

# Middle and Late Byzantine sigillographic evidence from western Anatolia: eighth- to early twelfth-century lead seals from Bergama (ancient Pergamon)\*

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*This article presents 19 lead seals from the Museum of Bergama (ancient Pergamon), dating from the early eighth to the early twelfth century. We offer a descriptive catalogue of these Middle and Late Byzantine seals preserved in a western Turkish museum. The owners of these seals were primarily ecclesiastical, legal or military dignitaries who were probably active in Pergamon, in southwestern Mysia, Aeolis or Lydia. The catalogue is followed by an appendix on a Byzantine magical amulet.*

**Keywords:** lead seals; magical amulet; Museum of Bergama; Pergamon; western Asia Minor; sigillography

\* For the first part of this collection, see *BMGS* 45.1 (2021) 5–24. For the study of these objects at the Museum of Bergama authorization was issued to Doğukan Çağlayan by the directorate of the museum on June 27, 2019, enumerated as 75845132-154.01-E.529808. Documentation was done in August 2019 by D. Çağlayan. We would like to thank Nilgün Ustura, the director of the museum, as well as Yalçın Yılmaz, research assistant of the museum, for their help before and during our researches. Photos were taken by D. Çağlayan in 2019 and the map was prepared by Sami Patacı (Ardahan) in 2020; we would like to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation to both. We are also grateful to Ingela Nilsson and John Haldon for their patience and support.

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Map 1: Referred places in Asia Minor (© S. Patacı, 2020).

In the Middle Byzantine period, Pergamon was part of the Thrakesion theme (Map 1). The eighth and ninth centuries can be seen as the ‘dark ages’ during which the site survived only on a minor scale, mainly on the acropolis. In the first half of the tenth century, the Emperor Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenetos recorded Pergamon in his work *De thematibus* as the eighth *polis* of the Thrakesion theme. In the late eleventh and twelve centuries, there was a considerable growth of population on the site and its living area encompassed up to 19 hectares. After the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, the city suffered from the attacks of the Seljuks on western Anatolia. Around 1110/1111, Hasan – the Turkish Emir of Cappadocia – sent a large army unit after the failed siege of Philadelphia on a raid in the direction of Chliara (Gördük Kale by [Kırkağaç](#)) and Pergamon. After this, followed by more attacks in 1109 and 1113, the city was partly destroyed. Under Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80) in c. 1170, the city could be rebuilt, its fortifications repaired and its lower city included. Between 1162 and 1173 Pergamon was probably the capital of the new theme of Neokastra, established by Manuel in northwestern [Asia Minor](#) and securing the region around the three cities

of Chliara, Pergamon and Adramytteion (modern Ören-Edremit).<sup>1</sup> In the *Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae*, or *Partitio regni Graeci*, a treaty signed among the crusaders after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, Pergamon became part of the *Provincia Atramitii, de Chliariis et de Pergamis*, claimed by the Latin Empire but *de facto* belonging to the Empire of Nicaea. It soon ceased to exist because of the Turkish conquest of the area around 1302 or slightly later. The local Christian population subsequently declined and Pergamon was later destroyed by the hordes of Timur in 1402. For centuries Pergamon was a suffragan bishopric under the metropolis of Ephesos, but it was elevated to the rank of archbishopric before 1250 and was even a metropolis between 1274 and 1295; however, it was reduced to the rank of a suffragan bishopric under Ephesos in 1387.<sup>2</sup>

More than a dozen lead seals were unearthed during excavations in Pergamon; some of them came to the *Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* and were first published by Kurt Regling, though not always in a satisfactory manner. Not a single seal from the mid-eighth until the end of the tenth century has so far been found. It seems clear that a Niketas μοναχός lived in the eleventh century.<sup>3</sup> We date the monogrammatic seal of a Monomachos (?) with a standing figure of St George on the obv. to the second half of the twelfth century,<sup>4</sup> and prefer to attribute the imperial seal of a Michael Palaiologos to Michael IX.<sup>5</sup> Finally, the metrical seal of Nikephoros Myrtates originates from the thirteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

In the scholarly literature some further seals referring to dignitaries of Pergamon are known. For example, some seals document bishops of Pergamon. A Georgios ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως Περγάμου was active during the iconophile reaction in the late eighth or early

1 K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, TIB 7 (Vienna 1990) 117 (hereafter TIB 7).

2 J. Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat im späten Byzanz. Ein Verzeichnis der Metropoliten und Bischöfe des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel in der Zeit von 1204 bis 1453* (Saarbrücken 2008) 341. The region of Pergamon is treated by Andreas Külzer in his forthcoming *Westkleinasien (Lydia und Asia)* in the series *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. We would like to express our deepest appreciation to him for making available to us the lemma on Pergamon.

3 Berlin acc. no. 463/1911; ed. K. Regling, 'Byzantinische Bleisiegel', in A. Conze et al., *Altertümer von Pergamon*, vol. I/2: *Stadt und Landschaft* (Berlin 1913) 335, no. 17; photo no. 17 (a bust of St Nikolaos on the obv.) (hereafter Regling II).

4 Regling II, 335, no. 18; photo no. 18.

5 Regling II, 336, no. 19; photo no. 19. For the complexity of distinguishing the seals of Michael VIII and Michael IX, see W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, part 1: *Kaiserhof* (Vienna 1978) no. 31 (hereafter Seibt, *Österreich* I).

6 Regling II, p. 336, no. 20. Cf. A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*, part 1: *Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inklusive My* (Vienna 2011) no. 1359 (first half of the thirteenth century) (hereafter Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus*). Recently a parallel seal in the Tatiş Collection in Izmir was dated to the late thirteenth–early fourteenth century: J.-Cl. Cheynet (ed.), *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Yavuz Tatiş* (Izmir 2019) no. 7.5 (hereafter *Tatiş*).

ninth century.<sup>7</sup> We incline to date the seal of a I[o]nas, ἐπίσκοπος [π]όλεος (sic) Περγάμου to the mid-ninth century.<sup>8</sup> The seal of Methodios, ἐπίσκοπος πόλεος (sic) Περγάμου was correctly attributed to the participant of that name in the Council of 879/880.<sup>9</sup> The Viennese seal of a bishop Andreas probably dates to the first half of the tenth century.<sup>10</sup> A seal of a monk and bishop of Pergamon in the State Hermitage Museum (acc. no. M-1343) also dates to the tenth century, perhaps from its second third.<sup>11</sup> The seal of a bishop Pothos in Vienna and another one of a bishop Leon may date to the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>12</sup> A seal from the former Russian Archaeological Institute in Istanbul referring to a Leon *dioiketes* and *kommerkiarios* ΠΕ[...] from the first half of the ninth century was tentatively attributed to Pergamon by Boris A. Pančenko.<sup>13</sup> There is a parallel piece in DO, where also only ΠΕ[...] is readable, attributed rather to the Peloponnese.<sup>14</sup> We support this attribution.

### The sigillographic collection of the Museum of Bergama

The seals in the Byzantine sigillographic collection of the Museum of Bergama that are presented here were purchased between 1978 and 1999. The amulet discussed in the Appendix was purchased in 1978 and was the first sigillographic piece to be acquired. Chronologically, there are three groups of acquisitions. İbrahim Kurşun sold a group of 18 seals in December 1999<sup>15</sup> and Hasan Beden, a well known numismatic collector in Izmir (d. 2013), sold a group of nine seals on October 1999.<sup>16</sup> The name of the

7 W. Seibt and M. L. Zarnitz, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk. Katalog zur Ausstellung* (Vienna 1997) 5.2.4 (hereafter Seibt and Zarnitz). Cf. V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1963–72) V/1, 286 (ninth–tenth century, which is certainly very late) (hereafter Laurent, *Corpus*). This piece was found in Pergamon and is now kept in Berlin.

8 The seal Hermitage acc. no. M-427, photo in I. V. Sokolova, *Монеты и печати византийского Херсона* (St. Petersburg 1983) pl. 3, no. 3.

9 J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of the Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. 3: *west, northwest, and central Asia Minor and the Orient* (Washington, DC 1996) 28.1 (hereafter *DOSeals*); Laurent, *Corpus* V/3, 1696. On the obv. a bust of the Theotokos holding a bust of Christ at her breast.

10 Laurent, *Corpus* V/1, 287 (ninth/tenth centuries). On the obv. a bust of St Demetrios.

11 V. S. Šandrovskaia, 'Сфрагистика', in *eadem* (ed.), *Коллекция музея РАИК в Эрмитаже, Каталог выставки* (St. Petersburg 1994) 182–3, no. 271 (without a photo); cf. the bibliographic remark in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 6 (1999) 107.

12 Laurent, *Corpus* V/1, 288 (tenth century) and 289 (tenth–eleventh century). The latter has a very rare bust of St Antipas of Pergamon on the obv.

13 B. A. Pančenko, 'Каталог моливдовулов коллекции Русского археологического института в Константинополе', *Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе / Bulletin de l'institut archéologique russe à Constantinople* 13 (1908) 87, no. 320 (eighth–ninth century).

14 *DOSeals* 2, 22.12 (ninth century); cf. G. Zacos and A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1 (Basel 1972) 2104 (hereafter Zacos and Vegler).

15 Nos. 5–6, 8–9, 16–17, 19–28 and 30–1.

16 Nos. 1–2, 4, 7, 10–13 and 29.

seller of two seals in June 1980 (nos. 2–3) is not given in the catalogue. Two seals, however, belong to none of these three groups: Rafet Tüme sold no. 3 in 1992, and Önder Taşkın sold no. 6 in 1996. We have included no seal acquired since 2000.

The Early Byzantine seals were presented in *BMGS* 45.1: 5–24 (including nos 3 and 6 mentioned above). In the following we offer a substantive analysis of the 19 Middle and Late Byzantine seals.

## Catalogue

### 1. *Gregorios hypatos* (Figs 1a–b)

*Acc. no.* 4.7.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 26 mm, th., 0.6 mm, wg., 18.30 gr.

*Obv.* Invocative monogram Laurent V with a large beta at the bottom without a tetragram.

*Rev.* Inscription of four lines (the last one is seriously damaged). No crosses or ornaments visible: ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΩ ΒΠΙΛΩ.

The complete legend reads: Θεοτόκε βοήθει Γρηγορίω υπά[τ]ω.

*Sigillographic comments.* We know of three (probably slightly later) seal types which could belong to the same person. All have the monogram Laurent type V on the obv., also with a large beta at the bottom, in two cases combined with the less usual tetragram τῷ δούλω σου. The first, kept in Athens,<sup>17</sup> has the legend: +ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΩ ΒΠΙΛΩ, perhaps followed by a cross. Its earlier type is known by two examples, one in DO<sup>18</sup> and one in the Museum of Afyonkarahisar, found in Apameia (modern Dinar) in Phrygia.<sup>19</sup> On these, the legend ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΩ ΒΠΙΛΩ bears crosses between *trifolia* above and under the legend. A further seal in Athens<sup>20</sup> has a rev. very similar to the latter type, but the usual tetragram τῷ σῷ δούλω is given in the quarters of the monogram Laurent V. The rho on our seal in Bergama has a serif, but this is not the case on the other types.

*Dating.* We date all these types to the first third, perhaps even to the first quarter, of the eighth century.

### 2. *Stavrakios* (?) *basilikos* (?) *spatharios* (?) and *archon of Lydia* (?) (Figs 2a–b)

*Acc. no.* 5502.

*Measurements.* Diam., 25 mm, th., 6 mm, wg., 20.72 gr.

*Obv.* Invocative monogram type Laurent V with the less usual tetragram ΤΩ – Δ.ΙΛΩ – CΔ.

*Rev.* An illegible inscription in four lines, with patina:

+ C...|P...CVC | B AC. S AIPX, ΛV..

The complete legend reads: Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ δούλω σου Σ[ταυ]ρ[ακ(ίω)] (?)... β[α(σιλικῶ)] σ[ταυραρίω] (?) (καὶ) ἄρχ(οντι) Λυ[δί(ας)].

17 K. M. Konstantopoulos, *Βυζαντιακά μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου* (Athens 1917), no. 570 (with an error concerning the tetragram) (hereafter Konstantopoulos).

18 DO 55.1. (neg. no. 61.17.20-723), eds. Zacos and Vegler 1953.

19 V. Bulgurlu and A. İlaslı, 'Seals from the museum of Afyon (Turkey)', *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 8 (2003) 135, no. 8.

20 Athens 561a, ed. Konstantopoulos 561a.



Fig. 1: Seal of *Gregorios hypatos* (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).



Fig. 2: Seal of Stavrakios (?) basilikos (?) spatharios (?) and archon of Lydia (?) (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

*Sigillographic comments.* Β(ασυλικός) (πρωτο)σπ(αθάριος) or only βα(συλικός) σπ[αθάριος] are possible readings; the office of an *archon* is apparent and the province of Lydia may be indicated by the traces of letters.<sup>21</sup> As the first two lines are nearly illegible, the name Stavrakios is only a first provisional assumption.

*Dating.* Around the first half of the eighth century.

3. *Levan (son of) Apelates (?)* (Figs 3a–b)

*Acc. no.* 5503.

*Measurements.* Diam., 21 mm, th., 0.3 mm, wg., 5.07 gr.

*Obv.* The field is almost completely damaged. Perhaps there was an invocative monogram, e.g. the type Laurent V. On the left may be a kappa with a beginning of an horizontal line.

*Rev.* The legend in four lines is partially illegible and features a patina:

.Ω ΚΙΩ ΛΕΒΑΙ. ΑΠΕΛΙΑΤΟΝ.

The complete legend seems to read: Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ Λευά[ν(η)] Ἀπελάτου.

*Sigillographic comments.* Levan (ლევან) would be the Georgian form of the Greek

21 For ἄρχοντες Λυδίας cf. W. Seibt, ‘The Early Byzantine province of Lydia based on sigillographic evidence’, in E. Lafli and G. Labarre (eds.), *Studies on the History and Archaeology of Lydia from the Early Lydian Period to Late Antiquity* (Besançon) (forthcoming).





Fig. 3: Seal of *Levan* (son of) *Apelates* (?) (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

name Leon (Λέων). Since the other name, *Apelates*, is in the genitive, this could be the father's name.

*Dating.* If our reconstruction is right, the seal dates to the eighth century, perhaps from its first half.

4. *Theodoros basilikos spatharios and strategos of Thrakesion* (Figs 4a–b)

*Acc. no.* 1.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 24 mm, th., 3 mm, wg., 10.26 gr.

*Obv.* Invocative cross-monogram Laurent type V, with the usual tetragram. Reading: Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ.

*Rev.* Legend on five lines:

+ ΘΕΟΔΙ.ΡΩ Β, ΣΠΙ.Θ, Σ ΣΤΡΑΤΙ.. ΤΟΝ ΘΡΙ.ΚΗC,

+ Θεοδ[ώ]ρω β(ασυλικῷ) σπ[α]θ(αρίῳ) (καί) στρατ[(η)γ(ῶ)] τ(ῶ)ν Θρ[α]κησ(ίων).

Parallels: a) Archaeological Museum of Istanbul; b) DO 55.1.1213; c) The Tatiş Collection in Izmir, no. 2925. Ed.: a) Ebersolt 534 (with an erroneous reading, also repeated in *PmbZ* 3275); *Istanbul*<sup>22</sup> 3.129; b) Zacos and Veglery 2462; *DOSeals* 3, 2.53; *PmbZ* 7618; c) *Tatiş*, no. 3.61. In an auction a relatively similar seal of a *Theodoros imperial spatharios and strategos of Kibyrraioton* was offered.<sup>23</sup> This is a slightly earlier seal, dating to the later eighth or very beginning of the ninth century, and possibly belongs to the same person. The seal *Seyrig* 167a has a connection with the aforementioned seal as well as with another of a *Theodoros spatharokandidatos and strategos of Armeniakon*.

*Dating.* Zacos and Veglery dated this type to the second half of the eighth century, the editors of the seal from DO to the eighth century, and Cheynet et al. (*Istanbul*) to the first half of the ninth century; but in the last edition of Jean-Claude Cheynet to the *Tatiş* Collection in Izmir, a date of the eighth/ninth century is preferred. Perhaps the seal dates to the last third of the eighth century, as the low rank of this significant *strategos* supports such a dating.

22 J.-Cl. Cheynet, T. Gökyıldırım and V. Bulgurlu, *Les sceaux byzantins du Musée archéologique d'Istanbul* (Istanbul 2012) (hereafter *Istanbul*).

23 The Auction of Gerhard Hirsch' Nachfolger in Munich 271, 17.-19. 2. 2011, 2688; cf. A.-K. Wassiliou, 'Beamte des Themis der Kibyrraioten', in H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild (eds.), *Lykien und Pamphylien*, TIB 8 (Vienna 2004) part 1, 408, with no. 72; and a similar, though slightly later type on Cyprus: D. M. Metcalf, *Byzantine lead seals from Cyprus* (Nicosia 2008) no. 271.



Fig. 4: Seal of Theodoros basilikos spatharios and strategos of Thrakesion (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

#### 5. Aaron notarios (Figs 5a–b)

*Acc. no.* 6.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 25 mm, th., 5 mm, wg., 17.41 gr.

*Obv.* Invocative monogram of the Laurent type V, with the usual tetragram  $\overline{\text{T}\omega} - \overline{\text{C}\omega} | \overline{\Delta\delta} - \overline{\Lambda\omega}$ .

*Rev.* Legend on three lines without any ornament: +AAP|ΩN NOT|APIΩ.

The legend reads: Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Ἀαρὼν νοταρίῳ.

An exact parallel was offered in a German auction.<sup>24</sup>

*Sigillographic comments.* The biblical name Aaron (אַהֲרֹן, Ahārôn in Hebrew) was rare in this period. Since there is no sign of an abbreviation after the ny, the name is presented as undeclined. It is not certain whether Aaron was a public notary or a notary in an imperial office or a clerical one.

We do not know if the relatively similar, nearly synchronous seal of an Aaron *hamartolos*<sup>25</sup> notarios belongs to the same person. The obv. is very similar, the rev. legend reads: +AAPIN AMAPITOLΩ NOTIAPIΩ.<sup>26</sup>

*Dating.* The seal dates to the late eighth to the beginning of the ninth century.

#### 6. Ioannes archiepiskopos of Ephesos (Figs 6a–b)

*Acc. no.* 1.6.96.

*Measurements.* Diam., 22 mm, th., 5 mm, wg., 11.59 gr.

*Obv.* Invocative cross-monogram, similar to the type Laurent XIV, though surely a sigma at right after the eta, with the usual tetragram: Χριστὲ βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ. The theta on the left and the omicron at the top are lost.

*Rev.*  $\overline{\text{I}\omega\text{A}|}\overline{\text{I}\text{N}\text{N}\text{H}} \overline{\text{A}\text{P}\text{X}|}\overline{\text{I}\text{E}\text{P}|}\overline{\text{I}\text{C}\text{K}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{E}|}\overline{\text{P}\text{E}\text{C}\text{C}\text{H}}$

Ἰωάννη ἀρχιεπισκ(όπῳ) Ἐφέσου.

24 Münz-Zentrum 157, 12.–13.1.2011, 616 = Münz-Zentrum, Catalogue June/July 2011, 550.

25 The epithet ἁμαρτωλός (sinful) is one of the terms of humility that were used primarily by members of the clergy.

26 The Pecunem auction 35, 6.10.2015, 887.





Fig. 5: Seal of *Aaron* notary (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).



Fig. 6: Seal of *Ioannes archiepiskopos of Ephesos* (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

Exact parallels in the Archaeological Museum of Athens (acc. no. 240)<sup>27</sup> and in the Tatiş Collection in Izmir.<sup>28</sup>

*Sigillographic comments.* Some letters are heavily damaged, but with the help of the parallels the reading could be reconstructed. The Athenian piece quoted only the first letter of the geographical term. The first editor of the sigillographic catalogue of the Archaeological Museum of Athens, Konstantinos M. Konstantopoulos, did not attempt to present an assumption concerning this seal's relationship with Ephesos, but Laurent did and was right, as the parallels show.

*Dating.* For the dating Laurent followed Konstantopoulos, as they both dated it to the eighth–ninth century, but he also attributed this seal to a *Ioannes* who participated at the ecumenical council of 787, which was accepted by Cheynet in the catalogue of the Tatiş Collection. Seibt and Zarnitz proposed the late ninth or even tenth century.<sup>29</sup> We prefer the first half of the ninth century.<sup>30</sup> There is also another seal type of a *Ioannes*

27 Last edition: Laurent, *Corpus V/1*, 256.

28 *Tatiş*, no. 6.18.

29 Seibt and Zarnitz, 195.

30 A date after 833 would only be probable if the archbishop Markos was the immediate successor of the iconophile Theophilos; see Laurent, *Corpus V/3* 1690; *DOSeals* 3, 14.8. For Markos, the archbishop of Ephesos who was sent to the Frankish ruler in 833 as a Byzantine ambassador, see R.-J. Lilie et al. (eds.),

*archiepiskopos* of Ephesos.<sup>31</sup> On the obv. a standing figure of the Virgin Hodegetria appears between the monograms for Θεοτόκε and βοήθει. This type probably goes back to the late iconophile reaction in the early ninth century. Both types may refer to the same Ioannes.

7. *Damianos metropolitan of Chalkedon* (Figs 7a–b)

*Acc. no.* 10.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 32 mm, th., 3 mm, wg., 7.76 gr.

*State of preservation.* Though more than half of the seal is seriously damaged by pressing, the legend can be reconstructed with the help of a parallel seal published by Schlumberger.<sup>32</sup>

*Obv.* Invocative monogram with the usual tetragram. If Schlumberger was right in assuming a rho at the top, this seal should be classified to the Laurent type VIII and not Laurent type V, as Laurent previously proposed.

*Rev.* Of the original four lines only some sections of the middle part of two lines are legible: ...|ΑΝΩ ΜΗ...|ΠΟΛ, ΧΑ.Ι....

The legend reads:

Κ[ύρι]ε βο[η]θήθ[η]ι [τῶ] σῶ [δοῦ]λῳ Δαμ[ι]ανῶ μη[τρο]πολ[ι]τῆ] Χα[λκεδ]ον[ος].

*Dating.* Following Laurent, we date these seals to the second quarter of the ninth century, after Ioannes, who died in 824.<sup>33</sup>

8. *Gabriel* (Figs 8a–b)

*Acc. no.* 3.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 25 mm, th., 4 mm, wg., 7.40 gr.

*Obv.* Cruciform monogram, but the letters are only partially connected, with dots in the quarters. As the letters are cut positively, they appear to be reversed, but the reading is clear: Γαβριήλ.

*Rev.* A similarly arranged monogram, with unconnected though non-reversed letters, but with a ligature of probably my and delta in the centre, again with dots in the quarters. The letters – Α, Δ, Η, Ι, Λ, Μ, Ρ, and Β – are probably not arranged in any special order but rather according to aesthetic principles. As neither a title nor an office seems possible, they are probably associated with a surname or an indication of its owner's residential origin, or even a profession. Perhaps Λιμυριώδη (associating the seal's owner with Limyra in Lykia) or μυραλιόη; but these remain hypotheses not attested elsewhere.<sup>34</sup>

*Dating.* The seal probably dates to the first half of the tenth century, a period in which monograms of names were very rare, but not unknown, on Byzantine seals.<sup>35</sup>

*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung* (641–867), 6 vols. (Berlin and New York 1999–2002) 4838 (hereafter *PmbZ*).

31 Seibt and Zarnitz 5.2.6; a parallel was recently offered in the Pecunem auction 27, 4.1.2015, 908.

32 G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1884) 246 (with facsimile) (hereafter Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*); Laurent, *Corpus V/1*, 399.

33 Cf. also S. Vailhé, 'Les métropolitains de Chalcédoine, V<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Échos d'Orient* 11 (1908) 350 (hereafter *ÉO*).

34 For Byzantine names ending with -ώδης, see E. Trapp, R. Walther and H.-V. Beyer (eds.), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna 1976–96) abbreviations 397.

35 Cf. e.g. N. Oikonomides, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington, D.C. 1986) no. 59, 62 and 64 (hereafter Oikonomides, *Dated*), or Seibt, *Österreich* I, 45.



Fig. 7: Seal of *Damianos metropolitan of Chalkedon* (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).



Fig. 8: Seal of *Gabriel* (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

9. *Hierotheos monachos and archiepiskopos of Tourkia* (Figs 9a–b)

*Acc. no.* 12.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 21 mm, th., 3 mm, wg., 4.90 gr.

*Obv.* This unusual invocative monogram could mean Μητηρ Θεοῦ βοήθει, if there is a my at the bottom and a beta on the left. In the quarters the usual tetragram τῷ σῶ δούλω.

*Rev.* The legend in six lines bears no ornaments:

+ ΙΕΡΙΟΘΕΩ ΜΙΟΝΑΧΩ ΑΙ.ΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩ Τ,ΡΚΙΑ.

+ Ἱεροθέω μοναχῷ ἀ[ρ]χιεπισκόπῳ Τ(ου)ρκία[ς].

*Sigillographic comments.* A suffragan bishopric called Βαρδαριωτῶν ἥτοι Τούρκων is known in the metropolis of Thessaloniki, but this seal indicates an archbishop of the tenth century. In the appendix 1 of *notitia* 13 of the twelfth century, we even find a metropolis Τουρκίας, ranking between Pompeioupolis and Rosia.<sup>36</sup> In the eleventh century an Antonios designates himself μοναχός, σύγκελλος and πρόεδρος Τουρκίας on his seal.<sup>37</sup>

36 J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Texte critique, introduction et notes* (La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin) (Paris 1981) 370, n. 13, 803 (hereafter Darrouzès, *Notitiae*).

37 Laurent, *Corpus* V/1, 472. For the title *proedros*, see A. P. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, 'Proedros. Proedros as a civilian dignity', in A. P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford 1991) 1727 (hereafter



Fig. 9: Seal of Hierotheos monachos and archiepiskopos of Tourkia (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

*Dating.* Perhaps this seal points to the Byzantine missionary activities in southern Hungary or in the Khazar Khaganate. The latter was located in the south-eastern section of modern European Russia. The Metropolitanate of Tourkia was an [eastern orthodox](#) diocese in [Hungary](#) in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>38</sup> Its name derived from the term *Tourkia*, used by the [Byzantine Greeks](#) also as a designation for the Hungarian medieval state. Between 965 and 969, the Kievan Rus' ruler Sviatoslav I of Kiev conquered the capital of the Khazar Khaganate and destroyed the Khazar state. This seal dates to this period and it is possible that the archbishopric of Tourkia existed only for a short time.

#### 10. *Konstantinos horreiaros* (Figs 10a–b)

*Acc. no.* 9.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 24 mm, th., 0.3 mm, wg., 7.39 gr.

*State of preservation.* Though more than half of the field is damaged by pressing, we can reconstruct the legend thanks to a similar piece from the former Thomas Ollive Mabbott Collection in New York.<sup>39</sup>

*Obv.* Patriarchal cross on steps with floral ornaments approaching the lower horizontal bar, which is additionally crossed. From the circumscription only  $\text{O}\overline{\text{H}}\Theta$  is visible. The similar seal in the former Mabbott Collection bears no ornaments or circumscription, but IC XC NI KA in the quarters.

*Rev.* From the legend of four lines only two middle lines can be distinguished.

. . .|.TANTI|NΩ OPI|....

The complete legend reads: [+ Κ(ύρι)ε β]οήθ[ει τῷ σῶ δούλω Κ(ω)νσ]ταντίνω ὀρι[αρίω].

The rev. of the similar example bears: . KONI.TANTI|.Ω OPII.ΠΙΩ.

*Dating.* These seals date to the second half of the tenth century.

*Historical comments.* The *horreiaroi* were responsible for the *horreia* (the granaries),

ODB), and A. Papadakis, 'Proedros. Proedros an ecclesiastical title', in ODB, 1727–8. The term *proedros* can mean an *episkopos*, an *archiepiskopos*, even a metropolitan or abbot; but since the obv. of this seal has a standing figure of St Demetrios of Thessaloniki, this may hint at Thessaloniki or the Vardariotes.

38 Cf. É. Révész, 'Die ersten byzantinischen Oberpriester Turkias – Hierotheos, Theophylaktos, Antónios, Démétrios, Ióannés', *Studia Hungaro-Bulgarica* 3 (2014) 55–68.

39 The American Numismatic Society, Thomas Ollive Mabbott Collection, neg. no. 8414 (photo stored in the Byzantine sigillographical photographic archive at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna).



Fig. 10: Seal of *Konstantinos horrearios* (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

especially in fertile regions, and in some respect also for the corn-supply of the capital and the army. On their seals they often refer to their administrative region.<sup>40</sup>

#### 11. *Romanos chartoularios and dioiketes of Ankyra* (Figs 11a–b)

*Acc. no.* 13.14.1999.

*Measurements.* Diam., 22 mm, th., 4 mm, wg., 9.21 gr.

*Obv.* In the centre of the field there is a relatively large Latin cross (the vertical bar is longer than the horizontal), additionally crossed in the centre. Two rings of pearls divide the cross from the invocative circumscription, which is heavily damaged. It starts clearly with +ΘΚΕ R, and the letters at the end could originate from POMANO. We propose: + Θ(εοτό)κε β[οιήθει τῷ σῶ δούλω] P(ω)μαν(ῶ).

The obv. is fairly uncommon. Normally a cross is surrounded by an invocation of Christ, i.e. Κύριε βοήθει ...; but here the invocation starts with the Theotokos.

*Rev.* Legend of four or probably five lines:

+ ΡΩ|ΜΑ, ΧΑΡΤ, | Σ ΔΙΟΙΚΗ|Τ, ΑΓΚΥ|.

+ Ρωμα(νός) χαρτ(ουλάριος) (καί) διοικητ(ής) Ἀγκύ[ρ(ας)].

The legend could also be in the dative. Above the alpha of the name, there is a small-scale abbreviation mark. We assume a fifth line only with the letter rho, but between minor horizontal bars.

*Historical comments.* As the *dioiketes*, Romanos was responsible for the collection of taxes. Ankyra may indicate modern Ankara, an important political and ecclesiastical centre as well as the metropolis of Galatia,<sup>41</sup> but in this period there was also a further Ankyra<sup>42</sup> in Phrygia Kapatiane or Mysia Abbaitis, modern Boğazköy and

40 Cf. J.-Cl. Cheynet, 'Un aspect du ravitaillement de Constantinople aux X<sup>e</sup>/XI<sup>e</sup> siècles d'après quelques sceaux d'horrearioi', in *idem*, *La société byzantine. L'apport des sceaux, Bilans de recherche* 3, vol. 1 (Paris 2008) 209–36 (hereafter *Société*).

41 A *dioiketes* of Galatia is known from a seal from the eighth century: C. Foss, 'Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977) no. 182 (hereafter *DOP*); Zacos and Vegler, no. 3189. Such officials are known in the Bucellarian theme in the eleventh century. One of them received a letter from Michael Psellos, asking a favour for the *dioiketes* of Ankyra who needed assistance in collecting taxes: Michael Psellos, *Epistulae*, ed. S. Papaioannou (Berlin 2019), Ep. 301; cf. Foss, l.c., n. 201.

42 For the site of Ankyra Sidera, see TIB 7, 184–5; T. Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie* (Zutphen 1978) 66, n. 100, 'The city of Temenouthyrai in Phrygia', *Chiron* 9 (1979) 275, n. 2, and





Fig. 11: Seal of Romanos chartoularios and dioiketes of Ankyra (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

former Kilise Köy, as a suffragan bishopric of Hierapolis. The latter Ankyra had the distinguishing epithet Σιδηρᾶ, like Seleucia Sidera in Pisidia, because of the local mining industry. Therefore, Romanos may have been active in Phrygia, especially if the seal was found in the surroundings of Pergamon.

*Dating.* It is difficult to date this seal. Perhaps it belongs to the second half of the tenth century. In the former Zacos Collection there was another seal of a Romanos *chartoularios* and *dioiketes*, without any indication of geographical district, but it dates somewhat later (late tenth or first half of the eleventh century) and has a bust of St Nikolaos on the obv.<sup>43</sup> This latter seal probably refers to a later man with the same name.

12. *Anastasios spatharios and krites of Amastris (?) (Figs 12a–b)*

*Acc. no.* 15.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 21 mm, th., 3 mm, wg., 5.07 gr.

*State of preservation.* As parts of the field are pressed and the first line of the rev.'s legend almost completely lost, only a provisional reading can be offered here.

*Obv.* Unusual form of an invocative monogram: from a small-scale central theta eight rays rise; they are crossed in the middle and have letters at their end. Some additional letters are placed between these. Readable letters of this circumscription are: Ε ROH ΤΩ. Thus, the invocation reads: [Κύρι]ε βοήθει τῷ [σῶ] δούλῳ].

*Rev.* The legend had originally five lines:

. . . . .Ι.ΑCΙ. .ΙΠΑΘΑ... Ι S ΚΡΙΤ...Ι.ΤΡΗ.

A proposal for a reconstruction would be: [+ Ἀναστ]ασί[φ σ]παθα[ρίω] (καὶ) κριτ[(ῆ) Ἀμ (α)σ]τρ(ι)[δ(ος)].

*Sigillographic comments.* We prefer the name Anastasios to Basileios; in the latter case

‘Ankyra Sidera’ dan Yeni Yazıtlar’, in A. N. Toy and C. Keskin (eds.), 28. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, 24-28 Mayıs 2010 İstanbul*, vol. 3 (Ankara 2011) 311–24. We have very few Byzantine sources on Ankyra Sidera: in the original list of the Council of Chalcedon (451), including a Latin list of Chalcedonian bishops, Ernest Honigmann supposes that after the name of Philippos of Ankyra Sidera (Σ 348. Δ 337) followed a phrase indicating that he was represented by his metropolitan or a fellow-bishop: E. Honigmann, ‘The original lists of the members of the Council of Nicaea, the Robber-Synod and the Council of Chalcedon,’ *Byzantion* 16.1 (1942–43) 45.

43 Photo stored in the Byzantine sigillographical photographic archive at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna.





Fig. 12: Seal of Anastasios spatharios and krites of Amastris (?) (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

the first line would consist only of ornaments. The title could also be identified as *protospatharios*. Ordinarily, thematic judges were installed for a specific Byzantine theme and not for a region within a theme.<sup>44</sup> The damaged first letter of the last line was perhaps a sigma or a ligature of O -V. An alternative reading N(έου) Στρ(υ)[μ (όνος)] seems less probable.

*Dating.* The seal dates to the second half of the tenth century.

### 13. *Basileios proedros and parakoimomenos* (Figs 13a–b)

*Acc. no.* 4.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 26 mm, th., 3 mm, wg., 10.22 gr.

*Obv.* The field has an inner inscription on five lines, separated by a border of dots from a circumscription.

The circumscription is partly lost or damaged: . . . .Ε ROHΘΕΙ ΤΩ CΩ Δ, RA.....

The inner inscription continues: ΤΩ ΕΝΔ,ΙΣΟΤΑΤΟ ΙΠΡΟΕΔΡΟ Ι ΤΗΣ CΥΓΓ,ΛΗΤΩ.

*Rev.* The legend has five lines, but it is surrounded by a massive ‘pearl necklace’ with spaced-out larger pearls between two rows of smaller pearls:

ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΡΑΚΟΙΜ.ΙΜΕΝ ΤΩ ΦΙΛΟΧΡ ΔΕCΙΠΟΤΟΝ.

The complete legend reads: [+ Κύρι]ε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δ(ούλω) Βα[σιλείω] τῷ ἐνδ(ο)ζοτάτ(ω) προέδρ(ω) τῆς συγ[κ]λήτου καὶ παρακοιμ[ω]μέν(ω) τοῦ φιλοχρ(ίστου) δεσπότη.

*Comparanda.* There are some very similar seals, though it is not clear if any of these is an exact parallel: in Bulgaria five similar seals were found, all of which are fragmented and damaged.<sup>45</sup> A relatively well-preserved piece on which the legend in the circumscription

44 The Byzantine trade of Paphlagonia focused on the superior harbour at Amastris. Lead seals of bishops of Amastris are known from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries, and Middle Byzantine seals of civic and military officials show that the city was a trading, administrative, ecclesiastical and military centre; see K. Belke, *Paphlagonien and Honōrias*, TIB 9 (Vienna 1996) 161–70, esp. 163; J. Crow, ‘Amastris’, in P. Niewöhner (ed.), *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia from the End of Late Antiquity Until the Coming of the Turks* (New York 2017) 389–94; and E. Laflı, ‘Roman and Byzantine metal finds in the Museum of Amasra (ancient Amastris) in Paphlagonia (northwestern Turkey)’, in Laflı (ed.), *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Bronzes from Anatolia and Neighbouring Regions* (Oxford 2021) 207–8, cat. no. 42, figs. 25.40a–b (a seal of the seventh century, erroneously dated to the tenth–eleventh century).

45 For its most recent publication, see Jordanov, *Corpus* III 257–61.



Fig. 13: Seal of Basileios proedros and parakoimomenos (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

of the obv. dismissed τῷ σῶ δούλω, as the name Βασιλείω follows immediately the verb βοήθει, is in DO. It offers ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ instead of ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟ.<sup>46</sup>

*Dating.* These seals can easily be ascribed to the well-known eunuch Basileios (Lakapenos), an illegitimate son of the emperor Romanos I Lakapenos (*r.* 920/944), who lived *ca.* 925–85, for whom the new title *proedros* of the senate was created by the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas in 963. Basileios calls himself *parakoimomenos* of a *despotes* (in singular), but theoretically there were always two or three emperors (including co-emperors) until the deposition of Basileios in 985/986. We do not know if Basileios was *parakoimomenos* under Nikephoros Phokas (*r.* 963–69), but he probably had this title under Ioannes Tzimiskes (*r.* 969/976). After Tzimiskes' death Basileios had even more power, but during the first years there was theoretically a *condominium* of the two young emperors; only later on was Konstantinos VIII pushed back by Basileios II Bulgaroktonos. Thus, we prefer a date under Tzimiskes (or perhaps under Phokas as early as *ca.* 963) for this seal, since during the reign of Phokas and Tzimiskes the two young co-emperors were far from power and the two former generals were *de facto* sole rulers.<sup>47</sup>

#### 14. Michael (?) (Figs 14a–b)

*Acc. no.* 17.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 18 mm, th., 3 mm, wg., 3.47 gr.

*Obv.* Traces of a primitive standing figure with wings, holding a kind of *labarum* in the right hand. Probably St Michael.

*Rev.* Heavily damaged legend in six lines, possibly starting with + MI which points to the name Michael. Most of the following letters are also too damaged for a confident reconstruction.

*Dating.* The seal may date to the later tenth or first half of the eleventh century.

46 DO 47.2.828; Oikonomides, *Dated*, no. 69. The seal Zacos II 795 is published without any photo, which makes it impossible to study its details, but it seems to be ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ.

47 For the extraordinary personality of Basileios Lakapenos, see *PmbZ* 20925 (vol. I, 588–98); W. G. Brokkaar, 'Basil Lacapenus. Byzantium in the tenth century', *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica* 3 (1971) 199–234, esp. 233; and C. J. Holmes, *Basil II and the Government of Empire (976–1025)* (Diss. Oxford 1999). For another seal type of Basileios, only as the *proedros* of the senate, see Laurent, *Orghidan*, 186 and 187, whereas in the latter seal the identification of a 'protoproedros' is certainly erroneous.



Fig. 14: Seal of Michael (?) (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

15. *Ioannes* (?) (Figs 15a–b)

*Acc. no.* 16.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 23 mm, th., 3 mm, wg., 6.30 gr.

*Obv.* Damaged inscription in four lines:

.K.RO|ΘEI T. | Ω Δ.Λ.,

[+] K[(ύρι)ε] or [Θ(εοτό)]κ[ε] βο[ή]θει τ[ῶ] σ[ῶ] δ[ού]λ(ω).

*Rev.* Badly damaged inscription in three lines preceded and followed by four pearls in cross form between horizontal bars:

.Ω.N|.....|..Ω.

This should be a given name and a surname/family name, an office or a title. Ἰωάννη ἀναξίω might be a provisional and insecure identification, if there was -ΖΙΩ in the last line; but in the middle of the second line it may have been a M.

*Dating.* This seal probably dates to the eleventh century.

16. *Konstantinos episkeptites* (Figs 16a–b)

*Acc. no.* 11.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 21 mm, th., 4 mm, wg., 6.97 gr.

*Obv.* Bust of a curly-headed and bearded military saint with a lance in the right hand and the shield in the left, probably St Theodore. The inscription is lost except possible traces of an omicron on the right.

*Rev.* An inscription of massive block-letters in four lines, damaged in parts. Under the legend an ornament consisting of a chi with pearls in the quarters (\*), between horizontal bars:

. ΚΕ R,Θ | Ω CΩ Δ. | ΩΝ ΕΠ..|..ΠΙ|.

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τ]ῶ σῶ δ[ού]λ(ω) Κ[ων]σταντίν(ω) ἐπ[ισκε]πτι[τ(η)].

The ligature with pi and tau, which had probably four vertical bars, is damaged. The name seems to have a ligature with omega and ny, which was quite rare in this period but common in the later twelfth century.

*Comparandum.* In the former Zacos Collection there was a relatively similar, synchronous seal with the legend [+] ΚΕ R,Θ, | ΚΩΝ ΕΙΠΙΚΚΕΙΠΙ ΙΤ, though with a standing figure of the Theotokos with a ‘minimal orans’ (outreached hands) posture on the obv.



Fig. 15: Seal of *Ioannes* (?) (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).



Fig. 16: Seal of *Konstantinos episkeptites* (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

*Historical comments.* The *episkeptitai* were responsible for *episkepseis* (public domains) and they often indicated their administrative district.<sup>48</sup> Some of them belonged to a special *logothesion*.<sup>49</sup>

*Dating.* The style of the seal indicates the second quarter of the eleventh century.

17. *Ioannes metropolitites of Mopsouestia* (Figs 17a–b)

*Acc. no.* 9.7.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 18 mm, th., 5 mm, wg., 10.50 gr.

*Obv.* Standing figure of the Theotokos Hagiosoritissa,<sup>50</sup> praying to the hand of God from heaven on the left top of the seal. Sigla ΜΡ – ΘΥ to the left and right. Along the border in the lower parts of the seal can be read the short legend + ΘΚΕ – ΡΟΗΘ.

*Rev.* The legend in four lines without ornaments:

48 For the title *episkeptites*, see Oikonomidès, *Listes* 312. Much material is collected in J.-Cl. Cheynet, ‘Episkeptitai et autres gestionnaires des biens publics (d’après les sceaux de l’IFEB)’, in *Société*, 237–72.

49 For general *logothesion*, including chartularies of provincial treasuries and thematic *epoptai*, tax assessors and *dioiketai*, i.e. fiscal administrators, see Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 109.16–111.5; cf. 113.28ff.

50 For the iconographic type of the Theotokos Hagiosoritissa, see W. Seibt, ‘Die Darstellung der Theotokos auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln, besonders im 11. Jahrhundert’, *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 1 (1987) 48–50. The Hagiosoritissa is also represented on some coins of the Komnenian period: T. Bertele, ‘La Vergine aghiosoritissa nella numismatica bizantina’, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 16 (1958) 233–4.



Fig. 17: Seal of *Ioannes metropolitanite of Mopsouestia* (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

+ ΙΩ | ΜΡΟΠΟ<sup>Τ</sup> | ΜΟΥΨΕ.ΙΤΗΑ.

The complete legend reads: + Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) Ἰω(άννη) μ(ητ)ροπο(λί)τ(η) Μουψουε[σ]τ(ί)α[ς].

At the end of the second line is a small omicron under an elevated small tau.

*Historical comments.* In the Early Byzantine period Mopsouestia/Mamistra was a suffragan bishopric of Anazarbos in the province Kilikia II. It is not certain if any orthodox bishopric remained in Mopsouestia during the Arab occupation after the second half of the seventh century, when the city was called al-Maṣṣīṣah (المصيصة). After Nikephoros II Phokas and his nephew Ioannes I Tzimiskes had seized Mopsouestia on 13 July 965 in a *reconquista*, and the patrikios Michael Bourtzes, a leading general of the later tenth century, had taken Antioch from the Arabs with a surprise attack in 969, there was probably a reorganization of the orthodox patriarchate of Antioch, establishing Mopsouestia as an autokephalous metropolis without suffragans, mentioned in a *notitia* of the tenth century.<sup>51</sup> After 1085, when Mopsouestia fell under the dominium of Sulaimān ibn Qutulmish, the founder of the independent Seljuq Turkish state in Asia Minor, it suffered much from internal wars between Crusaders, Armenians and Greeks who lost and recaptured it, notably in 1106, 1132 and 1137. Finally, in 1151/52, the city was captured by the Armenian Baron T'oros II and remained a possession of the Armenian principality of Cilicia as Uuūūunhu [Mam(u)estia].<sup>52</sup>

*Dating.* Ioannes is the first known orthodox metropolitanite of Mopsouestia and his seal dates to the second half of the eleventh century.

51 S. Vailhé, 'Une 'notitia episcopatum' d'Antioche du X<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Échos d'Orient* 10 (1907) 93. At this time Mopsouestia became also the seat of a *strategos*. For the problematic seal of a Georgios *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Mamistra, Anabarzos and probably Adana, which was published incorrectly by Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 274–75, cf. Seibt, *Österreich* I, 261. The seal of a Theophylaktos Saronites, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Adana and Mamistra in the Wassiliou-Seibt Collection (434), is edited in a catalogue entitled *Das goldene Byzanz und der Orient* (eds. C. Gastgeber and D. Heher) (Schallaburg 2012) 230–31, no. III.3. Shortly after the mid-eleventh century, Mopsouestia became the seat of a *katepano*, as the seals of a Sanpates (Smbat) *magistros* and *katepano* of Mopsouestia, demonstrate: one piece in the collection Wassiliou-Seibt (no. 498), the other in Antiocheia; see J.-Cl. Cheynet, 'Sceaux byzantins des Musées d'Antioche et de Tarse', *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994) 423–4.

52 For the Byzantine history of Mopsouestia cf. F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, TIB 5, vol. 1 (Vienna 1990) 351–9.

18. *Pantherios* (Figs 18a–b)

*Acc. no.* 2.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 20 mm, th., 3 mm, wg., 6.20 gr.

*Obv.* Bust of Theotokos Episkepsis wearing *nimbus*, both hands raised in prayer, medallion with the bust of Christ in front of her chest, with the sigla  $\text{MP} - \text{ΘV}$  to the left and right. The circumscription runs beginning at 10 and ending at 3 o'clock:  $+\text{Θ}\text{Κ}\text{Ε}\ \text{R}, \text{Θ}, \text{T}\Psi\ \text{C}\Psi\ \Delta,$

The border of the field consists of larger pearls between two rows of diminutive ones as a 'pearl necklace'

*Rev.* In a similar way, a bust of a saint is surrounded by a circumscription beginning at 9 and ending at 3 o'clock. The bust shows a bearded bishop with the Gospels in his left hand, his right hand in blessing; probably St Basil the Great, as the inscription seems to read:  $\text{Θ} \mid \text{R}-\text{A}\text{I}\text{C}\text{H}\text{I}\Lambda, \cdot \text{O} \ \alpha(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma) \text{B}\alpha\sigma(\text{i})\lambda(\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma).$

The circumscription reads:  $\text{ΠΑ}\text{N}\text{Θ}\text{Η}\text{Ρ}\text{Ι}\Psi.$

The complete legend reads:  $\text{Θ}(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\text{Κ}\epsilon \beta(\sigma\acute{\eta})\theta(\epsilon\iota) \tau\tilde{\omega} \sigma\tilde{\omega} \delta(\omicron\lambda\omega) \text{Π}\alpha\nu\theta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omega.$

*Comparandum.* In the former Zacos Collection<sup>53</sup> there was a relatively similar seal type: the bust of a saint with a similar circumscription on either side; on the *obv.* St Basil the Great with the sigla  $\text{Θ} \mid \text{R}, \text{C}\text{I}\text{I}\Lambda,$  and the circumscription  $+\text{Κ}\text{Ε}\ \text{R}, \text{Θ}, \text{T}\Psi\ \text{C}\Psi\ \Delta\text{Θ}\Lambda\Psi;$  on the *rev.* a bust of St Nikolaos with the sigla  $\text{Θ} \mid \text{N}\text{I}\text{I}-\text{K}\text{I}\text{O}\text{I}\Lambda,$  and the circumscription  $\text{ΠΑ}\text{N}\text{Θ}\text{Η}\text{Ρ}\text{Ι}\Psi.$  It is possible that both seals belonged to the same person, but the seal presented here is probably the older.

*Dating.* The seal dates to the last third of the eleventh century. Some *Pantherioi* who were military commanders are known, especially in the tenth century,<sup>54</sup> but the profession of *Pantherios* is not known.

19. *Konstantinos* (Figs 19a–b)

*Acc. no.* 18.14.99.

*Measurements.* Diam., 12 mm, th., 4 mm, wg., 3.27 gr.

*Obv.* Inscription in four lines, headed by a pearl between horizontal bars, and with the single letter in the last line with a minor bar on either side:

$+\ \text{Γ}\text{Ρ}\text{A}\text{I}\Phi\text{Ω}\text{N}\ \text{C}\text{I}\Phi\text{Ρ}\text{A}\text{Γ}\text{I}\text{C}$

*Rev.* The legend continues in three lines, preceded and followed by three pearls:

$\text{Π}\text{Ε}\Phi\text{V}\text{I}\text{K}\text{A}\ \text{T}\Omega\text{N}\ \mid \text{K}\Omega\text{N}.$

The metrical legend reads:

$+\ \Gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}\nu\ \sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\kappa\alpha\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \text{K}\omega\nu(\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon).$

*Comparanda.* We know of two exact parallels, one in the Thierry Collection (Etampes)<sup>55</sup> and one in DO,<sup>56</sup> both of which have been edited by Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt.<sup>57</sup>

53 Photo stored in the Byzantine sigillographical photographic archive at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

54 Auction Gorny & Mosch 186, 8.–9. 3. 2010, 2606: Pantherios *patrikos* and *strategos* of Sikelia; *DOSeals* 3, 2.48: Pantheres imperial *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Thrakesion; Zacos II 265: Pantherios imperial *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Germanikeia; auction Münz-Zentrum Müller (Cologne) 81, 30. 3.–1. 4. 1995, 1514: Pantherios imperial *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Lykandos.

55 Thierry Collection, no. 19.

56 DO 47.2.1386.

57 Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus*, no. 562.





Fig. 18: Seal of *Pantherios* (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

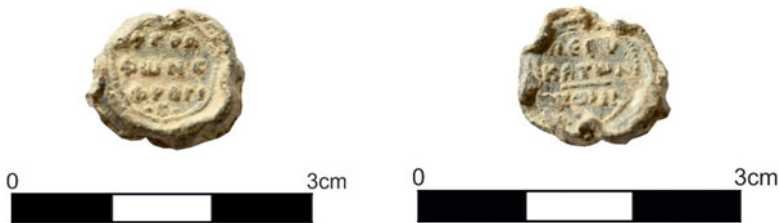


Fig. 19: Seal of *Konstantinos* (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

*Dating.* This type of a minor seal seems to originate from the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

## Appendix. A Byzantine magical amulet (Figs 20a–b)

*Acc. no.* 4353.

*Measurements.* Diam., 39 mm, th., 4 mm, wg., 20.49 gr.

*Obv.* This figure looks like a crudely executed head of Medusa. Its centre probably represents a human head, from which serpents radiate in all directions. In the study of Campbell Bonner, such an amulet type is interpreted as a ‘uterine symbol derived from the octopus version’.<sup>58</sup> Though several magical amulets have been preserved, no exact parallel is known.<sup>59</sup>

58 C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor 1950) 90; H. Björklund, ‘Classical traces of metamorphosis in the Byzantine hystera formula’, *DOP* 70 (2016) 151–66.

59 See also G. Schlumberger, ‘Amulettes byzantins anciens, destinés à combattre les maléfices & maladies’, *Revue des études grecques* 1892, 73–93, and ‘Amulettes byzantines anciennes’, in Schlumberger, *Mélanges d’archéologie byzantine: monnaies, médailles, méreaux, jetons, amulettes, bulles d’or et de plomb, poids de verre et de bronze, ivoires, objets d’orfèvrerie, bagues, reliquaires* (Paris 1895) 117–40; G. Vikan, ‘Art, medicine, and magic in early Byzantium’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984) 65–86; J. Spier, ‘Medieval Byzantine magical amulets and their tradition’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 56 (1993) 25–62; K. Schoneveld, ‘Ein frühbyzantinisches Bronzeamulett im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum. Zur Genese der mittelbyzantinischen Hystera-Amulette’, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen*



Fig. 20: A Byzantine magical amulet (© D. Çağlayan, 2019).

*Rev.* A crude inscription in six lines; the letters are somehow disorderly arranged and orthography is poor:

+ ΘC | TON APHXANΓΓEΛION MΧAIIΛ | ΓAVPHIIΛ | CABA..

+ Θ(εδ)ς τ(ω)ν ἀρχανγ{γ}έλ(ω)ν Μ(ι)χα(ή)λ Γα(β)ρ(ιή)λ Σαβα[ώθ].

As at the beginning of the name Michael, above the *nomen sacrum* ΘC and MΧ there are horizontal bars as signs of abbreviation.

Since the last line is damaged, our reading remains hypothetical, but it seems more reliable than an unintelligible word like ουαδω, sometimes found in similar texts on magical amulets.<sup>60</sup>

*Dating.* This kind of simple amulet may date to the Late Byzantine centuries.

## Concluding remarks

The scanty number of seals in the Pergamon museum, all of which have lost their provenance, do not provide us with much new data concerning the Byzantine past of this part of Asia Minor. However, they do offer some insight into the religious, administrative and military relations of the region.

If we look at all seals of the collection – those presented here as well as those presented in *BMGS* 45.1 –, the earliest seal dates to the late sixth century and the latest to the early twelfth century. Together they thus cover more than 550 years of western Anatolia's Byzantine past. That said, most of the seals belong to the seventh and tenth centuries; the (late) sixth and the ninth centuries have the fewest seals. Onomastically, Ioannes is the most common name on these seals: one on a (late) sixth-century seal as an *apo hypaton*, one in the seventh century, one in the late seventh century as an *epi ton*

*Zentralmuseums* 61 (2014) 267–306; A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie, 'A Byzantine casting mould for a hystera (womb) amulet and a cross in the Museum Schnütgen, Cologne: a contribution to the cultural and religious history of Byzantium and the material culture of Byzantine magic', in J. Drauschke et al. (eds.), *Lebenswelten zwischen Archäologie und Geschichte, Festschrift für Falko Daim zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Mainz 2018) 629–44.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, 214.

*deeseon*, one in the ninth century as the archbishop of Ephesos and two in the eleventh century, one of which was the *metropolit*es of Mopsouestia.

So what function did the dignitaries on the seals from Bergama perform? It seems that in the collection of the Bergama Museum seals of civil servants are available from the late sixth to the early twelfth century. This indicates that the administrative system was present in this region throughout the Byzantine period. The same applies to religious institutions: in all centuries, except for the sixth and eighth, there are seals belonging to religious dignitaries. This may indicate uninterrupted activity of religious institutions in Bergama and the surrounding regions in southwestern Mysia, Aeolis and Lydia. Seals belonging to military personalities belong only to the eighth century. This was a period during which Pergamon and surrounding sites were exposed to Arab raids, which may explain why the seals of military dignitaries intensified during this period.

The seals indicate that there were relationships between the places in which they were found (now lost to us) and Ephesos, Phrygia, Constantinople, Chalkedon, Paphlagonia, Cilicia and even 'Tourkia'. As we know from sources, Paphlagonian merchant ships with grain or wine or any other necessary commodities were active in the Aegean. Amastrean merchants were active in various parts of the Aegean and involved with the trade of commodities with Amastrean *amphorae*. Seals followed trade and seals now help us trace relations between people and places across time.

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