in the ancient city. Vase painting provides remarkable evidence for changing taste in Athens over more than 250 years, reflected both in the selection of subjects portrayed and the manner of their presentation.

This paper considers the extent to which such changes reveal significant changes in Athenian and Greek society, or merely reflect changes in artistic fashion and the use and marketing of vases. Focusing on the question of gender roles and sexual mores, it explores the significance of the decline in the explicit portrayal of sexual congress, both heterosexual and pederastic, in the Classical period, and the increase in female domestic subjects and the romantic transformation of the wedding. This changing taste reflects both the increased significance of the *oikos* under the Democracy and a desire of the Athenians to present a more refined image of their society. Interestingly, this refinement of imagery occurs earlier on vases than on the comic stage.

**Meaningful Figures: Gloria Ferrari Pinney, University of Chicago**

At the core of the approach to the interpretation of pictures taken by the participants in the original *City of Images* is the notion that imagery is a system of signification as conventional as that of language. Accordingly, the model of structural linguistics provides basic concepts on which to base the reading of imagery: the distinction between denotation and connotation, and between syntagm and paradigm; and the possibility of breaking down a figure into building blocks ("minimal formal units," corresponding to morphemes in language) and "minimal syntagms"—phrases or units of discourse.

This paper examines in particular the hypothesis, formulated by Claude Bérard, that "minimal formal units" are constitutive elements of the image that carry no meaning beyond "reference," or denotation. Here the analogy with language, indeed the whole idea of a visual "system," breaks down: while the elements of language are artificial and signify by convention, visual "morphemes" are ultimately recognizable by their resemblance to things (an eye, a club, a lion). In this fashion the notion of the "natural symbol" becomes the key to interpretation; at the same time, however, it undermines that whole idea of a visual "system," breaking down the representation into its subject. On the basis of Benveniste's essay on the level of linguistic analysis, it is proposed here that the level at which interpretation may be carried out is not that of signs but that of discourse, which belongs to the fabric of society.

**Session III A: Anatolia**

**Two Seasons at Gavurkalesi: Stephen Lumsden, Bilkent University**

Gavurkalesi, which is located approximately 60 km southwest of Ankara, is best known for its Hittite-period reliefs and associated cyclopean structure. It had been briefly investigated in 1930 by H.H. von der Osten. In 1993 a new program of investigation was initiated by the Department of Archaeology at Bilkent University. During the first two seasons of the new project, surface survey and planning of visible architecture were undertaken at Gävurkalesi and within the narrow valley surrounding it. The summer of 1995 was devoted to the study and preparation for publication of this preliminary stage of the project. Von der Osten's findings—based on only 10 days on site—seemed to indicate an isolated Hittite-period cultic monument, with no associated settlement, which was later reused as part of a Phrygian-period hillfort. The two seasons of work undertaken by Bilkent have indicated that Gavurkalesi is a much larger and more complex site than von der Osten envisioned. During the Hittite period there was, in fact, occupation on the slopes below the reliefs and on a terrace directly opposite them, an occupation presumably contemporary with the relics and the structure behind them. The Phrygian-period settlement covers approximately 1000 x 600 m, extending onto the valley floor and terraces below the monument. In terms of the size and arrangement of the walls and structures that extend from the summit of Gavurkalesi to its base, the site is architecturally quite "monumental."

**Early Phrygian Drawings from Gordion: Lynn E. Roller, University of California, Davis**

Megaron 2, one of the late eighth-century B.C. Phrygian buildings on the Gordium citadel mound, has a variety of drawings incised onto its exterior walls. These drawings range from small casual sketches to larger, well-detailed pictures. Known informally as "doodles," they were noted when the building was excavated in 1956–1957 and were the subject of a brief preliminary study (R.S. Young, *Archaeology* 22 [1969] 270–75), but their potential as a source of information has never been fully assessed. The drawings comprise a variety of subjects, animate and inanimate. Scenes showing men engaged in hunting, warfare, and recreation add to the sparse artistic record of human activities in Iron Age Gordium. Animals, both wild and domestic, were a favored topic, including birds of various kinds, lions, horses, deer, and dogs. A few depictions of architectural forms provide a rare glimpse of the superstructure of Phrygian buildings. Both the subject matter and style of these drawings suggest that their creators drew on a range of source material. Several of the scenes, including human activities, animals, and architectural motifs, appear to record activities of daily life around Gordium. Other, very stylized scenes show close parallels with the repertory of Neo-Hittite art. Another popular subject is the type of complex abstract patterns found on contemporary Phrygian furniture and pottery. While some drawings are of very cursory workmanship, others reveal the more sophisticated style of a trained artist. Taken together, these drawings form an invaluable record of personal activities and stylistic impulses of Phrygian life during this time.