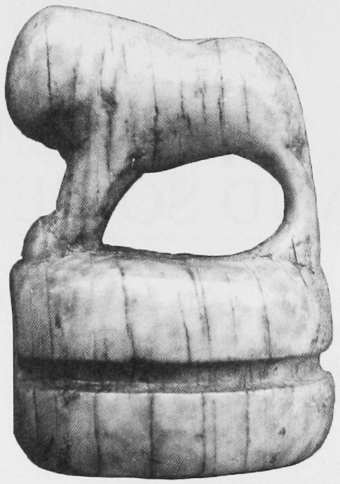
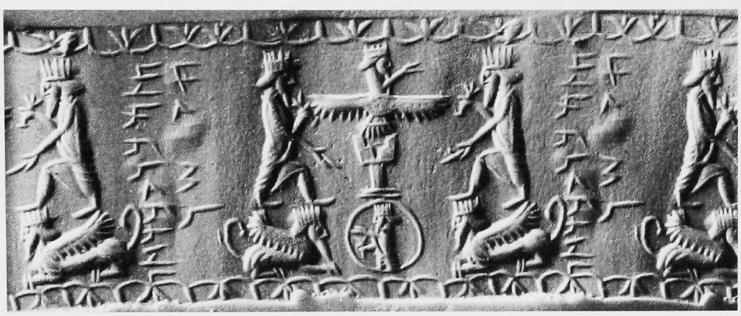
GORDION SEALS AND SEALINGS

Individuals and Society

GORDION SEALS AND SEALINGS: INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIETY





Seals from Gordion. top: Middle Phrygian; middle: Achaemenid Persian; bottom: Hittite Petschaft. Various scales.

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G. Kenneth Sams, Series Editor

GORDION SEALS AND SEALINGS: INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIETY

Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM
of Archaeology and Anthropology
Philadelphia

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Emily D. T. Vermeule *in memoriam*

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Preface and Acknowledgments

This book is about the seals, and the impressions left by seals when they were used in antiquity, that were excavated from the site of Gordion in Turkey. Gordion was the capital city of ancient Phrygia and seat of King Midas of the Golden Touch, the place where Alexander the Great sliced through the Gordian Knot to presage he would become master of all Asia by use of his sword. The seals excavated from Gordion give us insight into far more of Gordion's history than these two regal figures, however. They span a tremendous range of time, from about 1800 BCE to about 400 CE. They range in size from less than a centimeter to almost ten centimeters. The seals come in many forms: cylinders, stamps, signet rings, scaraboids, and even a large bronze stamp in the shape of a slippered foot. They were made from stones found as nearby as a local outcrop of gypsum or as far away as lapis lazuli from Afghanistan; they are made of carnelian, jet, agate, rock crystal, and serpentine, of frit and faience, of ivory and bone, of bronze and gold, of glass, of clay. Artistic influences giving impetus to the many artistic styles found on the Gordion seals include native Phrygian, Hittite, Syrian, Achaemenid Persian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman.

This corpus is uncommon, not only in the tremendously long chronological span of the seals but also in the mere fact that they were excavated through controlled archaeological work from known contexts. In most instances in this study, it has been possible to reconstruct a seal's excavated context and something of each seal's use context, to embed them in the history of the site as we are coming to know it. The seals and sealings from Gordion therefore provide an unusual opportunity to wed aesthetic study of glyptic art with excavated information and come to a more profound understanding of how the artistic styles and iconographies of seals may have fit into the societies using them.

Why Study Seals?

Seals are one of the ways we can see individuals in the archaeological record. Locating individuals through archaeology is surprisingly hard to do. Archaeology excels at considering societies, cultural situations and concerns, ideologies, even questions of power and resistance to domination. It is wonderful at letting researchers see developments through time, tracing the ways in which societies change. But it is for the most part bad at letting researchers see clear indications of individuals, as opposed to broader societies[1]. Burials can be one way to see an individual, or sometimes the development of a particular artistic personality can be traced. Once in a while, an important person may have archaeologically visible impact on a society, like a king or a general or a major architect or sculptor. In general, however, archaeologists need to trace the movements and motivations of larger groups of people rather than individuals.

Seals are different. Many people in the ancient Mediterranean world and the Near East had seals; indeed, some people had more than one seal. Kings had seals. Slaves could have seals. Individuals of all classes in between had seals. Administrative offices had seals. Men had seals. Women had them. Even some children had seals. And the seals served multiple functions, being used to ratify documents and identify objects that belonged to or came from a particular source, to seal doors or containers, or to adorn the person of their owners—worn visibly on the body, they had clear ornamental functions. Sometimes seals were amulets to ward off evil or keep the wearer healthy or specially connected to a god or gods. A seal thus might serve multiple purposes, as an expression of personal taste, as a recognizable representer of a person or office, or as an expression of hope.

This makes the study of seals particularly exciting. The selection of identifying symbols for these insignia was of crucial importance: designs on seals might reflect the personal choices of individual artists and patrons,

[1] Although postprocessualist approaches to archaeology have made great strides in doing just this! See, for example, Hodder 1997 and 1999, Johnson 1999, Preucel 1995, Shanks 1993 and Shanks and Hodder 1995.

but they were often intended for public viewing and designed to signify particular meaning to a broad audience. By looking at a seal, we can gain a sense of what mattered to the seal's owner, an idea of what that person's likes (and dislikes) were. We may understand a little about how the person wished to situate him- or herself within society by seeing the images on a seal and the artistic style in which they were carved. If we have a group of seals that can be linked to each other archaeologically—seals preserved as impressions ratifying an archive of documents, for instance, or seals excavated from the same cemetery or the same building—we can also begin to see something of the ways individuals situated themselves within their own society. What similarities do the seals share, and what do those imply about the society? What differences do they demonstrate, and what do those suggest about the individual owners of the seals?

Because seals might serve as administrative tools, they can also offer insight into ancient administrations. Sealings can provide information about bureaucracies and the ways that people operated within them. The seals themselves can suggest the kinds of things that mattered to different administrations, too—as the seals from Gordion may demonstrate.

Seals are often beautiful objects, carved with great intricacy. Because of their beauty and the skill required in their production, they have been prized in recent times by patrons of the modern art market. This has often led to an unfortunate lack of information about the use context or even findspot of many seals otherwise available for study.

We are fortunate to have from Gordion a body of seals from excavated contexts. Working on them has been particularly interesting for me: in some cases, its context has allowed a more nuanced interpretation of a seal, while in other cases, studying the seal has illuminated the context in which it was found. It has also changed my own idea of seal imagery and use. Although it is true that many seals are beautiful, many of the seals excavated from Gordion are decorated with hastily carved imagery, some of it unintelligible, some of it consisting of simple linear striations. This is an eye-opener, especially as it departs emphatically from well-known published corpora of sealstones such as, for example, those of the J. Pierpont Morgan Library collection (Porada 1948). Such seals are often not from controlled excavations but have been selected specifically for their beauty. Excavated seals, the seals that people of all ranks in society used, were not all consistently beautiful. But they can offer unparalleled insight into societal developments at a site, as well as into individual choices and concerns.

Previous Scholarship on the Seals

I have been fortunate in being able to draw on a wealth of previously published material that made mention of the seals discussed here. Edith Porada was originally in charge of researching and publishing the seals from Gordion. Porada 1956b is a brief writeup of her initial work on the seals, the fruits of a trip to Gordion and Tarsus that produced some of the photographs included here as well as the insights published in the 1956 commentary. Many of the seals were first mentioned in excavation reports by Rodney S. Young and G. Roger Edwards (Young 1953, 1964, and 1966; Edwards 1963). Articles specifically addressing glyptic issues at Gordion have been published by H. G. Güterbock and Andrew Goldman (Güterbock 1980 on the Bronze Age, Goldman 2001 and 2003 on Roman seals). Several of the authors working on previous Gordion monographs have also included mention of the seals, especially Machteld Mellink (in 1956) and Ann C. Gunter (in 1991). These prior discussions of the seals have provided invaluable material and ideas for the contexts, dates, comparanda, and functions of the seals, and I am grateful to have been able to draw on the expertise of so many as I have worked on the seals and seal impressions from Gordion.

A Few Final Comments

I am grateful to G. Kenneth Sams (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) and Mary M. Voigt (College of William & Mary) for inviting me to work on this project and for sharing their knowledge and expertise, as well as intimate knowledge of Gordion's stratigraphy, with me. Keith DeVries (University of Pennsylvania) has provided constant support, help, information, and guidance, both in Turkey and in the U.S.—especially during a trip I made to work at the Gordion Archives in Philadelphia in 2004. Nick Eiteljorg (Center for Study of Architecture, Bryn Mawr College) brought a CD-ROM with the AutoCAD drawings of Gordion to Colorado for me and has kindly let me take advantage of his remarkable work.

I had focused extensively on glyptic art while working with Margaret Cool Root (University of Michigan) as a graduate student and also benefited greatly from talking with such experts as Dominique Collon (British Museum) and Mark B. Garrison (Trinity University), both exceptionally generous with their time for an eager young student.

But this book has led me down entirely new paths of knowledge as well. Root has helped me extensively with her expertise, ideas, and references to other works that would help illuminate these seals. Gary Beckman (University of Michigan) has been marvelously informative and helpful on questions not only of Hittite sigillography but also Bronze Age Anatolia in general. Andrew Goldman (Gonzaga University) has provided information, filled gaps, and offered occasional much-needed humor as I have grappled with the complexity of Gordion's Roman stratigraphy. Charles E. Jones (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago) has provided translations and suggestions which have been most helpful indeed. Terry Wilfong (University of Michigan) and Emily Teeter (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago) have both spent hours helping me with the Egyptian and Egyptianizing seals from Gordion. Joanna Schmitz, a graduate student at the University of Colorado, checked the hieroglyphs of Cat. No. 22 (10352 SS 259). Holly Pittman (University of Pennsylvania) has also been most generous with her time and knowledge.

In Ankara, I have benefited tremendously from the expertise of Yiğit Erbil at the British Institute of Archaeology and of Özcan Şimşek and Nusret Çetin, curators at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, as well as the scholarly generosity of Hikmet Denizli, Halil Demirdelen, and Vahap Kaya at the Museum. Hüseyin Şen, photographer at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, kindly donated an afternoon of his time to photographing Cat. No. 33 (2342 SS 100).

To all of these colleagues, I am most grateful. Residual errors in this work are entirely my own fault.

Many thanks to the members and staff of the Gordion Archaeological Project, the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums in Ankara, the Ankara and Philadelphia offices of the American Research Institute in Turkey, the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, the Gordion Archives in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and the team members of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Press for their remarkable hospitality and support. I am particularly grateful to Walda Metcalf, Director of Publications at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and to the reviewers of this manuscript for their input. Keith DeVries, Kenneth Sams, and Mary Voigt in particular have been unflagging in their assistance and enthusiasm for the project. Research was made possible thanks to support from the American Research Institute in Turkey, the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, the University of Colorado's Junior Faculty Development Award, and the University of Colorado Graduate Committee on the Arts and Humanities.

Emily D. T. Vermeule was my mentor and advisor when I was an undergraduate at Harvard. Her extraordinarily vivid combination of erudition, personality, and brilliance first led me to the field of archaeology. Even in the short time she spent at Gordion she became almost legendary in the shared oral histories of the site. And her work on the Bronze Age, on Greek literature (I especially love her translation of *Electra*), on warfare, on painting, on international relations in antiquity, have all been deeply inspiring to me. I particularly miss her remarkable sense of humor. When I came back to Cambridge, Massachusetts, from my first season working in Turkey, she had prepared a short Turkish quiz for me: I was to translate "Up in the Air, Junior Birdman" into Turkish! Unfortunately we got stuck on the first word: we couldn't decide if "up in the air" was a statement of fact or an injunction to motion. With affection, admiration, and the utmost respect, I therefore dedicate this book to the memory of Emily D. T. Vermeule.

1

The Site of Gordion

Gordion lies on the Anatolian Plateau, at 688 m above sea level, in a bend of the Sangarios River (modern Sakarya) about 100 km west-southwest of the modern Turkish capital of Ankara. <fig. 1> The city was the ancient capital of Phrygia, a land of uncertain extent but perhaps reaching at its greatest size from Afyon in the west to Alishar in the east, inhabited by people speaking and writing an Indoeuropean language called Phrygian from around the tenth century BCE into the Roman period. The etymology of the name of its capital, Gordion, is uncertain, although it may be named after one of its hereditary kings (the father of the legendary King Midas was named Gordias).

Gordion commands a valley that once flowed with traffic by river and by land; low white gypsum cliffs and rolling hills surround it for miles in every direction. <fig. 2> In antiquity, forests of juniper and pine trees may have grown nearby, providing timber for humans and habitat for many kinds of wild animals and birds.[1] The plateau around was dotted with wheat and barley fields as well as lentils and other pulses.

The site of Gordion is now known to consist of a Citadel Mound or upper city, a lower town, and further settlement in an outer town that reflects a fairly dense pattern around the Citadel Mound (for a synopsis of recent work on Gordion, see Kealhofer 2005a). <fig. 3> The Citadel Mound reaches above the surrounding plain about 24 m. It has given its name to the nearby village of Yassıhöyük, or "flat mound." To the southeast lies the Küçük Höyük, or "small mound," which was part of an ancient fortress that protected the lower town lying between the Citadel Mound and the Küçük Höyük. An additional mound just to the north of the site, Kuş Tepe or "bird hill," probably formed another part of this defense system (first suggested by Ben Marsh; see Marsh 1999 and 2005:esp. 171). Low ridges to the northeast, east, and southeast of the site provide bedrock outcrops on which were situated roughly a hundred burial tumuli, of which the tallest is still preserved rising 50 m above the natural ground surface, as well as other types of graves. The Sangarios River flows through the site and currently nibbles away at the edge of the Citadel Mound itself.

The situation of the site is glorious. It has the clear sparkle of an interior highland, close to the heavens and characterized by vast reaches of sky and dark distant hills that sometimes seem close enough to touch. Average daytime temperatures in the summer hover around 30 degrees Celsius, while in the winter they settle around 4 degrees. Average annual rainfall is approximately 36 cm (numbers are drawn from the Ankara Business Centre's 2004 booklet, p. 2). Although the landscape is semiarid, streams and

[1] An extensive and growing bibliography exists on the archaeobotanical remains of Gordion, now supplemented by research into the use of traditional local plants on the burial tumuli to help conserve them against further erosion. See, e.g., Miller 1993, 1994, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2000; and Miller and Bluemel 1999.

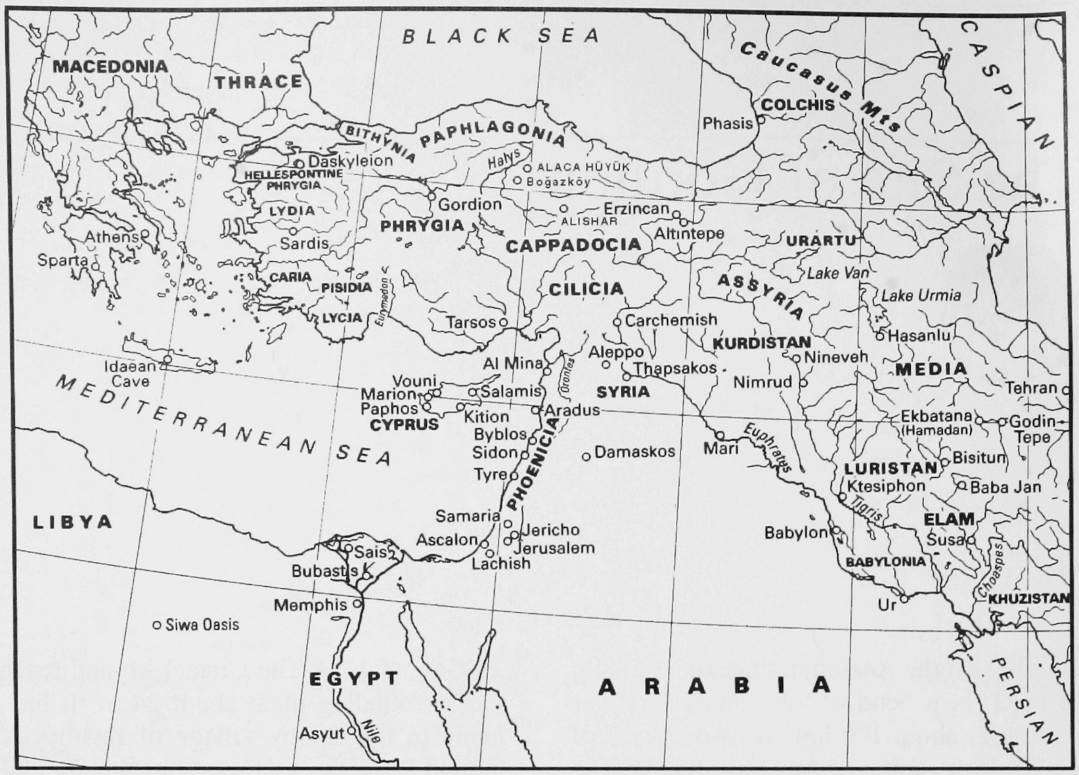


Figure 1 Gordion and its surroundings, after Miller 1997:260.

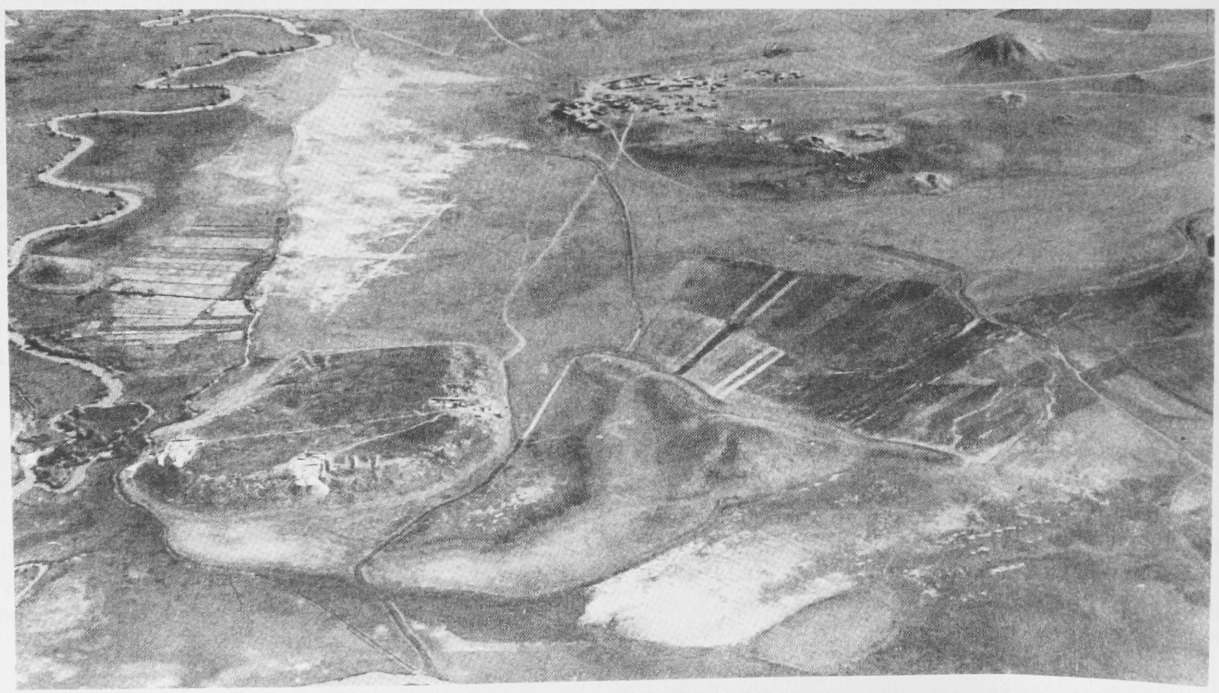


Figure 2 Aerial view of Gordion in the 1980s, from south-southwest, after Gunter 1991:fig. 2.

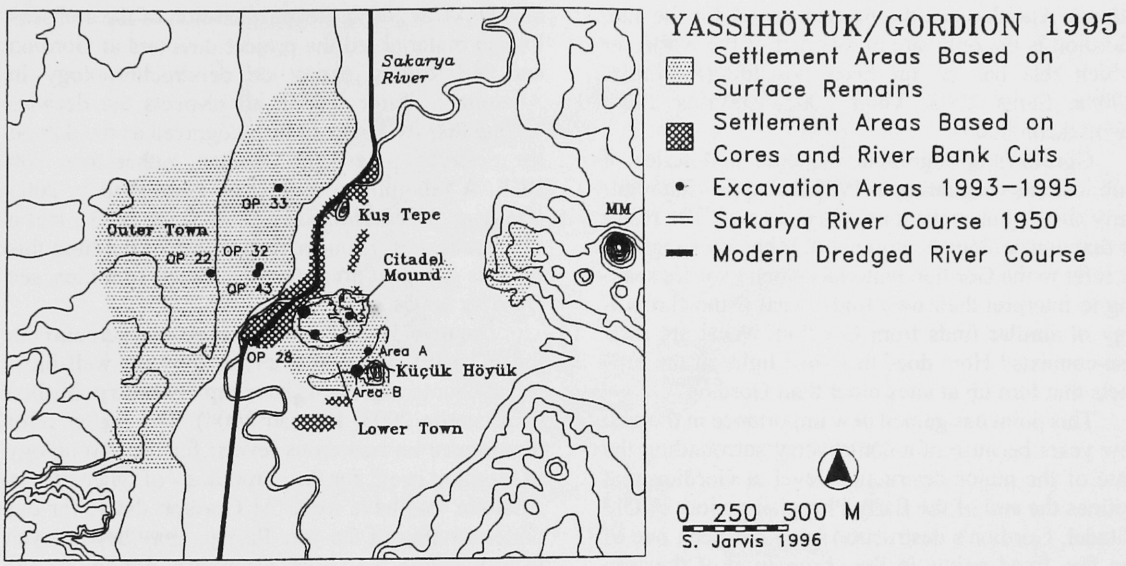


Figure 3 Map of Gordion showing major topographic zones of the site, from Voigt and Young 1999:fig. 2.

springs provide water to irrigate fields. Flocks thrive on the hills and marginal lands above the river bottoms. The wind can blow strongly, kicking up dust or snow; in the summer, brief torrential rains or the occasional quick hailstorm will bring relief from the dry heat of the sun. Sunsets are quick and dramatic.

Ancient Gordion overlooked major east-west land routes connecting the high reaches of the Anatolian plains to the east, realm of the Hittites for centuries in the Bronze Age, with the lush fertility of Lydia and Ionia to the west and an overland route through the meerschaum-rich forested hills of Hellespontine Phrygia to the northwest and on to Byzantium. To the south and southeast lay the rich warm volcanic soils of Cappadocia, again an easy trip away with no major mountain ranges lying between. The Hittites commanded the lands to the east in the Bronze Age; in the Iron Age the complex civilizations of Tabal and Urartu lay beyond the eastern edges of Phrygia, with Medes and Assyrians jostling up to their southeast, along with the cultures commonly called Neo-Hittite to the south-southeast of Phrygia. Overland routes thus connected Gordion to a tremendously diverse human and agricultural environment, and gave its inhabitants access to—and possibly control over the transportation of—the products of many different cultures.

Transport and trade factored into Gordion's prosperity. The Sangarios river provided a ready route north to the Black Sea, emerging close to the Bosphorus, and an overland route that emerged near Bolu gave the inhabitants of Gordion opportunity to communicate and trade by sea and by land with Greeks and Thracians as well as others inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Gordion was thus situated so as to provide its inhabitants with a great variety of local produce and the possibility of importing goods from all directions, from the lands of other peoples nearby and very far away.

Gordion, and Phrygia, thrived: excavations undertaken by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania have revealed an extensive and continuous history of ancient settlement from the Early Bronze Age into the Roman period, with some medieval remains preserved as well. Indeed, Gordion has come to be the "type-site" for west-central Anatolia.

This is a heavy responsibility to bear. It means that Gordion has produced enough archaeological material, dug with sufficient attention to detail and stratigraphic accuracy, that archaeologists have been able to piece together and publish a continuous sequence of ceramics and other materials from the

Bronze Age through the Roman period for the site. Gordion is the only site in this part of the world for which this has so far been possible (Kealhofer 2005a, Sams 2005, Voigt 2005, DeVries 2005, Henrickson 2005).

Gordion's stratigraphic sequence and series of publications (beginning in 1950 and appearing regularly since) thus make it unique in its area. The result is that archaeologists working at other sites regularly refer to the Gordion materials when they are seeking to interpret their own finds: what is the chronology of similar finds from Gordion? What are their use-contexts? How does this shed light on the artifacts that turn up at sites other than Gordion?

This point has gained new importance in the past few years because of a controversy surrounding the date of the major destruction level at Gordion that defines the end of the Early Phrygian period, or Old Citadel. Gordion's destruction level has been one of the few fixed points in the chronology of the Iron Age in central Anatolia and has provided a date not only for Gordion itself but for all other sites on the Anatolian plateau. It was dated to around 700 BCE by the excavators who first encountered it in the 1950s, headed by Rodney S. Young of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, based on a combination of literary and archaeological sources. Early radiocarbon dates derived from samples collected in the 1950s suggested the destruction might have happened slightly earlier than 700 but gave a very wide range of possibility (Kohler and Ralph 1961). The date was widely accepted and used to determine the chronology of many other sites in Anatolia as well as the development of Phrygian culture as a whole.

Since 1988, scientific evidence has come to light that has demanded a reconsideration of the archaeological evidence. New carbon samples collected from the destruction level in the 1980s and 1990s provided a date a hundred years earlier than had previously been thought (Voigt 1994:272-273). And recalibration of the earlier dates now brings them in line with these new figures (G. K. Sams and K. DeVries, personal communication June 2004; see also DeVries 2005). Reconsideration of the archaeological material led the project directors at Gordion and the leading expert on dendrochronology in Anatolia to agree that in all respects the decades around 800 BCE should be recognized as the date of the destruction level at Gordion, rather than 700 BCE. A preliminary report was published in 2003 (DeVries, Kuniholm, Sams, and Voigt 2003), and a full publication is under preparation at the time this book is going to press (for the Greek ceramics, see DeVries 2005).

The new date has sparked great consternation in the archaeological world, and lengthy and well-illustrated counterarguments have rapidly been published (Muscarella 2003, Keenan 2004). The matter is of importance on numerous levels: for the chronology of Gordion itself, for the chronology of other sites in Anatolia that have used the Gordion dates, for our understanding of the role Phrygia may have played in influencing the Greek Geometric period, for the ways we use different methodologies in archaeology to come to chronological determinations, and even as a question of intellectual history. The debate continues and will no doubt spark discussion and scholarship for years to come. For the purposes of this study, I accept the redating of the destruction level to the decades around 800 BCE.

This book on the seals and seal impressions from Gordion thus ties together various archaeological issues and approaches, at a particularly exciting moment when the chronology of the Gordion archaeological sequence is under new investigation and revision.

Excavations at Gordion

Exploration of Gordion began in 1893, when the site was discovered and identified as such by the classicist Alfred Körte (see Sams 2005 for excavations over the last century). Körte returned in 1900

[2] Young's publications of work at the site are Young 1951, 1953, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1968, and the posthumous Young 1976 and 1981. The major problem encountered by modern scholars working with the records of Young's excavations has to do with the methodologies of the early years. The site of Troy provided a model for most archaeologists of the mid-20th century who were excavating tell or mound sites, and Young excavated the citadel mound at Gordion on the assumption that it too was deposited in "layers." Although there is of course some validity to this approach, recent work at the site demonstrates the tremendous complexity of its stratigraphy, with re-use, re-building, sloping and/or stepped levels, extraordinary amounts of pit-digging, and other human activities muddying the layered waters. It is thus unfortunately not always the case that an artifact from, say, "Layer 3" in Young's terminology is contemporary with an artifact excavated from "Layer 3" on the other side of the site.

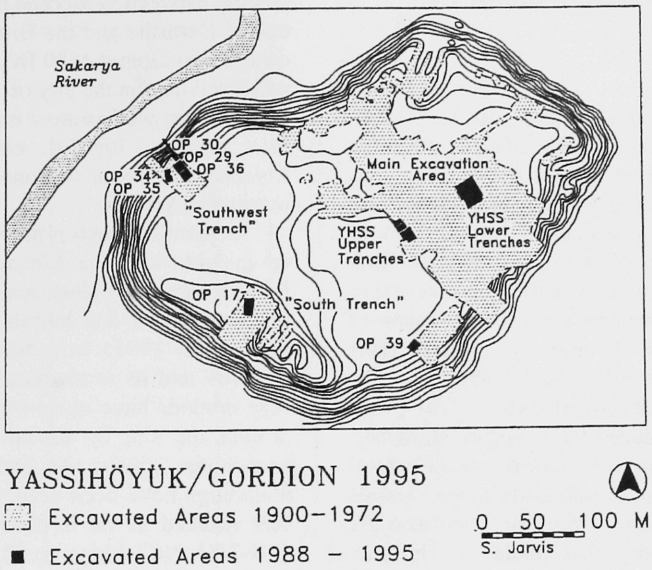


Figure 4 Plan of Yassıhöyük showing excavated areas, after Voigt and Young 1999:fig. 3.

with his brother, Gustav, to excavate for a single season (Körte and Körte 1904). Systematic excavations began at Gordion in 1950, sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and headed by Rodney S. Young, who remained project director until his untimely death in 1974.[2] Shortly before he died, Young appointed Keith DeVries of the University of Pennsylvania as his successor to lead the excavations at Gordion; with DeVries as head over the next 14 years, the research and editorial work was undertaken that resulted in many of the Gordion monographs (e.g., the posthumous Young 1981, Roller 1987, Gunter 1991, Sams 1994, Kohler 1995, Romano 1995). DeVries led a number of crucial study seasons at the site (see esp. DeVries 1990), enabling its re-opening as an excavation in the late eighties.

Since 1988, the Gordion Archaeological Project has enjoyed the joint leadership of G. Kenneth Sams of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Mary M. Voigt of the College of William & Mary. Sams serves as the project director and is in charge of overseeing the entire project at Gordion, including publication and conservation of material excavated under Rodney Young, while Voigt, as field director, has guided the recent excavation, regional survey, and related projects at Gordion (see overview and references in Voigt and Young 1999:196-197, and Kealhofer 2005a and 2005b). <fig. 4> Additional work, under the supervision of Voigt and Sams, has been undertaken by T. Cuyler Young of the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum, by Brendan Burke of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and by Andrew Goldman of Gonzaga University. The Gordion Archaeological Project is at this point an outstanding example of archaeology at work, with object and architecture conservation, excavation, survey, and ethnoarchaeology all working together to come to the best possible understanding of the site and its history. Both arms of the project use the most up-to-date methodologies and approaches, and its official web site (http://home.att.net/~gordion/), written and maintained by Robert Henrickson, has won the Lightspan Academic Excellence Award.

The History of Gordion

Excavations at Gordion have unearthed evidence of human occupation at the site from the Bronze Age through the Roman period. The brief overview presented here is intended to situate Gordion within its Anatolian context and to provide a rubric for understanding the evidence provided by the seals themselves.

Bronze Age (3000-1100 BCE)

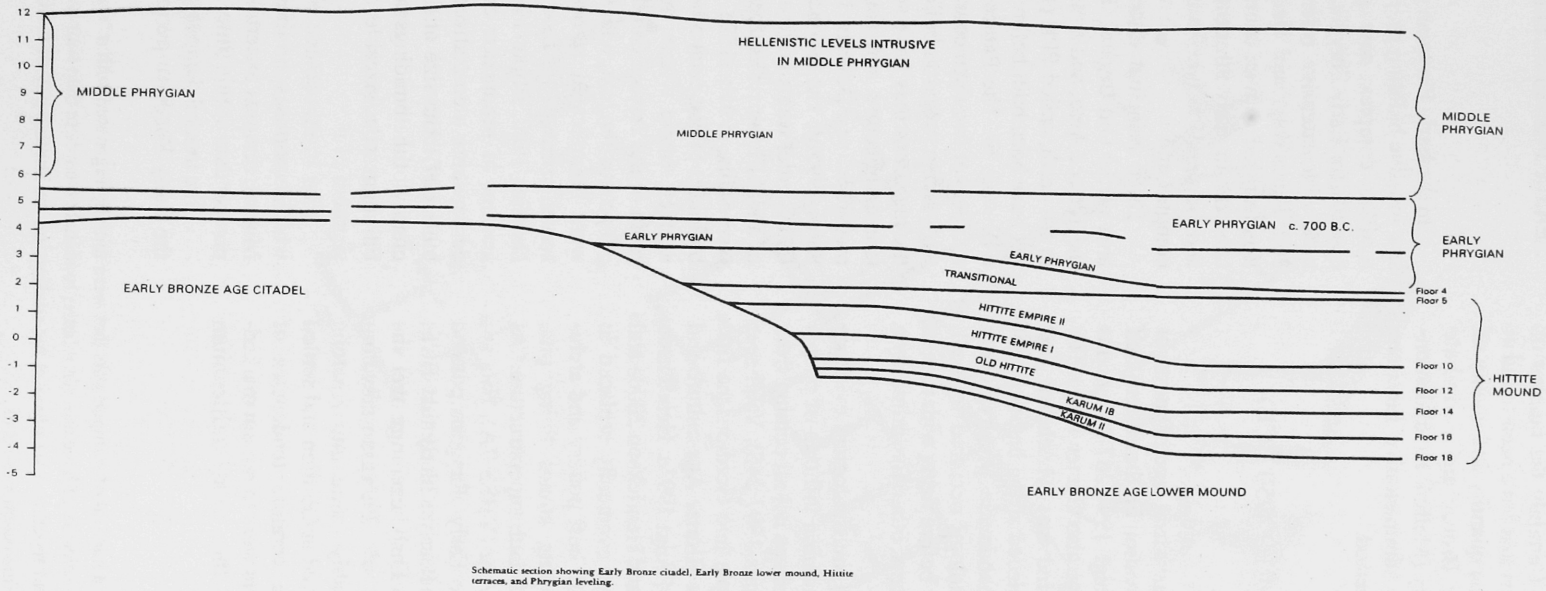
Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age (ca. 3000-2000) was home to various cultures centered to the east of Gordion and best known to archaeologists from the burials at Alaca Höyük, Horoztepe, and Hasanoğlan (for the chronological complexities of Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age, see Mellink 1992). These are characterized by elaborate grave goods in copper and bronze, often in the shape of interwoven "standards" or animals—usually bulls and stags—with silver inlays and gilded horns or hooves. To the west, the second level of Troy (Troy II, ca. 2500-2300) produced huge megarons, rectangular buildings with an antechamber and a central hearth in the main chamber, and also ceramic vessels that demonstrated the use of the fast wheel and the spectacular gold jewelry that made up Heinrich Schliemann's "Troy Treasure." The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000-1700) was the time of the Old Assyrian Trading Colonies in central Anatolia, where traders from the Assyrian lands to the south established trading colonies at Kültepe (the Karum Kanesh, levels II and Ib, ca. 1950-1750), at Acemhöyük, at Boğazköy, at Alishar, and at other sites yet to be identified archaeologically.

The later Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age saw Anatolia become the province of the Hittites, a people who spoke an Indoeuropean language related to Luwian that they wrote in cuneiform and in hieroglyphic. The Hittite Old Kingdom (17th to 15th centuries) had its ceremonial and religious capital at Boğazköy (Hattusha); its kings were outstanding generals, especially Mursilis I, the conqueror of Babylon in 1595 BCE.

The Hittite Empire, or New Kingdom, lasted from the 14th century to the early 12th century BCE; during this time, the Hittites had hegemony over virtually all of Anatolia and North Syria, and they conducted treaties with such far-off lands as Egypt. Boğazköy, the Hittite capital, during this time saw the construction of immense fortifications and gate buildings, including the famous Lion, Sphinx, and King's gates, a citadel that may have had an administrative purpose on the top of the site (the Büyükkâle), the enormous Temple I to the Storm God of Hatti and the Sun Goddess of Arinna as well as other temples, and an open-air sanctuary at the nearby spring at Yazılıkaya, depicting the pantheon of Hittite gods. The Hittites also had a center at Alaca Höyük and carved rock reliefs as far west as the pass leading between Sardis and Ephesos, at Karabel. The end of Hattusha and the Hittite Empire came with a destruction around 1180 BCE. Meanwhile, in northwestern Anatolia the city of Troy built extensive fortifications as well as more megarons and other buildings in the 15th-13th centuries; imports from Mycenaean Greece demonstrate contact with lands across the Aegean.

At Gordion, two primary kinds of deposit give us insights into the life and culture of the site's Bronze Age inhabitants: remains of habitation on the Citadel Mound, and burials (see esp. Mellink 1956 and Gunter 1991). In addition to the exploration of Gordion and its immediate environs, small Bronze Age mounds have also been discovered in the area around the site by casual and systematic survey (Kealhofer 2005b). At Gordion itself, three deep soundings have been sunk into the Citadel Mound that reached as far as Early Bronze Age deposits (PN-3/31, NCT Megaron 12, and Megaron 10). <fig. 5> Two of these encountered Hittite levels overlying the Early Bronze Age deposits (Megaron 12 and Megaron 10). These have been fully described in Gunter 1991:esp. 1-7 and 109-110. Her comprehensive publication should be consulted for detailed information about the Bronze Age. A further Late Bronze Age building excavated recently is published in Voigt 1994. In addition, the ridge to the northeast of the Citadel Mound was site to a city cemetery in the late Middle Bronze Age and early Late Bronze Age, one that was possibly in use even as early as the 3rd millennium (Mellink 1956:1; see also Marsh 2005).

In the Early Bronze Age Gordion seems to have been a walled establishment with a defensive embankment and a lower mound; fires and rubble that may indicate destruction episodes are represented by debris dumped outside the city wall (Gunter 1991:109). The size of the occupation area and the quality of the buildings constructed during this period suggest "a sizeable and durable occupation of Gordion in the third millennium BCE" (Gunter 1991:109). Evidence excavated from the Citadel Mound for the second millennium BCE shows occupation remained strong, and the finds demonstrate contacts with the Hittite Old Kingdom and Empire (Gunter 1991:38-45, 110). The Hittite cemetery of the late Middle Bronze Age demonstrates that people at Gordion were using objects parallel to those that the Hittites were using (Mellink 1956). The Late Bronze mound still remains puzzling, and architecture rather elusive. The Hittite city may have grown up on low terraces around the Citadel Mound, where



Schematic section showing Early Bronze citadel, Early Bronze lower mound, Hittite terraces, and Phrygian leveling.

Figure 5 Section of Bronze Age mound, after Gunter 1991.

spaces were not cramped. Certainly the number of Hittite seals and impressions that have been found at Gordion (see below) and the quantity and quality of graves in the Late-Middle Bronze and Early-Late Bronze Age Hittite cemetery (Mellink 1956) demonstrate that residential and administrative functions thrived during the Hittite period.

Early Iron Age (1100-950 BCE)

At the moment, the Early Iron Age is known at Gordion from limited excavation on the eastern half of the Citadel Mound (Voigt 1994:267-272; Sams and Voigt 1995:370-374; see also Gunter 1991). The pottery of the Hittite period was wheelmade and mass produced; it was replaced at the beginning of the Early Iron age by handmade pottery. Other changes in ceramic technology occurred as well, including stamping pottery before firing with repeated decorative stamped designs, otherwise primarily a Thracian practice.[3]

In Sams's opinion, the archaeological evidence suggests "renewed or continuing influxes of people and ideas over time and perhaps not all coming from the same precise area" (Sams 1997:245). Voigt sees two major influxes of people into Gordion, the first of which replaced the Late Bronze Age culture and introduced stamped wares (Voigt 1993a, Henrickson and Voigt 1995, and Voigt and Henrickson 2000a and 2000b). These people were eventually replaced in turn by another culture with buff pottery and architectural structures employing stones lining pits, probably with a wattle-and-daub superstructure.[4] At the end of the Early Iron Age (YHSS 7A), pots are wheel-made and look like Early Phrygian pottery, although they are not grey. It seems likely that it was at some point during the Early Iron Age that the Phrygians—that group of Phrygian-speaking Indoeuropeans who probably came into Anatolia through Thrace—first arrived at Gordion and settled in the area around. The ceramic tendencies of Gordion's Phrygian dwellers were to remain markedly conservative over the next millennium (Henrickson 2005).

Early Phrygian Period (950-800 BCE)

In the Early Phrygian period, the site of Gordion saw massive building projects, culminating in a vast fortified complex now generally called the Old Citadel (for Early Phrygia, see Sams 1994 and 1995, both with extensive references, Sams 2005, Voigt 2005, and Voigt and Henrickson 2000b). The site was fortified with an enormous wall probably in the late 10th or early 9th century BCE, and the Citadel Mound seems to have been maintained as a palatial complex.

Three principal districts define the excavated area of the Old Citadel. These are the Palace Area, the Terrace Area, and a multi-roomed third structure to the north, called PPB (this building may however not have been built before the Middle Phrygian period). <fig. 6> The Palace Area, at the northeast, is made up of two open courts separated by a thick wall with facing megaron buildings defining their edges; the megarons may have served as palace and temple (for architecture and contents of the Palace Area megarons, see DeVries 1980:34 ff. and references, Sams 1995b). The second major area making up the Old Citadel was a large terrace just to the west, part of a significant rebuilding project in the 9th century (see Sams 1995b:1152). It has two identical long buildings facing each other across a wide street. The artifacts found within them demonstrate that each room of the Terrace Building served as an independent production unit, with multiple tasks going on that were reduplicated across the building: the rooms served primarily for food and textile production (see DeVries 1980, Burke 1998 and 2005). Such a huge amount of production and highly organized setup demonstrate a centralized administration and distribution of foodstuffs and textiles, although it is not clear if the terrace area served the needs of the Phrygian population at large or some specialized segment of it.

The multi-roomed building to the north, PPB, which comprises the third major area of the Citadel Mound, remains uncertain of function and indeed of precise date at this time.

The mound demonstrates a flourishing society in the Early Phrygian period that supported a wealthy

[3] This catalogue includes a handful of stamped pots that were initially registered with a "sealstone" number. Although they therefore represent an arbitrary selection, I have thought it better to include them here than simply let them fall through any cracks.

[4] Ömür Harmanşah has put together a set of notes for students on the stratigraphy of Gordion in the Phrygian period. See http://www.sas.upenn.edu/~harmansa/phrygian.htm.

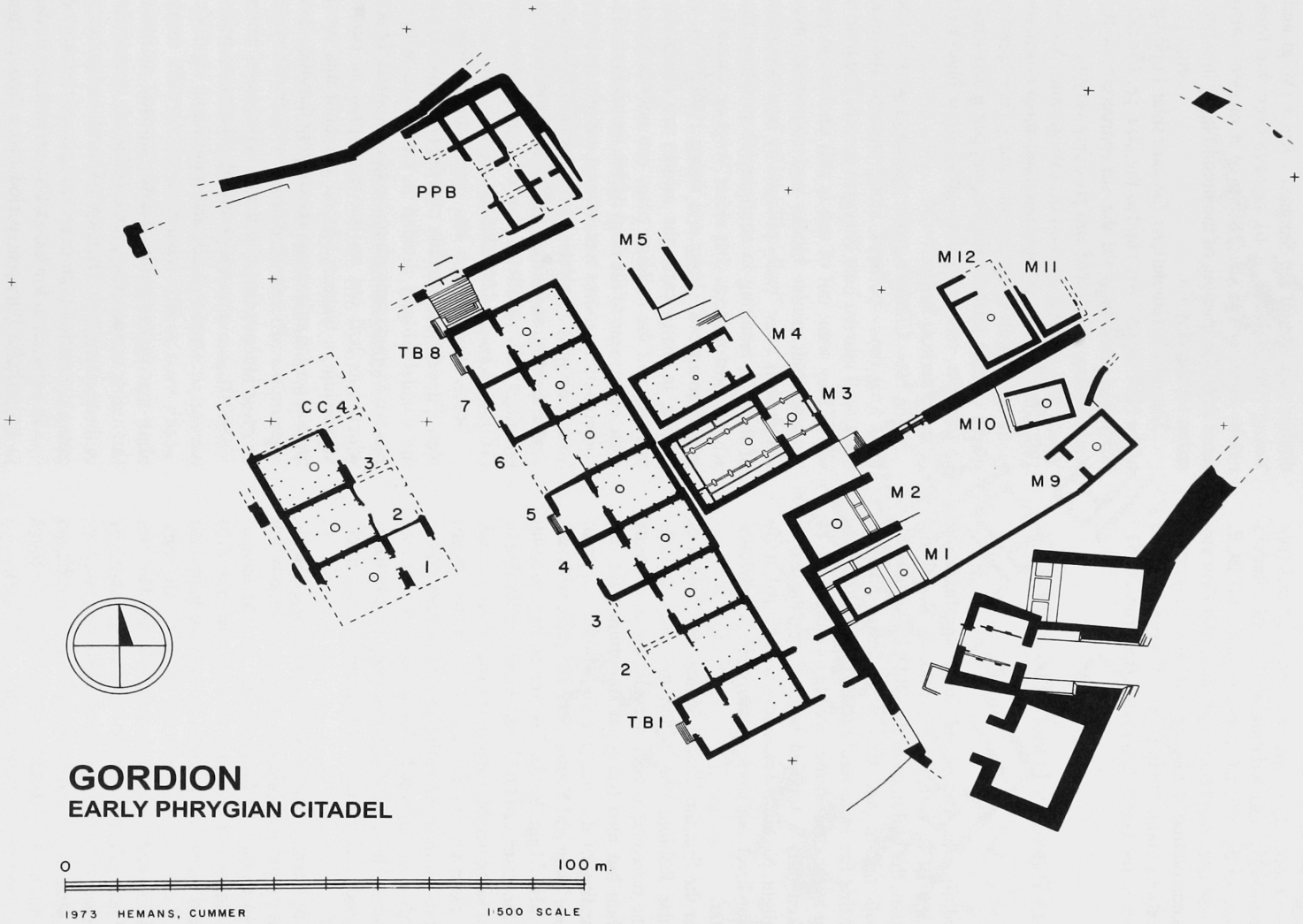


Figure 6. Plan of Gordion Citadel Mound.

elite and seems to have had cultural connections, as judged by material evidence, with others in Anatolia—especially to the east and southeast (see also Jones 2005). The redating of the Old Citadel's destruction to ca. 800 BCE, rather than 700 BCE, places these enormous buildings far earlier than any similar construction in Greece and raises important new questions about the impact of Phrygian culture on Greece in the Geometric period (DeVries 2005).

Middle Phrygian Period (800-540 BCE)

Gordion was consumed in a conflagration around 800 BCE; with the exception of the northeastern part, the buildings of the Old Citadel burned, their roofs fell in, and they were destroyed. The cause of this fire is currently unknown. With winds as strong as they sometimes are at Gordion, it might have taken only a toppled lamp to set the entire citadel alight. No human skeletons were found in the destruction level, nor have any seals been discovered in it so far.

After the fire, the Citadel Mound was rebuilt in spectacular fashion, one which not only demonstrates the resources commanded by the inhabitants of Gordion but also has great importance for our understanding of the site (for the Middle Phrygian period, see Voigt and Young 1999:198-220, with references, also Voigt 2005). The remaining standing walls of the destroyed Old Citadel were all leveled to about the same height, roughly a meter high. A thick layer of clean clay or fill (up to five meters deep) was laid down over the entire area excavated on the Citadel Mound, and new buildings were constructed on top of it. These buildings had deep rubble foundations with ashlar masonry making up the superstructure.

Extraordinarily, the New Citadel of the Middle Phrygian period was laid out on almost exactly the same plan as the Old Citadel. <fig. 7> The date of this rebuilding remains uncertain for now, although the project directors suggest it may have happened as early as the late 8th century BCE (K. DeVries, personal communication February 2005 and DeVries 2005). The problem is made more complicated by the fact that some parts of the Old Citadel may have been leveled and the fill process may have begun before the fire (Voigt and Young 1999:203, Sams and Voigt 1995:fig. 2, DeVries 1990:387-388).

The fill was usually of sterile clay, but it sometimes included churned cultural material. This dirt may have been brought from irrigation and drainage ditches dug around the Sangarios River (Voigt and Young 1999:203-204, n. 6), or have been dug from nearby Bronze Age sites. Some of it probably also came from the leveling of the mound itself in preparation for the clay fill.

The rubble foundations for the ashlar buildings of the New Citadel were laid as the fill rose. The ashlar blocks used to build the superstructure of the walls were multicolored and probably very striking. Voigt and Young comment (Voigt and Young 1999:205): "These colors were used most effectively in the rebuilt gateway into the palace quarter, where visitors initially faced a stepped glacis made up of white, red, and yellow-green stone blocks set in broad vertical stripes."

The New Citadel's ashlar buildings were in use for a long time—perhaps, along with the fortifications, well into the Late Phrygian period. The time at which they went out of use is still unclear, in part because their ashlar blocks and sometimes even foundations were "badly pillaged by later occupants of the site, resulting in stratigraphic problems that are the most difficult that either Voigt or Young has ever encountered" (Voigt and Young 1999:202 n. 4). Indeed, in many cases the ashlars are completely missing, and the building plans can only be reconstructed because of the deep rubble foundations. The contents of the rooms were almost entirely removed. Still, their plan correlates to that of the Old Citadel almost exactly, and it may be that the function of the buildings also paralleled that of their predecessors (Voigt and Young 1999:205).

Recent exploration has demonstrated that the New Citadel (and possibly also the Old Citadel) saw the Citadel Mound divided in two parts, with an Eastern Mound continuing to support the palace area which was laid out on the same plan as before. Meanwhile, a Western Mound was built that seems to have served as quarters for wealthy families, "perhaps minor officials associated with the Phrygian court or independent merchants" (Voigt and Young 1999:210; see also Voigt 2005). Floors of pebble paving, substantial walls, and other items signifying wealth such as fine local pots with graffiti resembling that in the palace quarter, as well as metals (including copper alloy, lead, and gold), were found in the western area. Deposits of bones and pots suggest a domestic function for this part of the mound.

In addition to the Citadel Mound itself, Gordion in the Middle Phrygian period had a Lower Town (Voigt 2005, with references). The area to the south

Figure 7 Plan of Gordion Citadel Mound.

of the Citadel Mound was fortified, with the Küçük Höyük forming a tall mudbrick fortress at the southeast to protect the Middle Phrygian levels that had been raised above the level of the surrounding plain with a fill (see Voigt and Young 1999:211; for the Küçük Höyük, see Young 1953:26-29; Young 1957:324; Young 1958:140-141; Glendinning 1996). Excavations in the Lower Town from 1993 to 1995 unearthed ashlar buildings with rubble foundations set into the clay and complex terraces in the eastern part of the Lower Town. To the west were found multi-roomed mudbrick houses with mud-plastered walls (see Voigt and Young 1999:216, fig. 19). Excavations in the Outer Town of Gordion, across the modern course of the Sangarios River from the Citadel Mound, unearthed another structure, probably a building with a subterranean cellar, that may also date to the Middle Phrygian period (Sams and Voigt 1995:fig. 10-12).

It seems thus that Gordion in the Middle Phrygian period was significantly larger in size and probably population than in the Early Phrygian period. The Citadel Mound was apparently inhabited by the elite, who were thus raised above others literally as well as figuratively. The eastern half of the mound seems still to have housed the palace and various

public buildings, within strong fortifications, while the western half of the mound supported the houses of other wealthy people. The Lower Town reflects a similar spatial arrangement, with large public buildings to the east and domestic structures to the west. The public buildings in the Lower Town may have been related to the presence of military forces garrisoned in the new fortress to the southeast, the Küçük Höyük (Voigt and Young 1999:220). And habitation spread out to the west and northwest of these areas, as well, into an Outer Town. The discovery of a kiln to the south of the Küçük Höyük (Johnston 1970) suggests that production activities were relegated to outside the city limits.

The reconstruction of the New Citadel on the same plan as the Old, but on as much as five meters of sterile clay, is fascinating. It is extraordinary that the site was leveled, that artifacts were not sought by looters, but rather that the whole thing was covered with fill. This suggests ritual purification of the site, or at least a desire to build on "clean" soil—much as the famous Oval Temple at Khafajeh was built on clean sand (and the probably Median site of Nush-i Jan in Iran demonstrates that this old Mesopotamian custom might perpetuate itself in peripheral regions and at later times). The project may of course also have been an attempt to rid the site of the stench and filth of burning. That it should have been rebuilt as before, however, shows tremendous commitment to the organization of space and perhaps of society that had pertained before the destruction.

The time of the New Citadel corresponds to the greatest extent and most famous achievements of Phrygian civilization. Middle Phrygian pottery is found over a vast area of central Anatolia, at least as far east as Alishar and Alaca Höyük and as far west as Afyon, as Mustafa Metin (personal communication 2004) of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara corroborates. The potters of the time produced primarily grey-ware pots that continued the same basic shape array of the Early Phrygian period, but fired at a lower temperature than those of the Early Phrygian period and therefore darker and softer (Henrickson 1993, 1994, and 2005, Henrickson and Voigt 1998). During this time, the Phrygians perfected and made ample use of the lustrous black fine ware for which Phrygia is justly famous: it accounts for 2-4% of all sherds recovered from the Middle Phrygian contexts (Henrickson, Vandiver and Blackman 2002:391). And some painted pottery continued to be made, as well. It is an interesting contradiction that these achievements saw no counterpart in the seals of the Middle Phrygian period, as will become clear below. But the redating of the destruction level at Gordion now brings the Phrygian tumuli and its most famous king, Midas, into this glorious New Citadel phase (for the "tumulus of Midas," see Liebhart and Johnson 2005).

The annals of Sargon II of Assyria (721-706 BCE) mention a Mita of Mushki, now generally identified with Midas of Phrygia. This was the famous King Midas of the Golden Touch, known to Greeks and famed in legend (see Roller 1983, Sams 1995b, Sams 1997, Liebhart and Johnson 2005). We should now probably think of Midas as inhabiting the colorful ashlar buildings of the New Citadel, rather than the earlier megarons. And the fact that the Phrygians in this period made some items from brass, not just bronze, may perhaps account for the legend of Midas's golden touch (R. Liebhart, personal communication, June 2004). Indeed, the grandeur and power indicated by the construction of the New Citadel would certainly give reason for Greeks of the eighth century to be impressed, even overwhelmed, by the might, wealth, and glory of Phrygia.

Toward the end of the Middle Phrygian period, around the second quarter of the 6th century BCE, archaeological evidence suggests that Gordion was probably conquered by the Lydians coming from the west. They brought with them a taste for merrily-colored pots and perhaps also the scented oils thought to have filled at least some of the characteristically shaped lydions. I am grateful to Robert Henrickson (personal communication June 2004, and see Henrickson 2005) for information about imports and local responses at the end of the Middle Phrygian period: interestingly, the only Lydian shape copied in local greyware was the "fruitstand," a shallow bowl or deep plate on a high pedestal foot. Roof tiles also demonstrate connections with Lydia (Glendinning 2005:98-99). Bowls that appear to be of Iranian origin or inspiration have also been discovered in a deposit at the site that dates ca. 550 BCE. Thus the end of the Middle Phrygian period saw a time of mixed ethnicities at Gordion, a time when conquest and commerce brought different peoples and ideas to this ancient city and when the local populace responded with varying degrees of enthusiasm to the presence and habits of foreign conquerors.

Late Phrygian Period (540-330 BCE)

The Late Phrygian period is defined as being roughly contemporary with the time during which Gordion was part of the Achaemenid Persian empire. Around 550 BCE, Cyrus II ("the Great") conquered Anatolia and annexed it into the expanding Achaemenid empire. The empire lasted until Alexander the Great conquered it in 331 BCE: at its greatest extent, it reached from the Aegean to the Indus, from Egypt to Kazakhstan. It was divided into various regions, or satrapies, for governance. Gordion was part of the satrapy of Phrygia, of which the new capital was located to the west at Daskyleion (near modern Iznik). As far as we can tell, the buildings of the New Citadel at Gordion continued in use in the Late Phrygian period: the fortification wall all the way through the period, and the ashlar buildings within for an unknown time.

Evidence at Gordion for the arrival of the Achaemenid army is widespread. The characteristic Persian trilobate arrowheads are found all over the site, and a great siege mound was built up against the fortress of the Küçük Höyük to the southwest of the Citadel Mound. The mudbricks of the Küçük Höyük were found riddled with trilobate arrowheads. The most recent stratigraphic and artifact analyses have "provided convincing evidence that the demolition of the ashlar buildings, i.e. the beginning of the Late Phrygian . . . .phase, was well underway by 500 BC" (Voigt and Young 1999:202 n. 4; for the Late Phrygian period at Gordion, see esp. Voigt and Young 1999:220-236). But this initial destruction seems not to have spelled the end of Gordion's population or prosperity.

In light of the lack of change to the local ceramic assemblage brought about by Lydian presence at the site, the wholescale change that takes place in the Late Phrygian ceramic assemblage is particularly striking (see Henrickson 1994 and especially 1993). Although utilitarian wares and shapes continue to be made along the lines of their Middle (and often Early) predecessors, the table wares change entirely. The black lustrous ware of the earlier times is demoted from "best" or fanciest shapes to larger, less ornate forms (Henrickson, Vandiver, and Blackman 2002). The finest shapes of the Middle Phrygian assemblage are entirely replaced by Iranian shapes, mostly bowls, decorated and fired according to Iranian practice (Henrickson 1993 and personal communication June 2004). Thus the ceramic assemblage demonstrates a tremendous shift in cultural impetus and emphasis at Gordion in the Late Phrygian phase.

This was accompanied by a concurrent shift in the use and architectural forms of the various parts of the site, despite the continued use of the fortifications and some of the ashlar buildings (Voigt and Young 1999:235). Industrial activities were widespread on the Eastern Mound (the old palatial quarter) during the Late Phrygian phase, rather than taking place outside the city limits as they had in Middle Phrygian times. Two additional large stone-walled buildings were built on the Eastern Mound during this period, however: the Mosaic Building, perhaps constructed in the late 6th or early 5th century BCE, and the Painted House, probably dating ca. 520-490 BCE (Voigt and Young 1999:221). The Painted House gains its name from a partly subterranean room with vibrant polychrome images on white plaster (Mellink 1980); the Mosaic Building gains its name from the mosaics that made up its floors (Young 1953:9-14; Sams and Voigt 1997:plan 7; Voigt et al. 1997:fig. 9). Although the Painted House shows a new architectural type (and decoration) at Gordion, the Mosaic Building has predecessors in the 9th century BCE and should be seen as a late version of a traditional style. Neither building is a megaron. It is perhaps significant that these two remnants of elaborate structures dating to the Achaemenid period were built in the area reserved for the palace and elite production during the Early and Middle Phrygian periods, close to the fortification and gateway which were apparently maintained in the Late Phrygian period.

Such continuity of spatial use is not the general pattern in the Late Phrygian period, however. Recent excavations have shown that large building projects were also undertaken on the Western Mound during the Late Phrygian phase (Voigt and Young 1999:223, 236). Signs remain, despite extensive wall-robbing in the areas excavated, of ashlar walls and paved courts. But most of the Western Mound seems to have been given over to industry: evidence is widespread across this half of the mound, including thick sloping plaster floors covered with ash and charcoal.

The remaining architecture of the Late Phrygian period is complicated (M. Voigt, personal communication January 2005). A series of cellars on the Eastern Mound served as workshops, single-roomed semi-subterranean buildings, many of which have hearths. They tend to be rather small and are often quite poorly built (Voigt and Young 1999:223-235). The Western Mound, by contrast, has both free-

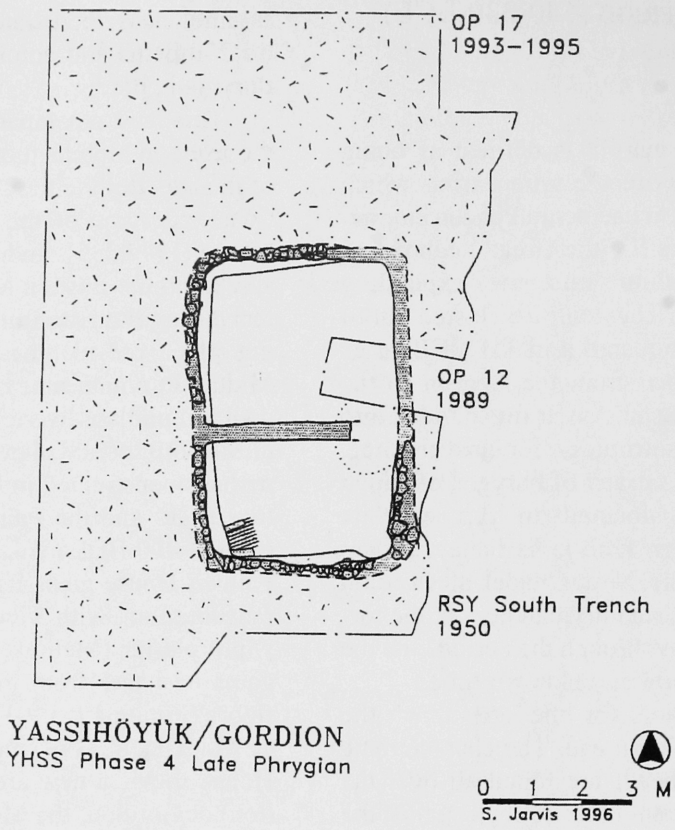


Figure 8 Late Phrygian pit house in Operation 17, after Voigt and Young 1999:fig. 27.

standing stone architecture and a few simple pit houses. <fig. 8> The Lower Town saw construction of nicely built pit houses, quite large, that do not resemble the workshops of the mound. <fig. 9> Thus Voigt and Young point out (Voigt and Young 1999:234-235): "Based on surface finds and what little we know about the archaeological remains below the surface, a surprising conclusion can be drawn: when the Persians conquered Gordion it did not decline in size and prosperity but instead remained stable and perhaps even grew to its maximum size during Late Phrygian times."

Indeed, during the Late Phrygian period Gordion seems to have experienced an increase in cultural interactions both with other parts of the Achaemenid empire and with Greek lands to the west. As mentioned, local ceramic wares take on new shapes and are fired buff or red instead of gray, resembling Iranian wares and departing from centuries of local tradition (Henrickson 1993, 1994). Roof tiles resemble contemporary Lydian ones (Glendinning 2005). At the same time, the amount of Greek imported pots and imported glass sees a great increase (DeVries 1997b, Jones 1995 and 2005:103 and 116). Thus the archaeological record suggests increased cultural interaction with remoter peoples at least to the south and the west. Although Gordion lacks the tremendous monumental construction projects of earlier years in the Late Phrygian period, it nonetheless seems to have been large, busy, and in communication (or commerce) with far-flung peoples. As will be seen, the seals of this period also reflect these trends.

Hellenistic Period (330-150 BCE)

Gordion preserves complex and fascinating remains from the Hellenistic period. The period starts off with a bang: there seems to have been an earthquake in the early or mid-fourth century BCE that contributed to the destruction of at least some of the Middle Phrygian buildings on the Citadel Mound (Roller 1987b:103-104; DeVries 1990:399-400;

Romano 1995:2). From literary sources, we learn that Alexander the Great arrived in Gordion in 334 and cut through the famous Gordian Knot (Plutarch Alexander 18.1). This was an unusually complicated knot on the yoke of a wagon; legend held that whoever could undo it would become master of all Asia. After lengthy contemplation of the Knot, Alexander finally drew his sword and sliced through it altogether, thereby heralding his future mastery of Asia, won by force of arms.

After the death of Alexander in 323 BCE, the empire was split up into smaller kingdoms. The Seleucids controlled most of Asia Minor, but there were powerful small kingdoms centered at Pergamon, in the Pontus, and in Bithynia. The early Hellenistic period at Gordion saw a phase of renewed architectural activity and clear connections with Greece and the Hellenized world (Roller 1987b:103-104; DeVries 1990:400; Romano 1995:3). Thus in the early Hellenistic period (ca. 330-250 BCE) Gordion was a community that maintained some Phrygian and possibly Persian traditions while reaching out to embrace the cultural concepts of Greece and the lands to the west (for the date, see Voigt 1999:282).

Literary sources tell us that King Nikomedes of Bithynia brought Celtic soldiers from the Balkans to Asia Minor in 278 BCE to serve as mercenaries in his war against his brother for control of Bithynia (just east of the Bosphorus). Some of these Celts were later granted permission to settle in central Anatolia, perhaps by the king of Pontus, Mithridates II (Allen 1983:138-141; Romano 1995:2). The Celts were known to the Greeks as Keltoi or Galatai and gave their name to the later Roman province of Galatia, established in 25 BCE.

The textual evidence, corroborated by the archaeological, suggests that Gordion and the area

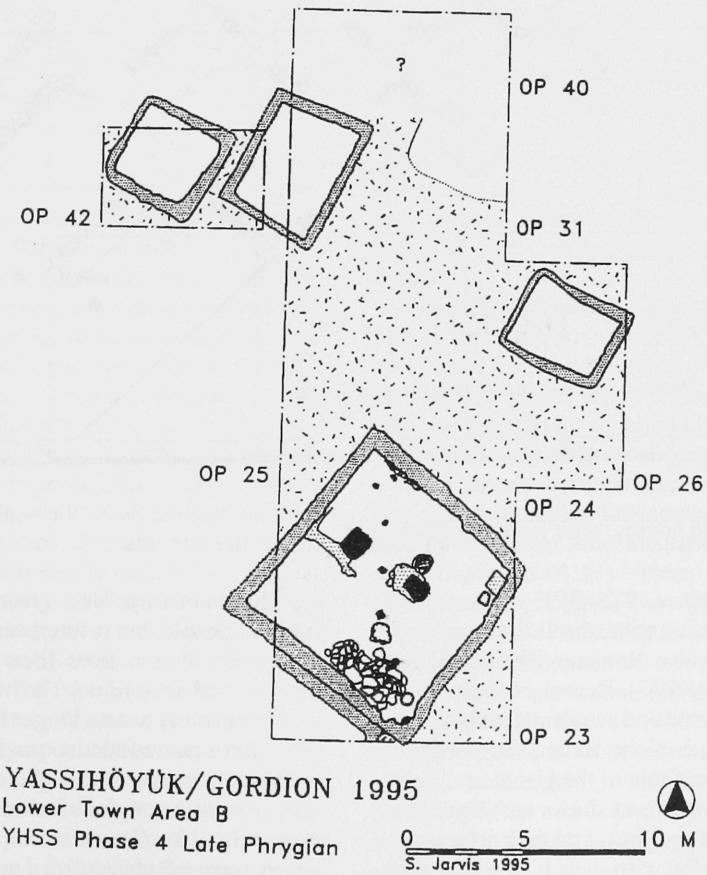


Figure 9 Late Phrygian houses in Lower Town Area B, after Voigt and Young 1999:fig. 31.

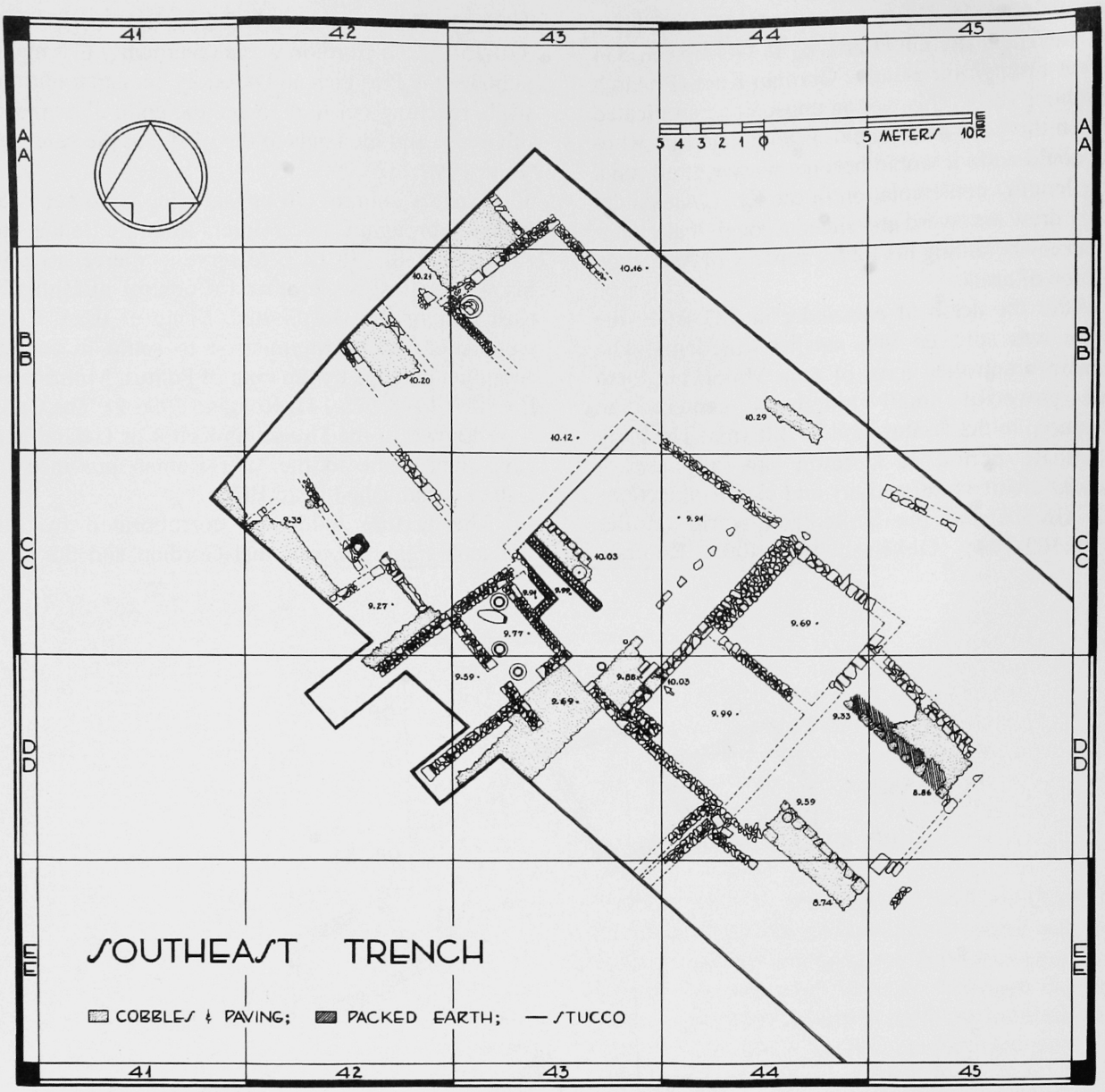


Figure 10 Hellenistic houses, after Romano 1995:fig. 6.

around it were settled ca. 275 BCE or somewhat after by a particular Celtic tribe, the Tolistobogii (see esp. Mitchell 1993a; also Romano 1995:2; Winter 1988; Voigt 2003:14 and 17). Recent excavations at Gordion have illuminated and problematized the second architectural phase of the Hellenistic period at the site, and the fate and role of the Galatians (Voigt 1999:282). This brief summary draws on Voigt's preliminary discussion of the finds and their interpretation (Voigt 2003). Of importance is the fact that architectural construction styles changed dramatically in the second phase of the Hellenistic period: this is perhaps not surprising, given the influx of a new group of people, but is interesting as it lends support to the idea drawn from literary sources of Celtic tribes settled at Gordion. The houses of the mid- and later 3rd century are no longer built of mudbrick, but rather have stone foundations with vertical slots for posts that supported an organic superstructure, perhaps of wattle-and-daub, which was plastered with mud. <fig. 10> Courts were paved with large flat stones, some of which turned out on excavation to be reused grave markers or public monuments: this reuse "indicates a lack of respect for the earlier peo-

ple of Gordion by the Galatian newcomers," as the excavator comments (Voigt 2003:16). The orientation of houses changed, as well, and basin-shaped hearths of a type not found in earlier Phrygian levels were constructed across an outside work area. This is a departure from the location of hearths in cellars or pit houses like the Late Phrygian hearths. One of these new hearths was filled with burned horse bones—another departure from earlier practice. Even the tools used to process food and produce textiles changed. As Voigt says, this latter point suggests that the immigrants included not only male mercenary soldiers but also their families. A Celtic name (Kant[x]uix) on an inscription lends support to the notion that it was Celts who were the immigrants (Roller 1987b:129, Voigt 2003:16-17).

Other, grimmer, archaeological evidence corroborates this ethnic identification. Perhaps the clearest evidence of Celtic practice is supplied by bone deposits excavated from the Lower Town at Gordion (Dandoy, Selinsky, and Voigt 2002, and Selinsky 2005). Here deposits of human and animal bones show that the Celts at Gordion retained practices known from the European Celts: headhunting, human sacrifice by hanging or garroting, and caching mixed human and animal bones (Voigt 2003:17).

At the same time, the majority of the Late Phrygian and Hellenistic terracotta figurines found at Gordion come from this second Hellenistic phase (Romano 1995:3). These figurines demonstrate significant contact with Greece and Greek forms of art. The existence of Kybele figurines (see, e.g., Romano 1995:frontispiece, nos. 52-64) shows also a continued interest at Gordion in the great Phrygian mother goddess at this time. This attests to possible continuity of some members of the pre-Galatian population at Gordion, and also to possible interest in the cultural artifacts of Greece among the Galatian population, who after all had passed through Hellenic and Hellenized lands on their way to central Anatolia.

When the Romans arrived at the city at the end of the Hellenistic period, says the historian Livy (38.13), drawing on a contemporary account by Polybios, they found the site deserted, with the inhabitants having fled to a mountain stronghold at a place called Mount Olympos. The stratagem failed, according to Livy: the Romans tracked down the refugees, defeated them, and slaughtered them.

The well-built houses of the second Hellenistic phase showed evidence of fire damage, and large amounts of pottery and other material were left on floors. Although Young called the remains the "Deserted Village," and archaeologists previously concurred in linking it to the time in 189 BCE when a Roman army led by the consul Manlius Vulso looted the city (Voigt 2003:14), we now know there were two abandonments, and it is no longer clear that the Deserted Village should be dated to 189 BCE. For now, Young's Deserted Village is still chalked up to the depredations of Vulso and his army, but those deposits must be re-examined to determine which of them really belong with which abandonment episode (M. Voigt, personal communication, January 2005).

The term "village" suggests a community without great social segregation or breadth; work at Gordion in the 1980s and 1990s has changed this picture. Excavation in the northwest quarter of the Citadel Mound uncovered a large building constructed of ashlars, with a tile roof (see Henrickson and Blackman 1999). Next to this enormous structure were workshops used by potters and figurine makers, and an open space used by metalworkers. Thus this area preserves evidence for elite, perhaps public or religious, structures, and for local production of artifacts that show connections to Greek and earlier Phrygian practices. The area was separated from the rest of the site by an enormous ashlar wall, over 2 m thick. Voigt suggests (Voigt 2003:16) that this "elite complex provides physical evidence for Livy's description of the site as a trading or market center and perhaps accounts for his use of the term oppidum, or 'walled settlement,' to describe Gordion."

The site was resettled after the Deserted Village period: there is clear evidence for a third construction phase that demonstrates Gordion was reoccupied after that destruction episode. This third phase has been dated to the middle of the 2nd century BCE (Voigt 1999:282). The continuity of use in different areas of the site and the discovery of a Celtic iron fibula from this phase demonstrates it was reoccupied by returning Galatians, rather than new inhabitants (Voigt 2003:17). Thus Voigt suggests we should no longer think the site was utterly abandoned between 189 BCE and the time of its resettlement by the Romans in the late first century BCE.

We now begin to see a picture of a site that in the early Hellenistic period was inhabited by the same people, roughly, as those who had been living there in the Late Phrygian period. They were supplanted, probably in the mid-3rd century, by a group of foreigners who included women as well as men—it is still unclear what became of the original population of Gordion at this time, but some of them at least seem to have remained at the site and contributed to

a rich cultural mix that fostered a thriving community with trade and commerce connections to many areas (Romano 1995:3, 79; Cook 1983:180; see also Voigt 2003:18). The Galatians built new houses on the mound and imported many of their own customs as well. Their own passage through Hellenic and Hellenized lands led them to pick up various Greek ideas and cultural material, but they retained their native language and practiced rituals they had brought with them from Europe. Accumulated wealth allowed for monumental constructions and specialized craft production. It was thus a well-appointed town that fell to the forces of Manlius Vulso. After this point, Gordion was reinhabited by Galatians, but Strabo's comment (12.5.3) that Gordion was "no more than a village" in his day (64/3 BCE-21 CE) may have been a fair characterization.

Roman Period (1-500 CE)

The Roman period at Gordion is currently under investigation by Andrew Goldman. The brief summary presented here draws on his doctoral dissertation (Goldman 2000, and see also now 2005); his continued work at the site and analysis of finds will no doubt add to and change the picture presented here. Because of the ongoing work on this material, the following chronological overview will be short, in hopes of reducing the chance of egregious error. The catalogue that follows includes all the stamp rings of the Roman period known to me at this time.

Goldman divides the Roman period at Gordion into four distinct phases, based on analysis of stratigraphy, architecture, and small finds (especially pottery, lamps, and coins). The first two phases together apparently span the period from the Augustan or early Julio-Claudian period to the onset of the Flavian period (Goldman 2005:59). Goldman summarizes (2005:59): "Evidence from these two early phases and contemporary ceramic finds from the eastern Citadel Mound indicate that the town rapidly expanded during this early phase, nearing its largest extent of ca. three hectares, covering no more than one-third of the Citadel Mound." Phase Three, which he now dates ca. 70/75-110/120, is characterized by an increase in prosperity at the site (see Goldman 2005). This is evident from a rise in the number of imported fine wares and the new construction of elaborate houses that included a Hellenizing peristyle plan. A paved, colonnaded street was also built on the site during this phase. The site perhaps owed its relative prosperity to the expanding territory as well as economic and military forces of the province of Galatia under the Flavians. Goldman dates the fourth Roman phase at Gordion from 110/120 to the mid- to late-4th century CE (Goldman 2005:66). During this time Gordion saw a decline in population and prosperity: fewer fine wares were imported to the site, houses were constructed on simpler plans than they had been, and the eastern half of the Citadel Mound was abandoned altogether. Goldman links this development to the waning strategic importance of the province Galatia at the time. But the fourth phase of occupation demonstrates a time of major rebuilding and redesign of the city (Goldman 2005:66-67), during which earlier buildings were reoccupied to a limited extent, new roads and drains were constructed, and some new structures were built, while a cemetery of cist-graves was laid out across the town's northwest zone and on the ridge to the east of the mound. Goldman summarizes (Goldman 2000:iii):

> The impression of a modest yet prosperous community is reinforced by the burial offerings (e.g. rings with intaglios, bone spindles, unguentaria) recovered from excavated necropoleis. Hobnail boots from these graves and a funerary stele of a Roman soldier suggest that the settlement had a minor military function. Late Roman road itineraries indicate that a posting station (statio) named Vindia lay in the immediate vicinity of Gordion, and the two are probably to be equated. The settlement, situated on a major Roman highway, thus likely served as a guard post, market town and collection point for taxes and grain.

Gordion was abandoned again, perhaps in the late 4th century CE, and remained uninhabited for centuries afterwards. Although a medieval Selçuk settlement has been found on the Citadel Mound, no seals have been excavated that postdate the Roman period, and the later occupation of the site is therefore not included in this summary of Gordion's history.

2

The Seals of Gordion

Seals and Sealings

Throughout this work, I will be using particular terminology which it is worth clarifying here. "Seal" means an ancient seal tool made of any of a wide variety of hard materials that was or could have been used to seal objects by stamping them or being rolled across their surface in antiquity. The design on a seal is usually recessed (carved in intaglio) so that it will leave an impression in relief when pressed against wax or clay. "Sealing" is the remnant of this activity. "Seal impression" is synonymous with "sealing." Sometimes we know of seals only through their ancient impressions. Seal use may be preserved through sealings when a seal was used in any of the following manners: as a decorative device on pottery; as an administrative device on pottery; as an administrative device on a document or envelope; as an administrative device used for labeling, locking, or ratifying all sorts of other items such as doors, boxes, baskets, sacks, jars, etc. A "bulla" is a specially shaped sealing attached to an object or document. An "amulet" is an object that has some magical or protective properties, designed to bring health, happiness, and/or good fortune to its wearer. As will become clear, the seals from Gordion may have served in multiple capacities at the same time.

This is perhaps an obvious point, but it is worth reiterating: seals might perform various functions simultaneously. There was a whole range of reasons for making impressions of a seal, some practical, some symbolic, some multivalent. In certain time periods, for instance, seals were applied to pots with a decorative purpose; they might also be applied to pots for adminstrative reasons, like stamping amphora handles to show the vintage of wine stored within. In this latter instance, the decoration of the amphora was the end result of a practice that had a functional application as well. The same might be true for bread, stamped to distinguish that of one baker from another, but resulting also in attractive (or not) decoration.

Amuletic functions could also be multiple and complicated (see, e.g., the seminal study, Goff 1956, and Hallo 1993). "Amuletic" strongly implies magical agency—yet it is important to remember that magical or protective properties were also very much practical, functional ones. Indeed, the very practical act of sealing a door shut included essential magical properties as well. Seals could serve additional public functions too, when they were worn as jewelry or served as items of personal or institutional identity or prestige (Marcus 1996, Collon 2001b). Thus seal usage was a tremendously complex weave, with seals performing multiple functions simultaneously along a great warp and weft of administrative, magical, protective, ornamental, and semiotic purposes.

"Glyptic," "Sphragistic," and "Sigillo-" all indicate something having to do with the study of seals.

Overview of Seal Evidence

This overview presents a summary of some of the issues the seals from Gordion raise, some of the ways they contribute to our understanding of Gordion's history and development through time, and a few of the individual artifacts that serve as particularly good examples of the ways seals may help us to retrieve knowledge of individuals through the archaeological record. For detailed discussion of specific seals, please refer to the catalogue below.

The catalogue includes 114 artifacts. The numbers by time period are as follows:

Bronze Age (3000-1100 BCE): seven seals and seven impressions;

Early Iron Age (1100-950 BCE): one seal;

Early Phrygian Period (950-800 BCE): one seal, one possible seal, and one impression;

Middle Phrygian Period (800-540 BCE): 12 seals, one possible seal, and one impression;

Late Phrygian Period (540-330 BCE): 22 seals and seven impressions plus one object catalogued as a seal that is probably not one;

Hellenistic Period (330-150 BCE): 11 seals, nine engraved rings, two possible seals or moulds, and eleven impressions;

Roman Period (1-500 CE): 12 rings with engraved bezels, four rings with decorated bezels that may have served as seals, plus one large bronze stamp in the shape of a foot;

One seal and one more possible seal are not assignable to specific dates at this time.

Bronze Age (3000-1100 BCE)

The seals from Bronze Age deposits at Gordion demonstrate close connections with other areas of central Anatolia. In the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, the Hittites were the prevailing influence on glyptic art and practice at Gordion (e.g., Cat. Nos. 2-14, except No. 9 (2434 B 464, 1924 SS 70, 10437 SS 260, 8326 SS 223, 2792 SS 117, 3284 SS 133, 1373 SS 53, 7804 SS 209, 8326 SS 223, 2792 SS 117, YHSF 89-563, YHSF 89-531, YHSF 89-530, YHSF 88-157)). In the Middle Bronze Age Gordion saw interactions with people and sites as far east as Alishar (Cat. No. 4 (10437 SS 260)). The small number of Bronze Age seals excavated from Gordion reflects the small Bronze Age area explored so far. Even so, the Bronze Age seals are remarkable for what they suggest about the amuletic function of seals.

Two of the Bronze Age seals were found in graves, both in situations that lead one to think they were used for multiple purposes, including amuletic as well as other. Cat. No. 2 (2434 B 464), an early Middle Bronze stalk seal, was found in a later Hittite-era tomb, strung as part of a necklace that included beads shaped like Hittite shoes as well as other forms. The seal might, of course, have been used as an administrative tool while strung around the neck, but its manner of wearing and the beads associated with it demonstrate it certainly had ornamental and perhaps amuletic function as well. Cat. No. 3 (1924 SS 70), a stud seal, is perhaps the best example of a seal used as an amulet. It is a type that was made in the late Early and early Middle Bronze Age as an administrative tool, as its presence on Acemhöyük materials demonstrates. But the example from Gordion was found in a late Middle Bronze Age grave—that of a young child, not of an adult. It was almost certainly not used by the child as part of a bureaucratic apparatus. The imagery on the seal closely resembles Egyptian symbols for the deity Hathor, goddess of life, beauty, joy, music, and death: perhaps this connection was recognized in the later, Hittite, period, when Anatolians and Egyptians were much in contact. The image also resembles the Hittite ankh, symbolizing life. The grieving parents almost certainly buried this seal with their dead child for its magical functions.

The evidence from Middle and Late Bronze Age Gordion suggests that seals were used at Gordion in manners paralleling their use at Hittite sites. The sealed bulla, Cat. No. 10 (7804 SS 209), might have been the result of seal use at Gordion or elsewhere—the seal impression may have been brought to Gordion or created at Gordion. Pottery on which seals were impressed tells a slightly clearer tale: some of the seals and the vessels on which they were stamped appear to have been made (and decorated) at the site. Cat. No. 13 (YHSF 89-530), preserved as a stamped impression on a vessel, was probably used at a different site; the pot seems to have been brought to Gordion from elsewhere.

It is clear in any case that the inhabitants of Gordion had contact with Hittites and would have been familiar with their sealing practices. In this way, the sphragistic evidence parallels the ceramic and mortuary evidence for the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, demonstrating that Gordion was in

contact with Hittites, may have had a Hittite settlement at the site, and produced local artifacts strongly influenced by what was occurring at the great Hittite centers to the east.

The Bronze Age seals from Gordion also serve as an excellent example of the mobility of seals through time and through archaeological deposits. Two Petschaft seals from the Middle Bronze Age were found in much later deposits: one in the sterile clay overlying the Early Phrygian levels (Cat. No. 7 (3284 SS 133)), and one in Hellenistic deposits (Cat. No. 8 (1373 SS 53)). Both were terribly worn, either from much use or from weathering perhaps in watery areas (e.g., the Sangarios riverbed). The latter seal was recarved with the kind of imagery common on locally made seals in the Hellenistic period, and thus seems to have been reused in this time.

These seals serve as good examples of "wandering artifacts," artifacts that move through stratigraphy from the time at which they were made. Such wandering artifacts are best represented at Gordion by Cat. No. 4 (10437 SS 260), a Middle Bronze Age object recovered from Roman levels. These seals stand as excellent reminders of the tremendous mobility that small potentially valuable or re-usable artifacts such as seals may experience. An object like the recarved Petschaft seal, Cat. No. 8 (1373 SS 53), shows that seals could be used and re-used through centuries or even millennia—this may be particularly true of seals that are strung for suspension and thus lend themselves to amuletic as well as administrative use. The other two seals, Cat. No. 7 (3284 SS 133) and Cat. No. 4 (10437 SS 260), probably moved up through the millennia by virtue of reused earth: churned Bronze Age cultural material was found elsewhere in the clay deposits, suggesting the people who built up the clay incorporated Bronze Age dirt. The latter seal, a particularly small one, was probably in earth used to make mudbricks in the Roman period. But seals are notorious for moving down as well as up. They can fall through cracks, fall down animal burrows, fall out of pockets, be buried by children, adults, animals, or birds. Seals demand of us the utmost care in chronological interpretation, as these few Bronze Age examples from Gordion demonstrate.

Early Iron Age (1100-950 BCE)

The Early Iron Age at Gordion is represented here by a single seal, Cat. No. 15 (7856 SS 212). This is a bright blue composition scarab with Egyptianizing imagery on it. I have found it interesting that those seals excavated from Gordion with Egyptianizing imagery on them do not parallel the most common motifs from Egypt, Syro-Palestine, and elsewhere (for excavated Egyptian scarabs, see Teeter and Wilfong 2003 with references; for the images of Syro-Palestine, see Nunn 2000:pls. 43-56 with references). Although not every Egyptian scarab was necessarily intended to serve as a seal for making impressions, some clearly were (James 1997). There is as yet no evidence to suggest how those from Gordion were used.

Although there are Bronze Age seals found at Gordion made of composition and with imagery that may or may not reflect Egyptian iconographic ideas, this seal is different from the earlier ones. It is colored vivid blue, like its Egyptian counterparts. It is shaped like a scarab, like its Egyptian counterparts. And the double uraeus on its flat face also links it to Egyptian counterparts. The artifact was not made in Egypt—indeed its manufacturer seems to have had only a general idea of Egyptian scarabs—but its form and style show great departure from the seals of the Bronze Age at Gordion. The scarab provides evidence to suggest that people at Gordion in the Iron Age were open to, even attracted by, the artifacts of people with different cultural heritage and connections than those who occupied the site in the Bronze Age.

Early Phrygian (950-800 BCE)

I am sorry that this study does not fulfill the hopes of those (including myself) who wished to find evidence for a Phrygian royal seal workshop at Gordion! Thus, for instance, Rainer Michael

Boehmer said of an ivory seal now on display in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara (Boehmer 1978:291): "For Boğazköy thus far, this small masterpiece is the only example (of high-quality Phrygian glyptic art); only after the publication of the seals from those ruins will it become clear if it is to be considered as the product of a workshop working for the royal court in Gordion."

The artifacts of the Early Phrygian period found at Gordion provide only the most minimal evidence for glyptic art and use at the site during this time of extraordinary centralized activity and development. Cat. No. 16 (2597 SS 109) is another Egyptianizing scarab, now very worn and almost unintelligible. Cat. No. 17 (10954 SS 273) was probably never used as a seal at all, but rather seems to be a small-scale attempt at the "doodles" on limestone that were found on Megaron 2 of the Early Phrygian period. And Cat. No. 18 (572 SS 31) is a stamped potsherd.

Three important points relating to both the Early and Middle Phrygian periods should be mentioned here, however. The first is that the seals of the Phrygian period at Gordion do not sport the geometric patterns that characterize Phrygian furniture (see, e.g., Simpson 1998) and thus give a different insight into Phrygian aesthetic than the wooden inlays of the famous cabinetmakers. The second, related, point is that even a cursory glance will demonstrate that anthropomorphic figures—human, divine, or demonic—are few on the Gordion seals dating to the Early and Middle Phrygian periods. In this manner they parallel the Neo-Hittite seals of the ninth to seventh centuries (Boardman and Moorey 1986:41-48). And the third, unrelated, point is that stamping was a common way for Phrygians to decorate pots in the Early and Middle Phrygian periods (for Early Phrygian pots, see Sams 1994, for stamping, see Sams 1994:123-125).

Pots were frequently stamped with decorations that bear resemblance to some of the motifs common on seals. Indeed, the excavators at Gordion sometimes catalogued stamped potsherds along with the sealstones (e.g., Cat. No. 18 (572 SS 31)), particularly when the imagery on the stamps resembled that found on the seals. The catalogue here includes those pots, so that they will not fall by the wayside, although this makes for somewhat arbitrary sampling.

The stamped decoration on pots was often crisp and clear, deeply impressed before firing and retaining its clarity even after the pot became worn and broken. Most of the stamps used to impress pots were probably made of metal or wood, rather than stone, but some seem to have been carved into stone just like any seal. And the presence of terracotta stamps at Gordion as well as elsewhere lets us recognize these as a possible means for potters to use to decorate further pots.[1]

Although this publication includes some stamped pottery, it should not be taken as comprising a complete corpus of the stamped pottery excavated from Gordion (as mentioned before, only a handful of stamped pots are included here, those that were initially registered under the "sealstone" category). Indeed, in the Early Phrygian period, stamping rated second only to painting as a means of decorating pots with patterns (Sams 1994:123). Gordion is only one of the Phrygian centers to include extensive use of seals as stamps for decorating pots: Midas City includes pots that show affinities to those from Early Phrygian Gordion as well—in marked contrast to the Syro-Hittite centers to the south, to Greece, and to the rest of Anatolia in general during this time (Sams 1994:124).[2] Indeed, the enthusiasm with which Phrygians used stamped impressions to decorate their pots may be another link to add to linguistic evidence demonstrating connections to Thrace and Balkan Europe (see Sams 1994:124 for a full discussion of this connection, with references).

Middle Phrygian (800-540 BCE)

The Middle Phrygian levels yielded many more seals than the Early Phrygian. This point, combined with the glory and layout of the New Citadel's architecture and the overall elaborateness of the pottery, demonstrates the continued wealth and importance of a centralized administration at Gordion in the Middle Phrygian period. The redating of the destruction level defining the Early Phrygian level now brings the great early tumuli (except Tumulus W, Young 1981) into the Middle Phrygian period as well—a point that tallies well with the apparent

[1] For terracotta stamps from Middle Phrygian contexts, see, e.g., 894 SS 42 and 9870 SS 249. See discussion in Sams 1994:123-125. For a terracotta seal from a 7th century context at Sardis, see *BASOR* 182 (1966:12-13, fig. 7).

[2] For Midas City, see Haspells 1951:75-77 and pl. 33.

architectural elaborateness and the increase in numbers of seals. As will become clear, however, the manner in which the seals were used is still uncertain.

Some of these seals are from very good contexts and may even help us date the advent of the Middle Phrygian period. Cat. No. 19 (7965 SS 219) and Cat. No. 20 (8400 SS 225) both come from the South Cellar, a deposit that Keith DeVries now dates to the end of the 8th century (DeVries 2005). Although Cat. No. 20 (8400 SS 225) must be dated based on its context, rather than vice versa, its form and iconography demonstrate connections between Gordion and the cultures to the south. Cat. No. 19 (7965 SS 219) is a Lyre Player seal, probably carved somewhere around North Syria, Cilicia, or the Levant (perhaps even Cyprus), and datable to ca. 740-720 BCE. The discovery of these seals in the South Cellar therefore helps us understand not only the date but also the cultural milieu of Gordion at the beginning of the Middle Phrygian period, as the inhabitants were rebuilding their city after the conflagration that consumed the Old Citadel. The sort of clear connections to the artistic workshops of the south demonstrated previously by the ivory horse trappings from the Destruction Level (Young 1981, Sams 1995b) are borne out also by these two seals from the South Cellar of a few decades later.

A clearly Phrygian seal is probably to be dated to the Middle Phrygian period, too, however: Cat. No. 21 (10351 SS 258) is an exceptionally elaborately grooved Phrygian stamp cylinder with an omega-shaped strap. Its shape might suggest a later date for it, perhaps in the Late Phrygian period, but the style of the quadruped that adorns its sealing face links it strongly to the Phrygian animals of Tumulus P, the "child's tomb," dated ca. 770 BCE. This seal is a particularly interesting one, as it is the sole example to suggest a glyptic workshop producing seals at Gordion in the Middle Phrygian period. It is to be hoped that further seals will be found to let us revise our understanding of Middle Phrygian glyptic production and usage.

Another seal helps make more complex our understanding of the cultural milieu responsible for the construction of the New Citadel. Cat. No. 22 (10352 SS 259) is a glazed steatite seal imported from Egypt, with a hieroglyphic inscription, "Shu, son of Ra," on it. This seal's closest parallel may date to the reign of Taharqo (Khunefertemra), 690-664 BCE. It was found directly on top of the clay layer above the destruction level and attests to the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts and influences in the lives of the Phrygians who built the ashlar monuments of the New Citadel.

Interest in Egypt is demonstrated also by a seal from a burial, Tumulus I. Cat. No. 23 (889 SS 41) is a composition head-scaraboid with an elaborate image of the Pharaoh-as-sphinx approaching a seated sun god. The tumulus dates to the 6th century; the seal dates to the 7th or 6th century. The seal is again an Egyptianizing one, not an Egyptian import—indeed, the wings on the sphinx are decidedly Phoenician or Syrian rather than Egyptian (Emily Teeter, personal communication April 2004; see also Winter 1976). Thus it may attest to the mixture that was Phrygian material culture.

Of the remaining seven seals from the Middle Phrygian period, three share the schematic, linear imagery of a group of North Syrian seals called the "Horse Group" and add further evidence to support the notion of close connections between Gordion and lands to the south (Cat. Nos. 24-26 (596 SS 33, 9369 SS 240, and 7349 SS 201)). One is an Egyptianizing scarab (Cat. No. 27 (8900 SS 231)). Two others are apparently of local inspiration, tall stamps made of local stone with simple linear imagery on the sealing faces (Cat. Nos. 28 and 29 (3072 SS 125, YHSF 94-181)). The remaining two artifacts are terracotta stamps of uncertain purpose (Cat. Nos. 30 and 31 (8362 SS 224, 894 SS 42)); one may not have been used as a seal at all (Cat. No. 31 (894 SS 42)).

Overall, then, the Middle Phrygian period seals demonstrate that the Phrygians enjoyed contact with peoples in the area around North Syria and—perhaps even through these people—had some contact with the arts and notions of Egypt. They also demonstrate the presence at Gordion itself of seal manufacture. Fully half of the seals from the Middle Phrygian period are decorated with schematic linear carving, some of it bearing recognizable imagery and some of it apparently just lines. At least two of the seals show clear signs of wear (Cat. Nos. 20 and 28 (8400 SS 225, 3072 SS 125)).

There is not enough evidence from the Middle Phrygian period at Gordion to demonstrate that administrative tasks required the use of seals. Nonetheless, the presence of 11 seals—ten of which were recovered from non-burial contexts—suggests that seals may have served as administrative tools as well as amulets. That is, some of the bureaucratic functions at this city with its enormous particolored ashlar buildings may have required some sort of record.

In the absence of seals retrieved as impressed images, we cannot know how the seals of the Middle

Phrygian period were used. This paucity of certain kinds of evidence characterizes much of the Middle Phrygian period: as described above, excavators at Gordion have been flummoxed by the extraordinary complexity of the Middle Phrygian stratigraphy and the concomitant lack of good deposits or even material from the period. The intensive reuse of Middle Phrygian materials contributes to the problem. Perhaps future excavation at the site will help sort out some of the tangle that is now our understanding of the Middle Phrygian period.

There are no sealings that show if seals were used to seal doors, boxes, or jars. There are no receipts. There is no indication that the inhabitants of Gordion were writing on tablets, parchment, or papyrus during the Middle Phrygian period in the sorts of ways we see associated with seals at other Near Eastern sites (indeed, for no time period at Gordion is there surviving association of seal use with writing).[3] This apparent lack may be an artifact of the archaeological record rather than of human practice, however, since there are many monumental inscriptions and various inscribed potsherds, as well as inscriptions on such fugitive materials as wax (see Brixhe 1981). What is clear, at any rate, is that during the course of the Middle Phrygian period, seals made their way to Gordion from the south and perhaps began to be manufactured at Gordion itself as well. They had come into the public eye.

Late Phrygian (540-330 BCE)

In the Late Phrygian period, the use of seals explodes. During the time of the Achaemenid empire, scarcely more than two centuries, fully 29 seals and impressions were left at Gordion in deposits that have been uncovered by archaeologists. It is important to note that most of the Achaemenid period seals from Gordion were found in Hellenistic deposits—the number is probably too great to be accounted for by residuals and suggests that a number of Achaemenid tombs may perhaps have been found and looted during this period (a suggestion first made by Ellen Kohler; I am grateful to Mary Voigt for passing it on to me, personal communication January 2005).

Unlike the earlier eras, during the Achaemenid period the stuff from which the seals were made is remarkably varied. Materials include glass, bone, ivory, agate, lapis lazuli, chalcedony, faience, rock crystal, meerschaum, and more. They come from all over, from as far east as Afghanistan and south as Egypt, from the wildly banded agate found near Sardis to the west and from the heartland of the Achaemenid empire itself. It seems thus that Achaemenid presence at Gordion led to greatly increased mobility of glyptic artifacts and possibly artists and patrons, so that the raw materials available for seals (not to mention the seals themselves) were suddenly vastly more varied than they had been.

Perhaps one material, glass, may serve as a case study for the importance surrounding this observation. Achaemenid Persian workshops produced not only cylinder and stamp seals of hard stone but also examples in glass. Although the glass seals of the Achaemenid empire have not yet been studied in detail, scholars have noted their prevalence for years. Buchanan and Moorey 1988:75 give a list of excavated examples. Spier 1992:64 comments on the phenomenon and gives a list of other publications that have mentioned them; he refers also to the large number of unpublished Achaemenid tabloid seals in opaque blue glass the color of lapis lazuli. He places their production in eastern Anatolia or Syria. Boardman 2001:210-211 comments on the phenomenon of glass scaraboids in Greece that date to the same time period.

Those glass and glass paste seals from Gordion with Achaemenid imagery are predominantly of traditional Mesopotamian shapes: a cylinder and pyramidal stamp seals (Cat. No. 35 (7557 SS 205), Cat. No. 46 (2260 SS 90), Cat. No. 48 (1024 SS 44), Cat. No. 50 (1975 SS 75)), with one scaraboid thrown in (Cat. No. 49 (1469 SS 56)). Three further glass scaraboids (Cat. Nos. 51, 52, and 53 (2625 SS 112, 6547 SS 188, 6800 SS 192)) have strongly Hellenizing imagery. Thus more than a fifth of the seals at Gordion dating to the Achaemenid period are made of glass, and they show that the artists drew on overtly Achaemenid imagery and Near Eastern shapes and also on strongly Greek imagery and shapes. There is some overlap, so that Achaemenid imagery might show up on Hellenizing shapes. The glass is of different colors, including blue, green, and clear. This tremendous variety and freedom attests to the degree of personal choice patrons might exercise at Gordion. Whether they were purchasing seals hot off the glass press at Gordion itself, using imports

[3] For inscriptions, see Brixhe 1981 and 1995, Brixhe and Lejeune 1984:73-214, Lejeune 1970, Roller 1989, and Young 1969.

from elsewhere, or traveling to distant lands themselves to bring seals to Gordion with them, people at Gordion clearly had a wide range of options and possibility for personal selection in glyptic shape and image, even within this one material category.

The iconography that decorated the Late Phrygian seals was as varied as the materials available for use. Instead of the striations and nondescript imagery that characterize some of the sealstones from the pre-Achaemenid Middle Phrygian period and many of those from the post-Achaemenid Hellenistic period, the seals dating to the Achaemenid period at Gordion have instantly recognizable and often highly idiosyncratic imagery.

Some of the more glamorous imported sealstones include an Achaemenid period Neo-Babylonian style worship scene on a chalcedony conical stamp seal (Cat. No. 38 (1962 SS 73)), and a red agate cylinder carved in "Graeco-Persian" style with an Achaemenid worship scene (Cat. No. 33 (2342 SS 100)). It is inscribed in Aramaic: "Seal of Bn', son of Ztw, (something else)." These seals have precise parallels elsewhere in the Achaemenid empire and situate Gordion solidly in the middle of glyptic practice throughout the empire. This statement gains additional strength from a series of other seals found at Gordion, including the lapis lazuli scaraboid with pacing lion (Cat. No. 45 (9347 SS 239)) and various pyramidal stamp seals with such mixed monsters as griffins adorning them (e.g., Cat. Nos. 47 and 48 (2626 SS 113, 1024 SS 44)) or lions (Cat. No. 50 (1975 SS 75)). They give an idea of an Achaemenid administration at Gordion, a taste for Achaemenid imagery. Cat. No. 33 (2342 SS 100), with its strongly Achaemenid imagery and Aramaic inscription, may even demonstrate the presence of ethnic Persians at the site, Persians who brought not only their government and its tools with them but also language, religion, and aesthetics.

Other imported seals show a wide range of styles and influences. Cat. No. 36 (9784 SS 246) is a genuine Egyptian imported scarab with scaly crocodiles on its underside, and the ivory monkey, Cat. No. 37 (YHSF 94-130), seems to be another Egyptian import. Cat. Nos. 41 and 42 (2654 SS 114, 199 SS 9), both carved of meerschaum, probably stem from the meerschaum quarries in northwestern Anatolia; also from western Anatolia is Cat. No. 44 (3404 SS 134), carved of swirling agate that comes from the area near modern Küle close to Sardis and was also used in stone dish manufacture during the Achaemenid period (see, e.g., Özgen et al. 1996). Western Anatolian in style and execution is Cat. No. 43 (4492 SS 153), a red jasper seal with a gorgeous grazing stag. These seals thus demonstrate that the inhabitants of Gordion had access to the glyptic tastes and practices of other parts of the Achaemenid empire to the west and far south, as well as to the southeast.

Finally, two sealings that date to the Achaemenid period serve as eloquent testimony to the variety of artistic styles and images from other areas flowing into Gordion during the Late Phrygian period. Cat. No. 55 (4536 SS 156) is an impression left by a cylinder seal with an Achaemenid goat hunt on it, Achaemenid in imagery, shape, and style. Cat. No. 56 (10902 SS 272) is an impression left by a bezel ring, preserving a surprisingly sensuous image of a nude female arching her back and turning her head to three-quarters view as she looks out toward the viewer. It is Greek in concept, execution, and form. The seals and sealings found at Gordion that date to the Achaemenid period thus attest to the tremendous increase in imports of glyptic imagery and materials during this time.

Even the seals that seem to have been made at Gordion or that show traces of Phrygian artistic influence are more varied in the Achaemenid period and show more outside influence than they had in the Middle Phrygian period or, indeed, than they would later in the Hellenistic period. So, for example, Cat. No. 40 (6546 SS 187) is a variation on a standard Phrygian shape, but with heraldic lions at a central vegetal element in a manner very strongly Achaemenidizing. Cat. No. 34 (7287 SS 199) is a real tour de force, a cylinder seal with Phrygianizing animals participating in a standard Achaemenid chariot hunt scene, complete with woven basket on the chariot and with a winged disk hovering overhead. Its style links it to Phrygian production, but its imagery is wholly Achaemenid. It is clear that the variety of iconography and form characterizing the seals imported during the Late Phrygian period influenced local carvers even as it had its impact on patrons of glyptic art.

Cat. No. 39 (4083 SS 150) is a particularly vibrant and unusual seal from Achaemenid period Gordion, of a style not seen elsewhere that may be local. It is a scaraboid of a jet-black stone carved with a scene showing a chariot drawn by two horses, in which stands the king under a parasol with a charioteer and an attendant behind him. The rearmost figure holds a spear. Although Achaemenid glyptic abounds with chariots, the images are almost all hunt scenes carved on cylinder seals. The Gordion seal thus shows the chariot rendered on a different form,

a stamp seal, and with different imagery than was common in the heartland. Some aspects of its style link it to Phrygian precedents. It may represent new local developments, incorporating local traditions of sealing practice and artistic style, that create an entirely distinctive art form in the Achaemenid period.

In addition to these examples of sealstones and individual seal impressions, four stamped potsherds are included here that date to the Achaemenid period (Cat. Nos. 57-59 and No. 61 (5631 SS 170, 7901 SS 213, 1842 SS 69, and 9690 SS 242)), as well as one amphora fragment that was stamped with an oval seal (Cat. No. 60 (10175 SS 254)). Again, these are included here because of the nature of their recording. The variety of these impressions provides yet another demonstration of foreign and local mixing in the Late Phrygian period at Gordion: the sherds are stamped with images that are decidedly Phrygian, clearly southern Anatolian, and almost certainly Greek in origin. The stamped sherds confirm our sense gained from the seals themselves, that Gordion was in contact with people and ideas from far-flung lands during this time of its history.

The Achaemenid period thus saw a tremendous increase in seal presence at Gordion. This is evident in the numbers of seals and impressions found: more than twice as many from any earlier period despite the similar lengths of the periods. The jump in seal presence is clear from the much greater variety of materials from which they were made in this period. It is also clear from the huge increase in variety of imagery on the seals, and the great idiosyncrasy and individuality of those images.

The Late Phrygian seals are all from (often later) use contexts, rather than burials. This reflects in part the relative lack of burials excavated that date to the period—certainly other sites, such as Sardis, saw frequent burials of seals with people (see Dusinberre 2003a:chapter 7 and appendix 4, with references)—and may corroborate the suggestion that they had been looted from tombs in the Hellenistic period. Many of the Achaemenid period seals are broken at the suspension hole and probably were lost in this way. Some, like the lapis scaraboid Cat. No. 45 (9347 SS 239), seem to have fallen and rolled into the corner of a dark (late Phrygian) room—indeed, this seal may have ended up mixed in with a pile of horse tack. The most elegant of the Achaemenid seals, Cat. No. 33 (2342 SS 100), was found in a wall-robber's trench with rubble and tiles; the little chariot stamp, Cat. No. 39 (4083 SS 150), ended up built into a wall.

These differences that characterize the Achaemenid period may suggest some different ways in which seals were used, as well as the increased availability of material and artists. The seals may of course still have had amuletic or symbolic functions, as we have seen in earlier periods. But the variety of imagery and the numbers of seals might suggest something more.

Before and after the Achaemenid period, the seals found at Gordion share a certain homogeneity of imagery. It is conceivable that this suggests it was not important to be able to distinguish one seal impression's imagery from another, not important to be able to trace that seal's use back to its owner. Thus when seals were used as seal tools (as opposed to amulets) at Gordion before and after it was part of the Achaemenid empire, perhaps they may have been used in such a way that it was the act of sealing that mattered, not who sealed something.

The relative commonality of imagery from the Middle Phrygian period, with the prevalence of seals in schematic linear styles and seals that are carved only with schematic lines, suggests this interpretation. Seals in the Middle Phrygian period may have been used, for instance, to lock doors and jars, or to stamp receipts. Perhaps two modern analogies may make the point clear. One example might be when a package delivery agent comes to the door to drop off a package—but anyone can sign for it, and the signature need not be legible. The point of importance is that the package was signed for, not that it was delivered to a specific individual. Another example might be the modern Turkish sealing practice while locking the storage depots at the end of an archaeological field season: the lead seal on the lock is the important part. Thus it is the action that is important and indicated by a seal, not the person who performed the action.

But in the Achaemenid period at Gordion, the imagery on the seals is varied and immediately distinguishable. Perhaps this suggests that people were using seals as personal signifiers, not just task stamps, that individuals were to be held personally accountable for their actions. In this way, the seals from the Late Phrygian period at Gordion suggest practices and responsibilities that are paralleled in the Persian heartland at the royal capital city, Persepolis (where, it should be noted, there is much homogeneity in style, subject, and iconography—a point that perhaps undermines the suggestion outlined here; for sealing practices at Persepolis and the personal accountability assumed by and required of Persian officials, see Garrison and Root 2001,

Schmidt 1957, Hallock 1969 and 1978). And the great variety of stones demonstrates the vastly increased mobility of objects, and perhaps artisans or patrons as well, during the Achaemenid period. Thus the seals at Gordion demonstrate that Achaemenid bureaucracy, not just Persian people, was a major feature of life in Gordion during the Late Phrygian period.

Hellenistic (330-150 BCE)

The seals assigned here to the Hellenistic period are almost all from good Hellenistic contexts. It is possible that some of them were actually made in an earlier time, now unrecognizable because of the homogeneity of their manufacture and imagery—and it is worth reiterating that many of the Achaemenid period seals were found in Hellenistic deposits at Gordion. If I have been unable on other grounds to assign a seal found in a Hellenistic deposit to a different date, I have included it here as a Hellenistic period seal. The following discussion thus proceeds as if the seals were made in the Hellenistic period.

The Hellenistic period demonstrates the continued desire of Gordion's inhabitants for seals—a point that is all the more interesting because of the new ethnic mix at Gordion during the Hellenistic period. But the inhabitants of Gordion during this period seem to have been using seals carved with simple linear images that were once again different from those of the Achaemenid period. The seals found might suggest that cooking practices may have changed, including the use of communal bread ovens rather than individual hearths. And there is a sudden appearance of rings in various metals with images engraved on them that may or may not have been intended as seals. The seal types thus present a different idea of life at Gordion than before.

The Hellenistic period sees the renewal of local seal production at Gordion. Seven seals of the 12 are apparently local products and are all carved with simple linear designs (Cat. Nos. 63 - 69 (3098 SS 127, 7855 SS 211, 7833 SS 210, 81 SS 1, 11273 SS 279, 2851 SS 119, 1974 SS 74)). One composition seal shows Greek imagery, with a figure that may be Herakles (Cat. No. 70 (1932 SS 71)). A few metal and stone stamps may have been used for stamping bread (Cat. No. 73 (10811 SS 271)) or pots (Cat. Nos. 71 and 72 (1729 SS 63, 4595 SS 159)). If Cat. No. 73 (10811 SS 271) is indeed a Hellenistic bread stamp, it suggests new developments in cooking practices at Gordion. Bread stamps are generally used when people bake bread in communal ovens and need to identify their own loaves, rather than baking bread at home. This seal might therefore attest to a different societal organization than had pertained in earlier periods—a point that is perhaps corroborated by the situation of hearths outside rather than in interior spaces during the time of Galatian presence at Gordion.

These seals all suggest that the administrative apparatus of the Achaemenid period had no parallel in the Hellenistic period. The local seals are not readily distinguishable as the recognizable representors of individuals, and they were unlikely to have been used as traceable indicators of specific persons. Thus if they were used as seal tools rather than amulets, they may once more have served to demonstrate that something was sealed or locked or accepted but not to have been intended to link that action to the individual performing it. Other sorts of seals are exceptionally rare (glass) or were probably used to stamp pots or bread rather than documents. Thus these seals demonstrate a change in the society of Gordion during the Hellenistic period.

Another change may be suggested by a new development: engraved rings. Cat. No. 74 (3166 J 94) is a gold ring with a round flat bezel, engraved with a naiskos and abbreviated Kybele figure. It is paralleled by Cat. No. 75 (5792 J 120), a gold ring with a naiskos, and Cat. No. 76 (5870 J 123), a silver version of the same. The cross-in-square motif that decorates several further rings seems to be an adaptation of this naiskos theme (Cat. Nos. 77-80 (6205 J 125, 6345 J 129, 6754 J 142, 7707 J 146)). The reemergence of interest in Kybele is also seen in the terracotta figurines during this period. Two bronze rings with elongated bezels have strongly Hellenized imagery: Cat. No. 81 (1615 SS 60) shows a winged lion or griffin, and Cat. No. 82 (1619 SS 61) has a table amphora with laurel leaves around it. Perhaps the Galatians brought with them not only additional contacts with and taste for Hellenic culture, but also an appreciation for the Hellenized version of this Phrygian goddess.

The seal impressions from the Hellenistic period fall into three major categories. The first category is that of stamped potsherds, of which several are included here (once again, those which were initially recorded as seal impressions rather than pot-

sherds). Perhaps the most interesting of these is Cat. No. 89 (2793 SS 118), made by a coin die showing Alexander the Great as Herakles.

The second category is made up of a group of grey-ware ribbon handles, each deeply stamped with a triskeles. Although four of these were catalogued by the excavators as sealstones and are thus included here (Cat. Nos. 92-95 (4454 SS 152, 3480 SS 137, 9979 SS 251, 10759 SS 265)), a photo in the Gordion archives demonstrates that many more were found. The triskeles legs go in either direction, demonstrating the use of more than one stamp; it is unclear if there is any significance to this observation. Further exploration of the Hellenistic levels at Gordion may produce enough evidence to piece together a full profile of one of these pots, at which point we may begin to know more about the meaning or purpose of the symbol.

The third category of seal impressions consists of stamped disk-shaped loomweights. Three stamped loomweights are included in this catalogue (Cat. Nos. 85-87 (7228 SS 198, 5397 SS 166, 9692 SS 243)), each of them identical, apparently made of imported clay from Ionia or the Aegean, and stamped in their center with an impression left by a round bezel. Other loomweights of identical shape and fabric but not stamped have also been recovered from the site. The image shows a voluptuous nude female emerging from a delicate rose, with her arms outstretched to rest on its petals while she turns her head up and to the side to look directly upwards. In the field is an epsilon, with a small adjoining kappa.

Stamped loomweights were surprisingly common from the 5th into the 3rd centuries, with disk-shaped weights at their most common in the 4th and 3rd centuries. Impressions left by round bezels seem to date primarily to the second half of the 4th century (Boardman 2001:225). These loomweights from Gordion may therefore demonstrate interest in and contact with Greece at the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

All told, the seals and impressions from the Hellenistic period at Gordion help fill in the picture emerging of life at the site during an exceptionally turbulent era. The earlier administrative hierarchy and its practices seem to be non-existent in the Hellenistic period. The inhabitants may have taken advantage of this change, however, to develop their own local stones and take up seal carving themselves.

New developments in jewelry are represented in this period by five engraved rings: it is not clear that any of these ever functioned as a seal. Simple stamps on pots, and more elaborate stamps on imported loomweights, may give additional insight into the function of seals at Gordion in the Hellenistic period as more of them are excavated. In the meantime, the seals of this period suggest that Gordion in the Hellenistic period relied predominantly on its own production workshops for its seals, although its contact with Greek lands to the west continued strong.

Roman (1-500 CE)

As mentioned previously, Andrew Goldman is working on the Roman materials from Gordion (see esp. Goldman 2000, 2005). Although all Roman period seals known to me are included here, his final publication will incorporate them into their cultural matrix in a way this preliminary overview cannot hope to do. The few comments included here are designed merely to whet the appetite for his more detailed study.

Several of the seals assigned here to the Roman period are of uncertain specific date, although they seem probably to have been made sometime in that period. They are the small bronze rings (Cat. Nos. 109-111 (5564 SS 168, 299 B 35, 300 B 36)) and a large bronze stamp in the shape of a slipper, with an inscription that reads "NHKOΛA" (Cat. No. 112 (4759 SS 161)). Because of their uncertain date, they do not figure in the discussion below.

The rest of the seals all come in the form of rings with engraved bezels. Sometime probably in the first or second century, two rings were carved with Graeco-Roman goddesses of good fortune: Cat. No. 96 (3036 J 91) has an image of the goddess Fortuna, while Cat. No. 97 (6571 SS 189) shows Nike raising victory fillets above an offering table. These rings thus may suggest the hopes of the inhabitants of Roman Gordion for victory and good fortune, at a time in history when Gordion enjoyed particular prosperity.

In his dissertation, Goldman suggested (Goldman 2000:iii) that Gordion was largely uninhabited from the mid-2nd to late 3rd centuries. The glyptic evidence corroborates his more recent thinking (Goldman 2005:66-67), in which he sees activity at the site from the mid-2nd century on. In the late 2nd or (more likely) 3rd century of Goldman's Phase 4, we may see the hopes of Gordion's inhabitants taking a military expression: dating to the 2nd-3rd century are two more rings, Cat. No. 98 (2411 J 79)

with a soldier or the god Mars on it, and Cat. No. 99 (6974 B 1376) with the iunctio dextrarum on its face that could symbolize marriage or the links of brothers-in-arms.

Between the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, seal wearing apparently takes off at Gordion. This corresponds to the increase in population posited by Goldman beginning in the late 3rd century (Goldman 2000:iii). His more recent work (Goldman 2005:66-67) suggests he also sees a decline in population by the late 4th century, although what populace there was at Gordion seems to have been an active one. The apparent discrepancy in seals recovered and population may be linked to the fact that most of the seals come from the cemetery that occupied the western half of the excavated area on the Citadel Mound: thus more seals survive from a time during which, as Goldman says, "habitation certainly ceased" (Goldman 2005:66).

A ring with an image of the goddess Fortuna, Cat. No. 100 (5386 J 113), probably dates to the late 3rd century. And a series of three seals with octagonal bezels have been dated to the 3rd-4th centuries and were perhaps made in nearby Cappadocia to the south of Gordion (Goldman 2003). Cat. No. 101 (7000 ILS 355) is an iron ring with a bezel showing Athena Parthenos; Cat. No. 102 (7130 J 144) is a silver ring with an eagle holding a laurel wreath in its beak, and Cat. No. 103 (7129 J 143) is a silver ring the bezel of which has a hand holding an ear and an inscription enjoining the reader to remember (something).

Two more rings are a little more enigmatic: Cat. No. 105 (2368 J 76), inscribed "ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ," and Cat. No. 104 (2364 J 75), with an anchor and an inscription "ACN," are almost certainly both Christian and may date even as late as the 4th century. These rings show contact with nearby seal makers. They also attest to the complex religious mixture of central Anatolia at the time. By the end of the 3rd century, Ancyra (modern Ankara) had a thriving Christian populace (Mitchell 1993b:91-95; Klauser 1985:457-458, 459-460 and references). Two further rings may also be linked to Christians at the site: Cat. No. 106 (7121 B 1415), a small bronze ring with a fish on its bezel that dates to the 3rd century, and Cat. No. 107 (YHSF 94-262), a 3rd-century silver ring with a winged fisherman catching a fish that resembles the previous one. The mix of Christian and pagan influence at Gordion is thus clearly demonstrated by the insignia on the rings worn by its inhabitants in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The picture is further complicated by Cat. No. 108 (680 B 100), a ring with a Hebrew inscription that may suggest Jewish presence at the site in the 4th century as well. This interplay was discussed by Goldman in his dissertation (Goldman 2000) and will be further explored in his final publication of Roman Gordion.

The quantities of seals alone are interesting. Two seals were almost certainly carved before the 3rd century. Two seals may have been carved during the late 2nd or 3rd centuries. And seven or more seals date to the late 3rd and 4th centuries. This may well reflect a change in wealth at Gordion as well as an increased population and greater contact with other places. The imagery on the seals demonstrates the changing concerns of Gordion's Roman population, ranging from desire for prosperity and fortune, to concern with military matters, to religious affirmations. Although all of these interests must have existed at the same time, the seals demonstrate the degree to which the emphasis on one matter or another changed over time. Thus the Roman period forms a microcosm for the ways in which we may consider the seals of Gordion in order to arrive at a better understanding of its human history.

Notes to the Reader on the Catalogue of Seals

Numbering Systems

The Catalogue of Seals includes entries for 114 artifacts. I have introduced my own catalogue numbering system here for ease of reference. These catalogue numbers are in numerical sequence from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman period. Within these broad chronological categories I have put seals before impressions of seals. To the extent reasonable, I have tried to put earlier material before later within a discrete time period. Where this seemed unreasonable due to uncertain dating, I have arranged the order of seals by shape, by material, and by imagery.

In every catalogue entry the catalogue number is followed by the artifact's Gordion field number, which for Young's excavations includes a running number as well as a number within its artifact cate-

gory and for Voigt's includes a small finds number and an artifact number. Thus each catalogue entry includes at least two reference numbers.

Catalogue Information

Each seal is described by the following information: (1) its catalogue number and Gordion field number, (2) photographs of the seal and drawings of the seal and its impression, (3) its dimensions in meters, (4) a brief description of the artifact and its imagery, (5) its material, (6) a description of its archaeological context, (7) the pages and fieldbook numbers for excavators' comments on the seal, (8) a discussion of the seal and its significance, and (9) any previous bibliography on the seal.

Descriptive and Interpretive Comments

All seal imagery is described on the basis of the impression left by the seal; thus seals known only through their ancient impressions are described on the basis of the impression, and seals where the artifact itself has been recovered are described on the basis of the modern impression. Similarly, all drawings of carved imagery are of the seal images as impressed images, not of the seal itself. This is true for cylinder seals and for stamp seals. For cylinder seals, a line indicated at top and bottom of the image represents a preserved border, cap, or seal edge. For stamp seals, the contour of the seal edge is rendered as a line—when the seal is preserved as an impression, I indicate the outline only where it is actually preserved in the impression (for these conventions, see Garrison and Root 2003:48).

The seals come in many shapes, which may be broadly collected into two major categories: cylinder seals and stamp seals. Cylinder seals are cylinders with imagery carved around the side of the cylinder, usually perforated down the center of the seal's height. Stamp seals come in a great variety of forms, which may be broken down as follows (following Garrison and Root 2003:Appendix Four):

1. Pyramidal stamp with octagonal face;
2. Pyramidal stamp with rectangular or square face;
3. Conoid with circular or oval face;
4. Scaraboid with oval to rounded-square, loaf-shaped, or circular face;
5. Disk with circular or oval face;
6. Tabloid with rectangular faces and/or rectangular side faces;
7. Cuboid (plaque) with square faces and/or rectangular side faces;
8. Stamp cylinder with circular stamp face;
9. Stamp with tall grooved pedestal surmounted by a handle or suspension device, with circular face;
10. Sugarloaf-shaped stamp with round face and top diameter slightly larger than diameter of sealing face, usually with rounded back;
11. Lentoid seal with circular or oval face;
12. Theriomorphic stamp with variously shaped face and back.

The Bronze Age seals come in particular well-known types, for the most part described in Hogarth 1920. They are: cylinder seals, rectangular seals with all lateral faces incised for sealing, stud seals incised on their bottom, stalk seals (an incised disk with a stalk-like handle), button seals with incised surfaces on both flat sides, and Petschaft seals with a conoid bored handle and an incised sealing surface. All of these but button seals are represented in the seal artifacts recovered from Bronze Age Gordion.

Measurements of Artifacts

All artifacts are measured in meters (or rather, divisions of meters). Height, length, thickness, and diameter are indicated; where an artifact is broken, preserved dimensions are given.

Abbreviations other than standard ones are as follows: G.L.: Greatest Length; G.W.: Greatest Width; G.D.: Greatest Diameter; P.H.: Preserved Height; G.P.H.: Greatest Preserved Height; G.P.W.: Greatest Preserved Width; Max. D.: Maximum Diameter.

Terms and Issues Relating to Seal Production and Materials

Unless stipulated otherwise, all seals catalogued were carved in the negative (in intaglio) so that the impression would read as a positive image. This is

the norm in the ancient Near East and Anatolia.

Materials were identified by me and, where possible, the curator in charge of artifacts in museums, based on first-hand visual observation of the seal or sealing. No other methods of mineral identification were used beyond the visual. I have seen all but seven of the artifacts described here in person (Cat. No. 75 (5792 J 120) was lost in 1975; Cat. Nos. 31, 58, 71, 102, 103, and 108 (894 SS 42, 1842 SS 69, 1729 SS 63, 7130 J 144, 7129 J 143, 680 B 100) were not available for study).

An Additional Note on the Late Phrygian Period

For the 200-year period when Gordion was part of the Achaemenid Persian empire (ca. 540-330 BCE), it was incorporated into a particular hegemonic situation that led to a specific and different series of cultural interactions than those that pertained during the rest of Gordion's history. Thanks to much recent work on the Achaemenid empire, it has been possible to draw on a wealth of excavated and socially contextualized corpora of seals. Thus, for every Achaemenid period seal in the catalogue I have looked for parallels from the following bodies of excavated or at least well-provenanced seal evidence: the Persepolis Fortification archive (published and unpublished), the Persepolis Treasury archive, seal artifact finds from Persepolis, the seals and seal impressions from Susa, the seals from Sardis, the Murashu archive from Nippur, the Ur cache of sealings, the Daskyleion archive, the Deve Hüyük seals, the Lycian tomb assemblages, the Memphis seal impressions, and the Wadi ed-Daliyeh (Samaria) sealings. This has provided a range of phases and regions within the empire for comparative purposes. If there are no parallels listed in a given catalogue entry from any of these bodies of evidence, this indicates that the search for comparative material came up wanting, and I have had to fall back on less securely contextualized material.

3

Catalogue of Seals

Early Bronze Age (3000-2000 BCE) (Cat. No. 1)

Cat. No. 1. 8201 SS 220 <fig. 11a and b> <fig. 125, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.02; G.D. 0.011.

MATERIAL: Composition, pasty white at core, light bluish green on surfaces, and bubbly.

DESCRIPTION: A cylinder seal, pierced along its axis. Incised lines at either end define the upper and lower margins of the cylinder. They are connected with incised oblique lines carved parallel to each other: the strokes cross each other to create a cross hatch pattern. Those running in one direction are considerably deeper than those running in the other direction and seem to have been carved second.

Intact.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound North Building, underneath Layer 5. This seal was found in a 40-cm-deep brown fill that was sandwiched between two Bronze Age floors (floor 5 and floor 6), along with many local Hittite potsherds. Floor 5 had on it a fragment of a hearth or oven, but no architectural remains were found associated with any of these deposits.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 117, p. 71. Found June 15, 1965.

DISCUSSION: Most seals with similar imagery are dated to the Jemdet Nasr period (see below). I am therefore assigning this cylinder to the Early Bronze Age, but with a degree of skepticism: this is, after all, rather timeless imagery. The seal was found in Middle to Late Bronze deposits and may date to this time period instead.

This cylinder seal is not made of Egyptian composition, but it does resemble the composition of Early Bronze Age Anatolian seals and figurines. It is similar to, although half as large as and less ornate than, a significantly later seal found at Hasanlu (Marcus 1996:107, no. 34), also made of white composition. Marcus points out examples also from Choga Zanbil (Porada 1970:no. 153) and Sialk (Ghirshman 1939:pl. 97). Very close parallels from Susa, in stone, date to the Proto-Elamite period (Amiet 1972:nos. 852, 853, 854). Similar cylinders, made of bone, have been found in Bronze Age deposits in Syro-Palestine, including at Gezer, Megiddo, Jericho, and En Shadud (an especially close parallel to ours). See de Miroschedji 1997:211, figs. 1-4 and discussion. Another very similar seal comes from Nuzi in the Mitannian period, published in Stein:1997, fig. 19d. Most of the similar seals have been dated to the Jemdet Nasr period. See, e.g., Teissier 1984:nos. 32-35; Frankfort 1955:no. 57, from Khafajeh and no. 946, from Ishchali; Hammade 1994:no. 309, from Habuba Kabira, and no. 316, from Tell Brak; Kist 2003:no. 46; Wiseman 1962:pls. 11 and 30, from Tell Brak.

The rather friable nature of this composition and the shallow incisions suggest this seal may have been used as a decorative bead, rather than an administrative tool. Examples of cylinders of different kinds, shapes, and decorations used as beads on necklaces are, of course, common.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gunter 1991:73, no. 382, pl. 25.

Middle Bronze Age (2000-1700 BCE) (Cat. Nos. 2-6)

Cat. No. 2. 2434 B 464 <fig. 12a and b> <fig. 126a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.017; D. 0.014, Th. seal-disk 0.0015.

MATERIAL: Copper.

DESCRIPTION: Stalk seal with flat disk for stamp, attached to vertical handle with pierced loop (now missing).

Design on stamp: raised central knob with three raised rings around it. Outer ring has spoke design.

Broken and mended.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Field Trench Burial H-41 (Pithos Burial A 85). This was a pithos burial with a gritty red pithos having three plastic ribs (P 917), lying in gravel at a slight angle from the horizontal and oriented SSE-NNW. The sides were covered with mudbricks, and a stone slab covered the mouth of the pithos. The stone slab and pithos rim were slightly damaged by tomb robbers.

The skeleton inside was fragmentary, under fallen gravel and stone fragments. Found on its skull was a wooden comb with a copper pin attached to it through a hole (BI 181), six simple copper pins (B 465), and parts of a necklace consisting of five copper-alloy beads in the shape of Hittite shoes (ILS 150), three copper pendants in the shape of medallions (B 463), various paste and metal beads of round, biconical, and elongated shapes (G 118), and this copper stamp seal (2434 B 464).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 26 p. 185, found June 8, 1952.

DISCUSSION: This "stalk seal" (Hogarth 1920:17) has a slender and tall stalk attached to a disk and was common in Anatolia in the early 2nd millennium BCE (Mellink 1956:42). Several similar examples have been found at Alishar (von der Osten 1937:213, 417), with the same general shape and geometric designs. The arrangement of concentric rings is highly popular in the early Hittite period, as may be seen by its appearance in stamps on vessels (von der Osten 1937:222, 251; and Lamb 1936:30; see also Seidl 1972:A60, A64, and p. 13 note 2, which mentions 50 more unpublished examples) and tablets (Donbaz 1993 esp. pls. 28 and 29).

It is interesting to find this stamp included as part of a Late Bronze Age necklace, according to the excavator. As the stamped impressions from elsewhere demonstrate, such stalk seals might be used to stamp vessels, but this one seems to have been valued instead for its own intrinsic appearance and, perhaps, amuletic possibilities. This is therefore an example of a early Middle Bronze Age seal used (apparently) not as a seal, but for decorative and perhaps magical purposes in the Late Bronze Age.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mellink 1956:42, pl. 23k, l; Güterbock 1980:51, fig. 2.

Cat. No. 3. 1924 SS 70 <fig. 13a and b> <fig. 127, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.012; W. 0.01; H. 0.008.

MATERIAL: Composition.

DESCRIPTION: A stud seal with a strongly arched back, from which protrudes a small knob set off from the rest by a groove. The seal is pierced across its smaller diameter, at the same height as the groove.

The sealing face is carved so that its signs are left in relief, to leave an impression of grooves. A ridge defines the outer edge of the oval, slightly thinner at top and thicker on sides and bottom. A horizontal line divides the face into two zones, the upper roughly twice as large as the lower. The upper area is filled by a curvilinear device like an elongated omega, with its bottom ends curling up and out to join the line of the outer edge. The lower area is divided in half by a vertical line that joins the horizontal.

Intact.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Tumulus H, Cut III, Burial H-4. This is an inexpensive version of a Hittite pithos burial, in which the deceased was buried in a cookpot. It dates to the late Middle Bronze Age. The seal itself is earlier, however.

Resting on soft dirt was found a small burial cookpot (2072 P 646), oriented N-S with its mouth at the south, made of reddish brown clay, with a simple turned rim and handles pulled out from the rim. Three mudbricks made a wall around the mouth. Inside were found the bones of a child, still very small but old enough to have erupted teeth, lying in a contracted position on the left side, with his or her head at the mouth of the pithos. The child's bones were somewhat collapsed from their original position when the pithos was opened. On one wrist was a bronze spiral bracelet (2218 B 415); lying at the back was a yellow buff bowl (1925 P 621), following the manner of Hittite period adult pithos burials at Gordion. In among the bones and earth were found a number of artifacts: a necklace of small black and white round paste beads, black watermelon-seed beads, and one red stone bead (1923 J 69);

shells; one tube bead and innumerable very tiny simple beads. One bronze object in with the tiny beads may have been the clasp of the necklace. Additionally were found another bronze object (1999 B 329); two small bronze earrings of twisted wire; another bronze bracelet (2219 B 416); two silver rings (ILS 111); lead ring fragments (2224 ILS 125); a long bronze watermelon head pin (1996 B 327); another tiny bronze pin; and this stamp seal (1924 SS 70).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 26, p. 62. Found Sept. 23, 1951.

DISCUSSION: This seal is of the button-seal type, of a class called "stud seals" in Hogarth 1920:19 and familiar from the First Intermediate period in Egypt (2160-2055 BCE) (Brunton 1927:pl. 32) (throughout the catalogue, Egyptian chronology follows dates given in Shaw 2000). Its shape and imagery are of a type that was surprisingly widespread in Anatolia. Composition seals that are identical or almost identical have been found at Acemhöyük, Alishar, Hammâm et-Turkmân, Kanish, and Karahöyük, and impressions of this type have been found at Karahöyük and Acemhöyük. The seal from Alishar, unfortunately not from a good context, is identical to that from Gordion, as is that from the palace at Acemhöyük. The others resemble it very closely. For Acemhöyük, see Tezcan 1958:527, fig. 23. For Alishar, see von der Osten 1937:419, fig. 479. For Hammâm et-Turkmân, see van Loon 1983:6, fig. 9A. For Kanish, see Özgüç 1986:206, pls. 44, 45. For Karahöyük, see Alp 1968:217, figs. 162-163. For an impression at Karahöyük, see Alp 1968:217, fig. 164. For the impression at Acemhöyük, see Özgüç 1986:206-7, pl. 46. See also Boehmer 1989:40.

The quality of the composition and the simplicity of the imagery demonstrate that this seal type was not made in Egypt; its frequent discovery in central Anatolian sites suggests it probably originated with a more local manufacturer. As M. J. Mellink has suggested (Mellink 1956:42), "The close similarity of these seals shows them to have been made in and exported from a common manufacturing center and presumably the same workshop. The production of composition is likely to have been concentrated in some of the major early Hittite towns with direct Oriental contacts." J. Mellaart also suggests the 2nd- and 3rd-millennium Anatolian artifacts were made locally (Mellaart 1962:32). The majority of these objects made of composition dates to the Assyrian Trade Colony period (Özgüç 1986:207), the period dating ca. 1950-1750 defined by the presence of a trading colony, or karum, at the Karum Kanesh (Kültepe), levels II and Ib. Other trading colonies have been excavated at Acemhöyük, the Karum Hattush (Boğazköy), and Alishar.

We may therefore with confidence assign this seal to the early 2nd millennium and local production. It is interesting that it was excavated from a grave dating rather later. It is doubly interesting that its ultimate use seems to have been strikingly different from its original.

Although some of the seals of this type were certainly used as stamp seals in the late Early and early Middle Bronze Age, as the discovery of their impressions demonstrates, the one found in this Hittite-era child's grave at Gordion was probably not used by the child as an administrative tool and may instead have been valued for amuletic force. This notion is given additional weight by the fact that the seal from Hammâm et-Turkmân was also found in a child's tomb, where it was part of a necklace of composition beads. The imagery on the seal may have influenced parental decision to use it in this manner: the looped figure at the top of the seal probably derives from the Egyptian and Egyptianizing "Hathor" symbol. Hathor was goddess of many things, including love, music, life, joy, beauty, destruction, and death. The seal thus may give a glimpse of grieving parents, burying a child with an appropriate symbol.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mellink 1956:42, pl. 23m-n; 1-4 for stratification; 15-16 for this grave; Güterbock 1980:51, fig. 1.

Cat. No. 4. 10437 SS 260 <fig. 14a and b> <fig. 128, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.014; W. 0.0092; Th. 0.0082; D. string hole ca. 0.003.

MATERIAL: Hard gray-black stone with vertical striations, probably hornblende.

DESCRIPTION: A rectangular seal with all four lateral faces incised for sealing, drilled completely through lengthwise for suspension, a little off center. Rectangular in all dimensions, so that two of the incised faces are slightly thicker than the other two.

The four sealing faces are shallowly carved, with lines thinner at one edge and thickening slightly toward the other, to create a triangular effect. The carving is sketchy and abstract, with different symbols on each face. Simple pictures may have been intended, but this is conjecture: (1) an enthroned figure before a tree, (2) a four-spiked star over a possi-

ble small crescent, (3) a cross with long stem and top and bottom bars over a disjoined short straight base line, (4) a plant with two pairs of opposite leaves.

Intact, with some wear on the edges.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound Trench PhW-N5, at the northeast side of the Citadel Mound above the Phrygian City Wall, Layer 1. Found in the scarp, in deposits dating to the Roman period.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 154, p. 75. Found July 30, 1971.

DISCUSSION: This seal is a fairly rare type, dating to the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE. Similar seals have been found at Alaca Höyük, Alishar Höyük, and as a type possibly used on the Acemhöyük bullae. For Alaca Höyük, see Kosay 1951:94-95, pl. 81 and Mora 1987:Group II b no. 1.11. For Alishar, see von der Osten 1937. See also Özgüç 1993:483-485, pl. 83 for several more elaborate, later examples from Alaca, with discussion and further parallels. For two later four-sided seals from Susa, see Amiet 1972:292. Unprovenanced versions were in the Newell Collection; see von der Osten 1934 (no. 543 is particularly close to the seal from Gordion).

This one from Gordion is shorter than the others, and the images are simpler. According to the object card in the Gordion Archives, Güterbock on seeing the Gordion seal suggested these variations might mean it was made earlier than the others and was simply a primitive version, or it might be late and degenerate. It seems equally possible that it was contemporaneous but simply made at a less wealthy site, by a less skilled artist, and/or for a less wealthy patron.

Seals carved on multiple sides became rather popular during the Old Hittite period (17th-16th centuries BCE), but they had five sealing surfaces rather than the four of the Gordion seal.

Its discovery in deposits dating to the Roman period is an example of the tremendous movement of such small artifacts through archaeological contexts. This one may perhaps have been in mud used to make mudbricks during the Roman period.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gunter 1991:85, no. 533, and pl. 29.

Cat. No. 5. 8326 SS 223 <fig. 15> <fig. 129, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.L. handle 0.105; D. seal 0.022.

MATERIAL: Coarse clay, micaceous and gritty; fired gray-brown throughout.

DESCRIPTION: A single sherd preserves part of a vessel wall and the lower attachment of a vertical handle, oval in section.

At the base of the handle is the impression of a round flat seal, in part obscured by temper flaw and partly broken away.

The seal is inscribed, but the inscription is unfortunately illegible.

About four-fifths of the seal is preserved.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: "Layer 5," in a deposit assigned by Gunter to the Middle Bronze Age. I have no further information about the context of this seal.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 117, p. 62. Found June 13, 1965.

DISCUSSION: This sealing was made with a regular Hittite stamp seal and has a hieroglyphic inscription which is unfortunately illegible. It was very common for stamp seals to be used on pots in the Hittite period, although their meaning or significance remains unclear. See Seidl 1972:71, 79 and Güterbock 1980:51.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gunter 1991:72, no. 381, and pl. 24; Güterbock 1980:51, fig. 4; and Young 1966:277, pl. 74, 24.

Cat. No. 6. 2792 SS 117 <fig. 16> <fig. 130, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. Dim. 0.093; L. seal 0.019.

DESCRIPTION: A fragment of a pulled handle, broken off where it attached to the neck, preserving the deeply stamped impression of a foot near the neck. The handle is oval in section, made of coarse reddish-brown clay with black and white grit, slipped red on both sides and burnished lengthwise in visible strokes.

The foot is a right foot, short, with only four toes. It is represented as having a high arch and wide ball; the toes are carved so as to leave a deeper impression than the rest of the foot. They seem to have been made after the outline of the foot, however, as they have pointed ends that curve up and in toward the big toe.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound NCT, Level V-A, 2.30-1.60 m. NCT was a trench at the eastern area of that excavated by Young, working around the Early Phrygian building, Megaron 12. The trench extended south to include most of Megaron 10 as well. This handle was found in a fill beneath an Early Iron Age plaster floor, characterized by the absence of gray "Phrygian" wares and an increase in red-polished wares. Fine wares dated the fill to the Middle Hittite period, and most

of the pots were local shapes and fabric. There were no hand-made wares except for Early Bronze Age survivals; 80% of the wares were wheel-made wares in a well-levigated "clinky" light reddish buff fabric, usually matt but occasionally burnished. They included large and small vessels, with bowls, plates, and jars predominating. Both ring bases and flattened bases were present; 10% of the wares were red wares, mostly of the sort that seem to be local Hittite imitations. These included smooth polished bowl and jar fragments. And 10% of the wares were wheel-made brown cooking pots, predominantly hole mouthed, in various sizes. Some simple bowls were also found made of this ware, of which the fabric was reddish and gritty. One big fragment of a red pithos with two raised bands and a row of small knobs was also found.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 10, p. 66. Found July 1950.

DISCUSSION: A close parallel was found at Boğazköy, Büyükkâle Level Ib, in Iron Age debris fill, as reported in Seidl 1972:34, fig. 10:A 114. Perhaps it was already in use as a vessel stamp design in the later Old Assyrian Colony period, to judge by stamps from Boğazköy and Kültepe, again discussed in Seidl 1972:76. Gunter 1991:79 places the example from Gordion in the Middle to Late Bronze Age; its discovery in "Layer 5A" suggests it is probably toward the earlier part of this time.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gunter 1991:79, no. 470, pl. 25; Güterbock 1980:51, fig. 3; and Mellink 1956:41, pl. 23e.

Late Bronze Age (1700-1100 BCE) (Cat. Nos. 7-14)

Cat. No. 7. 3284 SS 133 <fig. 17a and b> <fig. 131a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.028; D. seal 0.0225.

MATERIAL: Jet.

DESCRIPTION: A worn example of a Hittite Petschaft seal, dating to the mid-2nd millennium. The seal has a disk shaped base, with a conical midsection and a carved ring for suspension above. The disk base is set off from the midsection by a clearly incised line; two spiraling lines just below the ring give the appearance of a wire wrapped around the top of the cone. Much wear, both at the hole for suspension and around the base.

The face of the seal is now very worn. The remains of a guilloche, made up of three parallel strands, are visible at the bottom of the seal. To the left, an "awiti" (the Hittite word for Mischwesen) that may be a winged lion with a knob on its muzzle, extends its forepaws (and claws) toward the center of the seal. It may be clawing up with one hindpaw and apparently snarls with open mouth. To the right, remnants of a weather deity (?) move toward the center of the seal. Distinguishable are two legs (?), part of a torso, a head that may have an elaborate headdress, and an element emerging from the right shoulder.

Complete, but seal very worn.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound Deep Cut 3, Clay fill. The "clay fill" in question is that laid down in the Middle Phrygian period, over the destroyed remains of the Old Citadel. About two-thirds of the way through the clay fill, this seal was discovered, apparently with no associated artifacts.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 49, p. 186. Found May 16, 1955.

DISCUSSION: This is a standard Hittite Petschaft seal of the Old Hittite and Assyrian Colony periods, of which many examples have been found. Very close parallels to this one come from Alaca Höyük, Alishar, and Boğazköy, where they were carved in the mid-2nd millennium. For Alaca Höyük, see Kosay 1951:96, pl. 79, 7. For Alishar, see von der Osten 1937:214, fig. 251, and von der Osten and Schmidt 1932:44. For Boğazköy, where some (later?) Petschaft seals are faceted rather than round at the stem, see Beran 1967:19-27, pls. 2-9 and Boehmer-Güterbock 1987:nos. 8-88. Additionally, see Contenau 1922:61. A lovely Petschaft seal, with related seals, is published in von der Osten 1934:no. 376.

It is common for early Hittite seals to display images that show no coherent scene or thematic unity. Thus this seal with its roaring lion and weather god should not be interpreted as showing related images.

The seal's discovery in a deposit dating to the Middle Phrygian period probably suggests that it was randomly mixed in with material used to make up the clay fill. It has been commented on elsewhere (Voigt and Young 1999:203) that the clay, usually sterile, sometimes contained churned cultural material. This was possibly the result of extensive hydraulic work being carried out at the time of reconstruction, the spoil heaps of which were simply

recycled as fill. Bronze Age archaeological mounds seem also to have been used for fill material, as the relatively frequent occurrence of Bronze Age material in the clay fill demonstrates (Voigt and Young 1999:205). Our seal was no doubt included as the result of some such process.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Porada 1956b:352.

Cat. No. 8. 1373 SS 53 <fig. 18a and b> <fig. 132a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.03; D. 0.023.

MATERIAL: Jet.

DESCRIPTION: A worn and recarved Hittite Petschaft seal, the initial crafting of which dated to the mid-2nd millennium. The seal has a disk shaped base, with a conical mid-section and a carved ring for suspension above; each segment of the seal is demarcated from the next by an incised line.

The sides and the sealing surface were very worn in antiquity, although the remnants of what may be the Hittite sign for "nine," consisting of nine short vertical lines inside two slightly longer ones, may still be made out, and possibly elements of a guilloche. The seal was recarved in antiquity to show a jumble of striations, shallowly carved with a sharp tool that seems to have been only scarcely hard enough to carve the stone.

Intact.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SE trench-N, Cut N-4-C, Layer 3. This trench at the southeastern part of the mound, near the monumental Phrygian gate to the city, excavated parts of a house (House 2) apparently akin to the Galatian houses explored in more recent excavations. Beneath the house was soft brown fill, cut by foundation trenches for earlier house walls. The foundation trenches were sterile, but the soft earth fill produced a few fragments of a fluted black-glaze kantharos and some West Slope sherds, dating to the late 4th or early 3rd century BCE, as well as this seal.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 20, p. 86. Found June 11, 1951.

DISCUSSION: For other Petschaft seals, see references cited above. This seal is particularly interesting because it was found in Hellenistic levels, recarved. It is possible the seal was recarved for use as a seal: indeed, the linear striations that form its recarved imagery fit well into the group of imagery common on local seals dating to the Hellenistic period. What is not clear is why the seal was in Hellenistic levels. Was it a matter of finding it at random, or had the seal been used for centuries, or did it have amuletic force at this point? The terribly worn nature of its face suggests it may have been used as a seal, but it may simply have been water worn from extensive submersion in irrigation ditches or the Sangarios River. In any case, we cannot rule out the possibility that this ancient artifact had some extra meaning to the people who used it in various ways through the centuries.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Porada 1956b:352.

Cat. No. 9. 3100 SS 128 <fig. 19a and b> <fig. 133, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. 0.052; L. arm of cross 0.027; H. 0.022.

MATERIAL: Very soft white stone, probably gypsum.

DESCRIPTION: Conical stamp of soft white stone, with its bottom flattened and carved so that the ridges left would leave impressed indentations.

The round edge of the (possible) sealing surface is left unadorned, but 0.003-0.004 m in from the outermost edge is a circle left in high relief (0.002 m), broader at its base and gently narrowing to a rounded point at its height. Within this is a cross, of which one arm is straight and the other slightly crooked. It appears that the straight arm was created first, and the two halves of the crooked arm after this. The lower surface of the face is flat and regular, cut down to the same height both inside and outside the defining circle. It is left bumpy, almost stippled in effect.

Intact but chipped around edges of sealing surface and broken at top of cone.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound Trench ET-N1, West Section, Level 4. The trench explored the area to the east of the Phrygian city gate, spanning the city wall. This stone fragment was found in churned contexts on the inside of the city wall, with a fair amount of local Hittite material. Potsherds were a mixture of coarse black and gray, coarse red, and finer red. A small carved bone amulet (3099 BI 227), resembling a female figure, was found in the same deposit, and a small base of local gypsum. Other notable finds included a rather coarse medium-sized brown burnished amphora (3101 P 1039), a plain clay loomweight and a stone spindle whorl. The animal bones found and recorded were of large domestic species, including cattle, ovicaprids, and pig. Thus this assemblage looks like it may have been a domestic area.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 52, p. 20. Found April 9, 1955.

DISCUSSION: This large stone stamp may or may not have been used as a seal in antiquity. The uneven stippled surface of the stamp would have made a subtle impression on a plastic material such as clay.

A stamped vessel from Boğazköy that is fairly close to this one suggests this stamp from Gordion might have been used to mark pots; see Seidl 1972:26, A 62. Given the apparently domestic nature of its find context, it is also conceivable it was used as a bread stamp. In societies where bread-baking is done in communal ovens, it can be important for households to stamp their loaves with a recognizable indicator of origin, so that the baked products of different houses will not be confused. In the absence of any evidence for communal baking facilities at Gordion in the Bronze Age, however, this use conjecture cannot be proved.

Cat. No. 10. 7804 SS 209 <fig. 20> <fig. 134, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.0135; D. 0.021.

DESCRIPTION: Hittite conical bulla of very fine gray-fired clay, impressed on its base with a mid-2nd-millennium seal.

The seal had a triple guilloche around its outside and was impressed on the bulla just off center so that the guilloche is fully preserved at one edge but runs off the opposite edge. The center is indicated by a shallowly carved area inside the guilloche; inside this are hieroglyphic signs arranged in a non-symmetrical form. Many of them have been erased by a hole gouged out of the middle of the bulla; those that remain include the volute symbol that means "the great," the standard Hittite ankh derivative that stands for "life," and the triangle that indicates "good fortune" or "be happy and well." The text thus should be transliterated as "MAGNUS-pi(?)-[o]x-x" (G. Beckman, personal communication August 2004).

Complete but for a hole in the middle as if stuck with a stick.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound RR lodge, in rubble foundation of the Early Phrygian Megaron 12 cross-wall. This cross-wall went between the cella and pronaos, or main room and porch, of the building: no other finds were recorded from its rubble bedding.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 110, p. 66. Found April 18, 1965.

DISCUSSION: Conical clay bullae of this sort, with a cord-hole through them, are very common Hittite sealing devices. They are generally thought to have been attached to wooden tablets, which as we know from accounting texts were used for writing at least as frequently as were clay tablets (G. Beckman, personal communication 2004). The bullae may also have been on a shipment and arrived at a site with the goods they sealed. The unique status of this bulla at Gordion may suggest it was unusual and came with a shipment from another Hittite center, rather than forming part of an elaborate accounting and recording apparatus at Gordion itself, but we cannot be certain of this.

Güterbock suggests (Güterbock 1980:55) that "the knot of the string must have been too close to the sealed surface, so that the latter broke, destroying the inscription." The guilloche around the seal that impressed this bulla is typical for seals of the middle Hittite period, although it starts as early as the Assyrian colony period; most of the seals with this triple-guilloche feature date to the mid-2nd millennium BCE.

Güterbock 1980:55 suggested this sealing dated to the Old Hittite Period (ca. 1720-1480); Beckman (personal communication February 2004) places it toward the end of this time because of the appearance of the guilloche. I am grateful to Gary Beckman for deciphering these hieroglyphics. For parallels from Boğazköy, see Beran 1967:59-61, "Gruppe XI," pls. 9 and II, esp. nos. 97 and 100. See also Mora 1987:49.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gunter 1991:85 no. 532, pl. 29; Mora 1987:Group II b no. 1.2; Güterbock 1980:55, fig. 10; Young 1966:277.

Cat. No. 11. YHSF 89-563 <fig. 21> <fig. 135, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.0498, W. 0.0342, Th. 0.026.

MATERIAL: Clay.

DESCRIPTION: Tall cone with a rounded top, of which the flat bottom was impressed with a stamp. It is three-quarters missing at stamp face. Stamped surface preserves raised ridges in radial design with ridge around perimeter of stamp; some raised dots between radial lines.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Lens of trash. Red silty lenses with green lenses, very hard. This artifact came from a reddish-brown deposit at the very bottom of the Late Bronze Age lens of trash.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Op. 14, Loc. 60, Lot 164. YH 32386. Drawing number 89-133.

DISCUSSION: This cone shows signs of mild wear just at its rounded top. Its interior seems to

have been a lump of clay, with a surface added on and built up at the flat end to be stamped. It is highly unlikely that the object itself ever served as a stamp seal or stopper. The wear and inner construction demonstrate it could not have been used as a stopper, and the signs on its end were clearly stamped into it rather than serving as a stamp themselves. It may perhaps have been a bulla or cord-knot seal in antiquity.

The images on the seal that stamped the flat end of this object are absolutely standard Imperial Hittite (see Seidl 1972:A1-A35). The closest parallels are probably Seidl 1972:A15a and A15b, impressed on jar shoulders and from a trash deposit. Thus this artifact, along with Cat. No. 9 (7804 SS 209), may show not only Hittite sealing practices at Gordion but also some trace of administrative apparatus that required sealed bullae to keep strings locked.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sams and Voigt 1991:458 and Henrickson 1995:88.

Cat. No. 12. YHSF 89-531 <fig. 22> <fig. 136, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Greatest preserved dimension of seal 0.035.

MATERIAL: Buff ware fabric with cream slip and some temper.

DESCRIPTION: A shallow stamp on the shoulder of a large thin-walled jar with a cream slip. Two sherds join to preserve approx. one-quarter of original round stamp. This seal has a central boss and symbols around that, with a raised ridge defining the perimeter of the stamp.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Lowest red silty layers of the trash lens, right above sloping eroded levels. Early Late Bronze Age, Hittite Empire.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Op. 14, Loc. 60, Lot 159. YH 32377.

DISCUSSION: Stamping on shoulders of jars was a common practice in the Hittite Imperial period, although the most usual spot for stamps to be impressed was at the base of a handle, where the extra clay gave good ground for stamping and where the stamp might even assist in fastening the handle to a pot; in such instances, seals shaped and decorated like leaves are the most common (see Seidl 1972:Abb. 11-19). The symbols on this seal from Gordion have been previously identified as including the royal sign (Henrickson 1995:88), but Gary Beckman suggests the so-called signe royale here is probably not one (personal communication August 2004). Stamps with a central round element, radiating lines, and curved symbols are very common on Hittite stamped vessels (see, e.g., Seidl 1972:A15a, A26b, A39a, A40; Bittel 1937:pl. 12, no. 2). A close parallel is Seidl 1972:A42, from an uncertain context at Boğazköy. Cream slips are also not uncommon on stamped fine-ware vessels; see, e.g., Seidl 1972:A40. If the seal had any further meaning, it cannot at this time be further understood.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sams and Voigt 1991:458 and Henrickson 1995:88.

Cat. No. 13. YHSF 89-530 <fig. 23> <fig. 137, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Sherd 0.0445 x 0.0303 x 0.009 thick; sealing G.P.D. 0.021.

MATERIAL: Orange fabric with temper, wheel thrown, burnished vertically.

DESCRIPTION: Sherd from a large red-slipped vessel, pattern burnished. Stamp left matte.

The stamp was round, with triangular rays.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Lens of trash. Red silty layers, mixed. Early Late Bronze Age, Hittite Empire.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Op 14, Loc. 60, Lot 157. YH 32376.

DISCUSSION: This seal impression, with its radiating triangular rays making a star, was impressed on the shoulder of a jar. The vessel is one of very few red-slipped vessels found at Gordion dating to the Bronze Age; Henrickson (personal communication June 2004) suggests it is probably an import rather than a local product. The sealing thus attests to contact with Hittite lands but not necessarily to Hittite presence at Gordion. Radiate stamps are common on Imperial Hittite vessels; see, e.g., Seidl 1972:A45-A54, A65, A66 and Bittel 1937:pl. 12 no. 4.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sams and Voigt 1991:458 and Henrickson 1995:88.

Cat. No. 14. YHSF 88-157 <fig. 24> <fig. 138, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.L. sealing 0.0245.

MATERIAL: Stamped on the rim of a large orange-fired vat.

DESCRIPTION: Stamp on a rim sherd. Two annular bands form a hatched border with an elongated triangle and other hieroglyphic symbols in the center. The text bears the personal name "Arma-ziti" (G. Beckman, personal communication August 2004).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Inside a small rectangular house (CB), in a soft gray deposit

with much charcoal, beneath a deposit full of sherds and grindstones. This should represent the occupation level of the house, as opposed to the sherd level, which dates 1400-1200 (Sams and Voigt 1990:80-81; Sams and Voigt 1991:457-459). Imperial Hittite.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: YH 22978. Op. 5, Locus 37 Lot 70. Inventoried 88-126.

DISCUSSION: This sealing was impressed by a Hittite stamp seal with a hieroglyphic inscription bearing a personal name, Armaziti. The stamp is slightly later than those listed above, all of which came from the trash lenses underlying the house in which this one was found. It is unusual to find a deep stamp on a rim sherd like this one. Most of the Hittite stamps fall into two categories: round stamps on the shoulders of jars, like Cat. Nos. 12 and 13 (YHSF 89-531 and YHSF 89-530), or leaf-shaped stamps at the bases of handles. See Seidl 1972, Bittel 1937:pl. 12. Incised rim decorations, such as those illustrated in Boehmer 1983:Abb. 40-41, are quite different from this stamped impression. The implications, if any, of the Gordion seal's placement are unclear.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sams and Voigt 1990:81, fig. 19, Sams and Voigt 1991:458, and Henrickson 1995:88.

Early Iron Age (1100-950 BCE) (Cat. No. 15)

Cat. No. 15. 7856 SS 212 <fig. 25a and b> <fig. 139a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. scarab 0.0075; seal, L. 0.015; W. 0.011.

MATERIAL: Composition scarab, pale blue.

DESCRIPTION: Blue scarab with deep incisions on bottom face. The scarab is eroded and abraded but retains clear indications of eyes, mandibles, and a small clypeus on its head. All six legs are also clearly shown, and faint indications of hair and other detailing survive. Traces of the line dividing the prothorax from the elytra survive, but the upper surface of the scarab is too badly worn to determine if the humeral callosities or the suture dividing the wings were indicated.

The sealing surface of the scarab is carved with a line running around it roughly 0.002 m in from the outer oval edge of the seal. A horizontal line divides the face in two unequal parts, with the bottom being approximately three-fifths of the area and the upper two-fifths. The upper part has been badly damaged, but two omega-like Hathor symbols survive. Below the division line, two uraei face out, their tails sloping up to form a point at the center of the seal. Below this, a bipartite compound triangle on a slightly curved bottom line is clearly carved.

Mended from four chips. Complete but for chips in edges. Back of scarab scraped.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound NE Bldg., Rubble bed, W wall. The scarab was found in the rubble bedding of the NE Building, which probably went up around 850 BCE. Little pottery was found, but what there was dated to the Early Iron Age. The scarab thus was roughly contemporary with the pottery.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 110, p. 174. Found May 22, 1965.

DISCUSSION: This scarab is an Egyptianizing artifact, rather than being a true Egyptian product; the triangles are very non-Egyptian (E. Teeter, personal communication March 25, 2004). It most closely resembles Egyptian seals dating to the 21st dynasty (the beginning of the Third Intermediate period, ca. 1085-950 BCE). It thus serves as evidence for the international interactions Gordion enjoyed in the Early Iron Age, and possibly for the arrival of new inhabitants at the site with new artistic tastes and affiliations. The seal is a particularly useful clue, as so little of the Early Iron Age mound has been excavated. See Teeter and Wilfong 2003:nos. 53, 67, 90, 170, 171.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Young 1966:273, fig. 13.

Early Phrygian (950-800 BCE) (Cat. Nos. 16-18)

Cat. No. 16. 2597 SS 109 <fig. 26a and b> <fig. 140a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.012; W. 0.008; Th. 0.006.

MATERIAL: Blue composition scarab.

DESCRIPTION: A scarab with the beetle markings sketchily indicated. The back is gently sloped, with no legs; the head, prothorax, and elytra are separated by lines, apparently without detailing even before the seal was so badly degraded. The head includes rudimentary eyes but no clypeus.

The very worn surface of the seal is outlined by an oval line ca. 0.001 m in from the outer edge of the seal, within which are poorly distinguishable signs

resembling hieroglyphs. The bottom part of the seal, ca. one-quarter of its area, is apparently set off from the upper part by a horizontal dividing line. Signs below this line may include a circle. Above the line are, perhaps, a badly worn Horus figure and several other signs.

Complete, badly worn.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound Building A, Trench 22, gray-green fill over foundation of bastion retaining wall. This building was made up of a series of rooms in a line, the back wall of which formed part of the city wall in the Late Phrygian period. This seal was found on the outside of the wall, in a fill apparently made up of material dug up from earlier occupation deposits. It was associated with a number of cone-shaped terracotta pegs that may once have formed a mosaic pattern decorating a wall or floor.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 37, p. 181. Found April 4, 1953.

DISCUSSION: The hastiness with which the details of the scarab were indicated suggests this is another Egyptianizing work, rather than one actually created in Egypt. Particularly suspect is the quick asymmetry of the line dividing prothorax from elytra. The "hieroglyphs" do not say anything (T. Wilfong, personal communication February 2004). This seal demonstrates that people at Gordion may have had contact with travelers from elsewhere, to introduce a taste for things that resembled Egyptian artifacts. It also suggests that at least some of the Egyptianizing artifacts found at Gordion were made in other local production centers, in other lands capable of producing artifacts made of composition—local products are common in Babylonia and Syria, at various time periods.

I have placed it in Early Phrygian because of the mosaic cones and because it vaguely resembles Egyptian scarabs of about this time (Teeter and Wilfong 2003).

Cat. No. 17. 10954 SS 273 <fig. 27a and b> <fig. 141, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.L. stone 0.072; G.W. stone 0.045; H. "seal" 0.033; G.W. "seal" 0.026; Th. relief of face ca. 0.001.

MATERIAL: Yellow-white poros limestone.

DESCRIPTION: Small rectangular piece of poros limestone, left rough on four edges and back.

On face a slightly raised oval area, a scene in very light relief, hard to read, and here described as looking at the face itself, rather than an impression. At center an oval object (pithos? beehive? oven? beer jar? celestial disk?) on a low table, ring-stand, or stool. At left a tree (?). At right a figure seated, facing left (?). In upper field a rough rosette or star. All this above a fairly high exergue compartmented by sets of two vertical bands, one set at left, one at right. Around edges incisions indicate the beginning of working back around the face to free the relief scene.

Two chips on left side of face.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound TB8E, beneath Floor 2 (no Floor 3 or 4) and above clay. The trench was exploring the east end of the Terrace Building, in room 8, the northernmost of the row. This deposit was an extraordinarily disturbed one, apparently seeing its last tumult in the Hellenistic period. The finds within it were mixed, from 7th century BCE to Hellenistic.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 128, p. 91, #15. Found June 3, 1967.

DISCUSSION: This object is a real puzzle. It seems unlikely to me it was ever used as a seal or stamp, although it is possible that it was an initial attempt at carving a stamp that was abandoned. I have placed it in early Phrygian only because it is a series of doodles on limestone, as were the incised carvings that decorated Megaron 2—its date is sheer guesswork, however. It is to be hoped that future excavations at Gordion and elsewhere in central Anatolia may turn up parallels that can be more securely dated and so supply a plausible chronological niche for this artifact as well.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: For sculpted orthostates at Gordion, see Sams 1989 and Roller 1987a.

Cat. No. 18. 572 SS 31 <fig. 28> <fig. 142, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. dim. 0.117; L. stamp 0.02; W. stamp 0.014.

DESCRIPTION: A small fragment of a large wheelmade amphora or jar without pronounced curve, with a raised band in which is stamped a round-cornered rectangle with enclosed triangles, based on each of four sides. Coarse and gritty gray clay fired red on edges.

The stamp is a slightly uneven rectangle, with corners rounded. A deep and wide line joins opposite corners of the rectangle to form a cross in its center; thinner shallower nesting chevrons fill the spaces between the bars of the cross.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound NC Trench, Level IVa of trial trench, Level 3.70 m. This trench was a sounding under Megaron

12, which gave excavators a good glimpse of Early Phrygian levels. NCT IVa included significant quantities of material with parallels in later pre-destruction deposits, such as EPB V and the Terrace fill. Although some handmade wares were found, these seem to be left over from the earlier levels and may have resulted from a degree of conflation of NCT IVa and NCT IVb—indeed, some joins were found across these deposits. NCT IVa is typologically late in the Early Phrygian sequence, conforming well to the predominantly wheel-made body of material that characterizes the late pre-destruction corpus.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 5, p. 156; vol. 10, p. 56. Found July 18, 1950.

DISCUSSION: Most often, the Early Phrygians used repeated impressions of a stamp to create a patterned decoration: the example included here is unusual because it appears in isolation on a pot. The pot probably comes from a fairly late context, based on the typology of Early Phrygian pottery (Sams 1994:124).

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sams 1994:no. 236, pp. 14, 123-124, 125, 130, 131, 187, 221; pl. 154.

Middle Phrygian (800-540 BCE) (Cat. Nos. 19-32)

Cat. No. 19. 7965 SS 219 <fig. 29a and b> <fig. 143, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.018; W. 0.014; Th. 0.009.

MATERIAL: Pale glossy green serpentine with harder black impurities.

DESCRIPTION: Scaraboid with oval face and deeply rounded back. Hole pierced longitudinally, just above sealing surface. The edges are gently rounded; the lines in general crisp and clean. Stone polished to a fine sheen.

The sealing face of the stone is flat, shallowly worked with very fine lines and a few small drill holes. Volumes are left unarticulated. A shallow incised line is now preserved around ca. five-eighths of the circumference. The seal shows a sphinx walking left on a double groundline, with tail up and a straight narrow wing also raised. The tail is a single line, curving right to arch over the rump of the sphinx; at its tip, it branches into a broad triangle with horizontal lines suggesting fullness. The wing is divided into two registers, of which the upper is left blank and the lower elaborated with straight lines showing feathers. At the wing's connection with the shoulder, three horizontal lines above are followed by two diagonal lines below, creating an effect of extra hair. An apron covers the front legs of the sphinx; its surface is decorated with vertical and horizontal lines. The head of the sphinx is indicated by one deep drill hole and a smaller one to show a nose, chin, beard, or similar. The sphinx's legs have drill holes for feet, and the hind legs have an additional drill hole at the hock. Above the sphinx's head is a fan shaped like a papyrus blossom. The double ground-line has below it vertical lines, as if the sphinx were walking across a stage.

Very good condition.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound M5E-S cellar. This seal, along with Cat. No. 20 (8400 SS 225), was excavated from the so-called South Cellar, which lay about four meters to the rear of Building O and, like it, was part of the Middle Phrygian Citadel, postdating the major destruction that we now know dated to ca. 800 BCE. The South Cellar was a large, roughly square structure (ca. 5.7 x 5.7 m) that has been particularly important in lending extra support to the sweeping changes in Gordion's chronology based on radiocarbon and dendrochronological evidence. Although it was originally considered to date to the 5th century BCE, recent re-examination demonstrates that deposits were laid down in several distinct phases. The earliest of these may now be dated to the late 8th or early 7th century BCE on the basis of imported pottery from Corinth.

This seal was excavated by the first of two excavators to work in the South Cellar, who did not distinguish between different fills or between earlier deposits and the significantly later disturbances represented by robbers' trenches and other activity in the area. Thus its excavated context is less helpful in understanding the seal than is the seal in understanding the excavated context.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 114, p. 195. Found June 4, 1965.

DISCUSSION: This seal belongs to the "Lyre Player" group. Boardman 1990:1 assigns their manufacture to North Syria and dates them as a group to ca. 740-720 BCE. The discovery of increasing numbers of these seals (see below) suggests they should be thought of for now as coming from somewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean, from the Syro-Phoenicio-Cilicio-Levantine area, until we discover more concrete evidence of their manufacture. The Gordion seal is characteristic of the group in the

combination of linear elements with deep simple drill holes to show volumes and emphasize parts of bodies. An almost exact parallel to our seal is in Munich's Antikensammlungen 11.098 (Boardman 1990:figs. 1 and 2).

Most of those seals now in museums have as stated provenance "Syria" or "Turkey" (Boardman 1990:10). The great majority of Lyre Player seals from the Aegean world and Cyprus was found in sanctuaries (Mirimanoff 2001:31). This may give some support to Young's suggestion that the artifacts found in the South Cellar represent material cleared from a sanctuary at Gordion (Young 1966:269). A large number of Lyre Player seals from Etruria (and Pithekoussai) have been found in tombs, however, mostly of young people; see Boardman 1990:9-10.

The idea of widespread flight from North Syria by those fearing Assyrian ethnocide at the end of the 8th century may gain some support from the widespread diaspora of Lyre Player seals and, perhaps, the people to whom they belonged. Indeed, the large number altogether of Syrian-made seals found at Gordion that date to this Middle Phrygian period may support the hypothesis. If the Assyrians were practicing wholesale destruction and deportation of cities and peoples in North Syria in the 8th century, it might help to explain the quantity of Syrian seals at Gordion: they might have come north with their bearers to avoid the Assyrian depredations and slaughter.

For Lyre Player seals, see Porada 1956a, Goldman 1963:nos. 10-12, Boardman and Buchner:1966, Boardman 1990, and Spier 1992:50-51. For a recent discussion of trade routes and the ways that the Lyre Player seals illuminate these, see Mirimanoff 2001. For Lyre Player seals from Lindos, see Blinkenberg 1931:nos. 522-524; for Cyprus, see Reyes 2001:nos. 73-82; no. 81 is particularly close to that from Gordion. For a similar winged and kilted sphinx impressed on a bulla from Umm el-Biyara in Jordan, found with pottery of the 8th-7th centuries, see Avigad 1997:no. 1049, Bennett 1966a:399, Bennett 1966b:31, and Bennett 1966c:125.

Cat. No. 20. 8400 SS 225 <fig. 30a and b> <fig. 144a, b, and c, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.029; H. handle 0.016; D. seal 0.020.

MATERIAL: Ivory.

DESCRIPTION: An ivory pedestal stamp seal with a handle in the shape of a quadruped, now worn but probably a lion. Its hind legs and tail make a single column at the back, with the tail curled to the right at the bottom; its two front legs, which reach forward slightly, are separated. Traces of claws remain on the front paws. The head is now preserved only as an oval knob, connected to the body by a thick neck. It stands on a high bolster-like pedestal, with rounded edges, divided into two parts by a square-bottomed groove which runs almost all the way around the seal, except for a flat area under the animal's head where the front has sheared off. At this point, the groove is wedge-shaped in section.

The sealing face is worn, and only traces of the original decoration at the edge survive. Three animals are carved on its surface, with one couchant below and two seated above in a heraldic position. At the top, a lion sits facing left with its mouth open and teeth exposed; its tail curls up over its back. A small ear protrudes from the top of its head, and a large eye is indicated by a drill hole. Its foreleg extends diagonally down in front of it, while it sits on its hind leg. Volumes are broad and shallow, without interior modeling. To the left, a seated bird-headed (?) winged griffin faces right. Its beak is open, and a feather or ear extends back from the top of its head. Like the lion, it has a tail curling over its back, a foreleg with clear paw extending diagonally down before it, while it sits on its hind leg. Its wing is narrow and curls up at the tip. Feathers are indicated by parallel vertical striations. Below, a bird-headed winged griffin lies facing left. It, too, has an open beak and an ear or feather protruding from the back of its head; its eye is shown by a large drill hole. It looks back to the right over its shoulder. Its wing, like the other griffin's articulated with parallel vertical lines, extends back and curls up just at the tip, reaching almost to touch the hind paw of the lion. Its tail curls up close to the line of its wing. Its own paws are shown under it as simple shapes; again, no interior modeling is shown. Under the lower griffin, to the bottom and left, traces of a fine single guilloche are preserved. All volumes are shallowly and simply indicated.

Worn, but complete and in excellent condition except for thin lamination off the seal in front of the feet of the handle-animal.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound M6C, S. cellar along W. wall, just above lowest floor. This seal, along with Cat. No. 19 (7965 SS 219), was excavated from the so-called South Cellar (for this context, see discussion under Cat. No. 19).

This seal was found by the second excavator to work in the South Cellar, who was rigorous in her

detection and separation of the different fills and disturbances that affected the area. Thus its context is particularly valuable. It was found in the undisturbed lower fill, next to the west wall of the cellar, and dates to the room's earliest stage of disuse and filling. Thanks to imports and local artifacts, particularly fibulae and bronze belts, this stage may now be dated to sometime around the end of the 8th century.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 121, p. 138. Found August 14, 1965.

DISCUSSION: Its excellent archaeological context provides a terminus ante quem for this seal of sometime around the end of the 8th century. It is worn—a material as soft as ivory is likely to wear more rapidly than, say, chalcedony. Its worn state thus suggests it may have been in use for some time before its final deposit, and leads one to posit a manufacture date of perhaps the middle of the 8th century. Its discovery in the South Cellar brings it in association with a series of artifacts that look potentially elite, including bronze belts and fibulae that resemble those buried in Tumulus S-1 (belt from South Cellar: B 1605; Tumulus S-1 belt: Caner 1983:pl. 77, G1; Kohler 1995:fig. 52, I. Fibula from South Cellar: B 784; Tumulus S-1 fibulae: Caner 1983:pl. 50, 783A and B; Kohler 1995:pls. 66-70) as well as the lustrous fine black ware with diamond faceting in high relief (diamond ware from the South Cellar: P 5886a and b, P 5891, and additional uncatalogued sherds). I am grateful to Keith DeVries for sharing with me his manuscript in progress on the Greek imported pottery at Gordion and its implications for Gordion's chronology. He includes a complete discussion of the South Cellar in this work.

The seal is a variation on the standard Phrygian types, discussed in Boehmer 1977 and 1978, and Boehmer-Güterbock 1987:pl. 34. Its pedestal and the carved designs, especially the wings on the griffins, resemble Boehmer 1977:fig. 3, a seal from Boğazköy, dated stratigraphically to the second half of the 8th century or the first half of the 7th. Boehmer 1977:83 argues that Phrygian ivory workers created seals separate from and uninfluenced by the Greek ivory workers to whom previous scholarship had erroneously related them. This seal from Gordion, in any case, like that from Boğazköy, he sees as clearly Phrygian work (Boehmer 1977:84). See also Boehmer-Güterbock 1987:no. 267.

A very close parallel to this seal was found at Kaman-Kalehöyük, where it has been argued it demonstrates close connections between Phrygia and Late Hittite culture (Omura 1993). The Kaman-Kalehöyük seal has been dated to the first half of the 7th century (Omura 1993:450); the redating of the Gordion stratigraphy now suggests perhaps a slightly earlier date would be more appropriate.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Young 1966:269, fig. 6 and Boehmer 1977:81-82, fig. 8 and references.

Cat. No. 21. 10351 SS 258 <fig. 31a and b> <fig. 145a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.022; H. disc 0.009; D. face 0.013.

MATERIAL: Bone.

DESCRIPTION: A bone pedestal stamp seal with a high grooved pedestal topped by a ring for suspension. The pedestal is ridged four times around its circumference. The suspension ring is formed by a handle shaped like a plump omega. The line of the omega is round in section.

The seal's face is flat, with a scene showing a quadruped walking to the right. It has a large, heavy head and a long pointed ear. Its eye is indicated with a single round drill hole. Its short powerful neck attaches to a long simple body with a short uplifted tail. All four feet walk firmly on a groundline. Pronounced testicles are visible between its hind legs. An element rising from its back may be a bird, a wing, or something else. In the field before it is a symbol.

Complete, unchipped. Marrow streak goes down through middle vertically and marks center of seal face.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound TB7-A5, pit 20, lower (below fl. 4). This trench explored the area around Building W, above the Terrace Building room 7. The seal was found in a large stone-lined pit, pit 20, excavated across several trenches, full of very dark black earth with considerable ash and charcoal and some bone fragments. The top of the pit was not clearly defined, but its bottom extended all the way into the clay layer over the Early Phrygian deposits. The great majority of the sherds found within it were coarse wares; of the fine sherds the predominant type was black polished, of which ca. five sherds had diamond faceting. There were also many reeds, and chunks of matter that the excavator thought might be yellow and red pigments. Notable finds from the pit included the ribcage of a horse, an unfinished relief in poros limestone that perhaps was the leg of an animal (10386 S 102), bone inlays in the shape of a disk and a petal (10356 BI 553 and 10357 BI 554), a sheet bronze

ferrule (10777 B 1927), and a flat iron blade like a chopper (10653 ILS 658). The deposit is dated based on the discovery of a Little Master cup dating ca. 550 BCE (10380 P 4210).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 157, p. 83. Found July 23, 1971.

DISCUSSION: The dating of this seal is tentative. It clearly draws on Middle Phrygian seals in the inspiration for a grooved pedestal (see, e.g., Boehmer 1977, 1978), and indeed the animal on its face represents a glyptic version of Phrygian animal carving perhaps best represented by the wooden toys from Tumulus P (see esp. the griffin eating fish, Young 1981:pl. 24a, b, and the deer, Young 1981:pl. 24c-e). This seal has an unusually elaborate base, and should perhaps be considered late in the sequence (even as late as Late Phrygian, based on the date of the pit in which it was found?). Most seals found in good externally datable Middle Phrygian contexts have simpler bases, with one or possibly two grooves: this seal, with four grooves and an elaborate strap hole for suspension, is more ornate than the others. For an omega-shaped strap on a Phrygianizing seal found in a Hellenistic grave at Boğazköy, see Boehmer 1978:284-285.

Cat. No. 22. 10352 SS 259 <fig. 32a and b> <fig. 146, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. 0.011; Th. 0.005.

MATERIAL: Lightweight pale green steatite.

DESCRIPTION: A round scaraboid, with vertical sides and slightly convex back. Two small holes are drilled a short distance in from opposite sides for suspension. The green staining around the holes suggests the stone was glazed.

The sealing face is carved in shallow intaglio with a bird walking left. It has a long neck and a long oblique line for its body, ending in a thick short straight tail. Its wing is shown offset from its body by a line. Its two legs are shown separately, the one in front rather short and the one behind longer and bent. Below it is a basket symbol or a groundline: the upper edge of the symbol is flat, while the lower edge parallels the edge of the seal. In the field above the bird's back is a large circle. In front of it, a reed with a three-pronged fork at top.

Intact but for one tiny chip at one hole.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound TB7-A4, Layer 8. This seal was found just above the clay layer, together with a spherical glass paste bead, much weathered, having "distinctly rosy areas" (10354 G 364).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 156, p. 39. Found July 20, 1971.

DISCUSSION: This hieroglyphic seal reads "Shu, son of Ra." An almost exact parallel is published in Ward 1902:no. 129. He assigns this seal on the basis of very tentative reasoning to the date of Taharqo (Khunefertemra), 690-664 BCE. See also Petrie 1886:pl. 37, nos. 83-84 and pl. 38, no. 125, and Blinkenberg 1931:nos. 1403-1405.

Green steatite was frequently glazed to enhance its color; examples abound. For a discussion of the phenomenon in the early history of Mesopotamia, see Pittman 1989; for scarabs, see Ben-Tor 1989:66-67, 73-4.

Cat. No. 23. 889 SS 41 <fig. 33a and b> <fig. 147a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.019; W. 0.013.

MATERIAL: Composition.

DESCRIPTION: Regular elliptical scarab, somewhat worn. The back of the scarab takes the shape of a human face with short fleecy hair indicated by cross hatching, now rather worn. High cheekbones and rounded cheeks give the face an oval shape, leading up and back to detailed, rather high-set ears. The lips on the mouth are curved and delicate, forming an uneven smile or grimace. The nose is straight and extends from pronounced brows that emphasize the large almond eyes.

The sealing face of the scarab preserves an oval surface, demarcated by a shallow line carved approximately 0.001 m in from the outer edge of the seal. At right, a winged bearded human-faced quadruped with long leonine tail walks left toward a carefully carved seated sun god. The quadruped's wing has feathers indicated by parallel horizontal striations. It wears a uraeus on its head, demonstrating that this is the King as sphinx. Both figures have traces of cross hatching on the interior of their bodies, presumably left by the tool used to hollow out their forms. Any detailing on the faces or bodies themselves is now lost.

The seal is longitudinally pierced. It retains traces of a light green glaze.

Intact, except worn spots lost from the intaglio.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Tumulus I. This was a cremation burial rich in finds, dating probably to the 6th century BCE. It included many

bits of jewelry and clothing ornaments, bronze fragments, and potsherds, as well as this seal.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 17, pp. 3, 4. Found April 20, 1951.

DISCUSSION: Tumulus I has been dated to the 6th century, primarily on the basis of the jewelry found within it (Young 1953:fig. 25 and caption).

I am grateful to Emily Teeter, of the Oriental Institute, for her thoughts on this seal. She gives the identification of King-as-sphinx, and of the seated sun god (personal communication March 25, 2004). She also points out that the wings on the sphinx are distinctly Near Eastern (especially Phoenician and Syrian, I would add; see Winter 1976), rather than Egyptian. In Egypt, she comments, few of these artifacts are used as seals—instead, they function as amulets. For King-as-sphinx, see Keel and Uehlinger 1990:pl. 7.

Scaraboids with human faces as backs are not uncommon. They have been found in Syro-Palestine: two examples from Akko are published in Keel 1997:530-531, with bibliography and discussion. One of these has been dated ca. 1400-1292, the other 1150-900. Both are carved of black stone and were surface finds; neither one resembles closely that from Gordion. A sketchy, vaguely anthropomorphoid scaraboid was found at Tel Anafa, again as a surface find, and has been dated 1150-900 (Keel 1997:640). Although the scenes on the reverse of the scaraboids do not resemble ours, they share in common rather deeply cut images with fewer, larger figures rather than a plethora of scratched-in details. An exception to this is the scaraboid from Asor, of uncertain context, which dates also perhaps 1050-800 and has more sketchy detail (Keel 1997:748 with bibliography). See also Keel and Uehlinger 1990:66. A large number of "head-pendants" and "head-seals" stem from Cyprus, where they are assumed to derive from Egyptian and Levantine seals (see Reyes 2001:34-39); these resemble the Gordion seal even less than those found in the Levant itself. A scaraboid with human face rather than beetle from uncertain provenance is in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva, published in Germond and Livet 2001:no. 226; another in Basel is published in Hornung and Staehelin 1976:nos. 88, 320, 780, 908, 912, B 8; a composition one bought in Aleppo is now in the Ashmolean and is published in Buchanan and Moorey 1988:no. 506.

The faces on all of these scaraboids are more schematic and less realistic than the Gordion version: this shows up not only in the modeling of the faces and positioning of the eyes, but also in the hair. Thus they demonstrate the long history of the type, but do not provide a date for the Gordion example. A later scaraboid with human face, from Naukratis in Egypt and dating to the 6th century BCE, is much closer to ours (Spier 1992:15, no. 8).

The closest parallel to this scaraboid, also made of composition, is Blinkenberg 1931:no. 1371, with a hieroglyphic inscription that reads "Men-ka-ra." Blinkenberg has connected the scaraboid to another from Naukratis that dates to the 7th or 6th centuries BCE. For this seal, see Petrie 1886:pl. 37; Petrie 1888a:pl. 18, no. 59. The comparanda to this seal therefore help support the date of the tumulus, in the 6th century BCE.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Young 1953:fig. 25.

Cat. No. 24. 596 SS 33 <fig. 34> <fig. 148, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.01; D. 0.012.

MATERIAL: Light gray stone with white veins.

DESCRIPTION: Pedestal stamp, with no additional suspension device. The stone has a groove in the center of its pedestal.

The seal represents a long-legged slender-tailed animal, almost certainly a horse, walking or galloping right and looking back over its shoulder. Its mane is indicated with parallel lines. Its body is long and carved with rounded volumes at shoulder and haunch. At the right is a schematized tree. A chip under the horse's belly may be the result of flaws in the stone or a slipped tool while carving.

Two-thirds preserved; most of seal preserved.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SE trench, in wall of Hellenistic built shaft east of Wall E. This trench was located above the earlier Phrygian fortification bastion and gate complex. Our seal was found in the east wall of a rectangular pit with built walls, which apparently went out of use sometime in or after the Hellenistic period. The south and west sides of the shaft were built of small stones and chunks of broken mudbrick, while the east wall—from which came this seal—was built almost entirely of reused pieces of older mudbrick. The walls were carefully plastered with clay on the inside. The pit was filled with soft black earth, in which a few Hellenistic black-glaze sherds and many animal bones were found. Thus this seal provides another example of a small artifact moving through many centuries of time as it is incorporated into other materials and reused in various ways.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 6, p. 87. Found July 8, 1950.

DISCUSSION: An entire group of Syro-Palestinian seals with running horses shares such a close degree of stylistic and iconographic similarity that it has been termed the "Horse Group," and this seal bears affinity to those. See Reyes 2001:67,133-136, and Buchanan and Moorey 1988:23-25. The shape of the stone, with its grooved pedestal, may indicate that this is a local Phrygian production, however. See Boehmer and Güterbock 1987:nos. 267, 268, 269. The Horse-Group seals from the Levant (and those from Cyprus) date to the Early Iron Age, but before 700 BCE.

Cat. No. 25. 9369 SS 240 <fig. 35a and b> <fig. 149, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.021; W. 0.0175; Th. 0.0125.

MATERIAL: Rock crystal.

DESCRIPTION: Scaraboid with a winged animal facing right. The stone is shallowly domed and now so worn on its edges that it looks almost symmetrical top and bottom. Its sides are straight and vertical. It is pierced lengthwise for suspension. The wear around the suspension hole may suggest its suspension device had collars at the hole.

The sealing face is flat and worn. On it a winged horse gallops right. It has a simple uplifted wing with horizontal striations on it. It holds its head aloft on a long neck. Its tail is long, with the tailbone held aloft and the rest of the hairs streaming behind. All four legs are shown off the ground; the right foreleg may be bent at the bottom. One of the hind legs has slightly peculiar small protuberances coming off it, as if it were hairy. The triangular shape of the animal's ear, the shape of its head, and the shape of its tail suggest it is probably a winged horse.

Beneath the animal's body are a few enigmatic symbols, one of which may perhaps represent a foal. In front of it are some scratched symbols, also enigmatic. In the field between its neck and wing is a single dot; two more dots are in the field above and behind the tail.

Intact but very worn. Rock crystal clear, but abraded on surfaces.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound WCW-1, Layer 9. This trench explored the city wall where it emerged at the northern part of Young's excavations. The sealstone was found in deposits above the layer of clay spread all over the site at the time of its rebuilding in the Middle Phrygian period, along with a bronze fibula and a small piece of blue glass. Potsherds were plentiful, including much coarse gray ware and some black polished ware as well as buff-orange ware.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 141, p. 61. Found June 3, 1969.

DISCUSSION: This seal bears some affinity to the "Horse Group" from Syro-Palestine. See Reyes 2001:67,133-136, and Buchanan and Moorey 1988:23-25. The shape of the wing, the foal (?) underneath, and the material of the stone all distinguish this seal from those, however, and suggest this is perhaps a Phrygian version of a Levantine phenomenon. Against this suggestion is the fact that it is the only rock crystal seal found at Gordion so far. The Horse-Group seals from the Levant (and those from Cyprus) date to the Early Iron Age, but before 700 BCE.

Cat. No. 26. 7349 SS 201 <fig. 36a and b> <fig. 150a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.D. 0.031; H. 0.02.

MATERIAL: Hard gray and white stone, with a "cap" of contrasting harder off-white. The horizontal string hole runs through the black area of the stone, although an unsuccessful attempt was made to pierce the harder cap on top.

DESCRIPTION: Low conoid stamp seal, with a slightly elliptical face. The seal is a rough and irregular short cone, pierced through for suspension. It has a rounded top, and the transition to the sealing surface is slightly rounded also. Many chips out of the back and sides of the stone demonstrate it received hard knocks.

The sealing face preserves three animals, schematically but clearly incised. A goat faces left with long, plainly arched horns. It stands with front legs parallel and stretched forward, while its back legs are also parallel and drawn straight down. In this way, all four legs are perpendicular to the outer edge of the seal. A quadruped of some sort is about to bite the goat's rump. In the field between goat's horns and back, facing right, is a couchant stag with pronged antlers. Behind the rampant animal at the far right is a line with striations off it that may be meant to indicate a vegetal element.

Complete, with a few extra scratches on the face.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound T-E2, Level III fill. This seal was brought in

by the men digging the trench, and has no archaeological context.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 109, p. 8. Found June 11, 1963.

DISCUSSION: This seal is probably a local variant on the Horse Group, like the preceding two. It probably dates sometime before 700 BCE.

Cat. No. 27. 8900 SS 231 <fig. 37a and b> <fig. 151a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.007; W. 0.006.

MATERIAL: Pale blue composition.

DESCRIPTION: A small scarab, with incisions on the body shallowly marked. The parts of the head are sketchily indicated, with a hint of a clypeus and eyes but no real definition. Dividing lines between prothorax and elytra, and between the wings, are loosely and crookedly drawn. The legs are indicated by three unelaborated ridges. The beetle is pierced lengthwise, with the hole fully drilled through.

The sealing surface consists of a linear design that cannot now be parsed into recognizable imagery.

Complete, with very tiny chip out of one side.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound WS 5-6, N, Layer 6. This trench explored part of the "Persian-Phrygian Building," a large building with many square rooms at the northern extent of the area explored by Young's excavations. Layer 6 represented a lengthy period of disuse, and the excavator did not separate artifacts from different soil types despite apparently having noticed them in the field, but did comment that the pottery types from the upper parts of the layer closely resembled that which had just been dug, while that from the lower levels was significantly more geometric in style. We cannot know from what spot precisely this scarab came. Other key finds from the layer included (pages 66-69, with drawings): "A number of graffiti etc. Bronze finds: 1) 3-sided arrowhead; 2) flat arrow head; 3) bronze pins; 4) bronze earring (9261 B 1712); 5) fibulae including: 9432 B 1742, 9460 B 1757; 9196 B 1701; 6) cloth decoration const. of bronze; 7) fibulae parts; 8) 12 more pieces of bronze shape not definite; 9) bronze bracelet fragments too fragile to be saved; 10) 20 bronze studs for leather or cloth. Small finds: 1) bone awl broken (8875 BI 486); 2) weight; 3) weight; 4) weight; 5) blue bead in the form of a miniature scarab, with hole for string running lengthwise (8900 SS 231); 6) worked bone strip (8874 BI 485); 7) pottery rim fragment, black burnished with rib attachments (8973 P 3569); 8) Iron object with two nails (9175 ILS 515); 9) iron object; 10) iron pin; 11) iron hook (9209 ILS 519); incised sherds; more iron and bronze." This extremely productive layer thus included artifacts from the Middle Phrygian period, including early Middle Phrygian. The scarab is therefore dated based on its context to the Middle Phrygian period also.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 130, p. 68, #5. Found June 12, 1967.

DISCUSSION: The crooked lines on the back of this scarab suggest it is Egyptianizing rather than Egyptian.

Cat. No. 28. 3072 SS 125 <fig. 38a and b> <fig. 152a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: W. 0.018; L. 0.021; H. 0.024; W. hole 0.003.

MATERIAL: Jet.

DESCRIPTION: Conoid stamp with a slightly bulbous lower section. It is rounded into the bottom, almost flat, sealing surface; its top is a rounded-off point. It has a large suspension hole at the top, worn around the edges. Smooth transitions characterize the curved conical nature of the stone.

The bottom of the seal is incised with deep grooves forming a slightly asymmetrical X. Of the resulting quadrants, one is significantly smaller than the other three. These three were incised with a small chevron near the outer edge of the seal; one of the chevrons chipped to leave a triangle. One of them was deeply carved only on one side, with a faint scratch indicating the other leg. The stone has a few other faint scratches on it, apparently random. There is no indication of previous imagery that may have been cut down.

Intact, worn and polished to a smooth gloss.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound, trench ACT dump. This seal was found in the dump of a previous trench dug next to the Phrygian gate.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 49, p. 10. Found March 25, 1955.

DISCUSSION: This seal is a standard Phrygian seal (see Boehmer 1977 and 1978). It looks like a late and simple version of the Petschaft Hittite seals. It is possible that some of the Bronze Age seals were still being used at Gordion in one capacity or another, and this seal was carved to resemble their shape slightly.

Examples of seals resembling these have been found as far afield as southwestern Turkey and the Dodecanese islands; see Boardman and Vollenweider 1978:nos. 21, 22, 23, all of which are dated to the first half of the 7th century BCE. See

also Boardman 1963, Group M, for examples from a votive deposit at Kameiros on Rhodes. Numerous examples have been excavated from nearby Boğazköy; see, e.g., Boehmer and Güterbock 1987:nos. 272-275; no. 274 is an especially close parallel. Like the seal from Gordion, the Boğazköy seal no. 274 has a simple linear device on its bottom, in this case radiating lines. Many of these Phrygian seals might be mistaken for prehistoric stamp seals if seen only from the bottom, although their profile sets them clearly apart.

Cat. No. 29. YHSF 94-181 <fig. 39a and b> <fig. 153, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. stamp 0.27; seal is 0.19 x 0.175.

MATERIAL: Much weathered, mealy gypsum.

DESCRIPTION: Tall conoid stamp, pierced through at top for suspension, with shallowly incised groove around top of stamp.

Sealing surface flat, incised with a series of lines.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: This seal came from a good context in Operation 25 on the Citadel Mound, from ashy soil just above the mouth of a large pithos in a (late) Middle Phrygian house. The deposit dates to the 6th century, probably mid-6th or the third quarter of the 6th century BCE.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Op 25 loc 28 lot 77, 1994. YH 41574.

DISCUSSION: This seal is another standard Phrygian one, with parallels from Phrygian Boğazköy (see Boehmer 1993:pls 15,4 and 15,5; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987:nos. 270-272). Its discovery in a deposit dating to the very end of the Middle Phrygian period demonstrates the presence of local seal carvers at work just as the Achaemenid Persians arrived at Gordion. It thus provides an excellent example of the type of imagery and sealing style that was endemic in Gordion at the beginning of the Achaemenid period.

Cat. No. 30. 8362 SS 224 <fig. 40a and b> <fig. 154a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. 0.028; G.P.H. 0.0135.

MATERIAL: Fine clay, burned on one side, fired gray to gray-buff.

DESCRIPTION: A lentoid seal with a round face, originally probably with a strap for suspension or a handle for gripping, now broken off.

The sealing surface is slightly convex, with design in deep intaglio. At center, a deep domed circle is surrounded by a ridge and groove. Four slightly smaller, shallower, circles that are at cardinal points around the outside of the seal were probably made by the same instrument as that used to impress the central circle, used rather less vigorously. The outer circles are linked by a curving line that goes on the outside of each circle and curls down to come close to the central circular groove. The field between each outer circle has a short additional line perpendicular to the outer edge of the seal.

Two severely chipped areas on margin of seal face. Top broken off.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound RR dyke over NW Bldg. This trench removed the earth left as a base for the railroad cars used to remove dirt from the deep sondages to the south in the early years of Young's excavation; it lay at the east of the excavated area, overlying Buildings X and V. The seal was found in a fill of laminated red earth and gray clay with broken small limestones. It was discovered while the trench was being "cut back," presumably enlarged. It was not immediately recognized when it turned up; the excavator comments, "Presumably from this fill (because we are digging no other, and have not been for some time) a clay stamp seal, which appears on top of the box of last week's sherds and was not there when I looked through them (SS 224)." The associated sherds were all gray Phrygian sherds.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 117, p. 157. Found July 31, 1965.

DISCUSSION: This seal is of a size and clear depth of imagery that might have been used to stamp pots, but no pots have been found with this image or, indeed, imagery resembling it. It may instead perhaps have been used as a bread stamp, or a stamp for mudbricks? Again, no stamped artifacts have been found preserving its impression.

Cat. No. 31. 894 SS 42 <fig. 41> <fig. 155, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.078; W. 0.077.

MATERIAL: Incised piece of gray ware clay.

DESCRIPTION: Roughly rectangular piece of clay with finger holds above and below. On face, a depressed square on which incised cross hatching, against which, at right, a bird with raised wings? Or tail feathers? Framed at left and right and on all side edges with rows of dots. Almost all incision filled with a white limey substance.

Clay a fine gray-beige, baked very hard.

Broken on some edges.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Tumulus D, burned area. This was found with several other

objects in the burned fill above a round bellied pot that contained a child's skeleton.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 4, p. 80. Found April 25, 1951.

DISCUSSION: This seems to me unlikely to have served as a seal, since the imagery is so finely incised. It is possible that it was a favorite toy or belonging of the child, or that it had an amuletic function.

Cat. No. 32. 5398 SS 167 <fig. 42> <fig. 156, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. Dim. 0.105.

MATERIAL: Stamped sherd of a large black polished pot.

DESCRIPTION: This sherd preserves a section of the wall of a large black polished pot, perhaps around the center of the vessel. None of the stamp is preserved entirely. There is a slight curve in at upper edge.

Decoration: (top to bottom) Between two parallel wide horizontal grooves, a band of square stamps with raised figures. The edge of one is preserved at the left of the sherd; the one at the right is mostly preserved. The stamp is square, with a raised border. It shows a feline walking right, in flat relief. The animal walks on all fours with its tail arched over its back. Its head is not preserved, but it may be a panther.

The zone below the stamps has an incised band of alternate pendant to upright triangles, pushed close so that adjacent sides are parallel, though not shared. The triangle sides are formed by four parallel incised diagonals. The pendant triangles are internally divided into lozenge (at tip) to two triangles, by two pairs of parallel diagonal lines. The space enclosed by the lozenge is stippled.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Hüyük MW-2, Sherd Dump. This find came from the sherd dump left by the excavators after exploring the Küçük Höyük, the tower with its associate siege mound to the southeast of the Citadel Mound, that fell apparently to the Persians at the beginning of the Late Phrygian period.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: No reference. 1957.

DISCUSSION: This sherd is from a Middle or possibly Late Phrygian black polished vessel. The stamp used here is rectangular and simple, leaving a clear impression on the clay of the pot. Part of another stamp is preserved on the sherd, apparently with a different image on it: thus by stamping the potter could create a figured frieze around the vessel. This is a Phrygian practice with long history; see Sams 1994:123-133.

Late Phrygian (540-330 BCE) (Cat. Nos. 33-62)

Cat. No. 33. 2342 SS 100 <fig. 43a and b> <fig. 157a, b, and c, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.024; D. 0.011.

MATERIAL: Dark red-orange translucent agate.

DESCRIPTION: Cylinder seal, pierced all the way through for suspension. The ends are flat, although the arrangement of the border imagery on the seal, starting just in from the ends of the stone, suggests it may at one time have had caps at the ends.

The scene consists of an impressive worship scene showing two bearded crowned figures in court robes on pedestal sphinxes flanking a half figure in a winged disk facing right above a fire altar that rests on an half figure facing left in a circle, with an Aramaic inscription in the terminal field.

At top and bottom is a bud-and-lotus border, with the floral elements facing away from the center of the scene. The border at the top was apparently carved beginning in the empty field just to the left of the central scene and then carved to the right all the way around the seal (that is, clockwise on the seal, to the right on the impression), for a slight misjudgment of the final measurements led the carver to squeeze the buds and put two lotus flowers right next to each other at the end of the circle. The bottom border may have been begun under the rightmost sphinx, based again on a slight crowding of spacing at that point in the bud-and-lotus motif.

Two mirror imaged figures frame the entirety of a central tripartite element. A figure in a winged disk hovers facing right over an altar, which is in turn above a half length figure facing left inscribed within a disk. The half figure in the disk wears the Persian court robe and a crown with five vertical elements suggesting crenellations. His hair is coiffed in a bun at the back, like a king's. He raises his left hand horizontal to the ground, with thumb on top; in the right, he holds a lotus flower. Resting on the circle is a fire altar, with a vertical pedestal resting on two horizontal lines. The top element of the fire altar consists of facing blocky parts, with a narrow V between them and ledges to the inside to form a kind of rectangular cup in the middle. Above this is a fig-

ure in a winged disk facing right, rising out of a disk with wings and a tail. Feathers are indicated by vertical lines on wings and tail. The figure again has hair coiffed in a bun, but his crown is made up of a rectangle with four short lines protruding from its top rather than of vertical striations. He raises his right hand to the right, again with thumb on top. No left hand is shown, and clothing is not indicated.

To left and right of the central scene stand worshipers facing inwards, standing on sphinxes that act as pedestal animals. The worshipers wear crenellated crowns indicated by a horizontal line with five vertical lines sticking up from it. Their hair is caught back in a bun at the nape of the neck; their beards are long and pointed. Their noses are straight, their lips indicated by two lines below the nose, and their eyes are shown prominently by a single drill hole. Each worshiper wears a Persian court robe. They hold their right hands up, holding a lotus blossom toward their noses. Their left hands are down, with thumb on top, holding something thin, flat, and about twice as long as their hands; this may perhaps be intended to show a flat dish for libations, such as a phiale. Each figure stands with the leg closest to the viewer on the upraised wing of a sphinx, while the farther leg is raised and rests on the sphinx's crown. The sphinxes lie facing in, also wearing crenellated crowns formed by a horizontal line with vertical lines protruding upwards. The sphinx on the left has a crown with six crenellations, while that on the right has five crenellations. Both sphinxes are bearded and have faces and hairstyles like those of the figures standing on them. They lie directly on the bud-and-lotus border pattern. Their tails are curled up over their haunches, with a slight thickening at the end. Their haunches are clearly picked out with two lines at the juncture with the body. Front and hind paws are shown by two parallel lines that suggest claws.

Altogether, this central scene takes up about three-quarters of the seal's circumference.

In the terminal field is an Aramaic inscription in two lines, reading downward from the top of the seal, right to left, as is usual (C. Jones, personal communication March 2004). It is carved directly against the right sphinx's tail, as if the carver were afraid of running out of room. This led to another spatial miscalculation, so that the second line of the two line inscription has more than enough room allocated to it. An erasure on the second line, after the first two letters, may suggest the carver was copying a written inscription handed to him and may not have read Aramaic himself. The inscription, carved negative on the cylinder so that it reads positive in the impression, reads:

htm bn' br ztw
h(.) [X(?)] sn
"Seal of Bn', son of Ztw, (hyashana)."

I am grateful to Charles E. Jones, of the Oriental Institute, for providing this translation. A transliteration is also provided on www.achemenet.com/, which reads HTM BNY BR ZTW HY SN. That source suggests that the paleographic evidence would imply a date in the 5th century for the carving of the seal.

Intact, with a few chips.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound Bldg. A, Trench GHMcF, South part, fill over S wall of Bldg. A. The context pottery found with this seal dates to the first half of the 4th century BCE, initially thought by the excavator to be Hellenistic. The seal was found in removing the robbers' trench of a mostly robbed out wall of the Mosaic Building, an elaborate structure dated by Young to the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century (Young 1953:11), which overlay the even larger building (Building A) below. The excavator comments: "We continue to dig late stone robbers' fill in the Bldg. A wall trenches, leaving the red clay building fill as we find it. We have yet to dig the west end of the wall, where we have left earth for a shoveling step; but it appears that nothing will be left, but the rubble bedding of white stone. Of the south face five stones of the lowest course are preserved in plan, and one of the second; of the north face none are so far found, though we find the rubble bedding for them, and the ends of two transverse wooden beams on which they rested sticking out of red clay building fill at the north. In the Hell. fill over the line of the N. face, a cylinder seal. (Bag BA 10, 2342 SS 100)."

R. S. Young in his initial publication of the seal elaborates (Young 1953:14, fig. 10):

> The extent of the Mosaic Building and the elaborateness of its decoration in mosaic and tile prove that it was no common house. It was the successor, moreover, of an even larger and extremely massively built structure which cannot have been other than a public building. Built on the same site, the Mosaic Building undoubtedly took over the function which its predecessor had served. What that function was we cannot be certain, though the finding of a beautifully and precisely carved cylinder seal of carnelian in the pillaged debris of its foundations may

be significant. ...Thus it seems quite possible that the Mosaic Building may have been the official residence of the representative of the Great King at Gordion.

For the significance of the roof tiles, see Glendinning 1996, 2002.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 30, p. 133. Found May 24, 1952.

DISCUSSION: The idea of worship scenes showing heraldic human or anthropomorphic figures and a central figure in a winged disk had a long history, most recently expressed before the Achaemenid period in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals (see, e.g., examples collected in Paley 1986 esp. figs. 7-10, and for Achaemenid period Neo-Babylonian style seals, Nunn 2000:no. 266 and discussion). In the Achaemenid period, the repertoire of anthropomorphic figures performing a ritual function at a winged symbol was expanded to include sphinxes as well, not only in monumental relief sculpture as at Persepolis, on the stair façade reliefs from the Palace of Darius, that of Xerxes, from the Council Hall and the Apadana (Schmidt 1953) or Susa (Muscarella 1992) but also in glyptic art (see, e.g., von der Osten 1934:no. 457; Nunn 2000:no. 269; Kaptan 2002:DS 5; and now the Persepolis Fortification seals, Garrison and Root Forthcoming a, PFS 69, 746, 848, and 1678; and the Murashu seals, Bregstein 1993:nos. 496, 497, 499, 502-505; and Legrain 1925:nos. 953, 954. See also Dusinberre 1997a:116-117, with discussion and references).

The Persepolis Fortification seals, impressions left by seals ratifying the Persepolis Fortification tablets, provide an enormous corpus of glyptic evidence for worship scenes from the heartland of the Achaemenid empire for comparison with this cylinder seal from rural Anatolia. Tables listing the tablets on which particular seals were impressed may be found in Garrison and Root 2001, with ongoing updates published on www.achemenet.com. Translations of those tablets are available in Hallock 1969. The information available today about seal users, as gleaned from the use of a seal in this archive, is collected in Garrison and Root 2001:introduction.

One of the best parallels for our seal, with its mirror-image kingly figures worshiping at a central element including an altar and Ahuramazda, with date palms and an inscription as terminal, is PFS 11* (see Garrison 2000:fig. 18, Root 2003a:fig. 5, and see also the worship scenes illustrated in figs. 3, 4, and 8). The balance and stability of such an image is emphasized through the frequency of its use in Achaemenid glyptic. Thus we see PFS 1567*, the seal of an important official known to Herodotus as Aspathines: this seal was replaced by another seal Aspathines used on the Persepolis Treasury tablets, PTS 14*, with similar iconography but in a different style, and shows two worshipers standing on pedestal animals worshiping at a half figure in a winged disk, while an inscription acts as terminal (for these seals, see Garrison 1998). PFS 82* also shows the balancing images of two figures on pedestal animals, facing a figure in a winged disk, who also hovers above a pedestal animal (see Garrison 2000).

Other Fortification seals show pedestal animals in worship scenes that include only one worshiper: PFS 211 has both worshiper and deity on pedestal animals, with a winged disk as terminal. PFS 389* has a figure standing on two pedestal creatures; both the worshiper and the pedestals themselves make gestures of worship before a winged disk over an Aramaic inscription (Garrison 2000).

The figure in the winged disk is a very common figure in Achaemenid worship scenes. The appearance of the figure in the context of Gordion is especially interesting—particularly on this seal with heartland Persian imagery, the lingua franca Aramaic inscription, and an Anatolian style (see below)! Indeed, the worship scene here seems intentionally to combine some of the most characteristic forms of Achaemenid religious portrayal, perhaps in a self-consciously extra overt assertion of affiliation. Another figure in the winged disk from Troy, on a conoid stamp, is published in Miller-Collett and Root 1997, showing that Gordion was not the only site in Anatolia to embrace overtly Achaemenidizing imagery.

For a seal from Susa showing a figure in a winged disk above the figure in a solar disk, with worshiping sphinxes (Egyptianizing rather than Achaemenidizing), see Demange 1997:fig. 9. Demange argues that the two figures represent the Sun and Moon, respectively. Bregstein 1997:no. 202 shows a winged disk over a half-figure in the solar disk, with rampant horses on either side; nos. 203-204 also preserve winged disks, with 204 showing it at the center of mirroring sphinxes. See also Legrain 1925:no. 955.

Unexcavated seals or seals with uncertain provenance also combine the figure in winged disk or winged disk with the half figure in the solar disk. For a scene with winged bulls instead of sphinxes, see Keel and Uehlinger 1990:pl. 4. For other worship scenes that combine a winged disk and a half

figure in a disk, see Porada 1948:nos. 817, 818, also Ward 1909: 275 and Ward 1910:1134; Collon 1987:no. 574 and Dalton 1964:no. 114.

The figure in the solar disk has a complex group of associations. The celestial divinity of the figure is made clear in PFS 105s, a stamp seal that has a part-human, part-animal figure in the "Atlas" pose holding up the half figure in the disk. Floral elements flank the figures and suggest fecundity. The implication is that the gods, and worship of the gods, leads to a fertile existence. Daskyleion produced a worship scene at a solar disk; see Kaptan 2002:DS 5, and for a combination of winged disk with figure in solar disk, DS 14.

There is a strikingly large number of Achaemenid period seals inscribed in Aramaic that show worship of figures in crescent moons (sometimes identified with the god Sin). See, e.g., Avigad 1997:no. 767, 779, 795, 803, 816, 838, 856; Vattioni 1971:44, 45; Ledrain 1892:143; Delaporte 1920:733, 736; Pilcher 1921; and Bordreuil 1986:305-307.

For worship scenes that combine a winged disk and crescent, see, e.g., Avigad 1997:no. 783, Millard 1988:no. 371. Thus it is possible that this figure is meant to represent the moon, while the figure hovering overhead represents the sun.

The Fortification seals also give an indication of the variety of worship that might be found at Persepolis: on PFS 75, one figure apparently pours a libation at a fire altar, while another brings a horned quadruped as if for sacrifice (Garrison 2000). PFS 91 shows direct interaction between worshiper and worshiped: a figure in the winged disk, hovering over a pedestal figure comprised of a double-protome horned lion like the column capitals at Persepolis, hands over a studded ring to a worshiper; a goat acts as terminal. The continuity of Assyrianizing imagery is demonstrated by PFS 310, with Assyrianizing winged genies at worship by a tree with a figure in the winged disk above it–held up by two figures in the Achaemenid "Atlas" pose. For the seals, see Garrison and Root 2001 with references; Forthcoming a; and Forthcoming b. I am grateful to Margaret Root for making available to me preliminary drawings of the collated seal impressions from the entire corpus.

It is thus possible that this seal from Gordion represents a holistic worship scene, one that combines the kingly figure who maintains the harmony of the world (Root 1979:131-161, Dusinberre 2003b) with the sphinxes that seem to evoke cosmic balance (Dusinberre 1997a), both worshiping at a pantheon of images that apparently represents different manifestations of the Light: the Sun, fire, and the Moon.

The bud-and-lotus border finds a parallel in the sealings from Meydum: Petrie, Macky, and Wainwright 1910:no. 46 preserves a border like ours, if somewhat more ornate and with the floral elements pointing in toward the central imagery rather than out, as on the Gordion seal.

This seal is carved in one of the various styles described as Graeco-Persian, with deep rounded volumes, transitions between volumes often indicated by lines rather than modelling, and undisguised use of the drill for lines and drill holes. I have argued elsewhere that this style should perhaps be identified with Achaemenid Anatolia, perhaps even western Anatolia (Dusinberre 1997a, 1997b, and 2003a); this seal found at Gordion makes the picture more complex and suggests that Achaemenid Phrygia, as well as Achaemenid Lydia, should perhaps be woven into the argument.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Briant 1997:24; Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1996:107; Collon 1987:no. 424; Moorey 1979; Ettinghausen 1966:89, no. 123; Mellink and Young 1966:196; Parrot 1961:fig. 256; and Young 1953:14, fig. 10.

Cat. No. 34. 7287 SS 199 <fig. 44a and b> <fig. 158a, b, and c, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.031; D. 0.014.

MATERIAL: Stone a dull putty-gray, just the slightest bit gritty to the touch.

DESCRIPTION: A cylinder seal pierced entirely through for suspension. It shows an animal hunt and/or heroic encounter from a chariot, moving left. A winged symbol is in the field above the animal pulling the chariot.

The chariot is high, with a large eight-spoked wheel that has a large boss and small dots between the spokes. The tire is studded, indicated by short striations. The basket of the chariot is shallow and long, picked out with cross hatching. In it are two male figures, one facing forward and one back, both with beards, a flat headdress, and hair pulled into a bun at the nape of the neck. They wear long robes with shallow horizontal lines in the interior and deeper parallel lines showing the edge of the garment.

The figure at the rear of the chariot faces right, with one hand down and perhaps holding something; with his other hand holds an inverted quadruped by one hind leg. The animal has a large oval body and long thick neck. Parallel lines run the length of the

neck, while at its base is a line that separates the neck from the body of the animal. The body is picked out with two parallel lines running around its edge, with short parallel striations filling in the interior, running across the animal's body. Its two forelegs extend down and culminate in short lines across the end, representing hooves or perhaps claws? One hind leg falls down near its belly, while the other is being held by the figure in the chariot—he apparently has an unusually extended forearm. The animal's head is domed, with a narrow muzzle or beak. It has a beard under its cheek; from the top of its head sprouts a long curling plume or horn and another element that may be an ear.

At the front of the chariot, the figure faces left and holds up a hand (or both hands?) to the winged disk symbol. The chariot is pulled by a quadruped attached to it by a yoke and two reins. The animal stands on its two hind legs, widely separated with the left in front of the right, while its forelegs are raised off the ground and extend to either side of the other animal's plume or horn. Its legs are rendered with single lines, cut at the end with two short horizontal lines that may represent hooves or claws. It has a long straight tail with a tripartite fork at the end. Its body is long, with large drill holes at the shoulder and haunch made by the same drill used for the central boss of the chariot wheel. A third drill hole is at the base of the neck. The interior of the animal's body is marked like the other animal's, with two parallel lines defining the outer edges and short parallel vertical lines filling the interior. Its neck is thick and strongly arched, with two parallel lines along the crest. The head is small and triangular, with an eye indicated by a drill hole. It has two long curling horns or plumes on its head, one facing forward and one back.

Above the animal's head is a winged symbol, lightly incised. Its disk body is a large slightly triangular blob, and its wings are indicated by three shallow lines that are roughly parallel. Its tail is wedge shaped and has cross hatching presumably meant to indicate feathers. It has long curling tail swoops, one on either side of the tail, and long curling antennae. The result looks a little like a luna moth.

The style of this seal is linear, lightly incised, with no interior modeling.

Complete, but with one or two small cracks.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound T-E1, Layer 4. This trench exposed the northeast corner of Building T, a Middle Phrygian building. The building had a hard packed, yellow clay floor laid on red clay fill, pierced by several pits. This seal came from the red clay fill just under the floor. No other finds were recorded. R. S. Young dates its findspot to the Hellenistic period and describes it as follows (Young 1964:281):

> Another cylinder seal, of a soft gray stone, also found at the fourth level, likewise belonged to the time of the Persian Empire and had evidently been displaced from a lower stratum or handed down through some generations before it was lost. The return from a hunt is portrayed: two figures in a wheeled car, one holding the reins of a prancing plumed horse, the other bringing home the kill, a goat, which he holds suspended upside-down from a pole behind the car. He looks more like a fisherman than a hunter; but the clothes and the headdress which he and his companion wear, the style of the goat—like those of the architectural terracottas from Pazarlı—and the winged solar symbol above the horse are all quite recognizably Achaemenid in style, and this seal too should belong to the later 6th century or the early 5th.
>
> For Pazarlı, see Kosay 1941:pl. 21.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 106, p. 58. Found May 24, 1963.

DISCUSSION: The identification of the two animals on this seal is somewhat uncertain, but the quadruped pulling the chariot is almost certainly a bull. The animal carried by its hind leg is possibly a goat, or it may be something more exotic such as a griffin.

The idea of a hunt from a chariot is one with roots in the Neo-Assyrian period, including both palace reliefs and glyptic art (for the seals, see Herbordt 1992:98-122). Although it disappears from palace reliefs in the Achaemenid period, it is still frequently represented on the seals used by individuals and offices. The Persepolis Fortification tablets provide a corpus for comparanda with the imagery of the Gordion seal: of the ca. 1300 seals used to ratify the tablets, eighteen show hunts from chariots. Two people are usually in the chariot, with one facing forward driving and one backward hunting. The vehicles all have eight-spoked wheels, usually with studded tires, and a fairly high basket, usually with cross hatching on it. The traces of the chariot and reins are shown separately at the draft animal's head and shoulder: the traces are often represented by two lines connected by short parallel marks.

The animals drawing the chariots, like that at Gordion, are often fantastical or unlikely draft ani-

mals. So, for instance, PFS 96 has a lion drawing the chariot, while the hunter facing backwards uses a curved knife to slay a bearded winged sphinx (Garrison 2000:fig. 30). PFS 877 also seems to have a lion drawing the wagon, and possibly PFS 1166, 1223, and 1585. PFS 556 preserves a chariot pulled at the gallop by an animal with a short tail, perhaps a goat. On PFS 311, a bull drawing the chariot lowers his head to stab a rampant lion in the gut even as the human hunter spikes the predator in the head. PFS 358, by contrast, provides a more static image, with the draft animal standing still and a rampant animal before it in a standard posture of threat, with forelegs outstretched. PFS 198 and 207 conflate the two animals: the hunter seems to stab the horned quadruped drawing the chariot–but perhaps he is meant to be aiming at a lion underneath the leaping animal (indicated on 198 by a furry mass, not fully preserved in the impressions) (for 207, see Garrison 2000:fig. 29). But bulls are the most common draft animals, and the Gordion seal therefore falls neatly into the area defined by usual practice (see below).

Some variations on the general theme exist. A few seals have only one person in the chariot: on PFS 591, the driver wields an upheld short straight blade, while his fantastical draft animal, probably a bull, leaps forward. PFS 718 also lacks a hunter, although it includes both bull as draft animal and a rampant goat or stag behind the chariot. PFS 874's driver holds an uncertain object in his hand, while a small lion is rendered in the field above the bull's head. Unusually, PFS 837 moves to the right rather than the left: the hunter uses a spear to stab a lion leaping down from above on the wagon. And PFS 1548 is too little-preserved to say much about the humans or other animals, although the chariot is apparently a standard one.

Some of the Fortification seals provide helpful parallels specifically for the seal from Gordion. The bull is by far the most common draft animal shown: a horned quadruped that is probably a bull is shown on PFS 311, 358, 198, 207, 591, 718, 874, 1256, and 1689. PFS 546 is not well preserved but provides a parallel for the Gordion seal in that the hunter holds his prey up in the air–in this case, a lion held with its head upwards. PFS 1166, mentioned already, also shows the hunter holding up a lion–this time by one hind leg, with its head reverted. The combination of animals on the Gordion seal is seen also on PFS 1256, which seems to have a bull drawing the wagon and a horned goat before it. Another parallel for the Gordion animals, albeit not a close one, is provided by PFS 1627, which has cross hatching in the interior spaces of the draft animal (a lion) that recalls the interior decoration on the Gordion animals.

Parallels for the winged disk in the field are lacking at this time, although PFS 1316 has a crescent above the draft animal's head. It is therefore particularly interesting to find this symbol that invokes Achaemenid religion on a seal found at Gordion with Achaemenidizing imagery carved in a style derived from Phrygian precedents (see below). Perhaps the seal carver was trying to make a scene he felt ultimately Achaemenid, with an Achaemenid hunt and Achaemenid deity—even though that particular combination was unknown (or at least unlikely) in heartland imagery. The seal is thus a powerful statement of desire to display Achaemenidizing tendencies, perhaps without a deep sense of what that really meant.

The style of animal carving recalls, although it does not closely resemble, that of the group of Neo-Hittite seals dating to the 9th to 7th centuries BCE published in Boardman and Moorey 1986, esp. figs. 12, 19, and 22. The style of the Gordion seal does seem to derive from Neo-Hittite, Phrygian, and Achaemenid antecedents. For additional Achaemenid period horned quadrupeds pulling chariots with a hunt, see, e.g., Buchanan 1966:no. 686.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Young 1964:281, fig. 9.

Cat. No. 35. 7557 SS 205 <fig. 45a and b> <fig. 159a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.0232; D. 0.0095.

MATERIAL: Light green composition.

DESCRIPTION: Cylinder seal pierced through for suspension. The carving shows a heroic control scene.

The scene takes up ca. three-fifths of the seal's surface. A schematic, flat volumed figure in sleeved (?) garment and short skirt controls two animals, probably lions, that stand on hind legs with heads reverted. The figure's skirt has fine horizontal parallel lines; the upper part of the garment hangs down in folds at the hips. No detailing is visible. Hands and feet are not indicated. The lions have short straight tails held straight out and up from their rumps. The rear hind paw is down, while the other hind paw is raised toward the controlling figure as if clawing at it. The forepaws are short, with one at the figure's hip and one raised toward its elbow. The lions' heads are turned back. Their mouths are open. They have spiky manes with two longer spikes at the back of the head that may be mane, ears, or horns. There is no groundline.

Badly chipped along edges. Chip at shoulder of right lion. Glass light green and bubbly with whitish iridescence, especially where chipped. Some lamination.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound North City Wall, Trench 8, 1.40 below surface, 3 m N of S end of trench. This north-south trench was opened to seek the westward continuation of the Middle Persian city wall at the north edge of the mound. This seal was found beneath a level the excavator dated to the 5th to 4th century BCE based on Attic imports, and above a fine layer of burned reeds. No other finds were recorded found near it. R. S. Young (Young 1964:281) published a slightly different take on its context: "A cylinder seal of glass from the Hellenistic fillings of the robbed trench of the circuit wall of the archaic city at the north...." Since he seems to date this seal to the Hellenistic period, though (erroneously, in my opinion), he may have dated the wall based on the seal rather than the seal based on its context pottery.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 104, p. 140. Found July 29, 1963.

DISCUSSION: The theme of heroic control had a long background in the Near East and was an extremely common motif in the Achaemenid Persian heartland: see the excellent discussion, with complete references, in Garrison and Root 2001:53-60. Lions with reverted heads, like those on this seal, are relatively uncommon, however. Of the Persepolis Fortification seals, only eight are of this variety (out of 312 seals showing scenes of heroic encounters). See Garrison and Root 2001:PFS 385, 1142, 1146, 1325, 1440, 1083, 1285, and 1053 (PFS cat. nos. 38-45). This seal from Gordion is extremely simple in style compared to most of those from the heartland, but still conveys the sense of power that is essential to the image.

Spier 1992:64 comments on the popularity of glass seals during the Achaemenid period, and gives a list of examples; Buchanan and Moorey 1988:75 give a list of excavated examples.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Young 1964:281, fig. 8.

Cat. No. 36. 9784 SS 246 <fig. 46a and b> <fig. 160a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.014; W. 0.0107; H. (=Th.) 0.007.

MATERIAL: Deep blue composition.

DESCRIPTION: Squat scarab, very cleanly made. The head and prothorax make up the upper two-fifths of the body, the elytra the lower three-fifths. The head is small, with large eyes projecting out from the sides. The clypeus has a tripartite division. The suture and humeral callosities are deeply inscribed. All six legs are clearly indicated, with long hairs on them.

The sealing surface of the scarab has two crocodiles, tête-bêche, encircled by a single line. The crocodiles are simply but clearly carved, with raised nostrils as well as knobbled humps on their backs. Their tails curl down so that they almost touch the long thin nose of the other crocodile. The tail of one crocodile is a little chipped. Their legs are tucked under their bodies. Their bodies are marked by vertical striations that suggest the tough divisions of crocodile hide.

Intact, in excellent condition.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound PPB-5, Layer 5. PPB, the "Persian-Phrygian Building," is at the north end of the area excavated by Young and team. It is an elaborate, large, multi-roomed building of uncertain function. This scarab was found in the lower part of a fill which was Hellenistic in its upper levels and Late Phrygian in the lower levels. Closely associated with the scarab was 9733 P 3880, a white ground handle of a type that was first produced in the late 7th/early 6th centuries BCE and continued in use for an indeterminate amount of time.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 140, p. 94, #3. Found July 15, 1969.

DISCUSSION: This seems to be a true Egyptian scarab. On an amulet, a crocodile in Egyptian iconography could represent the god Sobek, could symbolize regeneration, or could act apotropaically to ward off evil. Two crocodiles together might be used as a punning representation for the word "sovereign" (Friedman 1998:192).

A design with scorpions tête-bêche is not uncommon at an early date, usually dating to the Saite period/later eighteenth dynasty (?), ca. 1473-1293 BCE. See the stylistic similarity of the scarab and its design to Teeter and Wilfong 2003:no. 136, which is in turn dated based on parallels to Hayes 1959:87. Another set of scorpions tête-bêche was found at Akko and dated to 1479-1190, published in Keel 1997:606 with bibliography. A pair of scorpions tête-bêche now in the British Museum, conversely, has been dated to the 10th to 8th centuries BCE; see Walters 1926:no. 157.

The use of crocodiles is unusual for an early time period, however, and suggests the scarab dates instead to the Achaemenid or Hellenistic period (E. Teeter, personal communication March 2004; and see Teeter 2002:fig. 12.6). Close parallels to the

Gordion seal in imagery and blue composition, that date to the 7th to 5th centuries BCE, come from Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931:nos. 1457, 1458); Naukratis (Petrie 1886:pl. 37, no. 11), and Nebesheh (Petrie 1888b:pl. 8, no. 30). These parallels thus correspond to the date of the deposit in which the scarab was found at Gordion.

Other examples of the scene abound. Tufnell 1984:no. 2594 publishes a version from Tell el-Ajjul, in Gaza, although the style of the crocodiles is entirely different from the one found at Gordion. For a seal from Susa similar to that from Gordion, with scorpions, apparently dating to the Achaemenid or Hellenistic period, see Amiet 1972:no. 2235. A large and elaborate scarab with a pair of cross hatched, rather tubby, crocodiles was found at Ashkelon in a Hellenistic deposit (Keel 1997:696 where it is dated earlier than its find context); also from Ashkelon comes a small scarab dating to the Achaemenid period with a crocodile resembling those on this seal (Keel 1997:718). Two crocodiles tête-bêche on the back of a scaraboid are published in Andrews 1994:fig. 54e. And an unusual juxtaposition of two crocodiles is found in a composition amulet of the goddess Neith suckling two crocodiles simultaneously, dated to the Saite period (664-525 BCE) (Andrews 1994:fig. 19b).

Cat. No. 37. YHSF 94-130 <fig. 47a and b> <fig. 161, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.019; W. 0.011.

MATERIAL: Ivory.

DESCRIPTION: A theriomorphic stamp in the shape of a monkey, split down its middle and with the outermost surface sheared off in places. A monkey squats on its haunches, its arm resting on its knee and hand raised to muzzle. Fingers, eye, ear are delicately indicated.

The sealing surface is now half missing. It apparently shows a combat scene with a small animal attacking a larger one with a long tail held up over its back. Volumes are deeply carved, without interior modeling.

Half missing.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Lower Town, Op. 27 loc 59 lot 68. This seal came from a very confused context, in a trench with Middle Phrygian and later contexts that were particularly badly disturbed by robbers' trenches.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Op 27 loc 59 lot 68, excavated in 1994. YH 40730.

DISCUSSION: The idea of a simian of some sort serving as the back of a seal had a very long history: an example of an Egyptian seal with two rather stylized baboons seated back-to-back, now in Freiburg, has been dated to the 3rd millennium BCE (Keel and Uehlinger 1990:61).

Our seal, however, shows not the baboon but the vervet monkey, squatting with its head resting on its paws in a fashion that was very common in Egyptian amulets, particularly those of the New Kingdom and later (Andrews 1994:66). The vervet monkey is common also in private tombs of the New Kingdom, where it apparently serves not just as a representation of a family pet "but also as a symbol of love and sexual fulfillment to be enjoyed in the Other Life. Presumably this is also its symbolism when it appears on the undersides of contemporary scarabs and forms the sculpted backs of scaraboids. Perhaps this amulet, based on the creature's known sexual habits, was worn as a magical sexual aid in this world and the next" (Andrews 1994:66-67).

The imagery on the bottom surface of the Gordion seal is very common during the Achaemenid period. Indeed, of seals represented by impressions on the Persepolis Fortification tablets, one entire volume (of three) is dedicated to images of animals, plants, and nonhuman scenes: most of these are animal combat scenes. See Garrison and Root Forthcoming b. This seal therefore is most likely to be an Egyptian or Egyptianizing artifact dating to the Achaemenid period, perhaps after the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 BCE.

Cat. No. 38. 1962 SS 73 <fig. 48a and b> <fig. 162, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.0225; W. 0.017; L. stone 0.018.

MATERIAL: Gray chalcedony.

DESCRIPTION: Conoid Achaemenid period stamp seal with a Neo-Babylonian worship scene. Conical in shape, with a round convex seal face and rounded tip. Pierced for suspension near top.

The seal is carved on a slightly convex face. At right, a man with beard and headdress faces left and raises an arm. His beard is indicated by three deep drill holes joined by a furrow; two more drill holes pick out his face and the bottom of his hair. Other drill holes elaborate his garment, which is a long robe with a divided skirt. In front of him are three lines surmounted by drill holes, representing the double stylus of Nabu and the spade of Marduk. Above all is a crescent moon, opening to the top. A few scratches behind his back seem to be intentional but cannot be clearly made out.

Complete. Intact, but flaw on one side of stone.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound City Wall Cut 5, Extension 2, Layer III. The trench explored the city wall at the north of the excavated area, to the west of PPB. This deposit lay between two surfaces; it was taken out without much commentary on the part of the excavator. Fragments of roof tiles and painted Phrygian pottery were found, and (importantly) the buff ware that defines the Late Phrygian period at Gordion. The seal's date thus sets it roughly contemporaneous with that of its findspot.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 27, p. 46. Found Oct. 2, 1951.

DISCUSSION: This is an Achaemenid period stamp seal with a standard Neo-Babylonian worship scene (both M. C. Root and M. B. Garrison have confirmed the date, personal communication with Root February 2004, with Garrison April 2004). It is rather simpler than some: the three lines are an abbreviation of what in more elaborate seals is the Marduk-dragon recumbent upon an altar, with the symbol of Marduk, a spear-like spade, at front and that of Nabû, a double stylus sometimes connected by two horizontal bars, behind. The abbreviation seen on this seal is common; see, e.g., Porada 1948:nos. 795a, 797, 798, 804-808; von der Osten 1934:nos. 470-497. This seal has only a crescent moon rather than a crescent and star, as one sometimes sees (see, e.g., Nunn 2000:no. 260; Moorey 1980:no. 470; and von der Osten 1934:nos. 489-496). For parallels, see, e.g., Ornan 1993:fig. 39, Avigad 1997:no. 826. Ehrenberg 1999 is the best discussion of the scene and iconography.

Seals with Neo-Babylonian imagery on stamp seals were common during the Achaemenid period. For Achaemenid period Neo-Babylonian stamp seals on the Persepolis Fortification tablets and an important discussion of the phenomenon, see Root 1998:257-261 and 2003. For those from Uruk, see Ehrenberg 1999:nos. 34-56; nos. 43 and 53 appear to be conical; for specifically Achaemenid period Neo-Babylonian stamp seals at Uruk, see Ehrenberg 2001:188-189. For Achaemenid period Neo-Babylonian worship scenes from Murashu, see Bregstein 1993:nos. 215-257; and Legrain 1925:nos. 965-968. For Ur, see Legrain 1951:nos. 656-663. For a similar seal to the Gordion one used on the bullae at Daskyleion, see Kaptan 2002:DS1. For the dating of the roof tiles found with this seal, see Glendinning 1996, 2002.

Cat. No. 39. 4083 SS 150 <fig. 49a and b> <fig. 163a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.01; L. 0.017.

MATERIAL: Glossy black stone, with some specks of light green, probably steatite.

DESCRIPTION: Scaraboid with oval face, high sides and low arched back, pierced lengthwise with large round hole drilled through from one end, polished to high gloss.

The sealing surface shows figures carefully incised, with no indication of interior modeling. The scene shows a chariot pulled by two horses, running to the left. They are represented as having one long strong neck and body, with two heads, two sets of legs, and two tails. Bridles and reins are indicated. Their eyes and muzzles are rendered by single drill holes, as is the cheek of the farther horse. Reins with bunting lead back to the charioteer; an ornate arching yoke connects the horses to the chariot. The chariot has a tall front bar and a single wheel with eight spokes. Its side bars are set at shoulder height. Three figures ride in the chariot, all bearded, the hindmost being smaller than the other two. The figure in front stands upright and is the most carefully detailed, with some indication of garment fold shown around the buttock. The second figure holds his arms forward, while the rearmost holds onto a vertical element. Above the head of the foremost figure is a triangular parasol with vertical striations. The overall impression created by the image is one of great forward movement.

Complete; slightly scratched on back, but generally very fine surface.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound filling of Wall B, W side. This seal came from the rubble interior of a later Achaemenid period building phase of the great Middle Phrygian wall that ran N-S to the west of the court inside the interior pylon of the tremendous gate structure, between the Palace Area and the Terrace Area. The excavator comments (pp. 66-72): "We start to take out Wall B, working from north to south. Under its lowest course we note at the west face the levers left in a white rubble filling by bed-beams which have rotted out. They, and the rubble in which they were embedded, overlie floor 7. ...Wall B: We take out the three upper courses of the west face, then start to take out the rubble between the faces. From this rubble fill a stamp-seal (4083 SS 150). ...Wall B: We take out the three upper courses of the east face. The filling between the two faces is entirely of white rubble and we find no more seals. One sherd, black polished."

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 61, p. 68. Found July 8, 1956.

DISCUSSION: This seal is an Assyrianizing

Achaemenid seal, probably of the 6th or 5th century. Assyrianizing Achaemenid seals abound on the Persepolis Fortification tablets. A few examples of Assyrianizing seals owned by some of the highest ranking people at Persepolis serve here as a subset to illustrate the phenomenon, which is much more widespread: the two seals of the highest official at Persepolis, Parnaka (PFS 9* and 16*), and that of the royal queen, Irtashduna (PFS 38) (Garrison 1991:7-10, 20, Garrison and Root 2001:83-85 et passim).

Most Achaemenid seals that show chariot scenes are cylinder seals, although PFS 900s may show a chariot, with one figure in it and one wearing military/hunt garb standing before it, and Buchanan and Moorey 1988:no. 521 is a stamp with an archer in a chariot, bought in Konya. Bregstein 1993:no. 195 is an example of a sealing from Murashu preserving a stamp seal that shows a human in a horse-drawn chariot being pursued by another animal. Kaptan 2002:DS 67, DS 68, and DS 85 are stamps with hunts from chariots, excavated from Daskyleion.

I am unaware of any images like the Gordion seal's in stamp seals of the Achaemenid heartland. Thus we see an adaptation of a central Achaemenid theme to a type of seal that was more familiar to those living in Phrygia. Moreover, the heartland Achaemenid chariot seals show hunts from chariots (see, e.g., examples cited above for Cat. No. 34 (7287 SS 199)). Hunt and battle scenes from the chariot are known in Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian glyptic art as well as Achaemenid, but like the glyptic chariots of the Achaemenid period they are uncommon and limited to cylinder seals (Herbordt 1992:95, with references, and 98-122). This seal from Gordion thus represents a departure from the imagery of the heartland, although it certainly draws on it.

Unlike most of the central Achaemenid seals, the Gordion seal shows a simple, perhaps pious, scene rather than a hunt. The first figure in the chariot is the largest and is under a parasol; he is clearly meant to represent the king (for the parasol, see Miller 1992). He is accompanied by two other male figures, of whom one is clearly a charioteer while the other holds a spear. This last figure is probably shorthand for the bow bearer and spear bearer who accompany the king on many of the royal reliefs at Persepolis and Naqsh-i Rustam; the clearest example is probably on the tomb of Darius I at Naqsh-i Rustam (Schmidt 1970:pl. 19). It is worth noting that no examples of the king in his chariot have yet turned up in Achaemenid relief sculpture. The seal seems to show the king engaged in some kind of activity other than the hunt scenes that are otherwise so common in Achaemenid glyptic. Thus this seal represents an important addition to our knowledge of possible imagery in Achaemenid art.

Parallels may perhaps be found in the 5th century coin imagery of Sidon, which shows the king in a chariot (see Briant 2002:607-608); Samaria, too, chose this image for its coins (Briant 2002:608). In both of these parallels, the king is accompanied by a charioteer, and the coins of Sidon include a spear bearer as well. Kaptan 2002:DS 66 is a cylinder seal that may preserve a pious image, also, again with king and charioteer in a chariot pulled at the walk.

Despite the small area the artist had to work, the seal from Gordion has remarkably detailed images with tremendous force and characterization of movement. In 1956 Porada commented on the affinity of the parasol's rendering and the eight-spoked wheel of the chariot to the reliefs of Sargon II (721-706 BCE) (Porada 1956b:353; for Sargon, see Botta and Flandin 1849-1850:pls. 63, 71, 100, 113, 142). The publication since that time of the great bulk of Achaemenid seals lets us now recognize this one as an Assyrianizing Achaemenid seal, rather than an Assyrian seal itself. The seal also shares with the inscribed limestone blocks of the Early Phrygian period the particularly long noses on humans, here rendered by a drill hole that is pulled off to one side to create a long pointed nose (for the "doodlestones," see Roller 1987; Sams 1980, 1989).

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Porada 1956b:353.

Cat. No. 40. 6546 SS 187 <fig. 50a and b> <fig. 164a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.0235; D. 0.0175; D. hole 0.0045.

MATERIAL: Flawless white alabaster with faint gray veins.

DESCRIPTION: A pedestal stamp seal without grooves, with a large high loop for suspension on top of its domed upper surface. The loop is oriented at a diagonal to the images on the sealing surface, being rotated ca. 45 degrees clockwise from vertical.

The seal's face is flat, with a scene showing heraldic rampant lions at a central vegetal element. The lions have heads reverted over their backs, with their mouths wide open to show upper and lower teeth. Their tails curl down and forward under their bellies. They have only one hind leg and foreleg each: the forelegs reach up around the floral top of the vegetal center, while their hind legs curve for-

ward in a line paralleling the curve of the seal, almost to touch at the toes. They have sharp pointed ears and spiky manes, and small eyes rendered with a single oblique drill hole. The central element is a thin spriggy tree or flower growing from between the lions' toes, with leaves curling down under their bellies and a tripartite top floral element. Between the leaves and the lions' loins are further symbols: a shallow pointed crescent at left and a tripartite element at right like a lotus flower. Around the edges of the seal are regularly spaced, small, shallow circles made with a single drill hole. Interior volumes are smooth and fairly deep, without variation in modeling.

Intact. Unscratched.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound CW1, strat. 5; W side of a late Phrygian "storeroom" in fallen stones. The pottery found with this sealstone amidst the fallen stones dates to the 4th century BCE.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 86, p. 141. Found May 21, 1961.

DISCUSSION: This seal clearly derives its shape from Middle Phrygian seals (see Boehmer 1977, 1978), but its iconography and the straight walls of the seal's base let us place it firmly in the Late Phrygian period. Its clean lines and careful spacing are exceptional.

The scene is common Achaemenid imagery. The animals and central element resemble, e.g., Bregstein 1993:no. 318 with a central leafy stalk, and nos. 319-320 without; Legrain 1925:nos. 846, 847; and Garrison and Root Forthcoming b:PFS 90.

Cat. No. 41. 2654 SS 114 <fig. 51a and b> <fig. 165, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.0115; G.D. 0.017; D. seal face 0.015.

MATERIAL: Meerschaum.

DESCRIPTION: Sugarloaf shaped seal with uneven back, set off with a sharp carination from the sides of the seal. The back is slightly wider than the base; the height and the diameter are almost equal. There is no drilled hole or other apparent means of suspension or setting.

The flat sealing face shows a winged bearded male figure facing right and holding two animals. The winged figure has no apparent clothing and walks right with the forward toe almost touching the edge of the seal. His facial features are indicated by drilled lines, with the eye a drill hole. In his right hand he holds a lion with head reversed and mouth open and snarling; in his left hand is an animal with bristly back and elongated nose (a boar?). Both animals lack tails and legs, except one hind leg held by the figure. Their eyes are indicated by simple drill holes. All figures are carved with little detail but clear sharp edges. Volumes are fairly shallow, modeling simple.

Intact but for one tiny chip from edge of seal face.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound ET-V2, north of wall J. This seal was discovered just above a floor. Found with the seal were a bronze nail with a square shaft and an ovoid head (2772 B 492), a composition object that was not kept, an Achaemenid glass eye-bead with yellow, blue, and white colors (2715 G 144), fragments of blue and yellow glass that were not kept, and a pierced translucent stone disk, possibly of mica (2716 St 199).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 39, p. 70. Found May 5, 1953.

DISCUSSION: This seal is carved of the same material and is the same shape as Cat. No. 42 (199 SS 9), although it is larger than that seal. Cat. No. 42 (199 SS 9) is, however, carved in a slightly different, more robust and skilled, style. The scene of this seal is unusual; I have found no exact parallels, although scenes of heroic control are ubiquitous on Achaemenid seals.

Meerschaum is excavated from Eskisehir, to the west of Gordion, today. It is a stone that is very soft on excavation and hardens with exposure to the air, suggesting that this seal, like Cat. No. 42 (199 SS 9), was carved at the site of excavation. Porada 1956b:353 connects it to Sardis (esp. Curtis 1925:no. 122; Dusinberre 2003a:271-272), and it is of course possible that seal-workers who created the seals found at Sardis might also have worked on this seal. The differences in shape, material, and style lead me to think we see in this seal and the Sardian ones, rather, several examples of Achaemenid iconographic koine being executed at different places.

It is not clear how the seal was suspended, nor how it would have been used.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Porada 1956b:353

Cat. No. 42. 199 SS 9 <fig. 52a and b> <fig. 166, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.010; D. 0.011.

MATERIAL: Meerschaum.

DESCRIPTION: A small sugarloaf shaped seal with the back wider than the base, pierced through for suspension. The top is a smooth shallow dome.

The height almost equals the diameter. The stone has been carefully smoothed and shows little sign of wear or use.

The scene on the sealing surface consists of a carefully positioned male wild goat (an ibex) walking right. A long curved horn sweeps back and around over an elongated ear, with eight segments to it emphatically indicated by seven barbs. The head is held erect; the shape of the muzzle and cheek are delicately carved but without any interior modelling. Eye and nose are picked out with drill holes. The neck and chest are capacious, leading to a long straight back and an erect tail. The four legs have cloven hooves and feathers at the fetlocks. A penis is clearly carved under the belly. Volumes are deep and smooth, without indication of interior modeling or distinction between muscle groups. The exceptions to this are the legs, where the legs on the opposite side to the viewer are shown as being so. The goat's right front leg is raised; the tip of its hoof stops just short of the edge of the seal. In front of it is a vegetal element with three short branches growing out and up. In the field above its tail is a kappa-like element, apparently planned with the rest of the seal rather than added as an afterthought.

Complete.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SE trench, West Cut, Layer 3, North end. The trench explored the area at the south of Young's area, near the Early Phrygian city gate. This seal was found in the trench left by a wall robber, full of small stones and evidence of burning, dating to the Hellenistic period. Given its small size, it may have been incorporated unknowingly into mudbrick or mud plaster used in the original wall construction. Or it may have been dropped by a later person who was using it as a seal or an amulet.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 2, p. 51. Found May 12, 1950.

DISCUSSION: This seal shows forceful carving, creating an image of real potency. This seal is carved of the same material and is the same shape as Cat. No. 41 (2654 SS 114). Although that seal is carved in a slightly different, more schematic, style, it is possible they come from the same workshop as well as the same source.

See discussion above, Cat. No. 41 (2654 SS 114), for meerschaum. Like that seal, this one was perhaps carved at the site of excavation.

Although goats (especially ibexes) were regular motifs in North Syrian and Achaemenid art at all times (if less so than one might have expected, given the importance of the species in the economy of the region), they are regularly shown rearing up, in pairs or nibbling at foliage, in parades, or mastered by a deity or hero. For excavated examples, see, e.g., Bregstein 1993:nos. 313-317, and Garrison and Root Forthcoming b:PFS 194s. See also Caubet 2002:221; Collon 1975:no. 224; Mallowan 1966 vol. 2:fig. 464, 471; Yon 1997:no. 56; Jidejian 2000:49; and Dusinberre 2002. One Neo-Hittite example (Beckman 1989:no. 8) has a goat running under a comet-like sign. An example of a rampant goat with a vegetal element and a crescent is Garrison and Root Forthcoming b:PFS 270s, while PFS 283s and 585s are recumbent goats with head reverted.

Our goat has no apparent parallel in these southern regions. Its raised foreleg and the kappa in the field connect it instead to western Anatolia, where the combination of wild goat and vegetal elements was common (see Dusinberre 2002 with examples and discussion; Cook and Dupont 2003:32-70). Its material, and the link to SS 114, make this assignation almost certain.

The connection between this seal and Cat. No. 41 (2654 SS 114) strengthens the suggestion it dates to the Achaemenid period. Mark Garrison confirms (personal communication April 2004 and January 2005) that its style is distinctly Achaemenid. Ibexes were of profound significance to the Achaemenid Persians (see Root 2002:191-192), and the appearance of this seal at Gordion may be connected to this importance. Porada 1956:353 also draws connections between this seal and those of Sardis, which are all Achaemenid period and later (Curtis 1925; and Dusinberre 2003a:158-171 and 264-283).

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Porada 1956b:353.

Cat. No. 43. 4492 SS 153 <fig. 53a and b> <fig. 167, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.0235; W. 0.0175; Th. 0.011.

MATERIAL: Red jasper.

DESCRIPTION: Scaraboid with oval face, with dome slightly uneven. Pierced lengthwise from one side of the stone, drilled all the way through.

The sealing face is flat, showing a grazing stag walking left. Its head is down, with eye clearly marked and some indication of bone structure visible along the nose. A pointed ear stands up behind the antlers. The antlers are broad, with six prongs: this is a fallow deer. The stag has a long neck without interior modeling or elaboration; the transition to the sloping shoulder is articulated with a clear deeply modeled volume of the shoulder, suggesting muscu-

lature. The body is broad and slightly barrel-like; again, the transition to haunch is clearly articulated. A short tail clings to the rump of the deer. Its legs are long and thin, with striations suggesting tendons and taut muscles. The legs closest to the viewer are back, while the farther legs are forward. The stone is chipped at the bottom, so that all four hooves are missing. Genitals are clearly marked. The slope of the deer's back and neck reflect the curve of the stone's face. Modeling is subtle, the relief fairly deep.

Intact, with some chipping at bottom of seal face and one chip from top of seal face.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound MW, pit under floor 4, in SE corner. The trench explored a narrow cross section through Building H and Building I. This seal was found in a pit just west of the eastern scarp of the trench in the main room of Building H, piercing through a floor. The pit was large: 0.95 x 0.75 at its mouth, and getting even wider below the surface. In addition to this jasper seal, the pit yielded an Achaemenid eye bead of blue glass with white eyes (4495 G 212) and a bronze arrow head, as well as a bronze ring fragment, a truncated biconical red stone bead, a large number of unbaked clay loomweights and several alabaster spindle whorls (4496 ST 321).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 67, p. 17. Found April 27, 1957.

DISCUSSION: The grazing fallow stag was a popular image in the late 5th century. Stags are common on Achaemenid seals, often in animal combat scenes (usually being chased by lions), but also appearing on their own. Excavated examples include Bregstein 1993:nos. 298-299 from Murashu, and Kaptan 2002:DS 104 from Daskyleion. An example of a recumbent stag on a stamp seal at Persepolis is Garrison and Root Forthcoming b:PFS 205s, while PFS 1036s shows a standing stag with reverted head.

For unexcavated examples, see, e.g., Beazley-Boardman 2002:pl. 15 nos. 74, 75 and p. 53 with many references; Boardman 2001:nos. 564-567; Richter 1968:nos. 433-435 with references; Beazley 1920:nos. 74, 75, pl. A no. 30, pl. B no. 8 and p. 65 with references; Furtwängler 1900:pl 8, no. 65 and pl. 14, no. 13; and Furtwängler 1896:pl. 14, 13. Although these are all without provenance, they seem all to have been purchased or were on the market in Athens or western Turkey.

Our seal was thus most likely a product of western Anatolia, dating to the late 5th century.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sams 1979:12, fig. 8.

Cat. No. 44. 3404 SS 134 <fig. 54a and b> <fig. 168a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.018; W. 0.0135; Th. 0.011.

MATERIAL: Red, white, and yellow banded agate.

DESCRIPTION: Scaraboid with oval face, pierced longitudinally for suspension and retaining evidence of a silver wire on which it was evidently mounted. The lines of the oval scaraboid are smooth and even, the back strongly arched.

The sealing surface of the stone is flat. A line runs around the outside of the stone, ca. 0.001 m in from the outer edge. In the middle, a lion lies facing left, with mouth open and tail held over back. The tail forks at its end, which curls up at the middle of the seal. Only two legs are shown; these have two claws each on them, carved in parallel lines slanting down and forward from the end of the legs. The haunch and shoulder are indicated clearly with separate volumes. The eye is, unusually, left in relief. The lion's ear stands straight up from a cheek bolster. Its nose is indicated by a line.

In perfect condition.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound ET-010, Layer 3. This seal was found in the corner of Building BB, at the edges of walls and floor. No associated finds were recorded.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 51, p. 111. Found May 28, 1955.

DISCUSSION: This seal seems to have been lost in the corner of a room, perhaps partly under a wall or under a textile or piece of furniture—this explains not only its findspot but its pristine condition, scarcely worn and preserving even a piece of its silver wire. Perhaps the wire broke, and the seal's owner did not notice its loss until enough later that he or she could no longer reconstruct in memory where it might have been lost.

The stone is of the particular colorful variety found near modern Küle, east of Sardis. It has been polished to a high gloss. This stone was commonly used in the Achaemenid period for the cut stone vessels, especially plates, that were so popular—various examples have been found at Sardis, and published examples were found in the Achaemenid period tombs near Usak (Özgen et al. 1996).

The figure of the lion closely resembles one in New York (Reyes 2001:no. 263); cf. also Boardman

1969:no. 1. Such crouching lions are common on Achaemenid seals; excavated examples include Bregstein 1993:nos. 282-284.

Cat. No. 45. 9347 SS 239 <fig. 55a and b> <fig. 169a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.016; W. 0.012; Th. 0.009.

MATERIAL: Lapis lazuli.

DESCRIPTION: Scaraboid with an oval face. The stone has a smoothly domed back and sides that slightly increase in circumference toward the carination. It is pierced lengthwise for suspension with a hole slightly larger than is usual, perhaps as the result of wear.

The seal's scene consists of a lion walking left, all four feet planted on the ground (which is, however, not represented by a groundline). Its tail is held up and forward over its back. Its mouth is open and toothy, and the eye is represented by a single drill hole. A small triangular ear connects to a small cheek bolster. In the field are three groups of three dots each, arranged in a triangle: one behind the lion, one before it, and one over its shoulder.

Intact, but very worn.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound PBX-1, Layer 4. This trench explored Building X, to the eastern edge of the area investigated by Young's expedition, a building possibly to be dated to the 5th century on the basis of a black figure lekythos found under it. The seal was found in the fill above the floor, within the area defined by the ashlar gypsum blocks of the building's walls. Near it were found a bronze piece of a bridle in the form of corroded bronze tubing shaped as a cross with incised lines for decoration, (9755 B 1817), and a bronze plate with attachment holes at corners, as well as a piece of ivory in the form of a broken strip 12 cm long with carved cylindrical knobs (9351 BI 504), that was probably a decorative edging for something: a bridle, a box, or a piece of furniture. These finds seem to have characterized the building: the excavator comments (p. 163): "Certain types of finds are found so consistently in connection with the floor of PBX that we may be justified in considering them part of the furnishing of this building in its latest phase. A number of ivory strips with engaged cylinders turned up in several trenches, invariably from just above or on the floor of PBX: 9351 BI 504, 9352 BI 505, 9772 BI 525, 9771 BI 524. These may have formed the decoration for a box or chest of some kind, or perhaps a rich piece of furniture. Several pieces of bronze may also have belonged to a single object, perhaps a stand: 8 lengths of rod decorated with a bead and reel pattern: 9511 B 1767, 9782 B 1928; 2 cube-shaped joints 9464 B 1769; 1 decorated cross-piece 9755 B 1817." Despite the excavator's analysis, all of these finds are also consistent with horse trappings. It is possible, therefore, that Building X may have served as a stable or a tack room.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 142, p. 39. Found May 26, 1969.

DISCUSSION: This stone is very much worn, although lapis is a fairly hard stone, and it probably therefore saw much use. Despite its worn nature, the carving retains clear indications of the exceptional virtuosity that once characterized it: the spacing of the lion in the seal, the careful articulation of volumes, and the delicate rendering of its face all make it clear this piece was carved by a master artisan.

Lions, often single and walking as on this seal, are extremely common images on Achaemenid seals. Excavated examples include Bregstein 1993:nos. 279-285, Kaptan 2002:DS 46. For a lion with solar elements on a stamp seal from Persepolis, see Garrison and Root Forthcoming b:PFS 908s.

Cat. No. 46. 2260 SS 90 <fig. 56a and b> <fig. 170, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.H. 0.012; L. stamp 0.013; W. stamp 0.009.

MATERIAL: Clear glass.

DESCRIPTION: Pyramidal stamp seal with octagonal face, pierced across its longer dimension for suspension. The carinations between faces are still clearly preserved, with very crisp lines forming the edges.

On the face is carved a bull lying left with its tail curling up and back over its haunch and its head reverted over its back. The folds of its skin at the neck, back, and haunch are indicated by delicate parallel grooves. Its single horn is long and graceful. Its eye and hooves are picked out with drill holes, and possibly also its scrotum.

Broken across suspension hole. Seal face now bubbly, perhaps from loss of iridescence.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SE trench-NW, Roger, Floor 6. It is a little unclear from the excavator's notes if this seal was found above or below Floor 6, a floor paved with flat stones. The finds listed together with it seem to fall into two distinct categories: a 3rd century set of artifacts, and an early 4th century set. This seal belongs in the earlier category. The most probable interpretation of the fieldbook is that the seal came from below Floor 6, a deposit dating to the early 4th cen-

tury, and that a Hellenistic intrusion cutting into the fill that dated to the time of the floor's construction was not noticed at the time of excavation. Associated finds include a black glaze vessel with stamped palmettes (2202 P 690), a rim fragment of a 4th century red figure column krater, a bronze button, and a bronze arrowhead.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 21, p. 95. Found Nov. 5, 1951.

DISCUSSION: This seal is of clear glass with exceptionally crisp lines on its sides, although its sealing face is now badly weathered. The bull has been expertly carved to fit in the space provided. Bulls were very common images on Achaemenid seals; see, e.g., Bregstein 1993:no. 261 (recumbent) and nos. 262-278 (walking). For other excavated examples, see Garrison and Root Forthcoming b. For mostly unexcavated examples, see Boardman 1970b. As is clear from the reliefs and column capitals at Persepolis, bulls had associations with kingship as well as strength; see Root 1979 and for the meaning of the bull Root 2002. This seal and the other glass pyramidal stamps thus include imagery that links glyptic art directly and strongly to the art of kingship developed at Persepolis during the late 6th century BCE.

Cat. No. 47. 2626 SS 113 <fig. 57a and b> <fig. 171a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.019; Seal: 0.213 x 0.011.

MATERIAL: White chalcedony.

DESCRIPTION: Pyramidal stamp seal with octagonal face, pierced for suspension, worn to the extent that lines between faces are now smooth and round.

The sealing face is flat, showing a winged quadruped (a griffin) walking left. The animal has bird's legs in front and feline legs behind, a long feline tail that curves up over its rump, and a narrow wing that curls up and forward over its back. Its long neck has spikes on it, and its head apparently has horns. It may have a knob in front of these horns, or possibly another spike. Its nose bristles with fangs, spikes, or whiskers, indicated by two parallel lines. Its mouth is open and its tongue hangs out slightly. The muzzle looks a little like a pelican's beak; the effect is to make the animal look almost as if it were smiling.

Complete but much worn, with a few tiny cracks.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound ET-02, soft brown fill; below ashy layer, south part of trench at ca. 2.85 m. This seal was found beneath a dirt floor on which was found a bronze coin of Alexander III (C 390). The context pottery of the fill under this floor, including a white ground lekythos with an ivy pattern (2638 P 865), dates to the third quarter of the 5th century. Found directly with the seal ("same location," according to the excavator) were a bronze "button," the lekythos, and a trilobate arrowhead. A black clay bead was also described as coming from the fill.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 38, p. 39. Found April 27, 1953.

DISCUSSION: Stamp seals with isolated monsters like this one were extremely common in Achaemenid Anatolia. See Dusinberre 2003a:158-171 and 264-283. The pyramidal stamp seal is, of course, a popular Achaemenid Anatolian shape as well; see Boardman 1970b, 1976, and 1998.

Cat. No. 48. 1024 SS 44 <fig. 58a and b> <fig. 172, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.H. 0.015; L. seal 0.0125; W. 0.009.

MATERIAL: Light green translucent glass with white incrustation.

DESCRIPTION: Pyramidal stamp seal with octagonal face, broken at the height of suspension hole. Edges between faces of pyramid clear and still fairly sharp.

The face is slightly convex, and the scene consists of a winged lion, seated facing left. Its mouth is open, and its nose has two short spikes sticking up from the tip. An eye is indicated by a drill hole. A large triangular ear stands straight up. The mane is visible in front of and behind the ear, indicated by spiky lines that are short over the brow and longer over the neck. The lion raises one clawed forepaw before it, while the other rests on one of the faces of the seal. It sits on a clawed hindpaw. Its tail is lifted behind it and forks at the end, with a cross bar joining the forks. Its wing curves around from the top of the front leg, so that the arch of the bottom part of the wing reflects a shoulder. The wing curves up and then forward, with feathers indicated by lines off the curved line of the wing front. These feathers are horizontal at the bottom but change angle to project up and forward at the tip of the wing. Gentle modeling of swelling volumes characterizes the carving of forms on this seal.

Broken across at height of string hole. Incrustation chipped. Mended from several pieces.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SE trench-N, cut N-2-C, fill in pit through floor 2. This seal was found in a large pit dating to the Hellenistic period, discovered in a trench explor-

ing the area above the monumental Phrygian gate. The pit had a soft brown fill with much lime or other white substance as well as animal bones; it produced quantities of pottery, almost entirely coarse and including many fragments of broken pithos. Some sherds of Hellenistic black glazed pottery provide a firm terminus post quem for the pit, however. Other catalogued finds from the pit included a section from the neck of a black glazed pot of very fine fabric, inscribed with small incised letters "ΣΩΚΑΟ" (1056 I 44), and a small probably female figurine carved of soft white stone (gypsum?) (1029 St 90).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 18, p. 57. Found May 6, 1951.

DISCUSSION: Although the seal is certainly not "Graeco-Persian" in style, certain stylistic elements such as the rendering of the tail, as well as the image itself, connect it with seals found at Sardis and dating to the Achaemenid period. See Dusinberre 2003a:158-171 and 264-283. The pyramidal stamp seal is, as we have already seen, a popular Achaemenid Anatolian shape as well; see Boardman 1970b, 1976, and 1998. Spier 1992:64 comments on the popularity of glass seals during the Achaemenid period and gives a list of examples.

Cat. No. 49. 1469 SS 56 <fig. 59a and b> <fig. 173, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.019; W. 0.013.

MATERIAL: Cream colored composition, glazed green to look like serpentine.

DESCRIPTION: Scaraboid with oval face, pierced longitudinally for suspension. The sides rise vertically from the sealing face, and the back is gently rounded.

The seal face is flat, its scene showing a winged quadruped, probably a horned lion-griffin. It sits facing left, with its head turned back over its shoulder to the right. Its mouth is open, and two horns or tufts sprout from the back of its head. Its neck is picked out with short lines that may indicate a mane. Only two legs are shown: one front, and one hind (now largely missing). Its tail is short and straight. A long thin wing rises from its shoulder, curving gradually upwards to frame the open mouth of the animal. Feathers are indicated by parallel striations at the bottom that fan out as the wing curves toward its tip. The interior volumes of the animal are smoothly and shallowly modeled, with no variation in depth or indication of detailing.

A large dot is carved in the field behind the animal's back. A smaller dot in front of its chest is much shallower and may be intentional or the result of wear.

Chipped on seal side at both ends near suspension hole.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound East trench, Sec. 4-C, Kultoprak below courtyard level. Found in a pit filled with ashy material, apparently dating to the Hellenistic period. The only finds mentioned from this deposit were our seal and a small bronze ring.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 14, p. 115. Found June 26, 1951.

DISCUSSION: Although the material and kind of animal portrayed link this seal to the previous one, stylistically it has nothing in common with it. The way the seal has broken at the suspension hole suggests it may have been yanked off of its string or wire in antiquity.

Cat. No. 50. 1975 SS 75 <fig. 60a and b> <fig. 174, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.H. 0.012; W. 0.015; Th. 0.0135.

MATERIAL: Pale blue glass with milky iridescence.

DESCRIPTION: Steep pyramidal stamp seal with octagonal face, worn at edges, with sealing face flat. Pierced longitudinally for suspension.

The sealing face shows heraldic rampant lions with reverted heads. They each have one foreleg and one hind leg shown, with forepaws indicated by a drill hole. Their tails are held up over their backs. They have spiky manes and open mouths, with the ends of their jaws emphasized by drill holes. Each lion has two pointed ears and a round eye. Their interior volumes are left unmoulded. Between them is a couchant goat with head reverted over its back. Its horn curves back over a small ear. Its eye and muzzle are picked out with drill holes, as are its hooves. It has a short tail. Some traces of interior modeling are preserved at its neck and haunch.

Worn at edges. Broken at suspension hole, where edges of break are still very sharp.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: SE trench–NW, Trench D, floor 2. This trench was located in the center of Young's excavation area. The seal was retrieved from a hard packed dirt floor dating to the Hellenistic period, along with a Macedonian coin dating to 286-277 BCE. Also found were various bronze fragments, Hellenistic sherds including a fragment of a West Slope kantharos dating to the late 4th century BCE, black

glaze ware, and local gray ware shallow bowls. Some gypsum fragments, a great deal of cooking ware, and various iron nails were also reported.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 21, p. 40. Found Oct. 1, 1951.

DISCUSSION: This seal is a characteristic Achaemenid scene and shape. See, e.g., Bregstein 1993:nos. 318-320.

The goat between the feet of the rampant lions makes the image as complicated as, say, Cat. No. 40, 6546 SS 187, and demonstrates the widespread continuity of Achaemenid aesthetic at Gordion. Given its findspot and the wear on its edges, it seems altogether likely the seal continued being worn into the Hellenistic period and was lost only when it broke from its suspension.

Cat. No. 51. 2625 SS 112 <fig. 61a and b> <fig. 175, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Th. 0.009; L. 0.018; W. 0.015.

MATERIAL: Deep blue-green glass.

DESCRIPTION: Flat oval scaraboid with oval face, pierced longitudinally for suspension.

The sealing surface is flat, carved in shallow intaglio with a dolphin swimming left. The dolphin's long sinuous body arches with its bipartite tail moving up. Its head has a pronounced melon, while its bottle nose protrudes sharply out from the bottom. Faint traces of a flipper and a dorsal fin are preserved. Much of the upper part of the field is blank.

Complete, fairly good condition. Glass partially covered by a milky iridescence, with some incrustation left in seal. Somewhat laminated.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound ET-02, below upper fill, Center, at about 1.9 m. This trench was laid out above the Middle Phrygian citadel gate. The seal was found beneath the uppermost floor in the trench, along with a bronze buckle or hinge and near a small bone spoon (2599 BI 192).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 38, p. 35. Found April 25, 1953.

DISCUSSION: Boardman 2001:no. 506 provides a close parallel dated to the latter half of the 5th century (?). Cf. the ringstone with a dolphin, Osborne 1912:343, for a rather close—if somewhat more sinuous and long bodied—parallel to this seal. The closest parallels on coins (those of Zancle and Syracuse) date to the 5th and 4th centuries (see Kraay 1966:nos. 104-124). The dolphin motif gained great popularity in glyptic art during the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE (Plantzos 1999:99); examples dating to this time period are Plantzos 1999:nos. 697 and 698. Our seal from Gordion resembles the early examples in Boardman and on coins more closely than the late examples in Plantzos, and should probably be dated to the earlier 4th century BCE.

Cat. No. 52. 6547 SS 188 <fig. 62a and b> <fig. 176, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.022; W. 0.0115; Th. 0.0095.

MATERIAL: Almost clear, slightly greenish glass.

DESCRIPTION: Thin scaraboid with oval face, unpierced. The back is plain, slightly convex.

On the face, inside a raised ridge margin around the edge, is a crab, facing one of the long sides. It is positioned neatly in the center of the seal. Eight articulated legs are clearly rendered. The crab's body is divided into segments by very fine lines. Its pincers are raised above its head, thick, meaty, and open for action.

Somewhat chipped at edges. Smooth bubbly white hard iridescence.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound W2S3, below Level 3. This trench was at the northern part of that excavated by Young's expedition. The seal was found under a floor, along with many Hellenistic and earlier artifacts listed (and drawn) by the excavator. An unusual amount of glass was noted, most of it probably Achaemenid period. The mixed nature of the deposit suggests sloping layers. The excavator describes the finds (p. 143): "Below Floor 3: A stone stopper. A few pieces of brown glaze striped ware. An Hellenistic bowl with reserved bands, red-brown glaze inside. Rim band and traces of smeared decorative motifs in same on buff ground outside. (p. 145): A baked loomweight, a small bronze ring, piece of light green translucent glass with horizontal ridges; a piece of yellow glaze inlay; fragments of two coarse casseroles; part of Theseus and Minotaur architectural terracotta with red and black paint preserved (11463 A 312); v. fine handle of a black polished pitcher; c. 150 cm E of W trench face, 400 cm N of S trench face, a glass seal with crab (6547 SS 188); at same level, a glass bead, large hole: buff ground with blue-white-green concentric circles. 300 cm. S of N trench face, 150 E of W trench face (6465 G 262) [this is an Achaemenid eye bead]."

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 87, p. 145. Found May 7, 1961.

DISCUSSION: Boardman 2001:no. 655 provides an exact parallel in green glass, from Beirut, which the author places in the 4th century. An almost

exact parallel, in carnelian, turned up on the art market in the Syrian coastal city of Amrit and was published in Nunn 2000:no. 184 and bibliography, where she characterizes it as "East Greek." This seal was not from controlled excavations so does not help us much in determining a cultural context for the motif. A similar seal, in sard, was published by Richter 1920:264, without provenance. See also Furtwängler 1900:pl. 45, no. 69 and 1896:nos. 5855-5859; and Imhoof-Blumer and Keller 1889:pl. 24, 27.

The crab is of course a symbol on the coins of various poleis; see, e.g., 5th- and 4th-century Akragas (Kraay 1966:nos. 168-175; Brett 1974:nos. 221-237); 4th-century Kos (Forrer 1976b:nos. 6620-6643; Brett 1974:nos. 2018-2017). The comparanda suggest that this crab should date to the 4th century and hence to the late Achaemenid period or, possibly, early Hellenistic period.

Cat. No. 53. 6800 SS 192 <fig. 63a and b> <fig. 177, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.0125; G.P.W. 0.008; Th. 0.005.

MATERIAL: Dark opaque blue glass.

DESCRIPTION: A flat scaraboid with oval face, pierced along its long axis with a fine suspension hole.

The seal face is flat, with imagery showing a rider on a horse galloping right, holding a spear in his right hand. His feet appear below the horse's belly. The horse wears a bridle. The rider holds the reins in his left hand, while his spear is raised in his right hand to plunge down to the ground just behind the horse's forelegs. A flowing form behind his back shows the fluttering folds of his chlamys. The horse holds its tail out behind like a flame; its head is large and well shaped. The modeling is deep and volumes full, if not particularly differentiated from each other.

Complete but for bit broken from top in antiquity. Glass now gray and creamy, with iridescence at breaks.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound TBT-7a, Layer 2, center of trench. This seal was found above a floor that was only partially preserved, in a trench that was just above Building J. Found with the seal were an almost intact 4th-century Chian transport amphora (6789 P 2617), a Thasian amphora, and a Hellenistic terracotta figurine of a woman's head (6843 T 90).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 93, p. 49. Found June 23, 1961.

DISCUSSION: This seal is large enough that it was probably mounted on a bracelet, rather than a ring. Comparanda demonstrate it dates to the 5th to 4th century BCE. See, e.g., Boardman 2001:nos. 671 and 672, both gold finger rings with galloping horsemen that resemble ours, dated to the classical period. See also the horses in Boardman 2001:nos. 475-577; Zazoff 1983:pl. 34 nos. 12 and 13; Richter 1968:nos. 418-419; Walters 1926:no. 550, 588; and Osborne 1912:pl. 7, no. 10. The cape of the rider in Richter 1968:no. 333 is similar to the Gordion horseman's. The Hellenistic glass seal, Berges 2002:no. 259, has much more pronounced modeling and heavier proportions of horse and man than the Gordion seal. Kelenderis, in Cilicia, minted coins between 450 and 400 BCE that recall the Gordion seal, although the proportions are rather different and the rider sits sideways and wears no chlamys; see, e.g., Brett 1974:nos. 2112-2116. The coins of Taras dating to the 340s and 330s also resemble this seal in some regards, although the horses on the coins are less full of vitality than the Gordion horse, and the rider bears shield and javelins rather than wearing a chlamys. See, e.g., Kraay 1966:no. 311. This seal thus probably dates to the 5th or 4th century, although it may be Hellenistic.

Cat. No. 54. 9870 SS 249 <fig. 64a and b> <fig. 178a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.046; Stamp L. 0.071; W. 0.047.

MATERIAL: Handmade of fairly fine clay left lumpy and untreated on top surfaces. Fired gray-buff. Core unknown.

DESCRIPTION: Stamp with rhomboid face. This seal is built up on top to a lumpy cylindrical peg for holding in hand. The sides of the face are trimmed to a neat vertical. The peg on top is flattened.

The seal face is a lozenge crossed by 4 grooves in both directions parallel to the sides, yielding 25 smaller lozenges. Small irregular oval (?) gouges are dug into centers of all marginal lozenges and in the center one. The sealing surface is flat, as if made on a hard surface and trimmed to diamond shape. Grooves were incised with triangular ended instrument, probably metal (it was apparently hard); the gouges were also probably made with the same instrument. The seal was probably trimmed when leather hard, as no clay has gooshed up around the edges of the grooves or at conjunctions of lines. Also, the gouges look like they were carved into hardish material. The upper part of the stamp was

flattened into flat edges on two sides but not on the other two. Perhaps it was pushed up against flat edges, such as pieces of wood.

Complete and in good condition. Perhaps some of gouges on face are chipped somewhat.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound WCW-4, Layer 6. This trench explored the northwestern part of Young's area, coming down on a large thick wall just behind Building PPB: the city wall at the northern part of the mound. The deposits excavated as "layer 6" formed a deep layer, of which the various parts apparently dated to the early Late Phrygian period. Diagnostic finds from this deposit include a glorious black polished trefoil jug (9880 P 3925) and a Little Master cup dating ca. 550-525 BCE (9917 P 3944). Additional finds included fragments of a lydion, fragments of painted plaster, fibulae, and fragments of roof tiles. As the trench proceeded downward, it began to expose the squared blocks of the wall that ran by PPB. Much of the saved context pottery from this lower part is Middle Phrygian, but the Little Master cup mentioned already was found with our seal.

This seal was found in a rubble structure constructed up against the large wall. The finds suggest it may have been part of a workshop. The excavator records (pp. 152-154): "Finds layer 6: all within the rubble structure: 1) iron ring in 3 frags with diam 0.037 (9890 ILS 599); 2) drum-shaped spindle whorl; 3) banded pot frag; 4) 62 small bronze nails all about 0.03 m but some are broken. All found together along with 5 iron nails and a small bronze object; 5) one bronze object, that may be a burnisher; 6) 2 iron frags of indeterminate nature (9949 ILS 610); 7) one handle with notches on the end (9922 ILS 606); 8) Attic black-figure frag with bow tail (9917 P 3944); 9) stamper (9870 SS 249); 10) long iron piece 11) unusual handle; 12) strainer frag with holes; 13) 1 piece orange burnished ware; 14) orange fabric sherd with orange design pattern. All the finds listed today are from inside the crude rubble shape that is emerging in the corner of the trench."

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 141, p. 153. Found Aug. 4, 1969.

DISCUSSION: This terracotta seal, like Cat. No. 30 (8362 SS 224), is of uncertain use. It might have been used to stamp pots, bricks, bread, or another substance of pliable nature from which large things were made.

For the date of the roof tiles in the late Middle Phrygian period and later, the 5th century on, see Glendinning 1996 and 2002, esp. 2002:30.

Cat. No. 55. 4536 SS 156 <fig. 65a and b> <fig. 179, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.022; W. 0.018; Th. 0.005. Height original seal 0.0135.

MATERIAL: Unfired finely levigated pinkish clay.

DESCRIPTION: A clay tab. The sealing is approximately oval in shape, slightly concave on impressed surface. The clay was impressed in the palm of someone's hand: on its back are clearly visible the whorls and creases of a palm.

The impression shows the seal that made it was a cylinder ca. 0.0135 tall, with a diameter of roughly 0.0072. It shows a mounted figure hunting a wild goat: at left, a man wearing Persian military/hunt garb brandishes a spear above his head with his right hand as he rides a galloping horse to the right. He wears on his head a cap with mouth flaps drawn over his mouth, while the crest of the cap flies behind him. Only one foot is shown. The horse has a topknot and a braided mane, and a tail wrapped at its top. It is shown with reins. In front of the horse a goat gallops right with long curved horns, both hind feet on the ground. There is no groundline. Modeling is smooth, with shallow volumes and little interior variation.

Chipped at right edge, broken down middle.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound Q2, pit K in level 3. This trench ran a narrow N-S cross-section above and through Buildings J and K. The sealing was found in a pit just to the west of a later house, a pit described by the excavator as "flask-shaped" and hence apparently narrow and deep, widening slightly below the surface. It was filled with ashy fill and with many sherds, mostly not kept. In addition to the sealing were found in this pit a bronze ear spoon (4650 B 772) and parts of a red figure krater by the Mannerist Painter, dating to the second quarter of the 5th century BCE (4543 P 1691).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 46, p. 79. Found May 6, 1957.

DISCUSSION: Hunt scenes with a mounted hunter in a free field composition are common in Achaemenid glyptic. On the Fortification tablets, PFS 51 is an example showing the image's long history. PFS 51 is an antique seal, used on the Fortification tablets by the royal woman Irdabama, showing a mounted hunt after onagers; for the seal, see Root 1991 and 2003b:9, and Garrison and Root Forthcoming a. For mounted hunts from Murashu, see Bregstein 1993:nos. 145-169; 157 is a goat hunt.

For an example of a mounted goat hunt from Phoenicia, see Nunn 2000:no. 270.

The purpose of isolated seal impressions like this one has caused some discussion. See, e.g., Marcus 1996:16, with extensive references. I agree with Gibson 2002:68, however. He counters previous arguments, claiming such impressions did not after all function as "trial pieces" to see how a cylinder seal was developing as it was carved. He suggests, "I think, rather, that such items were used as a kind of message device, perhaps in cases in which a sender did not want to write a note but was entrusting the information to the bearer of the bit of clay. This solution is like the sending of a signet ring with an oral message, well known in such perilous times as the rule of Henry VIII or Elizabeth I in England. Or, they could be accounting devices, a kind of token, sealed by someone who took something away from or left something with an official. Perhaps the token was to be broken or returned when the transaction was finished."

This sealed tab from Gordion thus demonstrates that the site was a place where at least some aspects of communication were indeed taking place with the aid of seals. For a (controversial) argument that the sealed anepigraphic tablets from Persepolis might have functioned in a somewhat similar vein, see Root 1997.

Cat. No. 56. 10902 SS 272 <fig. 66a and b> <fig. 180, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.014; W. 0.0125; Th. 0.002.

MATERIAL: Impressed clay, very finely levigated.

DESCRIPTION: A round seal impression: this thin oval of fine clay was pressed against a slight depression in wood. The grains are clearly visible on the back of the sealing, running across from left to right.

The sealing preserves the impression, in relief, of a seal carved showing a nude female three-quarters to the left, taking a short step to the left with her left leg ahead. Her back is slightly arched backward, and her left arm is raised and bent to place her hand in back of her head, perhaps holding up her hair which hangs free in back to the right. Her right arm may be behind her body. Her face is shown in three-quarter view. Very delicate modeling of volumes emphasizes a slim yet voluptuous body.

Edges split in a few places.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound CC3D, pit 7, cutting through Floor 5. This pit in a trench at the western edge of Young's excavated area included a large pithos standing upright, with a stone slab covering the mouth (11021 P 4513). The fill (of pithos or pit was not indicated by the excavator) was a soft black earth with little bone in it. Of particular interest from this pit were a sherd from a 4th-century Attic red figure skyphos (12794 P 5803), and a discoid loomweight like SS 198, SS 166, and SS 243 except without a seal impression (10903 MC 298). This sealing was found at the bottom of the pit, along with "much of a broken kneading trough" and the base of another storage vessel, set at the very bottom of the pit.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 164, p. 49. Found July 8, 1973.

DISCUSSION: Although the pit in which this sealing was found includes Hellenistic objects, I have placed this sealing in the Late Phrygian period (probably toward the end of it) because of extant comparanda. The image conveys a remarkable sensuality. I suppose it is therefore possible either that this impression served the kind of legitimating function suggested for Cat. No. 54 (4536 SS 156), or that it was valued for its imagery alone. For other examples of isolated seal impressions left by round seal bezels, see Konuk and Arslan 2000:nos. 195-258.

This interesting little sealing preserves on its back parallel striations that suggest it was impressed against wood. I would like to suggest it may have sealed a small wooden box—a particularly nice thought for a sealing found at Gordion, the wooden furniture capital of the ancient world! For sealing practices, see Zettler 1992, Herbordt 1992, Marcus 1996.

Moorey 1980:85 comments on bezel rings:

"The regular appearance of the bezel ring in the Near East coincided with the Achaemenid Empire.... The finger ring with bezel designs gained popularity as first the cylinder seal, and then the traditional forms of Near Eastern stamp-seal, gradually passed from common usage through the Achaemenid period. Impressions made by ring bezels among the 5th century Murashu archives from Nippur and the coffin hoard from Ur are generally of pointed ovals (Legrain 1925:pl. XXXVIff.; Woolley 1962:nos. 701 ff.); the more rounded bezels seem to be later (Boardman 1970a:322)."

The nude or virtually nude female, arching her back and turning to face the gaze of the viewer, was popular on Greek seals of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. See, for example, the "dancing girl" on a gold ring in the Metropolitan Museum, Richter 1920:no. 36; another in the Getty, Spier 1992:34, no. 52; the finger rings and seal in Boardman 2001:nos. 710,

711, 861; or the example from south Russia, now in the Hermitage, Osborne 1912:317. Naked females, apparently just arisen from the bath and standing in a similar position, are also common: one that may serve as an exemplum of the type is Richter 1968:no. 237, with comparanda and references. See also Osborne 1912:340.

Cat. No. 57. 5631 SS 170 <fig. 67a and b> <fig. 181, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.H. 0.067; Est. D. base 0.107; H. stamp 0.021.

MATERIAL: Red coarse ware.

DESCRIPTION: Fragment of base and lower wall of large coarse red pot with flat round base, straightish sides.

On lower wall, near base, an oval stamp impressed by a seal depicting two figures wrestling or boxing, standing on a groundline. The composition is balanced, with the forces of the figures bracing back and straining forward at the same time. They grapple with their right arms; their left arms are raised to slug the opponent.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound EML-3W, Layer 4. The excavator recorded no specific finds from this deposit but dated it to ca. 400-325 BCE.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 74, p. 113. Found August 20, 1958.

DISCUSSION: Wrestlers turn up on the coins of Aspendos and Selge in the 4th to 2nd centuries BCE (Forrer 1976b:nos. 7313-7320, 7430-7432; Brett 1974:nos. 2096-2101, 2106-2107; Hohlfelder 1972:no. 80; Kraay 1966:nos. 663-665; and Mørkholm 1959:nos. 218-224). This impression therefore does not help to date the deposit in which it was found, but it is consistent with the date suggested by the excavator.

Cat. No. 58. 7901 SS 213 <fig. 68a and b> <fig. 182, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.H. sherd 0.038 m; G.P.H. stamp 0.02; W. 0.016.

MATERIAL: Finely levigated gray handle.

DESCRIPTION: Lower part of a small gray ware band handle, stamped at the join to a closed vessel.

The stamp is oval, left by a seal with a slightly convex sealing surface and showing the infant Herakles grappling with two snakes. He is naked, facing toward the viewer but moving right, with a snake held in each outstretched arm. The snakes bend toward him as if to bite him. The one in his right arm has its tail twisted around his calf. He raises his left leg to the left, with knee bent.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound TB-7A, Layer 4, Ash fill under robbed Persian wall. This fill, under the northern wall of Building T, contained numerous artifacts apparently all of the Late Phrygian period. In addition to a broken bronze fibula and a complete one of the delicate late variety (8141 B 1537), there emerged a turquoise glass bead and many potsherds. Particularly diagnostic among the sherds was a local "fruitstand" (7946 P 3193), several pattern burnished vessels, and a coarse handmade miniature pot (7862 P 3168).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 109, p. 115. Found May 21, 1965.

DISCUSSION: The image looks very much like the obverse of the coins minted by the federation of Ephesos, Rhodes, Knidos, Iasos and Samos between 394 and 387 (see, e.g., Forrer 1975b:nos. 5835, 5836) and should probably be dated to a similar time.

Cat. No. 59. 1842 SS 69 <fig. 69> <fig. 183, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. dim. 0.101; L. seal 0.023.

MATERIAL: Stamped potsherd.

DESCRIPTION: A high ring base of a gray ware burnished bowl. Under the base, a circular stamp shows in relief three birds facing right, on three ivy leaves tied together beneath.

Broken across and around the ring.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SET-W, Cut IIIA, Below Floor 2. This base was found in a pit together with many other objects. The excavator lists them (pp. 28, 33): "objects pit under floor 2. One alabastron broken at mouth and somewhat remodeled; 1 iron arrowhead; 1 iron knife blade, 2 3-flanged arrowheads; 2 double flanged arrowheads;1 bronze coin; 2 bronze nails; 1 glass bead; 1 black glaze bowl graffiti on the bottom AN; 1 red jug sherd legs of man, part of wings covered a bit by white paint; 1 graffiti sherd on brownish burnished open mouth fragment; small black pot,1 bronze bit; 1 3-flanged arrowhead; black burnished ring base fragment with seal impression from incised seal; 1 gray burnished cooking pot horizontal handles; 1 black burnished sherd, plastic headquarters of animal." No further mention is made of the coin, which may have been too badly deteriorated to clean and identify. The presence of the trilobate arrow-

heads and the probable rhyton protome have led me to suggest this pit dates to the Late Phrygian period, but it may be rather later.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 26, p. 33.

DISCUSSION: I was unable to see this potsherd in Ankara, and am unable to say anything further about it based on the rather out-of-focus photograph in the Gordion archives.

Cat. No. 60. 10175 SS 254 <fig. 70> <fig. 184, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.H. 0.136; D. rim 0.107-0.112; stamp 0.015 x 0.011.

MATERIAL: Fine slightly gritty clay, well slipped, burnished with wide strokes on the outside, hand smoothed with the left hand on the inside. Fired tannish buff through the core, oranger on the surfaces.

DESCRIPTION: Fragment of an amphora, with stamped impression. The sherd is broken obliquely across the shoulder; one handle is gone. The shoulder slopes roundly up into a fairly short neck, with everted rim, beveled on exterior and ca. horizontal underneath. All sharp edges are rounded a little. A thin wide band handle is plainly attached just under rim and (probably) high on shoulder.

Stamp on top of handle (hardly arched): in a lightly pressed oval, a Nike (?) walking right. One or more short wings are shown. In her raised right hand she may hold an object, and perhaps another in the lowered left. The stamp is difficult to make out; this interpretation is tentative.

All of stamp preserved.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound TB8S-2, refill of robber's trench in Persian Enclosure Wall. This wall was just north of Building W. Along with this stamped sherd were found some Lydian imports, three black polished fragments, a gray burnished fruitstand, and several Bronze Age sherds.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 151, p. 180. Found June 28, 1971.

Cat. No. 61. 9690 SS 242 <fig. 71a and b> <fig. 185, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.H. 0.24; Est. D. inside neck 0.29; L. stamp 0.015; W. stamp 0.012.

MATERIAL: Stamped pithos sherd. Heavy fabric of coarse clay with gravel temper, hand smoothed and burnished with a few random strokes. Fired light gray-brown at core, blackish on surfaces.

DESCRIPTION: A large rim section of a pithos, with a triangular piece of attached shoulder, preserving one stamped impression. The shoulder of the vessel bulges roundly. The rim is thick, heavy, and flattened on top with everted torus. There is no ledging.

A small rectangular stamp seal was impressed upside-down under the rim of the pithos. It shows a horned quadruped facing left. All four legs and a long straight tail are shown. The head is held slightly aloft; the horns sweep back over the animal's back. There is no interior modeling.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound PPB-1, Level 5. This pithos was associated with a floor (Level 4 floor): most of it was preserved, but as it was broken it was not kept. This sherd seems to have been the only one stamped (and therefore kept). Also from the floor was a sherd of buff clay painted with matte brown triangles. From under the floor came pottery that included mostly plain and coarse wares, with some black polished and red-buff sherds.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 140, p. 8. Found May 21, 1969.

DISCUSSION: This sherd provides an example of the Phrygian practice of stamping pots for decoration continuing all the way into the Late Phrygian period. The deer or goat that the stamp represents ties in well with the imagery on the sealstones found at Gordion in this period as well.

Cat. No. 62. 11326 SS 280 <fig. 72> <fig. 186, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.H. 0.045; G.P.W. across ring 0.031; L. seal 0.03; W. base 0.25.

MATERIAL: Bronze.

DESCRIPTION: This is probably not a seal, but rather a furniture finial or a handle. If it was a seal with a ring for suspension, the outer half has been torn away. The "ring" is, however, really squarish, with definite shoulders. In section it is convex on the outside and straight on the inside. The neck between the loop, or arms, and the base, or seal, is also squarish, decorated with irregularly spaced sharp knobs in a line. The base part of this artifact is slightly conical, with an irregular edge; its face, or bottom, is a flattish mass of lumps. If it was indeed a seal, it is entirely illegible now.

Broken and diseased.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound WCW-14, cleaning scarp below floor 4. This trench was at the northwest part of the area explored by Young's excavations and exposed the inner face of the city wall where it jogged to the south. Also from directly under floor 4 in this trench came a red

figure sherd dating to the early 5th century BCE, showing a boy's neck and arm, a trilobate bronze arrowhead, and a sherd of blue glass with yellow stripes (10935 G 377).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 162, p. 109. Found July 9, 1973.

DISCUSSION: Probably not a seal.

Hellenistic (330-150 BCE) (Cat. Nos. 63-95)

Cat. No. 63. 3098 SS 127 <fig. 73a and b> <fig. 187a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.032; seal face 0.018 x 0.0165.

MATERIAL: Gypsum.

DESCRIPTION: A tall pyramidal stamp with square face, with a round hole for suspension about two-thirds of the way up the shaft. Two sets of grooves running around the shaft divide it into thirds. The upper grove runs right at the bottom of the suspension hole. The corners of the square shaft are all rounded.

The seal face is flat, its imagery consisting of a series of lines. Some of these are carved to have a wedge shape, but this is not cuneiform. No specific imagery seems to have been intended. The lines are quite deeply carved and leave high relief in impression.

Complete but for tiny chips and flaws.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound ET-N1, Center section, Level 3. This trench was at the southeast edge of the area explored by Young's excavations. The seal was found in an area with many coarse potsherds and an unusually large number of animal bones that included ovicaprid and pig. Also found nearby was a small worked piece of gypsum (3234 S 31).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 52, p. 16. Found April 6, 1955.

DISCUSSION: This seal forms one of a group of seals made at Gordion during the Hellenistic period out of local gypsum, characterized by material, shape, and imagery that consists generally of linear forms or simple striations. The imagery on the sealing face of this seal consists of lines and shapes which can be variously interpreted. Porada (1956b:352) assigned the seal to the Hellenistic period and pointed out that a seal related to this one was found at Kayapınar Hüyük, suggesting a distribution of the group outside Gordion. It should be noted that the Kayapınar seal is even more simple and sketchy in its imagery than the Gordion seal, although the shape provides a close parallel. For Kayapınar Hüyük, see Temizer 1954:324, fig. 12b.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Porada 1956b:352.

Cat. No. 64. 7855 SS 211 <fig. 74a and b> <fig. 188a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.034; L. seal 0.019; W. seal 0.017.

MATERIAL: Gypsum.

DESCRIPTION: A smoothly cut tall pyramidal seal with rectangular seal face. It has been pierced through its narrow top end for suspension.

The seal face is incised with two rough semicircles with crosses in them. The incisions are scratched in, rather roughly and quickly.

Good condition. Accretion at one corner of seal face.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound O-Q, 3; N of N wall of Bldg O, pit with burned fill. This pit was found in a trench sunk just above the crosswall of Building O. It was 1.37 m across at its top and 1.26 m across at its bottom, about 0.70 m deep, and filled with very black burned earth. Finds included this seal, fragments of roof tiles (including a moulded Hellenistic tile), and much local Hellenistic pottery.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 116, p. 121. Found May 24, 1965.

DISCUSSION: This seal is one of a group made in the Hellenistic period of local gypsum. They share similarities of shape and design and suggest a possible local seal carving workshop in this period. That one of this group has been found as far afield as Kayapınar Höyük demonstrates they were not just made for a local group of users (the Kayapınar seal most closely resembles Cat. No. 62 (3098 SS 127)). For Kayapınar Hüyük, see Temizer 1954:324, fig. 12b.

Cat. No. 65. 7833 SS 210 <fig. 75a and b> <fig. 189a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. top 0.021; D. seal 0.024; H. 0.033.

MATERIAL: Gypsum.

DESCRIPTION: This stamp is a wide stamp cylinder, with a ridge around the stamp at its base. It is flat on top and pierced near the upper end of the cylinder. Its outer surface is uneven and rather

chipped. The string hole is large, drilled in from both sides to meet at center.

The sealing face is flat, the scene one of lines and dots. A line runs around the outside of the face to provide a ovoid frame. Inside it are (left to right) a dot, a sigma or bow, a beta or bow, and three dots.

Whole, in good condition. A few swellings from accretion. Rather worn in a few places.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound TB7-A, Layer 3. This deposit included material mistakenly mixed in from the overlying deposits, Layer 2, as an anticipated surface proved elusive. The finds were of mixed date, from the 5th to the 2nd centuries BCE.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 109, p. 98. Found May 16, 1965.

DISCUSSION: This seal is probably also one of the local Hellenistic products. Its imagery was interpreted by its excavator as "sigma–beta" for obvious reasons. It is not clear if this was the initial intention of the seal carver, however. Like some of the other Hellenistic seals, the deeply carved patterns on its sealing face leave clear impressions in clay and other substances.

Cat. No. 66. 81 SS 1 <fig. 76a and b> <fig. 190, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. D. 0.023; Th. 0.016.

MATERIAL: Gypsum.

DESCRIPTION: A conoid with circular face, grooved all the way around its circumference at half height. This grooving may have been a means of suspension on a thong or other string.

On its face, a device enclosed in a circle: at right, a vertical line with a curved stroke to the left like a shepherd's staff, with a horizontal line coming off it to the right. To left, two vertical strokes above two horizontal lozenges. A light scratch makes a wide open V at bottom and right.

Chip on one side of stamp face.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SE trench in earth disturbed in modern times. This stone was found in a trench above one wall of the city gate (not clear from excavator's notes which wall), in earth disturbed by modern (?) robber trenches. It was found together with two coins of Alexander, dating ca. 320 and 328 or later BCE (5-1-50 coins 1 and 2).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 2, p. 8. Found May 1, 1950.

DISCUSSION: The groove on this seal links it to the Phrygian seal-carving traditions of earlier periods. It is carved of local stone.

Porada 1956b:352 places this seal in the same stylistic group as Cat. No. 62 (3098 SS 127), commenting that they are both "crudely shaped with grooves that could be used for attachment to a suspension cord" (Porada 1956b:352). It resembles an unstratified terracotta seal from Tarsus (Goldman 1963:no. 28), about which the author comments "it seems possible that such unprofessional-looking seals were self-made and are therefore unique and almost undatable" (Goldman 1963:355).

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Porada 1956b:352.

Cat. No. 67. 11273 SS 279 <fig. 77a and b> <fig. 191a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Face: 0.0175 x 0.018; H. 0.0175; W. top 0.011.

MATERIAL: Gypsum.

DESCRIPTION: A pyramidal stamp with square face, pierced through for suspension with a large hole, ca. 0.002 across.

Incised on face, a series of straight and curved lines rather deeply incised by a pointed tool that left grooves with a triangular section.

Top broken obliquely through suspension hole. Face roughened from contact with water.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: No context.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: No reference.

DISCUSSION: This seal may have been brought in by a villager or found by a member of Young's team on a tramp across the fields, as it has no reference. It most likely belongs to the group of seals made at Gordion of local gypsum during the Hellenistic period.

Although the seal clearly fits into the pattern of Hellenistic seals at Gordion, a Hittite button seal from much earlier demonstrates the aptness of Porada's comments in the Tarsus volume quoted above (Goldman 1963:355) that the combination of straight and curved scratches, with a few extra to fill in an empty space, might happen at any time—although the Hittite example, of course, is hieroglyphic (see Mora 1987:group IV b no. 1.39). An unstratified conical seal made of terracotta from Tarsus, interpreted as a bird (Goldman 1963:no. 29), provides a good parallel for shape and imagery on this seal.

Cat. No. 68. 2851 SS 119 <fig. 78a and b> <fig. 192a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.025; Stamp 0.0195 x 0.016.

MATERIAL: Jet.

DESCRIPTION: Roughly cut stamp seal with irregular neck and face. The hole for suspension was drilled in two attempts, both from the same side, leaving a double hole on one side and a single hole emerging on the other. Three very deep grooves with triangular section are carved in at the bottom of the seal. The stem of this seal curves around gently at the bottom to join the sealing face. The overall look is almost like a bone.

The seal's face is not quite flat and is decorated with shallow striations, most of which are aligned in the same direction.

Polished smooth and shiny. Many nicks and scratches.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound ET-05 and NCT-A3, under mutual floor 3c. The excavator's fieldbook is difficult to understand, but in general the finds that were recorded for this context seem to be Hellenistic, including such diagnostic shapes as fish plates.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 38, p. 111. Found June 11, 1953.

DISCUSSION: The date of this seal is uncertain. I have placed it in the Hellenistic period for several reasons: its context was Hellenistic, the Hellenistic gypsum seals also sport linear imagery, and Cat. No. 8 (1373 SS 53) (the Hittite Petschaft seal found in a Hellenistic context) also is carved only with simple scratches. It may be that the Hellenistic glyptic artists, when faced with a harder stone, were constricted to striations rather than the more inventive linear devices of Cat. No. 62 (3098 SS 127).

Cat. No. 69. 1974 SS 74 <fig. 79a and b> <fig. 193a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.027; W. 0.027; H. 0.0125.

MATERIAL: Gypsum.

DESCRIPTION: A flat square of gypsum, with a rectangular lug on its back, flush with one side of the seal. The lug steps up in two degrees. Tool marks are clearly visible on the back of the seal and the lug.

The scene on this seal shows a series of lines. Two strong vertical lines at the center and right of the seal are flanked at the left by another line that bends in slightly at its middle. Each of the lines is connected to the next by a diagonal stroke passing from right down to the left, at about the middle of the seal. The rightmost line has another diagonal extending to the right edge of the seal.

Complete.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SE trench-NW, Trench 1-D. This seal emerged from the Hellenistic levels of a trench above the city gate. It was in fill sandwiched between two floors, which also yielded a bronze horse bit, a bronze leaf shaped arrowhead (2216 B 413), a cylindrical metal object, a fragment of yellow enamel or composition inlay (1972 G 94), and a blue glass bead on a thin copper wire (1971 G 93).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 21, p. 42. Found Oct. 3, 1951.

DISCUSSION: This seal has a different shape than most of the other Hellenistic gypsum seals. Its findspot and the imagery on its face link it to the Hellenistic production of local seals, however. Its discovery with various items that might be horse trappings raises the question if this too could have formed part of a horse's ornaments, rather than functioning as a seal itself.

Cat. No. 70. 1932 SS 71 <fig. 80a and b> <fig. 194, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.024; G.P.W. 0.01; Th. 0.01

MATERIAL: Composition. Now milky white, with thick iridescence.

DESCRIPTION: A scaraboid with oval face, pierced lengthwise for suspension, now half missing. On the sealing face a muscular nude male walks right, with object held up in swung-back hand. The figure is unbearded and has short hair; his heavily muscled chest and arm are clearly rendered. Weathering at the legs makes it difficult to see clearly, although the right leg is apparently thick and strong. The scene probably shows Herakles and a club.

Broken in antiquity along suspension hole, now only half preserved.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SE trench-NW, Trench ID, between floors 1B and 2. This seal was found near a pit in Hellenistic period deposits above the city gate. The pit was roughly square and large, being 1.7 m deep and 2.7 m wide. In it were black glaze domestic Hellenistic fish plate sherds, coarse wares, and fragments of tile. The fill into which it was dug yielded this seal and a number of non-diagnostic local sherds.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 21, p. 38. Found Sept. 29, 1951.

DISCUSSION: Herakles, if this is he, turns up more than once on the seals of Gordion (two seal impressions show Herakles as infant, Cat. No. 57 (7901 SS 213), and Alexander as Herakles, Cat. No. 89 (2793 SS 118)). This seal's style is now difficult to discern due to weathering; it may date earlier than

the Hellenistic period. The modeling of the belly recalls Leith 1997:WD 7; she cites parallels dating to the 5th century. I have placed this one in the Hellenistic period because it was found in Hellenistic period deposits and I cannot with certainty date it earlier.

Cat. No. 71. 1729 SS 63 <fig. 81a and b> <fig. 195a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. ca. 0.0156; H. ca. 0.0131.

MATERIAL: Bronze.

DESCRIPTION: A small stamp seal made of a bronze disk with a ring attached to it for suspension. A bolt through the center of the disk attaches the suspension ring to it.

The disk is thin and flat, except for the bolt which projects somewhat. On the surface, four small circles are roughly equidistant from each other and the central bolt. They are divided into pairs, each connected by a spiral coil making a rough S or figure-of-eight device. The coils are decorated with oblique dashes. The outer edge of the seal projects slightly up from the surface, defining its circumference and setting off the imagery on its face.

Suspension ring broken by disease. Otherwise intact and healthy.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SE trench-NW, Trench 1a, Layer 3. This stamp comes from just above House 3 in this trench near the monumental Phrygian gate. The house was built of cut blocks of varying sizes, taken from earlier buildings. The pottery in the deposit from which came this seal included fragments of a black glazed kantharos as well as local wares and a "Rhodian" import, plus tile fragments. It probably dates to the early 3rd century BCE.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 21, p. 13. Found June 17, 1951.

DISCUSSION: This seal could have been useful for stamping such materials as clay or perhaps even leather. I find no parallels for its type.

Cat. No. 72. 4595 SS 159 <fig. 82a and b> <fig. 196a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.0165; D. 0.021; D. top of stem 0.00775.

MATERIAL: Bronze.

DESCRIPTION: A short truncated stem decorated by two sharp fine horizontal ridges attaches to the plain back of a discoid seal, formed into eight slightly uneven petals. The petals are raised, while the center is deeply incised. It would have made a deep incuse stamp. One side of the peg stem was sliced down in antiquity.

Intact.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound Q2 E3, Layer 3. This was a complicated series of deposits, including soft brown fill and ashy lenses. The sherds included 3rd-century black glaze Hellenistic wares.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 60, p. 171. Found April 22, 1957.

DISCUSSION: The eight petaled rosette was ubiquitous during the Achaemenid period and retained its popularity afterwards, as this stamp demonstrates. This example might be a seal or might rather be a stud that would once have had an inlay in its central boss and formed part of the decoration of a piece of furniture.

Cat. No. 73. 10811 SS 271 <fig. 83a and b> <fig. 197, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.H. 0.06; G.P.D. 0.062-0.065.

MATERIAL: Marble, fine grained and white.

DESCRIPTION: This was cut down from a statuette, perhaps of a bird, to form a stamp. If it was a bird, only the upper half of the body is now preserved: the head and lower half are gone.

The bottom of the fragment has been reworked to make a large stamp. It seems originally to have had a circle cut as a groove around its edge, leaving a ridged impression. A cross cuts this circle, and in each quadrant is a pair of lines making a triangle with the circle at the edge of the seal. Only one of these is preserved well: the others have all chipped to leave large holes.

The sides of the stamp are chipped, and roughly one-sixth of the seal is missing.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound NCT surface.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Found in 1950, on the surface of the mound. Selected from sherd bags in 1973.

DISCUSSION: Probably a bread stamp or brick stamp. Its date is uncertain; I have placed it in this period because of the stark simplicity of its imagery. It may, however, date to a later period instead.

Cat. No. 74. 3166 J 94 <fig. 84> <fig. 198, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. bezel 0.018; W. band 0.004; Th. 0.001. Weight 7.250 g.

MATERIAL: Gold.

DESCRIPTION: A gold finger ring with a round bezel showing Kybele in a naiskos. Probably not a seal.

The scene consists of shallow incisions forming the outlines of the images. Kybele stands in a naiskos. The naiskos is formed of a column at either side on a slightly conical base, holding a pediment aloft. In the pediment is a rosette formed by dots. A three-leaved floral (?) acroterion tops it, while a simpler acroterion is at either edge. Both the base of the pediment and the base on which the columns rest are picked out with a zigzag line. The columns have dots at their tops and bases.

The figure within the naiskos is schematically represented, with a round head atop a round body, with folds of drapery below following the legs of a figure that apparently stands in contrapposto. She seems to wear a high polos. Dots show her breasts, while a loop below is of uncertain significance. She holds her left arm aloft, with a rounded oblong object in it—perhaps a tympanon. Her right hand is outstretched and may hold something else.

Complete, with strap for finger flattened but bezel undamaged.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound NCT-A5, Layer II, Wall III. This ring was found apparently built into the bottom of the wall of this Hellenistic house, whether by accident or by design.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 53, p. 17. Found April 15, 1955.

DISCUSSION: This is a Kybele-in-shrine figure, known from relief sculpture as well as other rings. For a gold ring with a clearly modeled figure of Kybele in her naiskos, dated to the Hellenistic period, see Boardman 2001:no. 748 with discussion.

Cat. No. 75. 5792 J 120 <fig. 85>

DIMENSIONS: Bezel: 0.014 x 0.013; G.D. Ring 0.0255. Weight 6.450 g.

MATERIAL: Gold.

DESCRIPTION: A gold finger ring with a naiskos. Probably not a seal.

The ring's bezel is rectangular, and its image is set transversely. Inside a plain frame is a so-called braided one, made by double lines of twisted wire pushed flat. The corners discontinue, as if the frame were made from four different strips. Inside the second frame is a tiny naiskos, distyle in antis with voluted elements above the corner-front cornices. Seven (possibly eight) "rivet heads" done by granulation make a circle of dots in the field. Both picture and frame, in all their detail, are done by wire lines attached to background by annealing (?). The ring itself is a rod leading off from bottom of picture on bezel and is not connected with the bezel at its other end.

In perfect condition except bottom frame of bezel scooped out a little and one (or two) granulations missing out of seven (or eight).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound WML-3D, west side, Layer 3. The fieldbook records only: "From dirt near center of west scarp of trench: a gold ring."

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 79, p. 14. Found June 1, 1959.

DISCUSSION: This is another abbreviated version of the Kybele-in-shrine known from relief sculpture as well as other rings. For a gold ring with a clearly modeled figure of Kybele in her naiskos, dated to the Hellenistic period, see Boardman 2001:no. 748 with discussion.

The ring has now been lost, and the fieldbook drawing is the only record of its appearance.

Cat. No. 76. 5870 J 123 <fig. 86> <fig. 199, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. dim. bezel 0.018; depth bezel to back 0.016.

MATERIAL: Silver.

DESCRIPTION: A plain finger ring with round bezel. A plain flat thin band goes around the finger, widening only a little at edges of the bezel. Incised decoration is set sidewise on bezel: a naiskos consisting of a cross-in-square crowned by a triangular gable. At all points of juncture of lines, there is embellishment by flowerlike dashes.

Edge of bezel shows some crystallization. Whole ring crushed to square shape. Silver very thin.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound TBT-2, Layer 1. This was a very small trench at the west side of the main area excavated by Young's expedition, above Building I. The excavator comments: "In layer 1 of this trench—but given to me by a wheelbarrow boy working there—1) a silver ring 1.5 cm w 2 cm l. The face is apparently clear of design."

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 81, p. 20. Found June 13, 1959.

DISCUSSION: This is an abbreviated version of the Kybele-in-shrine figure, known from other rings found at Gordion and elsewhere and from relief sculpture. For a gold ring with a clearly modeled figure of Kybele in her naiskos, dated to the Hellenistic period, see Boardman 2001:no. 748 with discussion. I do not think this ring functioned as a seal.

Cat. No. 77. 6205 J 125 <fig. 87a and b> <fig. 200a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.W. bezel 0.011; D. 0.021.

MATERIAL: Silver.

DESCRIPTION: A very fine band of silver, oval in section, widens out at one end only to a flat squarish bezel.

On the bezel is an incised design: framed in a band of hatched lines between lines is an X with a round dot in each quadrant. Three lines form a triangle in the delta where the band joins the side of the square.

The corner of the bezel is corroded away. The ring has been mended.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound, Trench KTL, Layer 2. This trench is a small addition at the southern part of the area excavated by Young and his team. Although the ring comes from a Hellenistic context, as its associated pottery demonstrates, nothing further can be said about its exact relation to other artifacts or soils.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 82, p. 29. Found July 4, 1959.

DISCUSSION: This ring seems to be an abbreviated version of a naiskos, a feature which possibly links it to the Kybele rings illustrated above. I do not think it was used as a seal.

Cat. No. 78. 6345 J 129 <fig. 88> <fig. 201, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.D. ring 0.02; Bezel L. 0.0075; W. 0.0065

MATERIAL: Gold.

DESCRIPTION: A gold finger ring with a square bezel. The band is plain and almost round in section, but grooved on its sides all the way around its circumference.

The bezel of this ring is a flat thin rectangle, with a cross-in-square incised on top. It is attached to the band on both sides. Granulations were originally attached to the incised lines; seven of these are still preserved.

Bezel broken away from band on one side; otherwise complete, except for missing granulations.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound, W2S2, earth fill, W. of Pit 3. This "fill" seems to have been a series of sloping layers, riddled with pits. The context pottery for this ring is nondiagnostic. I have placed it in the Hellenistic period only because the other datable rings of this sort from Gordion seem to be Hellenistic.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 87, p. 91. Found April 14, 1961.

DISCUSSION: This cross-in-square may be shorthand for a naiskos of the sort associated with Kybele. Dr. Ellen Kohler believes that this ring may suggest the other incised bezels may originally have had granulations along their lines, as well. If this is true, of course, the rings were probably not used as seals at all—even if it is not true, the shallowness of the incised decoration suggests they may not have served as seals.

Cat. No. 79. 6754 J 142 <fig. 89> <fig. 202, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.D. 0.021; W. bezel 0.009; L. bezel 0.007.

MATERIAL: Silver.

DESCRIPTION: The bezel and band of this ring were made of one piece of silver, flattened at the bezel and bent around to make the band. One end of the band touches the underside of the bezel, ca. 0.0015 from its edge. The band is plain, and round in section.

The bezel is flat and rectangular with an incised design: a cross in a square. The ends of the cross do not meet the corners of the square. One large granule is present at the center of the cross.

Complete, cleaned.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound, Trench TBT-8a, Layer 3. Northwest corner of the trench. This trench lay toward the southern part of the area excavated by Young's team. Although the fieldbook does not record specific information about the findspot of the ring or the finds just with it, the context pottery dates to the Hellenistic period.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 93, p. 120. Found July 16, 1961.

DISCUSSION: Again, this cross-in-square design may be intended as a shorthand version of the naiskos of Kybele. The granule at the center of the cross links it to Cat. No. 78 (6345 J 129) and may provide further evidence to corroborate Dr. Kohler's suggestion about the possible prevalence of granulation (or perhaps attached wires) in these rings in antiquity.

Cat. No. 80. 7707 J 146 <fig. 90> <fig. 203, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: W. bezel 0.01 square; D. ring 0.023.

MATERIAL: Silver.

DESCRIPTION: Silver finger ring with flattened bezel showing cross in square. The band of the ring is elliptical in section. It joins the bezel at one

end but not the other; the non-joining end is flattened at the tip and cut square.

The bezel preserves an incised cross in square. Each of the quadrants has a dot in its center. The square framing lines are worn away at the corners.

Ring band mended.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound, N. City Wall Trench 8, Extension 2, Street 3, first pass under floor. It is impossible to reconstruct from the fieldbook what exactly is going on in this tiny trench at the time the seal was found. The trench itself is at the northwestern extent of Young's excavated area. I have placed the ring in the Hellenistic period only because of its similarity to other Hellenistic rings.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 104, p. 158. Found August 6, 1963.

DISCUSSION: Again, this ring preserves a cross-in-square design. I do not think it was used as a seal.

Cat. No. 81. 1615 SS 60 <fig. 91a and b> <fig. 204, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.023; W. 0.009.

MATERIAL: Bronze.

DESCRIPTION: Large flattened oval bezel from a bronze finger ring with a large circumference. The bezel has a flat face, decorated with a quadruped running right. The animal (a griffin?) has a lion's tail and body; it seems to have wings and perhaps a bird's head. Its proportions are sinuous and lovely, and it has been particularly carefully spaced in the bezel.

Broken at ends and worn or corroded to the point it is difficult to make image out clearly.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound SE trench-W, Cut I-B. The excavator of this trench was exploring the rooms of a house when the seal ring was found. The house walls were 0.60 m wide, made of rather haphazardly laid stones; its floors were not described, but at least one room had a square hearth, a pithos, a pile of roof tiles, and a stone grinder. Under the floor of this room were found a bronze rod, a glass ring setting, a bronze arrowhead, a piece of a bone bodkin, a bronze coin (Macedonia, 286-277 BCE), and this bronze ring bezel.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 9, p. 124. Found May 28, 1951.

DISCUSSION: This ring probably dates to the first half of the 3rd century, based on its context. It resembles the seal preserved as an impression on a collection related to the Wadi Daliyeh bullae, Leith 1997:IM 82.19.919

Cat. No. 82. 1619 SS 61 <fig. 92a and b> <fig. 205a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. bezel 0.012; W. bezel 0.085.

MATERIAL: Small bronze finger ring broadening to flat bezel.

DESCRIPTION: Small bronze finger ring with band flat oval in section and with elliptical bezel flattened, and on which is an amphora with squarish raised handles and high profiled foot. To left and right branches with tiny incised leaves.

Preserves bezel and about two-thirds of band.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound NCT, Northwest Extension, South part near I-B floors. This trench was laid out just to the north of Building NCT, which overlay Megaron 12. The ring was found in the initial pass. The excavator describes (p. 121): "June 11, 1951. 27 workmen. Surface soil, NW extension (IB-ish). 1613 B 239, 3-flanged bronze arrowhead. 1271 St 111, profiled white stone whorl. 1619 SS 61, bronze ring."

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 10, p. 121. Found June 11, 1951.

DISCUSSION: This tall amphora is a Hellenistic table amphora. Close parallels are found in Hellenistic stamped amphora handles; see, e.g., Börker and Burow 1998:no. 579, of the Hekataios group. An earlier version of a table amphora with laurel leaves around it like that from Gordion is Boardman 2001:no. 770, dating to the latter half of the 4th century. A good glyptic parallel for our ring, albeit a rather more detailed version of a similar amphora, is Berges 2002:no. 32 (with references), dated to the 2nd century BCE. Such "still life" figures began appearing on metal finger rings in the Classical period; John Boardman suggests that in the Hellenistic period, "for serious purposes of sealing the metal finger rings were in more general use than the larger elaborate gemstones of the Classical period" (Boardman 1980:107). This ring thus fits neatly into the pattern of sealing practice current in Greece at the time. Other examples from the Near East include a number of vessels on the Murashu seal archive; see Bregstein 1993:nos. 594-606, and Kaptan 2002:DS 130 from Daskyleion.

Cat. No. 83. 3690 SS 143 <fig. 93a and b> <fig. 206a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.H. 0.033; G.P.W. 0.0275; Th. 0.015.

MATERIAL: Medium-hard black slightly greeny stone, high luster—serpentine?

DESCRIPTION: A recut piece of stone, of which one straight edge is original and probably also a fragment of the opposite edge. In antiquity the top and bottom were cut to rough curves, the top smooth and the bottom jagged. On the back is a shallow oblong hollow.

The front is decorated with a design that resembles bead and reel, formed by circles with tiny conical elements on either side, along the left edge and two large bosses joined with a shallow chain, formed of shallow ridged outlines connected by a shallow vertical line, at the right edge. In the middle of the stone fragment is a deep boss. Carved onto this at a later date were a triangle at the bottom, with legs hatched, a small loop off the right of the central boss, and above it a small circle with a triangle protruding: the result looks like a bird.

One original edge and a small portion of the opposite original edge, two curving more recent edges with breaks along the curve. Faces in good condition.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound NCT-A8, Layer 2. This deposit seems to form part of the desertion level assigned to 189 BCE. Associated with this stamp were the corner fragments of an indeterminate number of bronze plaques, a small banded bowl (3689 P 1349), and a pyramidal loomweight (3688 MC 110).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 53, p. 106. Found Sept. 18, 1955.

DISCUSSION: This may not have been a seal. It seems possible that this stone formed part of a mould for making bronze plaques: the bead-and-reel designs on its edges might well have served such a purpose originally, while the bird was carved later. It is not clear if the bird was ever used, or if it was a practice piece carved after it had broken or been in some way damaged.

Cat. No. 84. 3672 SS 139 <fig. 94a and b> <fig. 207a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. dim. 0.08; H. stamp 0.048; L. design 0.07; G.W. design 0.045.

MATERIAL: Gypsum.

DESCRIPTION: The foot of a statue, broken at ankle and toes, and recarved to form a stamp.

The bottom is carved to leave a design in relief rather than intaglio. A ridge defines the outer edge of the seal. In the field, a bird is left in outline, facing left, with a square tail and a hooked beak. Its leg is straight with three toes. At its back are three hooked lines pointing down from the base of its neck, the top and the middle of its wing. The lines (left in relief) have square edges.

Apparently whole in its reuse as a seal, but one ridge margin is abraded off. Nicked and flawed.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound NCT-A7, North end, Layer 4. This trench was in the center of the mound, above Building G. Associated with the deposit that produced this seal were a bone bodkin (3664 BI 263), a pair of bronze tweezers (3826 B 654), and an imitation Cypriot pot, dating to the late 4th to early 3rd century (3836 P 1388).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 53, p. 86. Found Sept. 13, 1955.

DISCUSSION: The excavator thought this might be a stone mould for a bronze plaque. Its date is uncertain; I have placed it in the Hellenistic period because of its findspot and because of its superficial resemblance to Cat. No. 83 (3690 SS 143).

Cat. No. 85. 7228 SS 198 <fig. 95a and b> <fig. 208, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. disk 0.043; D. seal 0.0145; Th. disk 0.011.

MATERIAL: Very finely levigated micaceous clay, fired reddish buff. Core color unknown.

DESCRIPTION: Stamped disk shaped pendant, with two round holes near the edge at one side, pierced through from the back, stamped at the center of one side with a round stamp with convex sealing surface.

The scene shows a flower, probably a rose, complete with petals and sepals. The rose has two double petals on a slender stem with slim leaves at the bottom. The upper half of a nude female figure with a generous bosom emerges from the top of the rose, turning her head up and to her right. Her arms are spread out to rest on the top petals of the rose. Her hair is up in a melon-like arrangement, tied with a ribbon on top. Her mouth seems to be closed. The lower petals and leaves of the rose are hirsute. An E with a small adjoining K is in the field.

Back surface of the pendant now flaky, spoliating.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound TBT-CC2, fill immediately below floor 3, about area of Pit C. No other finds were mentioned from this fill, but the artifacts found on floor 3 were Hellenistic.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 91, p. 131. Found May 1, 1963.

DISCUSSION: Could this be a visual reference

to rosy-fingered Dawn? I find no good parallels in glyptic, although there is a Hellenistic terracotta from Gordion showing Eros in a flower that has parallels from Myrina (Romano 1995:no. 99). The rose here resembles that shown on Rhodian coins and amphora stamps of the classical and Hellenistic periods. The clay from which all three of the stamped disk shaped loomweights included here were made is probably Rhodian or from western Asia Minor, based on visual analysis.

Stamped loomweights were surprisingly common from the 5th into the 3rd centuries, with disk shaped weights at their most common in the 4th and 3rd centuries. Some examples of stamped loomweights are collected by Boardman (2001:424); disk shaped weights have been found at Tarsus, Herakleia, Delphi, Phaistos, Southern Crete, Metapontum, and Tarentum.

Impressions left by round bezels seem to date to the second half of the 4th century (Boardman 2001:225). I have placed the three examples of disk pendants with round stamps in the early Hellenistic period, dating them to the 3rd century because of the melon coiffure that seems to be visible on them; Boardman suggests intaglios of this period are also characterized by "small heads and plumply sensual bodies" (Boardman 2001:225) like these.

The rose on Rhodian coins often has rounder petals than this–but of course they are not obscured by emergent figures! See, e.g., Forrer 1976b:nos. 6698-6761; Kraay 1966:nos. 644-647; and Brett 1974:nos. 2036-2067.

Cat. No. 86. 5397 SS 166 <fig. 96a and b> <fig. 209, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. 0.043; Th. 0.011.

MATERIAL: Fine micaceous clay, fired hard red to red-buff. Surface smoothed, possibly slipped.

DESCRIPTION: Stamped disk shaped pendant, with two round holes near the edge at one side, pierced through from the back, stamped at the center of one side with a round stamp with convex sealing surface.

The scene shows a rose. The rose has two double petals on a slender stem with slim leaves at the bottom. The upper half of a nude female figure with a large bosom emerges from the top of the rose, turning her head to the right so she faces left. Her hair is tied up, perhaps in a snood. Her arms rest on the rose.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound EML-2 E, Layer 4, Section A. The fieldbook notes are not such that more can be learned about the findspot of this artifact.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 74, p. 80. Found July 27, 1958.

DISCUSSION: See Cat. No. 85 (7228 SS 198).

Cat. No. 87. 9692 SS 243 <fig. 97a and b> <fig. 210, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. 0.039-0.040; Th. 0.012; D. central hole 0.005; D. side holes 0.003.

MATERIAL: Finely levigated micaceous clay, fired red to red-buff, well wiped, partially burnished.

DESCRIPTION: Stamped disk shaped pendant, with two round holes near the edge at one side, pierced through from the back, stamped at the center of one side with a round stamp with convex sealing surface. Drilled through with a large extra hole in the middle of the stamp, drilled and smoothed after firing. The hole almost obliterates the imagery left by the seal: only the stem and leaves remain of the original rose. The front of this disk is apparently impressed with a second seal at the bottom left, this one probably rectangular in shape originally and showing a bird (?).

Complete, worn at edges.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound PPB-4, Layer 2 on floor. The context pottery found with this disk on its floor of a structure overlying Building PPB was nondiagnostic. Other finds included a pair of bronze tweezers (9741 B 1803) and two small cup-shaped glass beads. The pottery from the deposits around this context included Hellenistic black glazed wares and shapes, and some West Slope sherds.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 140, p. 69 #1. Found June 23, 1969.

DISCUSSION: See Cat. No. 85 (7228 SS 198).

Cat. No. 88. YHSF 95-227 <fig. 98a and b> <fig. 211, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.22; L. 0.21.

MATERIAL: Clay sealing, finely levigated with grit.

DESCRIPTION: A clay tab or sealing, impressed against reeds or rushes still clearly visible at the back of the sealing. The front is smooth, but with gritty bits that make it hard to see.

The sealing preserves the impression of a seal, the scene of which shows a figure on a standing horse facing right. The horse's well-muscled body is deeply carved with much detail and attention to smooth but clear transitions between volumes. It has a strongly arched neck. The blanket it wears seems to have tassels all around its edges. The human is

much more difficult to see in the impression. Apparently he raises his right arm forward; he wears a helmet with a long crest or streamers, and some sort of clothing.

Broken on all sides.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Operation 29 locus 118 lot 214. Found in 1995. This sealing was found from a mixed Roman/Hellenistic context, when the staircase was removed from the edge of the trench.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Op 29 loc 118 lot 214. YH 47764.

DISCUSSION: The carving of the image on the seal that left this impression is strong, vigorous, and deeply powerful. It may have been a cylinder seal. Although its context was mixed, this sealing is clearly Hellenistic rather than Roman, both because of the prevalence of horsed figures in the Hellenistic period and the style of its carving. I have found no good parallels.

Cat. No. 89. 2793 SS 118 <fig. 99a and b> <fig. 212, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. D. 0.128; D. seal 0.018.

MATERIAL: Thick walled potsherd of finely levigated clay with added temper, fired gray throughout, burnished on exterior.

DESCRIPTION: Potsherd stamped with a coin die showing Alexander with a lion skin, or the young Herakles with a lion skin. The sherd apparently comes from the base of the neck of a large closed pot.

Between two large ridges is the impression of the obverse of a coin die with Alexander or the young Herakles. The figure faces right, wearing a lion skin over his head. The lion's lips are wrinkled; the mane has at least one course of wavy hair. Alexander's eye is deep-set, his chin large and rounded.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound ET-C1, c. 2.00 below surface. SE of "oven room." This trench was just over and inside the northern bastion of the later citadel gate, and over the North Court of the early city gate. At the north end of the trench was a room with an oven in it. Although the majority of the potsherds found here dated to the Middle and Late Phrygian periods, this sherd is clearly later. It was found in the earth to the southeast of the oven, possibly part of an intrusive pit?

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 40, p. 24. Found May 5, 1953.

DISCUSSION: This stamp resembles the drachma coin-dies of the island of Kos in the 4th century, showing a young Herakles (Forrer 1975b:no. 6626). Its closest parallels, however, are the Alexander drachmas minted by "Colophon" (perhaps really Pergamon?) at the end of the 4th century BCE, 323-301 BCE (Price 1991:nos. 1750-1799). (For the identity of the polis minting coins traditionally assigned to Colophon, see Price 1991:247-248 with references.) This impression should probably be dated to the very end of the 4th century. I am grateful to William F. Spengler for his thoughts on the die.

For examples of a coin die for an Athenian tetradrachm of 460-450 BCE impressed on isolated sealings, with commentary and comparanda, see Konuk and Arslan 2000:nos. 246-248.

Cat. No. 90. 4316 SS 151 <fig. 100> <fig. 213, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. D. 0.09; L. stamp 0.019; W. stamp 0.014.

MATERIAL: Medium fine gray ware with some burning on exterior.

DESCRIPTION: Inside a low ring base, an impressed stamp, ingot shaped, inside which a raised x with closed ends. The stamp has been rather lightly impressed.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound Q-1, Layer 3. Q-1 was a tiny trench just to the east of the northernmost part of Building O, and just to the east of Megaron 5. The context pottery associated with this sherd is mixed Hellenistic and Roman.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 60, p. 118. Found August 10, 1956.

DISCUSSION: The stamp looks as if it were probably made of metal. The sherd was found due north of Cat. No. 91 (3673 SS 140), almost at the opposite end of the excavated area. I am assigning both sherds to the Hellenistic period here, but they might be Roman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roller 1987a:1B-13.

Cat. No. 91. 3673 SS 140 <fig. 101> <fig. 214, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. D. 0.085; L. stamp 0.0195; W. stamp 0.014.

MATERIAL: Stamped potsherd, medium fine gray ware left wheel-finished.

DESCRIPTION: Inside a low ring base, an impressed stamp, ingot shaped, inside which a raised x with closed ends.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound NCT–A7, Layer 4. NCT–A7 was a long thin trench oriented E-W, that exposed the northern half

of Building G and Megaron 1, as well as the terrace wall to the west of them. This sherd was found while cutting a staircase in the south scarp of the trench and therefore has no good context.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 53, p. 90. Found Sept. 16, 1955.

DISCUSSION: See Cat. No. 90 (4316 SS 151).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roller 1987a:1B-13.

Cat. No. 92. 4454 SS 152 <fig. 102> <fig. 215, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. D. 0.145; D. stamp 0.03.

MATERIAL: Finely levigated gray ware.

DESCRIPTION: Flat ribbon handle of hand smoothed gray ware. Stamp sunk before firing at top of handle: triskeles, with legs bent to right.

Preserves handle from lip down to break shortly above shoulder.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound MN-Ext 3, Layer 5, Fill. This handle was found in a context that also yielded various Hellenistic sculptures and figurines, including a terracotta draped standing female who holds her robe in her right hand and has her left arm obscured by drapery (4459 T 55); a stone fragment of an arm, including part of the wrist (5543 S 49); and part of the torso of a draped female figure (4458 S 50).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 66, p. 53. Found April 13, 1957.

DISCUSSION: The triskeles was a popular image on Hellenistic pots at Gordion. In addition to the stamped handles discussed here, a photo in the Gordion archives preserves evidence of many more such handles that were not catalogued. All of them date to the Hellenistic period. They come from all over the area excavated by Young and seem therefore to have been used over much of the citadel mound.

The triskeles shows up on the reverse of Lycian coins, in an incuse square, in the early 5th century BCE (see, e.g., Forrer 1976b:nos. 7217-7219; Brett 1974:no. 2083; Kraay 1966:no. 649), and on the coins of Limyra in the 4th century BCE (Forrer 1967b:nos.7235-7248). It is not clear to me why it should have gained such popularity in ceramic decoration at Gordion in the Hellenistic period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roller 1987a:1B-3, 1B-6, 1B-7, 1B-8, 1B-9, 1B-10.

Cat. No. 93. 3480 SS 137 <fig. 103> <fig. 216, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.W. handle 0.067; G.P.L. 0.06.

MATERIAL: Coarse gray handle sherd.

DESCRIPTION: A sherd that preserves a short length of a vertical band handle of coarse gray ware, broken at the rim attachment and near the elbow. Neatly impressed before firing, a triskeles.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound ET-011, Layer 2. This deposit was very disturbed, including Middle Phrygian through Hellenistic wares.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 51, p. 144. Found June 17, 1955.

DISCUSSION: See Cat. No. 92 (4454 SS 152).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roller 1987a:1B-3, 1B-6, 1B-7, 1B-8, 1B-9, 1B-10.

Cat. No. 94. 9979 SS 251 <fig. 104> <fig. 217, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. dim. 0.08; L. edge stamp 0.029

MATERIAL: Finely levigated clay with added temper, fired gray throughout. Hand smoothed without slipping.

DESCRIPTION: The top part of a ribbon handle, where it attaches to the flaring rim of a vessel. The handle was vertical, thick ribbon in section. At the top, near the lip, is a deeply impressed triskeles with legs bent to right.

Preserves rim attachment with short portion of top of handle arch.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound PPB-SE, under Floor 4, pass 5. This trench was above Building PPB at the north part of the area explored by Young's excavations. The floor 4 had Hellenistic kantharos fragments on it, and similar sherds were found as deep as pass 4 under the floor. The excavator comments (p. 12): "burnished and polished wares become more abundant from passes 3 down. less and less Hell. pot. In pass 6 several Phrygian sherds appear."

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 152, p. 11. Found May 25, 1971.

DISCUSSION: See Cat. No. 92 (4454 SS 152).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roller 1987a:1B-3, 1B-6, 1B-7, 1B-8, 1B-9, 1B-10.

Cat. No. 95. 10759 SS 265 <fig. 105> <fig. 218, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. dim. 0.099; Max. dim. stamp ca. 0.031.

MATERIAL: Finely levigated gray ware with added temper, slipped and hand-smoothed.

DESCRIPTION: The sherd preserves the uppermost arch of a thick band handle which attached to

the top of a plain trefoil rim. On the inner half of arch (next to the vessel's mouth), on the top of the handle, is a deeply impressed triskeles stamp with legs bending to left. One leg of the stamp must have been half-broken at time of use.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound CC3B, fill below wall 1. This trench was at the westernmost edge of the area explored by Young's excavations. Echinus bowl fragments and other Hellenistic sherds were associated with removing Wall 1 and with the fill below it.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: June 4, 1973. Found Vol. 161, p. 89.

DISCUSSION: See Cat. No. 92 (4454 SS 152).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roller 1987a:1B-3, 1B-6, 1B-7, 1B-8, 1B-9, 1B-10.

Roman (1-500 CE) (Cat. Nos. 96-112)

Cat. No. 96. 3036 J 91 <fig. 106> <fig. 219, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.P.L. 0.028, G.P.W. 0.014. Stone 0.0125 x 0.095.

MATERIAL: Dark green stone, possibly green jasper.

DESCRIPTION: An iron finger ring with a dark green jasper oval stone as bezel, set in a smooth gold fitting of 1 mm width.

The scene shows a figure of Fortuna holding a cornucopia in her right hand and an offering phiale in her left.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Tumulus H cemetery Trial Trench 13. Burial A-203. Although the upper body was disturbed, the skeleton was intact from the waist down and shows the man buried in the tomb was unusually large. See Goldman 2000:469, with other references.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 33, pp. 154, 158. Found August 23, 1953.

DISCUSSION: This ring has an unusually elaborate setting and was carved with unusual care, compared to most of the other Roman rings excavated from Gordion. Its stone is also unparalleled in the Gordion assemblage. Perhaps it is an import from elsewhere. Its style of carving suggests a date for its manufacture in the 1st or 2nd century CE.

Images of Fortuna with cornucopia and phiale were common; perhaps the largest and most elaborate is Furtwängler 1900:pl. 31, no. 41. See also Furtwängler 1900:pl. 44, nos. 72-74.

Iron rings such as this were said by Pliny commonly to belong to soldiers and slaves (NH 33.4), according to Goldman (Goldman 2000:336); this one, with its stone and gold setting, probably belonged to someone with a degree of personal wealth.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goldman 2000:336-337, 469.

Cat. No. 97. 6571 SS 189 <fig. 107a and b> <fig. 220, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.115; W. 0.009; Th. 0.0025.

MATERIAL: Sard.

DESCRIPTION: Oval bezel only from a seal ring.

A Nike walking right, walking on a small groundline. Her wings are back, one fully visible and the other visible in part. She wears a long dress with a hip-length overfold and a band just under her breasts. Her hair is pulled up behind her head. One arm is forward, holding a pair of fillets (?) or a wreath with fillets (?). In front of her is a simple table with a curved leg, on top of which rest two objects, perhaps dishes or bread.

Perfect condition.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: None. Brought in by workmen.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: None. Brought in on June 16, 1961.

DISCUSSION: For the skirt swirling behind the leg, cf. Richter 1920:no. 379, from Cyprus, dating to the late Imperial period (2nd to 5th centuries CE): the attitude is to be found on many Roman coins from the Augustan period on, and is perhaps to be identified with the statue of Nike in the Curia Julia. The subject is very common on Roman gems (cf. Furtwängler 1896:nos. 6734, 7276, 8177; Richter 1920:no. 190; Walters 1926:nos. 1695-1710; Berges 2002:nos. 214-216; and Wagner and Boardman 2003:nos. 298 and 299. For Roman-influenced seals, see, e.g., Bader 1996:pl. 90 fig. 12, 13; and Callieri 1996:pls. 94-95, figs. 7-17). This ring should perhaps be dated based on style to the 1st or 2nd century CE.

Cat. No. 98. 2411 J 79 <fig. 108a and b> <fig. 221, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.008; W. 0.006.

MATERIAL: Iron ring with small dark red agate bezel.

DESCRIPTION: Iron finger ring with a small

oval agate bezel. The ring is almost entirely corroded away, but the bezel seems to have been set in the iron so that it protruded slightly above the edge of the metal.

The bezel shows a figure walking right on a groundline. In his right arm he holds up something represented by two strokes in a V that opens downward. He has either a cape or a wing coming off his shoulder to the left. Protruding from his groin is either a large erection or a sword held in his (nonvisible) left hand. This figure could be a soldier, the god Mars, an Eros, a Priapus, or something else.

Iron worn and corroded; band not left except around bezel.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Cemetery Trial Trench 4, Tomb A 128. The ring was found fallen on the chest of an adult male skeleton.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 33, p. 48. Found June 11, 1952.

DISCUSSION: This seal resembles one in the Erimtan collection showing Mars striding forward, although the Gordion seal is carved with somewhat less detail. See Konuk and Arslan 2000:no. 10. That seal is dated to the 2nd century CE; ours probably dates to this time or a little later, 2nd to 3rd centuries CE. It probably should be interpreted as showing the god Mars.

Goldman suggests, after Pliny (NH 33.4), that the iron rings at Gordion may have belonged to soldiers or slaves: the imagery on this one may suggest it belonged to the former category.

This seal bears some resemblance to Parthian seals of the 2nd century CE that show Mars (e.g., Frye 1973:no. 30). That it should have been found at Gordion shows ways in which Parthians, Romans, and other peoples living in Anatolia might exchange ideas and information.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goldman 2000:337, 466.

Cat. No. 99. 6974 B 1376 <fig. 109a and b> <fig. 222, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: W. 0.021; H. 0.019; Depth at top 0.012.

MATERIAL: Bronze with light yellow sard bezel.

DESCRIPTION: Bronze ring with light yellow oval sard bezel. The ring is a somewhat flattened circle, almost round in section at the back and widening at the sides until it is large enough to accommodate the stone at the top. The stone inset is backed by the bronze of the ring. There are incised designs on the sides of the ring: three vertical lines topped by two inverted V's, giving the effect of two arrows pointing upwards. At the four corners of inset area, short curved lines are incised.

The stone is oval and shows two crossed hands, their thumbs pointing up and fingers down. One of the hands has a double thumb. The rendering is highly abbreviated and schematized.

Ring complete and in fine condition with brown patina. Gem stone chipped at one edge.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Museum Site Burial MS-2, on ring finger, left hand of skeleton.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 102, p. 11. Found May 6, 1962.

DISCUSSION: Goldman points out (Goldman 2000:337, with references; 2001:17) the important realization that this is not a bolster with fasces, as had previously been thought, but rather "a crudely carved pair of clasped hands—a dextrarum iunctio." He goes on to explain that the dextrarum iunctio could serve as a marriage symbol, especially when potent fertility symbols such as wheat sheaves were portrayed in the field (e.g., Berges 2002:no. 252 with comparanda), or as a military symbol. Most of the dextrarum iunctio seals seem to connote an idea of brothers-in-arms.

Although the image has a long history (see, e.g., Furtwängler 1900:pl. 9 no. 34), it reaches its peak of popularity between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE. The style of this seal would probably place it toward the end of that period (see Spier 1992:no. 394). It resembles a coin of Amorium, a town near Gordion in eastern Phrygia, minted sometime between the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Geta or a little later (ca. 161-212 CE or later) (see Forrer 1976b:no. 7011). Moreover, the band is of a type common in the 2nd-3rd centuries CE (e.g., Spier 1992:no. 335; Henkel 1913:nos. 206, 920, 1279). The ring therefore should be dated to the 2nd to 3rd centuries CE.

The closest parallel to the seal from Gordion is one in the J. Paul Getty Museum, published in Spier 1992:no. 394. Interestingly, the ring from the Getty is octagonal, like some from Gordion (but not this one). Both Spier and Goldman have argued for local production of these unusual stones (Goldman 2003:4; Spier 1992:143). It is therefore possible that both the ring now in the Getty and the one found at Gordion were local productions, made nearby for local use.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edwards 1963:44, fig. 16; Goldman 2000:337, 471; and Goldman 2001:17 and fig. 12.

Cat. No. 100. 5386 J 113 <fig. 110> <fig. 223a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. D. 0.013; L. Stone 0.008.

MATERIAL: Silver ring, sard stone.

DESCRIPTION: A silver finger ring with a fine red sard stone showing Fortuna. The ring is a simple silver ring with a thickened bezel.

The stone is oval, with beveled edges, set into the silver of the ring. It is engraved with a figure of Fortuna. She holds a cornucopia in her left hand and a rudder in her right.

Silver badly oxidized. Partially cleaned; broken during cleaning and mended. Where strong, original surface exposed; elsewhere, thick shell of oxides. One end of stone broken.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Disturbed grave north of the Küçük Höyük. The excavator's comments suggest that the burial was disturbed by plowing, rather than consciously robbed.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 65, p. 166. Found June 24, 1958.

DISCUSSION: The engraving is quite shallow and may not have been intended as a signet. Such renderings of Fortuna or Tyche were extremely common on Roman finger rings of Asia Minor, especially around the time of Augustus and shortly after; later versions (into the 2nd century CE) sometimes show her seated rather than standing in Greece, although in Asia Minor the standing image retains its popularity too. See, e.g., Boardman 1968:no. 26; Wagner and Boardman 2003:nos. 306-312; Hoey Middleton 2001:no. 22 with discussion and comparanda; and Konuk and Arslan 2000:nos. 77-86. For a more elaborate version of the cornucopia displayed on this seal, see Furtwängler 1900:pl. 34, no. 13.

The closest parallels to the Gordion seal's imagery date to the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, although its style places it with the other Roman finger rings from Gordion in the 2nd to 4th centuries CE.

Cat. No. 101. 7000 ILS 355 <fig. 111a and b> <fig. 224, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.028; W. 0.027; L. stone 0.01.

MATERIAL: Iron ring with sard stone.

DESCRIPTION: Iron ring with octagonal stone. The band was plain, round in section, flattening and widening at side and on top to accommodate the seal stone.

The stone is a deep red-orange sard, octagonal, beveled on the sides and standing high on top of ring. Carved is an Athena, frontal and facing right. She wears a helmet with a crest and holds a shield in her right hand; one foot is back so that she stands in contrapposto. In her left hand she holds a tall spear. She stands on a small groundline.

Broken on band and mended. Complete. The band has been cleaned, but it is heavily oxidized so that detail not visible. A blob of vitrified material at the base of the band may indicate the ring was made smaller at some point to fit a smaller finger than that for which it was originally intended.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Museum Site Burial MS–5. The ring was found on one of the left fingers of the skeleton.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 102, p. 19. Found May 12, 1962.

DISCUSSION: Goldman dates the seal to the 3rd to the 4th century CE based on the style of its carving (Goldman 2001:14; 2003:4). He places the production of this and the other octagonal seals in Roman Anatolia, perhaps in Galatia or Cappadocia (Goldman 2003:4; see also Spier 1992:143, on whose arguments Goldman draws).

This image is an offshoot of Athena Parthenos, with a spear rather than a Nike in her right hand. Examples of Athena in this pose are common; see, e.g., Boardman 2001:no. 765 with other examples and discussion. For other seals showing Athena in a similar posture, see, e.g., Walters 1926:no. 1353; Berry 1965:no. 51 (a very close parallel); Konuk and Arslan 2000:nos. 21, 25-28; and Berges 2002:nos. 182, 183. It seems to have been a particularly popular image in Asia Minor in the 2nd century CE, although the ring from Gordion demonstrates the figure retained some cachet into the 3rd century CE.

Goldman points out (Goldman 2000:336) that iron rings tended to be worn by soldiers and slaves, according to Pliny (NH 33.4). The inclusion of a carved stone bezel suggests this ring would have belonged to a soldier or at least someone of some personal wealth.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edwards 1963:44, fig. 14; Goldman 2000:337, 472; Goldman 2001:17 and fig. 9; and Goldman 2003:4.

Cat. No. 102. 7130 J 144 <fig. 112a and b> <fig. 225, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.018; G.W. 0.021; L. stone 0.09.

MATERIAL: Silver and jasper or sard.

DESCRIPTION: Silver finger ring with red jasper or opaque sard stone, octagonal, with high beveled edges. The thin flat band of the ring widens

at sides and top to accommodate the stone.

The octagonal stone shows a bird walking left. It has long claws and a straight, vigorously feathered tail. Its head is turned back to the right. It clasps a laurel wreath in its beak.

Complete.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Museum Site Burial MS-45. This burial was disturbed, and the ring was found in fill.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 102, p. 53. Found June 3, 1962.

DISCUSSION: This image, of an eagle with reverted head holding a laurel wreath in its beak, was very popular in Asia Minor during the 2nd century CE. See, e.g., Wagner and Boardman 2003:no. 512; and Konuk and Arslan 2000:121-127.

Goldman (Goldman 2001:14; 2003:3) dates this seal to the 3rd to 4th century CE, along with the other octagonal seals. He places the production of this and the other octagonal seals in Roman Anatolia, perhaps in Galatia or Cappadocia (Goldman 2003:4; see also Spier 1992:143, on whose arguments Goldman draws).

The eagle may be connected to the Roman legions (Goldman 2003:3-4; and Hoey Middleton 2001:51 with discussion and references). It was certainly an image with potency recognized by many. Such rings with eagles even turn up in situations in the Roman east where people probably had dubious relations with the Romans (see, e.g., the Armenian site of Artashat, where a seal impression preserves an eagle like ours, with head turned back and wings outspread, published in Khachatrian 1996:pl. 75, fig. 24; or the Parthian site of Göbekly-depe, where another seal impression preserves an eagle, Gaibov 1996:pl. 87, fig. 2).

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edwards 1963:44, fig. 15; Goldman 2000:336, 493; Goldman 2001:17 and fig. 10; and Goldman 2003:3.

Cat. No. 103. 7129 J 143 <fig. 113a and b> <fig. 226, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.022; G.W. 0.02; L. stone 0.011.

MATERIAL: Silver finger ring with jasper stone.

DESCRIPTION: A thin flat band widens at the sides and top to accommodate a stone.

The stone is a dark red opaque jasper or sard, octagonal, with high beveled edges. The scene shows an elaborate design: a hand holds a semicircular object between thumb and forefinger. The semicircular object is a stylized ear, with four small dots between it and the thumb. An inscription begins to the left of the wrist and runs clockwise across the top of the hand, with another word at the right of the wrist that would read in retrograde in impression. It is rather difficult to read but is apparently Greek: "MNHM<ON?>YE M(OY)," remember me. The use of upsilon for omicron-upsilon is a very common contraction, as is the use of the first letter of a word only.

Cleaned and mended, complete.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Museum Site Burial MS-38. The ring was found on the left hand of a juvenile female.

G. Roger Edwards, in his initial report of this seal, described its context within the broader understanding of the Roman burials excavated at Gordion (Edwards 1963:44):

> Gordion, abandoned probably in 189 BC, was reoccupied much later, in the Roman period, and it is to this time that some twenty burials of the Museum Site belong. These were oriented in the general direction of north. The most common form had a rectangular grave pit cut deep into the hardpan. At the bottom a second rectangular pit, narrower than the pit proper, was cut to receive the extended skeleton, the resulting ledges providing placement for a covering of boards. Variations include the substitution of a pitched mud brick 'roof' for the boards, or a carefully constructed mud brick box covered with crosswise boards overlaid with mud bricks. Parental grief and special affection may be reflected in the last, exceptional variation and in the unusual number of offerings—a glass bottle beside the head; a glass bracelet on the arm; a ring whose gem shows a hand within an inscription; and a suitably tiny bronze mirror for this child.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 102, p. 51. Found June 3, 1962.

DISCUSSION: Goldman (Goldman 2000:336 and n. 89; 2001:15; 2003:4) discusses this common Roman image, usually accompanied by a Greek or Latin inscription, calling on the wearer to remember. He has read the inscription as "MEMENTO," rather than "MNHMONYE M(OY)" (see above). Even if my reading of the inscription as Greek, rather than Latin, is correct, the meaning stays essentially the same.

Examples of seals and cameos with similar imagery abound. Some of them have particularly

lengthy inscriptions; see, e.g., Boardman 1968b:no. 79, in which the inscription reads "ΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΕ ΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΛΗΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΙ(Ε)" See also comparanda cited in connection with this cameo. Goldman collects more parallels in 2000:336 n. 89. The images are usually dated between the 2nd and 5th centuries CE.

My own sense is that the Gordion seal may have a strong personal sense, perhaps appropriate in a child's grave. If the reading of the inscription as "remember me" is correct, it might imply a personal invocation from a loved one. It might, for instance, be a gift from a grieving parent who wished the child to remember him or her after death, or a ring symbolizing the parent's promise to remember the child. An alternative and equally appealing interpretation is offered by Keith DeVries, who points out (personal communication June 2002 and January 2004) that a hand extending down from the heavens to grasp something is a common Christian representation of the hand of God. If Cat. Nos. 104 and 105 (2364 J 75, 2368 J 76) are to be taken as having Christian symbolism, perhaps this seal should be read as an invocation to remember God. It is also possible it might have filled all of these functions simultaneously.

Goldman places the production of this and the other octagonal seals in Roman Anatolia, perhaps in Galatia or Cappadocia (Goldman 2003:4; see also Spier 1992:143, on whose arguments Goldman draws). This seal should probably be dated with the other octagonal seals, ca. 3rd to 4th centuries CE.

For inscribed Sasanian rings showing a hand with thumb and forefinger touching, perhaps related to the Roman version, see von der Osten 1934:no. 610 and Noveck 1975:no. 64; for a similar Sasanian ring with a lunar symbol next to the thumb that strongly resembles the "ear" on the Gordion seal, see Zazoff 1983:pl. 120, no. 9.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edwards 1963:44, fig. 10; Goldman 2000:336, 489; Goldman 2001:17 and fig. 11; and Goldman 2003:3-4.

Cat. No. 104. 2364 J 75 <fig. 114a and b> <fig. 227a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. D. 0.018; Min. Th. (at back) 0.008; Max. Th. (at bezel) 0.0175; size of gem (oval) 0.009 x 0.0075; weight 3.350 g.

MATERIAL: Gold and sard.

DESCRIPTION: Gold signet ring with red sard inlay. The ring is oval, rather than round, in section; the back of the ring is flat to mirror the flat bezel of the front of the ring. It diminishes gradually in thickness of band from front to back. The band is round.

The bezel is an oval dark red sard, carved in shallow intaglio with an anchor and the legend ACN. It does not quite fit evenly into the gold setting of the ring, into which it has been set very deeply so that its surface is roughly even with the surface of the ring. The anchor has a rather ornate cross bar, a crescent shaped lower section, and a ring at either end of its length. The A and C are to one side of the anchor's central stem, while the N is to the other side: the A and the N have serifs. The language is probably Greek, the C a lunate sigma.

Perfect condition.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Tumuli H-I cemetery Trial Trench 3; Grave A-113. The ring was found on the little finger of the skeleton's right hand.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 33, p. 12. Found June 13, 1952.

DISCUSSION: Goldman (Goldman 2000:339) dates the grave in which this seal was found to the 2nd century CE and implies the anchor (and its inscription?) should be read as a punning reference to Ancyra. The anchor, of course, was at one time or another associated with the nearby Galatian town of Ancyra (modern Ankara).

The anchor was a predominantly Christian symbol, however, and is particularly common in the early Christian period, especially in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE (after which time, under the influence of Constantine, it was largely supplanted by the cross as the primary Christian symbol). The ring with its anchor should therefore probably be dated to the 2nd to 3rd centuries CE.

Indeed, this ring may show its wearer (a female) practiced some version of Christianity. It would thus indicate an early Christian presence at Gordion, a fact that is less surprising when we remember the large numbers of Christians in Ankara in the 3rd century.

For anchors as Christian symbols in Roman glyptic art, see, e.g., Zazoff 1983:pl. 125, no. 6, with discussion and references; Konuk and Arslan 2000:nos. 145 and 146; and Berges 2002:no. 256 with discussion and references. Goldman 2000:339 and note 98 refer to an example from the nearby town of Pessinus, too. See also the extensive discussion under "Anker" in Klauser 1950:440-443. For Constantine's influence on the use of cross instead of anchor, I am grateful to Noel Lenski, personal communication 20 April 2004. For the presence of a large Christian population in Ancyra in the 3rd cen-

tury CE, see Mitchell 1993b:91-95; and Klauser 1985:457-458, 459-460 and references.

The inscription, "ACN," poses a puzzle. It seems to have been carved later than the anchor, with a tool that had a narrower and sharper bit than the round instrument used to carve the anchor with such precision. This raises three main possibilities in my mind. The first is that it may be an abbreviation for "A(ΓΙΟΣ) Σ(ΩΤΗΡ) N(?)" Such abbreviations are common in Asia Minor; see, e.g., Grégoire 1922:no. 132, with discussion. I am wary of suggestion the N is for Nazarenes, as early Christians were unlikely to associate themselves too closely with the geographical area. I am grateful to Noel Lenski, personal communication April 2004, for pointing this out.

The second possibility is that it stands for "A(ΓΙΟΣ) Σ(ΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ) N(ΕΩΤΕΡΟΣ)," ("holy savior") Saint Stephen the Younger. Later, Byzantine, examples of this abbreviation are to be found on lead seals, although I have seen none as early as the 3rd century. Stephen was of course the first martyr, and his cult was very widespread. Like other martyr cults, it gained particular popularity throughout Anatolia in the mid-4th century. One problem with this interpretation of the inscription is thus that it would suggest redating the tomb all the way into the 4th century, awkward because Goldman (Goldman 2000:339) argues the other finds in the grave should be dated to the 2nd century.

Another interpretation also seems difficult, however: perhaps the inscription should be read as "A(ΓΙΟΝ) Σ(ΗΜΑΙΟ)Ν," sacred symbol. In this case, the anchor image would stand as the symbol itself and the middle letters of the word symbol. I have seen no parallels to this use of image and inscription together, however. For now, the inscription's interpretation remains unclear to me.

For Byzantine letter divisions that suggest the abbreviation of ACN for ΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΣ, see, e.g., McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001:no. 11.22; a connection between Stephen and Ancyra may be suggested by Laurent 1963:no. 336.

The inscription was first recognized by Young (Young 1953:37) as Greek, rather than Latin.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Young 1953:36-37, fig. 31; and Goldman 2000:335, 339, 463.

Cat. No. 105. 2368 J 76 <fig. 115a and b> <fig. 228a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. outer D. 0.023; H. bezel 0.014; Dimensions of oval gem: 0.013 x 0.009.

MATERIAL: Silver ring with jasper bezel.

DESCRIPTION: Silver finger ring with an engraved jasper bezel. The ring is of thick, heavy silver and has a slightly triangular shape, with a flat top along the bezel and an almost pointed back. The band is oval in section.

The stone is tall and beveled; only its bottom part is set into the silver. It is engraved with one word divided across two lines, written in Greek: ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ. The initial pi is directly above the initial sigma. The letters have serifs, the sigmas are lunate, and the epsilon is also curved. The engraving is rather shallow and a little irregular. The words read from left to right as engraved.

Preservation perfect, although silver a little weathered.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Tumuli H-I cemetery Field Trench, Burial A-105a. This ring was found on one of the hands of a skeleton in a double burial.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 33, p. 8. Found June 10, 1952.

DISCUSSION: The inscription on this ring, like the inscription of Cat. No. 104 (2364 J 75) (with the more deeply carved anchor), is very shallowly incised, with its inscription reading from left to right. It seems unlikely it was intended to be used as a sealstone.

The inscription may be the name of the ring wearer, the name of the saint by this name, or may have religious connotations, as Goldman suggests (Goldman 2000:340). Indeed, the Greek word for Friday is still "Paraskeue," the day of preparation before the (Jewish) Sabbath. There was a saint named Paraskeue, and it was also a woman's name in the early Christian period. This seal may therefore be a personal name in the genitive, or possessive, case. Such use of the genitive is rather rare on seals of the time, however.

ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ is also the future active indicative second person singular form in the Doric dialect (frequently used in Christian inscriptions of the area, see, e.g., Levick, Mitchell, Potter, and Waelkens 1993, idem 1988, and Drew-Bear 1978) of the verb paraskeuazô, thus "thou wilt prepare." It occurs in this form frequently in Greek literature: over 1600 times (as a quick search on www.perseus.tufts.edu demonstrates). Even if this is the purpose of the phrase on the Gordion seal, however, it still seems to have Christian connotations, and the evidence cited by Goldman (Goldman

2000:55-62, 341) for widespread Christianity across Galatia by the 4th century CE may receive further support with this ring. See also Mitchell 1993b:37-108, esp. 91-95.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goldman 2000:336, 339-341, 455.

Cat. No. 106. 7121 B 1415 <fig. 116a and b> <fig. 229, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.016; G.W. 0.018; L. stone 0.007.

MATERIAL: Bronze and sard.

DESCRIPTION: Small bronze finger ring with yellow-orange sard bezel. The band is thin and flat, narrowest opposite the stone and widening at the top to accommodate the stone. It has three incised lines at the sides. At the top, near the stone, are four short incised lines on either side of the stone: the outermost are parallel to the sides of the ring band, while the inner two are at angles to each other to form an M-like pattern.

The stone is oval, a yellow-orange sard, beveled around its edges and set in the bronze so that it protrudes up above the surface of the ring. The scene consists of a fish swimming left. The fish has spines along its back and fins extending down from it. No interior detailing is indicated.

Cleaned. Portion of band missing.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Museum Site Burial MS–42. The ring was found resting on the uppermost joint of the little finger of the skeleton's left hand.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 104, pp. 68-69. Found June 4, 1962.

DISCUSSION: For a close parallel from Asia Minor in yellow jasper that dates to the 3rd century CE, see Spier 1992:no. 396; a dark sard bezel in a silver ring with two fish that closely resemble ours is Konuk and Arslan 2000:no. 133, also dating to the 3rd or 4th century CE. Other examples in carnelian are Henkel 1913:no. 434 and Henig 1978:no. 192. The band of this ring is of a type common in the 2nd-3rd centuries CE (e.g., Spier 1992:no. 335 and Henkel 1913:nos. 206, 920, 1279). The ring should probably therefore be dated to the 3rd century CE. Taken in conjunction with Cat. No. 107 (YHSF 94-262), this ring may be another example of Christian symbolism at Gordion in this time period.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edwards 1962:44, fig. 13; and Goldman 2000:337, 491.

Cat. No. 107. YHSF 94-262 <fig. 117a and b> <fig. 230a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 2.68; W. 2.49; Th. 1.46.

MATERIAL: Orange-yellow sard, set in a silver ring.

DESCRIPTION: A silver ring with a yellow-orange oval stone bezel. The band is very thin at the inside, swelling to hold the stone at its top. The ring had twine wrapped around it at the back, to make its diameter smaller.

The bezel shows a winged fisherman sitting left on two short horizontal lines. His legs are pulled up at the knee; the lower half of both legs is clearly shown. His heels are strongly indicated, perhaps in a representation of boots?

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Found on the lower right side of the breast of an adult female skeleton. The ring may originally have been on the left hand of the skeleton, now missing, which was laid across the chest.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Op. 27 Loc. 10 Lot 145, YH 42800. Inventoried Number 94-37. In situ photographs 94-049, 7-13.

DISCUSSION: This ring was clearly used by more than one person, as it had been resized to fit the finger of the woman. Another fisherman ring is published as Khachatrian 1996:pl. 74 fig. 13, and dates ca. 180 BCE–59 CE (Khachatrian 1996:365). That ring has a clearly human fisherman, however, whereas the wing on the Gordion seal's fisherman sets it apart. The Gordion seal's fish, moreover, resembles that of Cat. No. 106 (7121 B 1415), as does its stone, suggesting it probably dates to the 3rd century also. It is possible that these two fish rings should be thought of in connection with the town's Christian community in the 3rd century. This hypothesis would also explain the wing on the fisherman, linking him to Christ and the angels.

PREVIOUS BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sams 1995a:437.

Cat. No. 108. 680 B 100 <fig. 118a and b> <fig. 231a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. 0.021; W. 0.011.

MATERIAL: Bronze.

DESCRIPTION: A simple band broadens out to form a broad, heavy, flat faced bezel. This is long enough to take up almost the full diameter of the ring, the rest of which forms a half moon shape.

The bezel is inscribed with Hebrew letters.

Small section of band on opposite side from bezel is missing.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound, SWT, Cut 16, Level III (Stone Terrace).

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 3, p. 185.

Found June 29, 1950.

DISCUSSION: Andrew Goldman has identified the letters as Hebrew and, together with Jack Sasson, has dated them tentatively to the 4th century CE. He suggests it is a personal name (personal communication June 2004). The language may suggest its owner was Jewish—a feature that makes Gordion's religious makeup in the late Roman period all the more complex and interesting. It seems that Jews in central Anatolia used Greek as their language of conversation and also religion until about the 4th century CE, when there was a turn to using Hebrew particularly for names and for religious purposes (S. Mitchell, personal communication June 2004). This ring would thus fit nicely into the pattern seen in central Anatolia in general. More definitive discussion of this ring must await Goldman's publication of it in its full context.

Cat. No. 109. 5564 SS 168 <fig. 119> <fig. 232, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: Max. D. 0.016; H. Bezel 0.01; W. Bezel 0.0085.

MATERIAL: Bronze.

DESCRIPTION: This is a small ring, perhaps for a child, formed of a band that is flat on the inside and curved on exterior. It widens to join round the bezel. Decorative points project above and below the bezel, at center.

The bezel is decorated with a deep central hole, surrounded by two concentric deep circular grooves. It seems to have been a design for a seal impression. The ends of the ring band, where they widen to join bezel, are each decorated with two pairs of deeply incised dots, with small circular grooves surrounding them. The pairs are arranged on a vertical line, with dots of the outer pair very close together. The designs on this ring were probably punched.

Complete, and in fine condition, with very minor surface damage; cleaned.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound WML-1E, Layer 6, E. Half. This context was particularly badly disturbed and presented an exceptionally confusing picture at the time of its excavation.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 73, p. 66. Found July 21, 1958.

DISCUSSION: This small ring is of uncertain date. I have placed it in the Roman period because of its resemblance to other bronze rings at Gordion that date to the Roman period.

Cat. No. 110. 299 B 35 <fig. 120> <fig. 233, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. 0.021; Th. 0.01

MATERIAL: Bronze.

DESCRIPTION: A ring with a flat band, widened to form a round bezel with two flat protrusions on the edge.

On the bezel is incised a quadrilateral with concave sides in double outline. Next to the bezel are oblique strokes on the band.

Complete.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound, SWT, Section B, Cut 6, Cist Grave #16.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 3, p. 116. Found May 26, 1950.

DISCUSSION: The decoration of the band may suggest this ring dates to the 3rd century. Further discussion must await Goldman's publication of the grave and its contents.

Cat. No. 111. 300 B 36 <fig. 121> <fig. 234, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: D. 0.016, Th. 0.008.

MATERIAL: Bronze.

DESCRIPTION: A ring with a flat band, widened to form a square bezel. Two points of the bezel square protrude beyond the band.

The bezel is incised with a quadrilateral with concave sides in double outline, enclosed in a square. On each side of the bezel are oblique strokes that lead to it.

Complete.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound, SWT, Section B, Cut 6, Cist Grave #11.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 3, p. 113. Found May 24, 1950.

DISCUSSION: Like Cat. No. 110 (299 B 35), the decorations on the band of this ring may suggest it dates to the 3rd century. Further discussion must await Goldman's publication of the grave and its contents.

Cat. No. 112. 4759 SS 161 <fig. 122a and b> <fig. 235a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: L. 0.077; G.W. 0.027; H. through ring 0.025. D. ring 0.020 ext., 0.009 int.

MATERIAL: Bronze.

DESCRIPTION: A flat, shoe shaped stamp, with a suspension ring on top, set crosswise at the center. Ring is round in section. The shoe has a pointed toe and is neither left nor right.

Sealing surface shows a shoe shaped border around a raised word. Ligature joins the first three letters. The inscription reads NHKOΛA and would read from right to left when impressed.

Intact. Some bronze disease.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Poplar Road Cut Level 1, Trench 3. This narrow N-S trench to the north of Kuş Tepe exposed part of an E-W paved road with at least one curb (at the S) made of large cut stone blocks. The stamp was found only 0.30 under the surface; context pottery is mixed including sherds of modern pots.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 68, p. 50. Found July 27, 1957.

DISCUSSION: I have been able to find no parallels for this stamp. It may have been used for bread or bricks. Perhaps it is a reference to Saint Nicholas, although this is uncertain. The significance of the slipper shape is unclear. I have placed it in the Roman period because of the language of its inscription.

Seals of Unknown Date (Cat. Nos. 113 - 114)

Cat. No. 113. 5907 SS 178 <fig. 123a and b> <fig. 236, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: G.D. 0.029; G.P.H. together 0.022.

MATERIAL: Finely levigated gray crumbly clay with bits of lime, unbaked.

DESCRIPTION: Clay stopper, perhaps with seal. This roughly conical piece of clay has a flat surface with an impression (?) at one side, while the other is hollowed out with a concave depression as if it were pressed against something round and narrow. The design at the broader flat end is made by a thin small disk of unbaked clay, found pressed against the stopper, which has on it a few deep vertical grooves next to each other, flanked by lines moving off at the diagonal. The effect is one that looks a little like a tree.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Citadel Mound TBT-1, Layer 2. The context pottery from this deposit was mixed, including sherds as late as medieval. The excavator describes some of the finds (p. 3): "Objects in Layer 2 fill, i.e. between level 1 floor and level 2 floor: a: a small fragment of glass; clear with stripes. Fragment is 4 cm long (5874 G 247); b: 1. One clay stopper (?) showing some impression at top; concave bottom; diam is ca 3 cm ht ca 2 cm (5907 SS 178); 2. Top of another stopper (?) with a similar impression, d 2.2 cm; c) some corroded bronze fragments, thrown out; d) coarse nondescript sherds."

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: Vol. 81, p. 3. Found June 5, 1959.

DISCUSSION: Although the disk and the stopper were found together, and the disk clearly left an impression on the stopper, I doubt that this was a seal. Unbaked clay would make a dubious sealing material, at best. Instead, I suspect this may be the remnants of a piece of clay scored while leather hard to attach it to another leather hard piece of clay with slip. The stopper thus preserves the impression of a piece of clay to which it was being attached, rather than of a seal per se.

Cat. No. 114. 5648 SS 171 <fig. 124a and b> <fig. 237a and b, on CD-ROM>

DIMENSIONS: H. 0.0185; D. seal 0.015-0.016.

MATERIAL: Bronze.

DESCRIPTION: A bronze stamp with a thin disk-like sealing base, a thick disk set above this like a step, and then a shank rising to a large hole for suspension.

On the face is a series of lines that may be intended to suggest a bird walking left, with long straight legs and a straight horizontal body. A punched hole might indicate its breast, while another might represent its head.

Excellent condition. Patinated without disease spots.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: None. Brought in from the village by Mehmet Bakal.

FIELDBOOK REFERENCE: None. Brought in on April 1, 1959.

DISCUSSION: Brass was known to the Phrygians (Boehmer 1978:285 and references), and this may perhaps be a Phrygian seal. Without any context, however, and no discernible imagery, the seal is best left for now in "uncertain" dating.

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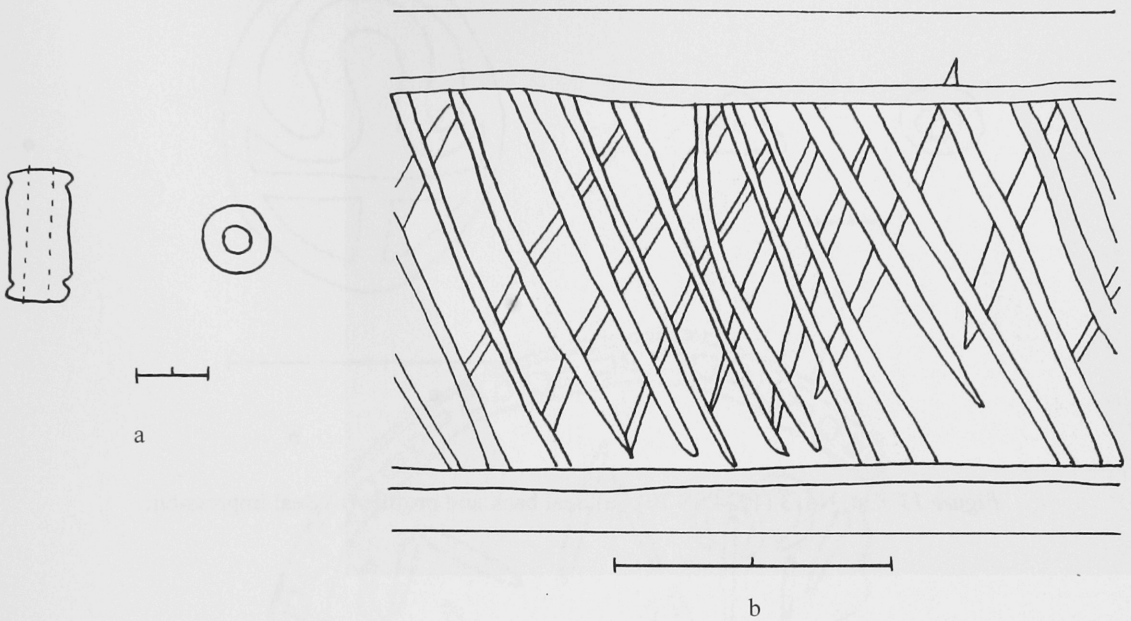
Figures



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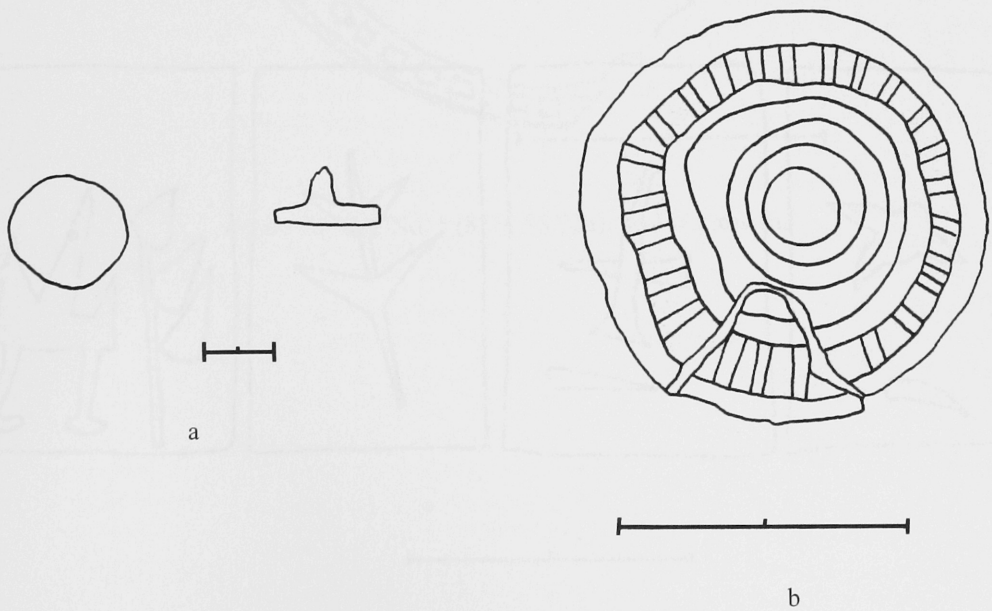

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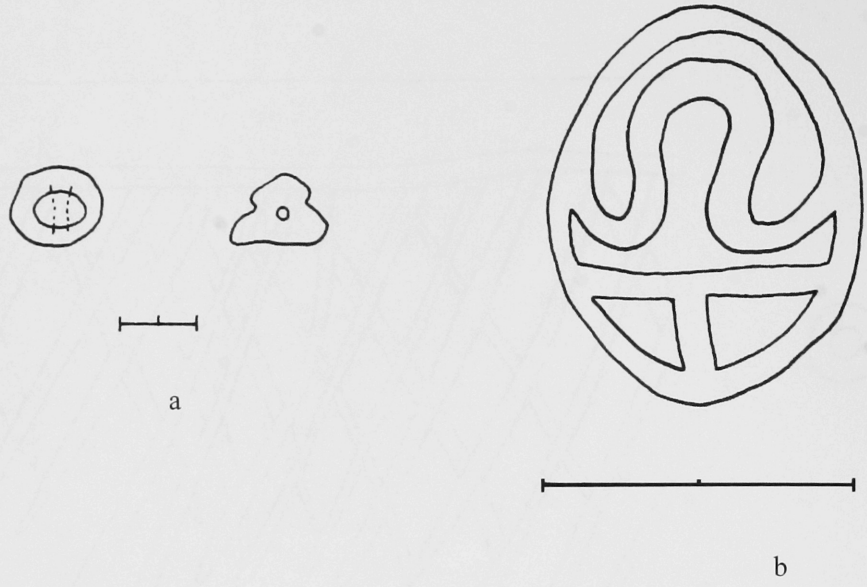

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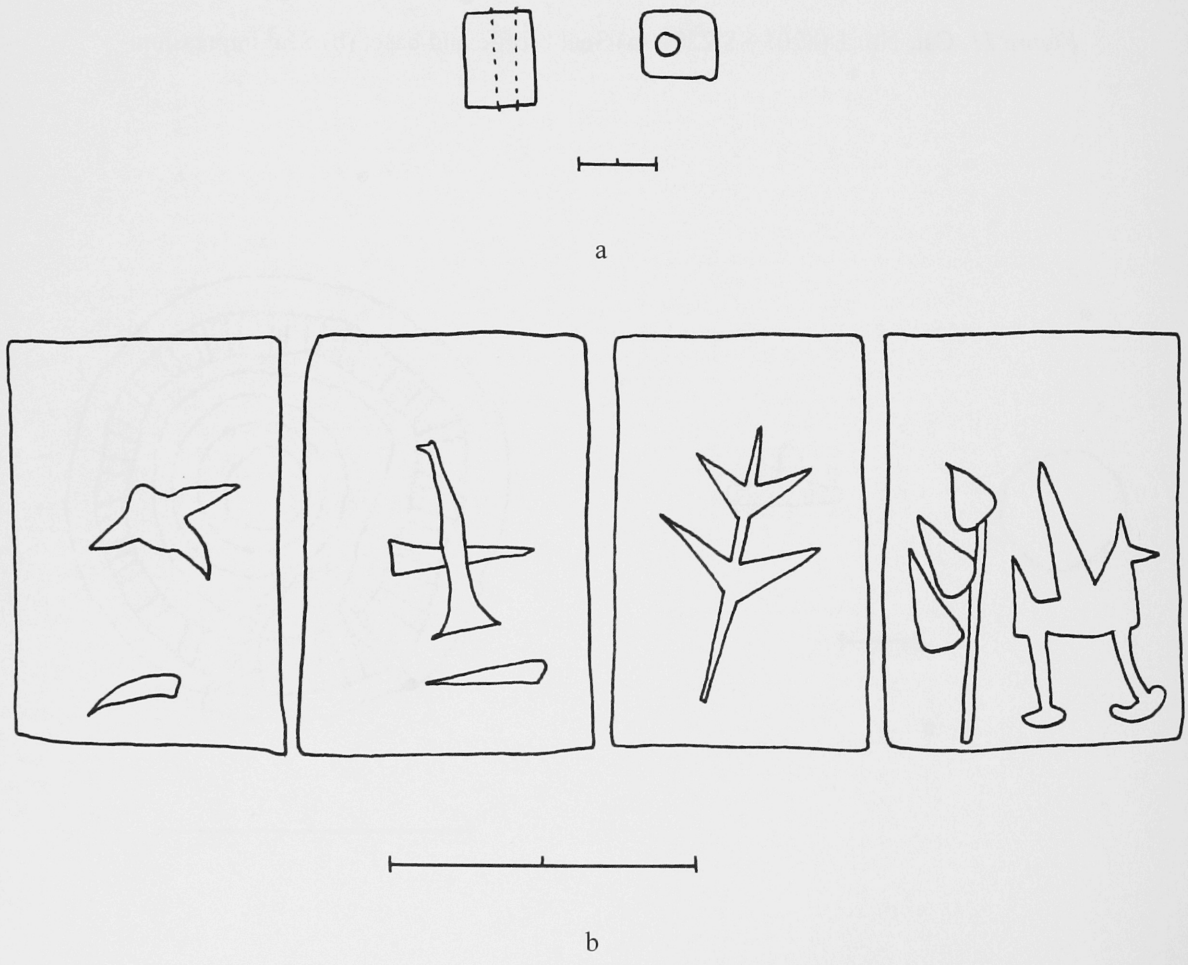

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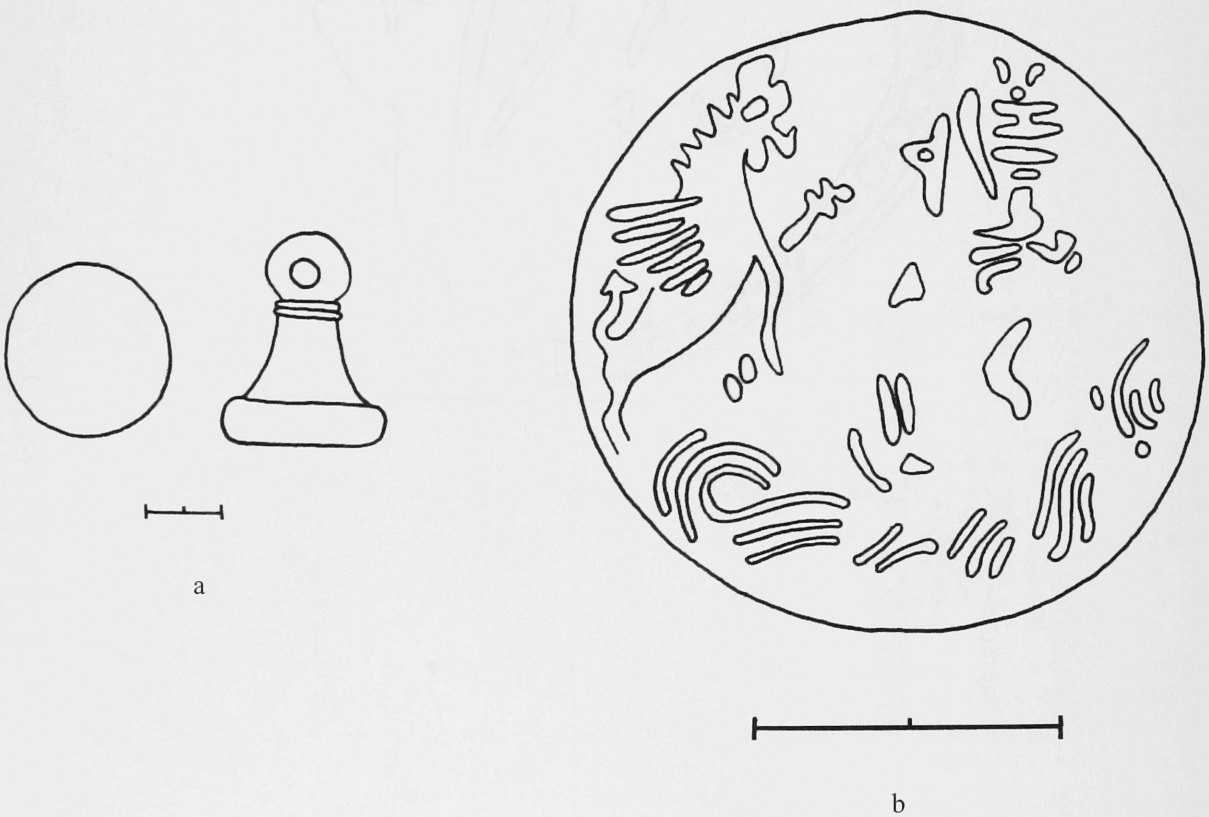

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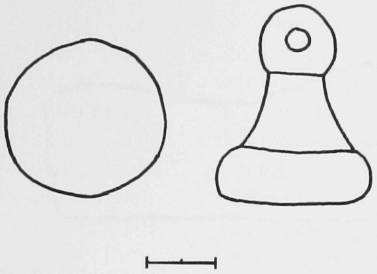

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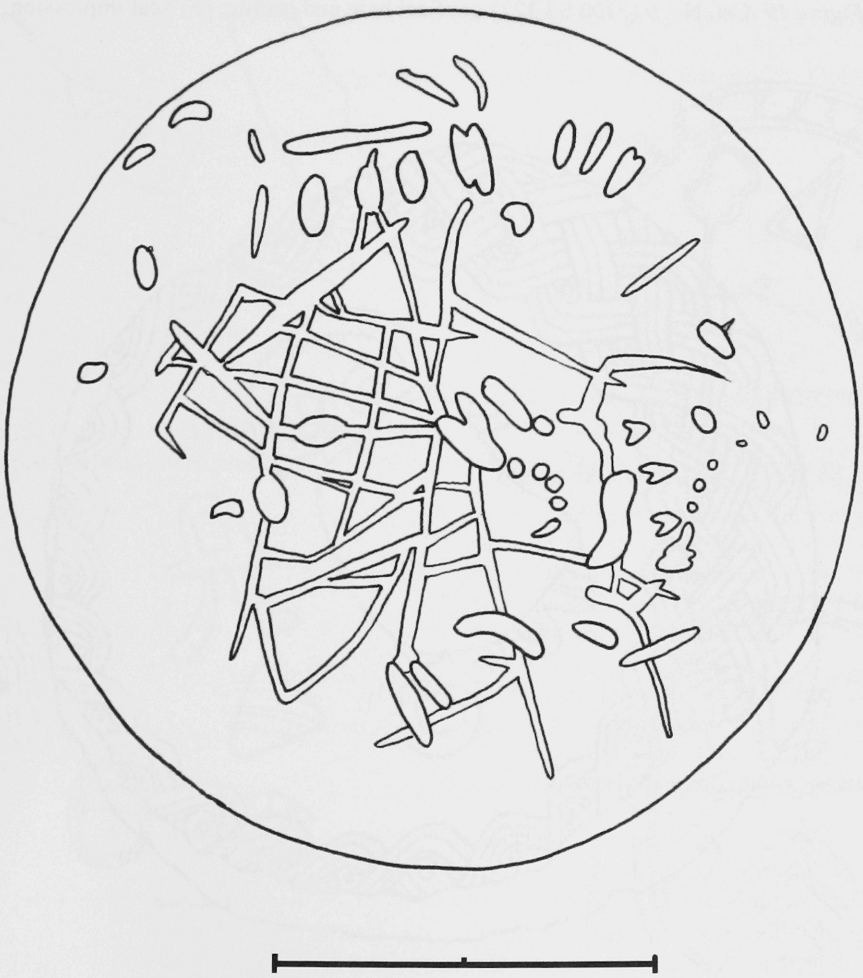

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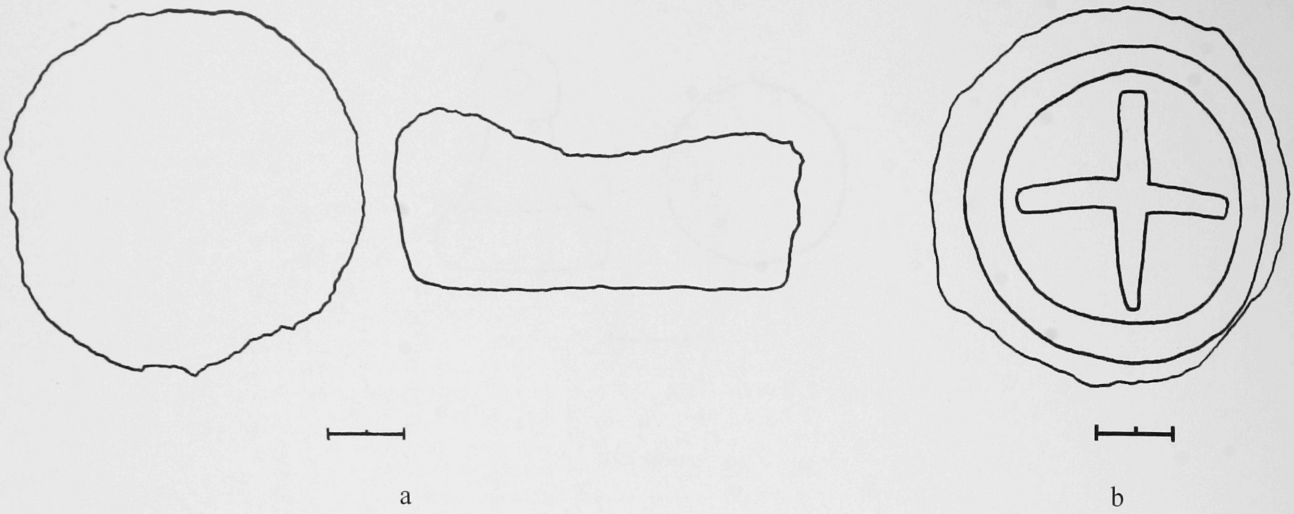


Figure 19 Cat. No. 9 (3100 SS 128). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

Figure 20 Cat. No. 10 (7804 SS 209). Seal impression.

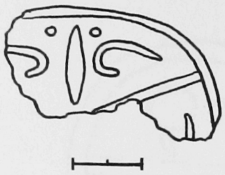


Figure 21 Cat. No. 11 (YHSF 89-563). Seal impression.

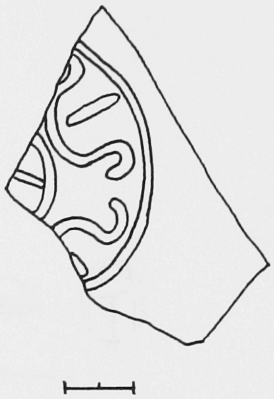


Figure 22 Cat. No. 12 (YHSF 89-531). Seal impression.

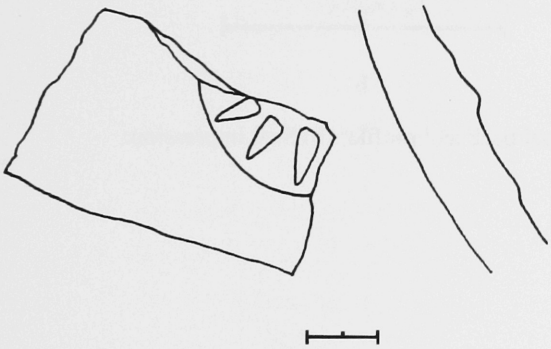


Figure 23 Cat. No. 13 (YHSF 89-530).
Seal impression and sherd profile.

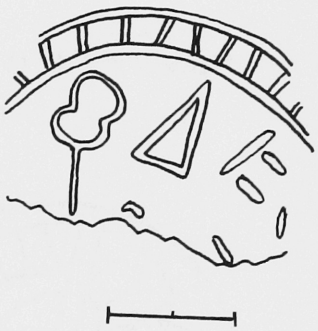
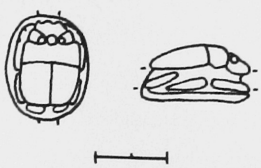


Figure 24 Cat. No. 14 (YHSF 88-157). Seal impression.



a

b

Figure 25 Cat. No. 15 (7856 SS 212).
(a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

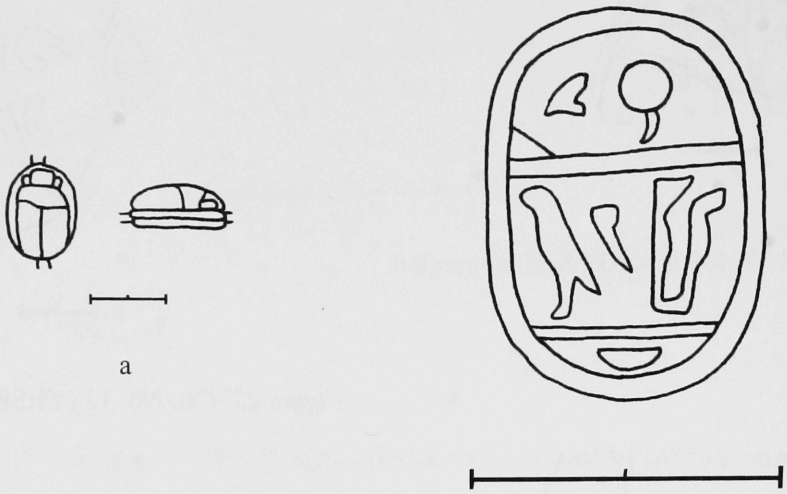


Figure 26 Cat No. 16 (2597 SS 109). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

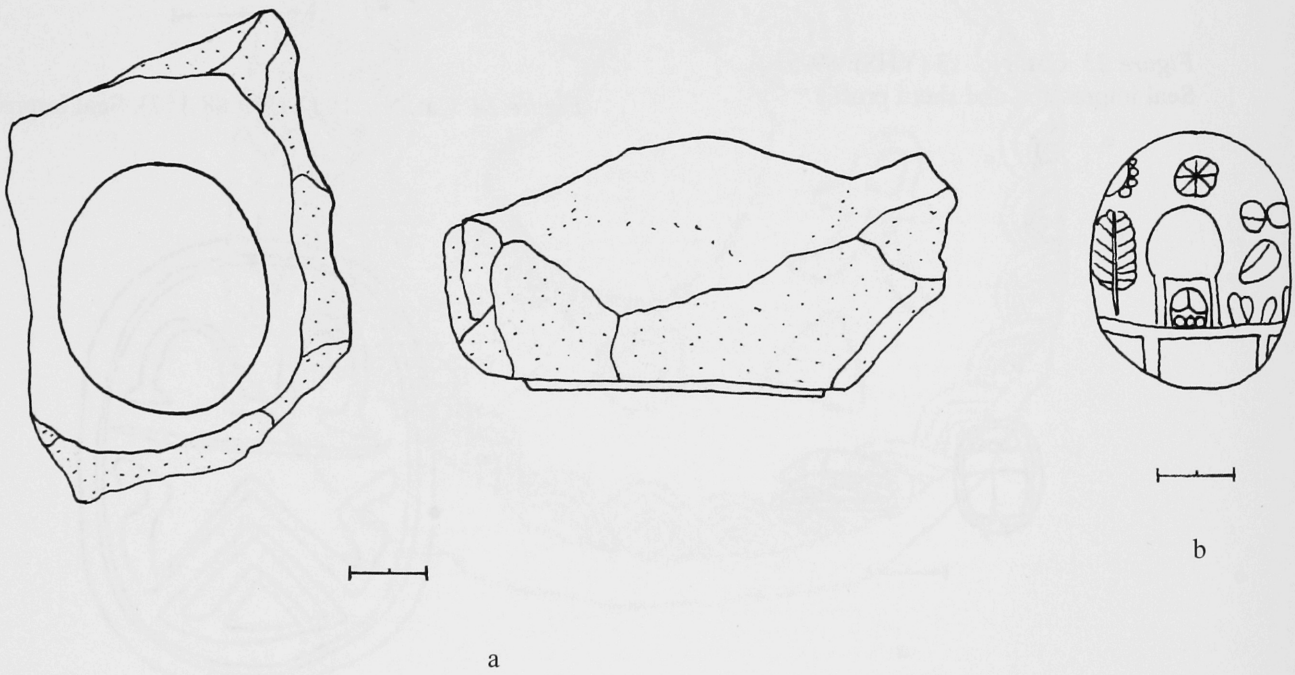


Figure 27 Cat. No. 17 (10954 SS 273). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

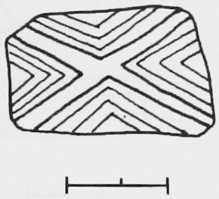


Figure 28 Cat. No. 18 (572 SS 31). Seal impression.

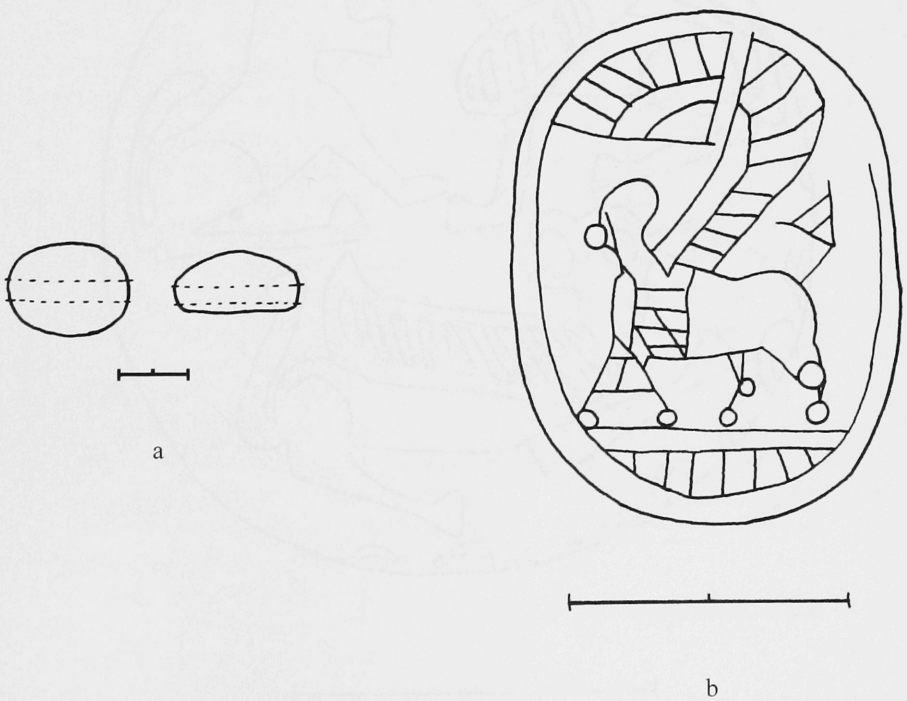
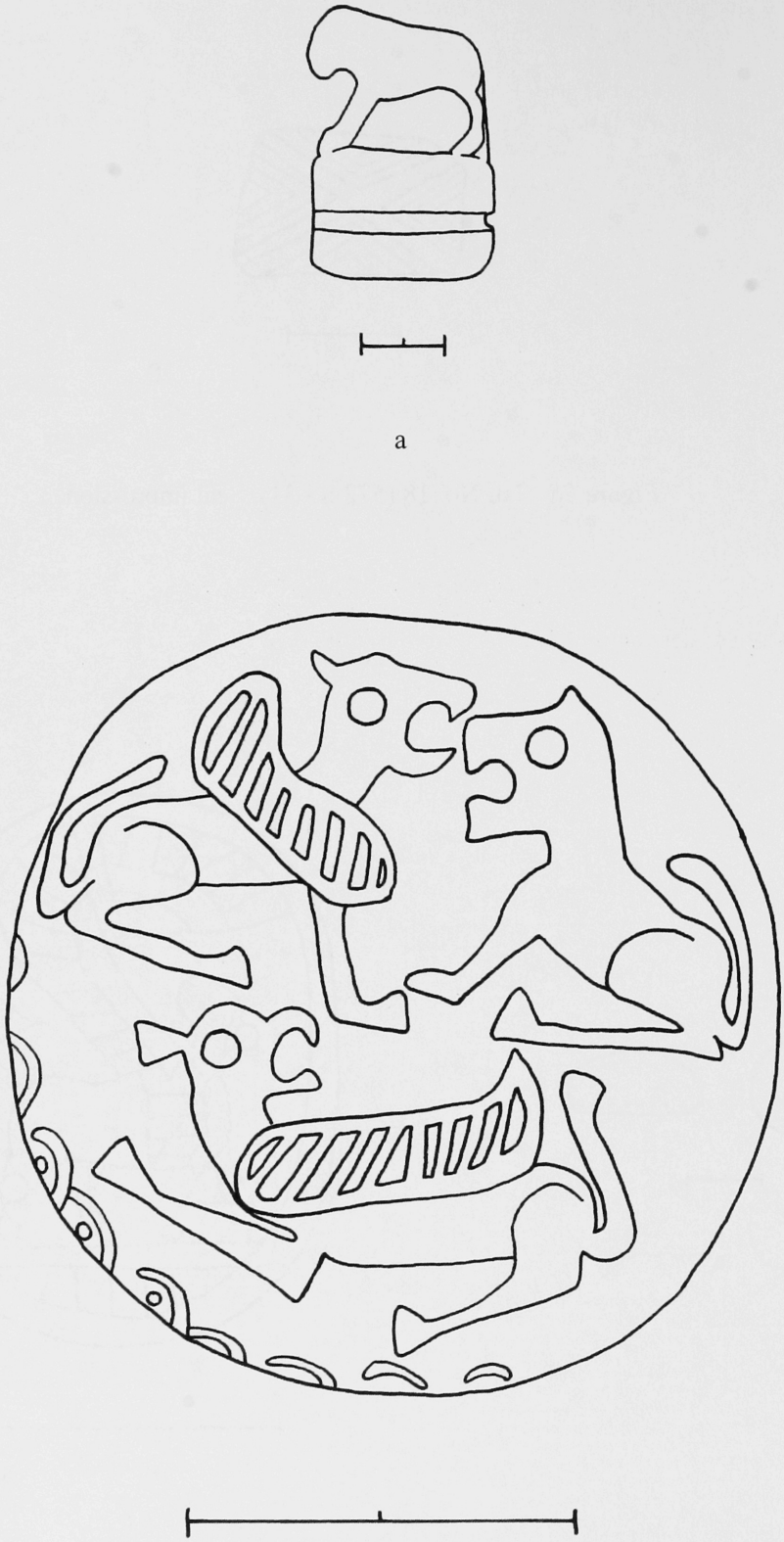


Figure 29 Cat. No. 19 (7965 SS 219). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.



a

b

Figure 30 Cat. No. 20 (8400 SS 225). (a) Seal profile; (b) Seal impression.

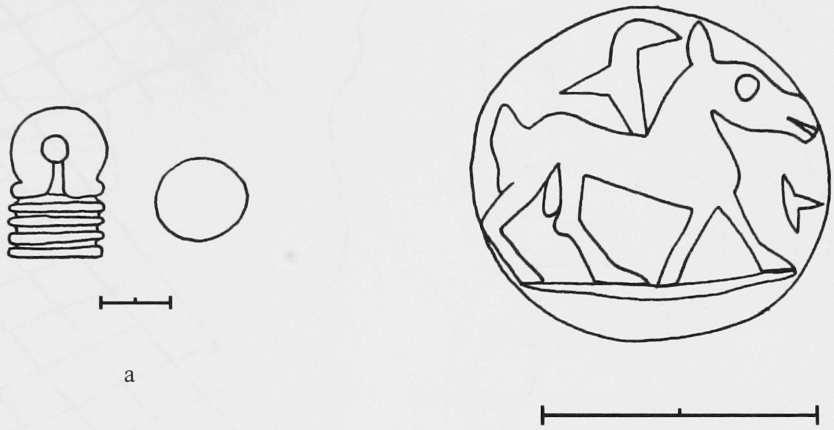


Figure 31 Cat. No. 21 (10351 SS 258). (a) Seal profile and base; (b) Seal impression.

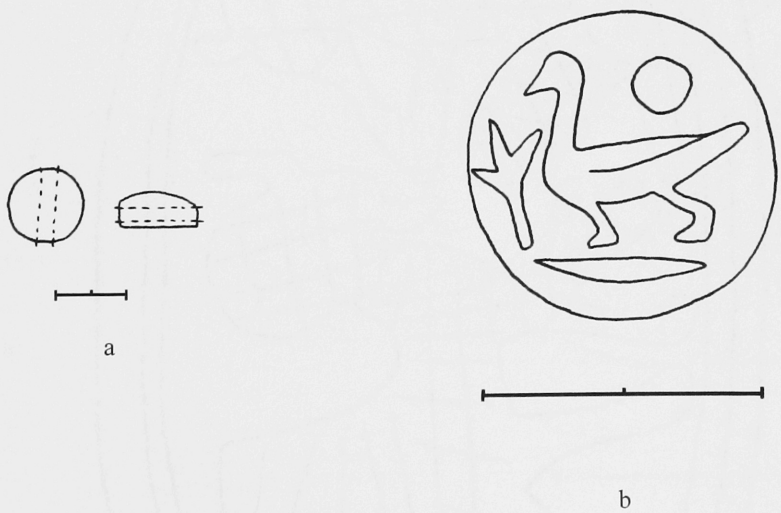


Figure 32 Cat. No. 22 (10352 SS 259). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

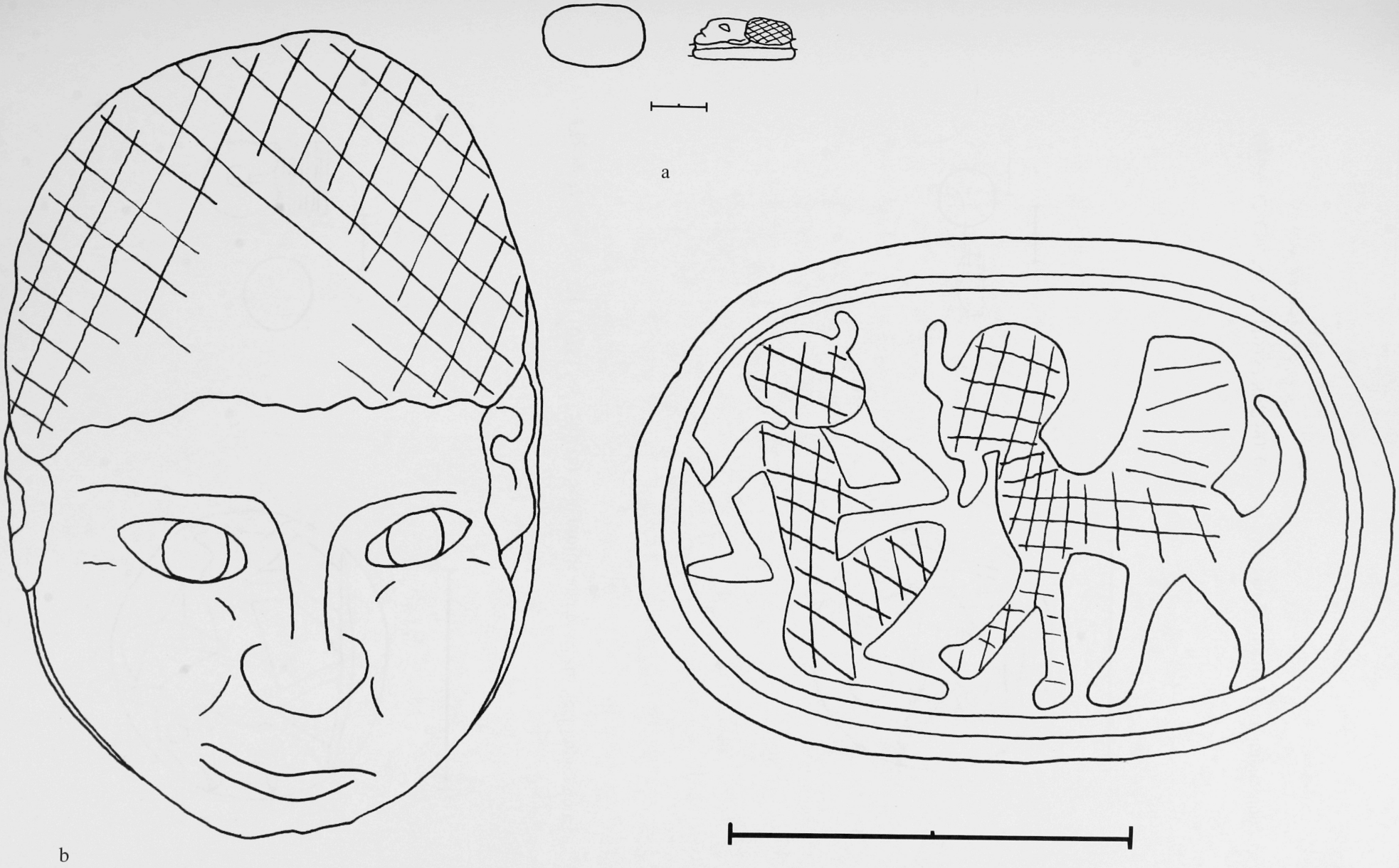


Figure 33 Cat. No. 23 (889 SS 41). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal back and impression.

Figure 34 Cat. No. 24 (596 SS 33). (a) Seal profile; (b) Seal impression.

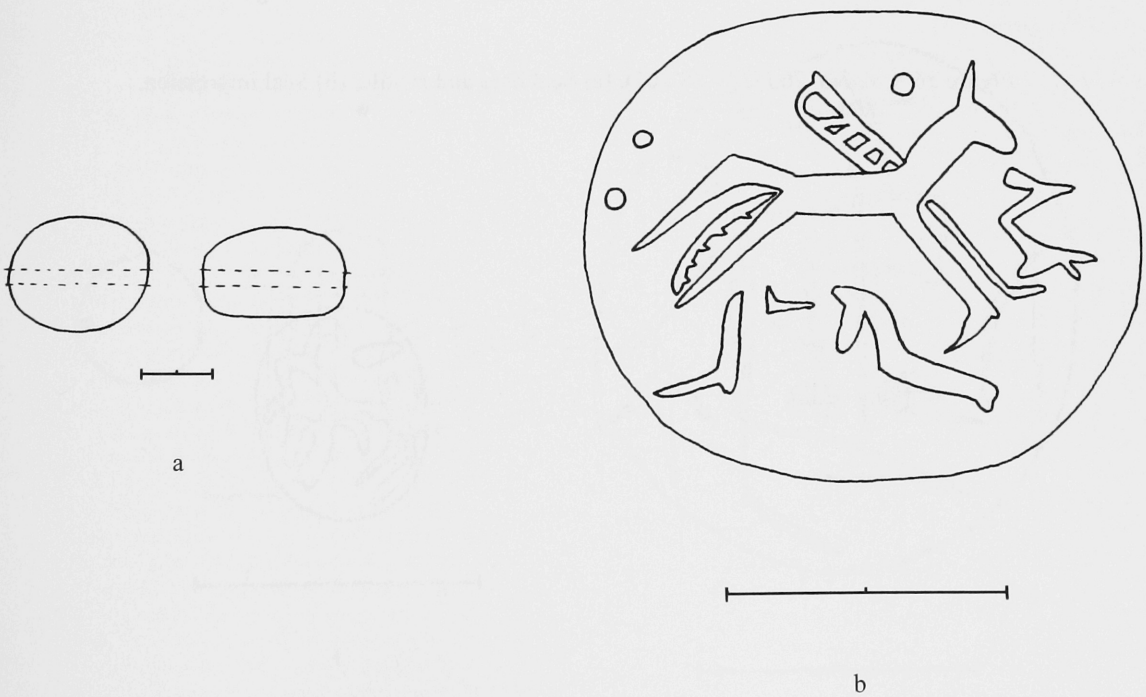


Figure 35 Cat. No. 25 (9369 SS 240). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

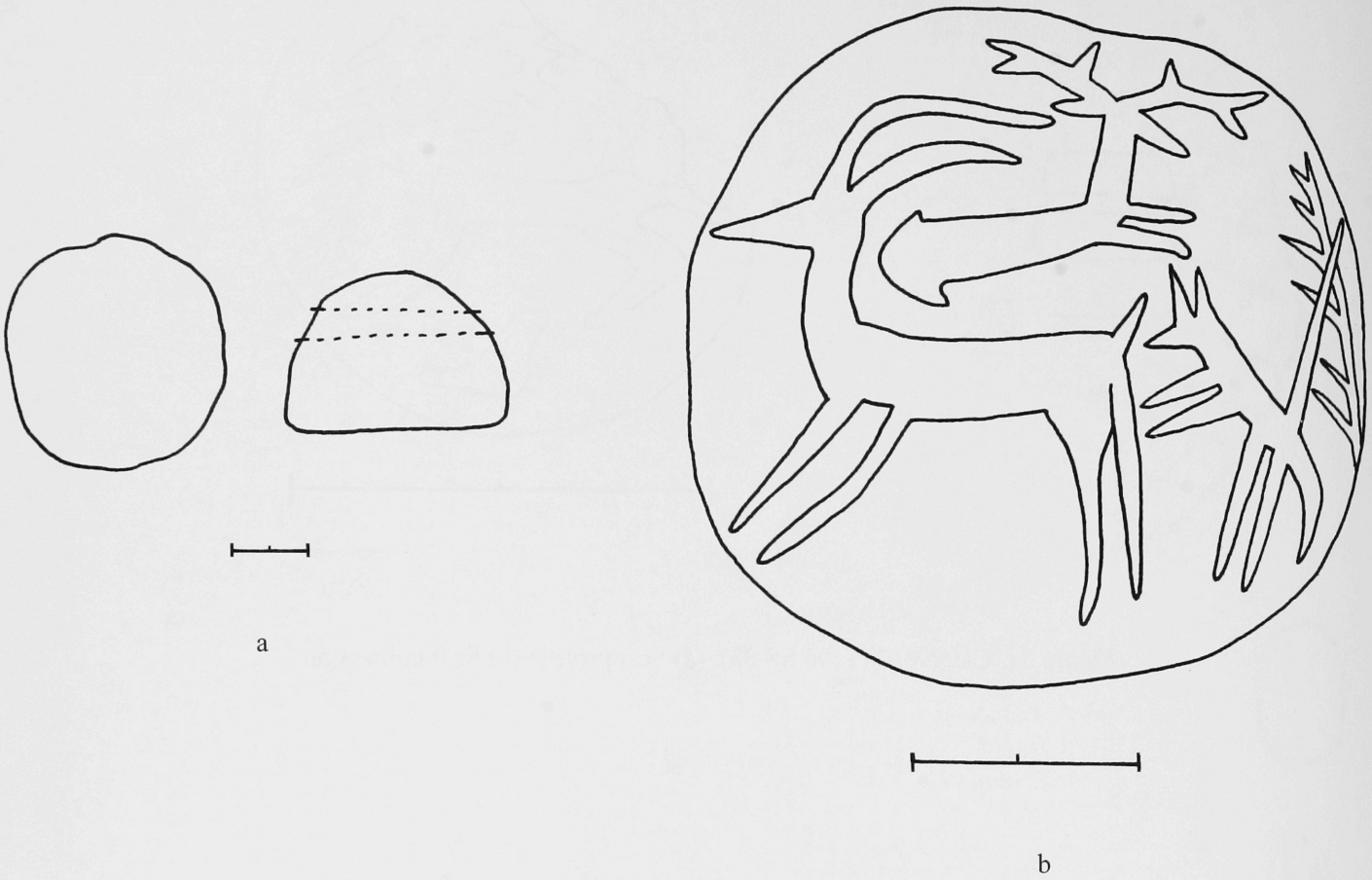


Figure 36 Cat. No. 26 (7349 SS 201). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

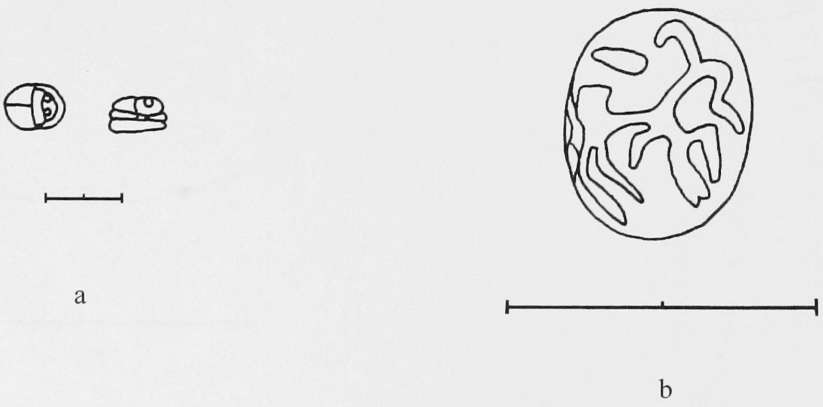


Figure 37 Cat. No. 27 (8900 SS 231). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

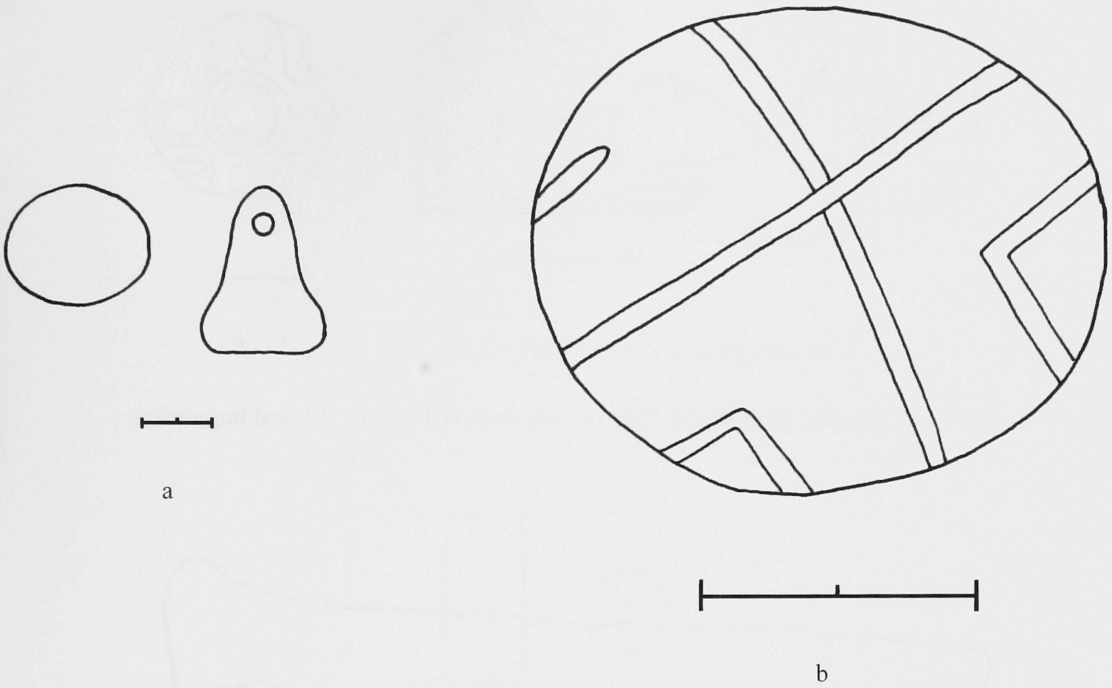


Figure 38 Cat. No. 28 (3072 SS 125). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

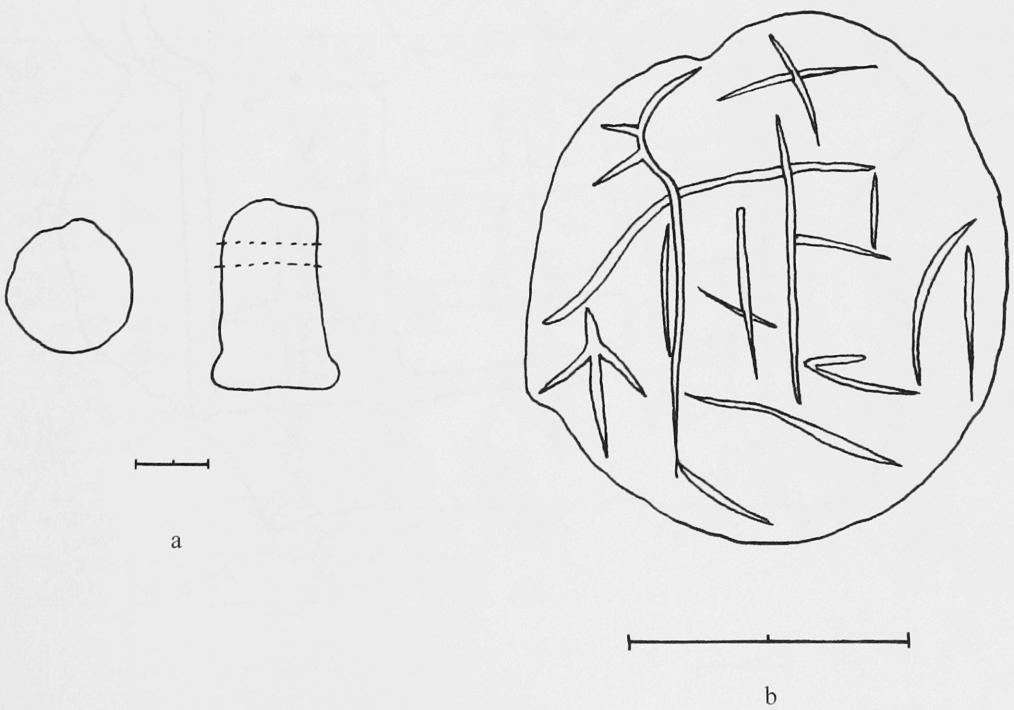


Figure 39 Cat. No. 29 (YHSF 94-181). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

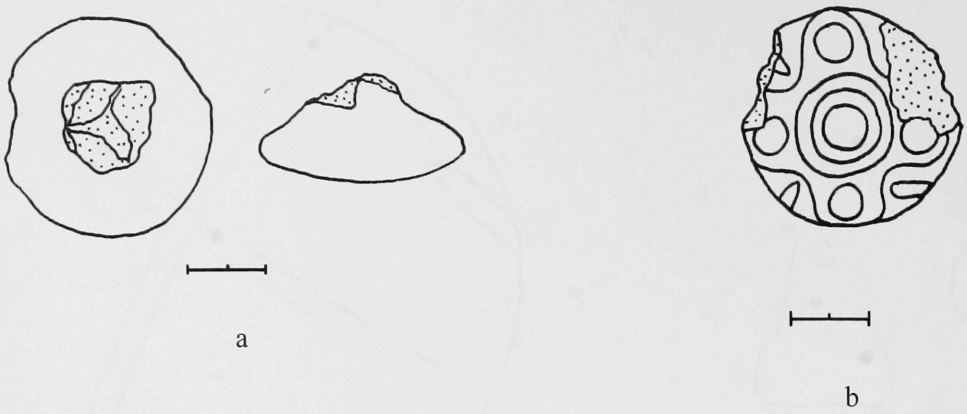


Figure 40 Cat. No. 30 (8362 SS 224). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

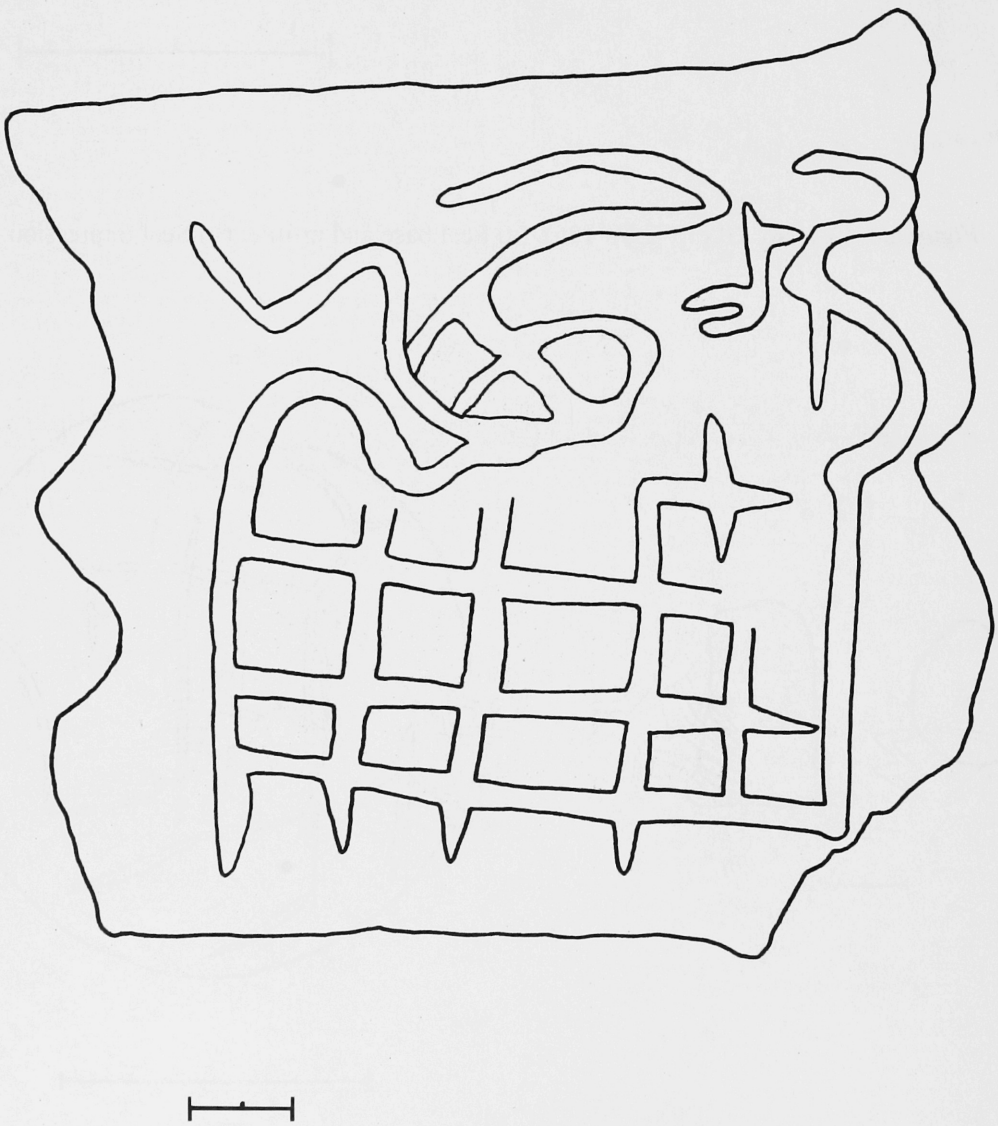


Figure 41 Cat. No. 31 (894 SS 42). Seal impression.

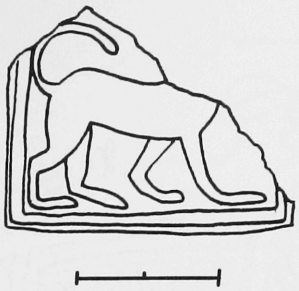
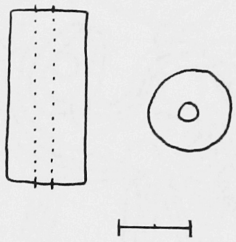
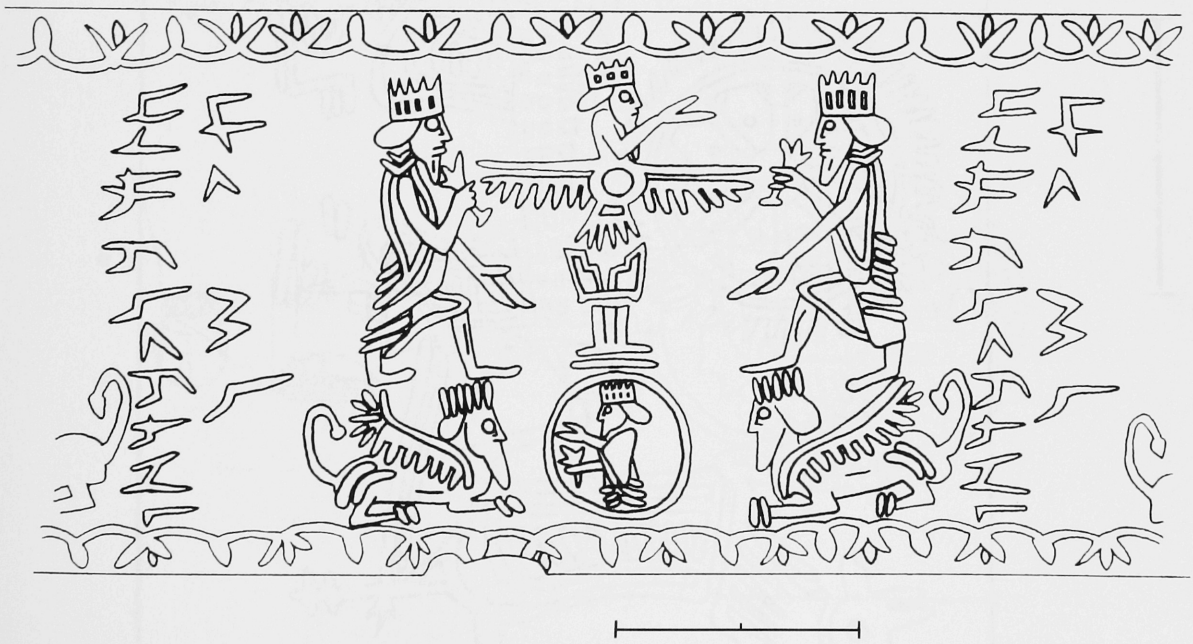


Figure 42 Cat. No. 32 (5398 SS 167). Seal impression.



a



b

Figure 43 Cat. No. 33. (2342 SS 100). (a) Seal profile and base; (b) Seal impression.

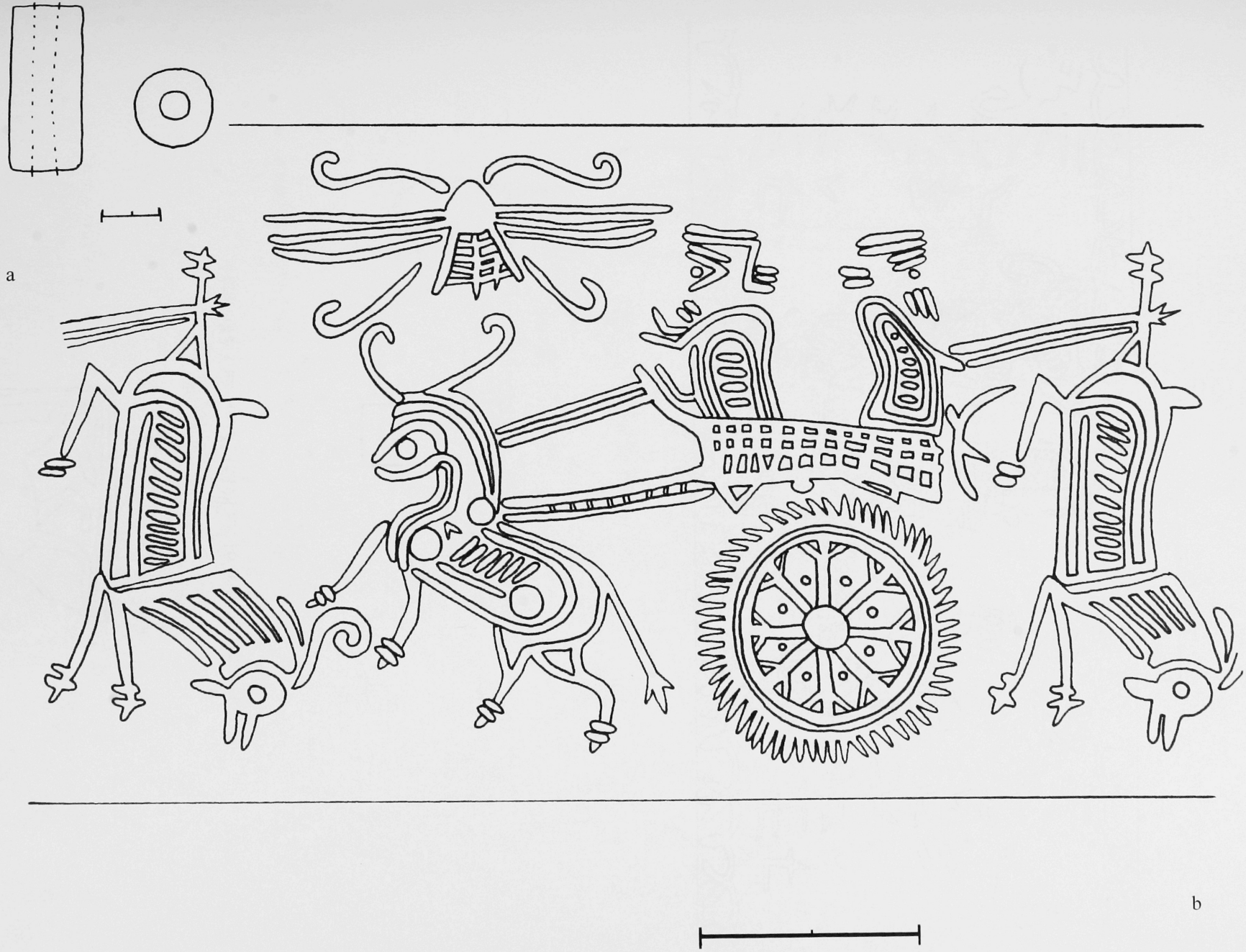


Figure 44 Cat. No. 34 (7287 SS 199). (a) Seal profile and base; (b) Seal impression.

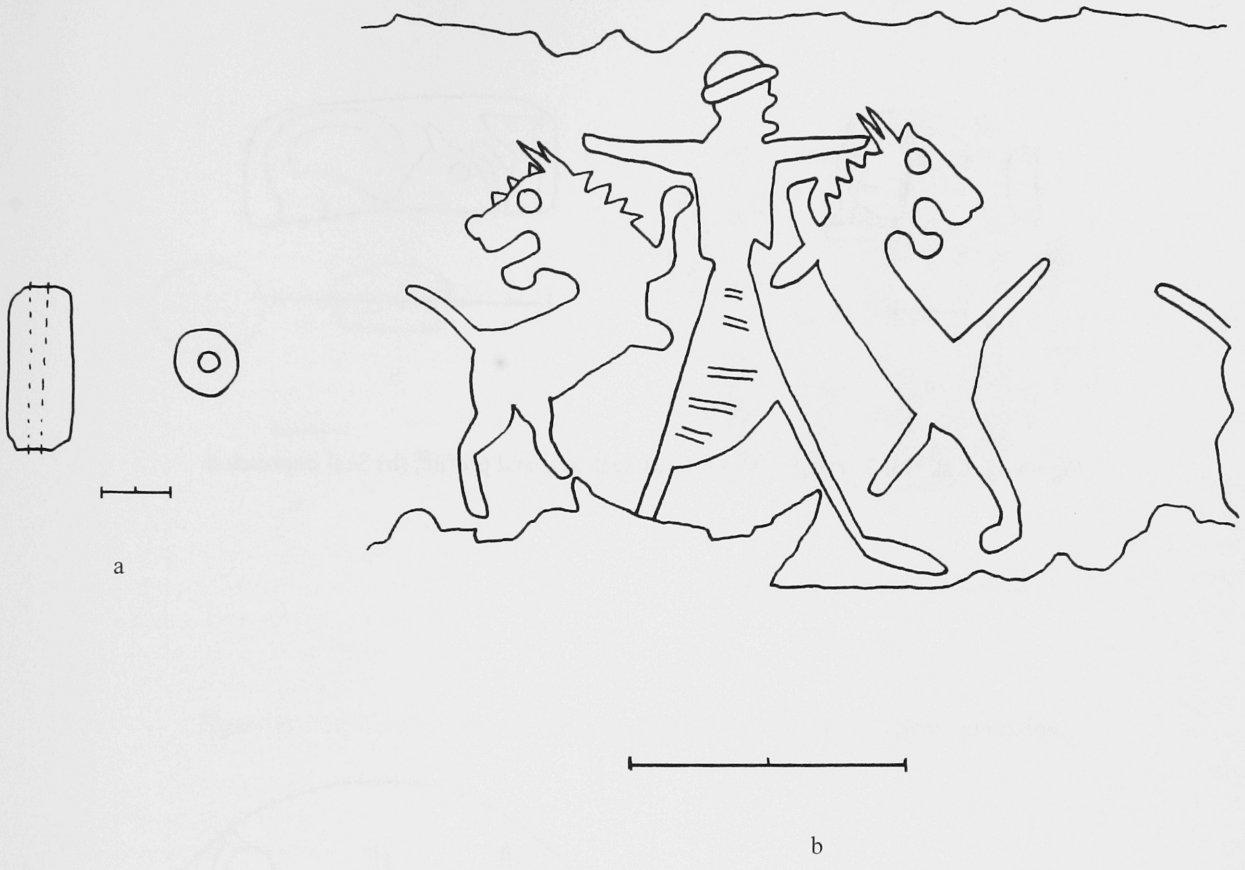


Figure 45 Cat. No. 35 (7557 SS 205). (a) Seal profile and base; (b) Seal impression.

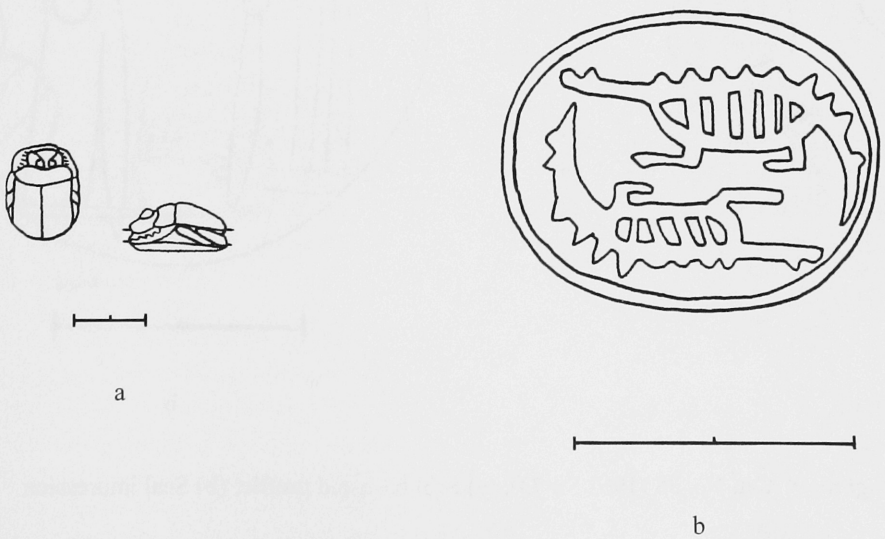


Figure 46 Cat. No. 36 (9784 SS 246). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

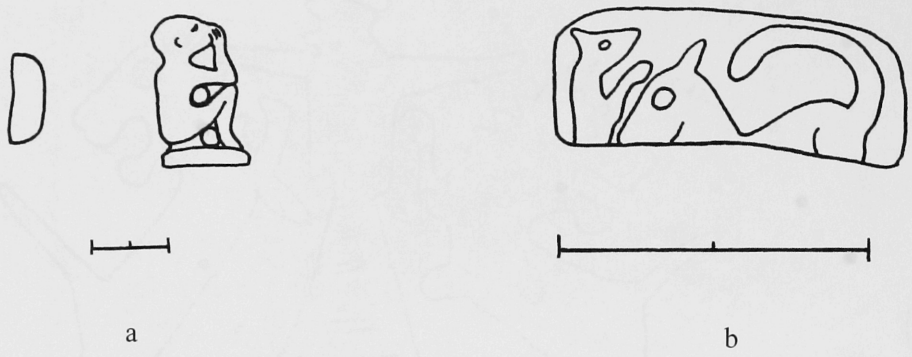


Figure 47 Cat. No. 37 (YHSF 94-130). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

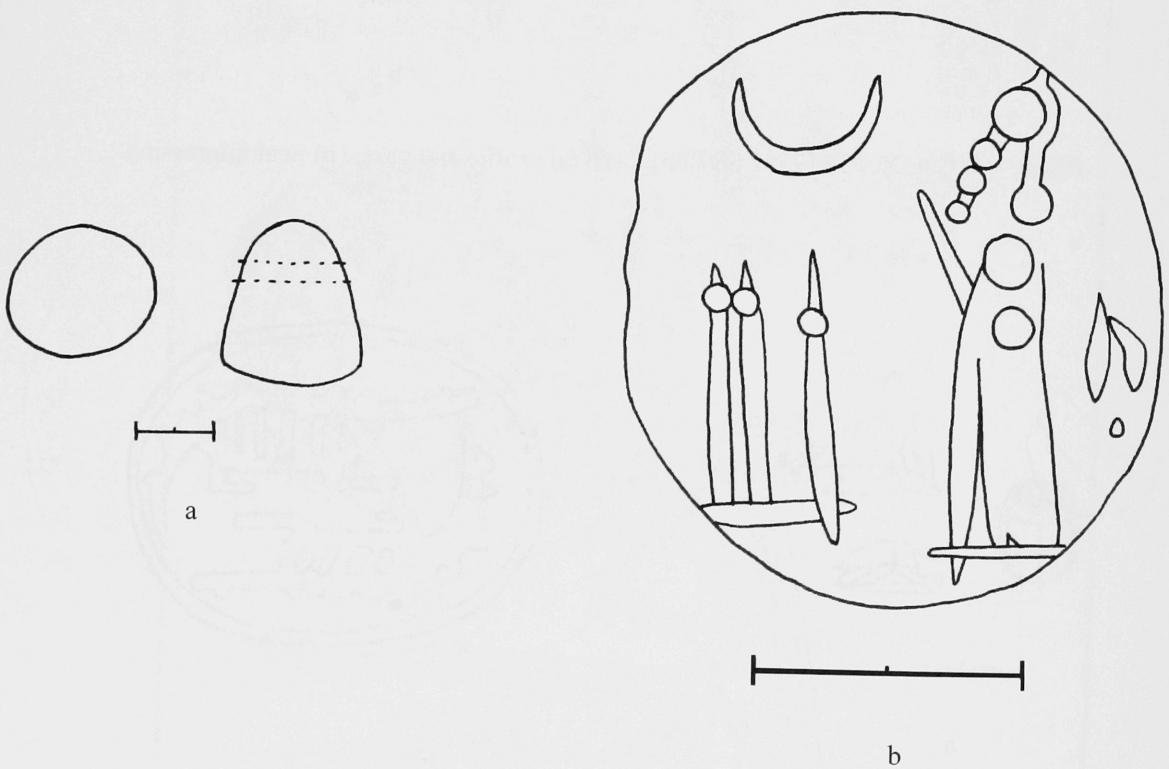


Figure 48 Cat. No. 38 (1962 SS 73). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

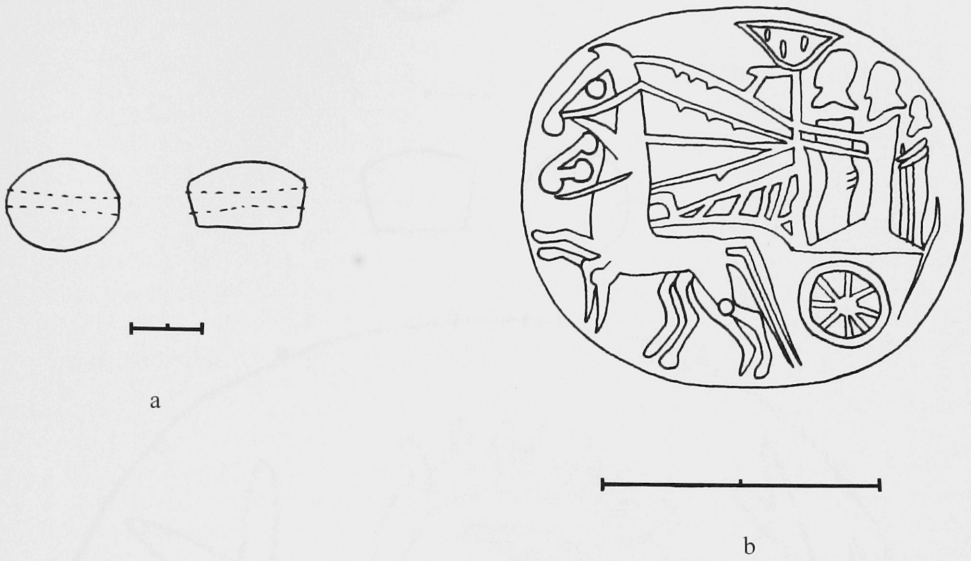


Figure 49 Cat No. 39 (4083 SS 150). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

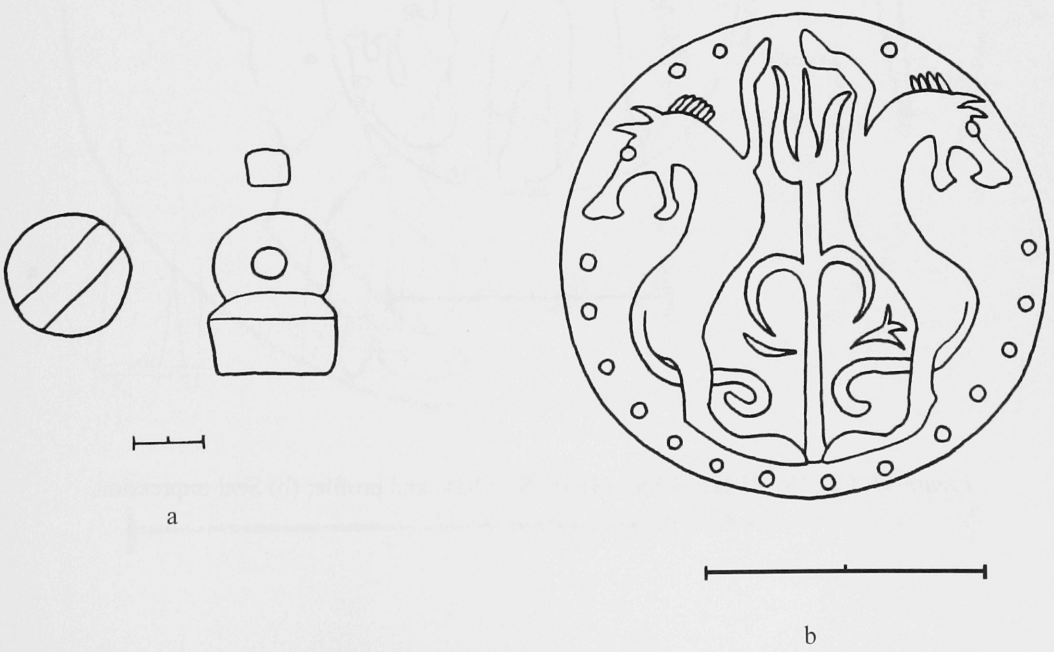
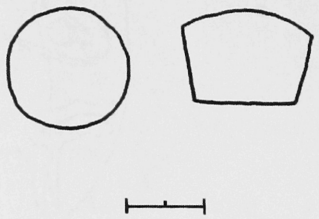
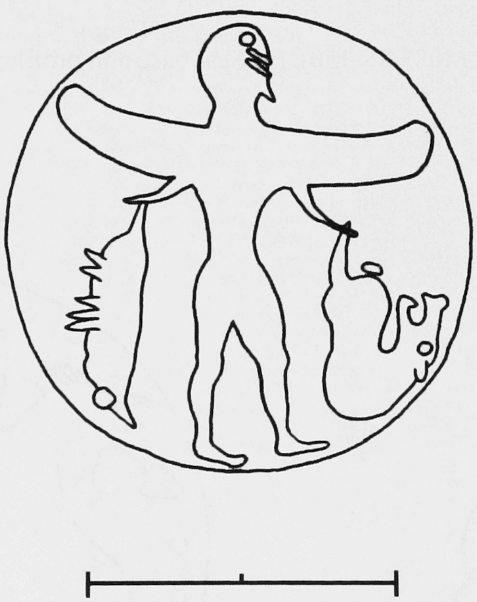


Figure 50 Cat. No. 40 (6546 SS 187). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.



a



b

Figure 51 Cat. No. 41 (2654 SS 114). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

a

b

Figure 52 Cat. No. 42 (199 SS 9). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

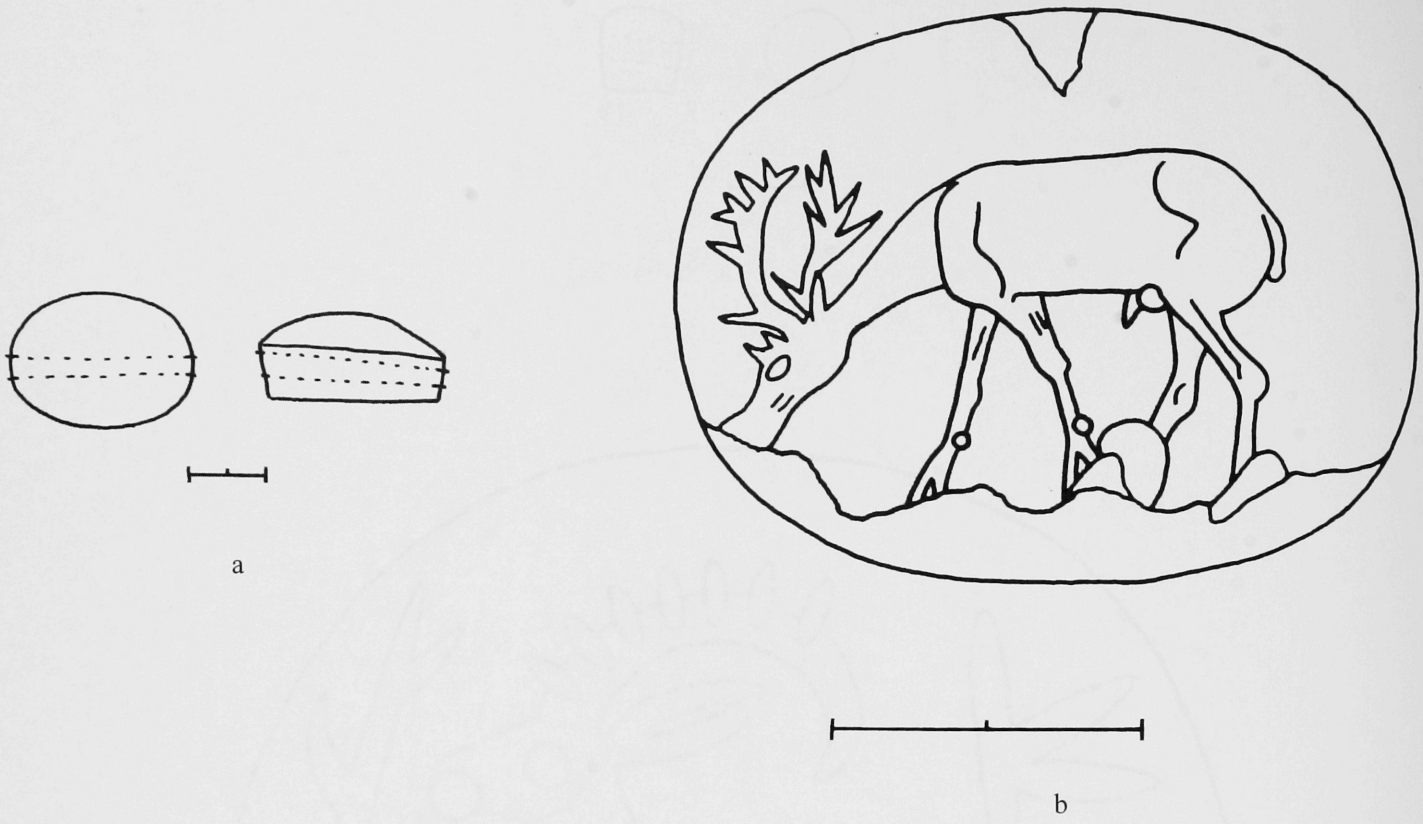


Figure 53 Cat. No. 43 (4492 SS 153). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

Figure 54 Cat. No. 44 (3404 SS 134). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

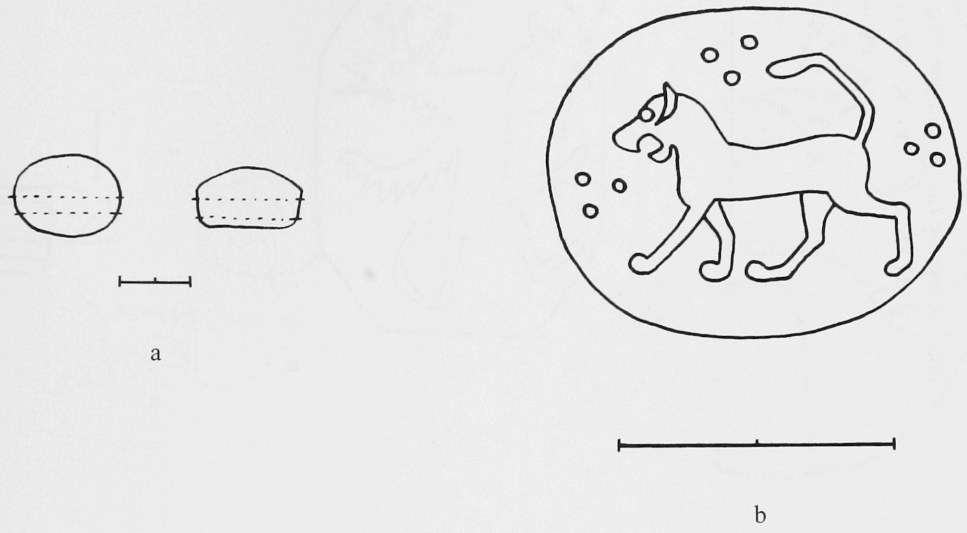
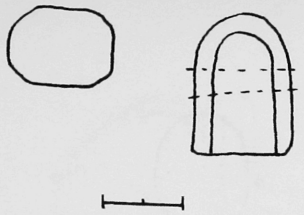


Figure 55 Cat. No. 45 (9347 SS 239). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

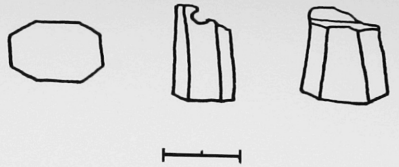
Figure 56 Cat. No. 46 (2260 SS 90). (a) Seal base and profiles; (b) Seal impression.



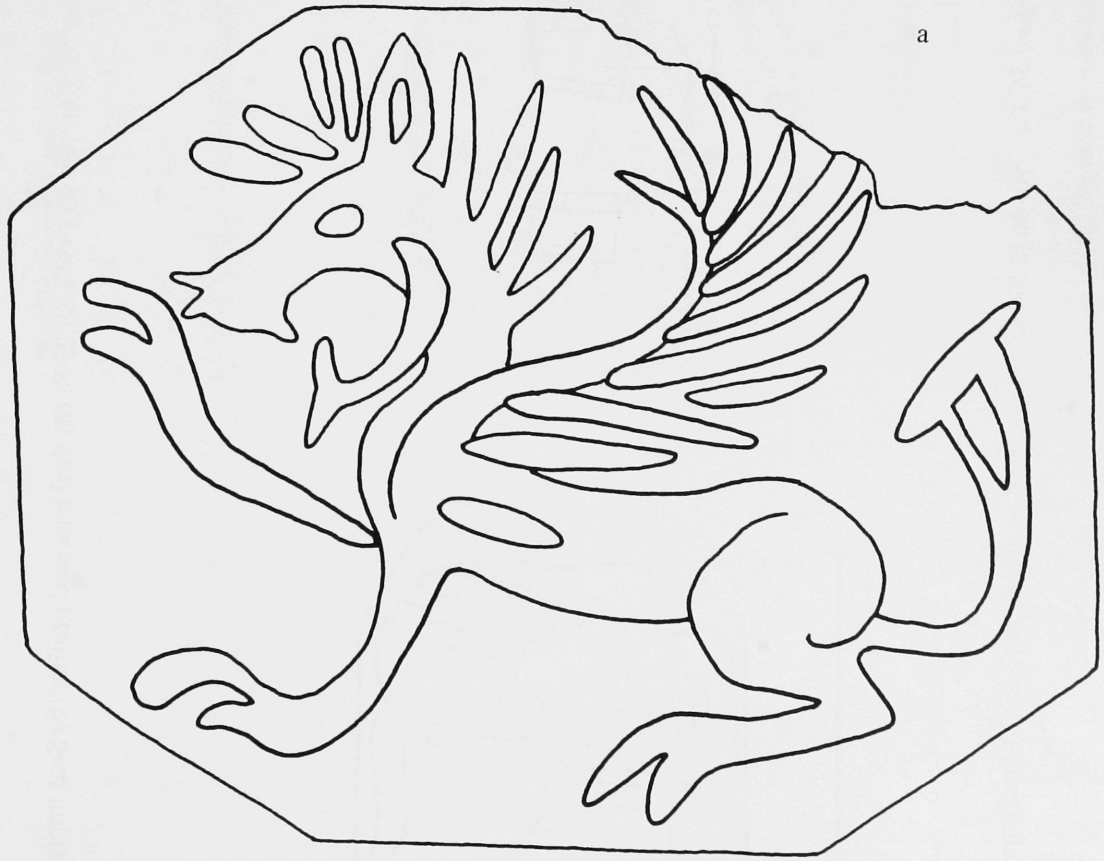
a

b

Figure 57 Cat. No. 47 (2626 SS 113).
(a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.



a



b

Figure 58 Cat. No. 48 (1024 SS 44). (a) Seal base and profiles; (b) Seal impression.

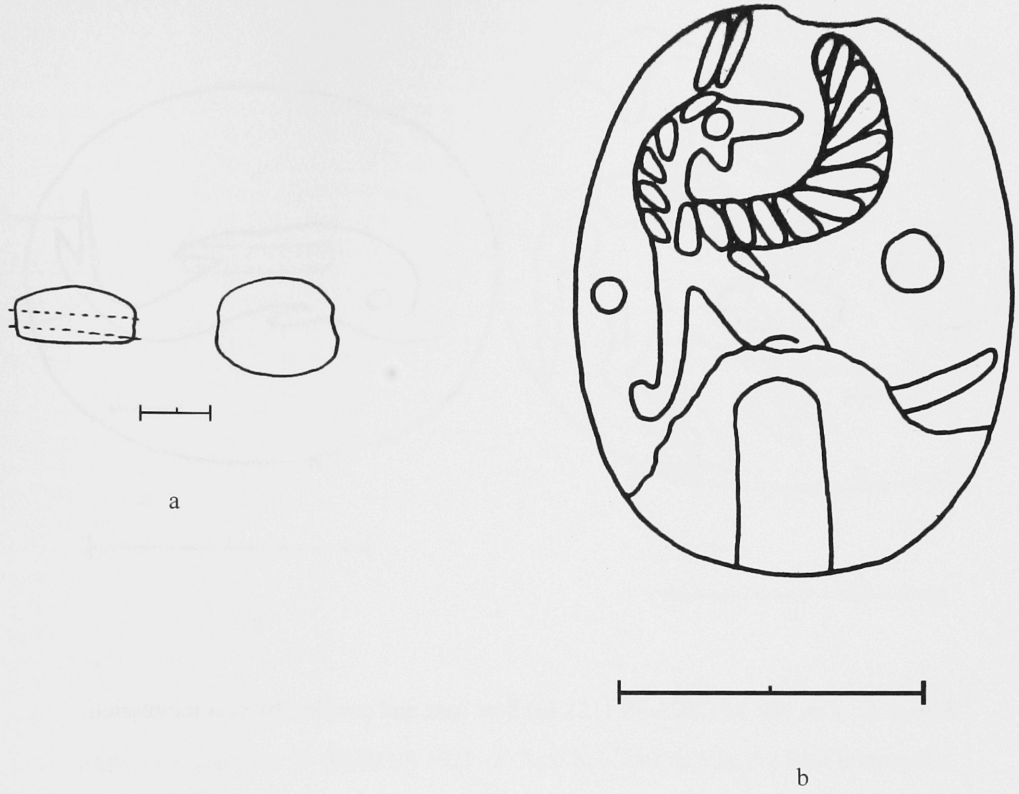


Figure 59 Cat. No. 49 (1469 SS 56). (a) Seal profile and base; (b) Seal impression.

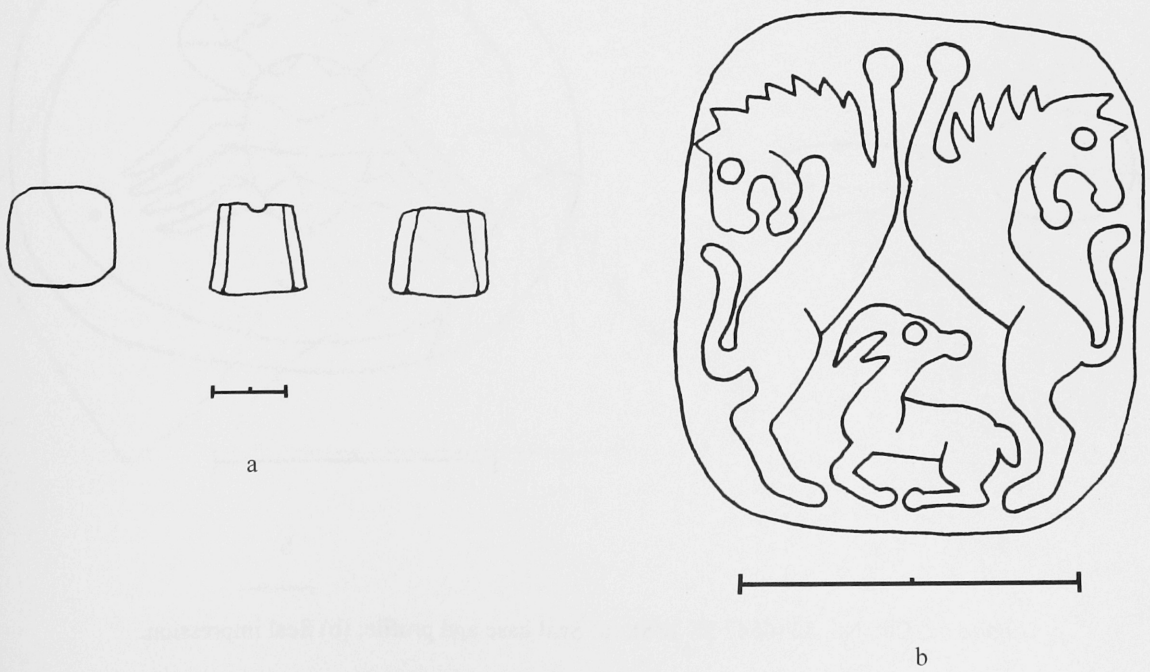


Figure 60 Cat. No. 50 (1975 SS 75). (a) Seal base and profiles; (b) Seal impression.

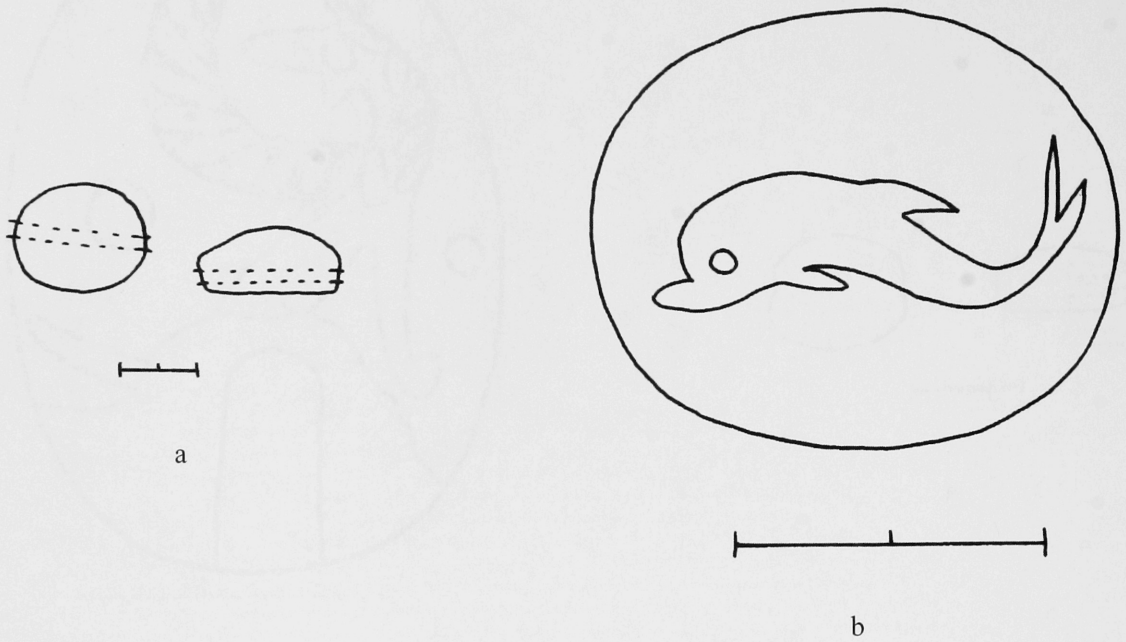


Figure 61 Cat. No. 51 (2625 SS 112). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

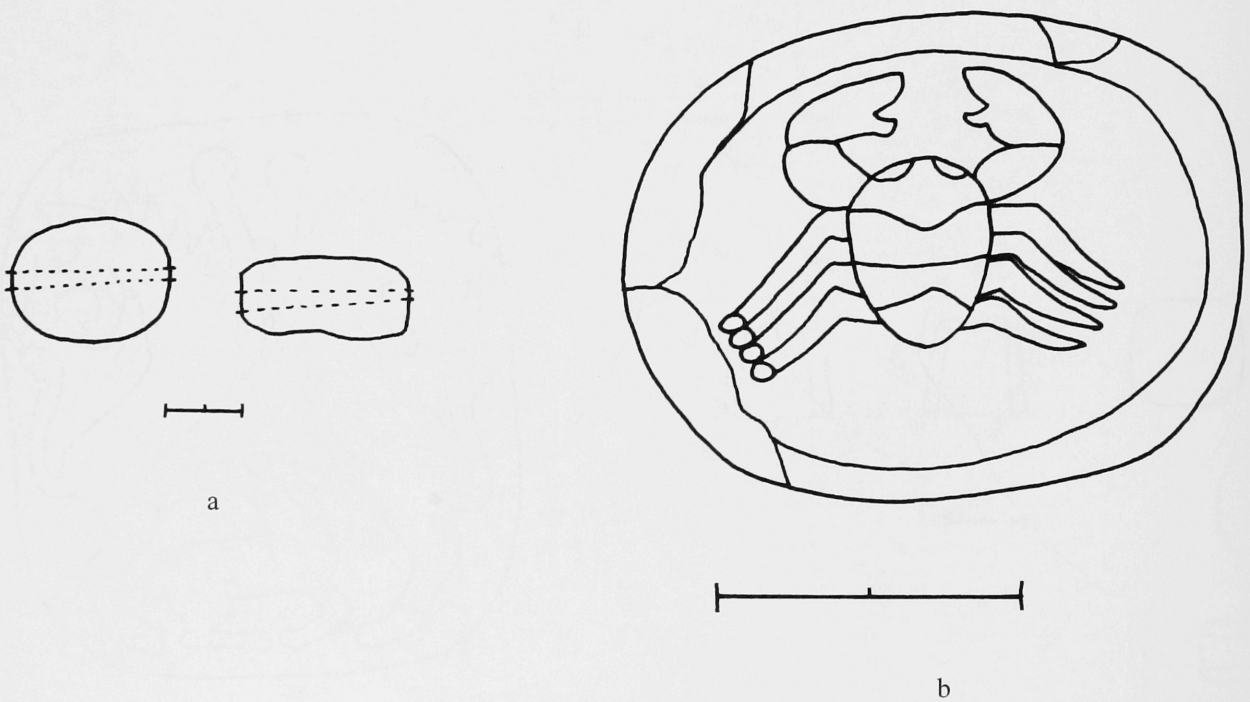


Figure 62 Cat. No. 52 (6547 SS 188). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

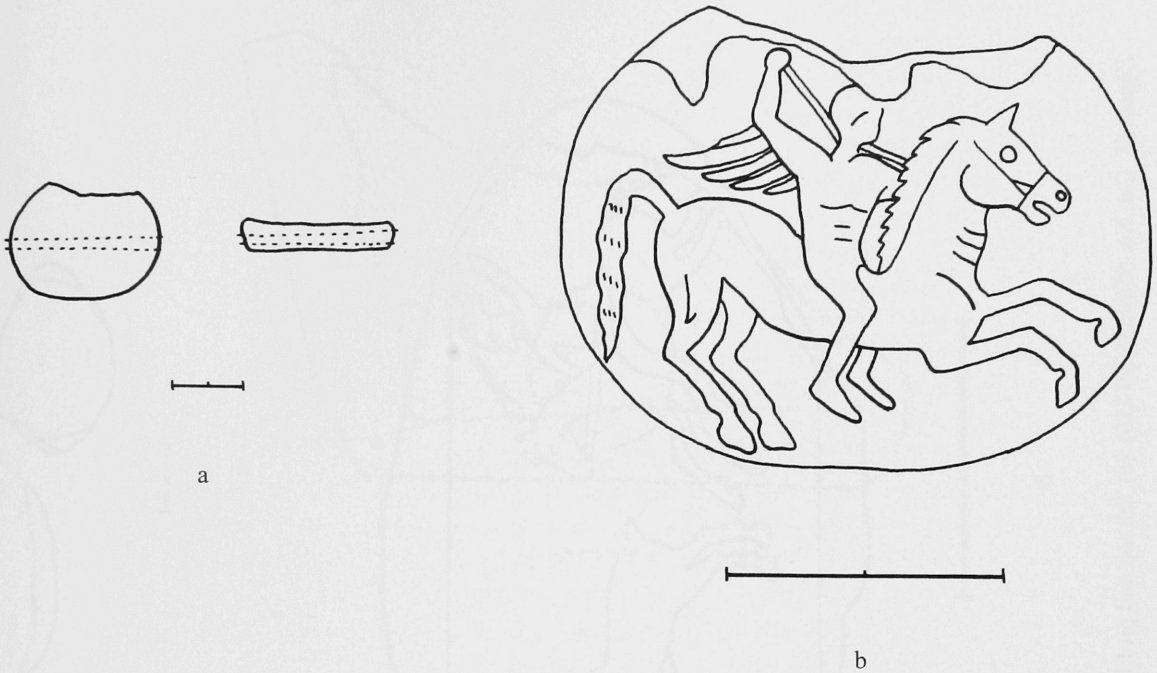


Figure 63 Cat. No. 53 (6800 SS 192). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

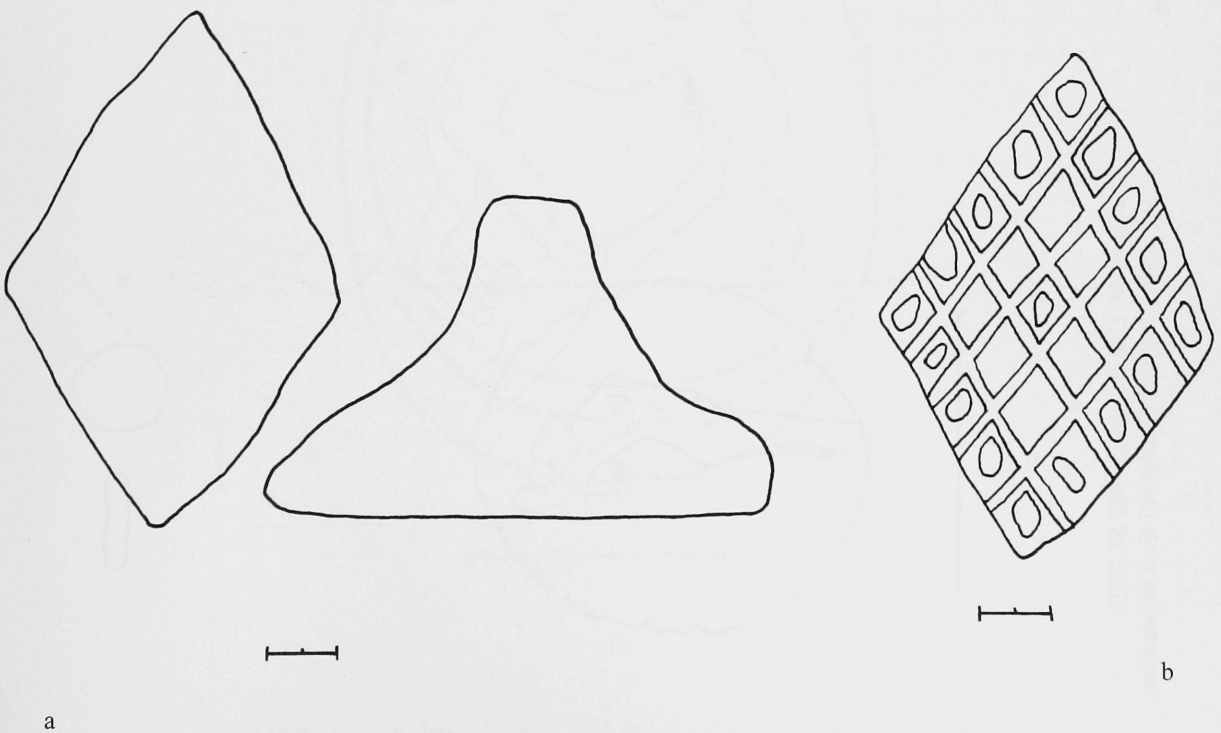
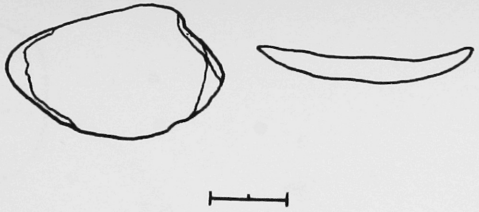
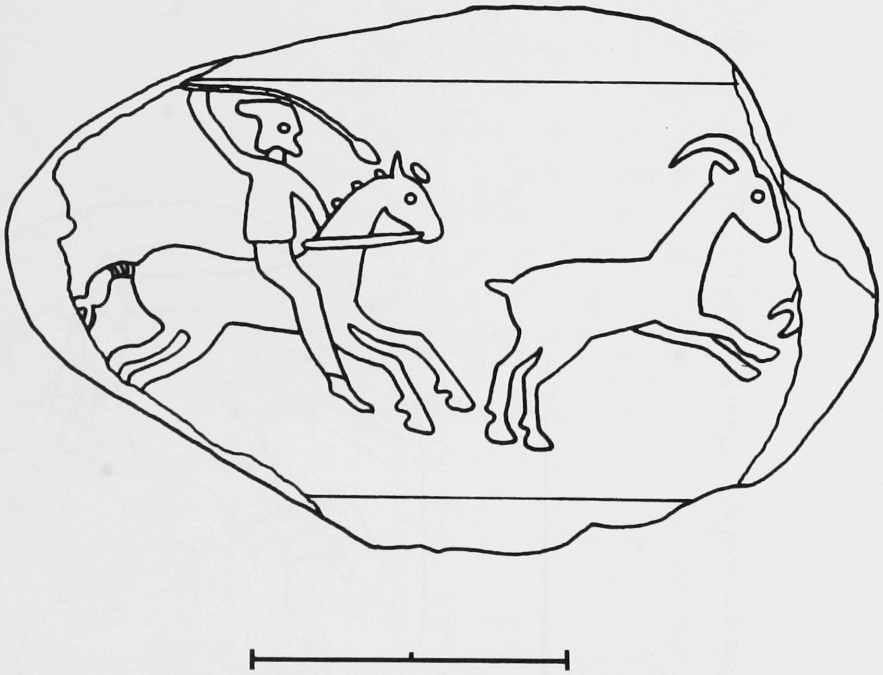


Figure 64 Cat. No. 54 (9870 SS 249). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

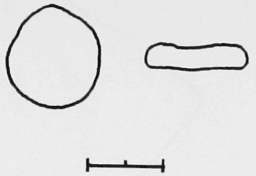


a

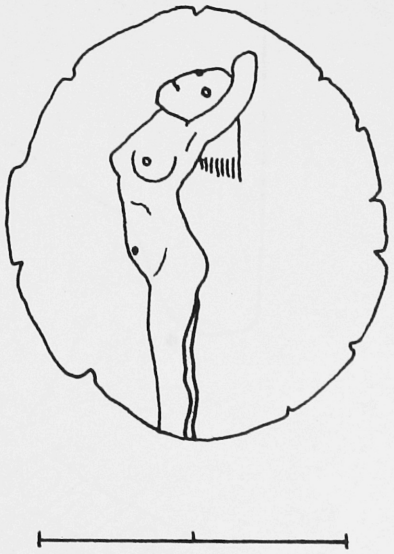


b

Figure 65 Cat. No. 55 (4536 SS 156). (a) Tab top and profile; (b) Seal impression.

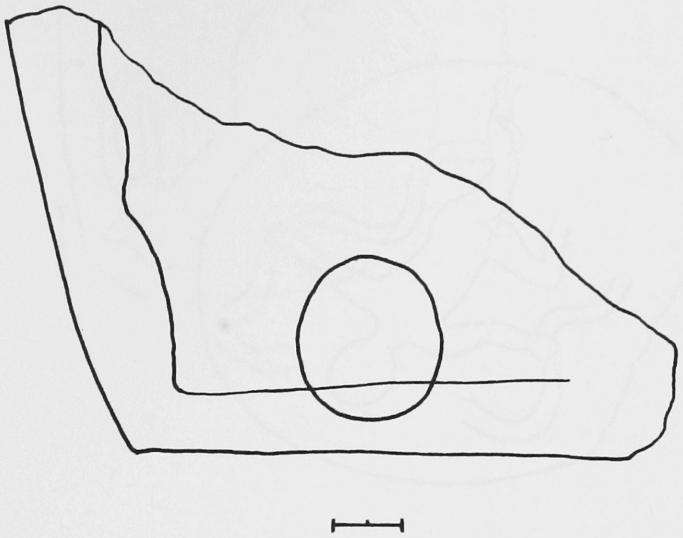


a



b

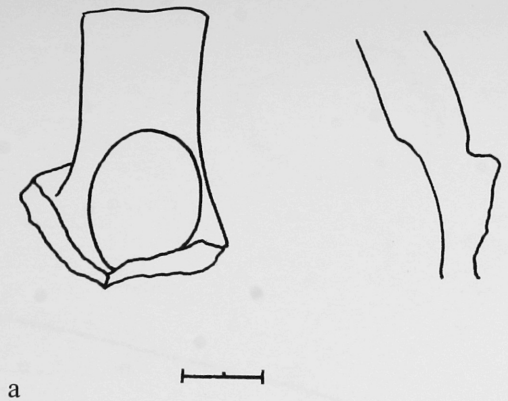
Figure 66 Cat. No. 56 (10902 SS 272).
(a) Sealing top and profile; (b) Seal impression.



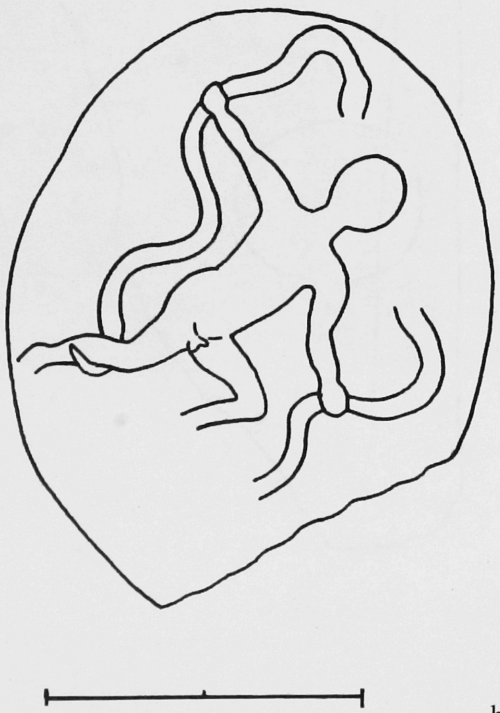
a

b

Figure 67 Cat. No. 57 (5631 SS 170). (a) Sherd; (b) Seal impression.



a



b

Figure 68 Cat. No. 58 (7901 SS 213)
(a) Sherd; (b) Seal impression.

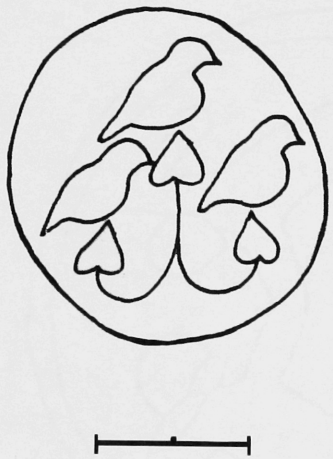


Figure 69 Cat. No. 59 (1842 SS 69)
Seal impression.

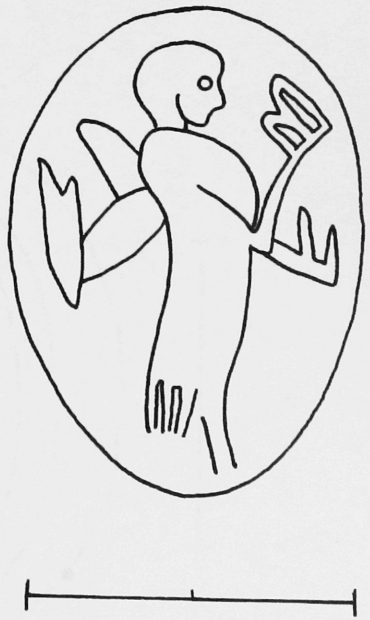


Figure 70 Cat. No. 60 (10175 SS 254)
Seal impression.

Figure 71 Cat. No. 61 (9690 SS 242). (a) Sherd; (b) Seal impression.

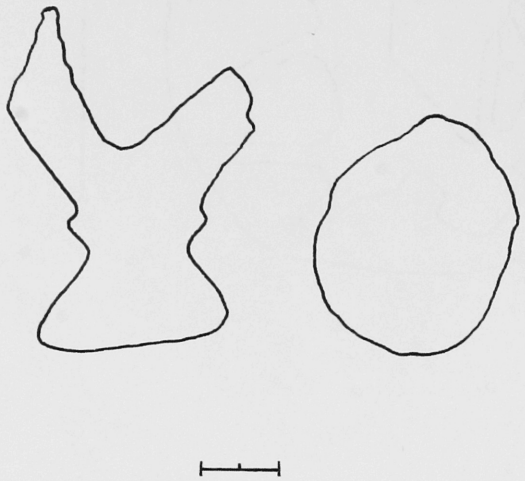


Figure 72 Cat. No. 62 (11326 SS 280). Profile and base.

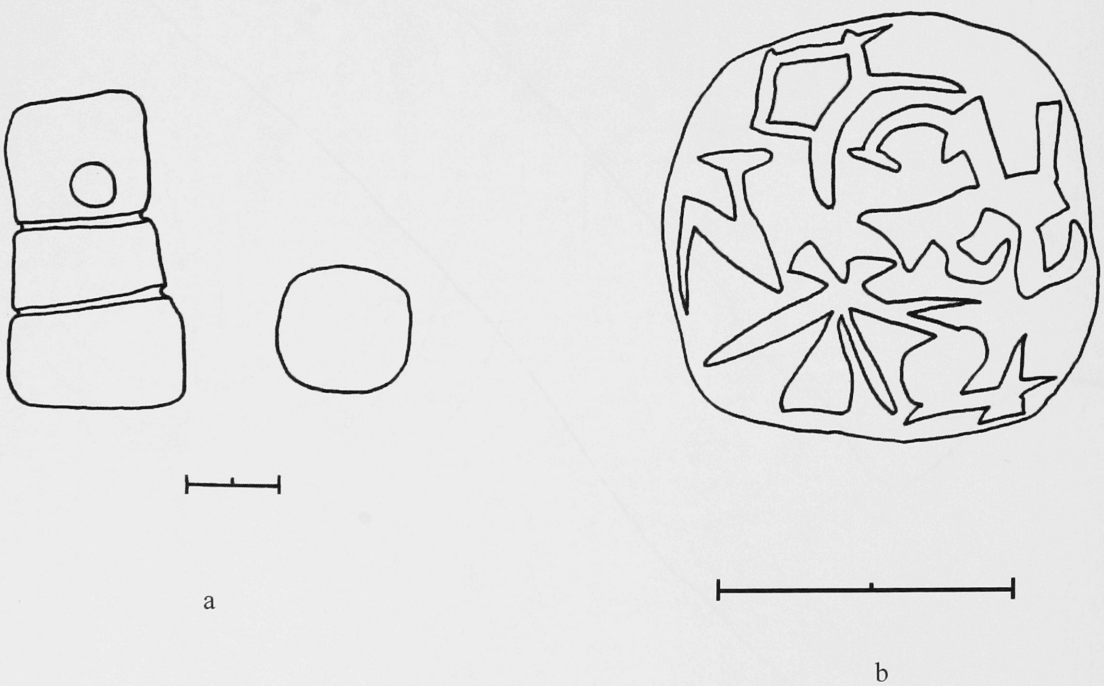


Figure 73 Cat. No. 63 (3098 SS 127). (a) Seal profile and base; (b) Seal impression.

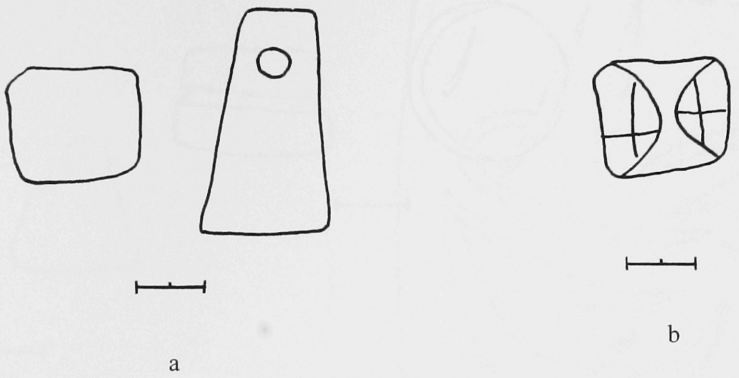


Figure 74 Cat. No. 64 (7855 SS 211). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

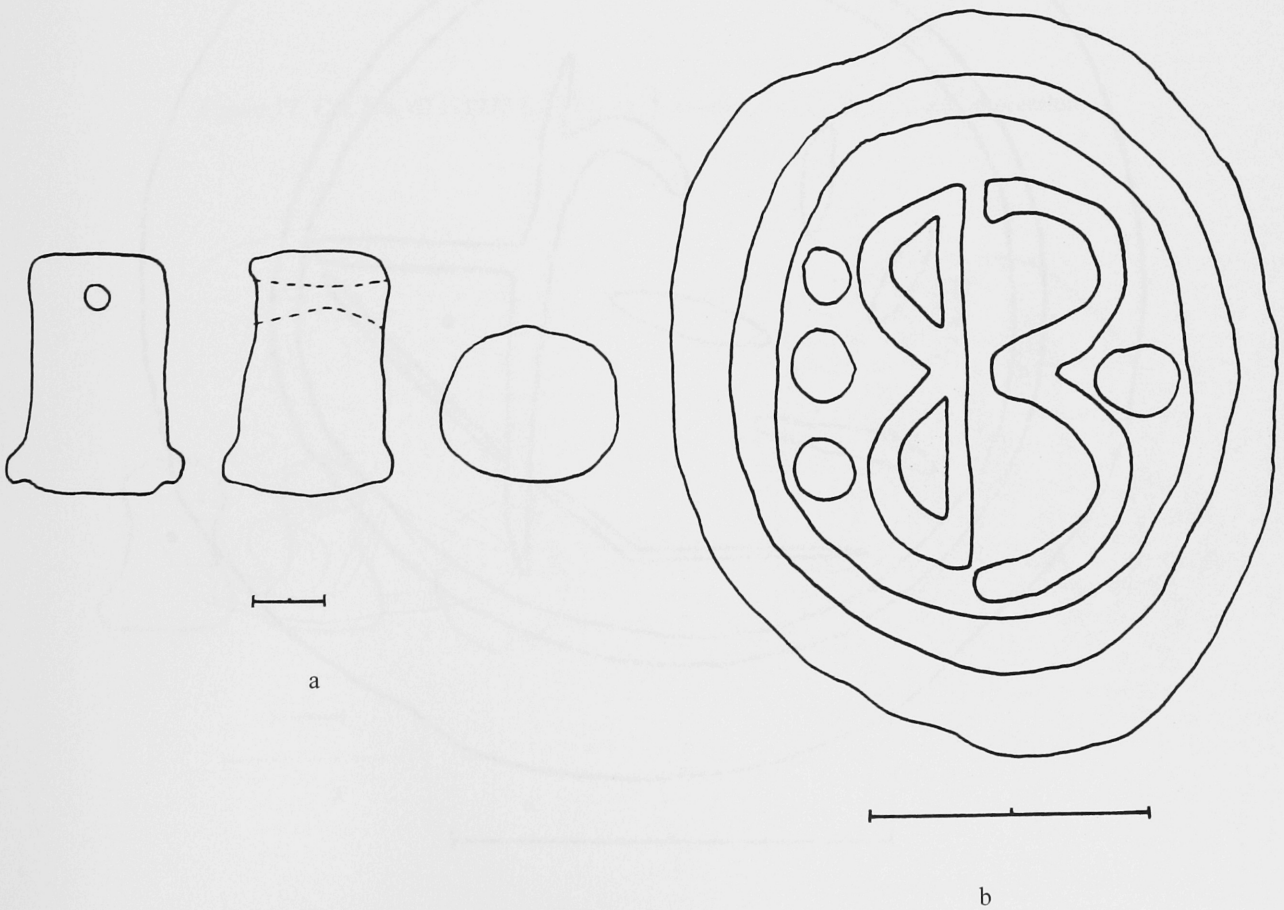
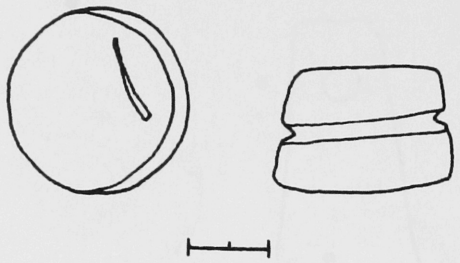


Figure 75 Cat. No. 65 (7833 SS 210). (a) Seal profile and base; (b) Seal impression.



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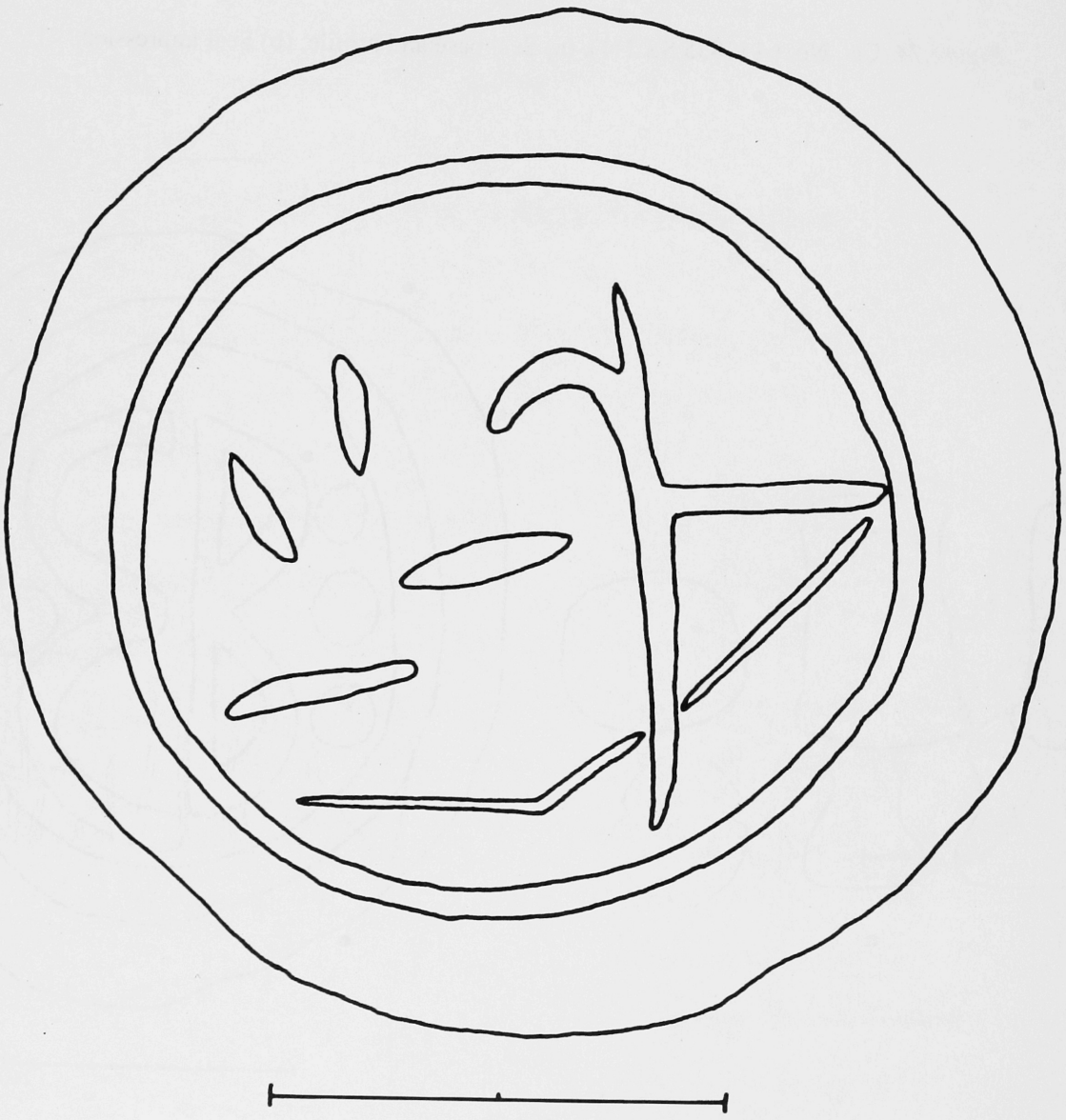


b

Figure 76 Cat. No. 66 (81 SS 1). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

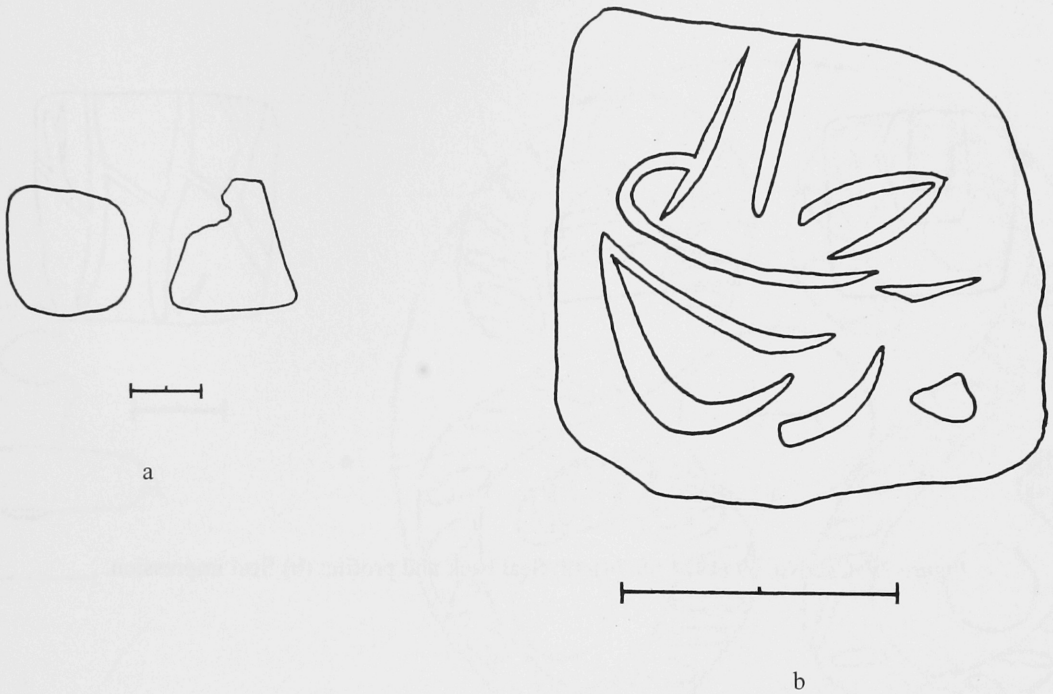


Figure 77 Cat. No. 67 (11273 SS 279). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

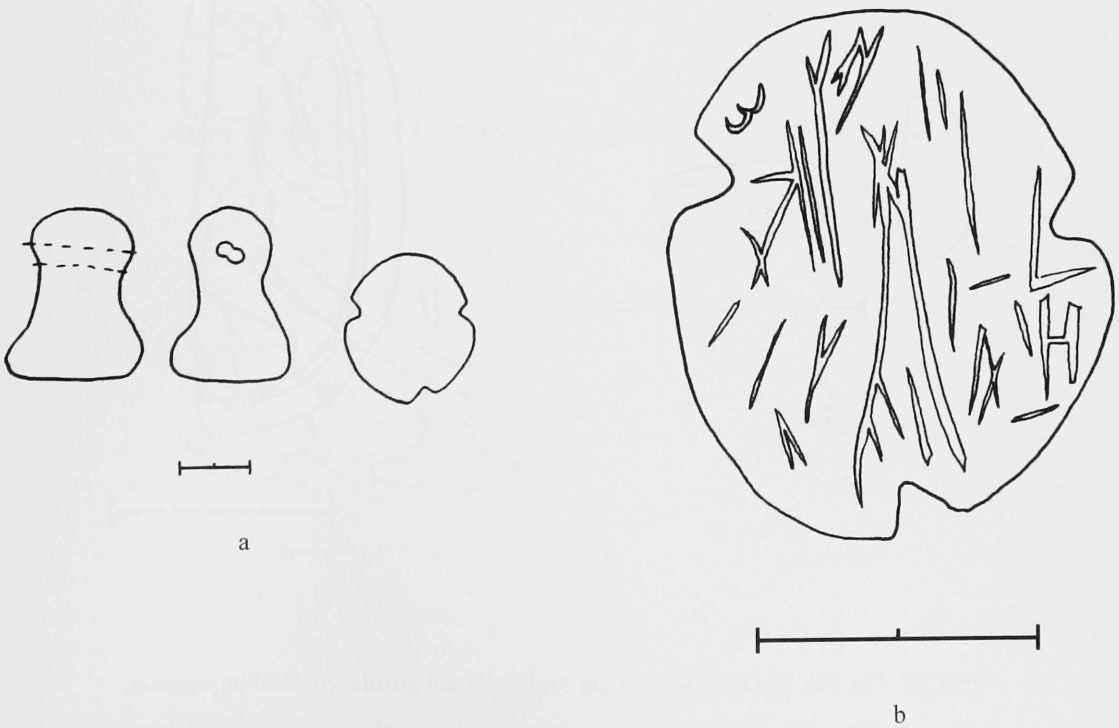
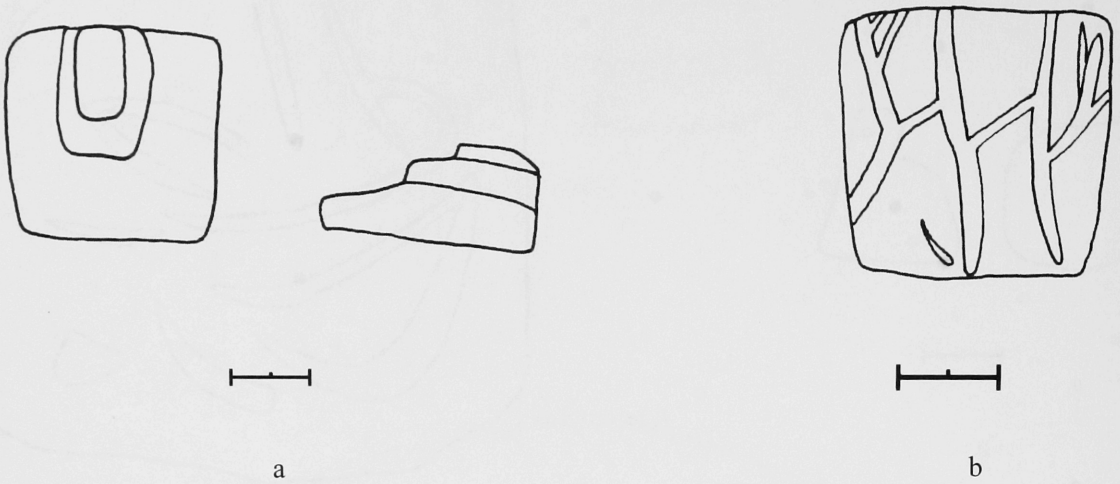
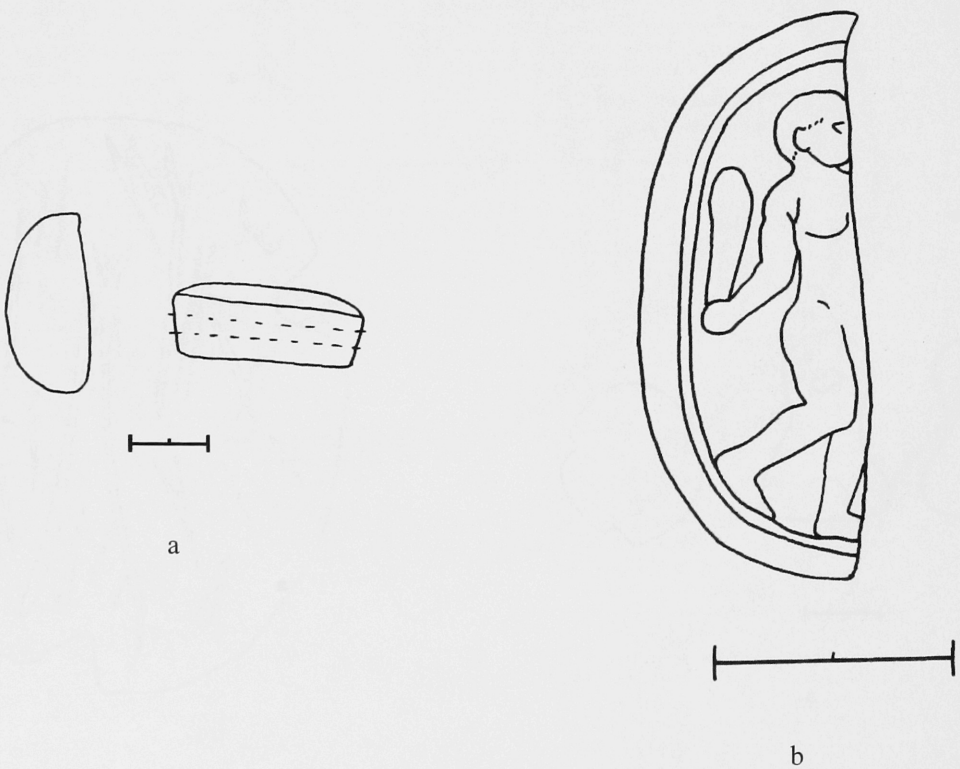


Figure 78 Cat. No. 68 (2851 SS 119). (a) Seal profile and base; (b) Seal impression.



a b

Figure 79 Cat. No. 69 (1974 SS 74). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.



a b

Figure 80 Cat. No. 70 (1932 SS 71). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

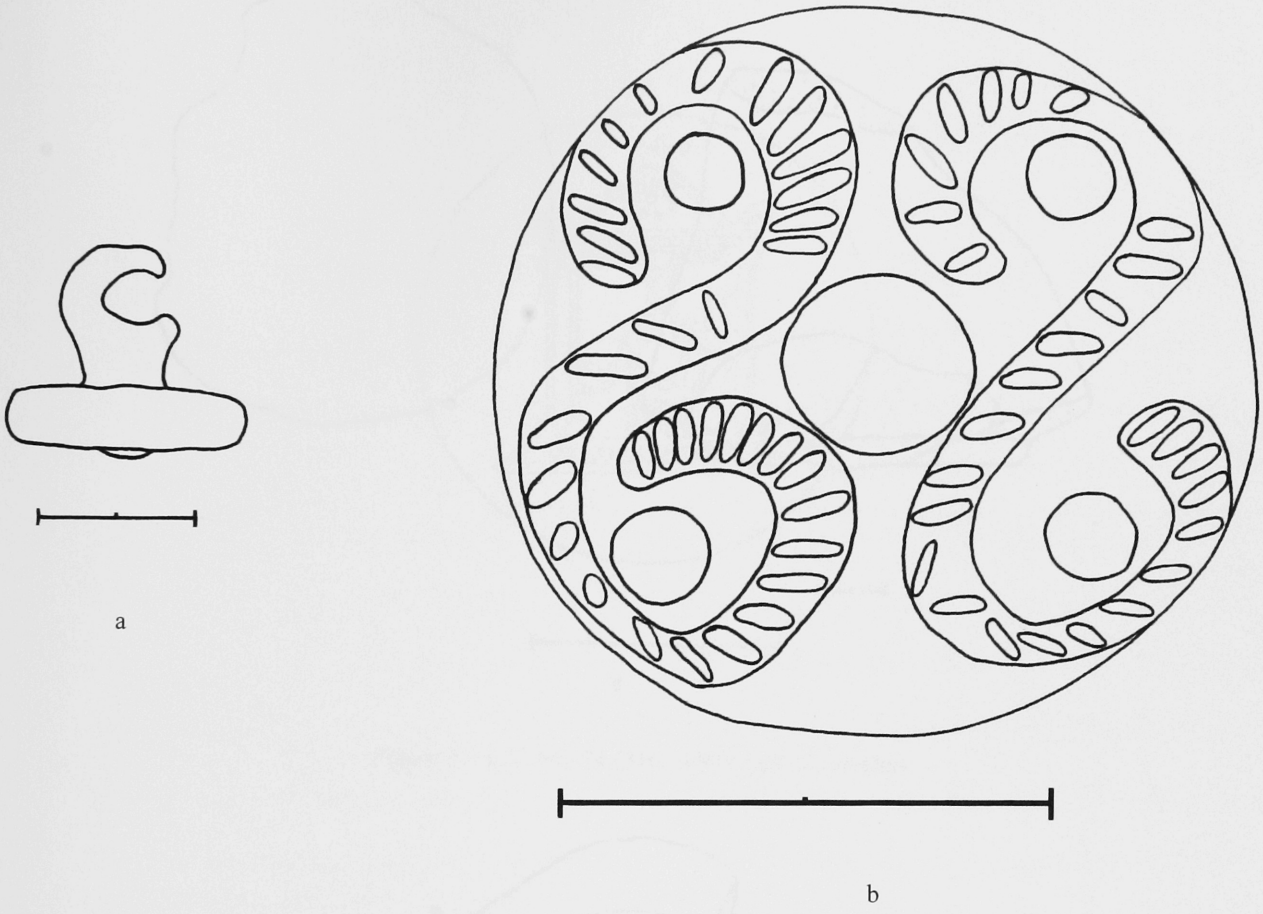


Figure 81 Cat. No. 71 (1729 SS 63). (a) Seal profile; (b) Seal impression.

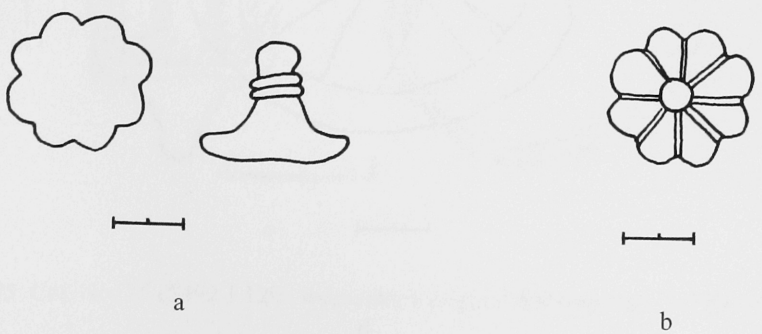
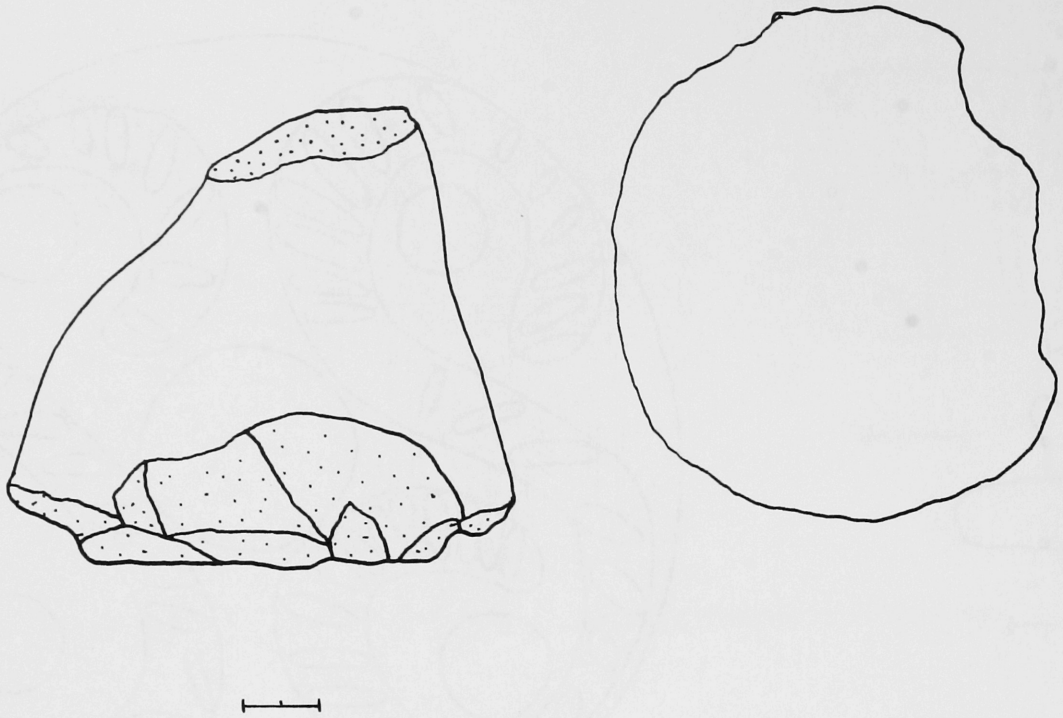
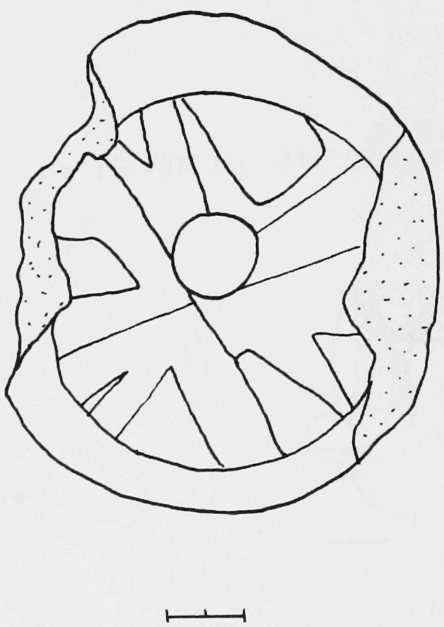


Figure 82 Cat. No. 72 (4595 SS 159). (a) Seal base and profile; (b) Seal impression.



a



b

Figure 83 Cat. No. 73 (10811 SS 271). (a) Seal profile and top; (b) Seal impression.

Figure 84 Cat. No. 74 (3166 J 94). Seal impression.

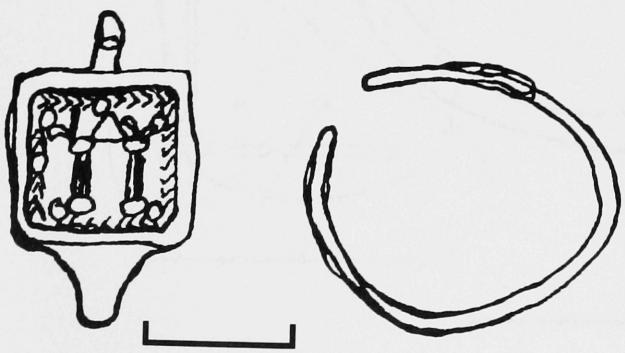
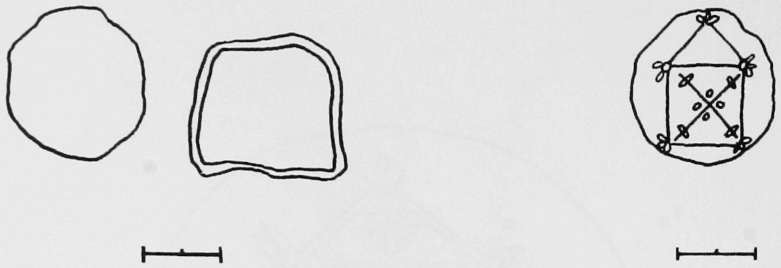
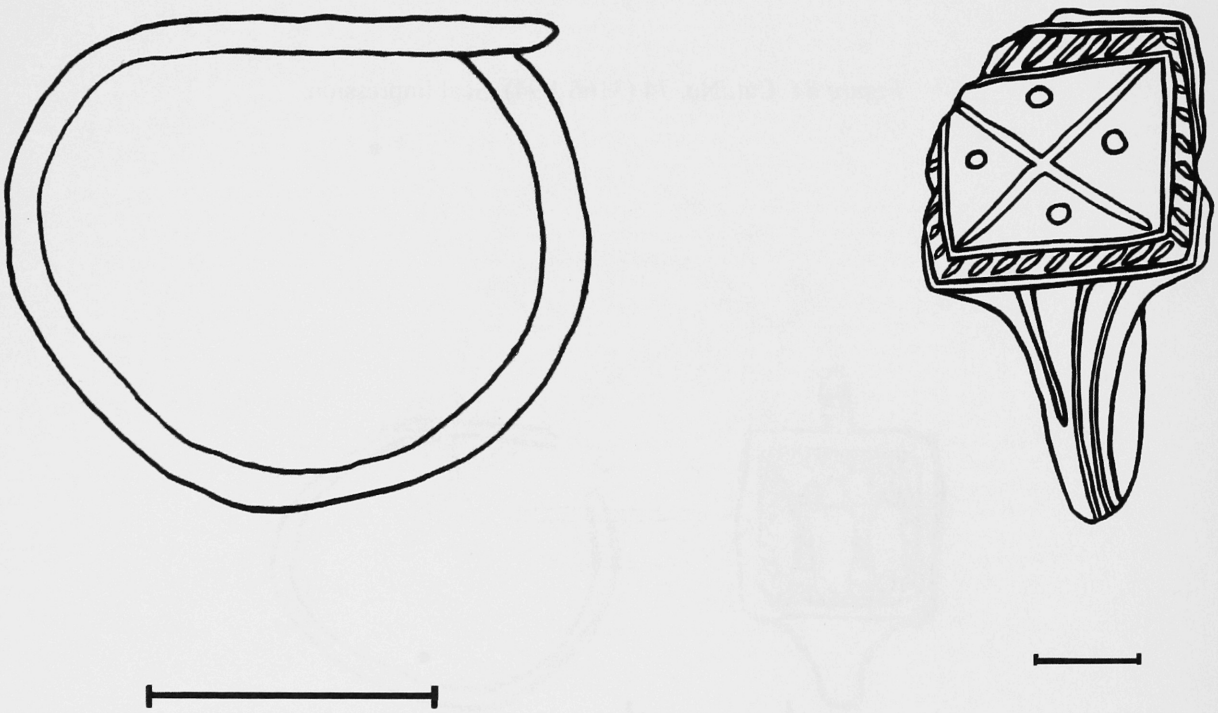


Figure 85 Cat. No. 75 (5792 J 120), excavator's original drawing from fieldbook 79, p. 14.



a b

Figure 86 Cat. No. 76 (5870 J 123). (a) Ring bezel and profile; (b) Seal impression.



a b

Figure 87 Cat. No. 77 (6205 J 125). (a) Ring profile; (b) Seal impression.

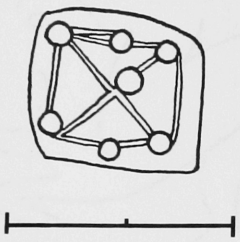


Figure 88 Cat. No. 78 (6345 J 129). Seal impression.

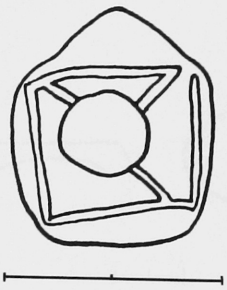


Figure 89 Cat. No. 79 (6754 J 142). Seal impression.

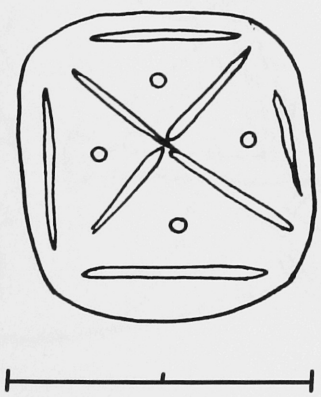


Figure 90 Cat. No. 80 (7707 J 146). Seal impression.

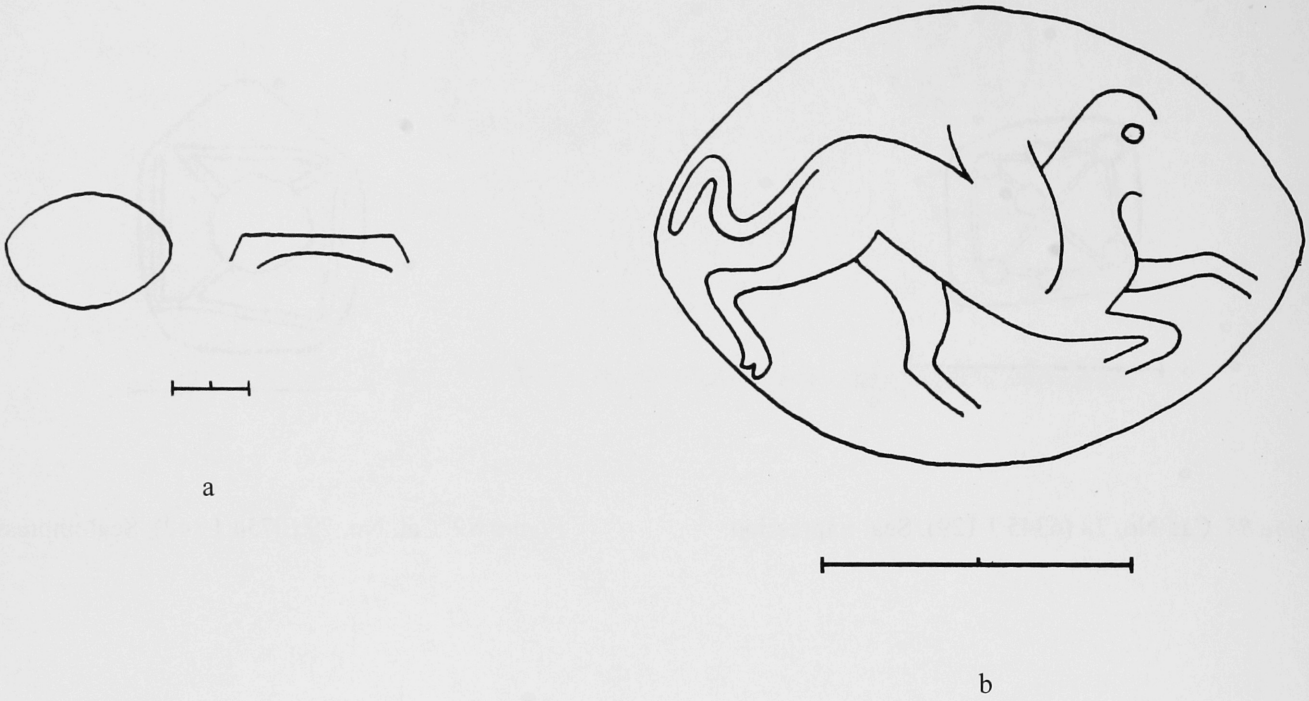
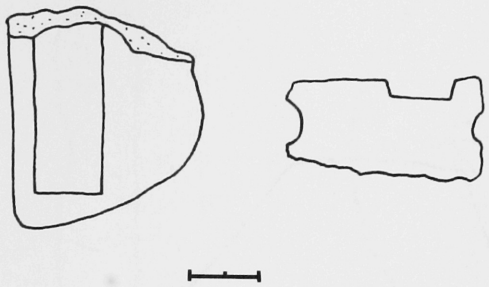


Figure 91 Cat. No. 81 (1615 SS 60). (a) Ring bezel and profile; (b) Seal impression.

Figure 92 Cat. No. 82 (1619 SS 61). (a) Ring bezel and profile; (b) Seal impression.



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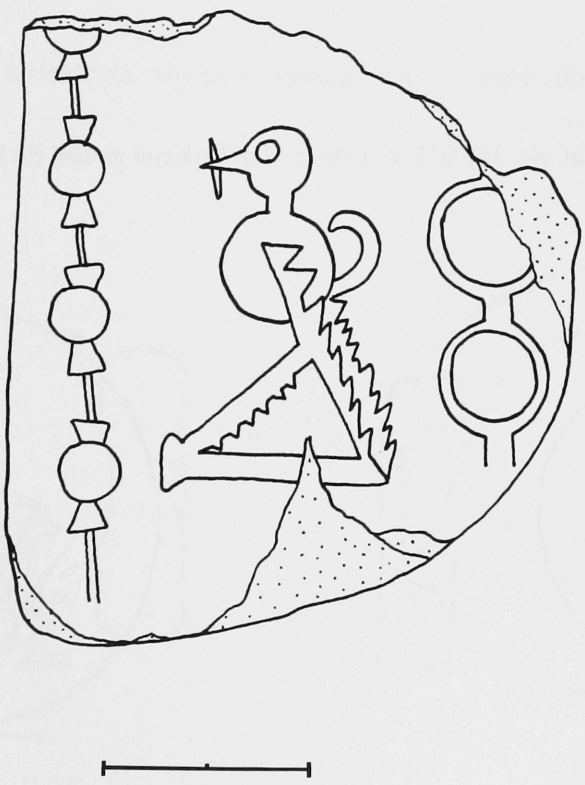


b

Figure 93 Cat. No. 83 (3690 SS 143). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

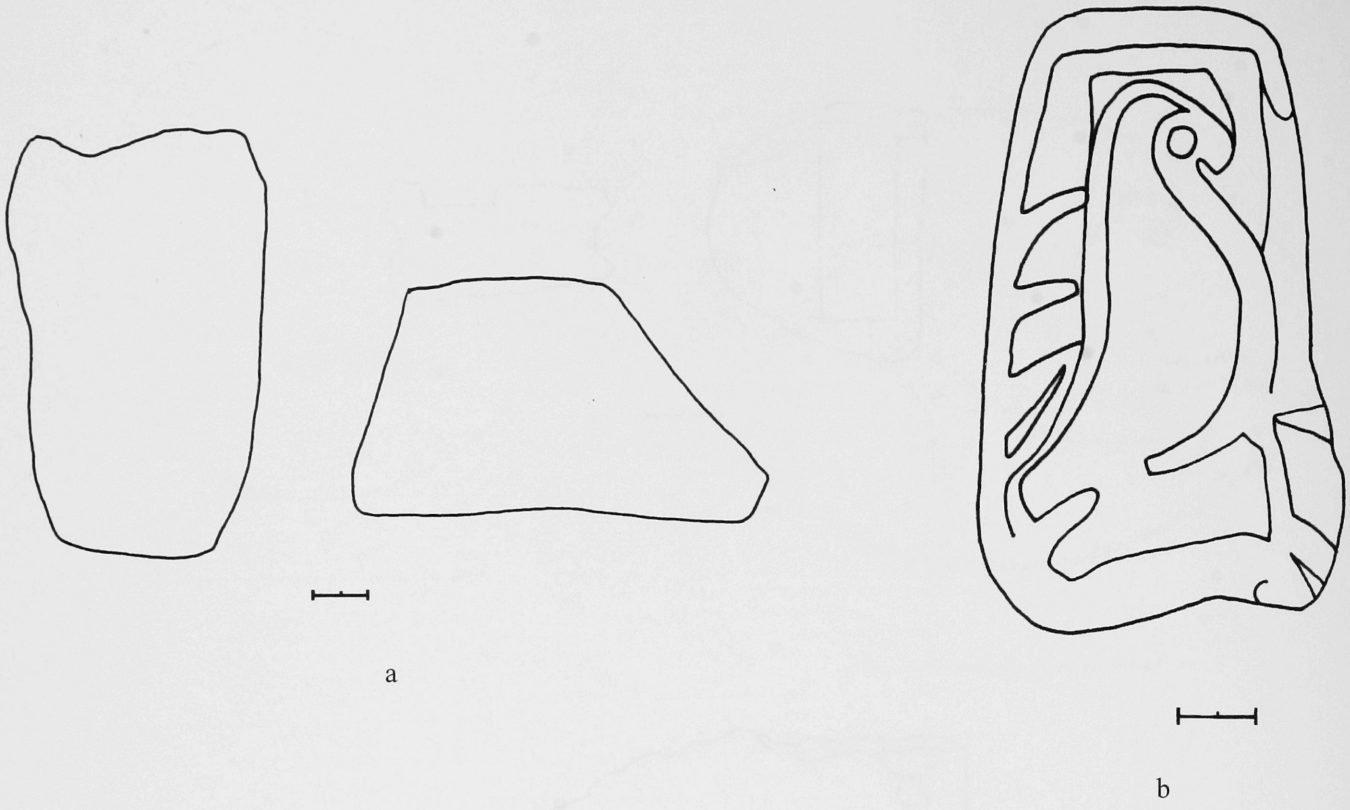


Figure 94 Cat. No. 84 (3672 SS 139). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

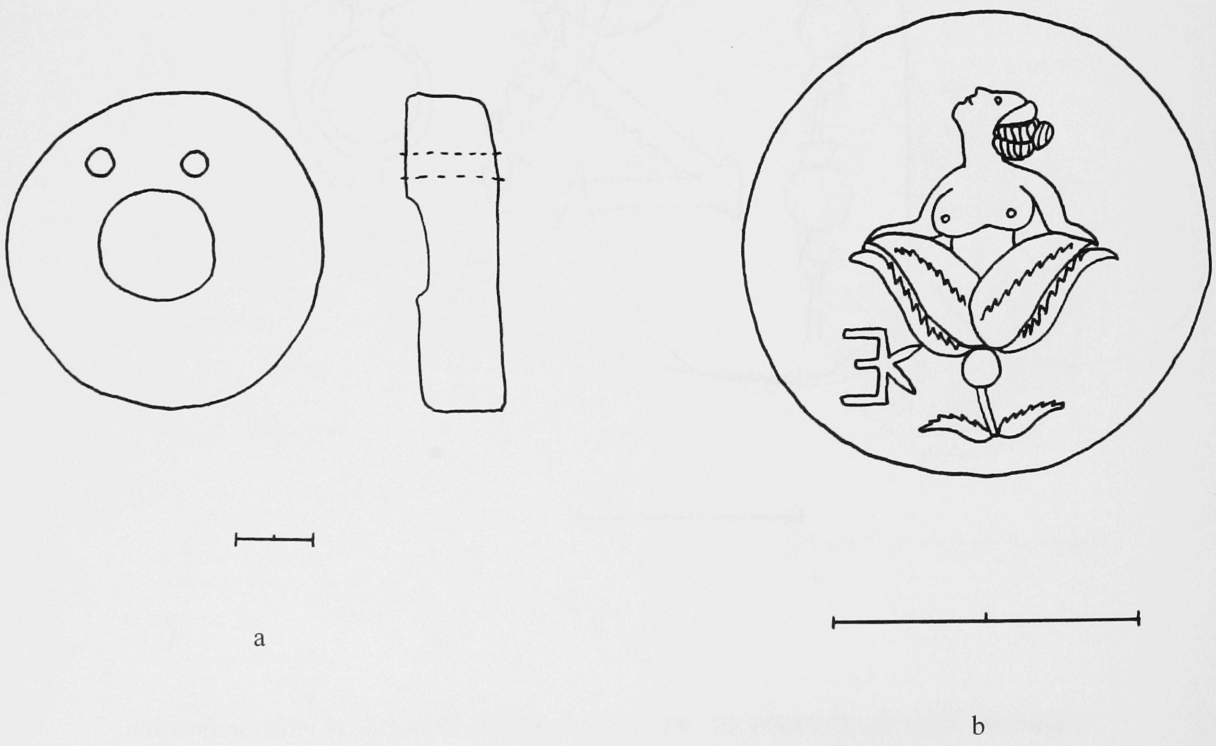
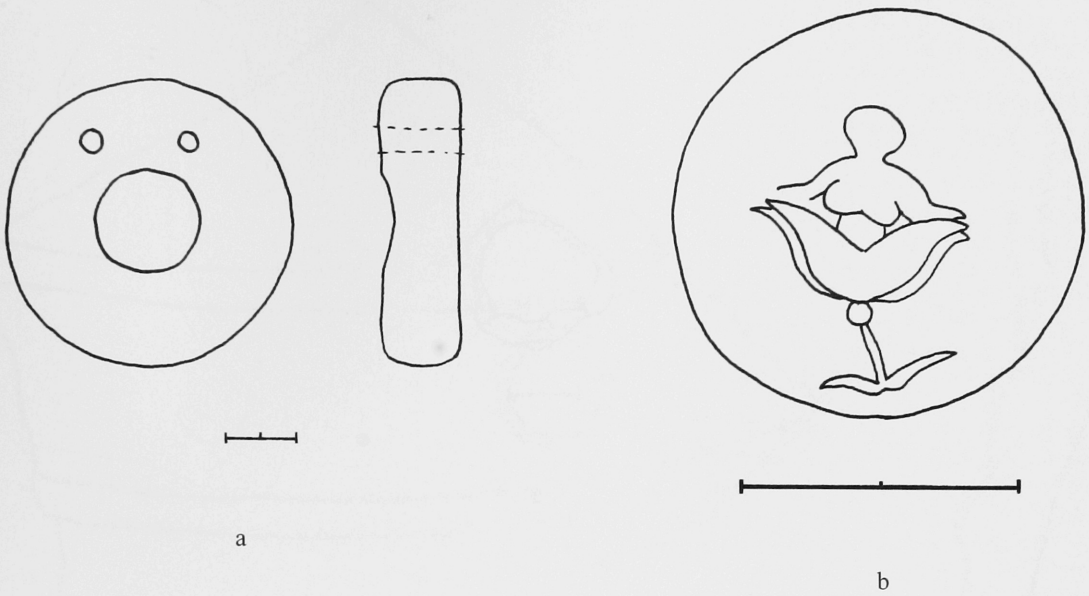


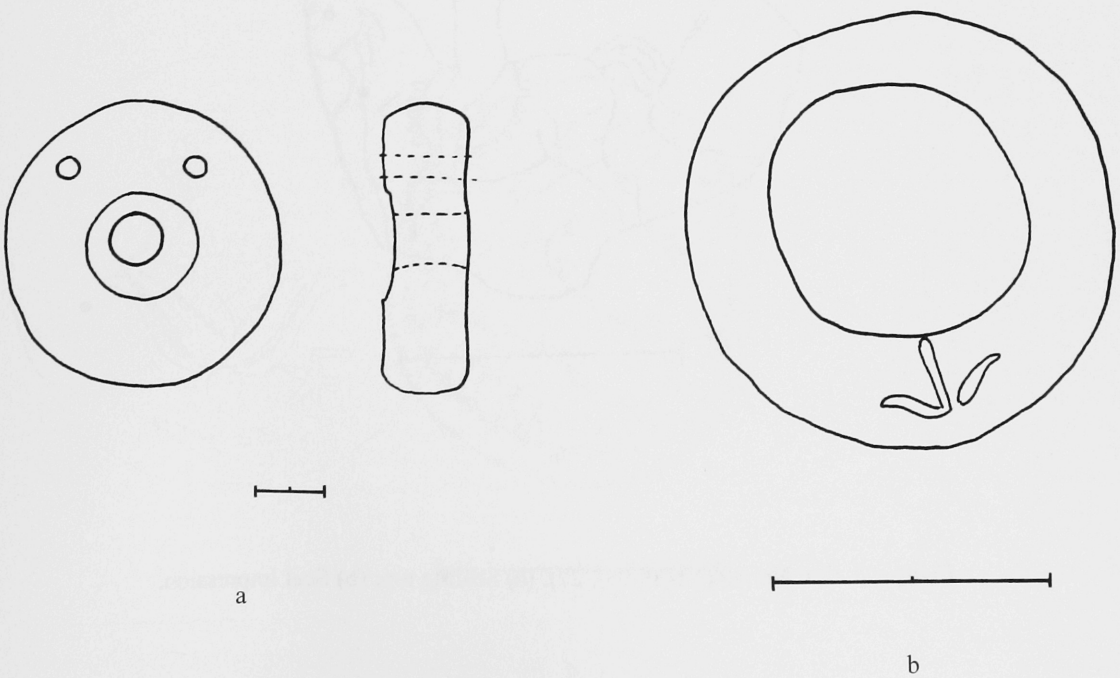
Figure 95 Cat. No. 85 (7228 SS 198). (a) Loomweight front and profile; (b) Seal impression.



a

b

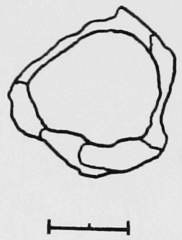
Figure 96 Cat. No. 86 (5397 SS 166). (a) Loomweight front and profile; (b) Seal impression.



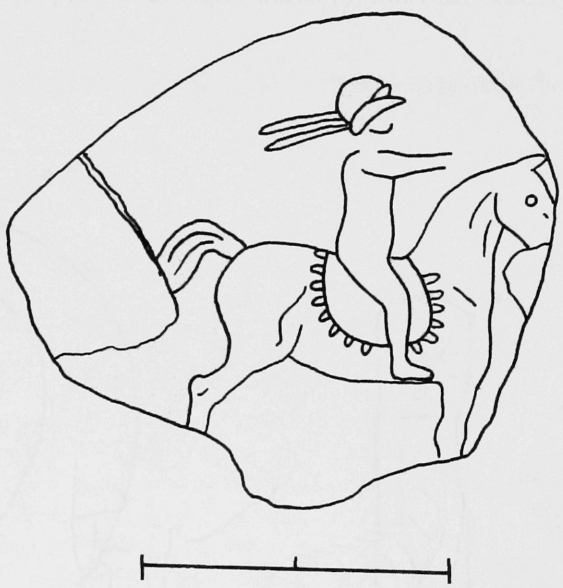
a

b

Figure 97 Cat. No. 87 (9692 SS 243). (a) Loomweight front and profile; (b) Seal impression.

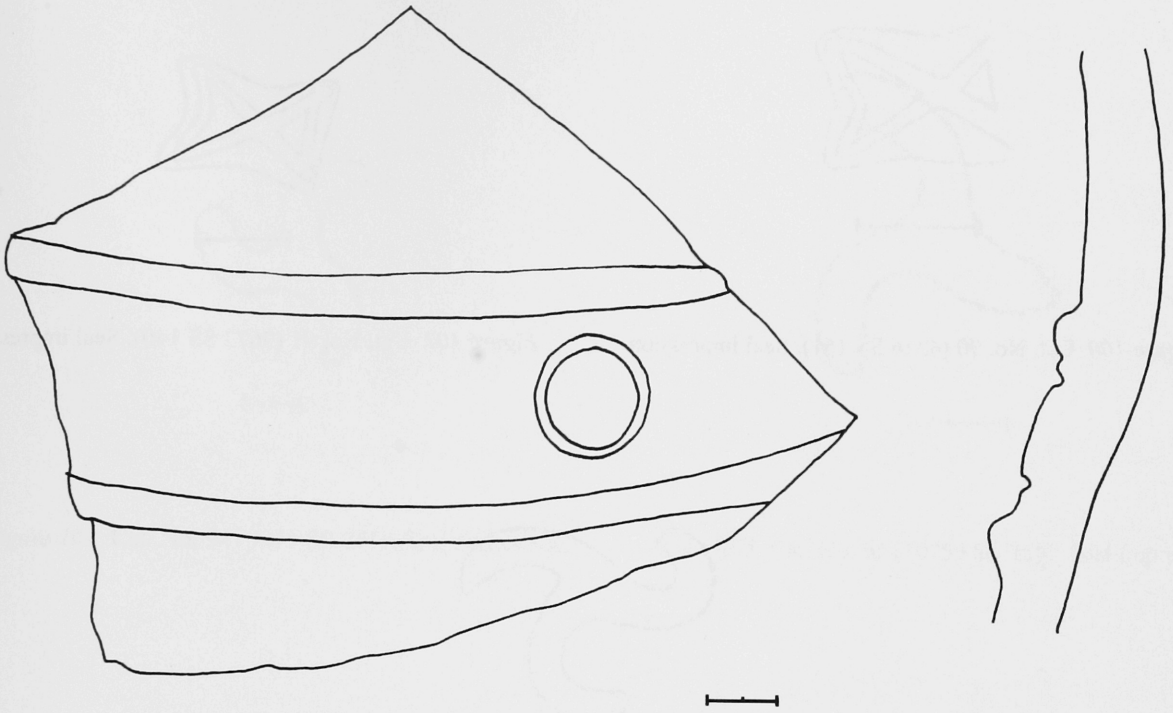


a



b

Figure 98 Cat. No. 88 (YHSF 95-227). (a) Sealing top; (b) Seal impression.



a

b

Figure 99 Cat. No. 89 (2793 SS 118). (a) Sherd face and profile; (b) Seal impression.

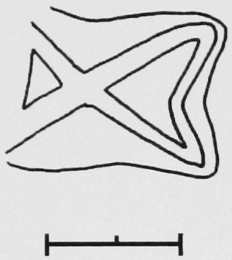


Figure 100 Cat. No. 90 (4316 SS 151). Seal impression.

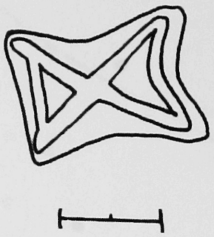


Figure 101 Cat. No. 91 (3673 SS 140). Seal impression.

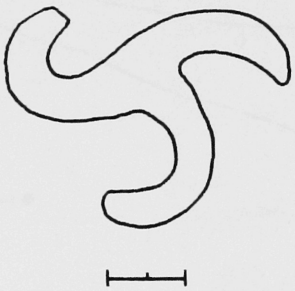


Figure 102 Cat. No. 92 (4454 SS 152). Seal impression.

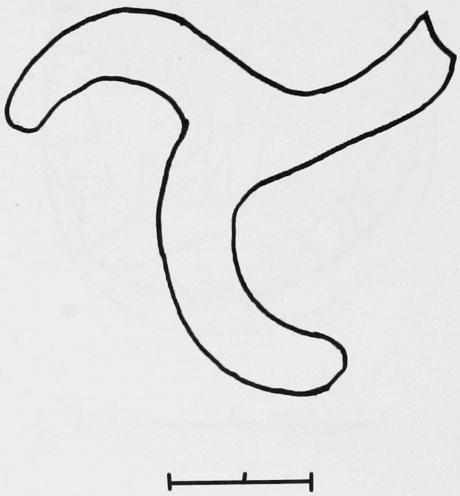


Figure 103 Cat. No. 93 (3480 SS 137). Seal impression.

Figure 104 Cat. No. 94 (9979 SS 251). Seal impression.

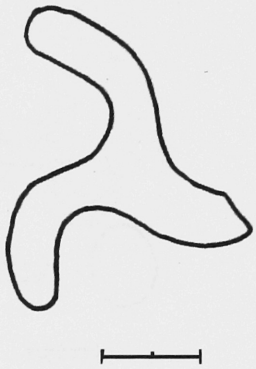


Figure 105 Cat. No. 95 (10759 SS 265). Seal impression.

Figure 106 Cat. No. 96 (3036 J 91). Seal impression.

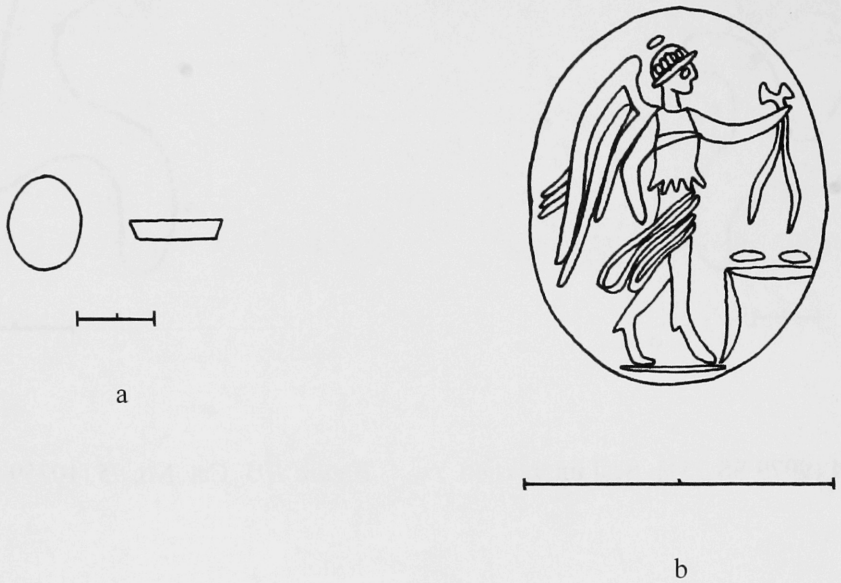


Figure 107 Cat. No. 97 (6571 SS 189). (a) Bezel face and profile; (b) Seal impression.

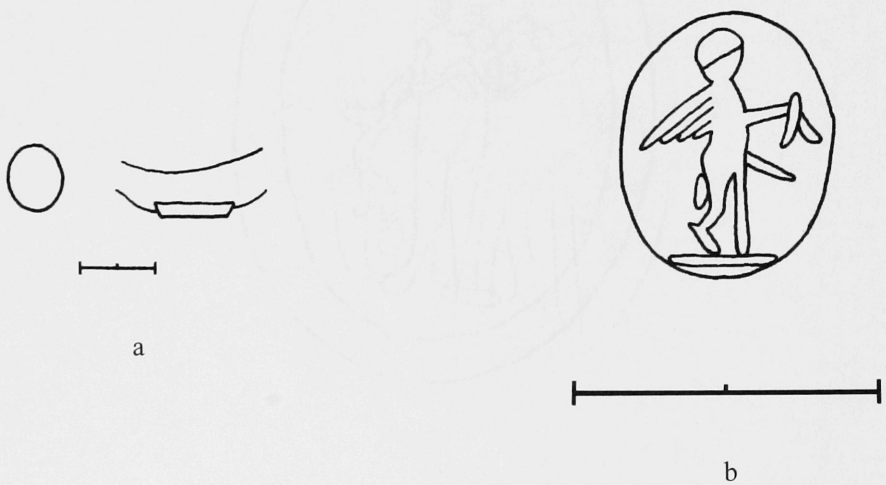


Figure 108 Cat. No. 98 (2411 J 79). (a) Bezel face and ring profile; (b) Seal impression.

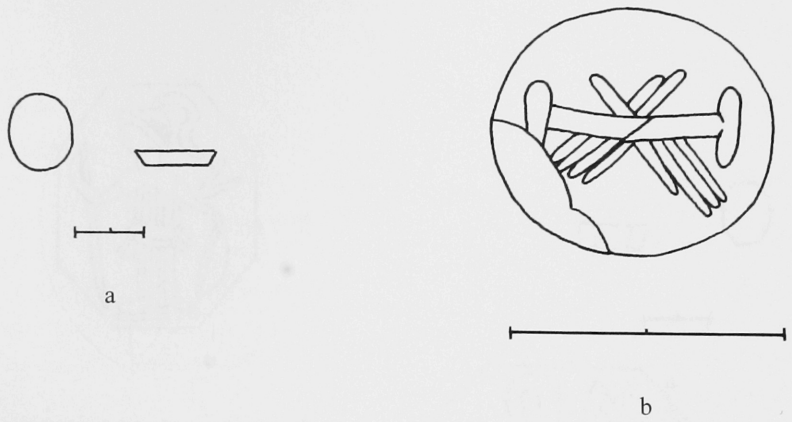


Figure 109 Cat. No. 99 (6974 B 1376). (a) Bezel face and profile; (b) Seal impression.

Figure 110 Cat. No. 100 (5386 J 113). Seal impression.

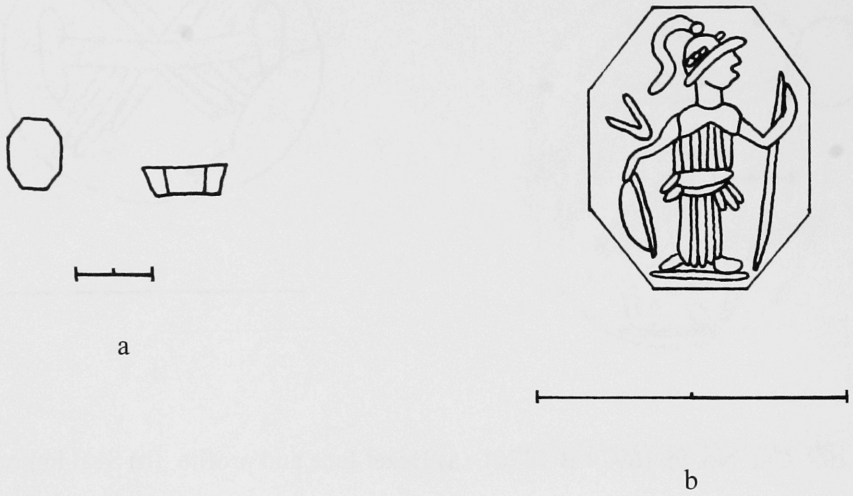


Figure 111 Cat. No. 101 (7000 ILS 355). (a) Bezel face and profile; (b) Seal impression.

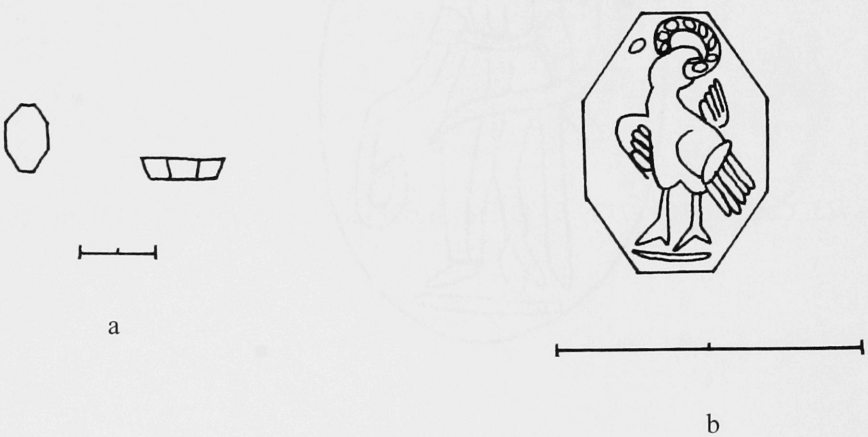


Figure 112 112. Cat. No. 102 (7130 J 144). (a) Bezel face and profile; (b) Seal impression.

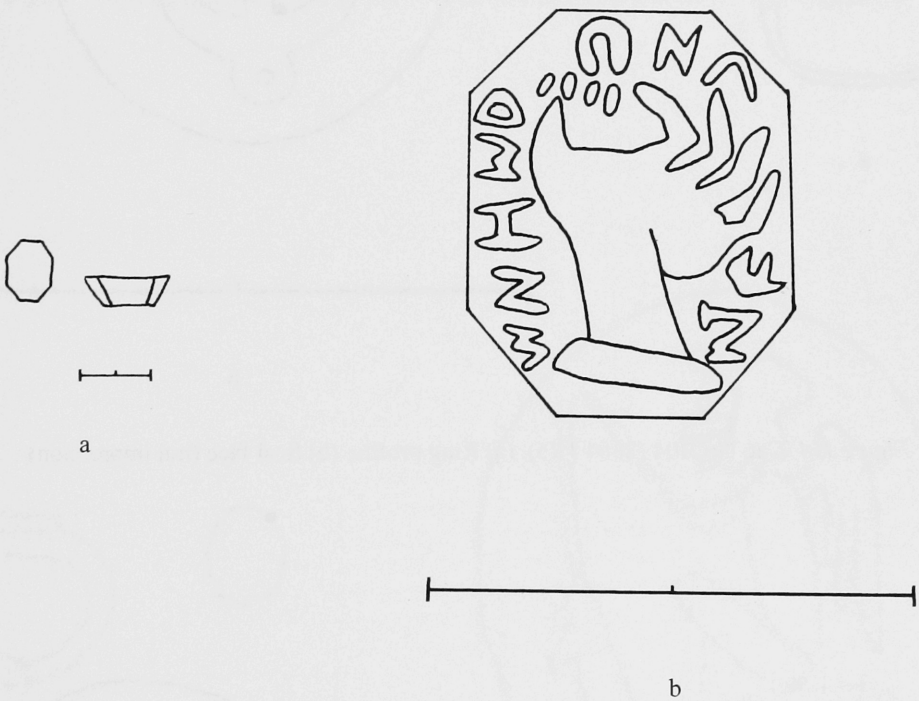


Figure 113 Cat. No. 103 (7129 J 143). (a) Bezel face and profile; (b) Seal impression.

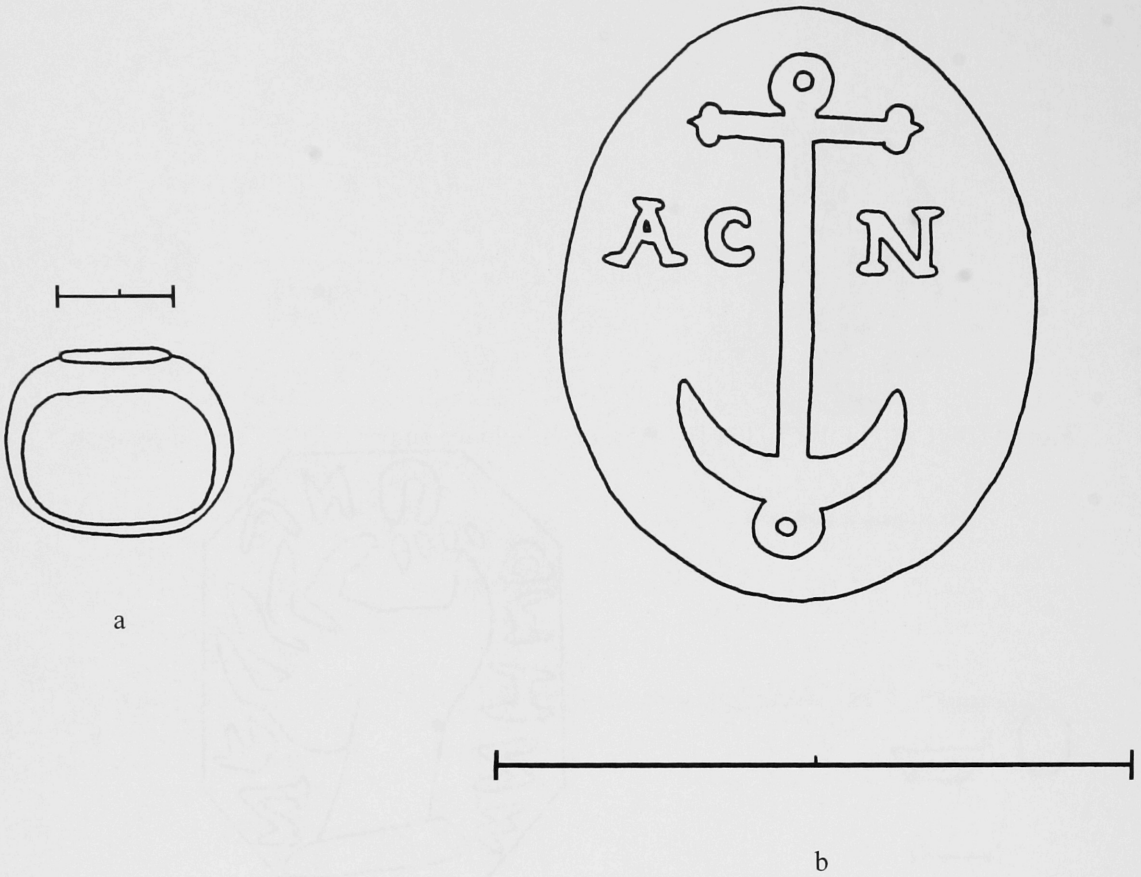


Figure 114 Cat. No. 104 (2364 J 75). (a) Ring profile; (b) Seal face (not impression).

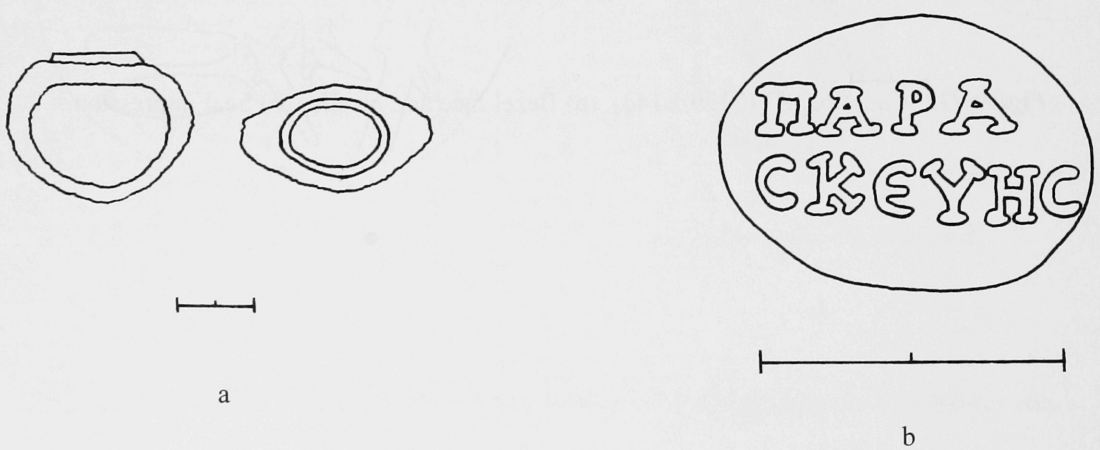


Figure 115 Cat. No. 105 (2368 J 76). (a) Ring profile and top; (b) Seal face (not impression).

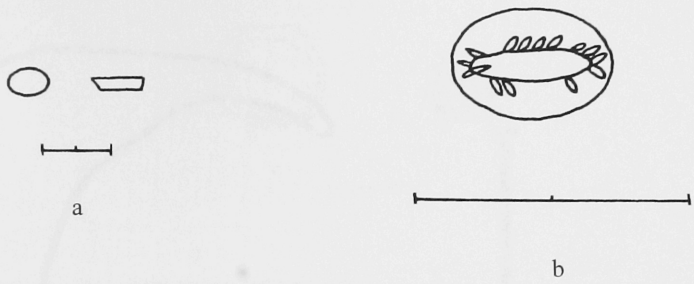


Figure 116 Cat. No. 106 (7121 B 1415). (a) Bezel face and profile; (b) Seal impression.

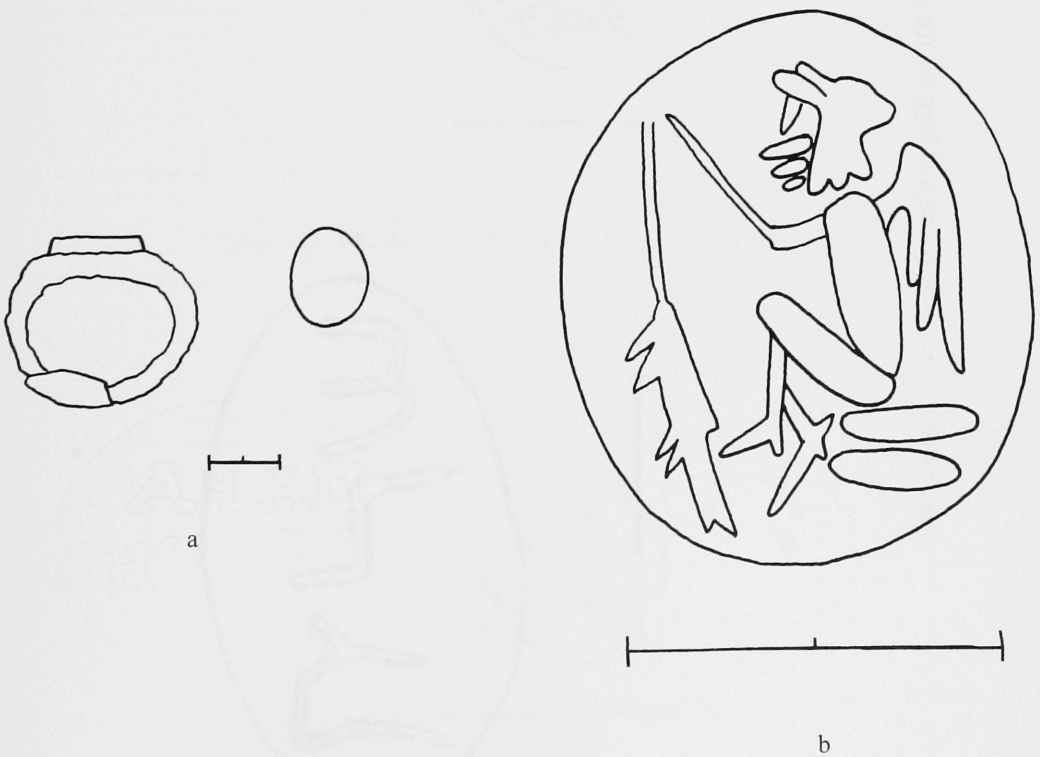
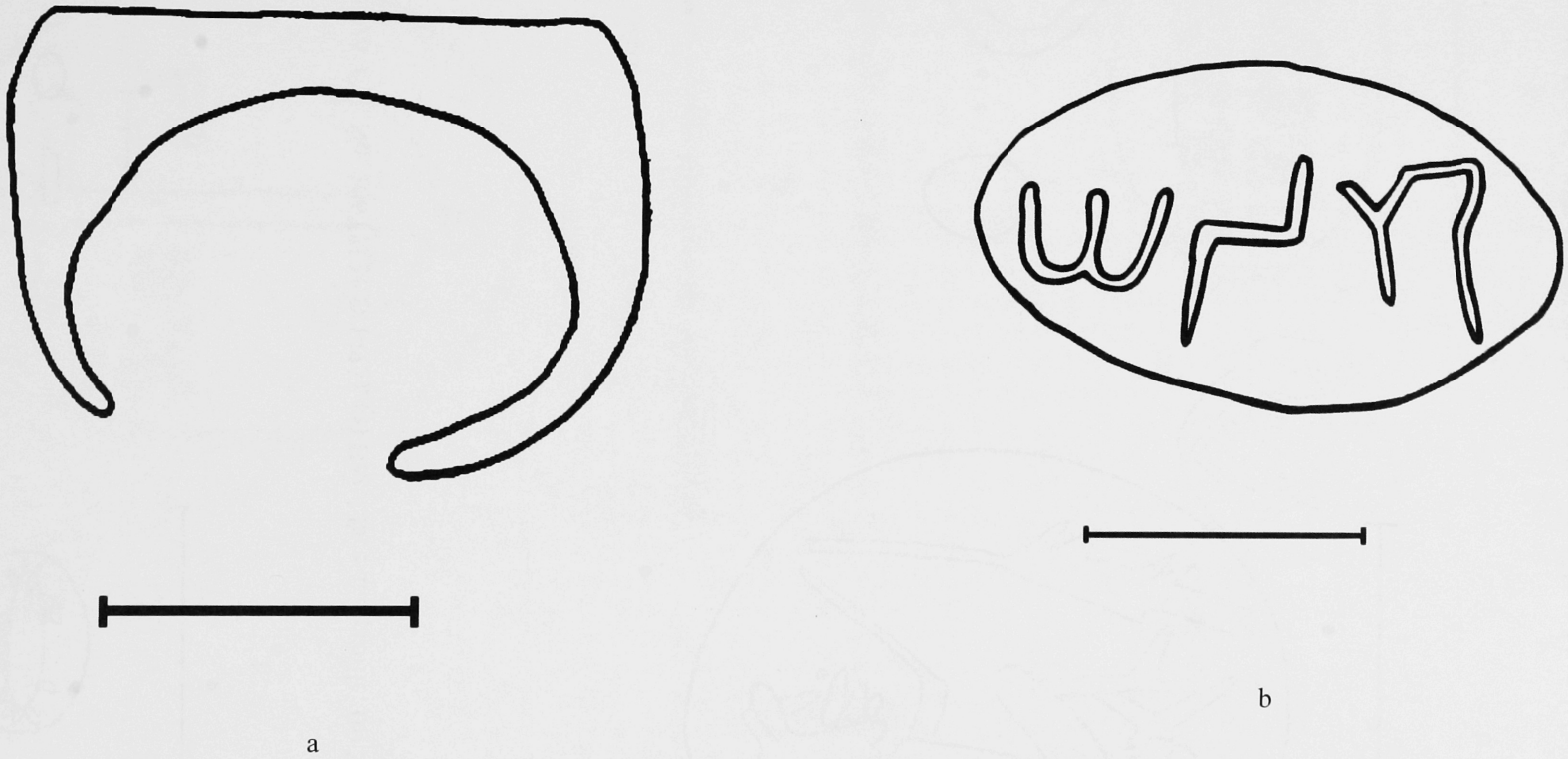


Figure 117 Cat. No. 107 (YHSF 94-262). (a) Ring profile and bezel; (b) Seal impression.



a

b

Figure 118 Cat. No. 108 (680 B 100). (a) Ring profile; (b) Seal face (not impression).

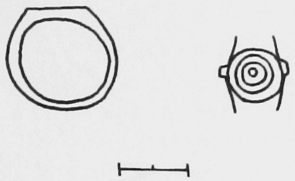


Figure 119 Cat. No. 109 (5564 SS 168). Ring profile and bezel face (not impression).

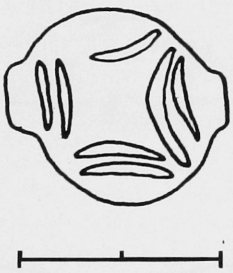
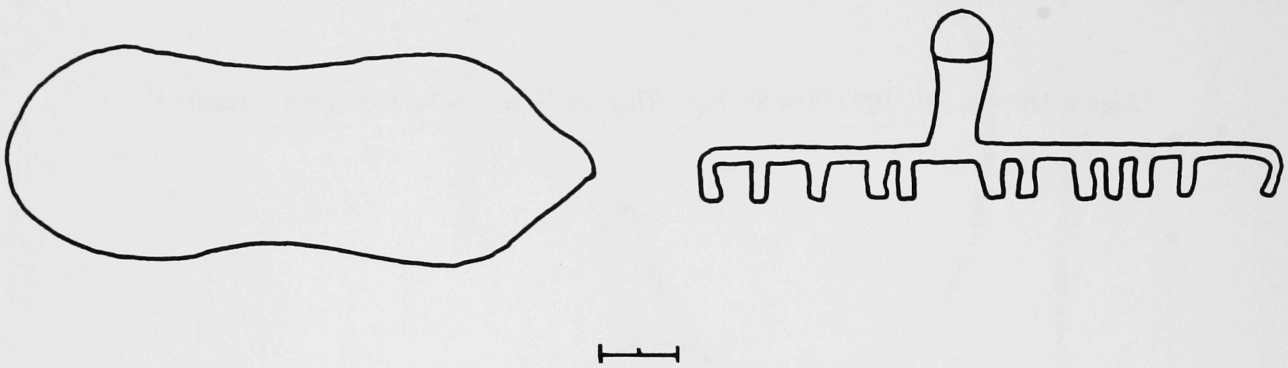
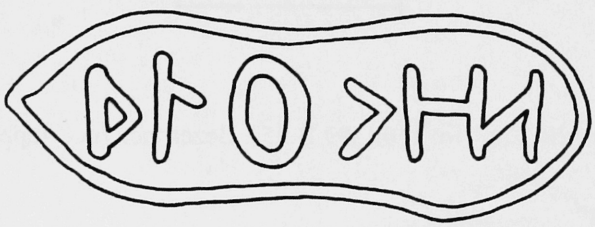


Figure 120 Cat. No. 110 (299 B 35). Bezel face (not impression).

Figure 121 Cat. No. 111 (300 B 36). Bezel face (not impression).



a



b

Figure 122 Cat. No. 112 (4759 SS 161). (a) Seal back and profile; (b) Seal impression.

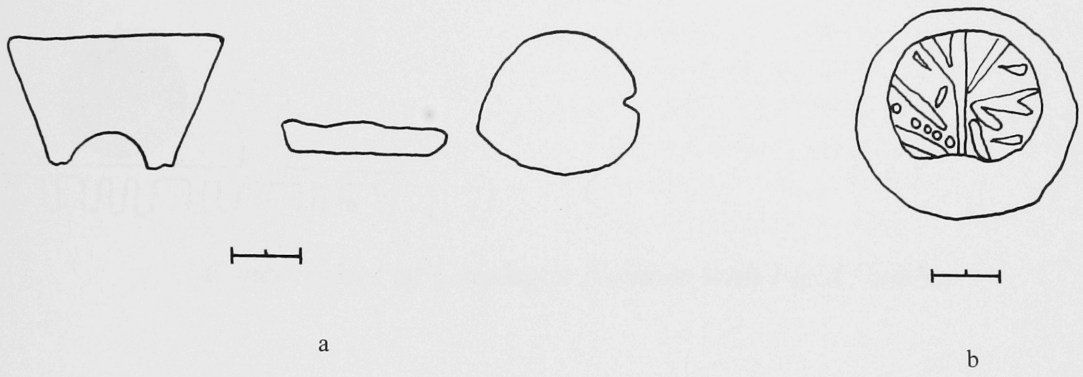


Figure 123 Cat. No. 113 (5907 SS 178). (a) Stopper profile, disk profile and face; (b) Seal impression.

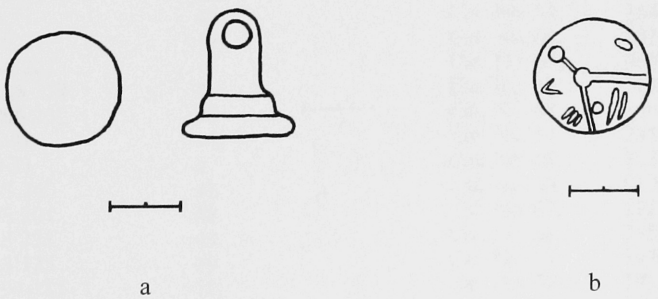


Figure 124 Cat. No. 114 (5648 SS 171). (a) Stamp base and profile; (b) Seal impression.

Appendix: Concordances of Numbering Systems

Concordance of Catalogue Number with Field Number

Cat. No. 1.	8201 SS 220	33
Cat. No. 2.	2434 B 464	34
Cat. No. 3.	1924 SS 70	34
Cat. No. 4. 1	0437 SS 260	35
Cat. No. 5.	8326 SS 223	36
Cat. No. 6.	2792 SS 117	36
Cat. No. 7.	3284 SS 133	37
Cat. No. 8.	1373 SS 53	38
Cat. No. 9.	3100 SS 128	38
Cat. No. 10.	7804 SS 209	39
Cat. No. 11.	YHSF 89-563	39
Cat. No. 12.	YHSF 89-531	40
Cat. No. 13.	YHSF 89-530	40
Cat. No. 14.	YHSF 88-157	40
Cat. No. 15.	7856 SS 212	41
Cat. No. 16.	2597 SS 109	41
Cat. No. 17.	10954 SS 273	42
Cat. No. 18.	572 SS 31	42
Cat. No. 19.	7965 SS 219	43
Cat. No. 20.	8400 SS 225	44
Cat. No. 21.	10351 SS 258	45
Cat. No. 22.	10352 SS 259	46
Cat. No. 23.	889 SS 41	46
Cat. No. 24.	596 SS 33	47
Cat. No. 25.	9369 SS 240	48
Cat. No. 26.	7349 SS 201	48
Cat. No. 27.	8900 SS 231	49
Cat. No. 28.	3072 SS 125	49
Cat. No. 29.	YHSF 94-181	50
Cat. No. 30.	8362 SS 224	50
Cat. No. 31.	894 SS 42	50
Cat. No. 32.	5398 SS 167	51
Cat. No. 33.	2342 SS 100	51
Cat. No. 34.	7287 SS 199	54
Cat. No. 35.	7557 SS 205	56
Cat. No. 36.	9784 SS 246	57
Cat. No. 37.	YHSF 94-130	58
Cat. No. 38.	1962 SS 73	58
Cat. No. 39.	4083 SS 150	59
Cat. No. 40.	6546 SS 187	60
Cat. No. 41.	2654 SS 114	61
Cat. No. 42.	199 SS 9	61
Cat. No. 43.	4492 SS 153	62
Cat. No. 44.	3404 SS 134	63
Cat. No. 45.	9347 SS 239	64
Cat. No. 46.	2260 SS 90	64
Cat. No. 47.	2626 SS 113	65
Cat. No. 48.	1024 SS 44	65
Cat. No. 49.	1469 SS 56	66
Cat. No. 50.	1975 SS 75	66
Cat. No. 51.	2625 SS 112	67
Cat. No. 52.	6547 SS 188	67
Cat. No. 53.	6800 SS 192	68
Cat. No. 54.	9870 SS 249	68
Cat. No. 55.	4536 SS 156	69
Cat. No. 56.	10902 SS 272	70
Cat. No. 57.	5631 SS 170	71
Cat. No. 58.	7901 SS 213	71
Cat. No. 59.	1842 SS 69	71
Cat. No. 60.	10175 SS 254	72
Cat. No. 61.	9690 SS 242	72
Cat. No. 62.	11326 SS 280	72
Cat. No. 63.	3098 SS 127	73
Cat. No. 64.	7855 SS 211	73
Cat. No. 65.	7833 SS 210	73
Cat. No. 66.	81 SS 1	74
Cat. No. 67.	11273 SS 279	74
Cat. No. 68.	2851 SS 119	75
Cat. No. 69.	1974 SS 74	75
Cat. No. 70.	1932 SS 71	75
Cat. No. 71.	1729 SS 63	76
Cat. No. 72.	4595 SS 159	76
Cat. No. 73.	10811 SS 271	76
Cat. No. 74.	3166 J 94	77
Cat. No. 75.	5792 J 120	77
Cat. No. 76.	5870 J 123	77
Cat. No. 77.	6205 J 125	78
Cat. No. 78.	6345 J 129	78
Cat. No. 79.	6754 J 142	78
Cat. No. 80.	7707 J 146	78
Cat. No. 81.	1615 SS 60	79
Cat. No. 82.	1619 SS 61	79

Cat. No. 83.	3690 SS 143	79	Cat. No. 99.	6974 B 1376	85
Cat. No. 84.	3672 SS 139	80	Cat. No. 100.	5386 J 113	86
Cat. No. 85.	7228 SS 198	80	Cat. No. 101.	7000 ILS 355	86
Cat. No. 86.	5397 SS 166	81	Cat. No. 102.	7130 J 144	86
Cat. No. 87.	9692 SS 243	81	Cat. No. 103.	7129 J 143	87
Cat. No. 88.	YHSF 95-227	81	Cat. No. 104.	2364 J 75	88
Cat. No. 89.	2793 SS 118	82	Cat. No. 105.	2368 J 76	89
Cat. No. 90.	4316 SS 151	82	Cat. No. 106.	7121 B 1415	90
Cat. No. 91.	3673 SS 140	82	Cat. No. 107.	YHSF 94-262	90
Cat. No. 92.	4454 SS 152	83	Cat. No. 108.	680 B 100	90
Cat. No. 93.	3480 SS 137	83	Cat. No. 109.	5564 SS 168	91
Cat. No. 94.	9979 SS 251	83	Cat. No. 110.	299 B 35	91
Cat. No. 95.	10759 SS 265	83	Cat. No. 111.	300 B 36	91
Cat. No. 96.	3036 J 91	84	Cat. No. 112.	4759 SS 161	91
Cat. No. 97.	6571 SS 189	84	Cat. No. 113.	5907 SS 178	92
Cat. No. 98.	2411 J 79	84	Cat. No. 114.	5648 SS 171	92

Concordance of Field Number with Catalogue Number

81 SS 1:	Cat. No. 66	74	3404 SS 134:	Cat. No. 44	63
199 SS 9:	Cat. No. 42	61	3480 SS 137:	Cat. No. 93	83
299 B 35:	Cat. No. 110	91	3672 SS 139:	Cat. No. 84	80
300 B 36:	Cat. No. 111	91	3673 SS 140:	Cat. No. 91	82
572 SS 31:	Cat. No. 18	42	3690 SS 143:	Cat. No. 83	79
596 SS 33:	Cat. No. 24	47	4083 SS 150:	Cat. No. 39	59
680 B 100:	Cat. No. 108	90	4316 SS 151:	Cat. No. 90	82
889 SS 41:	Cat. No. 23	46	4454 SS 152:	Cat. No. 92	83
894 SS 42:	Cat. No. 31	50	4492 SS 153:	Cat. No. 43	62
1024 SS 44:	Cat. No. 48	65	4536 SS 156:	Cat. No. 55	69
1373 SS 53:	Cat. No. 8	38	4595 SS 159:	Cat. No. 72	76
1469 SS 56:	Cat. No. 49	66	4759 SS 161:	Cat. No. 112	91
1615 SS 60:	Cat. No. 81	79	5386 J 113:	Cat. No. 100	86
1619 SS 61:	Cat. No. 82	79	5397 SS 166:	Cat. No. 86	81
1729 SS 63:	Cat. No. 71	76	5398 SS 167:	Cat. No. 32.	51
1842 SS 69:	Cat. No. 59	71	5564 SS 168:	Cat. No. 109	91
1924 SS 70:	Cat. No. 3	34	5631 SS 170:	Cat. No. 57	71
1932 SS 71:	Cat. No. 70	75	5648 SS 171:	Cat. No. 114	92
1962 SS 73:	Cat. No. 38	58	5792 J 120:	Cat. No. 75	77
1974 SS 74:	Cat. No. 69	75	5870 J 123:	Cat. No. 76	77
1975 SS 75:	Cat. No. 50	66	5907 SS 178:	Cat. No. 113	92
2260 SS 90:	Cat. No. 46	64	6205 J 125:	Cat. No. 77	78
2342 SS 100:	Cat. No. 33	51	6345 J 129:	Cat. No. 78	78
2364 J 75:	Cat. No. 104	88	6546 SS 187:	Cat. No. 40	60
2368 J 76:	Cat. No. 105	89	6547 SS 188:	Cat. No. 52	67
2411 J 79:	Cat. No. 98	84	6571 SS 189:	Cat. No. 97	84
2434 B 464:	Cat. No. 2	34	6754 J 142:	Cat. No. 79	78
2597 SS 109:	Cat. No. 16	41	6800 SS 192:	Cat. No. 53	68
2625 SS 112:	Cat. No. 51	67	6974 B 1376:	Cat. No. 99	85
2626 SS 113:	Cat. No. 47	65	7000 ILS 355:	Cat. No. 101	86
2654 SS 114:	Cat. No. 41	61	7121 B 1415:	Cat. No. 106	90
2792 SS 117:	Cat. No. 6	36	7129 J 143:	Cat. No. 103	87
2793 SS 118:	Cat. No. 89	82	7130 J 144:	Cat. No. 102	86
2851 SS 119:	Cat. No. 68	75	7228 SS 198:	Cat. No. 85	80
3036 J 91:	Cat. No. 96	84	7287 SS 199:	Cat. No. 34	54
3072 SS 125:	Cat. No. 28	49	7349 SS 201:	Cat. No. 26	48
3098 SS 127:	Cat. No. 63	73	7557 SS 205:	Cat. No. 35	56
3100 SS 128:	Cat. No. 9	38	7707 J 146:	Cat. No. 80	78
3166 J 94:	Cat. No. 74	77	7804 SS 209:	Cat. No. 10	39
3284 SS 133:	Cat. No. 7	37	7833 SS 210:	Cat. No. 65	73

7855 SS 211:	Cat. No. 64	73
7856 SS 212:	Cat. No. 15	41
7901 SS 213:	Cat. No. 58	71
7965 SS 219:	Cat. No. 19	43
8201 SS 220:	Cat. No. 1	33
8326 SS 223:	Cat. No. 5	36
8362 SS 224:	Cat. No. 30	50
8400 SS 225:	Cat. No. 20	44
8900 SS 231:	Cat. No. 27	49
9347 SS 239:	Cat. No. 45	64
9369 SS 240:	Cat. No. 25	48
9690 SS 242:	Cat. No. 61	72
9692 SS 243:	Cat. No. 87	81
9784 SS 246:	Cat. No. 36	57
9870 SS 249:	Cat. No. 54	68
9979 SS 251:	Cat. No. 94	83
10175 SS 254:	Cat. No. 60	72
10351 SS 258:	Cat. No. 21	45
10352 SS 259:	Cat. No. 22	46
10437 SS 260:	Cat. No. 4	35
10759 SS 265:	Cat. No. 95	83
10811 SS 271:	Cat. No. 73	76
10902 SS 272:	Cat. No. 56	70
10954 SS 273:	Cat. No. 17	42
11273 SS 279:	Cat. No. 67	74
11326 SS 280:	Cat. No. 62	72
YHSF 88-157:	Cat. No. 14	40
YHSF 89-530:	Cat. No. 13	40
YHSF 89-531:	Cat. No. 12	40
YHSF 89-563:	Cat. No. 11	39
YHSF 94-130:	Cat. No. 37	58
YHSF 94-181:	Cat. No. 29	50
YHSF 94-262:	Cat. No. 107	90
YHSF 95-227:	Cat. No. 88	81

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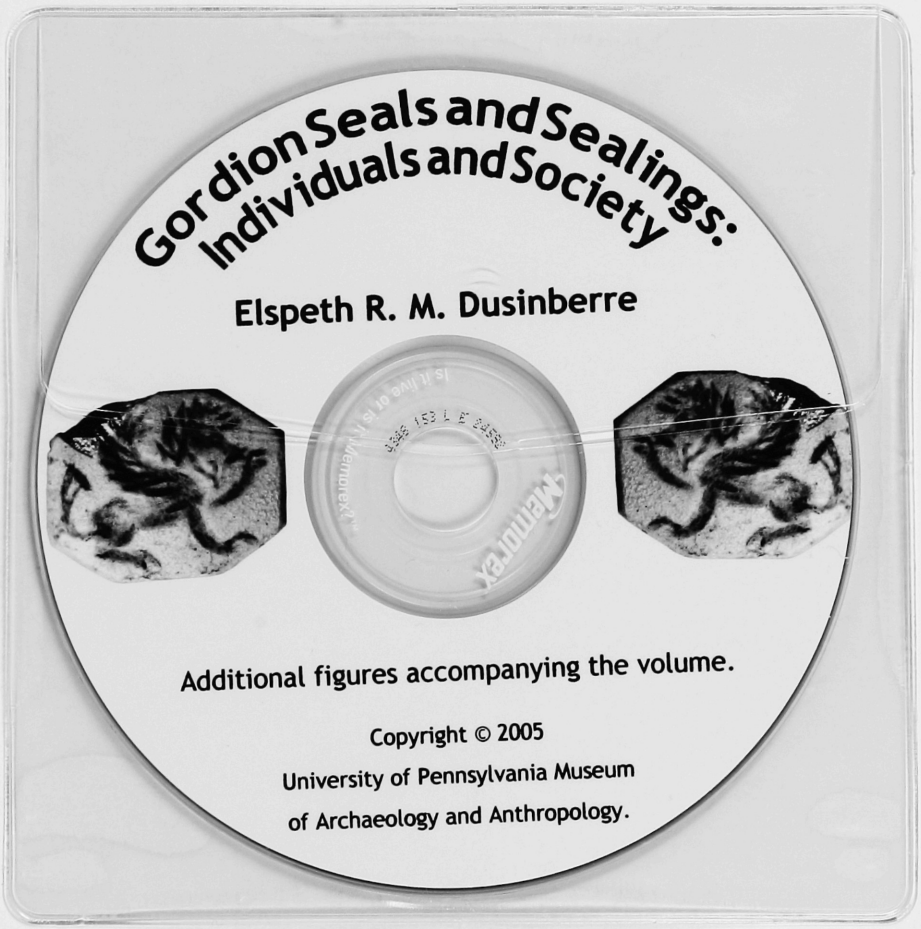

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