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Thracology. Rotterdam, 24-26 September 1984*, Leiden, p. 153-155
  - GÜTERBOCK [H. G.] 1983 = “The Hittites and the Aegean World: Part 1. The Ahhiyawa Problem Reconsidered”, *AJA* 87.2, p. 133-138
  - LEJEUNE [M.] 1969 = “À propos de la titulature de Midas”, *Athenaium* 47, p. 179-192
  - BRIDGES [R. A. JR.] 1974 = “The Mycenaean Tholos Tomb at Kolophon”, *Hesperia* 43.2, p. 264-266
  - SAMS [G. K.] 1994b = “Aspects of Early Phrygian Architecture at Gordium”, *Anatolian Iron Ages* 3, p. 211-220
  - VANNICELLI [P.] 1997 = “L’esperienza linguistica di Psammetico (Herodot. II 2): c’era una volta il frigio”, in R. GUSMANI, M. SALVINI, P. VANNICELLI (eds), *Frigi e Frigio*, Roma, p. 201-217

to Suidas) mentioned a Midas, King of Phrygia in 1310/1309 BC. See MILLER 1971, p. 149-150; SWEENEY 2007, p. 145; BERNDT-ERSÖZ, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 120), p. 1; WOU DHUIZEN 2012, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 267. About the question of the credibility of Suidas’ report, see MILLER 1971, *op. cit.*, p. 52 ff.

- 123. See above, p. 66-68.
- 124. See LEJEUNE 1969; DE GRAAF 1989. Cf. Mellink in the panel discussion in TUNA *et al.*, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 29), p. 168-169.
- 125. GÜTERBOCK 1983. Cf. WOU DHUIZEN 2012, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 27), p. 264, 266.
- 126. See e.g. BRIDGES 1974. The architectural type of the *megaron*, which is found at Gordium as a royal residence from the 9th century BC, is not necessarily Mycenaean, but also belongs to Anatolia, where the Phrygians may have found it. See DE VRIES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 374 ff.; SAMS 1994a, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 7-16; SAMS 1994b; SAMS 1997, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 54), p. 240; KERSCHNER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19), p. 114-115, with the latest bibliography on the destruction date of the *Megaron* buildings; VOIGT 2011, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 39), p. 1078 ff.
- 127. Even though Hector is supposed to have been killed before the fall of Troy and thus did not witness the event. This is one of those details that are added to mythological tradition from time to time.
- 128. As also with the Macedonians, when the Brygians “dwelt with” them. See also HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 412.
- 129. Herodotus 1.14.2-3. For the dedication at Delphi, see CASSOLA, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 54), p. 143-144; VANNICELLI 1997, p. 209; KERSCHNER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19), p. 115-120, also with references to dedications in other sanctuaries of Greece and Ionia that have been interpreted as made by Phrygians.
- 130. Aristotle fr. 8.45.611.37; Pollux 9.83.
- 131. Cf. indicatively BARNETT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 428-429; ROLLER 1983, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 60), p. 300; KERSCHNER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19), p. 121-129. The use of Phrygian greyware pottery is attested in western Anatolia, particularly in the areas inhabited by Aeolians. See BOARDMAN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38), p. 86. Cf. COLDSTREAM, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 47), p. 376-377; BARNETT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36), p. 427. See also above, for the greyware pottery in parts of Anatolia settled by Aeolians.

132. *Iliad* 2.862-863.  
 133. *Iliad* 3.184-190.  
 134. Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1397-1408.  
 135. Strabo 12.8.7; Euripides, *Hecuba* 1-41; *Rhesos* 585-586; Sophocles, *Antigone* 823-827. Cf. also Aelius Herodianus, *De Prosodia Catholica* 3.1.61; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika* 186.  
 136. ROLLER 2011, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 19), p. 560.

Similarly, we can easily picture the Phrygians who came from Thrace via the Hellespont as the allies of the Trojans listed in the Catalogue<sup>132</sup>, those who were friends of Priam<sup>133</sup>, whose king set out to avenge the destruction of Troy<sup>134</sup>, and who came to be virtually identified with the Trojans<sup>135</sup>, just as the Thracians also came to be strongly associated with the Trojans. It would, moreover, have been very natural for those Brygians who passed through Thrace on their way to Anatolia via the Hellespont to have interacted with the Thracians during the period of their migration, and perhaps even at some point to have been assimilated by them to a certain degree, and likewise for their language to have absorbed Thracian influences.

Many centuries later, when the works of Homer, Xanthus and the others were coming into being, it was, naturally, no longer clear either which Phrygians were which, or who came before the Trojan War and who afterwards, all the more so in a period when the Phrygians had come to be identified even by the Greeks with Anatolia and were considered to be – and they were – an Anatolian nation. Thus the discrepancies that we noted in the texts are not inexplicable. It would seem that for Late Bronze Age Anatolia the migration of the Phrygians was a far-reaching event of enormous importance. A multi-dimensional event that gradually led to the creation of the first great political superpower in the region after the Hittite Empire, a power that continued to be a cultural force in Anatolia long after its political decline, already in the 7th century BC<sup>136</sup>. These people, who flooded into Anatolia from north and south at different periods and left such different traditions to the Greeks who came after them, came from Macedonia and brought an element of Hellenism with them.