A Cosmopolitan Village: The Hellenistic Settlement at Gordion

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(Greenie's Neighborhood, pp. 128-133). I wish he could have seen how important his work was to mine. Frederick Cooper passed in September of 2011. He was my professor at the University of Minnesota and a member of my dissertation committee. Fred guided me through the intricacies of AutoCAD and helped me develop my plan for managing the reconstructions. We had many wonderful and lively conversations about computers, architecture and archaeology at Minnesota and Neohori. I will miss his warmth and humor.

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Andrea Berlin became my advisor during my first year of graduate school. That same year, knowing that I was interested in computer applications in archaeology and architecture, she offered me the Hellenistic Gordion architecture as a dissertation topic. She warned me, however, saying that people had tried to deal with the material in the past but had given up in frustration. Perhaps it was the lure of a challenge or maybe it was Andrea's belief that I could finally do something with Hellenistic Gordion that made me take on the project. I am glad I did, both for sake of the material and for the chance to

work under the guidance of the best professor, mentor and archaeologist I have known. I thank her for her patience, trust, and friendship. It has been a privilege to be her student and an honor to have worked beside her.

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We have all drunk from a well we did not dig,
or have been warmed by a fire we did not build.
--Mark Shields

Abstract

From 1950 to 1973, Dr. Rodney Young and a team from the University of Pennsylvania carried out extensive archaeological excavations at the site of Gordion in central Turkey. Their work revealed the modest houses of a sprawling and lively agricultural settlement that grew at the site in the wake of Alexander the Great's visit in 333 BCE. For nearly 150 years, the villagers enjoyed a surprisingly culturally rich life, given their remote and isolated location, but met an unfortunate end as the target of a Roman military campaign in 189 BCE. The architecture of the village has never been published or even studied to any extent, despite its having been excavated over half a century ago and despite Gordion's position as the largest excavated site with Hellenistic-period remains in central Anatolia.

This dissertation is a first step in bringing Hellenistic Gordion to the archaeological community. An occupational chronology lays out the architectural history of the Citadel Mound from the Early Iron Age up to 189 BCE. The evidence for the Hellenistic architecture is explained along with my methodology for collecting and using it to make new digital reconstructions of the plan of the settlement and the individual structures. A catalog provides the plans and physical descriptions of 15 of the largest and best preserved structures. An examination of the construction methods and materials highlights the architectural details of the structures while a study of the architectural space, features and material remains offers a discussion of household activities. The plans of the houses and of the Early and Middle Hellenistic villages, combined with the

evidence of various household activities, lead to an examination of the culturally complex life of this previously unknown village in the Hellenistic East.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

> *We start work on the big huyuk [sic] today, with 30 men. We choose a place on the SE side not far from the south end, and mostly opposite the smaller huyuk at its SE. We choose this as a promising starting place because there are two modern trenches close together, where the peasants have been digging to get stones.*
>
> Rodney Young
> Monday, May 1, 1950
> Southeast Trench, Gordion Citadel Mound
> Notebook 2, page 1

The University of Pennsylvania began excavations at the site of Gordion in 1950 under the direction of Dr. Rodney Young. Seventeen seasons and twenty-three years later, Young and his students and colleagues had amassed a staggering amount of archaeological data on a site about which the scholarly community knew very little.

Historically, Gordion was known as the Iron Age capital of the Phrygian kingdom and home to Kings Midas and Gordias.[1] Ancient authors mention the site in the contexts of the Spartan king Agesilaus' siege in 396/5 BCE,[2] Alexander's visit and his episode with the knot in 333 BCE,[3] and the arrival of the Roman consul Manlius Vulso during his campaign against the Galatians in 189 BCE.[4] They locate the site near the Sangarius River and equidistant from the Mediterranean coast at Cilicia, the Hellespont, and the

[1] Strabo 12.5.3
[2] Hellenica Oxyrhynchia 16.6
[3] Arrian 2.31-8; Plutarch *Alex.* 18.1-2; Justin *Historiae Philippicae* 11.7.3-16; Q. Curtius Rufus 3.1.11-18
[4] Livy 38.18.10-12

Black Sea;[5] and they describe it as a village[6] and a market town that is visited more often than expected for a town of its size.[7]

The world knew nothing more about Gordion beyond these general descriptions until 1893, when workers on the German-Anatolian Railway came across the remains of an ancient, pre-Greek settlement on the Sakarya River (ancient Sangarius). A German classicist named Alfred Körte was alerted to the discovery and traveled to the site. Its location along the Sangarius led Körte to identify the ancient remains as those of Gordion.[8] He returned seven years later with his brother Gustav for a three month excavation season. Their trenches on the north and southwest edges of the Citadel Mound revealed Hellenistic house walls, a middle Phrygian building they called a temple, and finds from the 6th century BCE into the Medieval period.[9] The brothers also investigated five of the over 80 surrounding tumuli, recovering 8th-6th century BCE material from the burials.[10]

After the Körte brothers' 1900 season, Gordion lay untouched for the next five decades. In 1948, it caught the interest of Rodney Young and J. F. Daniel of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology. The two were in Turkey looking at sites for possible future excavations, their hopes of digging at Cyrene and Sardis having recently been dashed. Gordion was a suitable replacement and Young and Daniel sought

[5] Q. Curtius Rufus 3.1.12; Strabo 12.5.3; Livy 38.18.11
[6] Strabo 12.5.3
[7] Livy 38.18.10
[8] Körte 1897, 4. Körte's identification of the site has never been challenged.
[9] Körte and Körte 1904, 146-211.
[10] Körte and Körte 1904, 36-145.

and secured an excavation permit from the Turkish Government.[11] In March of 1950, Young returned with a team from the University and began the first season of excavation.

In that first season, Young's team opened four large trenches at the south (ST), southwest (SWT) and southeast (SET) edges of the top of the mound and one approximately in the middle of the northwestern section (NCT) (fig. 15). The south trench was an extension and continuation of the Körte brothers' 1900 trench and the southeast trench was chosen because the villagers had already been digging for stones there and Young felt it looked promising.[12] The spots for the southwest and north-central trenches were probably chosen as strategic samples of those parts of the mound. In addition to the trenches on the mound, Young excavated seven of the surrounding tumuli (A, B, C, D, E, G, H).[13]

The first seasons of excavation on the Citadel Mound were impressive and the results would guide Young's decisions on where to dig in future seasons. First, they had evidence of occupation at the site from the Early Bronze Age into the Roman Period.[14] The Roman settlement was only found in the uppermost levels of the south and southwest trenches; Hellenistic levels were the first reached in the other trenches. Second, both NCT and SET had reached late Phrygian levels by the end of that season. These periods of occupation at the site were remarkable for the sheer amount of material that was exposed and recovered, the level of preservation of many of the structures and artifacts and the scholarly and historic value of the archaeological information. Despite the rich

[11] Sams 2005, 10-12.
[12] NB 2:1
[13] Young 1951c, 11-12.
[14] Young 1951b, 4-10.

Hellenistic strata, Young focused his research towards a greater understanding of the history and material culture of the Phrygians. He expanded from the NCT and SET in the following seasons, concentrating his efforts in the western and central parts of the mound.

Young did not care much for the Hellenistic material he encountered along the way. It seems to have been more of a roadblock on the way to the Phrygian levels rather than a worthwhile archaeological, historical, and academic pursuit in its own right. He and G. Roger Edwards published preliminary reports of the excavations in the leading journals, *American Journal of Archaeology* and *Anatolian Studies*, and dutifully included general descriptions of the Hellenistic architecture and finds. However, these brief notes on the Hellenistic material were nothing compared to the pages devoted to what was coming up in the Phrygian levels. When Young died in 1974, the only thing one could say about the Hellenistic settlement was that it had been a prosperous agricultural village.

More research has been carried out on Hellenistic material from Young's excavations since their last season in 1973. In 2010, Shannan Stewart completed her dissertation on the Hellenistic pottery.[15] Previously, Fred Winter had only considered the imported black glazed wares.[16] Irene Romano has produced a volume on the terracotta figurines.[17] Lynn Roller has studied and published the graffiti and epigraphic texts.[18] She has also considered the place of Kybele in the context of Hellenistic Gordion.[19] Mark

[15] Stewart 2010.
[16] Winter 1984.
[17] Romano 1995.
[18] Roller 1987a, 1987b.
[19] Roller 1991, 1999.

Lawall has written on the amphora trade, notably between Gordion and communities around the Black Sea.[20]

Excavations started again at Gordion in 1988 under the direction of Mary Voigt. Through strategic soundings and excavation in previously unexplored areas of the mound, she and her team have produced a revised and refined chronology for all periods of occupation, the Yassıhöyük Stratigraphic Sequence (YHSS).[21] Their work has also produced more information on the Hellenistic settlement that is adding to our still nascent understanding of that period of the site's occupation.

This dissertation is the first treatment of the entirety of the Hellenistic architecture from the Young excavations. It is also the first study of the inventoried finds from the houses in their original architectural and archaeological contexts. I have used the original notebooks, photographs and plans to assemble the first state plans of the Early and Middle Hellenistic villages and the state plans of the individual structures. I have used these new plans and the excavation records to study and analyze, for the first time, the houses *qua* architecture and as the evidence of the daily lives of the residents of the Hellenistic settlement.

The present chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is a review of the occupational and architectural chronology of Gordion from the Early Iron Age to 189 BCE. Included here is an explanation of my phasing of the Hellenistic period occupation into Early and Middle periods. The second part is a methodological section wherein I describe the state of the evidence and explain the technical aspects involved in using that

[20] Lawall 2003, in press, forthcoming.
[21] Voigt 1994, 2002, 2005; Sams and Voigt 1990, 1991, 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2004.

evidence to create the Hellenistic state plans. I also explain the Gordion excavation techniques and how they generally impact my interpretation of the evidence. In Chapter 2, I present the plans and physical descriptions of 14 Hellenistic structures. Each house section begins with an explanation of the circumstances surrounding its excavation and an accounting of the documentation for my reconstructions. In some cases the house was excavated and removed in a matter of days by one or two excavators using one notebook. In the most protracted case, four supervisors worked piece by piece on a single structure over the course of six seasons spanning ten years. They recorded the information from the nine trenches they opened in five notebooks. I include this information because each house has its own unique excavation history which must be kept in mind when evaluating the evidence. The Catalog of Houses in Chapter 2 serves as the evidence for my analysis of the built environment of Hellenistic settlement in Chapter 3. Here I use all the houses as a data set from which I first document the construction methods and materials. I then analyze the function of architectural space in the houses in terms of where and how the residents carried out the business of their daily lives. Finally, I bring the present study to a close in Chapter 4 with an essay on the architectural and human character of the Early and Middle Hellenistic villages. An Appendix featuring a selection of plans and trenches follows.

Occupational and Architectural Chronology

Early Iron Age – 12th century – c.950 BCE/YHSS 7

The Late Bronze Age in Anatolia ended with the collapse of the Hittite empire. This historical development is marked at Gordion by the appearance of a new group of

people who used pottery with Balkan parallels.[22] Limited excavation has shown that they lived in subterranean and semi-subterranean one- or two-room structures with mud and thatch walls and roofs. A later YHSS 7 building had a wood pole framework for the walls, an above ground oven and a rectangular plaster platform with small bins. Unfired clay loomweights, a clay spindle whorl, grindstones, seeds and barley were found in the house.[23]

Early Phrygian – c.950 – c.800 BCE/YHSS 6

The second half of the 10th century BCE (YHSS 6B) saw the establishment of the first formal building plan at the Citadel Mound prior to the construction of the Early Phrygian citadel. This initial Early Phrygian phase included fortification walls, a gate building with a long corridor with a central row of posts (the EPB), and a megaron-style building (the PAP Structure) (fig. 1).[24]

[22] Voigt 2005, 29.
[23] Voigt 1994, 269-270.
[24] Voigt 2005, 29-31; Sams, 1994, 7-10.

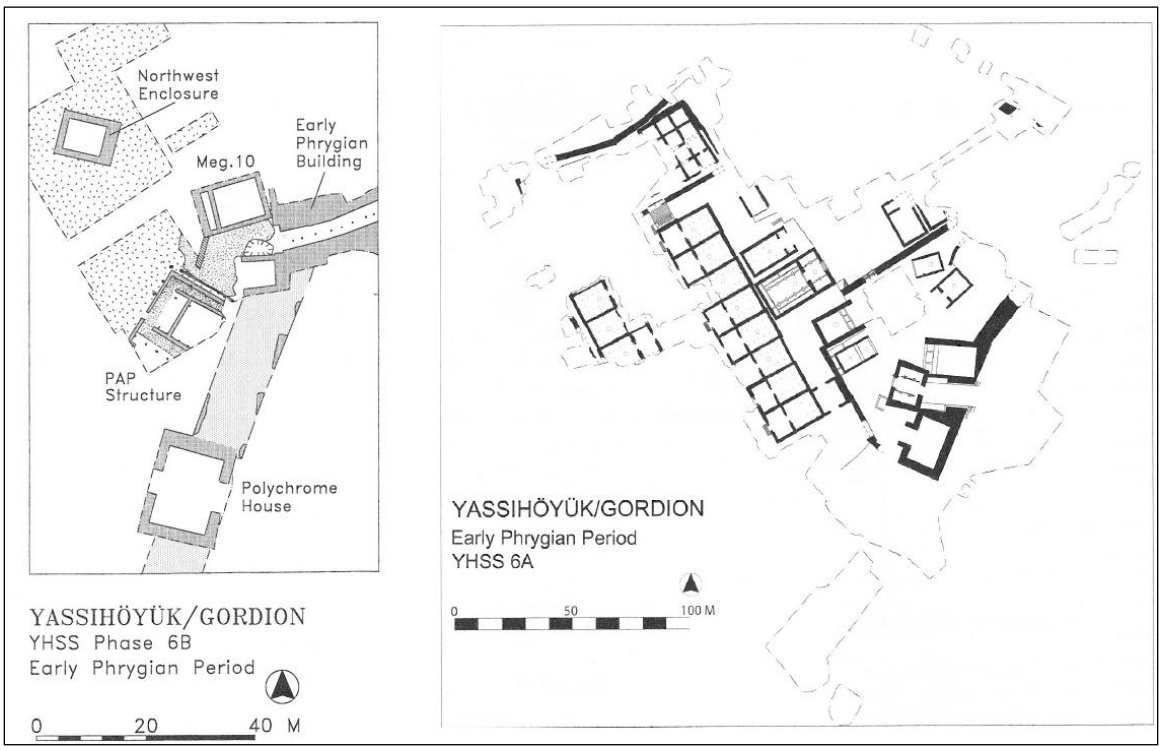

Figure 1. YHSS 6B Early Phrygian buildings (left) and YHSS 6A Early Phrygian citadel (right) (Voigt 2005, Figures 3-6, 3-2).

The final Early Phrygian citadel (YHSS 6A) which followed this initial phase lasted from around 900 BCE until its destruction by fire around 800 BCE. It featured massive fortification walls and a gate complex which led into a series of courts flanked by megaron-style buildings (fig. 1). North of the courts may have been a street leading to the northeast which was also flanked by megarons. The presence of the megarons and their size and style indicate that this sector of the mound was probably an elite quarter. The area to the west of the courts was eventually built up and terraced. It served as a platform for a structure over 100 m long made up of eight connected megaron-style units. This Terrace Building, along with a presumably identical structure standing opposite it across a wide street (the CC Building), formed at least part of the industrial quarter. The

megaron units of these buildings contained the materials and equipment for large scale textile production, grain grinding and baking. Access between the two quarters was limited to narrow and controlled passages at both ends of the Terrace Building. North of the Terrace Building was a large rectangular structure (the Persian-Phrygian Building) which may have formed a bastion here in the corner of the circuit wall. A northwest-southeast street ran along the back side of the western Terrace Building, separated from its back wall by a not insubstantial fortification wall. This street ran between an eastern mound, with the elite and industrial quarters, and a western mound. We do not yet know the nature of the YHSS 6 occupation west of the street, but evidence from later occupation levels suggests it may have been residential.[25]

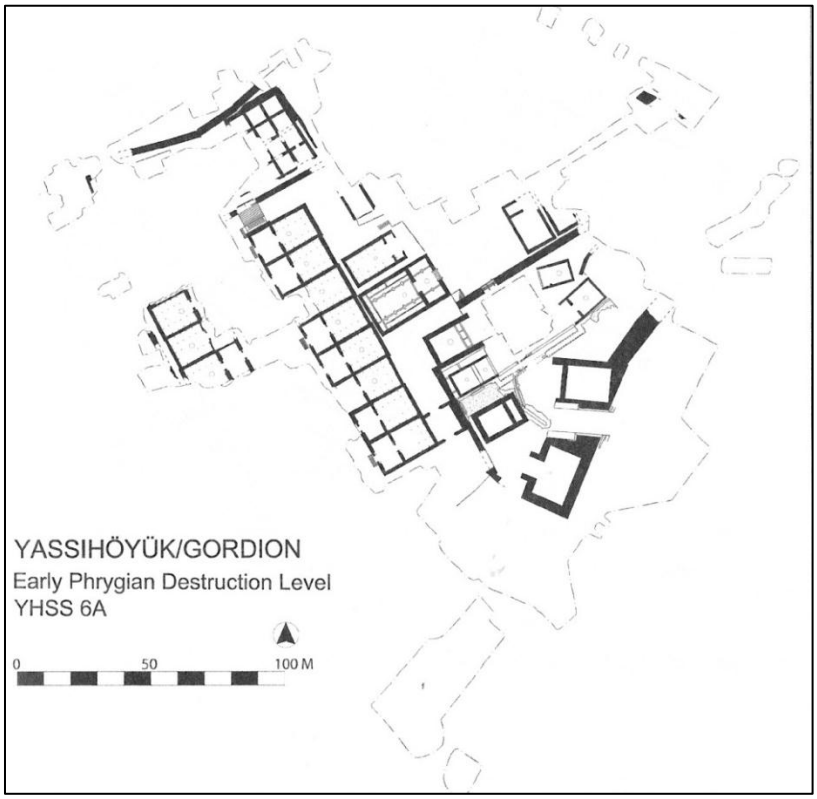

Figure 2. Plan of the Destruction Level (Voigt 2005, Figure 3-3).

[25] Sams 2005, 19.

Middle Phrygian – c.800 – 540 BCE/YHSS 5

Shortly before 800 BCE, the Gordion architects and builders began a remodeling project at the southern end of the elite quarter: the area between the gate and Megarons 1 and 9 was raised to the level of the Terrace Building; foundations for a new enclosure wall were laid between the southern walls of Megarons 1 and 9; a large drainage channel and tank were installed (fig. 2).[26] A fire interrupted this construction project, spreading throughout the entire palatial quarter and perhaps even to the structures on the west side of the street.[27] The construction project continued, however, with the deposition of a 3-5 m thick layer of clay over the destroyed remains of the Early Phrygian citadel. A second clay fill layer was deposited over the western area and raised the level there to be equal to that of the eastern palatial side.

The foundations of the Middle Phrygian citadel were laid concurrent with the deposition of the clay layer (fig. 3). The new palatial complex copied the plan of the old one fairly closely: a gate and fortification walls; inner and outer courts; megaron-style buildings; two rows of structures in the same location as the Early Phrygian terrace buildings . The nearly identical plans suggest the nature and function of the Middle Phrygian structures followed closely those of their Early Phrygian predecessors. The street between the eastern and western mounds was maintained. On the east side of the street, the fortification wall enclosing the palace quarter was raised to match its new higher elevation.

[26] DeVries 1990, 387-88.
[27] Sams 2005, 19.

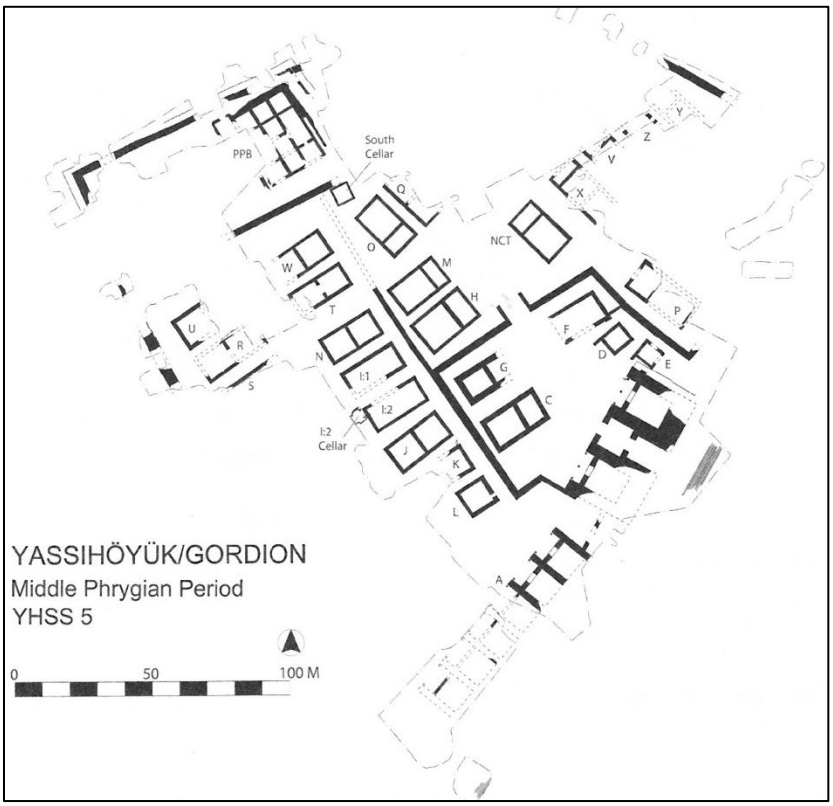

Figure 3. Plan of the Middle Phrygian citadel (Voigt 2005, Figure 3-4).

Evidence of domestic architecture appears in the Middle Phrygian period. On the east mound, abutting the west end of Building I:2, was a subterranean chamber approx. 5 x 5 m. The interior featured slots in the walls and post holes for wood supports for the walls and roof, a large mud plaster platform, an above-ground oven and a hearth.[28] The evidence from the west mound (sturdy walls, a pebble mosaic floor, and Greek imported pottery) attests to a domestic quarter of well-to-do families, perhaps palace officials.[29]

The Lower Town, the area immediately south of the two main mounds, was fortified at least by this period (fig. 4). Excavations here have revealed a mudbrick fortress, bastion and fortification walls extending out north and west in an arc toward the

[28] Voigt 1999, 204-205, Fig. 9.
[29] Voigt 1999, 210.

citadel mound.[30] There possibly were two distinct sectors here in the protected space north of the fortification walls. The eastern area featured an ashlar building atop a terrace supported by a massive ashlar retaining wall. This may have been an official space. The area to the west, which featured smaller structures with mudbrick walls on rubble foundations, clay floors and small above-ground ovens, seems to have been domestic.

Domestic structures located in areas away from the Citadel Mound may have belonged to people with less direct connection to the operations there than those living closer. A YHSS 5 subterranean room was excavated in the plain one kilometer north of the Citadel Mound[31] and Middle Phrygian houses were found on the Northeast Ridge east of the Citadel Mound.[32] Surface survey indicates that the settlement during the Middle Phrygian period was approximately 1 km^2.

[30] Recent magnetometric surveys of the area around the Citadel Mound have shown these remains, known today as Küçük Hüyük, to be part of a large fortification system that includes Kuştepe, a small mound north of the Citadel Mound. See Sams 2010, 462-464; 2009, 289-291; 2008, 139-141.
[31] Voigt 1999, 219.
[32] Anderson 1980, 7-62.

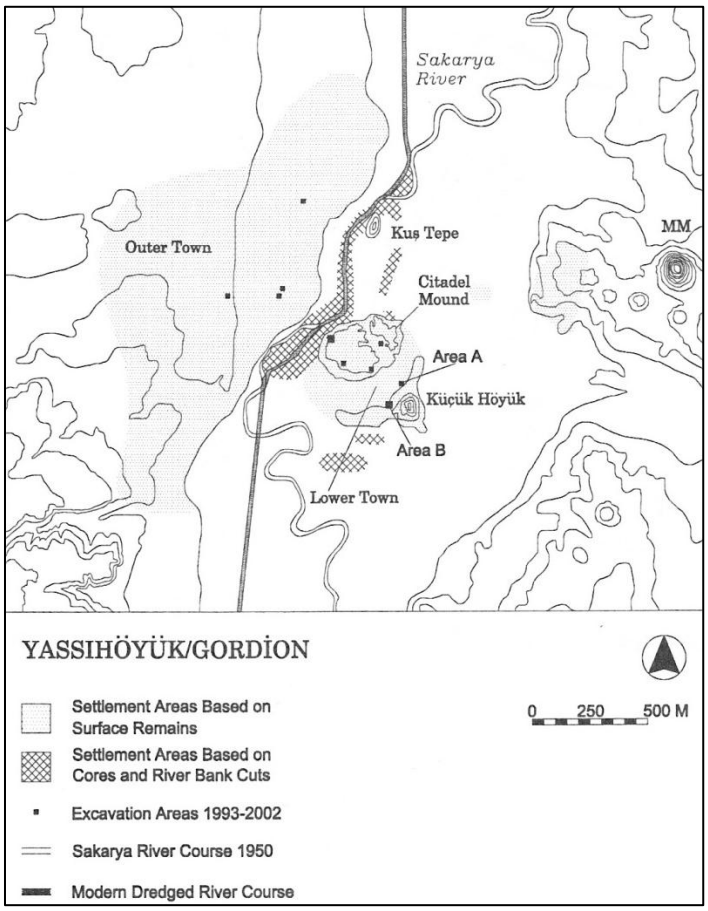

Figure 4. Plan of the settlement area around the Citadel Mound (Voigt 2005, Figure 3-1).

Late Phrygian – 540 – 330 BCE/YHSS 4

In the mid-6th century BCE, the bastion and the fortifications at the Lower Town were besieged and burned. That Lydian, and not Phrygian, pottery was found in the destruction suggests that Gordion had become an outpost of the Lydian empire by this time. The mid-6th century date of the attack coincides with the Achaemenid arrival in central Anatolia and Cyrus' defeat of Kroisos of Lydia.[33]

[33] Sams 2005,19.

The buildings of the Middle Phrygian citadel go out of use or are remodeled during the second half of the 6th century BCE.[34] Residential structures are built in and against the remains of the megarons. Only the cellars of many of these structures were preserved, subterranean rooms dug into the clay layer whose walls were lined with stones robbed from the megarons. Large deposits of architectural terracottas show that these houses were decorated.[35] There is some evidence of heavy industrial activity among these structures.[36]

Some official business was still being conducted on the eastern mound despite the apparent change in function of the area. Two new structures built during the late 6th and 5th centuries BCE attest to some high status activity. The Mosaic Building on the southeastern edge of the mound is a multi-room structure with a paved formal court in front of a colonnaded porch featuring a blue, white and yellow pebble mosaic. Decorated relief tiles adorned the walls and roof.[37] The plan of the building is unparalleled at the site. The Painted House is a one-room subterranean chamber built between Buildings C and G in the first half of the 5th century. Colorful frescoes painted in an East Greek style adorned its walls. They depict processing men and women and reclining figures in a scene that suggests ritual dining.[38]

Houses continued to be built on the western mound and in the Lower Town in the Late Phrygian period. Some were the same kind of cellars found on the eastern mound.

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[34] Voigt 1999, 220.
[35] Young 1962, 154.
[36] Oberlin and Vorys excavated a structure of this level they referred to as the "foundry" in 1953 (NB 38:123, 39:111).
[37] Young 1953, 11-14.
[38] Fields 2011, 43-47.

There were also modestly appointed pithouses, semi-subterranean structures with mud-plaster coated stone walls, small above ground ovens and hearths and wood posts supporting the walls and roofs. There were also many structures built at the surface with low stone socles and mudbrick superstructures. These houses on the western mound and in the Lower Town were widely spaced. Houses in the Outer Town, by contrast, were tightly spaced and give the impression of a crowded residential area.[39]

Hellenistic Phasing

By the 1952 season, Young had identified four Hellenistic layers.[40] Subsequent excavation reinforced his divisions. Layer 1was what he called "the dust of ages," the topsoil and natural accumulation at the modern surface of the mound. Lightly constructed walls for sheepfolds and small hearths for shepherds were common in this layer. Layer 2 was the "abandoned village," the latest phase of occupation in the central and northern parts of the Citadel Mound. Young always referred to this level as Galatian, noting the insubstantial houses of an unplanned village and the pottery and figurines left on the floors as the inhabitants fled before Vulso's arrival.[41] Young saw the next layer, Layer 3, as a period of brief abandonment of the site before the arrival of the Galatians. He noted an abundance of pits and the remains of only a few structures. In 1958, he curiously remarked on the presence of cellars in this level.[42] Cellars are indicative of the Late Phrygian/4th century/YHSS 4 phase of occupation. Layer 4 was the earliest Hellenistic

[39] Voigt 1999, 234.
[40] Young 1953, 6-9.
[41] Young 1962a, 153; Young 1956b, 250.
[42] Young 1958a, 141.

layer. Young thought the houses of this level were more elaborate and permanent than those of Layer 2. He also thought that they were more closely spaced than the later houses, resembling a town more than a village.[43]

Young never gave much thought to the Hellenistic period occupation. It was an obstacle in the way of the much more rewarding and impressive Phrygian levels below. The 4-level division he made 1952 was reinforced season by season as he excavated new trenches and encountered the same material. These small slices of the Hellenistic settlement served him well for the yearly preliminary reports. And to be sure, he was mostly correct. But if he had stepped back, however, and given the material a comprehensive analysis, taking in the entire settlement and not looking at it trench by trench, he would have come to a more refined phasing.

I have divided the Hellenistic period into an Early period (330 – c.240 BCE) and a Middle period (c.240 – 189 BCE). The Early Hellenistic period (Young's Layers 4 and 3) covers the first village constructed on the Citadel Mound following Alexander's visit. Stratigraphically, the houses of this village overlie the cellars and reclaimed megaron foundations of the Late Phrygian citadel. The pottery from under the floors of these houses is consistently mid-4th century BCE or earlier. The Middle Hellenistic period covers the period from when the majority of the EH houses go out of use until 189 BCE when the site is abandoned. During this period, some of the EH houses are remodeled and expanded and new houses are built. The new MH structures are stratigraphically later than the old houses. The pottery recovered from their floors is consistently 3rd century BCE. There is no abandonment of the site between the Early and Middle periods.

[43] Young 1956b, 250.

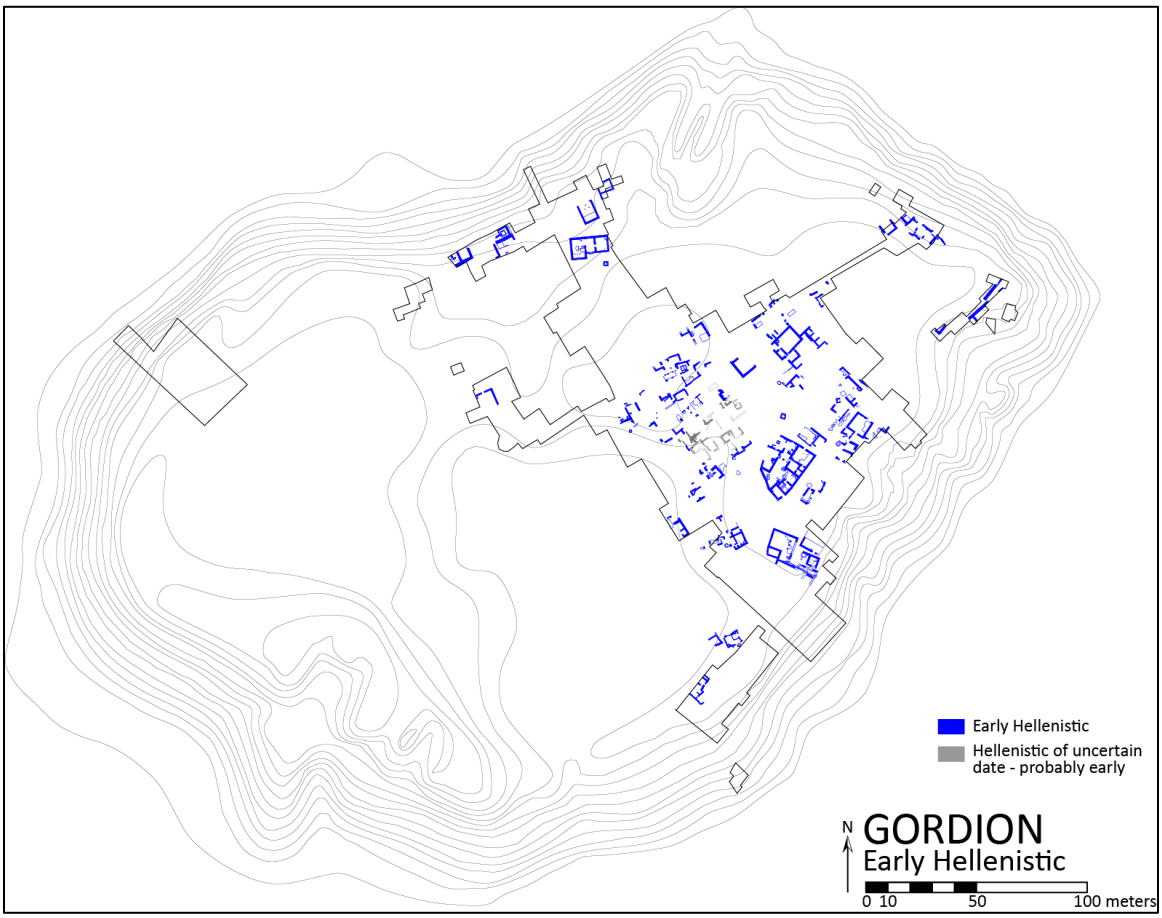


Figure 5. Plan of the Early Hellenistic village.

Early Hellenistic – 330-c.240 BCE/YHSS 3B

The architectural character of the Citadel Mound did not immediately change following Alexander's visit to the site in 333 BCE. The Late Phrygian houses and cellars remained in use into the last quarter of the 4th century. Eventually, those structures were dismantled and the cellars filled in. The valley between the eastern and western mounds was also filled in, creating a single mound for the first time. In another first, nearly all traces of the Phrygian state architecture were gone from the plan of the site; the southwest corner of the southern Middle Phrygian gate building was still standing and possibly part of the Middle Phrygian enclosure wall. The residents used stones they

robbed from the Phrygian walls to build new houses of an unplanned, sprawling village over the old structures (fig. 5).

Each of the Early Hellenistic houses is unique in size and plan. Most are multi-room structures with open-or partially open-air courtyards, hearths, ovens and storage bins. Several of the houses were clustered around one or two large, industrial sized ovens.

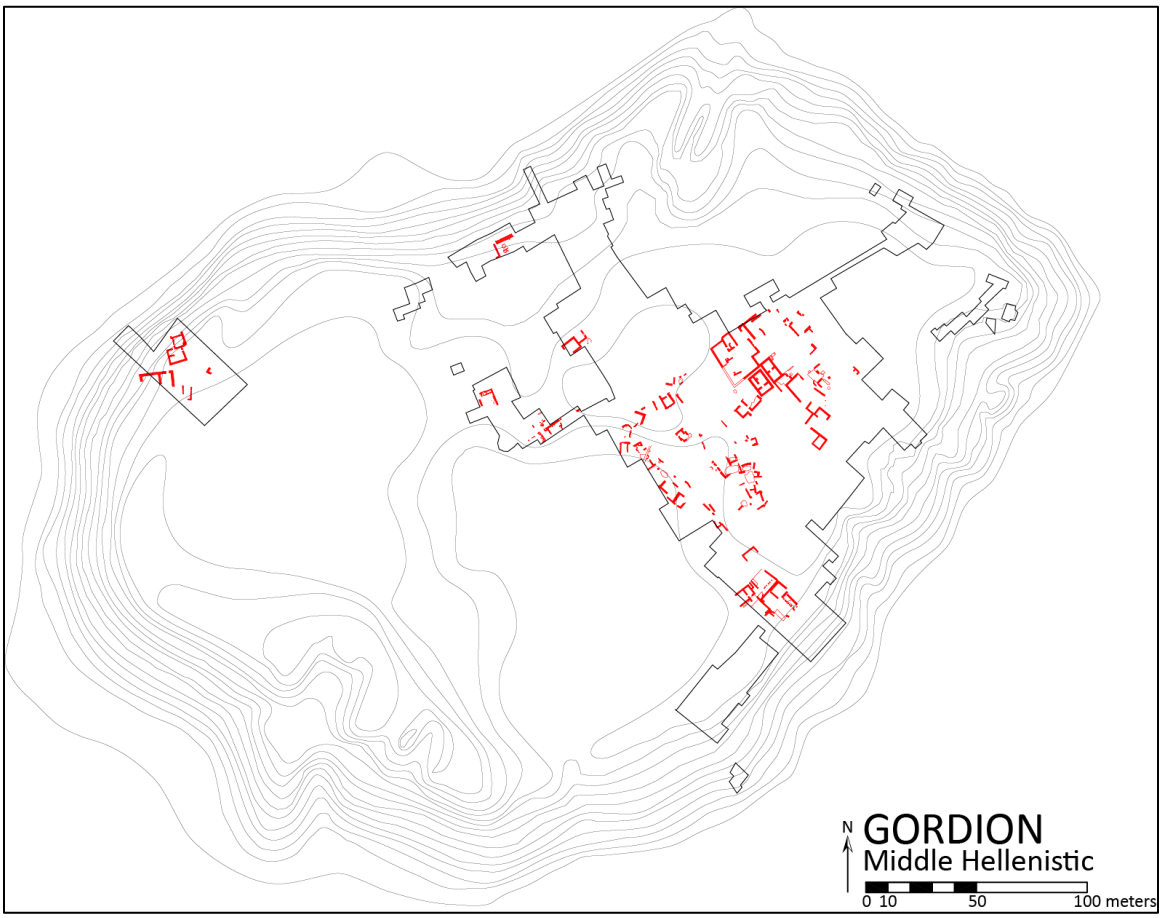


Figure 6. Plan of the Middle Hellenistic village.

Middle Hellenistic – c.240-189 BCE/YHSS 3A

The arrival in Phrygia of Celtic tribes from Europe in the mid-3rd century BCE[44] marks the historical transition to the Middle Hellenistic phase at Gordion. But just as in the previous period, historical events did not precipitate immediate changes in the architectural character of the site. Instead, there were gradual changes over the middle decades of the 3rd century BCE. Many of the Early Hellenistic houses on the Citadel Mound went out of use while some were maintained, remodeled and expanded (fig. 6). The residents built many new houses, some of which combined domestic and industrial or communal functions. These individual domestic enterprises replaced the multi-family clusters of the Early Hellenistic village. In the western part of the mound, a monumental wall and a substantial ashlar building with a tiled roof have been attributed by some to the emergence of an elite Celtic class sequestered away from the residential area of the eastern part of the mound.[45] I believe that more evidence is needed to support this contention.

Several aspects of the domestic architecture did not change. Plans continued to be unique. Construction materials and methods also remained unchanged: mudbrick walls sat atop stone socles, covered by mud and gypsum plaster. Wood posts held up thatch roofs. Courtyards were often partially paved.

Occupation of the Lower Town had ended in the 2nd half of the 6th century BCE following the destruction of the Küçük Hüyük fortifications. The area remained unoccupied throughout the Late Phrygian and Early Hellenistic periods. Activity resumed

[44] Justin *Epit*. 25.2.11; Strabo 12.5.1, 566; Livy 38.16.13. Mitchell 1993, 19-20.
[45] Voigt 2003, 16. See Henrickson and Blackman 1999 on the tile production.

in the 3rd century BCE, though in a decidedly different manner. The area had become a cemetery of sorts. The human skeletal remains found there showed signs of violent and gruesome deaths: broken necks, marks of strangulation and garroting, and bashed-in skulls. Other burials were clusters of bones from disarticulated human limbs and structured deposits with human and animal bones arranged together. These structured skeletal deposits are consistent with those found in the European Celtic homeland.[46]

189 BCE

The story of Hellenistic Gordion comes to an end in 189 BCE. That year, the Roman consul Manlius Vulso, who had been on campaign against the Gauls, arrived in Phrygia. Livy explains that when the legions reached Gordion, they found the site "deserted by the flight of the inhabitants, but likewise filled with abundance of all things."[47] The Middle Hellenistic houses on the Citadel Mound support his account. Young's excavators found pots smashed over floors, piles of loomweights, grindstones near hearths and grain still in pithoi. Many of the houses had also burned, perhaps the result of kitchen fires left burning or the Romans putting the torch to them. This destruction played a key role in the preservation of the artifacts. Roofs burned and collapsed over floors, sealing the contexts below. The fact this part of the mound was not reoccupied after the abandonment allowed dust and soil to naturally accumulate over the remains. The architecture was thus protected save the occasional digging and disturbance by stone robbers.

[46] Dandoy, et al. 2002, 48.
[47] Livy 38.18.5

Methodology

The Gordion excavations under Young must have been a breathtaking operation to witness. It is difficult to imagine from the perspective of most of today's modest, controlled, small scale projects just how impressive it was to see scores of workmen spread out over acres of space, working months at a time moving enormous amounts of earth and rock (fig. 7). The amount of data they gathered on the upper levels of the mound is staggering. Those data are the written, drawn and photographic records of the excavation. They lie at the heart of this study.

Figure 7. Views of the Young excavations (courtesy Gordion Archives).

In this section I describe the available evidence and my process in using it to create the state plans of the houses and the village. However, before I move on to those descriptions, I must give some background information on the Gordion excavation techniques. It is necessary to take this information into account when reading through the evidence. The Young expedition at Gordion was a product of its time and must be understood and evaluated in that context.

Gordion Excavation Techniques

Seventy-one excavators opened around 200 trenches during Young's tenure. Each supervisor had his or her own system and terminology for excavating and recording. I had to become familiar with each supervisor's own style in order to follow the progress of the excavation in their notebooks. The supervisors differed from each other on five methodological issues: nomenclature, elevations, descriptions, plans and collecting/inventorying. In the following section, I address each issue with a description of the various approaches the supervisors used and their impact on my project of reconstructing the state plan of the village and state plans of the individual structures.

First, however, I should say something about how dirt was moved. Pickmen, usually the more advanced and experienced workers, would break up the earth. Then the shovelmen would remove the dirt from the trench,[48] throwing dirt into piles which would then be shoveled into railroad carts to be brought to the edges of the mound and dumped. If the particular layer being dug was deep down in the mound, the workmen would cut staging platforms down into the scarp from the surface onto which they would throw the dirt from the lower level.[49] They could then throw the dirt up from the staging level to the level of the railroad cart. Sometimes there were several staging areas between the layer being dug and the cart. Dirt was rarely if ever sifted. This was the standard practice throughout the excavation.

[48] Shovelmen who were especially skilled could, in time, be promoted to pickmen. This system is still used today at excavations in Turkey and Greece.
[49] In most cases, these staging platforms were dug without any regard for stratigraphy. This is unfortunate since the diggers often revealed important or interesting features and artifacts.

Nomenclature

There was no system as we understand it today for excavating and recording in *contexts* or *baskets* or *loci* and giving unique numbers to each fill, floor, wall or feature. The supervisors understood and recorded the progress of the excavation as a succession of alternating fills and surfaces. The general principle was that a *layer* was the fill which overlay or cut a surface or *level*. For example, during the excavation of any given trench, "Layer 1" would be the topsoil and "Level 1" would be the first living surface encountered below it. "Layer 2" would be the fill below "Level 1" and would overlie "Level 2." In general, levels and layers were the standard units of the excavation, i.e. digging progressed layer by layer, moving back through time as one moved down into the mound. These were also the terms used to categorize and record architecture and finds, i.e. walls were assigned to a particular *level* and pottery was collected and labeled according to *layer*. Supervisors employed the same generic sequential system when naming walls and floors. The first wall encountered would be designated "Wall 1" or "Wall A," the second "Wall 2" or "Wall B" and so on.

All supervisors used these techniques for naming and recording during a season. They would start over again at the beginning of the next trench or the next season. This resulted in several unfortunate circumstances for my work. The first problem was that the labels only had meaning within their own trench. This is fine if one is concerned only with a single trench. But I was after the entire excavated area. This meant that there were as many "Level 1s," "Floor 2s," "Walls Bs," etc. as there were trenches and years they were excavated, each one referring to a unique physical entity. The situation was made

worse by the fact that the mound does not have a level surface – it is higher in the middle than it is on the sides. A fill designated "Layer 2" on the edge of the mound is not going to be the same as a fill with that designation in the middle of the mound.[50] The second problem lay in how the supervisors were using the labels. One supervisor might use *layer* and have it mean the fill above a floor. Another might use *level* to mean the same thing. Other supervisors used entirely different words such as *strosis*, *surface*, or *floor*. There was no consistency. I had to understand each trench literally on its own terms. I managed to keep track of the stratigraphy as I moved across the site with countless annotated plans and sections.

Elevations[51]

Datum points for taking elevations were set up at the beginning of the excavation. The 0.0 m point was located somewhere near the bank of the Sangarius River at the base of the north side of the mound. This point was used to establish a series of elevations (relative to the 0.0 m point) around the top of the mound and to work out the topographic contours. Some supervisors measured from these datum points to give relative elevations for floors, walls and features in their trenches, i.e., "top of wall 2 is at 10.13 m." Most supervisors, however, took elevations by measuring down from the surface of the mound at the edge of their trench. They would then record these figures as negative numbers (depths) in their descriptions or on their top plans, i.e., "Floor 1 is 0.78 cm from the surface." The problem is that the surface of the mound was not a level plane. A depth of -0.78 m in one trench does not indicate the same level as -0.78 m does in another trench.

[50] I discuss this point further below under "Elevations."
[51] The subject of elevations in the context of the Young excavations is fraught with problems. See Pizzorno and Darbyshire forthcoming for a thorough discussion of the issues.

The positive elevations were also problematic. Most were given on architects' plans that included multiple levels and multiple phases of architecture. The lack of a consistent, site-wide standard for taking elevations made the numbers the supervisors recorded essentially meaningless. I did not rely on them in reconstructing the state plan.

Descriptions

Each supervisor had his or her own style of taking notes and recording what was happening. Some gave thorough and extensive details on soil color, inclusions, compaction, dimensions of walls, descriptions of floors, relevant measurements, etc. Others gave the briefest of descriptions concerning the depth of a layer or level, the direction of a wall, or the size of pit. All the daily entries helped me understand the progress of the excavation and the context of the architecture and finds.

Top plans

Top plans are sketches of what the trench looks like every day. Supervisors draw them in the notebooks, often on the pages opposite the description of that day's digging. They are invaluable visual references which clarify the written account, noting, for example, the locations of walls and floors. Despite their usefulness, not every supervisor drew top plans. Young, for one, hardly ever drew them. In the plans that were drawn, there was as much variety in style, detail, scale and overall clarity as there were supervisors. For example, some supervisors drew every stone in every wall. Others just drew parallel lines. All top plans were welcome, however, regardless of the quality. Without them, there was no way to understand the supervisor's account.

Collecting and Inventorying

The workmen collected pottery in shallow fruit-crate sized boxes. Complete vessels and inscribed or painted sherds were submitted to the Registrar, usually Ellen Kohler, who would then, often in consultation with Young, decide if a given piece should be inventoried. The supervisors would often give a general ceramic description and date for the whole layer or they might give a more specific breakdown of the fabrics or wares by percentage. Diagnostics, or representative pieces, might be collected, bagged and kept in "context bags." Pottery descriptions, lists of percentages, profile drawings, and inventoried pieces would be recorded in the notebooks. The rest of the pottery would be thrown out.

Supervisors regularly collected small finds which would be processed by the Registrar just like pottery. These included coins; figurines; sculpted stone; metal objects (iron, bronze, lead) such as tools, weapons, bosses, etc.; glass beads, worked bone and ivory objects such as pins and dice.

The Evidence

In his preliminary reports, Young put forth an image of Hellenistic Gordion as a prosperous agricultural village of widely spaced stone and mudbrick structures, all of which he considered private homes.[52]This is as far as Young got in his understanding of the settlement. Year by year his team excavated the upper levels of the mound and found the same kind of architecture they had encountered since the first season. The only new information that he published had mostly to do with the finds. With no comprehensive

[52] Young 1953a, 6-9; 1956a, 250; 1956c, 17; 1960a, 232; 1962a, 153-54; 1962b, 17; 1964, 279-81.

plan of the settlement and final plans of only a few structures, Young was unable, and unwilling, to provide any more information on the architecture of the village beyond his brief description for the yearly reports.

My goal in undertaking this project was to reach a point in our understanding of Hellenistic Gordion where the discussion could move beyond Young's conclusions into a more in-depth study of the various architectural and cultural trends. This was not going to happen using the published preliminary reports or any studies of the Hellenistic material published since Young's excavations. I needed to create two crucial sets of evidence that did not yet exist: final plans of the individual structures and a state plan of the entire settlement. Only when these two objectives were met would it be possible to begin any in-depth analysis of the architecture. In the following section, I describe the evidence available from the Young excavations and the steps I took in using that evidence to create my new plans.

The first thing that must be said regarding the evidence is that none of the architecture that Young uncovered during his excavations exists today. Every Hellenistic wall, floor or living surface was dismantled, removed, and dug through in order to continue investigations into the lower levels of the mound. The *records* of those excavations, the plans, photographs, and notebooks do exist. My reconstructions are based solely on these records.[53]

The plans the excavators drew were absolutely essential to this project. I could not have even begun this study if those plans did not exist. I am grateful to all the architects

[53] There are two exceptions to this point. My physical observation of a still-extant Hellenistic wall in the Northwest Quadrant and a house in Op 46, both cleared during Voigt's excavations (Young partially revealed the structure in 1950), informed the section on wall construction and materials in Chapter 3.

who worked at Gordion during those years and very pleased to finally be putting their detailed and painstaking work to use.

All the plans from the beginning of the excavation in 1950 through today are stored in three locations: The Gordion Archives at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the "cat room" in the main excavation house at Gordion, and the "Pembe Palas" (Pink Palace), also at Gordion. The map drawers in the archives at the University of Pennsylvania contain nearly all of the plans that were drawn during Young's tenure. These take the form of the architects' working drafts (fig. 8) and final drafts (fig. 9) in sizes varying from small pieces of paper only a few inches wide to sheets up to several feet wide. Most are in good, stable condition while a few, especially the tracing paper plans, require careful handling. There are also "sunprints," or machine-produced copies (similar to "ditto" copies) and photographic prints of the plans. I found most of the general site plans and plans of specific trenches here. The houses discussed in this study that had formal, final architect's plans are the Street Corner House, Machteld's House, Mabel's House, the Eisman House, the Muscarella House, the Pottery Establishment, Roger's House and Rodney's House.

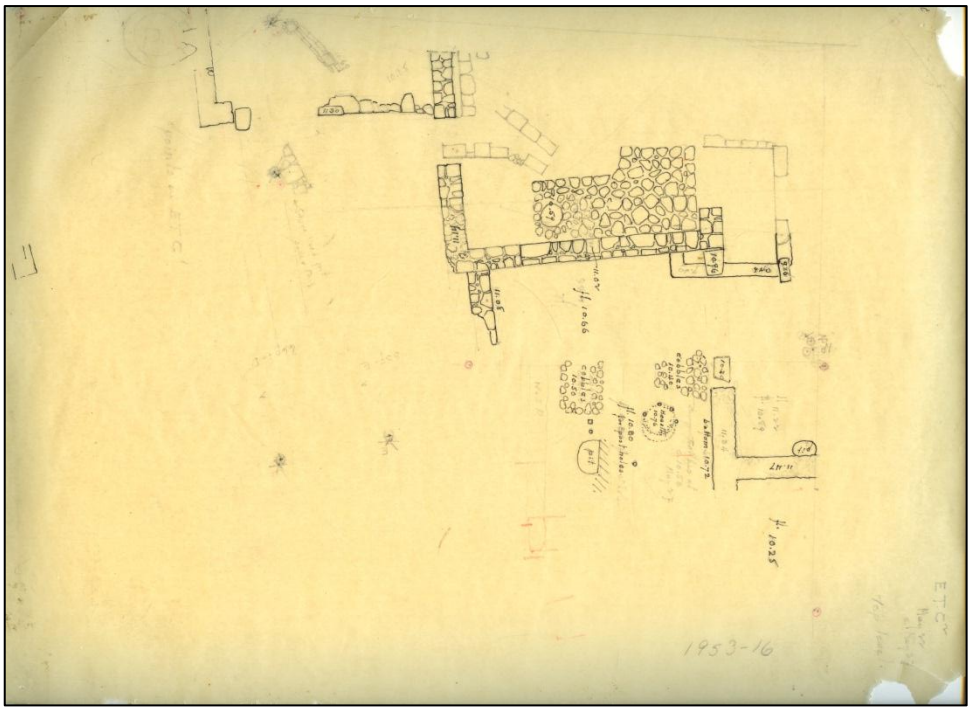


Figure 8. Working draft for Trench ETC2 (courtesy Gordion Archives).

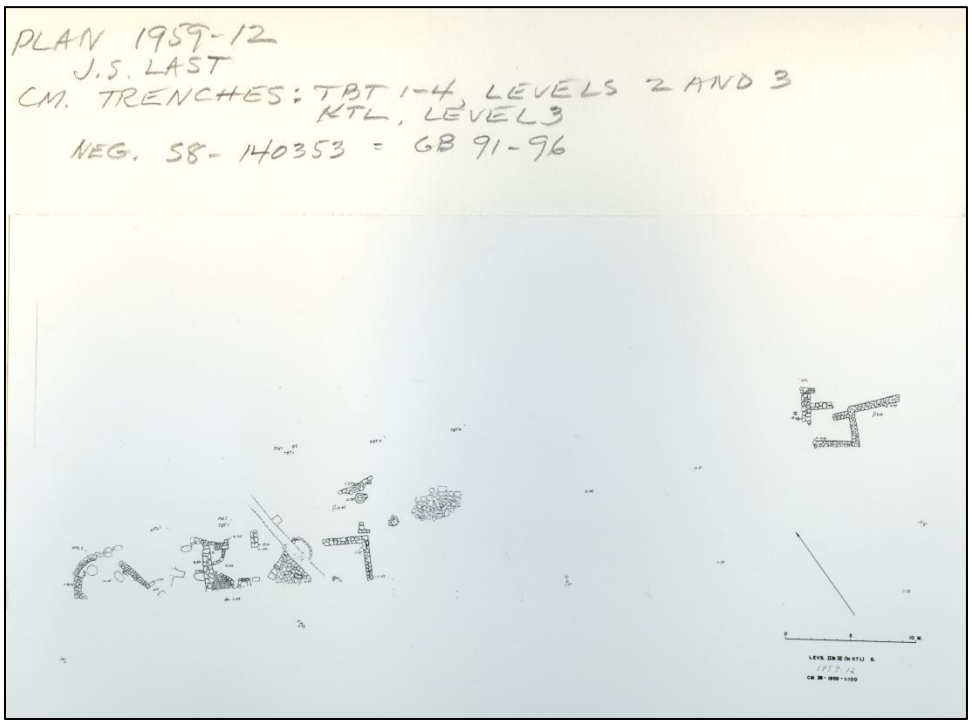


Figure 9. Final draft (photograph) of TBT and KTL trenches – the Muscarella House (courtesy Gordion Archives)

The “cat room,” or “catalog room,” is the downstairs work room in the main dig house at Gordion. This functions as a space for members of the staff to work and read in, and contains a small reference library and shelves for equipment storage. It was under one of the desks in a corner of this room that I found a wooden box full of folders and covered with dust and spider webs. It had obviously not been touched in years. The folders contained mimeographed and spirit duplicated (ditto) copies of drafts of plans at various stages of completion. A good number of these plans showed specific structures and some covered entire trenches of the Hellenistic levels. Most were labeled with a year, the names of the trench or trenches and often a level or layer designation. Many of the plans had no label (fig. 10).

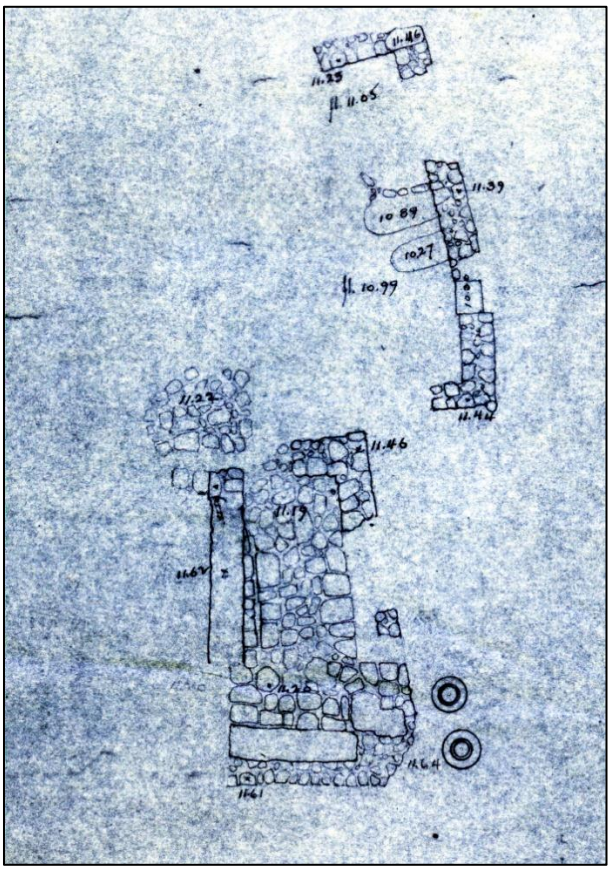


Figure 10. Unlabeled plan from Gordion "cat room."

The "Pembe Palas," also at Gordion, is a large aluminum-sided one room structure that provides much needed extra workspace for members of the Gordion staff. A series of shelves in the Palas holds all of the plans that have been generated since the excavations began again in 1988 under the direction of Keith DeVries, G. Kenneth Sams, and Mary Voigt. On one of the shelves I found a huge, 3 x 5 ft sheet depicting the architecture of most of the pre-1961 central trenches drawn in colored pencil (the big colored plan, fig. 11). Each color designated one level of post-Phrygian occupation.[54]

[54] This plan was a great help in sorting out some of the more confusing stratigraphy. I do not know who made it or when.

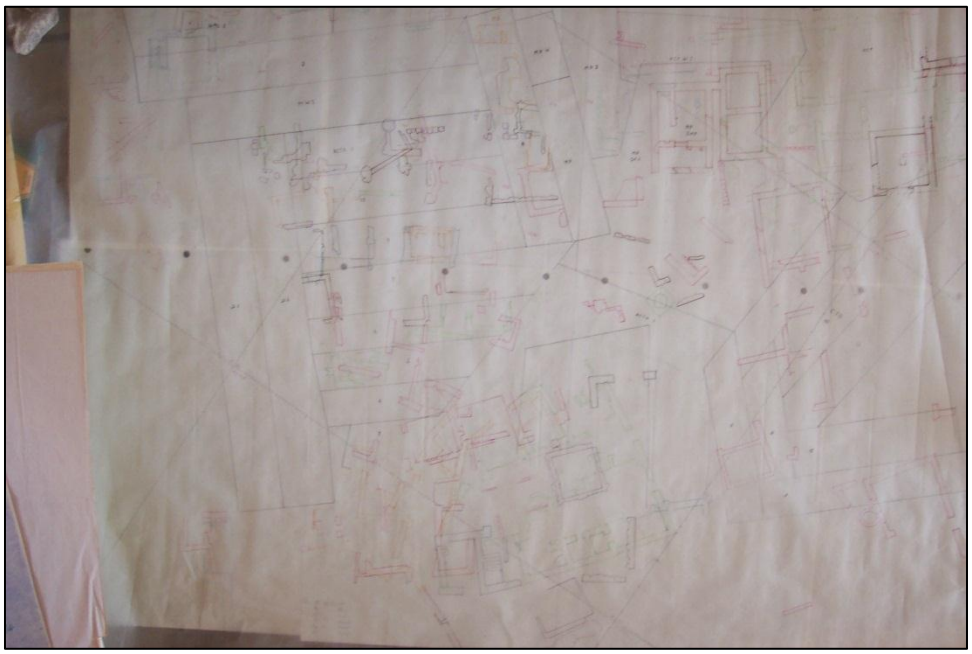


Figure 11. Big color pencil plan (courtesy Gordion Archives; photo by author).

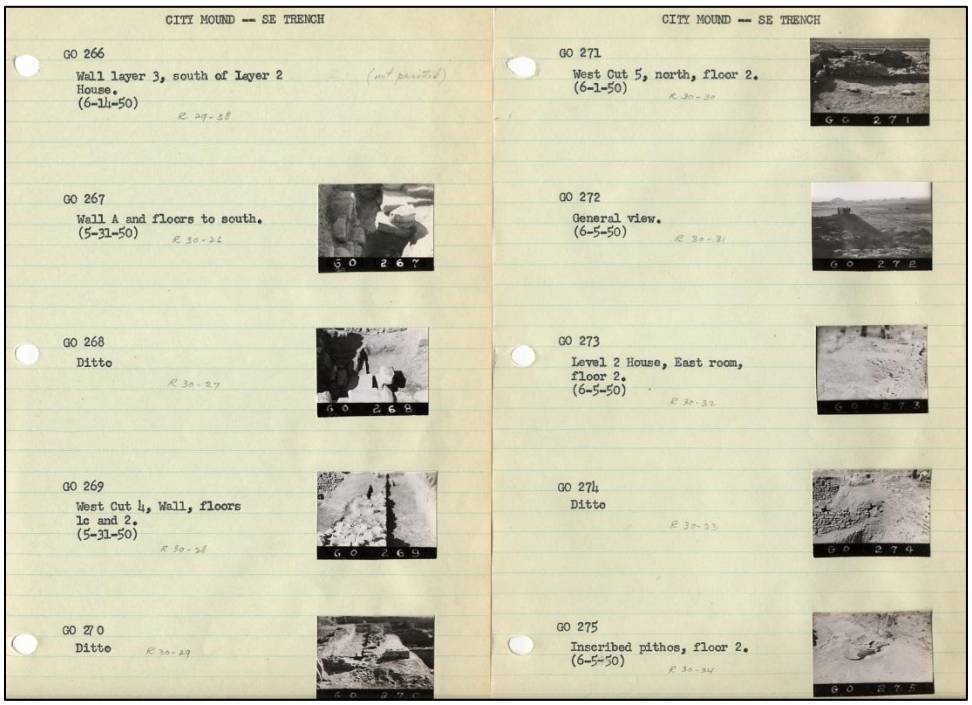
I obviously could not keep the originals. I needed to have all of the plans in one place and in a portable and manageable format so that I could work with them back in Minneapolis or on return trips to Gordion or Philadelphia. The solution was to scan them.[55] In the end I had digital copies of over 160 plans. These included topographic and state plans of the upper layers of the mound from 1950 and 1951, a plan of the trenches as of 1967, and state plans of the Hellenistic layers of most of the individual trenches that were excavated before 1961.[56]

The second body of evidence that I used in my reconstructions was the hundreds of photographs which documented the day-by-day, sometimes minute-by-minute, progress of the excavations: general trench views, specific walls or features and shots of

[55] I scanned the larger plans in sections and then stitched the images together in Photoshop. The big color plan was too unwieldy to scan so I took digital pictures of it.

[56] There are formal plans of only one Hellenistic structure excavated after 1961 – the Eisman House. This is probably because it was the largest and most intact structure found in those trenches. Young had instructed his architects in those years not to draw the Hellenistic levels (G. Kenneth Sams, pers. comm.)

artifacts in situ. Perhaps a dozen of the photographs are color slides which captured in great detail valuable information about the character of the soil, the stones and the artifacts. About 50 photographs are large format black-and-white prints showing general excavations views and specific details of walls and features. The most useful photographs are the over 650 black-and-white contact prints. These are small prints (made from negatives housed at the Gordion Archives), each 1 x 1.5 inch, which are glued onto notebook pages, five to a page, and labeled with the date they were taken, the photo number (the GO number), the roll number, a brief description and sometimes a notebook reference (fig. 12). These are stored at the Gordion Archives in small binders and are organized by trench but sequentially, meaning that finding all the shots of the Hellenistic levels necessitated going through all dozen or so books which hold, in total nearly 10,000 prints. I scanned the relevant pages at a high resolution (1200 ppi) so the image could be enlarged and the details made visible.


CITY MOUND -- SE TRENCH

GO 266
Wall layer 3, south of layer 2 House.
(6-14-50)

GO 267
Wall A and floors to south.
(5-31-50)

GO 268
Ditto

GO 269
West Cut 4, Wall, floors 1c and 2.
(5-31-50)

GO 270
Ditto

CITY MOUND -- SE TRENCH

GO 271
West Cut 5, north, floor 2.
(6-1-50)

GO 272
General view.
(6-5-50)

GO 273
Level 2 House, East room, floor 2.
(6-5-50)

GO 274
Ditto

GO 275
Inscribed pithos, floor 2.
(6-5-50)

Figure 12. Contact Print pages with photos of Rodney's House excavations (courtesy Gordion Archives).

The final set of evidence is the excavation notebooks. These are the daily records the supervisors kept of the progress made in the field, descriptions of levels and fills, descriptions of artifacts and features, and often their preliminary conclusions regarding individual phases of architecture and habitation. They are hardbound books, 200 pages long, each page 4.5 x 7 ¾ inch and gridded, with a pocket inside the back cover (fig. 13). They are housed at the Gordion Archives at the University of Pennsylvania.[57] Of the 183 or so notebooks that cover the Young years, 132 cover the actual excavation on the Citadel Mound.[58] Those 132 notebooks were kept by 71 different supervisors, each with

[57] For the first four years of my research, I scanned what notebooks I could when I came to work in the Archives. Shannan Stewart also scanned books and the two of us collaborated to fill in our own collections. Around 2009, the Archives began hiring University of Pennsylvania undergraduates to scan the books. They are all now digitized.

[58] The other notebooks hold the records of the excavations of the tumuli, the "Royal Road," the Küçük Höyük, the site of the Gordion Museum, and the inventory of all finds.

his or her own excavation style, recording style and method, degree of detail in their descriptions, degree of legible handwriting, inclination to draw daily top plans, system for taking and recording elevations, system for keeping and recording finds and general level of clarity.

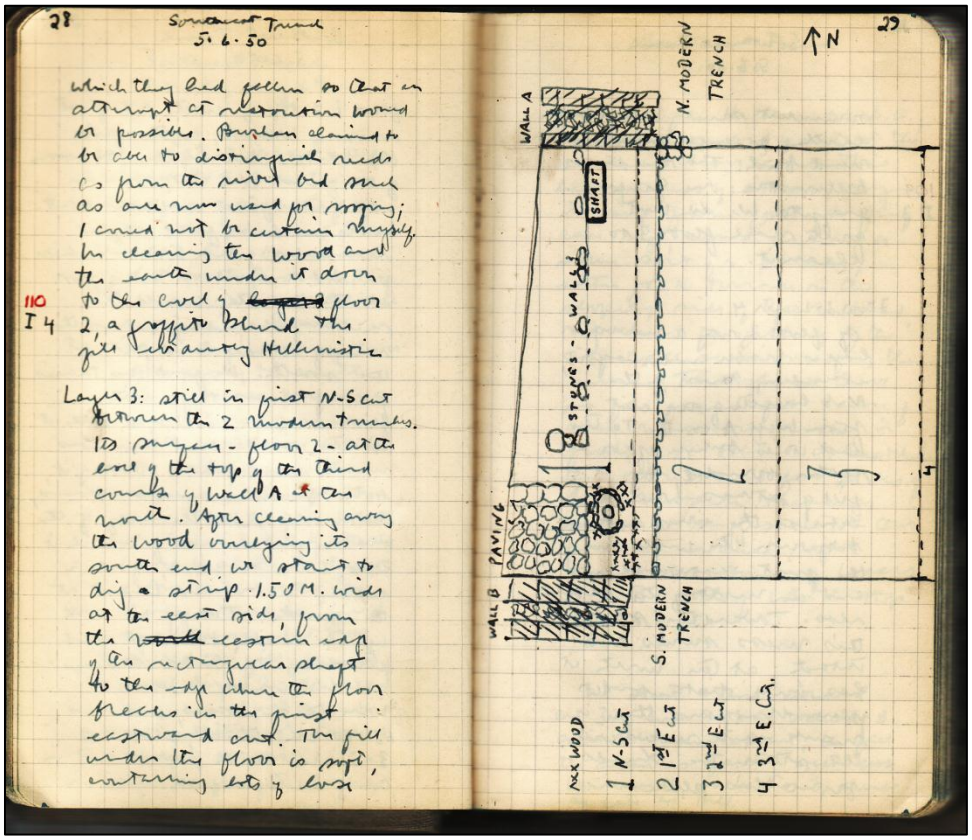


Figure 13. Young's first excavation notebook (NB 2) (courtesy Gordion Archives).

The trench top plans that the supervisors drew were invaluable in following along with the excavation. Many were drawn to scale and quite detailed. Some were quick sketches. Some were plans the supervisors drew on large sheets of paper and then folded up and stuck in the pockets in the back of the book. I was relieved to see any top plan, regardless of size or detail, since the narrative of the excavation was essentially

meaningless without them. The top plans also clarified the more formal architects' plans when matches could be made between the two. The top plans served their greatest function, however, in the trenches that were opened after 1961. As I noted above, there were no formal architects' plans drawn of the Hellenistic levels in those years. The only records of the architecture in the 129 trenches opened in the northern part of the mound during those years are the top plans the supervisors drew in their notebooks. The houses discussed in this study whose plans I reconstructed from the supervisors' top plans are the Langdon Room, the Fink-Sherman House, the Ehrlich-Sherman House, the McClellan House, the houses of Greenie's Neighborhood and Ken's House. Keith DeVries drew the plan for Keith's House in its entirety and stuck it in the back pocket of his notebook.

This is the evidence for the area of the Hellenistic settlement on the Citadel Mound which Young excavated. No one set can be fully understood without the other two. Plans and photographs of walls and surfaces without descriptions or contextual information are useless. Notebook descriptions without some physical reference to look at and follow along with are equally useless. Young would have used all this same evidence if he had produced final reports on the Hellenistic levels. The situation has not changed today, except that we are 60 years removed from the original discoveries. The only way to accurately understand what excavators found meant that I had to accurately understand what the excavators did. I had to, in effect, reconstruct the excavation by reading the notebooks with the plans and photographs right alongside.

The Process

The following is the process by which I created the state plan of the village, the "digital master." Concurrent with the creation of the plan of the village was the finalization of the plans of the individual structures. That is, the plans make up the village. I had to make these plans before I could begin my analysis of the houses and the village.

All of the new plans included in this study were digitally drawn and assembled by me using AutoCAD (drafting software). I imported each scanned plans into the AutoCAD workspace (fig. 14). I then traced over each stone of every wall and pavement, each feature, and each installation that the architect or the supervisor had drawn by hand, creating a new digital copy of the original paper plan. I did this for all large format architects' plans and all the plans I used from the notebooks. The new digital plans of each structure were then added to the digital master. I edited and prepared the plans for publication using Adobe Illustrator (graphics software). I used Adobe Photoshop (image editing software) for stitching sections of scanned plans together and for inspecting photographs.

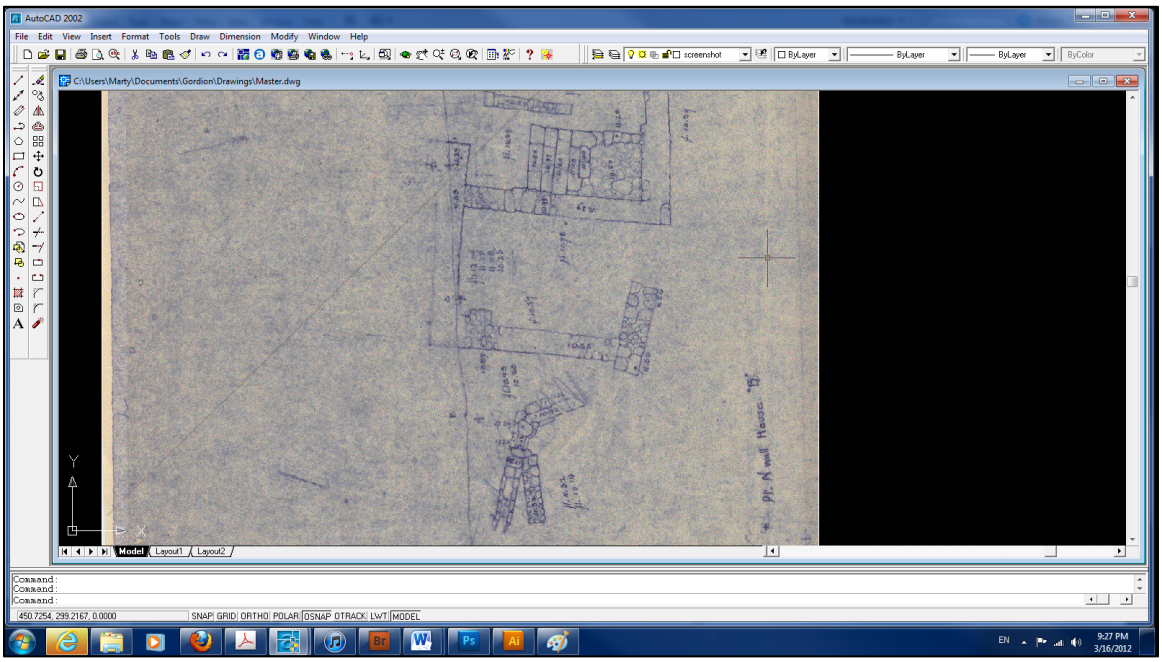


Figure 14. Scanned plan imported into AutoCAD workspace.

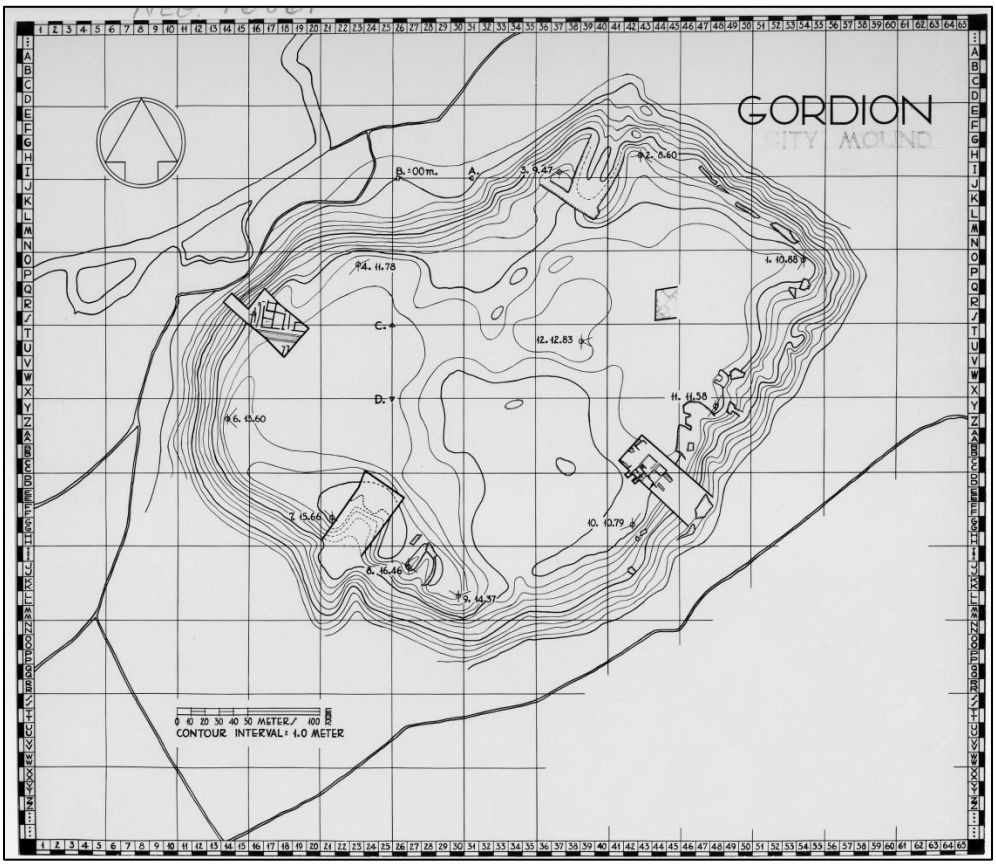


Figure 15. 1950 topographic plan of the Citadel Mound with original trenches (courtesy Gordion Archives).

I began with the 1950 plan of the Citadel Mound (fig. 15). There were three benefits in doing so: 1) it established the perimeter and contours of the entire mound; 2) it included a scale; 3) it included the locations of the first four trenches Young opened (South, Southeast, Southwest, North Central).[59] The locations of the Southeast and North Central Trenches were the most important aspects, however. The excavations reached Hellenistic levels only in these two trenches.[60] Their locations provided the starting

[59] The plan also includes the original grid system that was laid out. It turned out that this system was of no help at any point in the process since it was rarely included on the architects' plans and never used by the supervisors in the notebooks. Trench designators were the standard location reference system.
[60] The South and Southwest Trenches reached Roman levels and stopped. They were only excavated during the 1950 season.

points for filling in the rest of the excavated area on the digital master. In the case of the Southeast Trench, the architect E.B. Reed had drawn the trench outline and the structure that had been excavated there, Rodney's House, called the Level 2 House in the notebooks and later publications (fig. 16). Here was a fixed and known location for a major Hellenistic structure. The situation with the North Central Trench

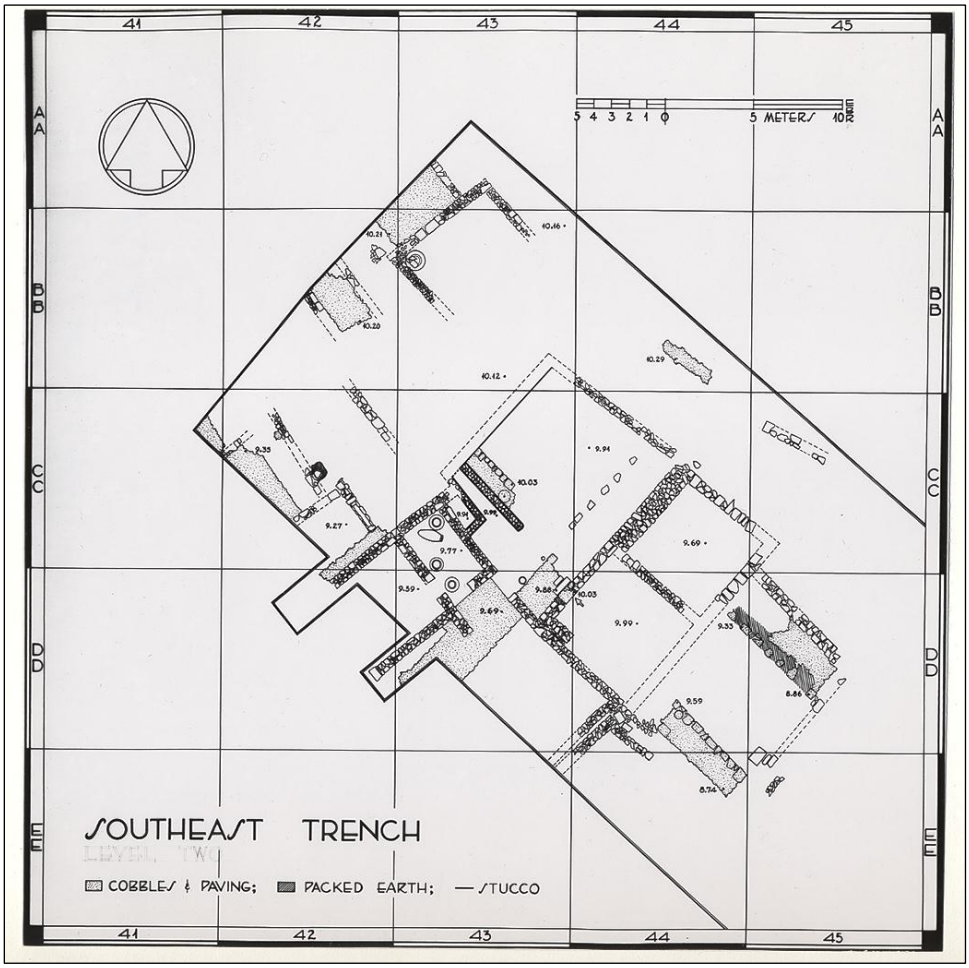


Figure 16. Reed's original plan of Rodney's House (courtesy Gordion Archives).

was more advantageous. Again, I had the architect's final plans of each habitation level that the supervisor, Machteld Mellink, identified during the excavation. But the Early Hellenistic architecture that Mellink exposed that first season, the entire southeastern half

of Machteld's House, also appeared on another plan with other walls and rooms that were found the next year (fig. 17). With this, I could add more to the digital master than what was found in the original trench.

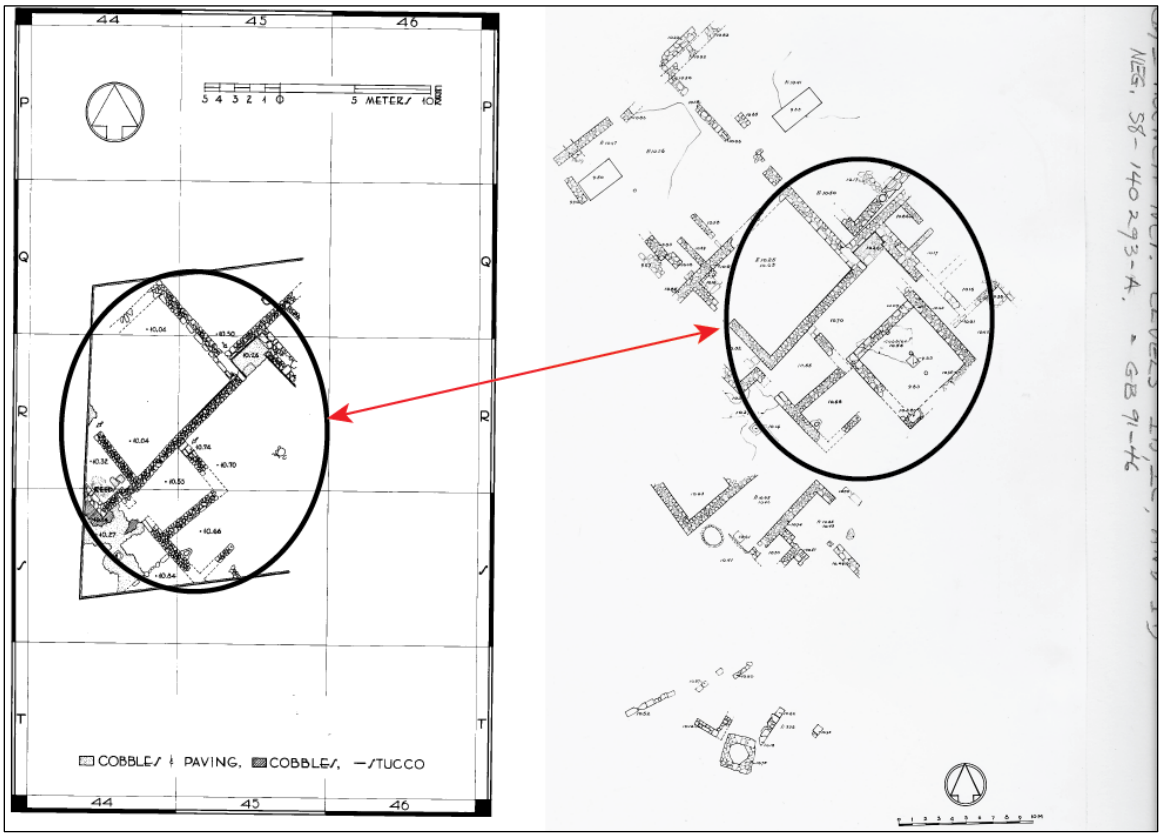


Figure 17. 1950 plan of Machteld's House (left) and 1951 plan of NCT levels 1b, 1c, and 1d (right) (courtesy Gordion Archives).

Using NCT and SET as anchors, I then overlaid the digital Master Trench Plan onto the plan of the site (fig. 18, 19).[61] I matched up the locations of NCT and SET on the mound with their locations on the digital trench plan. I now had the names and physical

[61] Mary Voigt sent me the digital AutoCAD file of the Master Trench Plan as it was drawn in 1967. It shows the locations of most of the trenches opened during the Young excavations.

locations of nearly all the trenches dug under Young.[62] Once this was done, I started filling in the digital master.

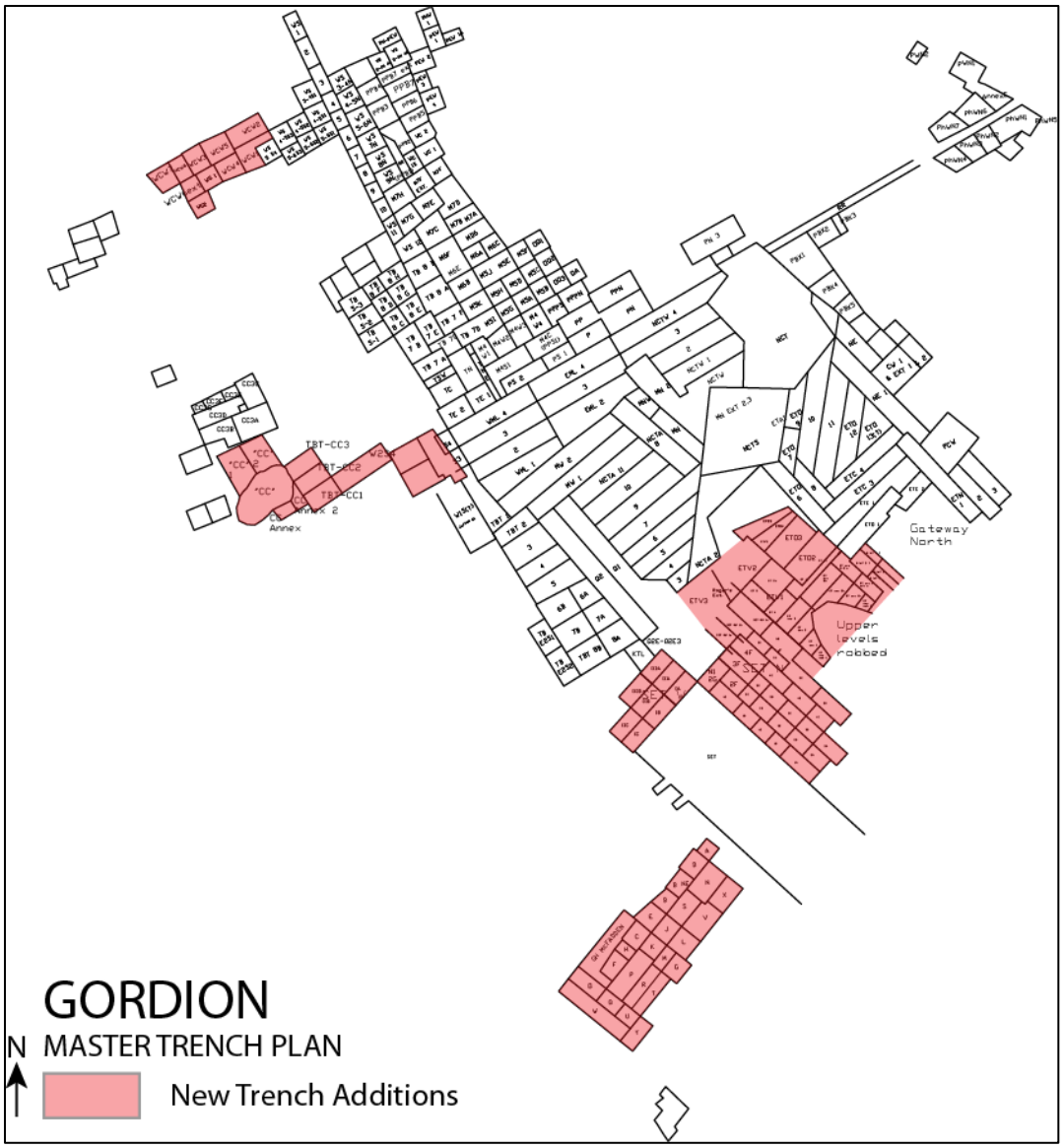


Figure 18. Master trench plan with new additions.

[62] Some of the trenches Young's supervisors opened were not drawn on this trench plan. In the course of my work, I was able to fill in some of the gaps where the trenches and cuts had not been plotted.

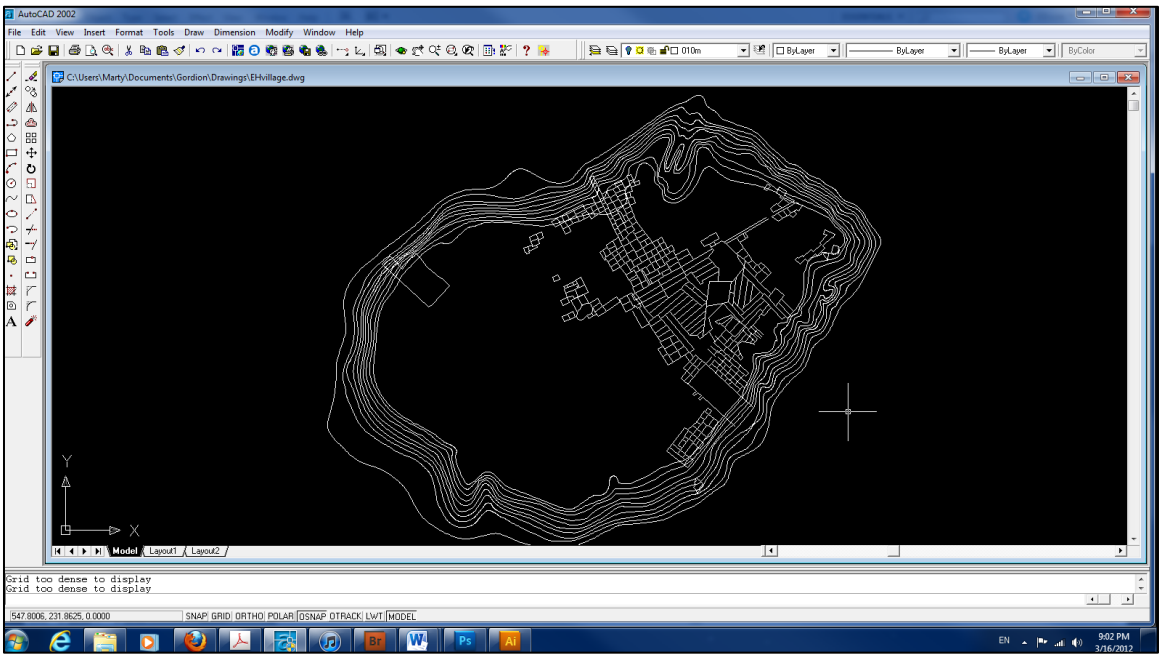


Figure 19. Trench plan over the basic plan of the Citadel Mound.

I used several strategies to fill in the digital master. The simplest was to take a plan which showed the trench lines along with the architecture (fig. 20). I just needed to import the plan into AutoCAD, scale it to fit the digital master, match up the trench lines, and digitize it. Sometimes the trench lines were too light to see. This required some contrast adjustment in Photoshop before I could digitize those.

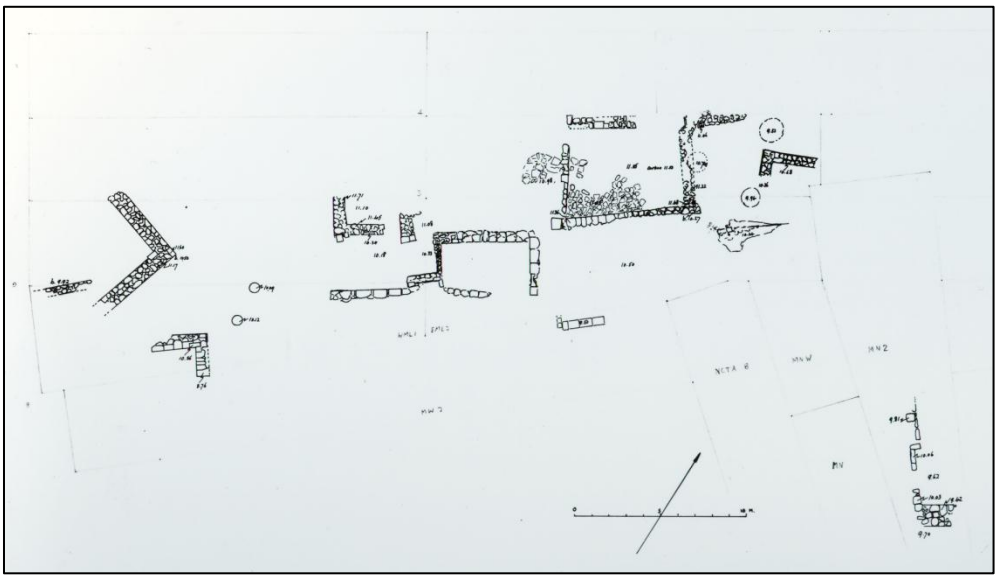


Figure 20. WML-EML plan with trench lines (courtesy Gordion Archives).

I also was alert for the same patterns of architecture appearing on separate plans (fig. 21). Making these kinds of matches served to provide more architecture to fill in the digital master and as a check on the relative locations of architecture I had already plotted.

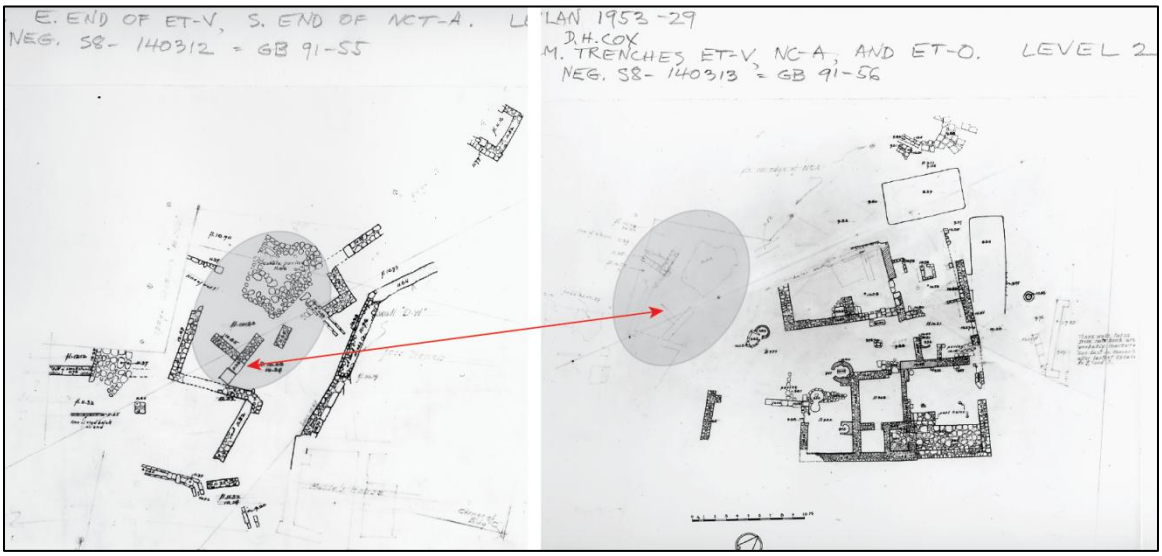


Figure 21. Link between plans of MH Roger's House (left) and EH Mabel's House (right) (courtesy Gordion Archives).

A more complicated situation was one that required a great deal of luck and concerns the unlabeled architects' plans mentioned above. These were plans of walls and structures that contained no information as to what trench they depicted or year they were drawn, which could help narrow down the possibilities. Figuring out what they depicted depended on coming across a top plan in a notebook, remembering having seen something like it before, searching through the unlabeled plans, and matching the two (fig. 22). These were rare and very fortuitous events. I now had the trench the unlabeled plan was connected to and it just took a bit more reading in the notebook to figure out where exactly the architecture fit on the digital master.

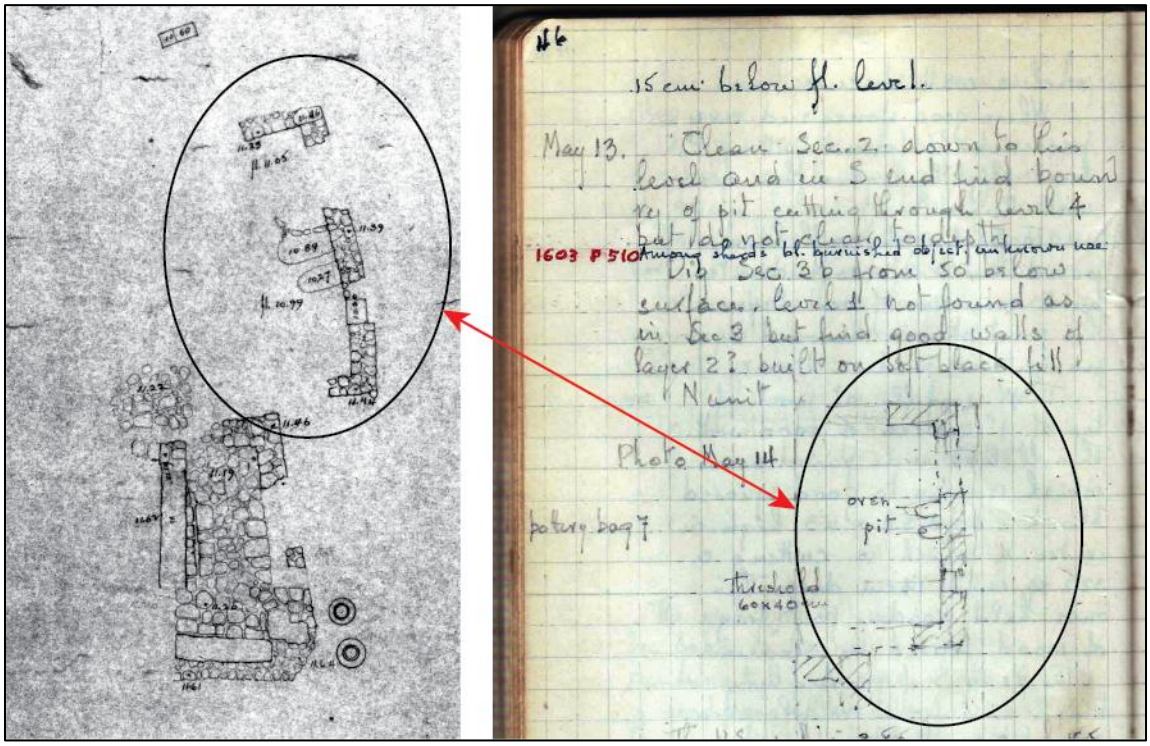


Figure 22. Link between unlabeled plan (left) and East Trench Notebook 14 (right) (courtesy Gordion Archives).

The notebooks are also the crucial component in the final method I used to complete the digital master. As I mentioned above, there were no formal architects' plans

drawn for the trenches opened after 1961 (except for the Eisman House). I only had the top plans in the notebooks as evidence for the architecture in these 129 trenches. The supervisors did a commendable job in drawing and making sense of the very fragmentary architecture they encountered in the northern half of the excavation area. I was able to use their plans to draw six of the houses in the present study: the Langdon Room, the Fink-Sherman House, the Ehrlich-Sherman House, the houses of Greenie's Neighborhood, Ken's House, and Keith's House. I scanned the top plans for the individual structures which were often on multiple pages since the excavations often took several days. I assembled the constituent plans into a single plan in AutoCAD (fig. 23), digitized it, and added the structure to the digital master.

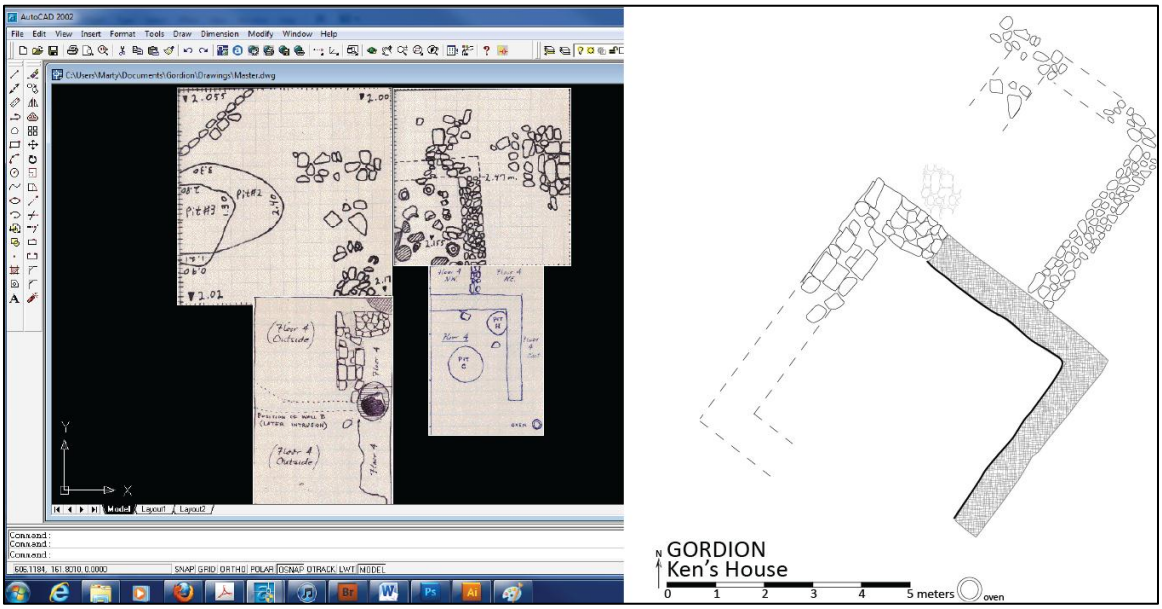


Figure 23. Assembled parts of the plan of Ken's House (left) and final plan (right).

I continued using these various strategies until the digital master was complete. The next step was to move the digital master and the digital plans of the individual structures into a format in which I could easily edit, manipulate, label and color.

AutoCAD is slightly too powerful for the kind of work I needed to do and it is a complicated process getting any given plan into a format which is simply inserted into a Microsoft Word document. A much easier program to use is Illustrator. AutoCAD drawings can be opened in Illustrator and, once there, can easily be edited. I can save them as .png files (Portable Network Graphics) and inserted into a Word document without any loss of quality.

CHAPTER 2

The Catalog of Houses

This catalog contains the plans and descriptions of 15 of the largest and best preserved Hellenistic-period structures from the Citadel Mound.[63] I have assigned them to either the Early Hellenistic (EH; 333 – 235 BCE) or Middle Hellenistic (MH; 235 – 189 BCE) period based on stratigraphy and pottery dates. I assigned houses with both an EH and MH phase to the early phase.

Early Hellenistic	Middle Hellenistic
Street Corner*	Ken's
Machteld's*	Greenie's
Mabel's†	Pottery Establishment
Eisman†	Roger's
Langdon Room	SET Level 2 Complex (Rodney's)
Fink-Sherman	
Ehrlich-Soren*	
McClellan	
Muscarella*	
Keith's*	

*-has an MH phase
†-with some MH activity

I present each house as was originally drawn by the architect or supervisor. As for house layout, I use the terms "room" and "space" to identify all architecturally enclosed areas. These terms resist easy definition because of the variability in house plans and sizes. In general, I have tried to take all the evidence in a given space under consideration when deciding how to interpret it. I have also tried to be as consistent as possible in the application of these terms. Nevertheless, there may be instances where the evidence does

[63] There was a great deal more architecture uncovered beyond that included here in the discussions of these 15 structures (figs. 5 and 6). I chose houses that were the best preserved, had the clearest stratigraphy, were recorded the most completely and/or contained artifacts of special importance or interest. It is regrettable that I could not include more, especially in the middle of the excavation area where the architecture was too highly disturbed and not well documented.

not conclusively indicate what exactly a given space is. In such cases I have gone with the term I feel is the *most* appropriate. "Room" generally refers to a space of moderate size (less than 100 m^2) within the footprint of the structure that has four walls and a roof. "Space" refers to any other area in the house or immediately associated with it where excavators found evidence of use. This includes areas interpreted as courtyards, cupboards or pantries, common areas, etc. They may be very large, c. 150 m^2, or very small, less than 3 m^2. I have interpreted each individual "space" according to the features and objects found therein. For example, "courtyards" are spaces with any number or combination of the following features: an irregular shape or undefined area, stone paving, postholes, post bases, kilns or large ovens. Courtyards can even have separate spaces inside themselves, like roofed porticos or pantries. Other spaces with clearer identifications such as alleys or streets are labeled as such.

I named six houses (Eisman, Langdon Room, Fink-Sherman, McClellan, Muscarella and Keith's) after the person or persons who supervised the excavation. Shannan Stewart and I did the same with Machteld's House, Ken's House, Greenie's Neighborhood and Rodney's House.[64] The Street Corner Houses were excavated by Young but since he already had a house, I chose a topographically appropriate alternative. Mabel's House and Roger's House are the names given to these structures by

[64] Rodney's House was called "the Level 2 House" during the excavations and is referred to as such in publications in which it or the material from it is discussed. Stewart and I felt it was only appropriate for Rodney Young's name to be attached to the structure he excavated, especially since it is so unique in its architecture and wealth of material culture.

the supervisors during the excavation and Stewart and I felt it right to keep those names.

The case is the same for the Pottery Establishment.[65]

The Early Hellenistic Houses

The Street Corner Houses

Figure 24. Plan and location of the Street Corner Houses (plan based on original by D. Cox, "Plan 1951-27; CM-Southeast trench, Levels 2 and 3" neg. 58-140285 = GB 91-38).

Associated Trenches: cuts of SET North (Southeast Trench North)
Notebooks: 18, 20
Excavator: Rodney Young
Architect: Dorothy Cox
Year: 1951

[65] The Pottery Establishment is referred to as such in all publications which discuss the structure or its material.

Excavation information: Young opened SET North in 1951 to expand the previously excavated Southeast Trench northwards in an effort to clear the entire east portion of the mound (fig. 24). The trench was excavated in six strips of separate cuts, ranging in size from 4 x 6 m. to 4 x 10 m, beginning at the east side of the north edge of SET and moving west and north (Appendix, Fig. 1). The cuts are lettered according to order excavated and numbered according to strips, with the first strip consisting of cuts N1A-N1F, the second strip of cuts N2A-N2F, and so on.

Documentation: The excavation record for SET North is located in Notebooks 18 and 20. Cox only drew one plan of the houses and I have used that plan in my reconstructions. Young documented the excavation with a series of contact prints.[66]

Early Hellenistic

The EH architecture in this area was extensive and well preserved, despite several large disturbances. The excavators found a small alley, a stone paved street with a drain and a gutter and the stone walls, dirt floors, and installations of at least five separate structures. The stones used to build the houses here were taken from the walls of earlier structures and from the mid-Phrygian enclosure wall: rubble and blocks of basalt, limestone and sandstone. Young does not mention any evidence that there were upper mudbrick portions of the walls. Excavation of the fills against undisturbed parts of a Middle Phrygian interior partition wall revealed that the upper courses consisted mostly of white limestone blocks and the lower courses were built with mainly yellow sandstone blocks. Young notes that the walls of the EH structures (local Level 2) had a greater percentage of sandstone blocks than those of early/mid-4th century walls below (local

[66] GO 1421-1580.

Level 3).[67] Conversely, the Level 3 walls had more white limestone blocks. Evidently, the local Level 2 builders had to dig deeper to get to the undisturbed portions of the wall.

No in situ finds were recovered from the houses that would indicate any activities that went on in the rooms.

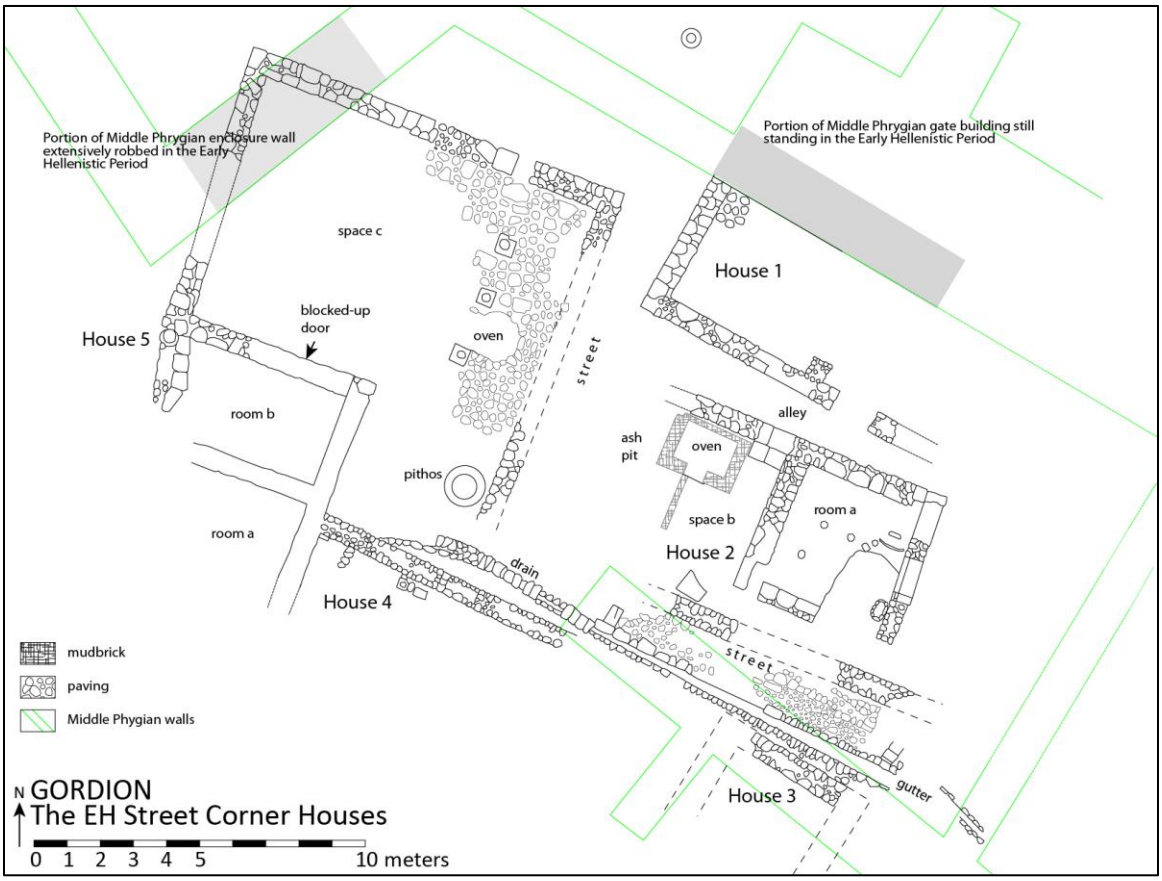


Figure 25. Plan of the EH Street Corner Houses and the Middle Phrygian gate and Enclosure Wall below (adapted from original by D. Cox, "Plan 1951-27; CM-Southeast trench, Levels 2 and 3" neg. 58-140285 = GB 91-38).

House 1 was the northernmost structure, set on the corner of the alley and street. The house had at least one room, about 28 m^2, of which the eastern part and any adjoining rooms were lost to modern robbing and the settling of the edge of the mound

[67] I include the local levels here to illustrate the point about stone robbing and construction. They should not be understood as applying to any other area.

(figs. 25). The northwest and southwest walls of the room were preserved, with the southern face of the still standing Middle Phrygian gate building serving as the northwest wall (fig. 26a). One entered the room off a narrow stone paved alley through a doorway in the south wall (fig. 26b).

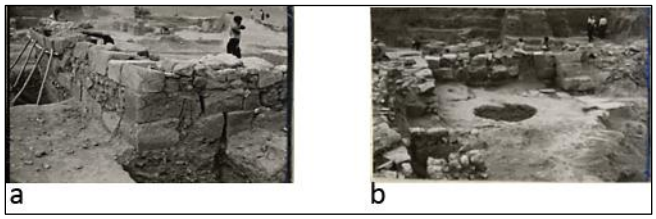


Figure 26. EH Street Corner House 1. **a**: Exterior of sw corner (GO 1569); **b**: Interior (GO 1571).

House 2 was located across the alley to the south. Two rooms were preserved with a total area of about 30 m^2. Room a is the eastern of the two (fig. 27c). A threshold block in the southeast wall marked one entrance. Just inside the door there was a small stone basin on the left and a narrow fire pit on the right. Cox's plan shows three circles near the middle of the room which could be post holes. Young does not mention them or any evidence of roofing material in his notes. This room shared a party wall with the space to the west, Space b (figs. 27a, b). Space b contained a large mudbrick oven, the interior of which was discolored red and orange from the heat and the floor surface around which was black with ash.[68] There was a large pit full of ash west of the oven and a ceramic Kybele mould fragment was found nearby. The size of the oven and the evidence of high heat suggest that this space was never roofed or fully enclosed. The south wall of Space b was a reused early/mid-4th century BCE wall. South of House 2

[68] Dimensions of the mudbrick oven: interior dimensions: 1.53 x. 1.24 m, walls: 0.20-0.40 m thick, bricks not of uniform size, c. 0.34 x 0.10 m.

was the stone-paved street with an open gutter on the south side. This street turned a corner just west of where it is robbed out and continued north between Houses 2 and 5.

Figure 27. EH Street Corner House 2. **a**: Space b oven (GO 1475); **b**: Space b oven, Room a, Space b party wall (GO 1476); **c**: Space b at left, Room a at right (GO 1477).

House 3 was on the south side of the street (fig. 28). Only the northern wall remained, but robber trenches to the east and west indicate the width of the room, 3.45 m. There was no indication of a doorway.

Figure 28. EH Street Corner House 3, north wall and floor of the house at right, east end of the street and gutter at center and left (GO 1445).

House 4 was also south of the street and found in a similar state of preservation as House 3. The northern wall was preserved along with part of its western wall, a party wall with Room a of House 5 (fig. 29). A break near the middle of the northern wall appears to be a doorway, but there was no threshold block and Young felt it was robbed out at this point. Some flat stones in the floor just south of the House 4 wall suggest that the surface here was originally paved. At one point this northwest corner of the house also seems to have had a need for drainage. The south wall of a drain starts here, runs under the wall, and curves east toward the gutter. The House 4 wall must have been built

after the drain went out of use since the south edge and the foundation cut for the northern edge both were preserved under the wall.

Figure 29. EH Street Corner House 4 north wall at right and street and gutter in background (GO 1462).

All the space west of the street after the corner was part of **House 5**. There were at least two rooms and a courtyard covering an area of about 123 m^2. Room a shared party walls with House 4 to the east and Room b to the north. The northeast wall of Room b originally had a doorway leading to Space c which was later blocked (fig. 30b). After the blocking, the new door must have been in the southwest corner of the room. Space c, the partially paved courtyard, was the largest space in the area, approx. 93 m^2. It was enclosed on all sides by solid, well-constructed walls which show the extent to which the builders were robbing the Middle Phrygian walls below (fig. 30c). Three stone post bases running in a line parallel to the southeast wall supported a roof over part of the paved section in the eastern half (fig. 30d). This roof also sheltered a large circular oven cut through the cobbles (fig. 30a). A large pithos was sunk into the fill below the floor in the southeast corner (fig. 30e).

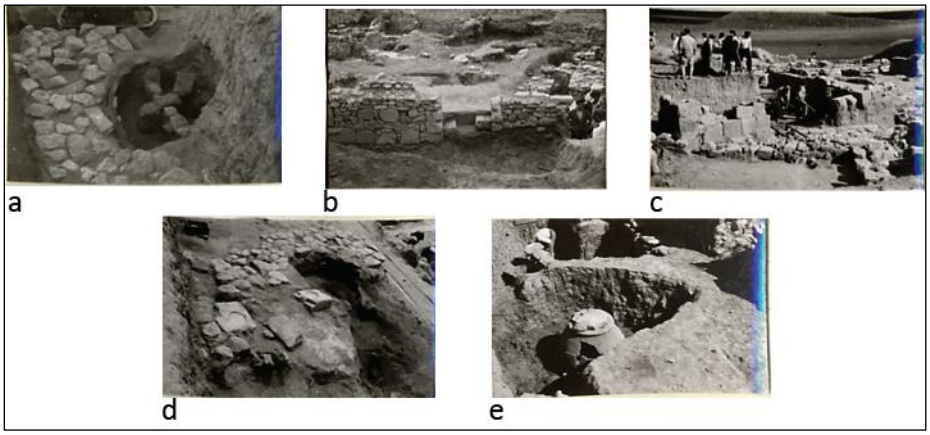


Figure 30. EH Street Corner House 5, Space c, **a**: paving and oven interior (GO 1486); **b**: Unblocked doorway in south wall (GO 1501); **c**: west wall (GO 1496); **d**: paving and post bases (GO 1516); **e**: pithos (GO 1459).

A street, gutter and drain system ran east-west between Houses 2 and 3. The street was paved with flat stones and cobbles with larger stones serving as curbs along the sides. Eight meters of it were preserved. Its width varied from 2.6 m at the east end to 1.8 m at the west. At the west, the street was cut by extensive robbing that also took out part of the south wall of House 2 and the southern part of the eastern wall of the courtyard (fig. 32a). The street originally turned a corner at this point and continued north between Houses 2 and 5, although no paving stones were preserved and this part may have just been dirt. At the corner of House 1, the small paved alley leading to its door branched off (fig. 31a). Past this point, the street either continued north or, more likely, turned west along the courtyard's northern wall. Figure 31b shows several pits, one with a pithos inside, in the line of a northward continuation of the street.

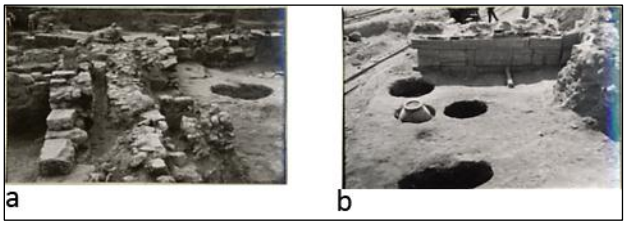


Figure 31. EH Street Corner street. **a**: alley between Houses 1 and 2 and MH wall built in alley (GO 1572); **b**: pits north of the courtyard (GO 1563).

An open gutter ran along the southern side of the paved portion of the street (figs. 28, 32a). At the point where the street was robbed out, the open gutter changed to a covered drain. It continued for a stretch of about five meters, at which point the cover stones and northern side wall were robbed and only the southern side wall continued, curving south under the northern wall of House 4. Young noted that the two parts here, the open gutter and the covered drain, were not a continuation of the same channel but were two separate channels which flow towards each other. At the spot where they met, the two channels emptied into a bothros or cesspool (fig. 32b, c). This cesspool is in turn connected to a more extensive system of drains belonging to early/mid-4th century levels.

Figure 32. EH Street Corner street, gutter and drain, **a**: west end of street and open gutter at left (GO 1464); **b**: collecting pit at left and earlier drain in center (GO 1469); **c**: drains and collecting pits, various levels (GO 1490).

EH Finds

Table 1. EH Street Corner Pottery[69]

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period
L 28	Lamp	EH
P 421		

[69] Empty fields in all tables indicate unavailable information.

P 424		
P 466		
P 552	Table/utility	EH
P 4902		
P 4937		
P 4999		

Table 2. EH Street Corner Coins

Gordion inv #	Ruler/Type	Date	Period	Location/Comments
??				N2D
??				N3C
C 242	Alexander			Courtyard floor
??		258-202	EH/MH	West wall
??	Alexander			N4E
??	Macedonian	286-277	EH	N4E
??				N5D

Table 3. EH Street Corner Inventoried Finds[70]

Gordion inv #	Description	Location/Comments
A 113	Mushroom shaped column base	
B 36		
B 196		
B 208		
B 216	Fibula	
B 407	Lamp	
BI 100		
BI 130		
BI 131		
I 44		
S 19	Bird	
SS 44		
St 90		
St 95		
St 96		
T 19	Kybele fragment	Found near oven in House 2, Space b. Joins with T 13 (SET, Layer 5); Romano cat. no. 53b

Middle Hellenistic

Only two features are designated MH: one room described as "floating," i.e., with no other associated architecture or floors, and the wall built in the alley between EH

[70] Inventoried Finds object codes: A – Architectural Fragment; B – Bronze; BI – Bone/Ivory; I – Inscription; S – Sculpture; SS – Stamps; St – Stone; T -- Terracotta

Houses 1 and 2 (figs. 31a, 33). It is unclear whether or not the EH houses were still in use at this time.

Figure 33. MH Street Corner, “floating” room (GO 1497).

MH Finds

Table 4. MH Street Corner Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period
L 27	lamp	MH
P 4999		

Table 5. MH Street Corner Coins

Gordion inv #	Harl’s #	Ruler/Type	Date
C 221		Antiochos II	261-246
C 222		Mac. Helmet/shield	

Table 6. MH Street Corner Stamped Amphora Handles

Gordion inv. #	Source	Date	Period
SS 43	Rhodes	Grace pd. IIc c.240-c. 205	MH

Table 7. MH Street Corner Inventoried Finds

Gordion inv. #	Description	Location/Comments
B 193	knife fragment	
B 196		
I 42	sherd with graffito	
ILS 56	iron pruning hook	
T 18	Head of horse?	Romano cat. no. 124
T 22	Comic mask	Romano cat. no. 113

Machteld's House

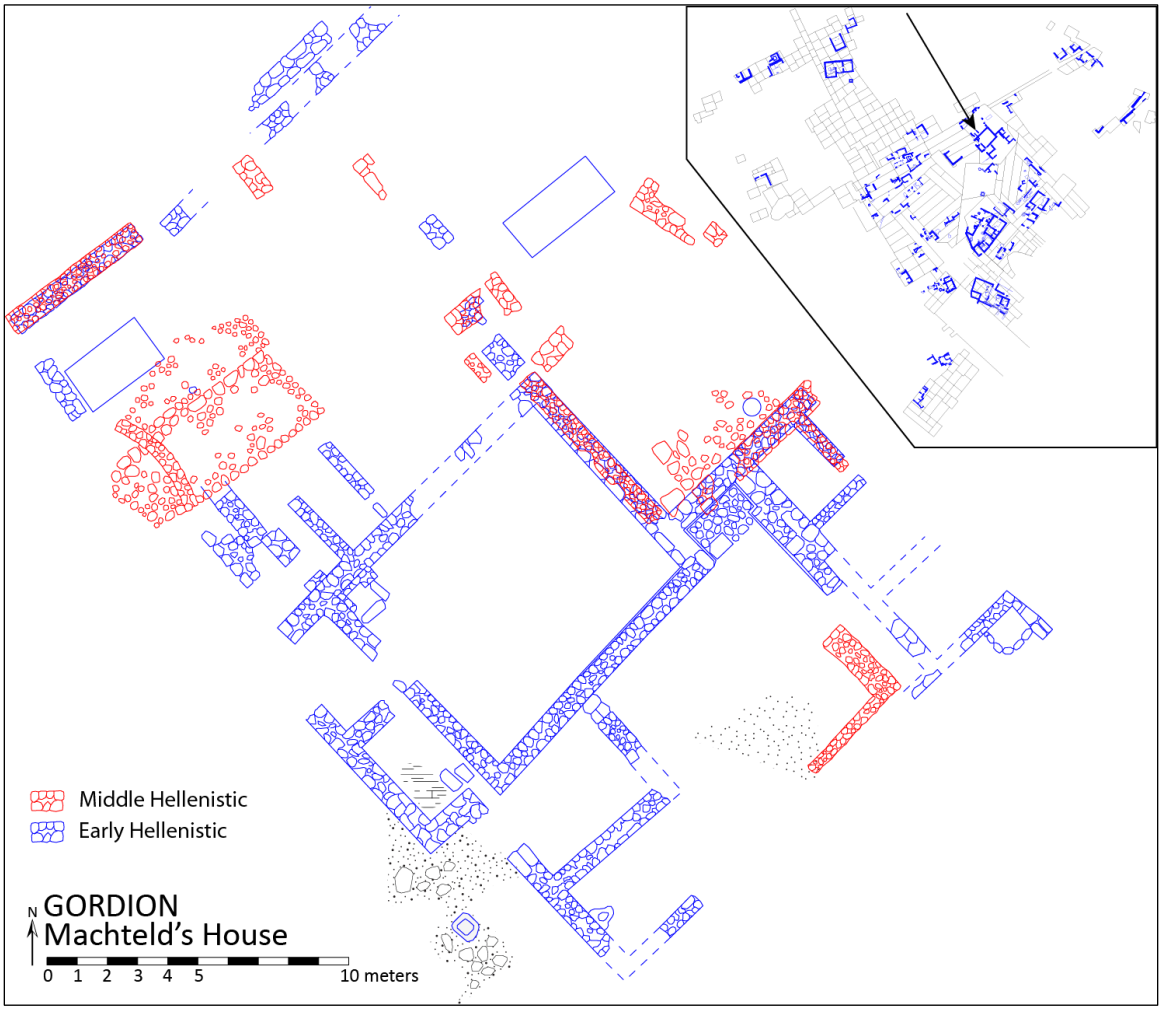


Figure 34. Plan and location of Machteld's House (plan based on originals by D. H. Cox, "CM. Trench NCT. Level IA (+?)" Neg. 58-140292 = GB 91-45 and "CM Trench NCT. Levels Ib, Ic And Id" Neg. 58-140293-A = GB 91-30).

Associated Trenches: NCT (North Central Trench) and extensions to the east, north and northwest
Notebooks: 5, 10
Excavator: Machteld Mellink
Architect: Dorothy Cox
Years: 1950, 1951
Excavation Information: Mellink opened NCT as one of the original four trenches in the late spring of 1950. Young probably chose the spot as a balance to the three other trenches on the edge of the mound (four counting the Körte brothers' trench from 1900)

and with the idea that Mellink would excavate as far down as possible to gauge the depth, date and character of the material. Mellink came down on the eastern part of the house about two meters below the surface. She excavated those rooms then continued down, quickly finding the remains of the foundations of what she called Building II, or the Middle Phrygian NCT Building. The position of the trench relative to the orientation of the building necessitated an eastern expansion of the original trench to allow for the building's full exposure. This triangular extension exposed more Hellenistic architecture, as did the later extensions to the east, north and northwest. These last two extensions were opened in 1951.

Documentation: Mellink recorded the excavation of this house in Notebooks 5 and 10. She drew sketch plans of the trench on nearly every other page in Notebook 5 and six sketch plans in Notebook 10 that were of the Hellenistic levels.[71] The architect Dorothy Cox drew five final plans.[72] Over 130 photographs were taken.[73] My digitized plans are based on Cox's plans.

[71] NB 10:3, 9, 94, 14, 124.
[72] "CM. Trench NCT. Level IA (+?)" Neg. 58-140 = GB91-45; "CM Trench NCT. Levels Ib, Ic, And Id" Neg. 58-140293-A = GB 91-46; "CM North Central Trench. Level Ib" Neg. 58-140273 = GB 91-46; "North Central Trench IB" [east extension]; CM NCT Level IA "Drawing #14-A"
[73] GO 592-695, 1872-1907

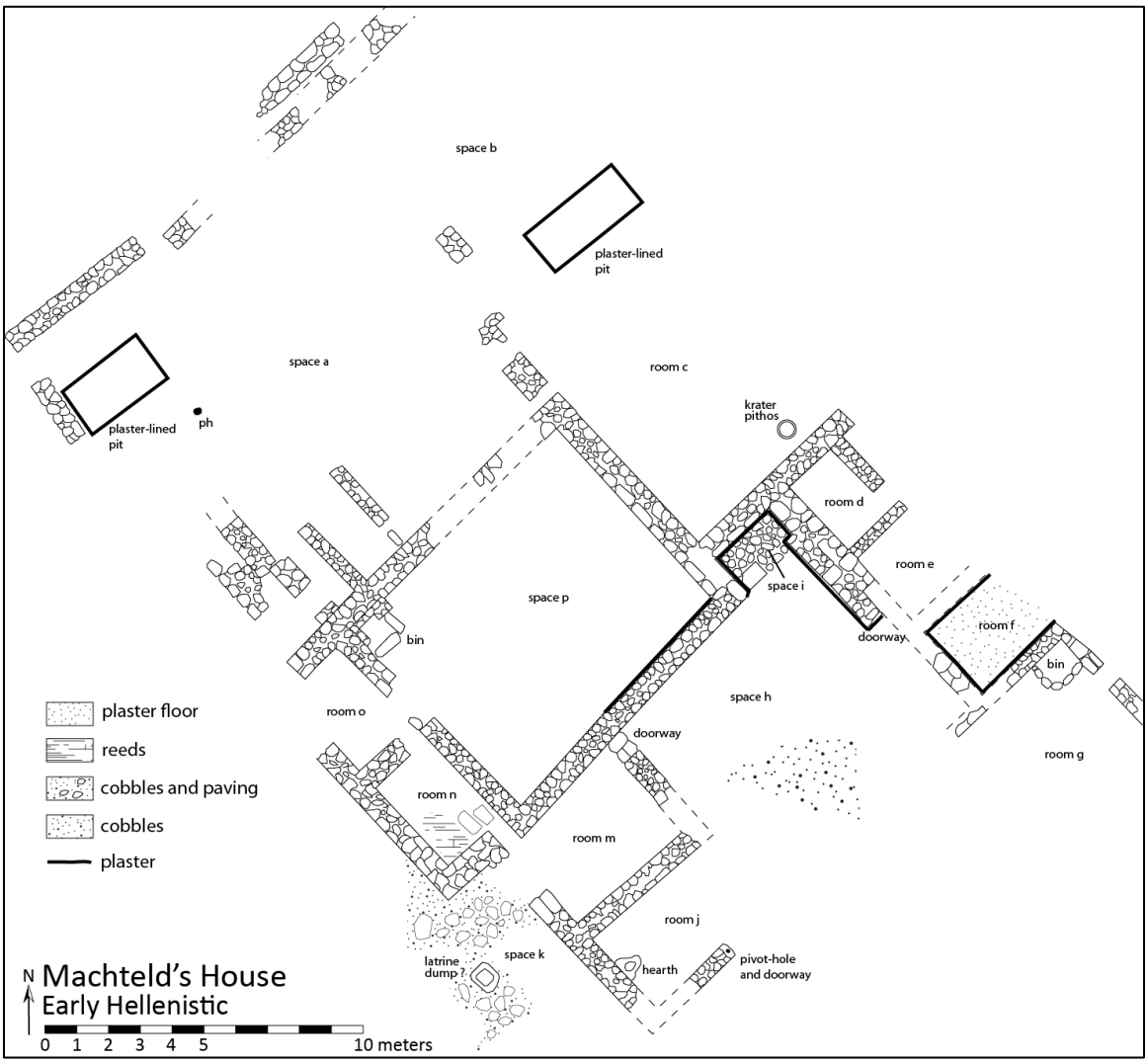


Figure 35. Plan of EH Machteld's House (plan based on original by D. H. Cox, "CM. Trench NCT. Level IA (+?)" Neg. 58-140292 = GB 91-45).

Early Hellenistic

Machteld's House was a sprawling complex of at least nine rooms arranged around or near four courtyards and open spaces (Spaces a, b, h and p) (fig. 35). The architecture was preserved to such an extent that a significant portion of the plan of the area could be reconstructed. It is unfortunate that the eastern and northwestern portions did not survive as well since the house continued, but how far and in what way cannot be known. There were other unknown structures to the south (fig. 34 inset). A north-south

street wound through these structures, making a short jog to the east at the southern extent of the Machteld's House and continuing north along its southwest side (Space k).

The one certain entrance to the house was in the south corner, off the street at Space k. Here, the ground was a mix of cobbles and paving. An interesting man-made feature of this area was something like a modern manhole, with a similar construction and similar function (fig. 36). A rectangular stone rim (0.40 x 0.55 m outer, 0.26 x 0.32 m inner) marked the top of a cavity, what Mellink described as a "drain."[74] This rim was covered by rectangular stone lid (0.26 x 0.26 m) with a hole in it (0.07 x 0.07 m). Mellink did not make any further mention of a drain construction in the fill below the cobbles and paving stones so the idea that this was an access hole for drain maintenance does not work. Its location in the street but close to the door makes it likely that this was a latrine dump. There were similar features in courtyards and in the streets near the doorways of 5th and 4th century houses in the Athenian Agora, north and west of the Areopagus.[75]

[74] NB 5:30-31.

[75] Thompson 1959, 101-102, pls. 19, 21 a, b; Young 1951a, 194, 201, pl.66d. These Athenian "cesspits" are rectangular stone-lined pits, ranging in size from 0.75 x 1.30 m to 1.10 x 1.70 m to 1.90 x 0.40 m. Thompson postulated that latrines inside the houses could drain into the cesspits in the streets. Ault discusses similar rectangular features, "koprones," in the courtyards of the houses at Halieis, (Ault 2005, 63-65). The Athenian and Halieis *koprones* were full of broken ceramics, broken roof tiles, bones, ash and generally trashy fill. They were receptacles for household refuse which included human and animal waste. The purpose of such constructions was to collect all waste and discarded objects in one space to be composted and later collected and used as fertilizer (Ault 2005, 64-65). The small stone feature outside of Machteld's House did not serve as a refuse collection spot, but its location in the street near the door, small size and construction (with a removable lid) make it a likely disposal spot for human waste.

Figure 36. EH Machteld's House, Space k latrine dump outside door into Room m (GO-593).

The first room one reached upon entering the house from the street was a vestibule-type space 13.68 m^2 (Room m), with no features and no finds indicative of any specific function. It was a transitional space with access to the easternmost courtyard (Space h) and the southern part of the house directly ahead and to Room n to the left. We continue to Space h and associated rooms. One walked through a narrow paved doorway in the northwest corner of Room m into Space h. This large space was a courtyard, 60.17 m^2, with a partially cobbled dirt floor. Those who used this courtyard did some light, household-level weaving, indicated by a number of unbaked, doughnut-shaped loomweights found there, two spindle whorls, and a grindstone found on the floor shows that some food preparation was going on.[76]

It is likely that Room j to the southwest was a kitchen, 13.41 m^2. There was a small mud-plaster hearth built against the southwest wall and a mass of broken pots

[76] These items were not inventoried (NB 5:50).

covering the eastern half of the floor.[77] Mellink described the pottery as bowls, dishes and a considerable number of big jars.[78] There were no remains of a wall dividing this room from the Space h, making this a nice arrangement of connected working space and cooking space. There was a pivot hole in the north end of the southeast wall indicating a door. Perhaps this wall continued across the courtyard, closing it off.

In the northwest corner of Space h was a very small alcove (2.77 m^2), Space i, enclosed on the northwest, southwest and northeast sides. It had a cobbled floor and plastered walls and was nearly identical to a slightly smaller space, Space c in Mabel's House (fig. 47). Both spaces had cobbled floors, plastered walls, and were located in the corners of courtyards. Their small size and convenient location in the corner of the courtyards suggest that they might be pantries or cupboards or similar storage space but nothing was found inside to indicate function.

The northeast wall of courtyard h extended southeast from Space i. It was a newer wall built up against the older southwestern wall of Rooms d and e. The wall was part of a complicated remodeling operation in this part of the house. In an earlier construction phase, there was a doorway at the southern end of the NE-SW wall between Room c and Space h. The remodel blocked this doorway, created Space i and added the short northeast wall of Space h. Then the south face and eastern end of this wall and all of Space i were plastered.

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[77] P 109, 110, 111, 113, 168, 169, 170, 223, 527 and 530. A note on the Early Hellenistic pottery from Machteld's House: Mellink inventoried a number of vessels from within the house and in the surrounding fills. The majority of this pottery was taken to the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara in the early years of the project. As of June, 2011, Shannan Stewart has been unable to see this material. Almost all of it came from fills. The only space with an assemblage of pots that seems to have been in situ was the eastern half of room j. Other individual vessels that were recovered from primary deposits, e.g. on floors or in pits and cellars, are noted in the discussion.

[78] NB 5:22.

The plastered eastern end of the northeast wall marked the doorway into the area of Rooms d, e and f. Rooms d (4.55 m^2) and e (5.84 m^2) lacked any features or finds to identify their functions. Both had bare stone walls with dirt floors. Only Room d had a preserved doorway, a small space in the northeast corner. If Rooms d and e were originally the same size, we might think about them as either storerooms/pantries or sleeping quarters. They are too small for anyone to have worked in them but they are about the same size as cubicula in Roman atrium houses. Room f was the same size as Room e but of a completely different character. The extant southeast and southwest walls were plastered and a preserved plaster line in the dirt marked the position of the northwest wall. The floor was also plastered. Room d clearly communicated with another room to the northeast but I have not found any records at this time of what, if any, architecture was preserved.

To the southeast lay Room g. Small bits of its northeast and northwest walls were preserved along with a bin in the corner constructed of medium sized stones and with a plaster floor (fig. 37). The southern walls of this room were not preserved. An interesting feature of the walls of this room, the northeast wall of Room d and the wall between Rooms d and e is that they are narrow, 0.35 - 0.40 m, about half the width of the other walls of the house.

Figure 37. EH Machteld's House, Room g bin and doorway in northeast wall at right (GO-670).

Mellink does not mention a door between Rooms f and g and Cox drew the wall as restored. However, the photograph of the room shows what appears to be a door at the point where the construction of the wall between the rooms changes from rubble to cut blocks (fig. 38). The large blocks continue on the other side of the gap. On the one hand, arbitrary changes in wall construction are common in the Gordion houses so this may be a case where portions of the wall with big cut blocks were robbed out. On the other hand, a door means that Rooms f and g are associated and the structure to which they belong quite large.

Figure 38. EH Machteld's House, Rooms f and g from Room f. Note the change in wall construction (GO 672).

Returning to the entrance of the house, we turn left into Room n. This was only possible in the early stage of Machteld's House since the doorway is blocked up later on. When this doorway was blocked, the only entrance into the room would have been from Room o to the north. Room n was a small room, 5.60 m^2, with unplastered walls and a dirt floor. Two large paving stones were set into the floor near the east doorway. Mellink found decayed reeds on the floor in the south corner, making this the only room in the house with evidence of a roof, if the reeds were not there for some other purpose.

The doorway in the north corner of Room n led into Room o, a transitional space like Room m. The floor was dirt and the walls were not plastered. There was probably a doorway in the southwest wall out to the street in the period after the east doorway of Room n was blocked.

Room o allowed the only certain access to Space p, the largest enclosed space in Machteld's House. It was a courtyard, 66.88 m^2, with a dirt floor and only the northern half of the inner face of the southeastern wall plastered (fig. 39). A stone bin was in the west corner, built with rubble and large cut blocks, a simple construction setting it off from the actual wall of the room (fig. 40). The northwest wall of the room was partially robbed so we do not know if there was a doorway into another courtyard, Space a.

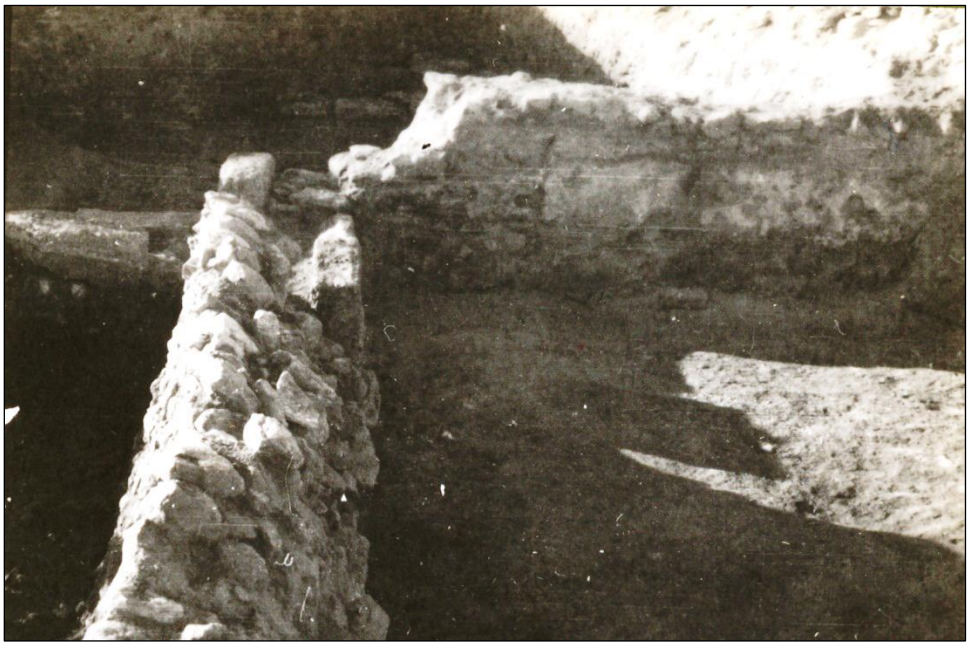


Figure 39. Machteld's House, east corner of Space p and plaster on southeast wall (GO-613).

Figure 40. EH Machteld's House, bin in west corner of Space p (GO 1882).

Space a was large, approx. 134.43 m^2, whose eastern and western limits were vaguely defined by fragments of walls. The northern limit was slightly better preserved and the southern limit was the northern wall of Space p. This space had a dirt floor with

some areas of paving and featured one posthole and a pit or cistern, 2.85 x 2.00 x 0.90 m (fig. 41). Mellink preferred to call these features *cellars* (there is a similar feature in Space b) after she determined that the plaster was not waterproof, though I prefer the more neutral term *plaster-lined pit*. This pit contained a local imitation fishplate and a local imitation black glazed bowl, though there is no information on the condition of these vessels or where in the pit they were found. It may be that this pit and the nearly identical one in Space b were used for dry goods storage.[79]

The posthole suggests there was a roof to support somewhere in the west corner, but this is only one hole at quite some distance from the northwest and southwest walls so the hole may be something else. The whole area here was quite heavily disturbed and many walls, especially those in the southern part of the space, were completely or partially robbed out, making reconstructing the original plan of the area difficult. It may have been the case that the short parallel walls in the southern corner are foundations for staircases.

Figure 41. EH Machteld's House, mud-plaster lined pit in Room a (GO 1890).

Space b was another open area, approx. 52.38 m^2, even more poorly preserved than Space a. There was no indication of its eastern limit and only a short stub of a wall on the west. The southern limit may be indicated by the northern end of the western wall of Room c which begins an eastern return on a line just south of the Space b pit. The floor

[79] B. Tsakirgis, pers. comm.

was dirt as far as Mellink could tell with the plaster-lined pit the only feature (1.55 x 2.50 x ? m). It was lined with mud plaster and contained soft, ashy fill with sherds and tile fragments and one red amphora (P 417).

Room c, south of Space b, was approx. 53.08 m^2. The southwest and southeast walls were well preserved and the southwest wall started its northeast return just enough to give the line of the northwest wall. The only feature in this room was a large, krater-shaped pithos (P 171) buried in the floor and set on top of a mid-4th century BCE wall (fig. 42). It still had its stone lid in place.

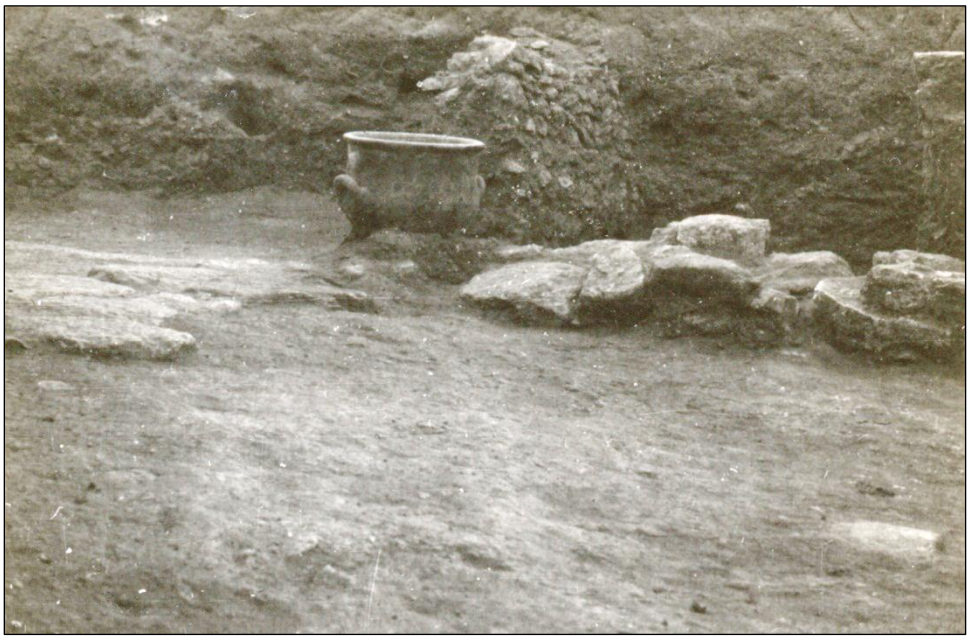


Figure 42. EH Machteld's House, krater pithos below the floor of room c (GO-617).

It is difficult to know what kind of structure Machteld's House was in the Early Hellenistic period. I have discussed the house above as it is presented in the original plans. It had the spaces and features we associate with houses, e.g. rooms of varying sizes, paved and dirt courtyards, stone bins, roofs, but the layout and proportions differed from the other houses. This may not mean anything, since no two structures at the site

look alike, and we are certainly missing walls that would help clarify the original plan. But this is an especially hard plan to characterize even with the large portion of it we do have. The problem is the large courtyard, Space p. Its position surrounded by smaller rooms would be unremarkable if those rooms actually communicated with it. As it stands, the only definite access was from Room o at the southwest, with possibly a second doorway from Space a in the northwest wall.

It is possible that what we actually have are three or four separate structures which share the walls of Space p.

Structure 1: Room c and Space b probably opened onto each other and there was no access to any other room from Room c, though there had been access through the doorway into Space i before it was blocked up.

Structure 2: Rooms d, e and f were so similar in size and shape and position that it is likely that they went together, probably with a lost structure to the northeast. Alternatively, there may have been a doorway in the southwest wall of Room e (the plaster wraps around the wall end indicating that it ended there), in which case the three rooms would have been connected to Space h.[80] It seems Room j opened off Space h. Room m seems to have functioned as a foyer. It was the first room one entered from the street (Space k) and from which one could pass through a narrow doorway straight ahead to Space h or through an even narrower doorway on the left into Room n. The fact that this doorway was later blocked up strengthens the idea that these were separate

[80] Mellink hypothetically reconstructed more walls and rooms in Space h, though there was no definite evidence for them. The position of the patch of cobbles would seem to preclude walls in the middle at least.

residences. The southern residence is the later addition given that its walls abut Space p and Room c.

There was enough left of Room g to conclude that it was part of another residence, possibly the same as Rooms d, e and f. The doorway in the northeast wall suggests this residence continued in that direction. The bin suggests a separate residence as well, since there are no examples at Gordion of individual houses with two bins. There was not enough preserved to say how Room g related to Space h.

Structure 3: Rooms n and o were the only rooms definitely connected to Space p. At one time one could have entered Room m from the street and then entered Room n but this access was cut off when the doorway was blocked. Presumably there was another doorway leading into Room o from the street. This would have made an odd arrangement of rooms—two small spaces and one large courtyard.

Structure 4(?): Space a lay to the northwest of Space p. If there was a doorway into the courtyard then all four spaces, a, n, o and p, were associated. Courtyard a also could have been an extension of Space b, making it one large, certainly exterior, space.

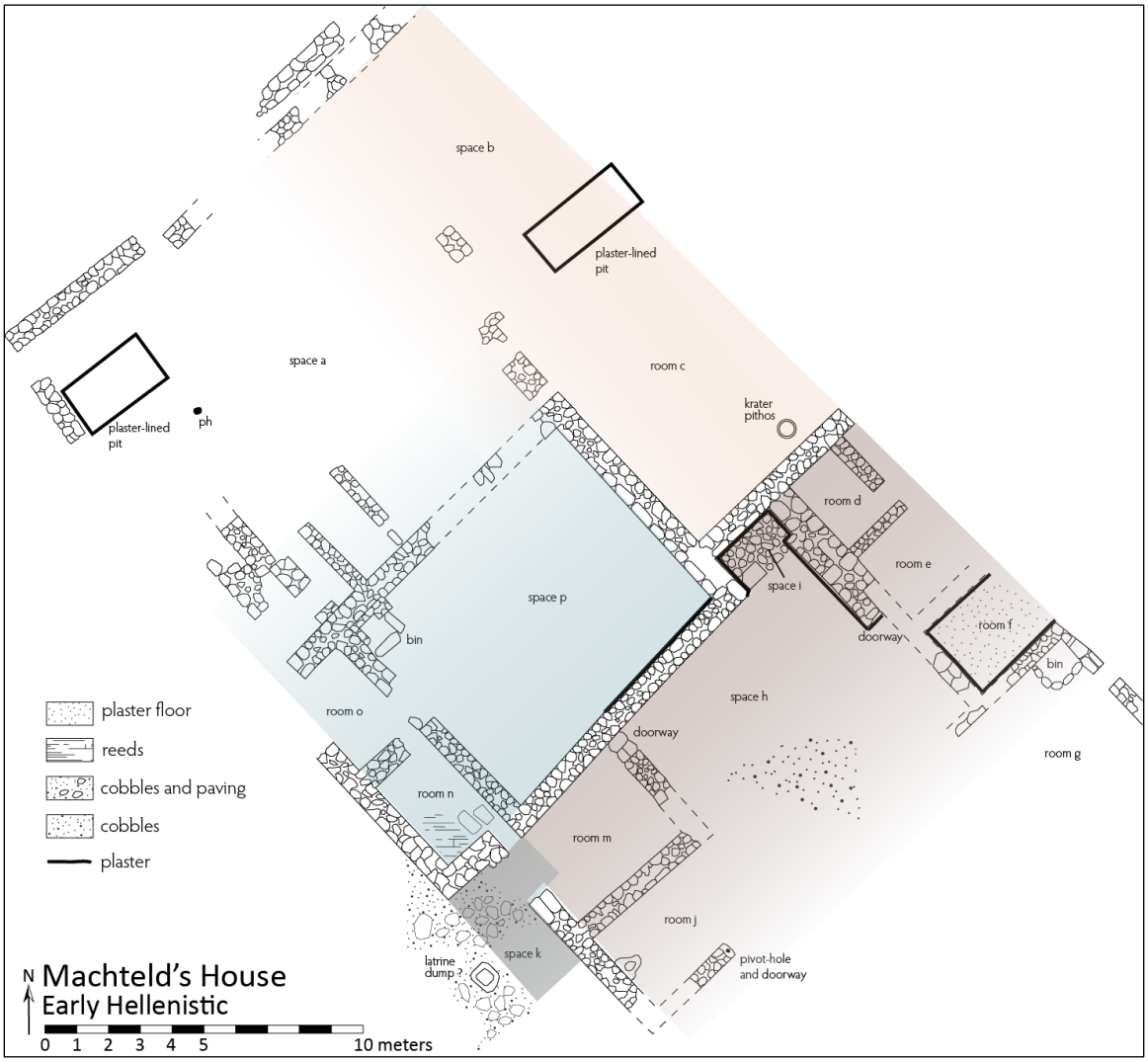


Figure 43. Separation of spaces within EH Machteld's House.

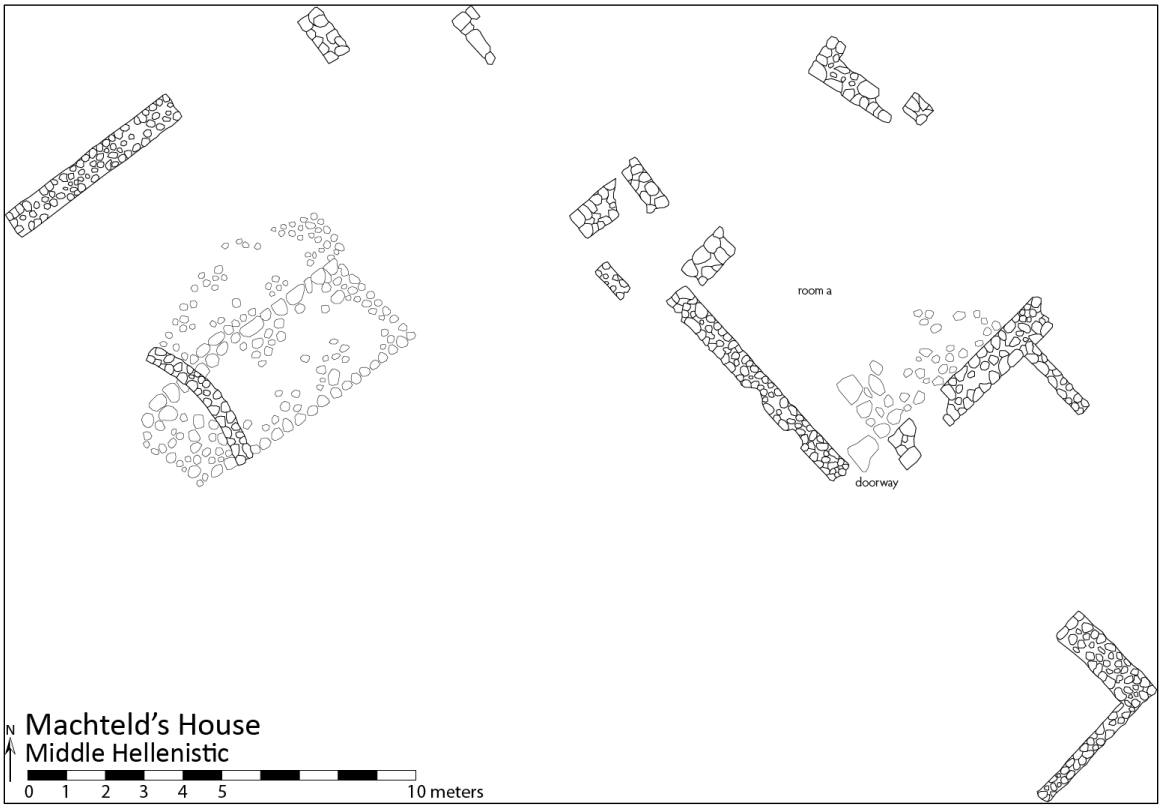


Figure 44. Plan of MH Machteld's House (plan based on original by D.H. Cox, "CM Trench NCT. Levels Ib, Ic And Id" Neg. 58-140293-A = GB 91-30").

Middle Hellenistic

Middle Hellenistic period Machteld's House suffered considerably at the hands of later stone robbers. The architecture of this late level was almost completely incoherent with only fragments of walls and a large patch of cobble paving (fig. 44). A few of the walls were built on top of Early Hellenistic walls. One such wall is the southwestern wall of Room a. This wall was built with rubble and fieldstones directly on top of the large cut blocks of wall between EH Space p and Room c. The southeastern wall of Room a is another example.

Room a is the only definable space of this phase. A dirt floor covered most of the 33 m^2 except against the southeast wall which is paved (fig. 45). There was a doorway in

the south corner which may have led into the area of the EH Space p but there were no floor surfaces found to verify this. Room a is notable for the deposit of four MH bowls and two MH dishes found on the paving stones near a hearth with traces of burning on it.

Figure 45. MH Machteld's House, paving and southwest wall of Room a (GO 602).

Table 8. Machteld's House Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period	Location/Comments
P 109		EH	Room j floor
P 110		EH	Room j floor
P 111		EH	Room j floor
P 113		EH	Room j floor
P 168		EH	Room j floor
P 169		EH	Room j floor
P 170		EH	Room j floor
P 223		EH	Room j floor
P 527		EH	Room j floor
P 530		EH	Room j floor
P 135			Surface fill
P 112			Space h fill
P 4286			Room c fill
P 4405			Room c fill
P 107			Room m fill
P 108			Space h fill; bull's head vessel fragment
P 171		EH	Room c, below EH floor; krater pithos
P 367			MH Room a, pit 17; Roller *HETG*, cat. no. 15, **APOLA**
P 417			Space b pit
P 379			Space b fill

P 403			No location; Roller *Graffiti*, cat. no. 2B-178 p. 50, **S**
P 464	Ledge rim dish	EH	Space a fill; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 115, p. 257
P 404			Space a cellar
			Cook pot fragments in Room p west corner
P 396	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	MH Room a floor; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 268, p. 283
P 397	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	MH Room a floor; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 278, p. 284
P 398	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	MH Room a floor; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 236, p. 278
P 400	Vertical Rim Bowl	MH	MH Room a floor; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 270, p. 283
P 401	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	MH Room a floor; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 334, p. 292
P 402	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	MH Room a floor; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 321, p. 291

Table 9. Machteld's House Coins

Gordion inv #	Harl's #	Ruler/Type	Date	Location
C 249		Lysimachus		Fill over EH Space a floor
C 286		Macedonia	286-277	Under EH Space a floor
		Macedonia	286-277	Space b
		Macedonia	Post 311	Room n
		Alexander/Zeus		Space p floor
		Byzantium	Pre-350	Fill over Room c floor

Table 10. Machteld's House Stamped Amphora Handles

Gordion Inv. #	Source	Date	Period	Location/Comments
SS 16	Thasos?			Surface soil near room m; Lawall 2003, 20
SS 19	Rhodes		MH	Surface soil near room m; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 47	Thasos		330-mid 3rd cent	Space b fill; Lawall 2003, 13
SS 62				Space b fill

Table 11. Machteld's House Inventoried Finds[81]

Gordion inv #	Description	Location/comments
B 63	Rod	Space h
B 68	Nail	Fill over Space p floor
B 72	Small cap	Room n fill
B 86	Small cap	Room n
B 88	Sheeting	Room m
B 113	Pin	Space h
B 118	Bowl	Fill over Room c
B 235	Handle attachment	Space b
B 239	Arrowhead	Space a
SS 61*	Bronze ring	
BI 32	Grindstone	Near Room j
BI 33	Shell	Near Room j

[81] Inventoried Finds object codes: G – Glass; ILS – Iron/Lead/Silver; J – Jewelry; MC – Miscellaneous Clay.

BI 41	Handle	Room m
BI 42	Pin/spindle	Space h
BI 43	Needle	Space h
G 13	Blue and yellow bead	Room n
G 14	Blue, white yellow bead	Space p
G 26	Tube fragment	Room m
G 27	Frit bottle neck	Room n
G 58	Inlay	Space p
I 13	Grey ware vase	Space p; Roller *Graffiti*, 2B-73, p. 42; **a**
I 14	Bowl rim profile	Space h; Roller *HETG*, cat. no. 56, p. 129; **KANTYIX**
I 46	Handle of Phrygian cup	Fill over room a floor; **HI**
I 55	Incised disc	Room p west corner; Roller *Graffiti*, 2A-188, p. 30; lines
I 57	Black glazed plate foot	EH Space a; Roller *HETG*, cat. no. 16, p. 116; **SKRPOY**
I 59	Grey fish plate base	EH Space a surface soil; Roller *HETG*, cat. no. 58, p. 131; **PAPA**
ILS 6	Iron tweezers	Room j
ILS 8	Iron point	Room m
ILS 10	Iron bracelet	Space h
ILS 11, 12	Iron knife	Space p
ILS 62	Silver plated bronze handle	Space a
J 55	Amethyst	MH room a
MC 31	Pyramidal loomweight	Room c floor
MC 32	Whorl	Space h
	Several doughnut shaped loomweights	Space h floor
	Whorl	Room j
S 11	Limestone “idol”	Space h
ST 29	Marble pierced disc	Fill over Space p floor
ST 31	Black whorl	Space h
ST 33	Small pedestal with shallow top	Room m
ST 38	Small profiled disc, whorl?	Space p
ST 40	Inscribed stone	Fill over Space p floor
ST 58	Profiled cap	Room f
ST 103	Loomweight	Fill over EH Space a floor
ST 104	Basalt tripod bowl frag	Fill over EH Space a floor
ST 105	Bead	Fill over EH Space a floor
ST 111	Serpentine fish plate	Fill over EH Space a floor
T 15	Female torso	Space h; Romano 1995, cat. no. 71, p. 34

Mabel's House

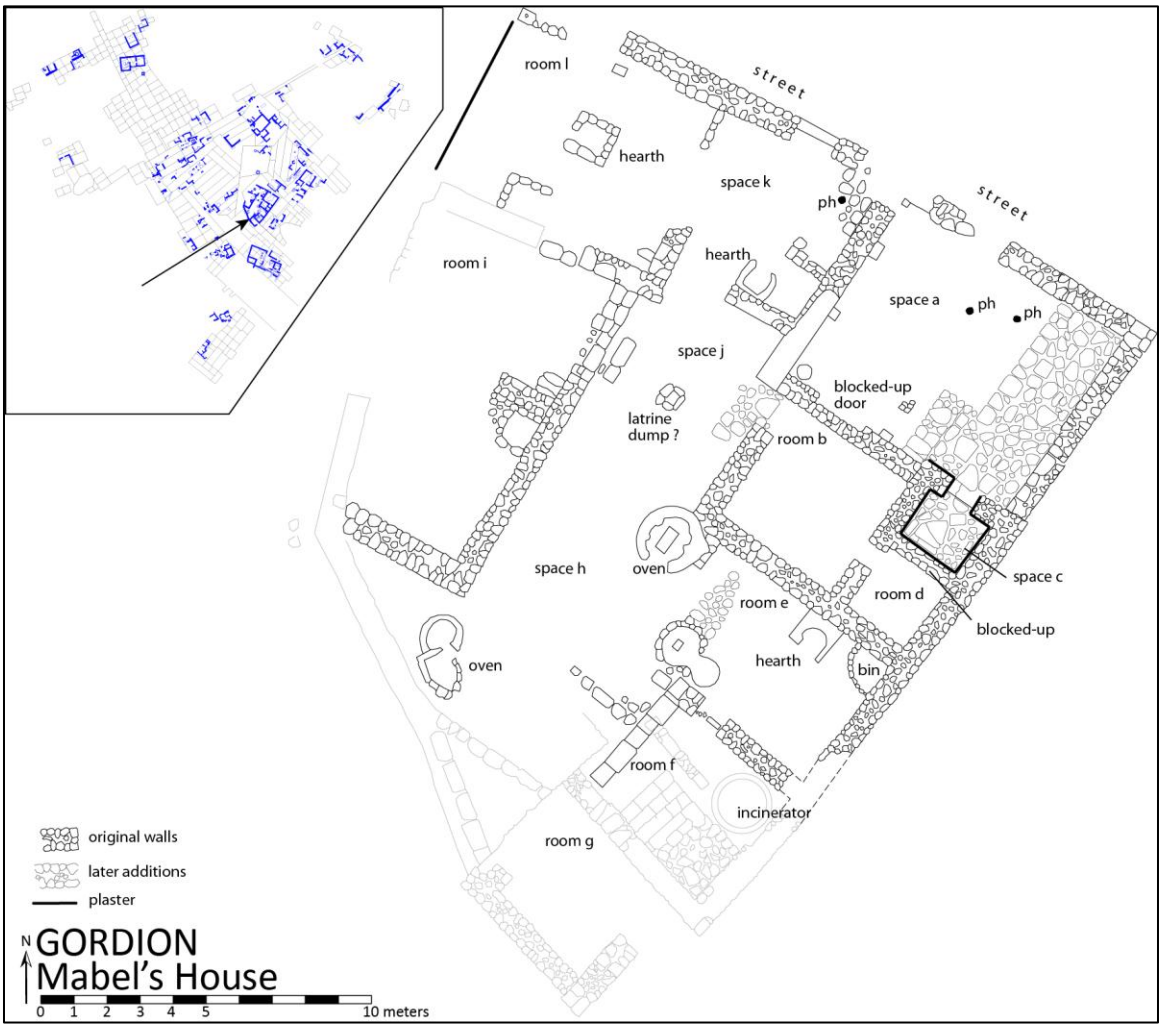


Figure 46. Plan and location of Mabel's House (based on original by D. H. Cox, "Plan 1953-29, CM Trenches ET-V, NC-A, and ET-O. Level 2" neg. 58-140313 = GB 91-56).

Associated Trenches: SE-NW 1a, ET 5, ET 5b, ET O3, ET O4, ET O5, ET V1, ET V2, ET V3, NCTA 2, NCTA 3
Notebooks: 14, 21, 23, 38, 39, 43
Excavators: Mable Lang, G. Roger Edwards, Dorothy Cox, David Oberlin, Jeanny Vorys, Nancy Alexander
Architect: Dorothy Cox
Years: 1951, 1953
Excavation information: Mabel's House was the most unsystematically excavated Hellenistic structure at Gordion due mostly to its size. No other building had as many supervisors, was divided up into as many trenches and recorded in as many notebooks. It

was also one of the largest structures and, in parts, one of the best preserved. Lang and Edwards found the southern part of the house in June of 1951 in trenches that had been set out to find the limits of the Middle and Early Phrygian gate buildings and the full extent of Middle Phrygian Building C. Edwards only uncovered the south wall of room g while Lang excavated most of Rooms e and f; she dug more of the house so the team named it after her. Oberlin, Vorys and Alexander excavated the rest of the house in 1953. The rectangular and pie-shaped trenches were not set out according to any grid or following the scarps of previous seasons but according to where the walls of the earlier buildings should be. These trenches were also never added to the master trench plan so the present location of Mabel's House is based on references to established points and the house's location on the big color pencil plan.

Documentation: The records for the excavation of Mabel's House are spread throughout the five notebooks listed above. There are four sketch plans in the notebook accounts, drafts of the architect's plans and a final architect's plan. Contact print photographs were taken of most rooms and features of the house. The state plan in Figure 46 is adapted from Cox's final plan.

Early Hellenistic

The original plan of Mabel's House, built sometime toward the end of the 4th century BCE, had six rooms and spaces arranged in a Π shape (Rooms a-c, i, l, Space k) around an elongated open-air work area/courtyard (Spaces h, j). The open areas gave

access to all the rooms except a and possibly l; it is not clear whether or not there was an east wall to Room l.

Figure 47. Mabel's House Spaces a and c, from north. Note the blocked-up door into Room b at right (GO 4150).

Two doorways on the north side of the house offered entrance from the NW-SE street. The eastern door led into Space a, a partially paved and probably partially roofed courtyard. It was the largest room in the house at 48.9 m^2. The pavement in the east half was made of large cut and roughly worked stones robbed from Phrygian period buildings below (fig. 47). There was an earlier floor underneath which was also partially paved. The rest of the floor was hard packed earth. Two postholes in the northeast part of the earth floor and three stones against the west wall were post bases connected with roof support or wall bracing. There was also an arrangement of stones in the southeast part of the earth floor which could have been for supports as well. Burned or decayed reeds were found on the courtyard floor. The preserved walls were built with large cut blocks on the

bottom and smaller stones above. It is not clear if the upper section of the walls were mudbrick. The southern end of the western wall looks like it was leveled and prepared for a mudbrick course (fig. 48), but Oberlin does not say there was anything like mudbrick in the fill over the floor. No artifacts were recovered from the courtyard floor. In the final phase of the house, a door that had led into Room b was blocked up and one could only go from Space a into Space c, a very small space about 4 m^2, or the size of a small walk-in pantry, similar to Space i and with mud plaster on the walls. Oberlin noted yellow soil over the floor in this room—possibly crumbled plaster or degraded mudbrick. He also noted that the southern wall of Space c was not bonded to either the western or eastern wall so, at one point, Space c and Room d were one room.

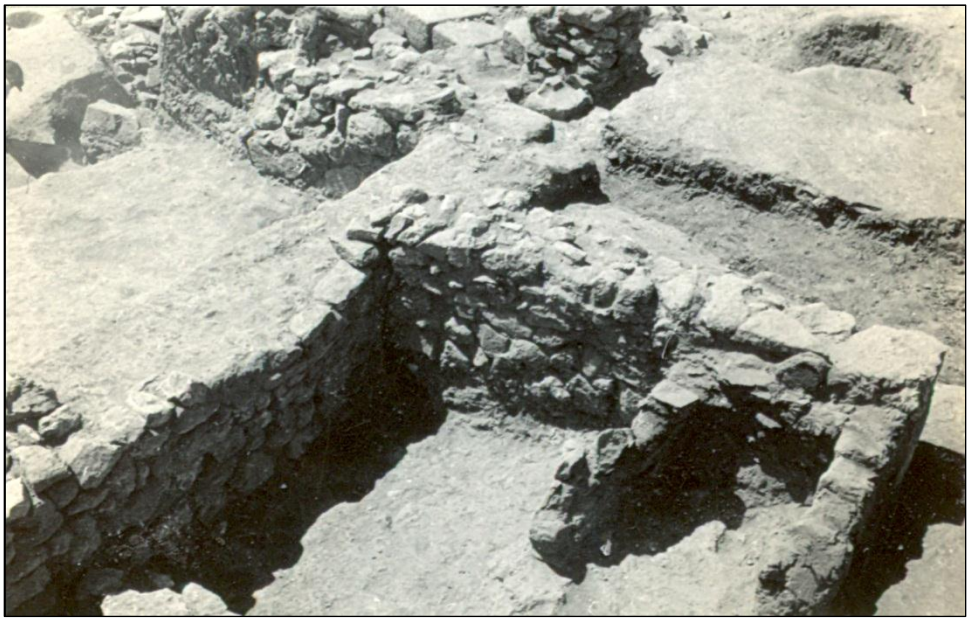


Figure 48. Mabel's House, Space k oven and west wall of Room a at left (GO 4157).

The western door off the street led over a threshold into Space k, a partially roofed work space with a small hearth or oven that was filled with ashes and a broken "bread pan" (fig. 48). The short spur wall just north of the oven could have supported a

light roof in combination with the posthole to the north. From here, one could go right into Room l or straight into the central courtyard and the heart of the house.

Beginning with the courtyard, it was a large space with several working areas. First is Space j which contained what might have been a latrine dump. Doorways to the left and right gave access to Rooms b and i, respectively. To the left a large flat stone and several smaller stones served as a threshold for the doorway into Room b and one stone, just inside the door, looks to have had a cutting for a door post (fig. 49). Room b was a kind of vestibule and transitional space. One originally could have moved into Space a, as noted above, and one still could enter Room d from here at the time the house went out of use. Nothing was found in any of these rooms to indicate function. To the right off Space j was Room i. The pottery from below the floor of Room i dates its construction to the same time as the eastern part of the house (late 4th/early 3rd century BCE) and its floor level is consistent with the other rooms. Two large stones marked the threshold and doorway into Room i which was located just opposite the door into Room b (fig. 50). Two other stones placed in front of the door seem to have served as a step or front stoop and cuttings in the blocks flanking the threshold indicate proper door jambs. The only features recorded in this room were a spur wall (possibly originally more but robbed out) and stone lined pit against the east wall.

Figure 49. Mabel's House, doorway into Room b from Space j (GO 4160).

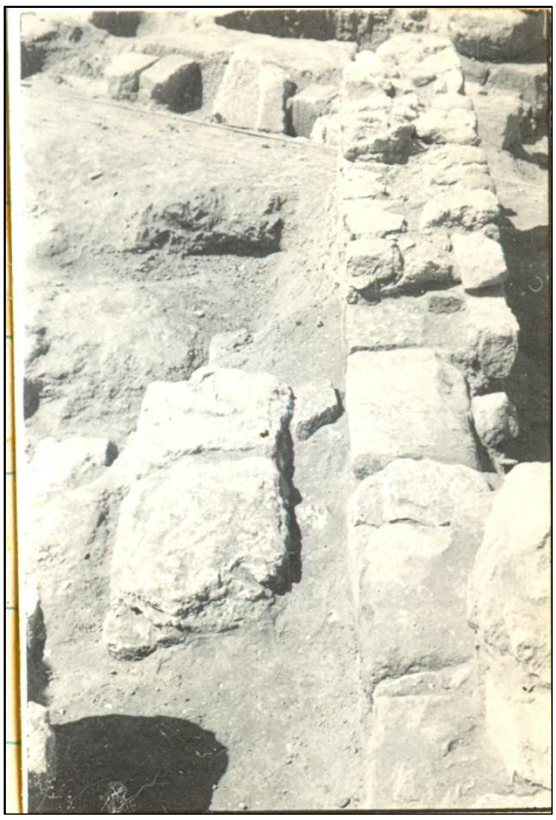


Figure 50. Mabel's House, doorway into Room i from Space j, from north (GO 4165).

Continuing farther south from Space j, one reached Space h, containing the large kiln mentioned above and a smaller oven/kiln arrangement to the southwest. It seems that the house originally ended here and that south of Space h was an open area. To the right, however, was Room e, another work space containing a hearth against the north wall, a bin in the northeast corner and a pit full of ash and cinders, the western part of which was ringed by stones with a stretch of cobbles extending to north. At the northwestern corner of the room was a large, industrial-size oven.

Returning to Space k in the northern part of the house, turning right into Room l was an option if one did not want to go into the courtyard area. It is not clear if Room l was in use at the same time as the rest of the house. The fact that the northern wall of Space k continued west as its northern wall suggests that it was in use, but the pottery below the floor indicates it was constructed later than the other rooms, sometime in the 3rd century BCE. A Middle Hellenistic ledge rim dish (P 940, Stewart's cat. no. 322) came from a pit below the floor, though this is suspect.[82] It also had a higher floor level than other rooms by about 0.30 m. Like the other rooms, the function of Room l is not clear. The only feature about which any information was recorded was the square stone hearth in the middle. Ashes and burned material were found inside. Alexander also noted that the stones of the west wall had been robbed out but that a line of plaster marked its location. A threshold in the south wall marked the doorway into Room i.

Later additions

[82] I am not certain this pit was directly under the floor. It could have been in a disturbed area of the room where the floor had been robbed out. The plans are not clear.

Figure 51. Mabel's House, Room f staircase (GO 4107).

Rooms f and g were later additions to Mabel's House though it is difficult to say how much later. Pottery from under the floors was dated to the 3rd or 2nd century.[83] The purpose of these spaces is also not clear. One entered Room f from Space h, Room e (through a door cut at the time of Room f's construction?) or possibly through a door in the party wall with Room g. The interior of Room f was dominated by a 2.00 m wide substantial stone staircase (fig. 51) which rose to the east and possibly turned and continued north as wood steps. Beneath the stairs was a square cobbled area. The east wall was thickened at the point where the steps meet it for support of these upper stairs and a thin spur wall just to the north may also have been used for support. There was no evidence of support for an upper story to this part of the house, however. The other nearby walls were 0.60 -0.70 m thick, the usual thickness for single story house walls at Gordion. The other explanation for these stairs is that they have something to do with the

[83] ETV Bag 1 (NB 39:4).

"incinerator." This was a circular bin built of stone, mud plaster and earth, baked hard (fig. 52). It was 0.65 m high, 1.50 – 1.80 m in diameter and filled with ash and dirt. It is a feature unique to this house.

Figure 52. Mabel's House, incinerator in Room f (GO 1810).

Room g, the south wall of Space h and the west wall of Room i were also later additions whose stratigraphy and construction are disturbed and unclear. Room g was probably built at the same time as Room f but its exact dimensions and features are unknown. The walls which close Space h, and the house, to the south are similarly difficult to interpret. There were two walls, one on top of the other, which split at the east and abut the west wall of Room g, creating a small interior triangular space. The oven just east of this wall was probably contemporary with it. There were burned or decayed reeds in the fill over the floor of Space h associated with these walls. At the west, both or one of these walls continued around the west side of Room i, meeting the north wall and closing the room, perhaps a remodeling of Room i.

Middle Hellenistic

Mabel's House is abandoned sometime in the late 4th century which makes the period of its use quite short. There is no obvious reason for the abandonment and, apart from the burned reeds in Space h and maybe in the courtyard Space a, it was not destroyed. It also does not appear to have been victim of much stone looting, a surprising

fact since there was probably a century between the apparent last use of the house and the abandonment of the site in 189 BCE. Mabel's House is like the Eisman House in this respect: both are Early Hellenistic structures whose plans survived nearly complete. The latest use of the area around Mabel's House seems to have been as an ash and trash dump. The three Rhodian amphora handles came from these post-occupation levels.

Finds

Table 12. Mabel's House Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period	Location/Comments
P 891			Fill over Room b
P 925			Fill over Room b
P 940	Table	MH	Pit 8 through floor of Space k
ETV bag 1		3rd – 2nd	From under floor of Room f
ET O3 bag 14		Late 4th	From over floors of Rooms b, d
ET O3 bag 15		Late 4th	From under floors of Rooms b, d
ET O4 bag 22		4th	From under floor of Space a
ET O5 bag 26		Late 4th-early 3rd	From over floor of Space k
ET O5 bag 27		Late 4th	From over floor of Space k

Table 13. Mabel's House Coins

Gordion inv #	Harl's #	Ruler/Type	Date	Location
C 363				Over floor of Room h
C 374		Antiochus II/Sardes		Over floor of Room b
C 380				Under floor of Space a
C 412		Lysimachus		Under floor of Room b
C 424				Over Space h
C 432		Iolla, Mysia	4th	Under floor of Room b
C 433		Lysimachus		Under floor of Room b
C 440		Seleucus II		Over floor of Space k

Table 14. Mabel's House Stamped Amphora Handles

Gordion Inv. #	Source	Date	Period	Location/Comments
SS 106	Rhodes	Grace pd. II-III	MH	ETV2 levels above house; Lawall 2003, 18
SS 107	Rhodes	Grace pd. II; 216 BCE	MH	ETV2 levels above house; Lawall 2003, 18
SS 108	Rhodes	Grace pd. IIa; 242-236 BCE	MH	ETV2 levels above house; Lawall 2003, 18
SS 115	Thasos	3rd century	EH	ETV2 levels above house; Lawall 2003, 10

Table 15. Mabel's House Inventoried Finds

Gordion inv #	Description	Location/comments
B 489	Fibula fragment	From over floor of Room h

B 500	Clasp	From over floor of Space a
BI 197	Pin/stylus	From over floor of Room h
BI 209	Bead	From over floor of Space k
ILS 158	knife with bone handle	From over floor of Space h
ILS 177	Knife	From over floor of Space h
ST 203		From over floor of Space h
ST 207	Alabaster handle	From over floor of Space h
ST 208	Alabaster handle	From over floor of Space k
T 37	Painted panel	Romano #158; from over floor of Room c

The Eisman House

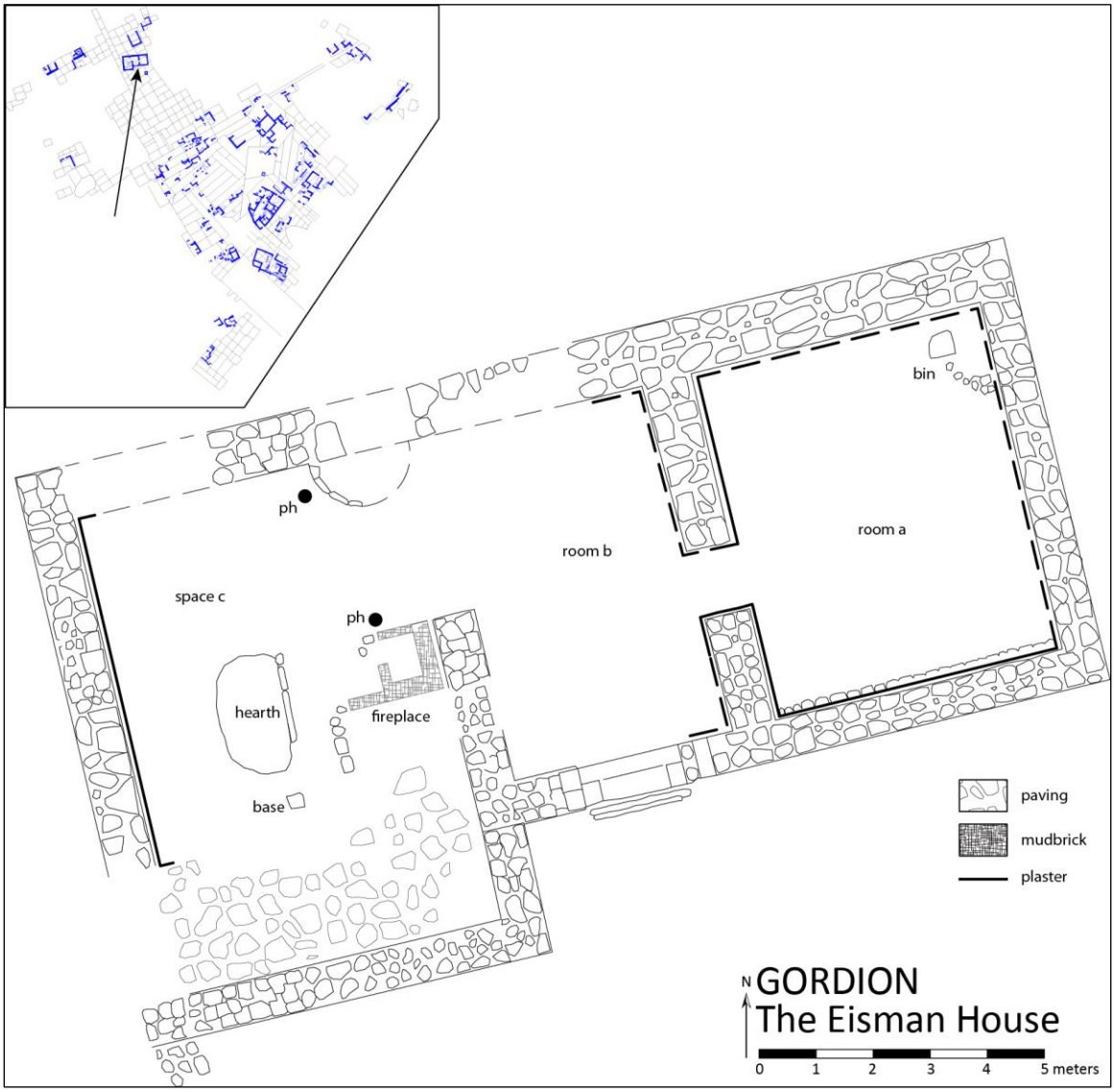


Figure 53. Plan and location of the Eisman House (adapted from J. Shaw unpublished state plan, GG 391, Neg. 10050).

Associated Trenches: M7F, WC 1, WC2, WC1S, WC2S, RR cut 1, WS7N, WS8, WS8N, WS9, WS9N
Notebooks: 126, 127, 130, 131
Excavators: R. S. Young, Michael Eisman, Joanna Fink, Phoebe Sherman
Architect: J. Shaw
Year: 1967
Excavation information: In April of 1967, Fink and Sherman found the southwest corner of the Eisman House in WS8 (Appendix, fig. 2).[84] Young found the southeastern corner two months later in trench M7F.[85] He moved north next, clearing most of the eastern room (Room a) and the central room (Room b) as far as its west wall, the area covered by the WC trenches and the north half of the railroad cut. A shortage of workmen caused Young to stop work in the house for a few weeks and concentrate his efforts on the emerging Middle Phrygian structures to the south. This delay gave Michael Eisman time to excavate the WS trenches and reveal the western half of the house down to the floor level of the final phase. The architecture of the whole house was then available to be drawn, photographed, and removed.

Documentation

Young and Eisman recorded the excavation of the majority of the Eisman House in Notebooks 131 and 130, respectively. Fink and Sherman documented the southwest corner in Notebooks 126 and 127. Despite the multiple excavators and multiple trenches, the whole house was left intact as a complete structure before it was dismantled, perhaps the only time this happened with a major Hellenistic structure. The supervisors drew sketch plans of all the architecture and features they encountered. Additionally, perhaps because of the size of the house and the extent of the preservation, J. Shaw was able to

[84] Fink and Sherman also found a small stretch of a spur wall in WS9. WS = West Slope.
[85] In Young's and Eisman's notebooks, the house is labeled variously the "Level 4 Hellenistic House" or the "Layer Four Hellenistic House" or the "Layer 4 House."

draw a state plan of the house in its final phase (fig. 53), plans of the preceding two phases (fig. 57), and a detailed plan of the marble threshold block (fig. 56).[86] To my knowledge, this is the only Hellenistic structure professionally drawn after 1961. My plans are based on Shaw's plans. Black and white contact prints and color slides were taken of the house.

Early Hellenistic

The Eisman House was exceptionally well preserved even for the northernmost part of the mound where Early Hellenistic structures seem to have survived the centuries of stone robbers rather well. It is one of the few buildings that was completely excavated and also one of the few for which we have a detailed understanding of the construction phases. It was very close to the Langdon Room, another well preserved EH structure, but the two buildings were not physically connected. The Eisman House was also just north of the EH shaft that went down through the mound to below Early Phrygian levels. This shaft was a square; a 2.20 x 2.20 m hole was dug and lined with stones so that the walls were .50 m thick and the constructed hole now about 1.10 x 1.10 m. The walls were built with dry rubble interspersed with large reused square blocks robbed from earlier buildings. There is no information as to why this shaft was dug or for what purpose.[87]

The pottery from the Eisman House all dates to the early 3rd century BCE. Young's dates of the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE for the pottery in the fills closest to the floor match Stewart's EH date of the salter from Room B. The dates for the two

[86] I found these drawings in a manila envelope in the map cabinet in the Gordion Archives.
[87] Young noted pottery in the shaft, but not in such quantities that he thought it was extraordinary. He says, "We are not treasure hunting for Hellenistic pottery, rather we clean the shaft as a peephole to the stratification below the Phrygian levels" (NB 131:162). Young excavated this shaft to 4.60 meters below the Phrygian levels (NB 131:170).

amphorae also found in Room b also fall in this range. SS 234 is from the southern Aegean and of a type that Lawall places between 330 and the mid-3rd century.[88] SS 235 is Thasian, dated by Grace to the second half of the 4th century and by Lawall to between 310 and 280 BCE.[89] In sum, nothing need be later than the middle of the third century BCE. This evidence provides the only dating reference for the Eisman House. The stratigraphy is not helpful. There are no structures above it and only the remains between it and the PPB (Persian-Phrygian Building) below are a line of wall plaster and ashy fill. The preservation of the mudbrick on top of the walls and the proximity of those walls to the surface of the mound would suggest a Middle Hellenistic date, if not the 189 BCE abandonment itself. Arguing against a 189 BCE conclusion, however, is that there is neither any obvious destruction of the house nor anything to suggest a hasty abandonment. The absence of any burning is not a problem, since not every abandonment level house was burned. But an absence of cultural material on the floors and an absence of roofing material are suspicious, since most abandonment level houses had some area where burned or decayed reeds were present.

[88] Lawall 2003, 11.
[89] Grace 1972, 4; Lawall 2003, 10-11. Grace does not specifically address SS 234 and Lawall does not address SS 235.

Figure 54. The Eisman House, Room a from west. Bin in upper left corner of the room (GO 7061).

Figure 55. The Eisman House, Room a from southeast. Plaster on west wall and stone socle of south wall (Slide G 5738).

The Eisman House presents a unique case among all the structures of Hellenistic Gordion. One reason for this is its plan – a simple rectangle with three rooms and one entrance in the middle of the south side. It went through three phases relatively quickly, with each change affecting the layout of Space c, a courtyard (fig. 57). The other two rooms did not change. Room a was nearly square, 32.5 m^2, with a dirt floor and mudbrick walls sitting on stone socles (figs. 54, 55). The northern wall, however, was all dry rubble for its 1.40 m preserved height above the floor level. It was also approximately 0.40 m thicker than the other walls of the house. This was perhaps due to a repair or some later construction. All the walls of Room a were coated with a fine buff or yellow lime plaster, about 4 mm thick and applied in two coats. A layer of stones lined the inside face of the south wall, set over the plaster. Young does not say how high up the wall this layer of stones went but in the photographs, it looks as if that wall was only preserved to the height of the socle. This is a curious feature and its purpose is unclear. Another feature in the room was a quarter-circle of stones forming a bin of sorts in the northeast corner.[90] There was an off-center doorway into the room but no door jambs and no threshold block. The earth in the threshold was hard packed and smooth. The only item Young recorded from the floor of this room was a large stone alabastron. Presumably the room was roofed but no reed material was noticed in the fills over the floor.

Room b is the middle room and was the entryway of the house. It was smaller than room a, 23.5 m^2, with a dirt floor and plastered walls. A doorway led into Room a on the right and a wider opening at the back of the room led to the Space c on the left. In the

[90] I identify this feature as a bin based on its location in the room and its shape in Shaw's plan which is similar to bins found in other houses. Only one course was preserved and nothing was found inside it.

first phase of the house, this opening in the wall was a doorway but in the later phases, the northern side of the doorway was replaced with a semicircular stone table or base topped with mudbrick.[91] There was also a smaller gap in the western wall leading into the courtyard in phase three.

The entrance to the house was the other feature of this room and another feature of the house which makes it unique. I have found no more elaborate door in any other house (fig. 56).[92] Jambs flanked the door on both sides. There was a limestone threshold with pivot holes, cuttings for the bolts and signs of wear, evidence enough to say that it had two doors that opened inward and that the western door was the one used most often. Two interesting features speak to the installation of the block and the life of the doorway. First, it seems that it was too short to span the original width of the door so two wooden posts were set into the ground between its eastern end and the eastern doorjamb. Traces of wood were found in the cuttings and plaster was used to cover up the mistake on the exterior wall surface. Second, after some time the ground level outside the house had risen to such an extent that two long, narrow stones were placed in front of the threshold to create a step down onto the block and into the house. The remains of two transport amphorae were found in this room, one Rhodian and one Thasian, and one Early Hellenistic salter. It is likely that this room was roofed but, like Room a, no roof material was found.

[91] A table or base are guesses. Only a portion of this feature was preserved in room C.
[92] Another limestone threshold block with similar cuttings was found in WS5-6, S Layer 4. This block was found in fill and not in situ (NB 127:110).

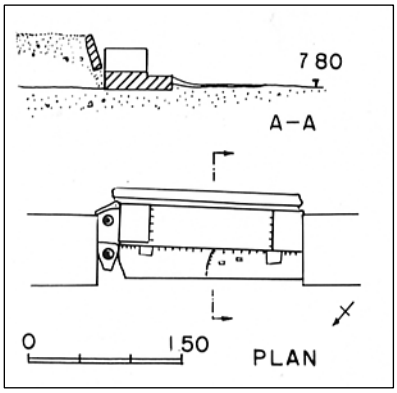


Figure 56. The Eisman House, plan and section of threshold block (J. Shaw unpublished state plan, GG 391, Neg. 10050).

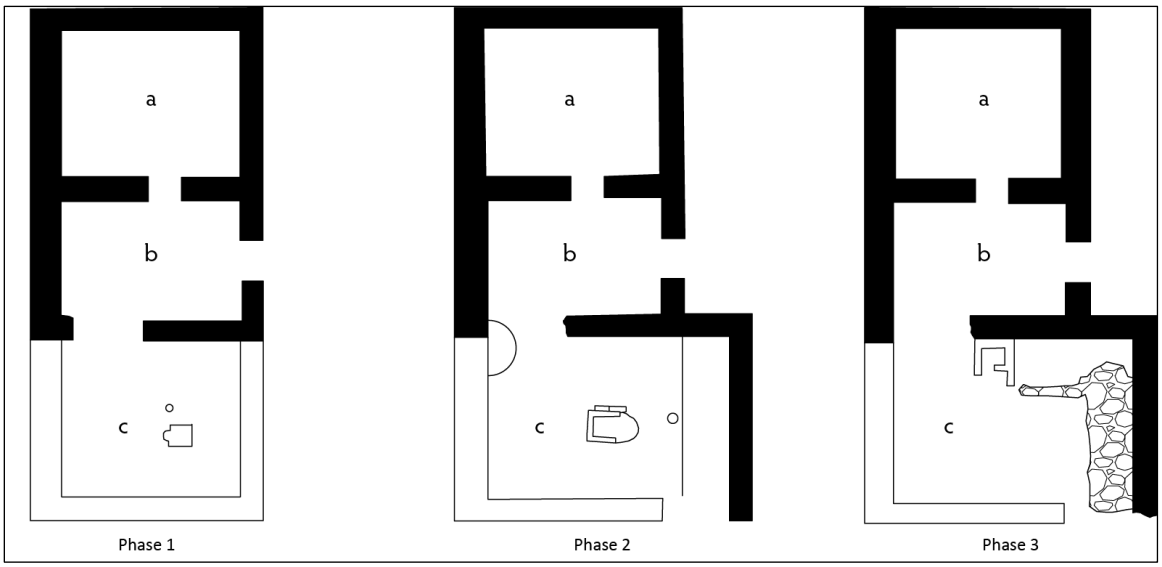


Figure 57. The Eisman House phases 1-3 (adapted from J. Shaw unpublished state plan, GG 391, Neg. 10050).

The courtyard, Space c, was always the largest space in the Eisman house (figs. 57, 59). In the first phase, it was a square room slightly larger than Room a and with floors at the same level. There was no stone paving but there was a mudbrick fireplace in the middle of the floor so it served at least some of the same functions as the final courtyard. In the second phase, the floor level was raised, a new mudbrick fireplace was built on a different orientation and the southern wall was dismantled down to the new floor level and rebuilt about 1.5 m to the south. This new arrangement required the line of

the western wall of room b to be extended southward, the execution of which was visible in the way the extension wall abutted the exterior face of the southern house wall. The arrangement also resulted in a larger space, now about 50 m^2, and a lower floor level in the southern extension with the remaining bit of phase one wall forming a step down. The still exposed southern face of this wall had plaster on it indicating that during the first phase, the exterior of the house was plastered. The extension walls were not plastered. It is likely that an entrance was made in the western wall of the courtyard during this phase as well, as the line of that wall was not extended south. Outside the house, a shallow gutter with a stone lined southern edge runs the length of the southern extension wall (fig. 58).

Figure 58. The Eisman House, stone paving in the southern extension of the courtyard, from west (GO 7064).

The third phase of the courtyard was the most elaborate. The packed earth floor was raised again and a section of stone paving was laid in the area of the extension. A circular hearth was built on the spot where the earlier square fireplaces had been, reusing the stones on the east side of the phase 2 fireplace. For the third phase courtyard, a new mudbrick fireplace was built against the east wall. There were three floors inside with layers of ash separating them but nothing else. To the right of the fireplace was a raised section of hard packed earth which may have served as a kind of working platform. Behind this platform, where the southern side of the fireplace met the wall, there was a break in the wall perhaps a meter wide and a kind of step down through it into Room b. There were two post holes 0.15 - 0.25 m in diameter in the northeast part of the room, one on either side of the entry way.[93] A flat stone was set into the floor half way between the east and west walls and halfway between the hearth and the northern edge of the paving. The postholes, and probably this flat stone, suggest that some part of the courtyard was roofed but it is unclear exactly how this was configured. The drainage ditch outside the south wall also suggests some style of roof, perhaps even pitched. Again, no roofing material was noticed in the fills.

[93] There was possibly a third posthole in the very front part of the fireplace. Eisman has this posthole in his sketch of the room but Shaw does not in his state plan.

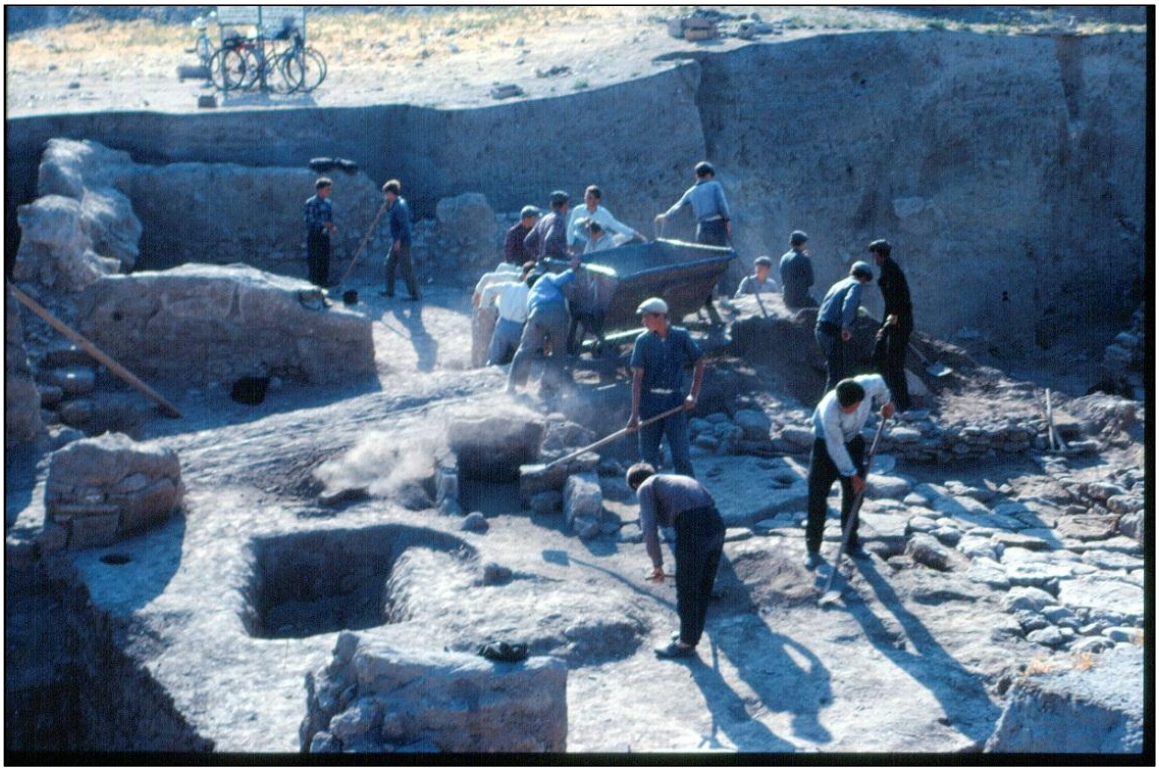


Figure 59. The Eisman House, from west (G 5740).

Post-Early Hellenistic

There is no architecture to speak of in the c. 2.20 m of fill covering the floors of the Eisman House. A few pits and a small bit of wall are the only indications of any activity in this area following the presumed abandonment of the house. Young noted 3rd and 2nd century BCE pottery in the upper fills inside the house walls and pottery of the 4th to 3rd centuries BCE in the fills closer to the floors.[94]

Finds

Table 16. Eisman House Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period	Location/Comments
P 3611	Salter	EH	Room b, Stewart 2010 cat. no. 139, p. 260

[94] NB 131:91, 103. Young kept no pottery from these upper levels. Eisman drew profiles and inventoried some sherds but I have no definite dates for those pieces; they appear to coincide with Young's dates, however.

Table 17. Eisman House Stamped Amphora Handles

Gordion Inv. #	Source	Date	Period	Location/Comments
SS 234	South Aegean		EH	Room b, similar to SS 275, 191, 196; Lawall 2003, 11
SS 235	Thasos	2/2 4th/310-280	EH	Room b

Smaller EH Rooms and Structures

The following five structures were not as large or as completely excavated as the other Early Hellenistic buildings included in the catalog. Nevertheless, they are important for the study of Early Hellenistic Gordion for their architectural characteristics and/or the presence of significant artifacts. See Appendix B, Figures 3-7 for the trench plans over the houses.

The Langdon Room

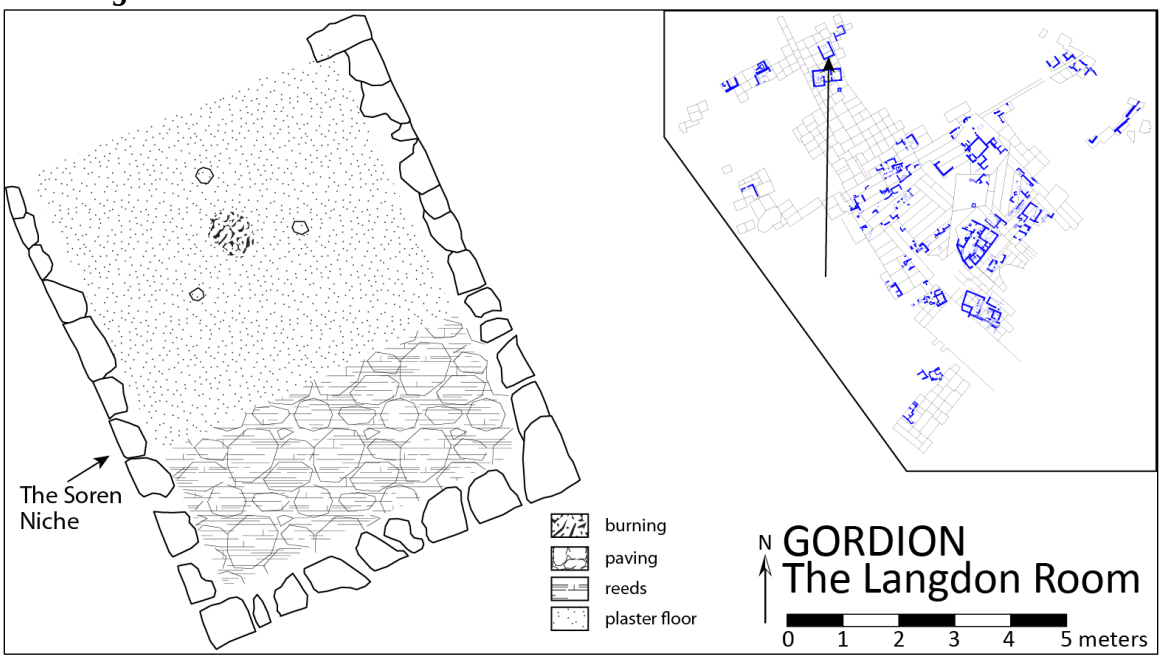


Figure 60. Plan and location of Langdon Room (plan based on sketches by Merle Langdon, NB 140: 110, 132).

The Langdon Room was a large but simple structure – three walls enclosing a space 46.2 m^2 and perhaps open to the north (fig. 60). The walls were one course thick and built of large stones with dressed exterior faces but roughly hewn on the interior.

Langdon noted that the stones were robbed from the Middle Phrygian city wall which is nearby, below EH ground level.[95] There was no doorway in the extant walls so entry must have been through the north wall of which only few stones remained visible in the baulk.[96] Three post holes and a burned area marked the spot in the front of the room where a tripod had been positioned over a hearth. The floor of the room was a white, hard packed granular plaster except for the rear third where it consists of thin, flat, shaley limestone pavers. Decayed reeds covered the paved section. A niche, 0.30 x 0.40 x 0.20 m, in the exterior west wall held six shallow echinus bowls.

The simple architecture belies the mysterious nature of this structure. It seems to have been just the one room. The only interior feature apart from the well plastered and paved floor is the hearth/burned patch in the northern part, over which a tripod cooking stand was presumably set up. The position of the hearth and tripod are conspicuous in their placement right in the middle of the entryway. This is the only example I know of this kind of cooking arrangement in all of the houses of the Hellenistic period, both in terms of the placement of the fire and the specific cooking technique. Of course, post holes around a burned spot are the only evidence here for this arrangement and such features could have been overlooked near hearths or burned spots on floors in other houses. The tripod was apparently an alternative to the mudbrick oven-against-the-wall arrangement that was usually the case.

Another unique feature is the exterior niche with the shallow echinus bowls stacked inside, Stewart's "Soren Niche." This was one of only two wall niches, and the

[95] NB 140: 110.
[96] Langdon says he sees the blocks in north baulk but makes no more mention of them when he excavates that trench. He does not give enough detail to reconstruct that wall.

only one that had anything in situ inside, as these bowls were.[97] All six bowls were imported and three had been impressed with the same palmette stamp. It is the only "matched set" of imported vessels in the Early Hellenistic period.[98]

One interpretation of this room could be that it was a public bath facility. It was a space entirely equipped to deal with water on the floor, whether in the rear on the paved part (lots of water) or in the rest of the room (small amounts of water). The tripod cook-stand over the fire could be used to heat pots of water which could then be carried in other vessels (or the pot, I suppose) to the back where the bathers could wash. There would be no need to worry about muddying up a dirt floor or too much water collecting on the plaster. The plastered part would then make it easy to clean up any water that may have spilled while it was being carried or from dripping bathers. An additional point is that the orientation of the room would have provided a degree of privacy since the room was open only to the unoccupied part of the mound. In this reconstruction, the cups in the niche could then have been used for refreshments for the bathers milling about outside.

Table 18. The Langdon Room Pottery (The Soren Niche)

Inv. Ceramics	**Shape**	**Period**	**Location/Comments**
P 3291	Shallow Echinus Bowl	EH	Stewart 2010, cat. no. 73, p. 250
P 3922	Shallow Echinus Bowl	EH	Stewart 2010, cat. no. 68, p. 249
P 3923	Shallow Echinus Bowl	EH	Stewart 2010, cat. no. 74, p. 250
P 3926	Shallow Echinus Bowl	EH	Stewart 2010, cat. no. 72, p. 250
P 3927	Shallow Echinus Bowl	EH	Stewart 2010, cat. no. 67, p. 248-49
P 3928	Shallow Echinus Bowl	EH	Stewart 2010, cat. no. 76, p. 250-251

[97] The other niche is in the north wall of the MH Pottery Establishment basement room f.
[98] Stewart 2010, 174, cat. nos. 67, 68, 69.

The Fink-Sherman House

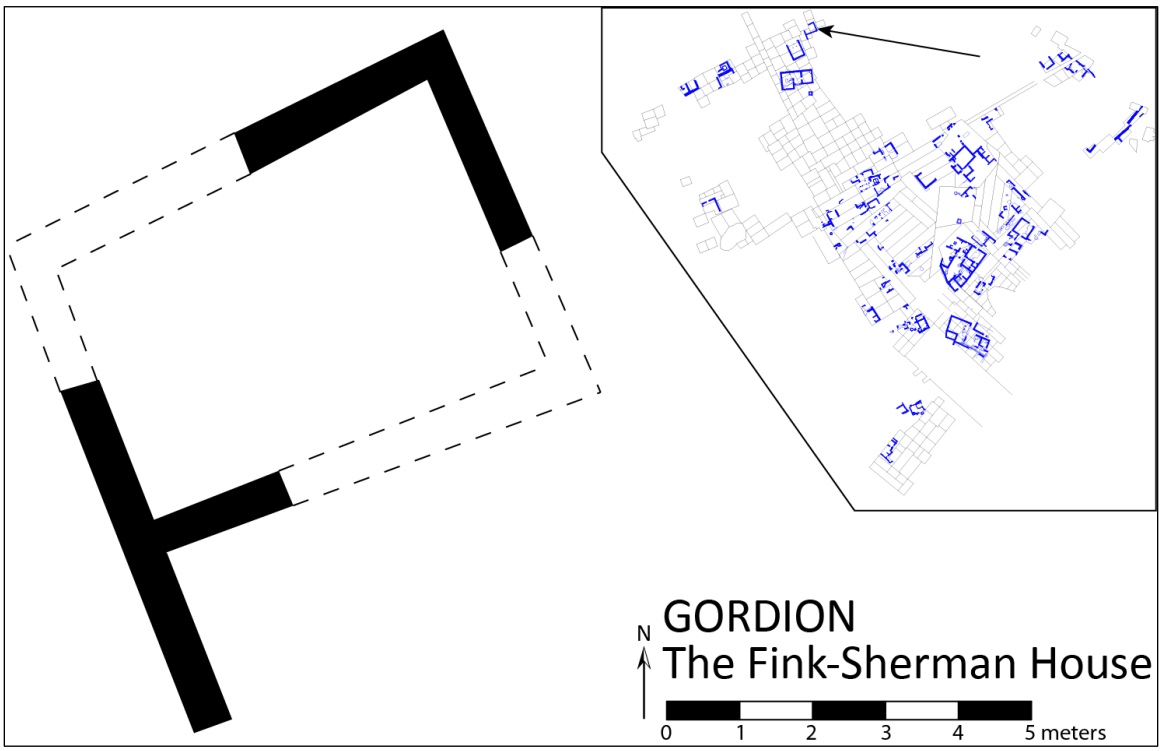


Figure 61. Plan and location of the Fink-Sherman House (based on sketches by Johanna Fink and Phoebe Sherman, NB 126: 180, 187; NB 132: 11, 13).

As excavated, the Fink-Sherman House was a two room structure with dirt floors, approx. 38 m^2 (fig. 61). Fink and Sherman thought that walls which continued into the scarps would eventually define more rooms. The theory was not tested since these areas were not excavated. The walls were mudbrick set up on stone socles and were plastered. There was an approximately 0.75 m thick ashy fill directly over the floor and walls which contained fragments of cook pots, plates and bowls. There were no features in this house.

An Early Hellenistic date for the Fink-Sherman House is provided by stratigraphy and the inventoried items coming from the fill over the floor bowl P 3546 and SAH SS 228. There are no structures between the floors of this house and the robbed-out Middle

Phrygian wall robber trench 0.75 m below, making this the first post-Middle Phrygian construction in this spot. That in and of itself does not necessarily mean the house was built in the Early Hellenistic period. However, all three of the items inventoried from the fill directly over the floor should be dated no later than the first half of the 3rd century BCE.

Finds

Table 19. Fink-Sherman House Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Date	Location/comments
P 3546	Hemispherical Bowl	EH	Fill over floor. Stewart 2010, cat. no. 371[99], p. 300
L 146	Lamp	EH	Fill over floor, Broneer Type 7

Table 20. Fink-Sherman House Stamped Amphora Handles

Gordion Inv. #	Source	Date (Grace/Lawall)	Period	Comments
SS 228	Thasos	330 – mid 3rd	MH	Ashy fill over floor.

Table 21. Fink-Sherman House Inventoried Finds

Gordion Inv #	Description	Location/comments
I 380	Cup graffito	Fill over floor. Roller 1987a, cat. no. 2B-143
I 382	Cup Graffito	Fill outside house. Roller 1987a, cat. no. 2B-145
I 399	Cup graffito	Fill outside house. Roller 1987a, cat. no. 28-95
I 398	Dish graffito	Fill over floor. Roller 1987a, cat. no. 2B-147

[99] Stewart gives a MH date for this bowl in her dissertation (Stewart 2010, 300). She has since up-dated the bowl to EH (Stewart, pers. comm.).

The Ehrlich-Soren House

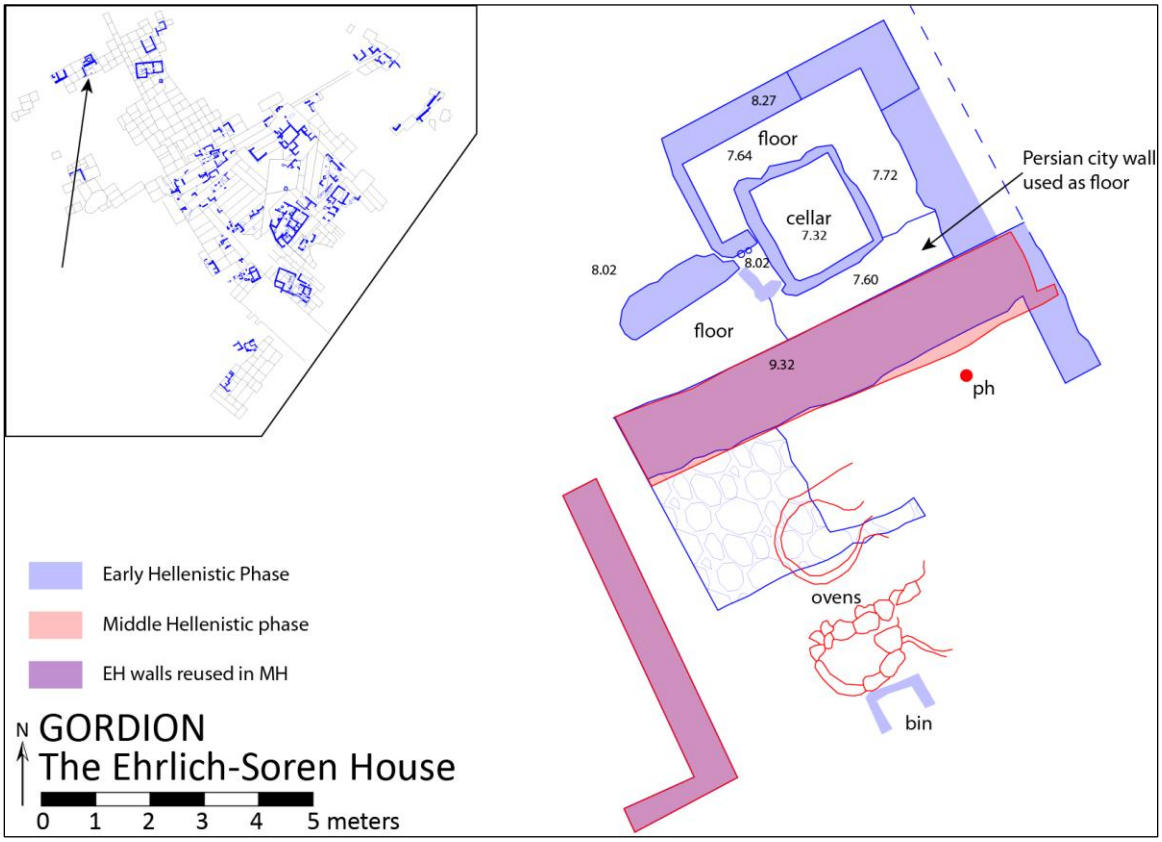


Figure 62. Plan and location of the Ehrlich-Soren House showing both Hellenistic phases (based on sketches by Ellen Ehrlich and David Soren, NB 141: 16, 25, 41, 95, 144).

I have included the Ehrlich-Soren House in the catalog because it was one of the few examples of well documented activity in the same spot throughout the Hellenistic Period. The architecture is instructive in terms of cellar construction and reuse of earlier walls.

In the early to mid-4th century BCE, someone built a cellar up against the mostly robbed-out Middle Phrygian city wall (fig. 62). He then built up the room over the cellar, using the Middle Phrygian wall as part of the floor of that room. A curious arrangement of blocks and postholes on the west side of the cellar may have been a kind of workbench area, as Soren suggested, or it could have been part of the access to the cellar from the

floor above.[100] Cellars built against Middle Phrygian walls are ubiquitous in the early/mid-4th century levels, but this is a rare example of higher floors and walls directly associated with a cellar.

There was limited excavation in the general area of house so only the cellar room and the courtyard on the south side of the wall were exposed. The courtyard was paved for at least four meters along the south side of the north wall. South of the paving was a stone bin, set below ground. It still contained reed matting on its floor, a powdery substance on top and fragments of two coarse cooking vessels.

The mid-4th century walls must have stayed in use, or were at least visible, throughout the Early Hellenistic period since the Middle Hellenistic builders reused the northwest and southwest walls of the courtyard. This became an industrial area with two large subterranean kilns or ovens. The posthole with charred wood still inside indicates the space was at least partially roofed. The spot went of use following the destruction by fire of the roof and whatever other structures were around. The fills were very ashy with burned reeds and pottery. No pottery was kept from this level, but Roman pottery was noted in the level above, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the destruction.

[100] NB 141:97

The McClellan House

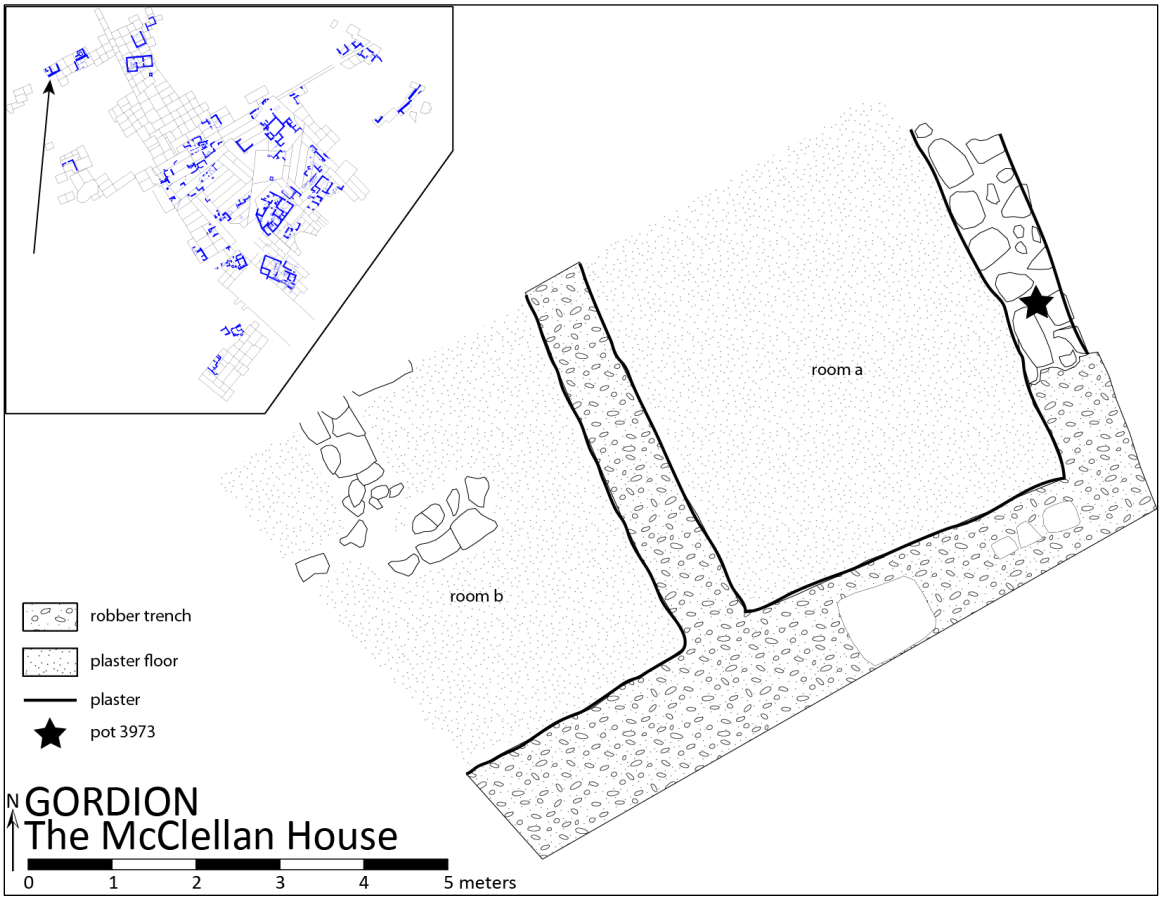


Figure 63. Plan and location of the McClellan House (based on sketches by J. F McClellan, NB 153:9 and sketch in back pocket of NB 153).

The McClellan house was at least a two-room structure with stone-built walls that were almost completely robbed out (fig. 63). McClellan could see plaster on both faces of the eastern wall of Room a and see lines of plaster marking the robber trenches. The floor was also made of plaster which had reached and continued up the sides of the walls. There was an earlier plaster floor 0.25 m below the final one. Stone walls in Room b might be the remains of some stone feature or alcove.

The date of the construction and use of the house is securely Early Hellenistic. An intact cooking pot (P 3973) found tucked in among the stones of the eastern wall was

dated by Stewart to 333-235 BCE.[101] Fred Winter dated the pottery (in the field) that came from between the two floors to between the late 4th and the mid-3rd centuries and the pottery from below the earlier floor to the late 4th century.[102]

Two items inventoried from this house could indicate the kinds of activities that went on inside. A stone trough was found on the floor in Room b and was probably connected with food processing. The second item, the cooking pot in the wall, is more complicated. The star in Figure 63 indicates the location of the pot among the stones of the wall, approximately 0.75 m above the floor. This pot had no evidence that it had ever been used for cooking, i.e. no burning. Stewart notes that 9 of the 16 catalogued Early Hellenistic cook pots from Young's excavations displayed no evidence of burning. She offers Sams' identification of similar pots in the Early Phrygian period as "One-Handled Utility Pots" as perhaps a more appropriate name than "cooking pot."[103] The contents of the pot in the wall of the McClellan House are described as "a fish head, fish vertebrae, lamb bones – hip socket, some teeth."[104] If this was indeed all that was in the pot then in our case "utility pot" might be changed to "trash pot." However, a full list of all the bones and their condition would be needed before any decision could be made on the nature of the faunal assemblage. The fact that the pot was carefully placed inside the wall hints at motives other than waste disposal; a foundation deposit is a possibility.

[101] Stewart 2010, 240, cat. no. 16.
[102] NB 153:68-69.
[103] Stewart 2010, 168.
[104] NB 153:8

The Muscarella House

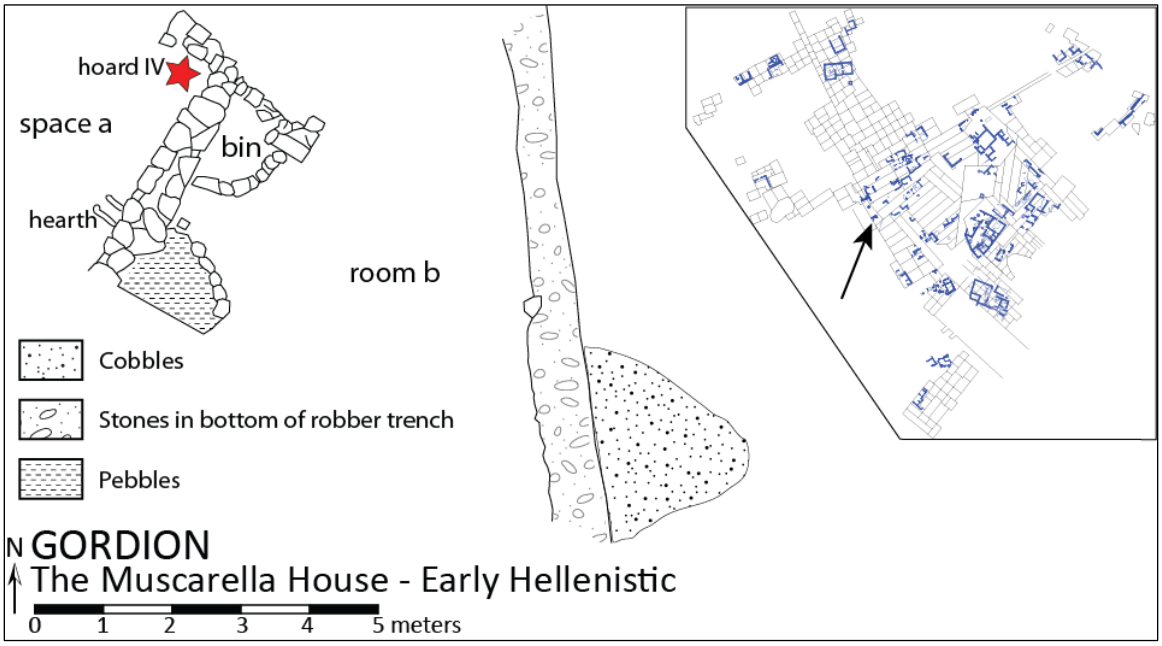


Figure 64. Plan and location of EH Muscarella House (adapted from original by J.S. Last, "CM. Trenches: TBT 1-4, Levels 2 and 3, KTL, Level 3," Plan 1959-12, Neg. 58-140353 = GB 91-96).

The Muscarella House is another example of Middle Hellenistic builders reusing Early Hellenistic walls (see the Erlich-Soren House). Two spaces of the Early Hellenistic House were preserved (fig. 64). Space a, perhaps an outdoor area, was equipped only with a hearth against the east wall. The occupants of the house buried 50 silver drachms in a small grey jug (Coin Hoard IV) 0.40 m below the floor in the northeast corner.[105] Room b was probably the kitchen with the bin and pebbled area in the west corners.

[105] Coin Hoard IV contains no coins dated later than 291-284 BCE (Cox 1966, 27-33).

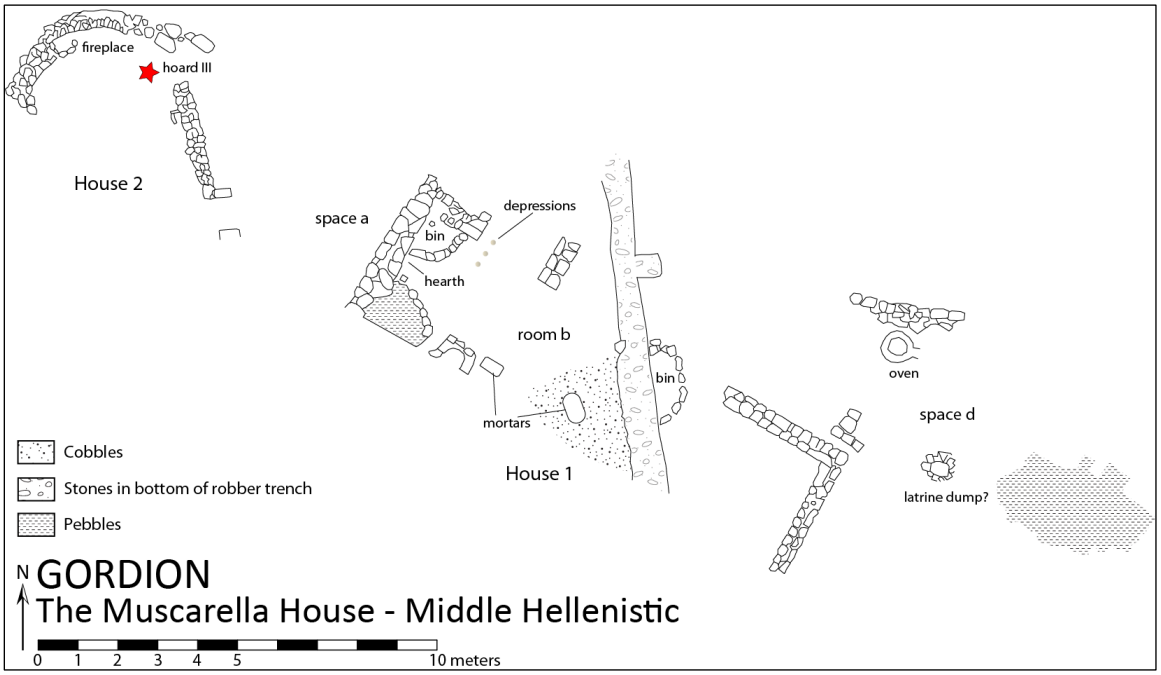


Figure 65. Plan of MH Muscarella House (adapted from original by J.S. Last, "CM. Trenches: TBT 1-4, Levels 2 and 3, KTL, Level 3," Plan 1959-12, Neg. 58-140353 = GB 91-96).

By the late 3rd century, the house had been expanded (fig. 65). In Space a of MH House 1, the floor level is raised 0.65 m. Two features of the earlier room, the bin and the pebbled area, are kept in the same spots against the west wall. Between the pebbled section and the bin was a hearth area marked by burned hard earth. A raised stone and mudbrick platform lay just to the east of the pebbled area and a mortar was found next to it on the floor. A second mortar lay on the section of paving in the east part of the room. Space d was probably an outside work area or courtyard. There was an oven in the northern part next to a screen wall. Just to the south was a circular stone structure which Muscarella called a "latrine." This may be something like the latrine dump outside of Machteld's House. Another section of stone paving lay to the east.

The other Middle Hellenistic addition was the apsidal structure House 2. It consisted of at least one room with a stone apsidal north wall and a doorway in the east

wall. The gap between the east wall and the apsidal wall should be attributed to stone robbers and not to a second entry. Coin Hoard III, with its 42 tetradrachms and closed sometime not long before 220 BCE, was found below the floor of the house.[106]

Finds

Table 22. Muscarella House Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period	Location/Comments
P 2182	Jug		EH Room a; Coin Hoard IV
P 2226	Plain Rim Bowl	EH	Stewart 2010, cat. no. 56, p. 247

Table 23. Muscarella House Inventoried Finds

Gordion inv #	Description	Location/comments
B 1309	Projectile points	EH Room c
BI 367	Incised handle	EH Room c
ST 416	Bead	EH Room c

I bring this section on Early Hellenistic houses to a close with Keith's House. Like the Muscarella House, it has both Early and Middle Hellenistic phases, the latter of which comes to an end with the 189 BCE abandonment.

[106] DeVries 1990, 403; Cox 1966, 27.

Keith's House

Figure 66. Plan and location of Keith's House (based on sketches by DeVries, NB 164: 16, 37, 46, 72 and a plan folded up in the back of the notebook).

Associated Trenches: CC3 B, CC3 D
Notebooks: 161, 164
Excavator: Keith DeVries
Year: 1973
Excavation information: The CC3 trenches were opened to uncover more of the so-called CC Building, or the western Early Phrygian terrace Building. Machteld Mellink first uncovered part of this building in 1952 in the course of digging the CC trial trench, opened to investigate the transitions between the Hellenistic and Phrygian levels and the Phrygian and Hittite levels in the center of the mound.[107] From 1961 to 1963, Crawford Greenewalt expanded northwest and northeast from the original CC trench revealing more of the CC Building and clarifying its position vis-à-vis the eastern Terrace Building.[108] The excavation area was expanded again to the northwest in 1973 by G.

[107] CC = Center Cut (Sometimes this CC also stands for "Clay Cut." There is another "Clay Cut" to the east in the area of the Middle Phrygian enclosure wall.) Mellink's excavation of CC is found in NB 33:60.
[108] Trenches W2-S3 and 4, TBT-CC1 and 2, "CC" annex 1 and 2, "CC" 1 and 2 in NB 91; TBT-CC2 and 3 in NB 111.

Kenneth Sams, Frederick A. Winter and Keith DeVries.[109] Keith's House was the only substantial Hellenistic structure found northwest of the original CC trial trench, in trenches CC3 B and CC3 D. It was excavated entirely by DeVries. Hellenistic architecture was also found northeast of the CC trench (see Greenie's Neighborhood). See Appendix B, Figure 8 for the plan of the trenches over the house.

Documentation: The excavation accounts for Keith's House are found in Notebooks 161 (CC3 B) and 164 (CC3 D). For both trenches, DeVries drew scaled sketch plans in the notebooks of the floor levels with associated architecture, finds and features. These plans, and a larger scaled plan of the entire Middle Hellenistic phase of the house folded up and tucked into the back pocket of the book, are the only plans for these trenches. They serve as the basis for the state plans presented here. There are also nine contact prints showing the progress of the excavation of both phases of the house in both trenches: two documenting Phase 1 and seven documenting Phase 2.

In his notebooks, DeVries recorded the stratigraphy in terms of passes, changes in fill color and composition, and floors. This clear method combined with his detailed plans made it a straightforward exercise to identify the phases of the Hellenistic house and the associated fills.

[109] Trenches CC3 A, C, E in NB 160 (Winter, Sams); CC3 B, D in NB 160, 164 (DeVries); CC3 E, F, G in NB 166 (Sams, DeVries, Winter)

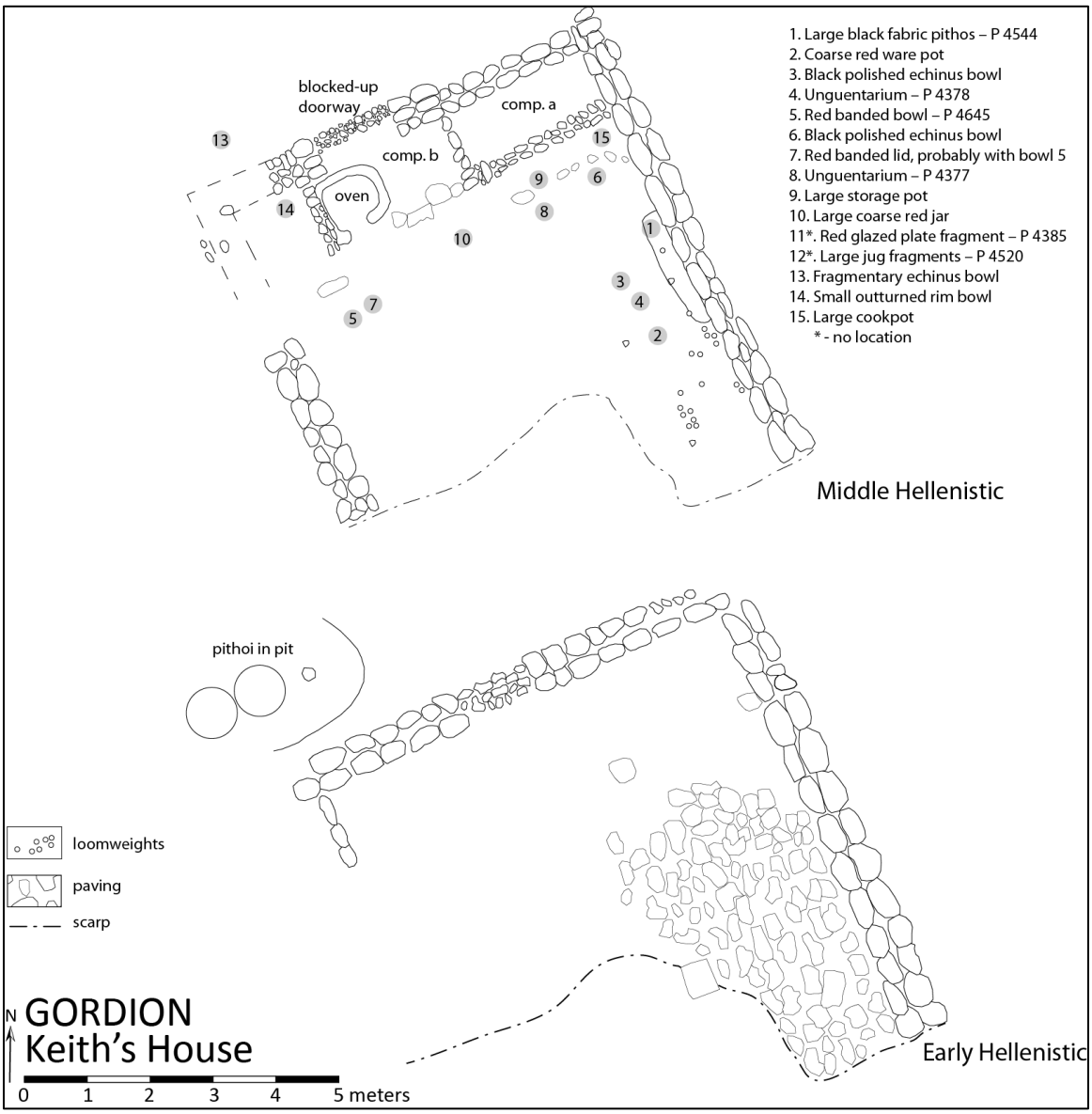


Figure 67. Keith's House, EH and MH Phases (based on sketches by DeVries, NB 164: 16, 37, 46, 72 and a plan folded up in the back of the notebook).

Early Hellenistic

Figure 68. MH Keith's House, blocked-up EH doorway in northwest wall, from south (GO 7513).

This was the original construction phase of the house (fig. 67). As excavated, it consisted of one room (approx. 38 m^2) with a doorway in the northwest wall. This doorway as blocked up in the second phase of the house (fig. 68), but earlier it had a threshold of flat stones at floor level, transitioning to a slightly higher surface outside the house. A dirt floor was preserved only in the northern corner of the room. A section of irregular whitish limestone and reused ashlar paving lay to the east of this dirt floor. It appeared as though this paving had originally extended farther to the southwest but was pulled up for the construction of the MH southwest wall; the fill below the MH floor continued down below the level of the paving here. A pit dug in the floor just east of the northern doorjamb of the northwest wall contained an upright pot (P 4473); no other finds were recovered from this floor. Another much larger pit, 1.10 m deep, outside of the house to the west held at least three pithoi; one was recovered intact with the stone slab

still covering the mouth (P 4513), one could be seen in the baulk and only the bottom portion remained of the third pithos.

DeVries thought that the paving indicated an open air courtyard in this phase. This is possible, but there are other courtyards at Gordion that appear to have had roofs over paved sections: The Street Corner House 5 and Mabel's House are two houses with such roofed paved areas in courtyards. In this case, it is impossible to say if the paved part was roofed since there are portions of the floor missing in which could have been set bases for posts. There are two stones however, sitting between the paving and the northwest wall, which look like they could have supported a roof over the northwestern side of the court.

As noted above, the walls were built of fieldstones and reused worked blocks. It would not have been a problem to find stones for the walls here since the southwestern wall of the Middle Phrygian structure Building U lay directly below the northeast wall and there was extensive robbing of this wall as well as the enclosure wall that ran just west of the house. Winter dated the pottery in this robbing trench and the fills below the EH floor to the 4th century BCE.

Middle Hellenistic

The extant MH remains of Keith's House were those of one large room (36.8 m^2), with walls on the northeast, northwest and southwest. The position of the southeastern wall could not be reconstructed from the excavation records. DeVries thought the entrance to the house at the time of its abandonment was through a gap in the southwest wall, only the southern side of which remained (fig. 69). The EH doorway into the house

had been blocked up. The whole western corner of the house had been robbed out with only a few stones left marking the original positions of the walls. Winter dated an echinus bowl (P 4380) and other pottery found beneath the floor to the 2nd half of the 3rd century BCE[110] so the construction of this phase is dated to that period.

Figure 69. MH Keith's House from the northeast. The arrow indicates the doorway in the southwest wall (GO 7508).

DeVries found 22 unbaked clay loomweights scattered across the northeastern part of the hard packed dirt floor (fig. 67, 70). Of these, 19 were doughnut-shaped and the remaining three were pyramidal. There was a low stone shelf built against the northern wall with two loomweights on it, a large stone leaning upright against the wall and the

[110] NB 161:70; 164:37, 41.

bottom part of a large black fabric pithos (P 4544, fig. 67).[111] There were 14 other broken pots on the floor in addition to the pithos, most in the northeastern and northwestern parts. One bowl was found outside the house to the west (number 13).[112] The fill over the floor contained large amounts of white reed and crumbled mudbrick. DeVries thought that the reeds had been burned but since there were no other signs of burning, i.e. no burned wood or mudbrick, Winter suggested that the reeds may have been decayed.[113] Burned or not, both concluded that the reeds and mudbrick were evidence of the destruction of the house. They later found burned fill and burned wood, as well as pottery which Winter called "Gordion Terminal Hellenistic" in the fill deposited against the northwestern wall of the house.[114]

[111] This shelf is not discernible in the photographs.
[112] Among the pottery found in the fill over the floor was a plate (no inventory number) that DeVries noted as being similar to one found in 1950 in the pantry of Rodney's house – P 4020. See Stewart 2010, 150, fig 98.
[113] NB 161:57
[114] NB 164:17, 25

Figure 70. MH Keith's House from the southwest. Pottery and loomweights on the floor (Photo courtesy Gordion Archives, Roll 739-41; GO 7510; NB ref 161:58-63).

The walls were unplastered with socles of fieldstones and reused ashlars supporting mudbrick upper portions. The socles of the northern walls were reused EH walls. The southwest wall is MH. There were two spaces built against the interior of the northwest wall for which the term "compartment" seems an acceptable description (fig. 71). Compartment a was a rectangular space measuring 2.38 m x .78 m, marked out by two low rubble walls. When excavated, there was a 0.50 m thick deposit of large stones and pottery which Winter dated as "late Gordion Hellenistic" overlying a "dense concentration of reed."[115] DeVries thought that the rubble here was part of the construction fill for the post-abandonment floor. Compartment b was really a small

[115] NB 164:22-23.

protected area for the mudbrick oven, built after the EH doorway had been blocked up. The space was approx. 2.30 m x 1.28 m, and shared a low party wall with compartment a. The southwest limit was a small rubble wall against which the mudbrick oven was built. This oven measured 1.01 m x 0.62 m (inside dims.) with walls 0.10 m to 0.25 m thick. The walls were burned and inside were found fragments of a terracotta "kneading trough" and a cover tile. [116] There was no east wall to the compartment but two flat lying stones on the east side may have served as a threshold into the space or a seat.

It is difficult to say how much of the room was roofed. DeVries found the reeds over most of the floor but he only mentions wood in the area southwest of the oven. He makes no mention of stone bases for posts.

The broken and strewn pottery, the scattered loomweights, the white burned or decayed reeds concentrated directly over the floor and the burned fill to the west of the house all suggest that the house was abandoned in some haste and at least some part of it burned. Stewart's Middle Hellenistic dates and Winter's Terminal Hellenistic dates place this abandonment in the late 3rd/early 2nd century BCE.

[116] NB 164:21. Cover tile – A 307. DeVries' section drawing of this cover tile looks like the cover tiles Voigt recovered from Building 1 in Operation 35 in the Northwest Quadrant (Henrickson and Blackman 1999, 311). I have not personally seen this object.

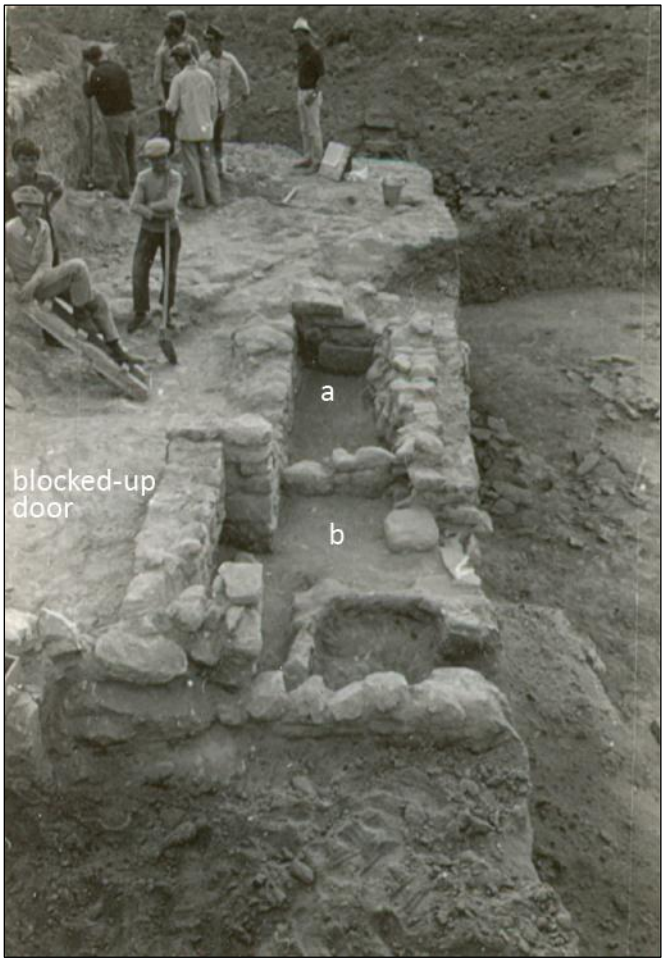


Figure 71. MH Keith's House, northwest side, compartments a, b and oven (GO 7515).

EH finds

Table 24. EH Keith's House Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period	Location/Comments
P 4473	Pithos		Found upright in pit in floor
P 4537	Echinus Bowl		Below floor

Table 25. EH Keith's House Stamped Amphora Handles

Gordion Inv. #	Source	Date	Period	Location/Comments
SS 266	Samos			Ashy fill below floor

Table 26. EH Keith's House Inventoried Finds

Gordion inv #	Description	Location/comments
SS 265	Coarse grey ware handle with triskeles stamp	Below wall 1; Roller 1987b, cat. no. 1B-9

MH finds

Table 27. MH Keith's House Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period	Location/Comments
P 4543	Pithos		
P 4544	Pithos	MH	On floor
P 4520	Jug		On floor
P 4645	Bowl	MH	On floor
P 4380	Bowl	MH	Under floor
P 4497	Lid (to P 4645)	MH	On floor
P 4385	Plate		On floor
P 4377	Unguentarium	MH	On floor
P 4378	Unguentarium	MH	On floor
P 4462	Unguentarium	c. 300[117]	Beneath floor west of house

Table 28. MH Keith's House Coins

Gordion inv #	Harl's #	Ruler/Type	Date	Location
C 1381				On floor
C 1400				Fill beneath floor west of house

Table 29. MH Keith's House Inventoried Finds

Gordion inv #	Description	Location/comments
BI 564	Bridal knob?	Fill over floor
B 1941	Bronze cylinder	Fill below floor
BI 566	Pierced astragal	Fill below floor

[117] This date was given by Fred Winter in the field.

<u>The Middle Hellenistic Houses</u>

Ken's House

Figure 72. Plan and location of Ken's House (based on sketches by Sams, NB 128: 15, 29; 135: 17, 20).[118]

Associated trenches: TB8c, TB8d, TBS1, TBS2
Notebooks: 128, 135
Excavators: G. Kenneth Sams, Terry Small
Year: 1967
Excavation information: Like most of the trenches opened in the mid to late 1960s and especially in this part of the mound, the purpose of the TB8 trenches was to reach and clear the large, megaron-like suites of rooms that made up the Early Phrygian Terrace

[118] My gratitude to Shannan Stewart for her assistance in putting these plans together.

Building. The size and orientation of the trenches was determined by the projected locations of the walls of the eighth section of the Terrace Building, something Young and his excavators could reliably predict with seven identical suites now fully excavated and their dimensions known. The trenches were not large, usually 5.0 x 5.0 m or 5.0 x 7.5 m (Appendix, Fig. 9). New trenches were opened when significant levels had been reached, like the clay fill, or when there was a delay. For example, Sams had his crew open TB8d while he was recording the large pottery deposit on the floor of the house in TB8c.

Documentation: The records for the excavation of Ken's House are in Notebooks 128 and 135. They hold the day-to-day accounts of the excavation and the sketch plans Sams and Small drew. The reconstructions here are based on four sketch plans, three contact prints that were taken of the pottery deposit in TB8c, and a personal photograph of Sams' (fig. 73), also of the TB8c pottery deposit. No formal plans of the house were drawn.

Middle Hellenistic

Ken's House was originally at least a two-room structure, with no clear entrance in the extant architecture (fig. 72). Possible locations for doorways include the northern walls of Room a and the southern corner of Room b. There may have been a doorway between the rooms at the west end of the party wall. Room a, the smaller room at about 13.9 m^2, had a dirt floor with a patch of paving laid against the party wall with Room b. Only the stone foundations of the walls of the room survived, their lines indicated by the few stones remaining at floor level, the better preserved foundations below floor level and the position of the pottery deposit on the floor. The party wall was in intact with even

the mudbrick preserved. Floor levels inside and outside Room a were generally consistent with each other but they are about 0.40 m lower than those in Room b.

The mudbrick upper portions of the party wall and the southeast wall of Room b were preserved atop the stone socles to a max height of 0.53 m above the floor. The interiors of the walls were plastered from the mudbrick down to the floor. The western end of the party wall and its southern return did not survive as well. Only the socles remained here, with the destruction of the upper portions possibly the result of the construction of a later wall built over and perpendicular to northwest wall. The eastern return of this wall at its southern end is hinted at by the line of the floor left when the wall was removed.

There were no features inside Room b, but there was a subterranean coiled-clay oven just south of the room. Small noted that, close to the oven, the southeast wall ended abruptly though there was no indication of another wall end to suggest a doorway. If the southwest wall continued the width of the room, however, it could have ended with another doorjamb. It might also be that more of the house was in the undug fill to the west.

There was no indication of either room having been roofed, i.e. no wood or reeds on the floors and no obvious post holes or post bases. There were also no significant ash layers or deposits nor any other evidence of burning.

Figure 73. Ken's House, pottery deposit on the floor of Room a, view from the north (photo courtesy G. Kenneth Sams).

Sams found a mass of broken vessels covering the floor of Room a (fig. 73). Small also found pottery on the floor of Room a and outside the house but in what concentration is unknown.[119] Nevertheless, the ceramic assemblage coming mainly from Room a constitutes the third most varied of the Middle Hellenistic houses after Rodney's House and the Pottery Establishment.[120] The more notable vessels are the five pithoi, the two imported dishes, the two basins and a beehive. Other vessels included 12 different bowls, plates and dishes, one cup and one pitcher. No cook pots were recorded but Small notes the presence of fragmentary cook ware.[121]

[119] It is unclear exactly how much pottery was recovered from room b. Small did not record the findspots on his plans and he gives no numbers on complete or restored vessels.
[120] Stewart 2010, 162, 188, 190, 192, 224.
[121] NB 135:72

Post-189 BCE

The deep level of post-189 BCE abandonment activity here is usual for this part of the mound. Sams and Small note three floors with one low rubble foundation, one stone-lined channel, one below-floor oven and several pits in the top meter or so down from the surface. Green glazed ceramics would seem to date these levels to the medieval period. There is another meter of fill between the third floor and the floor of the Hellenistic house, suggesting there was no immediate reoccupation of the area following the abandonment of the house.

Finds

Table 30. Ken's House Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period	Location/Comments
P 3531	Pithos	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 183
P 3532	Pithos	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 185
P 3533	Pithos	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 184
P 3537	Pithos	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 187
P 3541	Pithos	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 188
P 3707	Pithos	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 186
P 3520	Basin	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 201
P 3538	Basin	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 200
P 3530	Beehive	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 202
P 3539	Lid	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 225
P 3522	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 261
P 3524	Vertical Rim Bowl	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 286
P 3616	Triangle Rim Bowl	MH	Floor near the oven; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 295
P 3523	Everted Rim Bowl	MH	Floor of room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 301
P 3526	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 317
P 3527	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 336
P 3617	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Floor near the oven; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 335
P 3620	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Floor of Room b; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 316
P 3528	Downcurved Rim Dish	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 349
P 3525	Fishplate	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 351
P 3540	Fishplate	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 352
P 3521	Hemispherical Bowl	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 373
P 3529	Goat Pitcher	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 389

P 3535	Krater	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 398
P 3517	Unguentarium	MH	Floor of Room a
P 3518	Unguentarium	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 405
P 3536	Unguentarium	MH	Floor of Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 402
P 3519			Floor of Room a
P 3534			Floor of Room a

Table 31. Ken's House Coins

Gordion Inv #	Harl's #	Ruler/Type	Date	Location/Comments
C 1207		Eagle/star		Floor of Room a

Table 32. Ken's House Inventoried Finds

Gordion Inv #	Description	Location/Comments
ILS 504	Iron chisel with bone handle	Floor east of Room b
ILS 518	Iron hook	Floor of Room a

Greenie's Neighborhood

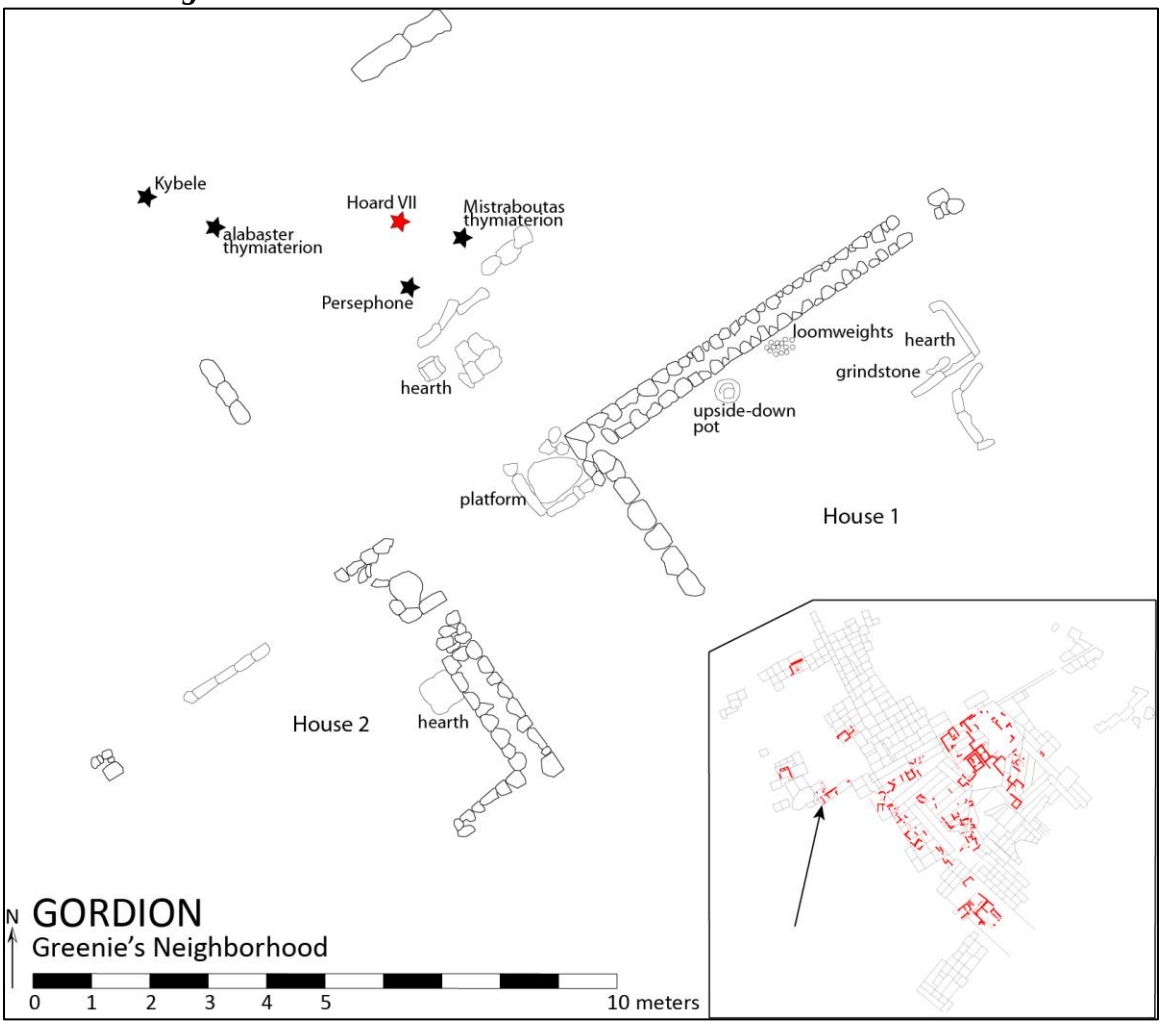


Figure 74. Plan and location of Greenie's Neighborhood (based on sketches by Greenewalt, NB 91: 29, 78, 129; 111: 15, 21)

Associated Trenches: W2S4, TBTCC1, TBTCC2, TBTCC3, Center Cut (later "CC"), CC Annex 1, CC Annex 2, "CC" 1 and "CC" 2 (fig. 1).
Notebooks: 55, 91 and 111
Excavator: Machteld Mellink, Crawford Greenewalt
Years: 1955, 1962-1963
Excavation information: Center Cut was opened in 1955 by Machteld Mellink in order to test the stratigraphy in the middle of the mound. Mellink uncovered some Hellenistic remains above substantial Early and Middle Phrygian buildings. In the following years, excavation continued in the main area east of here with the aim of uncovering all of the

Phrygian Terrace Buildings. In 1962, Crawford Greenewalt opened W2S4 to explore the area west of these buildings and to see if the building Mellink had found was part of a similar complex. This trench was laid out in alignment with the wall of the Early Phrygian buildings. The next season, Greenewalt continued excavating to the southwest with TBTCCI and the two CC Annexes, then northwest with the "CC"s, TBTCC2 and TBTCC3. Smaller cuts were excavated when ramps, stairs and railroad paths were created or removed. See Appendix, Figure 10 for the plan of the trenches over the house. *Documentation*: Notebooks 55, 91 and 111document the excavation of Greenie's Neighborhood. Contact prints were taken of the progress of the excavation and several color photographs were shot of the statuettes. Greenewalt drew meticulous plans of the floors and architecture and I have used those plans to make the new state plan used here. No formal architect's plans of the houses were drawn.

Middle Hellenistic

The area of Greenie's Neighborhood contained the remains of two structures and an adjacent open space. House 1 consisted of the northwest and southwest walls of a single space, at least 19.6 m^2 as preserved. A disturbed portion of floor and a gap in the northwestern wall suggest a robbed-out third wall that closed the room on the northeast side. The walls were built of large stones and rubble and the floor is dirt.

House 1 contained several features. In the northwestern part of the room there was an L-shaped installation, approx. 1.10 x 0.90 m., identified by Greenewalt as a hearth. The northeast side was a thin mudbrick wall abutted at its eastern end by a large upright stone. This served as part of the southeast wall; the rest was mudbrick. Half of a grinding

stone was found leaning against the stone part of the wall. Next to the hearth were four short orthostates forming a small retaining wall. There was a pile of 15 doughnut-shaped loomweights against the northwest wall of the room, close to a large coarseware pot. Other finds include coarseware pottery, fragments of open bowls, a lamp and a kantharos body sherd.

House 2 lay 3.36 m to the southwest. In an earlier phase of the house, access to this room had been through a doorway in the northeast wall. It was later blocked up. It is difficult to tell if the wall continued north of the doorway as a pile of stones was found there covering up a large pithos that had been buried in the floor. The wall may have turned southwest at this point since pieces of wall were found to the southwest that look to line up with the stones at the corner. On the south side of the doorway, the wall continued until it makes a southern return, forming the east corner of the room. There was a stone hearth with ash on the surface built against the northeast wall.

The space between the houses may have been a street running northwest-southeast and leading to a large open area. The only feature in the street, at the west corner of House 1, was a platform installation with a large, flat stone enclosed on two sides by orthostates and open to the northwest. The street led to an open area over 81 m^2 with neither coherent architecture nor defined limits as excavated. Four groups of three or four stones each hint at walls but not enough was present to link these groups together or with the walls of the houses. This space also contained a small hearth.

Four cult-related items came from this open area. The first two were found sitting directly on the floor, both within a few meters of the small hearth. An elaborate columnar

alabaster thymiaterion was found north of the hearth, inscribed with "ΜΙΣΤΡΑΒΟΥΤΑΣ," presumably the name of the dedicator (figs. 75).[122] Nearby, there is a marble statuette of a draped female (fig. 76b). She is headless but the torch she holds suggests she is Persephone, or at least an attendant associated with mystery rites.[123] There was a second alabaster thymiaterion, this one in the shape of square building with sculpted trees on three sides and incised doors on the fourth atop a stepped podium (fig. 77).[124] Finally, Greenewalt found a seated statuette of Kybele in a high-backed throne with her lion seated beside her (fig. 76a).[125]

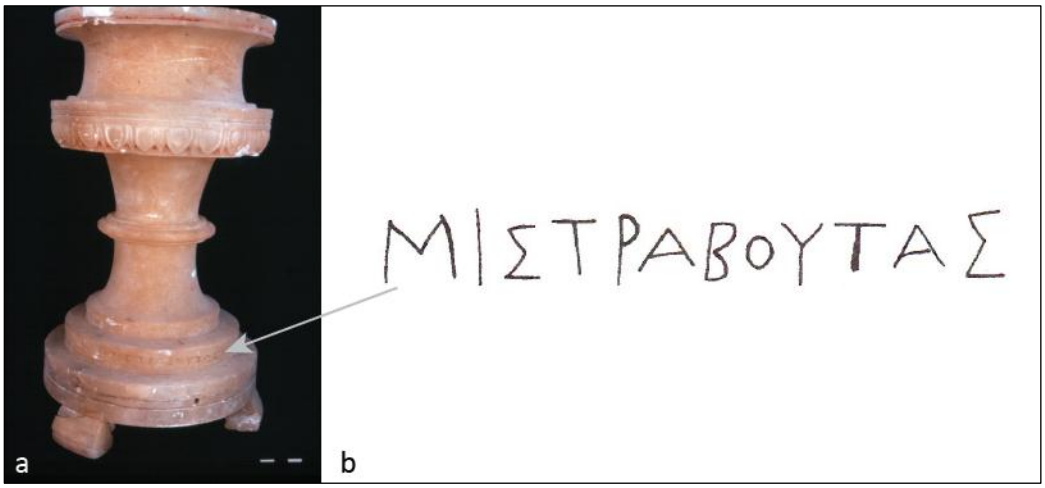


Figure 75. Alabaster thymiaterion ST 491. **a**: G 4950; **b**: Roller 1987a, cat. no. 52.

[122] ST 491. Roller 1987a, cat. no. 52; Young 1964, 280.
[123] S 76.
[124] S 83.
[125] S 81. Young 1964, 280.

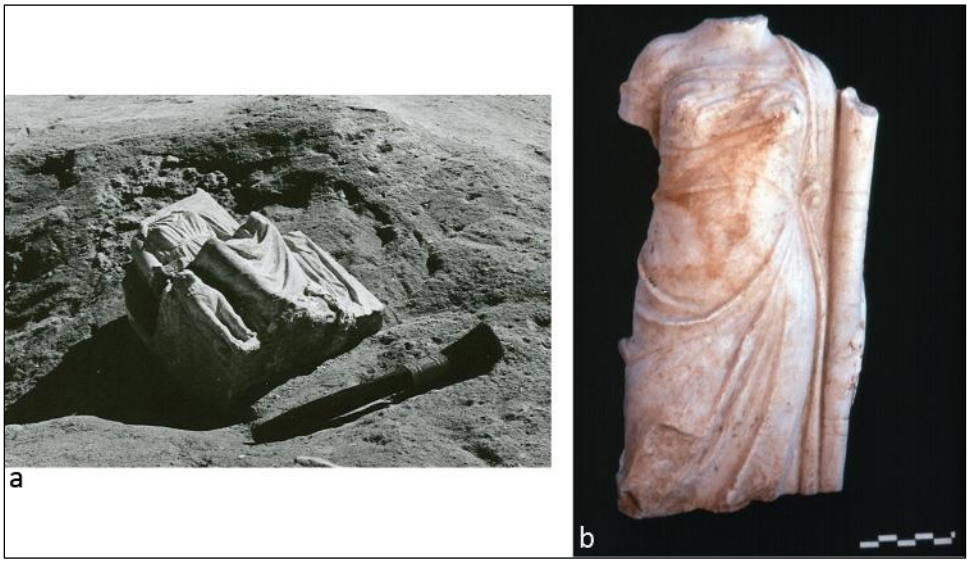


Figure 76. Statuettes from Greenie's Neighborhood. a: Kybele S 81 (G ??); b: Persephone S 76 (G 4589).
Figure 77. Alabaster thymiaterion S 83 from Greenie's Neighborhood (G 4591).

The last important find from this area was a squat red jar buried in a pit dug from a later floor surface but probably contemporary with the houses and other finds. The jar contained five gold coins: a posthumous stater of Philip II, two posthumous staters of Alexander, and two octodrachms of Seleukos III (Gordion Hoard VII).[126] The hoard, likely Galatian booty, was closed 226-223 BCE.

Table 33. Greenie's Neighborhood Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period	Location/Comments
P 2818			Northwest courtyard

Table 34. Greenie's Neighborhood Coins

Gordion Inv #	Harl's #	Ruler/Type	Date	Location/Comments
C 1069			½ 3rd	Northwest courtyard

Table 35. Greenie's Neighborhood Inventoried Finds

Gordion Inv #	Description	Location/Comments

[126] The two octodrachms were previously unknown, although the obverses and the monograms of the minting magistrates were known from tetradrachms. It was later discovered that the hoard had originally contained six coins but a workman removed one, a third Seleukid octodrachm, which ended up on the black market in Istanbul. Cox 1966, 51-55.

S 76	Draped female torso and upper legs, Persephone?	Northwest courtyard
S 81	Enthroned Kybele	Northwest courtyard
S 83	Alabaster thymiaterion	Northwest courtyard
ST 491	Alabaster thymiaterion, inscribed	Northwest courtyard; Roller 1987a, cat. no. 52, **ΜΙΣΤΡΑΒΟΥΤΑΣ**
SS 198	Stopper, incised with rose	House 1

The Pottery Establishment

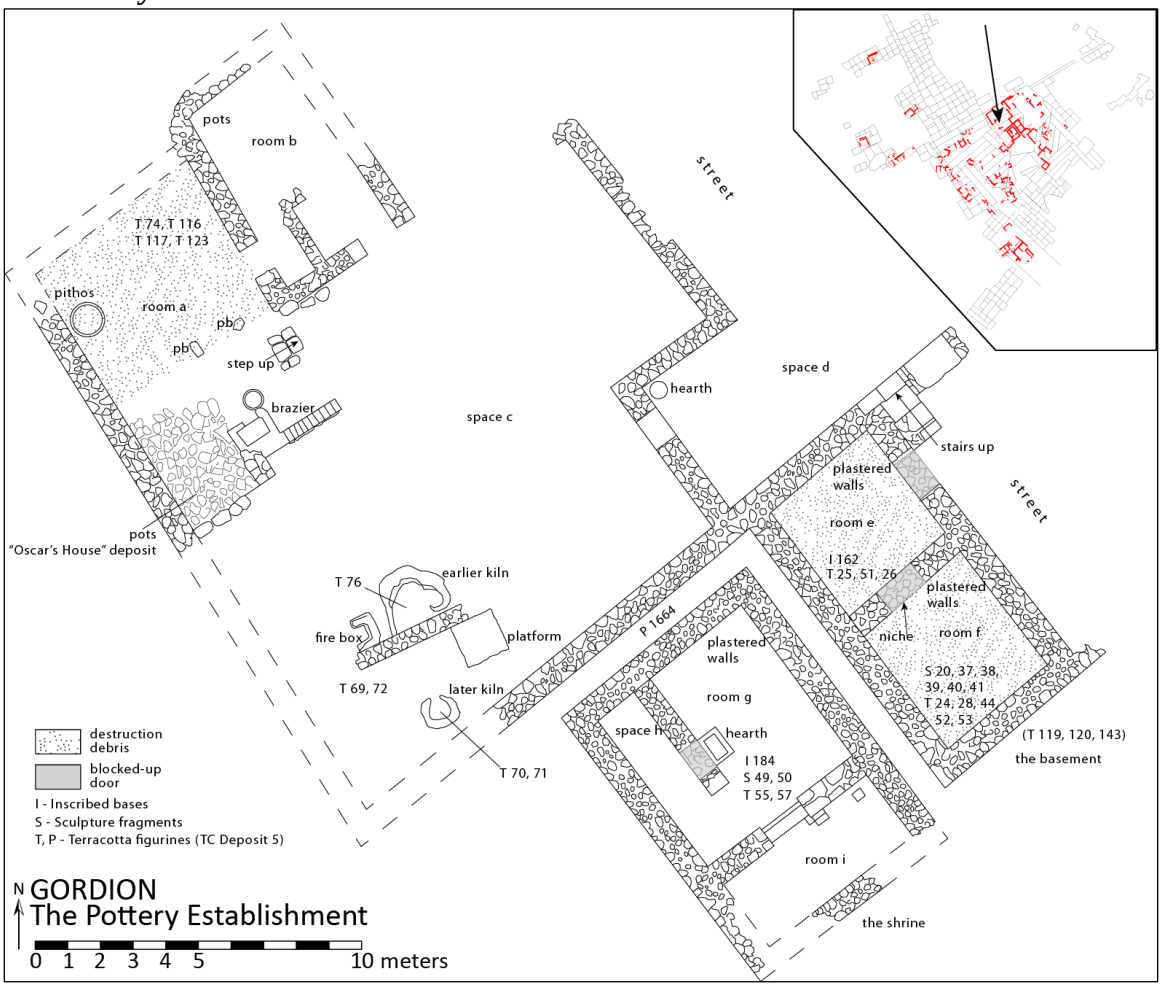


Figure 78. Plan and location of the Pottery Establishment (based on archival plan "Level 1").

Associated Trenches: NCTS, NCTW, NCTW 1, NCTW 2, NCTW 3, NCTW 4, MN 2, MN ext. 2 and 3
Notebooks: 19, 43, 49, 66, 72
Excavators: E.R. Gallagher, Oscar Muscarella, G. Roger Edwards, Rodney Young
Architects: Dorothy Cox, Christofis Polycarpou, J. S. Last
Years: 1951, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1961
Excavation Information: The excavation of the Pottery Establishment took four excavators all or part of six seasons over ten years. It is due to the excellent excavation, recording and drawing by the four excavators and their teams and the three architects that such a complete plan of the complex and detailed inventory of the finds exist. Gallagher was the first to find the southeastern parts of the shrine and the basement in the western

corner of trench NCTS in 1951. Edwards excavated the rest of basement four years later in NCTW. In 1957, Muscarella opened the wedge-shaped trench MN 2 and cleared the rest the shrine and the southern corner of room a. Edwards dug most of rooms a-d in NCTW 1-4 during the 1958 season and Young cleared the northern and southern ends of NCTW 3 and 4 in 1959 and 1961.

Documentation: Notebooks 19, 43, 49, 66 and 72 contain the daily records for the excavation of the Pottery Establishment. The back pocket of Notebook 72 contains a summary Edwards wrote of the 1958 season which includes descriptions of the structures and details of the stratigraphy.[127] Muscarella and Edwards supplemented their records with frequent sketch plans. Pieces of the southern walls of rooms f, g and i show up on untitled drafts of plans that appear to be of NCTS and a plan of Machteld's House, just to the east of the Establishment.[128] There is one plan of the entire complex, labeled "Level 1," drawn either by Cox or Last. This plan does not show the party wall between rooms d and e. Muscarella documented the existence of this wall in 1957 and drew it on his sketch plan.[129]

The Pottery Establishment was one of the best preserved areas of the Hellenistic levels and, as such, is one of the two Hellenistic structures whose plans have been published (the other is Rodney's House). Most recently, Stewart discusses the Establishment in the context of the late 3rd century BCE ceramic assemblages found in

[127] Edwards 1958, 5-7.
[128] "CM Trench NCT. Levels Ib, Ic And Id" Neg. 58-140293-A = GB 91-30)."
[129] NB 66:63.

Rooms a and b.[130] Romano includes the Establishment in her volume on the figurines as the location of Terracotta Deposit 5 and also includes a plan of the area.[131] Roller, in her discussion of the two inscribed bases I 162 and I 184, lists their findspot as either the basement or the shrine.[132] And Edwards gives details about the complex and the kilns in his 1959 season reports.[133] He also included photographs of room a, several finds and a plan of the area based on the comprehensive plan mentioned above.[134] Except for Stewart, all these authors have used the single comprehensive plan. Stewart uses an earlier version of the plan I include here.

The complex of structures known as the Pottery Establishment was actually two separate areas (fig. 78). Four rooms made up the first area: a partially roofed kitchen space (Room a); a storeroom with a second story (Room b); a large courtyard with kilns (Space c); an open room between the street to the east and the doorway into the courtyard (Space d). The second area included two structures immediately to the southeast of the courtyard and entrance room: the Basement and the Shrine. The Basement was a two room building (e and f) and the Shrine is three room building immediately to the west.

Rooms a and b together with Space c, a courtyard, formed a domestic complex with an area of about 336 m^2. One entered the house from the street on the northeast side, either through the door in the party wall between Space d and the courtyard or possibly through an opening in the northern corner of the courtyard; this area was disturbed and

[130] Stewart 2010, 217-218, figs. 129-138 ("The Pottery Establishment"), 224-225, figs. 185-188 ("Oscar's House"). Fred Winter also discusses the Establishment in his dissertation, Winter 1984, 308-309.
[131] Romano 1995, 67-69, 72-73, fig. 7.
[132] Roller 1987a, 111 no. 36, 112-113. The bases were, in fact, found one in each building. See also Winter 1984, 308-309.
[133] Edwards 1959a, Edwards 1959b.
[134] Edwards 1959b, 267-268, pls. 67, 68.

difficult to reconstruct. There also may have been an entrance in the walls of the southern corner of the courtyard, another disturbed area.

The fully preserved entrance was through Space d, a semi-enclosed space open to the east. One entered this space from the street that ran NW-SE along the northeast side of the Establishment. Coming from the south, the approach was marked by a large limestone block serving as a threshold and a step up into Space d. This threshold block spanned the space between the stone stairs outside of Basement Room e on the west and the west wall of Room n of Machteld's House on the east, an EH structure with at least this wall still standing when the basement was built in the MH period. The latest use of Room d may have been as a stable or sheep pen. There was a small pit hearth in the west corner, the floor was partially cobbled and the last people to use the space built a crude rubble barrier over the threshold, described by Edwards as being "set up as one might block the entrance to a sheepfold at night."[135]

Room c was the first space one reaches upon entering this part of the complex. The space was large, about 171 m^2, and marked by five installations in the southern corner (fig. 79-82): two kilns; a mudbrick fire box; a low screen wall; and an earth, stone and plaster platform, all part of a production center for locally made ceramics. The area had two phases. In the first there was only a large ovoid kiln (labeled "earlier kiln" in fig. 79).[136] Edwards found intact the mouth for the fuel and part of the oval plan of the firing chamber (chamber est. dia. 1.30 m, p.h. 0.35 m; mouth dia. 0.70 m). Just inside the entrance to the chamber were several large mudbricks (0.40 x 0.18 x 0.10 m) set on their

[135] Edwards 1958, 6.
[136] In the notebook, Edwards calls this kiln 2 because it was the second one he found. The first kiln he found, which he calls kiln 1, was actually the later kiln.

short sides. They were hard fired from repeated use as dampers. There was little at the bottom of the kiln chamber but the upper part of the fill inside contained a considerable amount of discarded, unfired fragments of clay pieces, rims and bases of open vessels, fragments of walls of closed pots, fragments of a terracotta figurine (T 76), pieces of unguentaria and soft, unformed lumps of green clay. There was also a large, unfired object which Mellink thought might be prepared raw clay shaped into a doughnut so as to easily store it on a stick or string until the potter needed it.[137]

Figure 79. The Pottery Establishment, Space c, earlier kiln and screen wall (GO slide 3205).

[137] Edwards 1959b, 267. In Edwards 1959a, 19, he says it is a loomweight. T 76 came from the earlier kiln but there is no description of it in the notebook.

Figure 80. The Pottery Establishment, Space c, fire box and earlier kiln (GO 5614).

The earlier kiln went out of use at some point and was cut by the screen wall built directly over it (fig. 80). The floor level was raised to cover the kiln and the rectangular feature just to the west is built against the wall. Mudbricks were set down into the floor and covered in a clay plaster and the whole construction was hard fired. This rectangular feature, which Edwards calls a “fire box,” presumably had something to do with the new kiln on the east side of the wall but its exact function is unclear. The platform on the east side of the wall may also be associated with the new kiln; again, its function is unclear.

The later kiln was slightly smaller than the earlier (0.90 x 1.00 m). The fire box set into the ground had a floor with several cobbles set into it for better air circulation (fig. 81). The walls were hard fired mudbrick, 0.20 - 0.30 m thick. Ash and carbon and pieces of unfired unguentaria filled the lower chamber. Above this were two unfired moulds for bust-flower thymiateria, a female bust T 70 and a flower cup T 71 (fig. 83). The floor of the upper chamber was partially preserved 0.30 m above the fire chamber

floor and 0.15 m thick. The dome shaped roof of the kiln rose above the lower chamber (fig. 82). This feature ceased to function as a kiln in its last phase when the whole lower chamber was filled in. The remaining domed part became a simple oven with a stone on the new floor to support pots during cooking.

Figure 81. The Pottery Establishment, Space c, lower chamber of the later kiln (GO 5607).

Figure 82. The Pottery Establishment, Space c, upper chamber of the later kiln, platform and screen wall (GO-5604).

Edwards recovered two terracotta figurine fragments, T 72 and T 69, and several inventoried bowls and unguentaria from immediately below the surrounding floor. T 72 is a fragment of a human neck wearing a Celtic torque (fig. 83a). It is the clearer of two possible examples of Galatian influence on the material culture recovered from the Young excavations; the other is the Nike protome from Roger's house, P 648, which may also display a torque (fig. 109b).

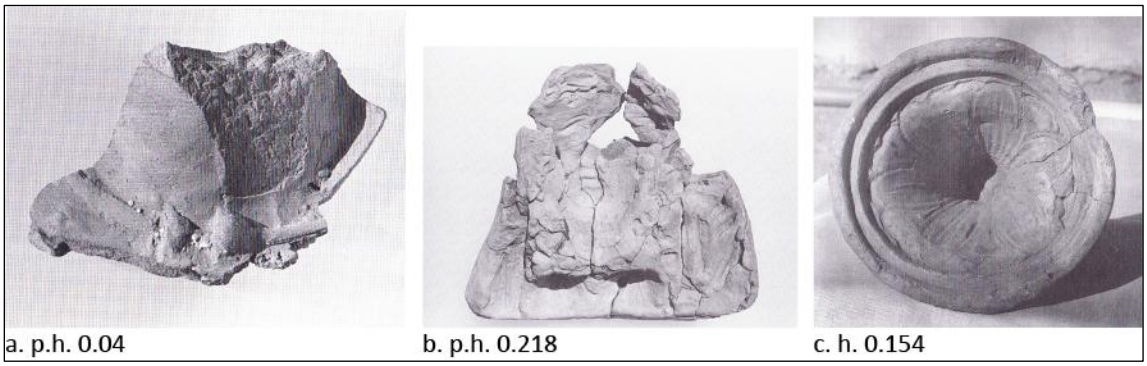


Figure 83. Terracotta Deposit 5, figurines from kiln area of Pottery Establishment Space c (all images from Romano 1995, **a**: neck with torque, T 72, Romano cat. no. 108, pl. 31; **b**: female bust mould, T 70, Romano cat. no. 50, pl. 14; **c**: flower cup mould, T 71, Romano cat. no. 44, pl. 13).

The courtyard was surrounded by walls to the north and southeast and probably to the southwest as well. The two other rooms of this part of the Establishment, a and b, formed the northwestern limit. These rooms were built of mudbrick walls on stone socles and the floors were dirt except for the paved area in room a. Two stone steps led down from the northwestern corner of the courtyard into Room a, a partially roofed, multi-function space of about 48 m^2. (figs. 84, 86). The southern part was the kitchen area and featured a deep mudbrick box built up against the southeastern wall (0.80 x 0.55 m, 0.70 m deep), black from fire and filled with burned material. A small pithos, also filled with ashes, was set into the floor at the end of the northeastern wall of the box. The southern

corner of the room was paved and possibly functioned as a washing area. It was here that Muscarella found a deposit of 11 bowls and dishes dating to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE.[138]

Figure 84. The Pottery Establishment Room a kitchen area. Steps to courtyard at left, brazier/firepit/pithos in center, paving at right, post bases at bottom (GO slide 3211).

The northwestern half of the room functioned as a storage space with some possible domestic cult activity. A pithos (dia. 0.75, depth 0.80 m) was sunk in the floor up to its rim in the western corner. The floor was covered with a considerable number of broken pots including an EH cookpot and an EH krater.[139] The fill over the floor also yielded four rim fragments of flower thymiateria (fig. 85).[140] Two stone post-bases near the middle of the room supported a roof, the burned remains of which were found over

[138] The Gordion inventory numbers for these pots are P 1901-1911. Stewart included nine in her abandonment deposit "Oscar's House" (Stewart 2010, 224-225). Stewart's "Oscar's House" and the Pottery Establishment are the same complex.
[139] Cookpot: P 2059. Krater: P 2060.
[140] T 74, 116, 117, 123

the floor. An interesting stratigraphic feature of this room is that it cut into the sloping surface which rose from the southeast to the northwest. The floor of the room was therefore lower than the contemporary exterior surface, as much as one meter lower against the northwest wall. This wall was completely robbed out but its line was preserved in the robber trench that was left (fig. 86).

Figure 85. Rim fragment (T 117) of a flower thymiaterion from Pottery Establishment, Room a (Romano 1995, pl. 13, fig. 47).

Figure 86. The Pottery Establishment, Room a, northwest wall robber trench (courtesy Gordion Archives, GO 5629).

A door in the northeast wall of Room a led into Room b (fig. 87). More specifically, it led into a small corridor sectioned off from the rest of the room by a thin

spur wall running parallel to the room's long axis. This spur wall could have supported stairs that started on the east side and continued up, creating an out of the way storage space in the corridor underneath. Edwards does not mention anything in the fill over the floor, e.g. rubble, mudbrick, wood, that would indicate that there had been a second story. It is likely, then, that if there were stairs here, they led up to the roof over Room a. A second door in the southeast wall gives access to the room and the stairs from the courtyard. In the western corner of the room, Edwards found eight plates, dishes and bowls on the floor, six of which make up Stewart's "Pottery Establishment" assemblage.[141]

Figure 87. The Pottery Establishment, Room b spurwall and doorway between Rooms a and b (GO 5625).

The second area of the Establishment was southeast of the courtyard, the area of the Basement (Rooms e and f) and the Shrine (Rooms g and i, Space h). One entered the

[141] Stewart 2010, 217-218.

Shrine from the southeast and the Basement in its first phase from the northeast. Both entrances are away from the area of domestic operations and ceramic production. The connection between the two areas is debatable. On the one hand, the Basement shared a party wall with Space d, a wall which continued west to become the southeast wall of the courtyard. On the other hand, the significance of the wall is that the two structures were built at the same time; it does not necessarily imply that they had any functional relation. The case is even less clear with the Shrine. It did not physically connect with any other structure, though its 0.86 m distance from the basement and 1.00 m distance from the courtyard wall is odd (fig. 78).

Figure 88. The Pottery Establishment, Basement Room f at right, Shrine Room g at left and alley between the two buildings (GO-5633).

One originally entered the basement through a door leading from the street into Room e and a second door led from Room e in to Room f. Phase two of this building saw both doors blocked up with the new entrance into the rooms now from above; hence, the

label "basement."[142] A niche was built into the blocking of the party wall on the Room f side (p.h. 0.60, w. 1.17, d. 0.28 m). The limestone blocks outside the northeast corner which were either stairs or the support for a staircase leading to a second story may also have been installed during this later phase. The walls of this building were preserved to a maximum height of 1.50 m above the dirt floor. This included mudbrick in situ on some parts of the upper walls (fig. 88). The interior faces were plastered, including the niche (fig. 89). The building was always above ground.

Figure 89. The Pottery Establishment, Basement Room f, north wall with niche (GO slide 3200).

The excavators recovered a significant number and variety of finds from the basement: four Rhodian amphora handles, gold foil, a gold rosette, a bronze boss, fragments of a glass bowl, an alabaster alabastron, pieces of painted plaster, fragments of

[142] There is no evidence that this structure was ever subterranean. I use the term "basement" only in the sense that this was the bottom floor of a structure and the only access to the rooms there was from above.

stone sculpture, statue bases and figurines. The pieces of plastered wall mouldings were painted white with a red egg-and-dart or faux veined marble pattern (figs. 90, 91).[143]

Figure 90. Tray of painted plaster from Gordion Museum depot (photo by author).

[143] Today, the pieces of painted plaster in Figures 90 and 91 are located in a tray marked "C1.1 Painted Plaster" in the Gordion Museum depot. I first saw and photographed them in 2004, thinking I might be able to use them one day, though there was no documentation in the tray or on the pieces themselves about where they came from. Seven years later I found the only clue I have come across that some of these pieces, especially the white and red moulding fragments, came from the basement rooms of the Pottery Establishment. I found an entry Young made in his notebook during the 1955 season that sounded very familiar. He was cleaning up the area of NCTS near the NCTW scarp, a scarp left from Gallagher's excavation of the southwestern corner of the Basement Room f four years earlier. Young can see the walls and the floor of Room f in the scarp. At the foot of the scarp below the floor of the room he finds "a number of fragments of painted stucco – one with a degenerate egg & dart pattern, and the other painted (apparently) to imitate veined marble" (NB 49:17-18). His descriptions do seem to match some of the pieces in the tray.

Figure 91. Detail of painted moulding from Gordion Museum depot (photo by author).

There were three fragments of stone sculpture drapery (fig. 92), a male leg wearing a sandal, the upper part of a crowned female head, a shield and one statuette base.[144]

Figure 92. Sculpture drapery fragment from the Pottery Establishment Basement, Room f. Either S 37, S 38, or S 39 (photo by author).

Room f also contained another sculpture base (fig. 93). This one was limestone, with a wide plinth at the bottom and a cutting for an inserted object on the top surface. It was inscribed with the name ΕΧΕΒΙΟΣ, either the name of the dedicant (an undocumented Greek name but linguistically possible) or the name of the deity the statue

[144] Drapery (S 37-39), leg and sandal (S 40), head (S 20), shield (S 42), base (S 41).

depicted or to whom it was dedicated.[145] There were also figurines of an enthroned Kybele, possibly another Kybele, and two standing females (fig. 94, d-g).

Figure 93. Inscribed statue base I 162 from the Pottery Establishment, Basement Room f (photo by author).

Room e contained an Artemis bust-flower thymiaterion and one or two standing females; the head and lower drapery may go together (fig. 94, a-c). Gallagher recorded the collection of numerous fragments of another figurine, T 24, in the area of the basement. He describes it:

> "… the pedestal and lower skirt of a large statuette painted in pink and white on grey ware base, presumably a standing female figure, the lower skirt of which bears a decoration of pink spiral patterns, the pedestal itself, the greater part of which was recurved, bearing on its 2 forward curves the plastic representation of 2 seated female figures, perhaps

[145] I 162. Roller 1987a, 112, no. 7. Roller offers the meaning, "One who holds life" for the word if we are to interpret it as the name of a deity, noting its "closeness in spirit" to the Phrygian deities Arete and Dikaios, both personifications of moral qualities. Such a god is unattested elsewhere.

> tyche, and between them a low modeled frieze of right facing animals."[146]

The white groundcoat over grey fabric and pink painted decorative patterns are common among the female figurines found at Gordion. The elaborate base with its animal frieze has no inventoried parallels that I know of at the site.

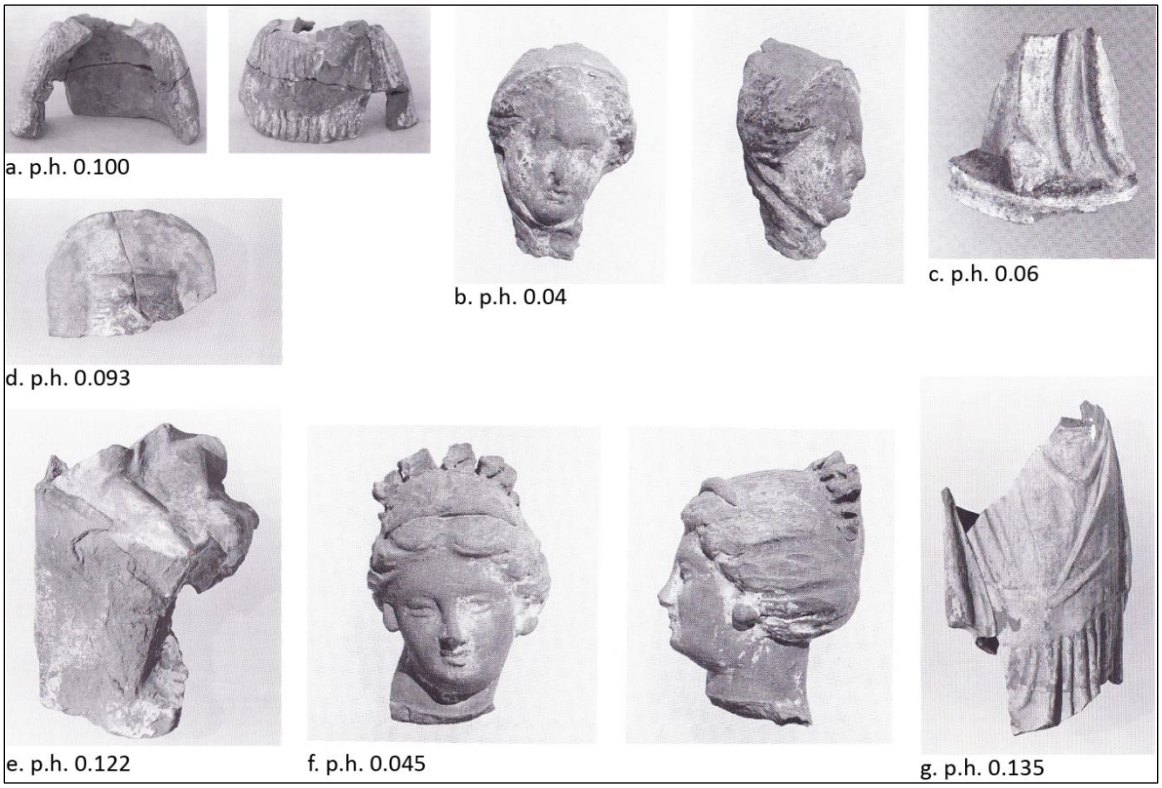


Figure 94. Terracotta Deposit 5, figurines from the Pottery Establishment Basement. **a-c** from room e, **d-g** from room f (all images from Romano 1995, **a**: Artemis bust-flower thymiaterion, T 25, Romano cat. no. 42, pl. 15; **b**: female head, T 51, Romano cat. no. 92, pl. 27; **c**: standing female, T 26, Romano cat. no. 74, pl. 23; **d**: Kybele (?) head, T 28, Romano cat. no. 63, pl. 19; **e**: enthroned Kybele, T 53, Romano cat. no. 61a, pl. 19; **f**: female head, T 44, Romano cat. no. 91, pl. 27; **g**: standing female, T 52, Romano cat. no. 70, pl. 22).

I have decided to call the building to the west of the Basement the Shrine because of its megaron-like plan, the cultic nature of the finds inside and lack of pottery, domestic

[146] NB 19:94.

or otherwise.[147] There was a hearth but no evidence that it was used for cooking. The walls were stone-built and plastered for at least 1.50 m above the floor at which height they level off all the way around the building. This was presumably the level where the mudbrick superstructure started. The stones used to build the walls were a mixture of rubble and larger cut blocks. Edwards noted that several of the larger blocks appeared to have come from the Middle Phrygian (Persian) Enclosure Wall, a structure that must have been at least partially standing in the MH period.[148] He also noted that the floors of the Establishment structures were at the same level as the floor of the passage through the Enclosure Wall gate, just to the southeast of the entrance to the Shrine (fig. 95).[149]

Figure 95. The Pottery Establishment, Shrine at left and Basement at right. Middle Phrygian enclosure gate wall at bottom left (GO slide 3223).

[147] Romano calls both these structures "shrines," and identifies the niche in the Basement Room F as a possible cult spot (99).
[148] NB 72: 67. "Persian" was the original label for this enclosure wall, as it was for the entire Middle Phrygian citadel.
[149] Edwards 1958, 5.

The plan of the Shrine was simple – an antechamber i (12.95 m^2) and the main room g (31.32 m^2). One entered the antechamber from the southeast but the form of this entrance is unclear since only the foundations remain. The space featured a column base in the northern corner and a large threshold block (1.33 x 0.55 m) in the middle of the northern wall marked the entrance into the main Room g (fig. 96).

Figure 96. The Pottery Establishment, Shrine Room i (GO 1920).

The southwestern half of Room g was separated from the rest by a four meter long spurwall which abutted the back wall of the room. Originally, there was a door in the spurwall toward its southern end. This door was later blocked up and a rectangular hearth (0.85 x 0.85 x 0.40 m) built in front of it.

The objects recovered from the Shrine are of the same character as those recovered from the Basement: gold foil, a bronze astragalus, an inscribed statue base, two stone sculpture fragments and three terracotta figurines. The inscribed base is nearly identical to the one found in the basement – limestone with a projecting plinth at the bottom (figs. 97, 98). It is inscribed, EX[---, presumably the same EXEBIOΣ as on the basement example.

Figure 97. Inscribed face of statue base I 184 from the Pottery Establishment Shrine (photo by author).

Figure 98. Inscribed statue base I 184 from the Pottery Establishment Shrine (photo by author).

The stone sculpture fragments were of a “baby’s arm” (fig. 99) and the torso of a draped female figure.

Figure 99. Sculpture fragment S 49 of a “baby’s arm” from the Pottery Establishment Shrine (photo by author).

The figurines found in the Shrine are like those found in the basement, goddesses and standing females. T 55 depicts a female grasping her chiton below her himation with her right hand and with her left arm bent (fig. 109a). It is one of the earliest examples of this type.[150] P 1664, found just behind the shrine, is one of only two female figures used as vessels found at Hellenistic Gordion (the other is the Nike protome from Roger’s House). The vessel from the shrine is of a standing female, probably Tyche, holding what appears to be a cornucopia horizontally in front at waist level (fig. 109b). She wears a chiton and her himation has slipped down, visible only over her left arm. The cornucopia is hollow and there is an opening in the back of her right shoulder. These features suggest that the figurine was made to hold some liquid which could be poured out of the

[150] Romano 1995, 33.

cornucopia.[151] A third figurine, the hind legs of a quadruped, was found inside the Shrine (T 57, fig. 109c).

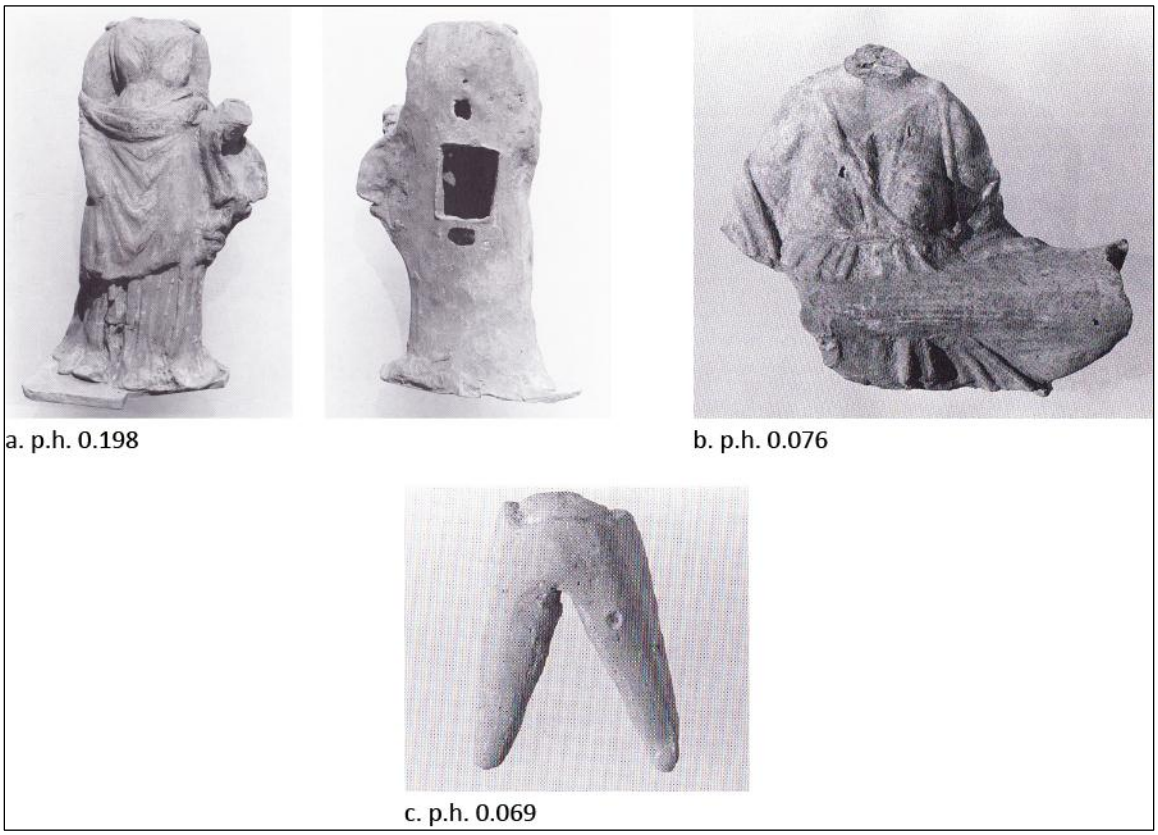


Figure 100. Terracotta Deposit 5, figurines from Shrine (all images from Romano 1995, **a**: Standing female T 55, Romano cat. no. 69, pl. 22; **b**: Tyche vessel P 1664, Romano cat. no. 34, pl. 10; **c**: Quadruped T 57, Romano cat. no. 146, pl. 35).

Destruction

Occupation and use of the Pottery Establishment ended when it was destroyed by fire. The burning was most extensive in Room a (the kitchen) and the Basement, the areas with the most flammable material (the wood in shelves and the ceilings/roofs), though Edwards observed several patches of burned earth on the courtyard floor and the statue

[151] Romano 1995, 16-17.

base from the shrine appears to have been exposed to some fire. In the kitchen, a layer of burned wood lay directly over the floor. Above the wood was a 0.40 m thick layer of burned and disintegrated mudbrick. Above the mudbrick was a layer of soft brown earth with few sherds and other inclusions. The destruction of the room occurred probably as follows: The wood framing of the roof and the roofing material caught fire and collapsed on the floor. (Edwards does not say what the roofing material was and he does not mention any burned reeds.) The mudbrick upper portions of the walls came down next. Without the roof exerting its outward force on the walls, it would not have taken long for them to fall in. This collapse would have been quicker with the fire still burning and melting the mudbricks. The area was then unoccupied and left to fill in with the soft brown earth resulting from the natural processes of wind and erosion.

Figure 101. The Pottery Establishment, burned beams and destruction debris on the floor of Basement Room f (GO 4439).

Figure 102. The Pottery Establishment, burned beams and destruction debris on the floor of Basement Room f (GO 4441).

The destruction of the Basement followed along the same course. Several burned beams, 0.50 - 0.80 m long and 0.06 - 0.13 m thick, lay on the floor amidst a fill of ash and cinders (figs. 101 and 102). These beams were possibly part of the floor of the second story. They were covered by 0.40 - 0.45 m thick layer of burned and disintegrated mudbrick (fig. 103). Some bricks that had not burned completely still had mud plaster attached which bore reed impressions, most likely from the roof or ceiling. Several of the figurines recovered from the basement bore signs of burning as did the plaster along the north wall of Room f.

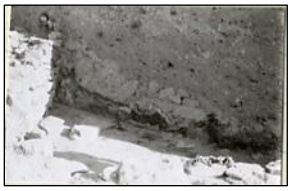


Figure 103. The Pottery Establishment, Basement Room f. Scarp showing the stratigraphy of the destruction debris: burned wood and ash on the bottom; mudbrick above, sloping down from the stone lower portions of the walls; naturally accumulated fill on the top (GO 1919).

The dates for the construction and destruction of the Pottery Establishment are based on the stratigraphy and pottery below the floors and the extensive destruction deposits found in the kitchen and the basement rooms. Edwards concluded that the latest datable pottery from the fills below the floors was 3rd quarter of the 3rd century BCE.[152] Stewart confirms this with a MH cook pot found in a pit beneath the floor of the basement.[153] The destruction of the Establishment happened either in 189 BCE or just a few years prior to it. Edwards and Stewart both date the final destruction to around 200 BCE, inferring later use of the area as a quarry and dump because of the robbing of some of the walls and the accumulation of trashy debris and discarded objects like a broken limestone tub, a large fragment of a mortar, and fragments of a pitcher and a jug.[154] Stewart dates the pottery from Room b to around 200 BCE and the pottery from Room a (her "Oscar's House" deposit; again, Rooms a and b are part of the same building) to 189 BCE and the final abandonment of the site. Granted, the dates are so close together that it does not really matter. But, based on Stewart's date for the pottery in Room a, the nature of the disposition of the figurines and sculpture, and the similarities between the destruction debris here and other destroyed houses of the abandonment, I would favor a 189 BCE date. The discarded objects could have come from stone robbers or squatters who returned to the site after the abandonment.

[152] NB 72: 70; Edwards 1958, 5.
[153] P 2098. Stewart 2010, cat. no. 211.
[154] Edwards 1958, 7.

Finds

Table 36. Pottery Establishment Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period	Comments/Location
L 95	Moulded lamp	Broneer type X	Room c
P 1375	Pithos		Basement Room e
P 1376	Pithos		Basement Room e
P 2059	Cooking pot	EH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 12
P 1889	Pitcher	EH	Space c surface fill; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 166
P 2060	Krater	EH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 169
P 2098	Cooking pot	MH	Pit under basement
P 1888	Cup with Recurved Handle	MH, c. 200 BCE	Space d, below floor; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 376
P 1903	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH, 189 BCE	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 271
P 1909	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH, 189 BCE	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 280
P 1917	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH, c. 200 BCE	Space c, below floor; Stewart 2010 cat. no. 275
P 2104	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH, c. 200 BCE	Room b; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 240
P 2105	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH, c. 200 BCE	Room b; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 229
P 2107	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH, c. 200 BCE	Room b; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 273
P 1901	Vertical Rim Bowl	MH, 189 BCE	Room a; Stewart 2010 cat. no. 282
P 1902	Vertical Rim Bowl	MH, 189 BCE	Room a; Stewart 2010 cat. no. 283
P 1904	Projecting Rim Bowl	MH, 189 BCE	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 293
P 1910	Projecting Rim Bowl	MH, 189 BCE	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 291
P 2106	Projecting Rim Bowl	MH, c. 200 BCE	Room b; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 290
P 1906	Ledge Rim Dish	MH, 189 BCE	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 305
P 1907	Ledge Rim Dish	MH, 189 BCE	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 325
P 1908	Ledge Rim Dish	MH, 189 BCE	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 330
P 2108	Ledge Rim Dish	MH, c. 200 BCE	Room b; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 324
P 2109	Ledge Rim Dish	MH, c. 200 BCE	Room b; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 309
P 4962	Downcurved Rim Dish	MH, c. 200 BCE	Basement room e; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 348
P 4963	Downcurved Rim Dish	MH, c. 200 BCE	Basement room e; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 347
P 2086	Pitcher	MH, c. 200 BCE	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 393
P 1916	Unguentarium	MH	Space c, kiln 1

P 2090	Unguentarium		Pit under basement
P 442	Table		Shrine, below foundations of southeast wall
P 1899	Table		Space c, below floor
P 1918	Table		Space c, below floor
P 2110	Table		Room b
P 2471	Table		Room b, below spurwall
P 1897	Table or personal		Space c, below floor
P 1919	Table or personal		Space c, below floor
P 1905			Room a
P 1911			Room a
P 2038			Room a
P 2058			Room a
P 2079			Room b
P 2081			North wall
P 2091			Pit under basement
P 2138			Room b

Table 37. Pottery Establishment Coins

Gordion inv #	Harl's #	Ruler/Type	Date	Location
C 631		Antiochus II	261-246 BCE	Basement

Table 38. Pottery Establishment Stamped Amphora Handles

Gordion Inv. #	Source	Date	Period	Location/Comments
SS 163	Thasos	325-310 BCE	EH	Room c; Lawall 2003, 14
SS 164	Thasos	½ 3rd cent. BCE	EH	Room c; Lawall 2003, 16
SS 173	Thasos		EH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 14
SS 183	Thasos	335-325 BCE	EH	Room b; Lawall 2003, 14
SS 59	Rhodes			Surface fill; broken and burned
SS 126	Rhodes	Grace pd II/III	MH	Fallen from scarp of basement room f; Lawall 2003, 18
SS 144	Rhodes	Grace pd II	MH	Basement room e; Lawall 2003, 19
SS 145	Rhodes	Grace pd IIc, 207 BCE	MH	Basement room f; Lawall 2003, 19
SS 147	Rhodes	Grace pd II-III	MH	Basement room f; Lawall 2003, 19
SS 165	Rhodes	Grace pd IIc, 207 BCE	MH	Room c; Lawall 2003, 19

Table 39. Pottery Establishment Inventoried Finds

Gordion inv #	Description	Location/comments
A 318	Painted plaster, no details	Basement room e
B 671	Boss	Basement room e
B 754	Astragalus	Basement
B 755	No description	
BI 312	Pierced disc	Space c, surface fill
G 201	Bowl fragment	Basement room f
G 231	Blown glass fragments	Space c, surface fill
G 235	Blown glass fragments	Space c, surface fill
G 236	Moulded glass bowl fragment	Space c, surface fill
G 238	Sand core glass fragment	Space c, surface fill

I 162	Inscribed limestone statue base	Basement room f; Roller 1987b, cat. no. 7 **ΕΧΕΒΙΟΣ**
I 184	Inscribed limestone statue base	Shrine room g; Roller 1987b, cat. no. 8 **ΕΧ[- - -**
ILS 226	Iron chisel or scraper	Basement room e
J 101	Gold rosette	Basement room e
J 102	Gold foil	Basement room f
J 107	Gold foil	Shrine room i
J 108		Shrine
J 118	Gold pendant	Room a
MC 67	Black biconical whorl	Shrine, below foundations of southeast wall
MC 152	Cube or die	Space c, surface fill
S 20	Limestone female head	Basement Room f
S 22	Limestone sculpture fragment	Surface fill
S 37	Limestone drapery fragment	Basement Room f
S 38	Limestone drapery fragment	Basement Room f
S 39	Limestone drapery fragment	Basement Room f
S 40	Limestone male leg and sandal	Basement Room f
S 41	Limestone sculpture base	Basement Room f
S 42	Limestone shield	Basement Room f
S 49	Limestone arm fragment	Shrine Room g
S 50	Limestone female torso	Shrine Room g
ST 245	Alabaster alabastron	Basement Room e
ST 348	Alabaster plate fragment	Space c, below floor
ST 349	Alabaster pot base	Room d, below floor
ST 396	Limestone mortar	Room a
ST 711	Alabaster lathe butt	Space c, below floor
T 24	Standing female	Basement Room f; numerous fragments
T 25	Artemis bust-flower thymiaterion	Basement Room e; fig. 94 A; Romano cat. no. 42
T 26	Standing female	Basement Room e; fig. 94 C; Romano cat. no. 74
T 28	Kybele (?) head	Basement Room e; fig. 94 D; Romano cat. no. 63
T 44	Female head	Basement Room f; fig. 94 F; Romano cat. no. 91
T 51	Female head	Basement Room f; fig. 94 B; Romano cat. no. 92
T 52	Standing female	Basement Room f; fig. 94 G; Romano cat. no. 70
T 53	Enthroned Kybele	Basement Room f; fig. 94 E; Romano cat. no. 61
T 55	Standing female	Shrine room g; fig. 100 A; Romano cat. no. 69
T 57	Quadruped rear legs	Shrine room g; fig. 100 C; Romano cat. no. 146
T 69	Unfinished fragment	Space c kiln area, under floor; Romano cat. no. 170
T 70	Female bust mould	Space c kiln area, in earlier kiln; fig. 83 B; Romano cat. no. 50
T 71	Flower cup thymiaterion mould	Space c kiln area, in earlier kiln; fig. 83 C; Romano cat. no. 44
T 72	Neck with torque	Space c kiln area, on floor; fig. 83 A; Romano cat. no. 108
T 74	Bust-flower thymiaterion	Room a; Romano cat. no. 45
T 76		Space c kiln area, in later kiln
T 116	Bust-flower thymiaterion	Room a; Romano cat. no. 46
T 117	Bust-flower thymiaterion	Room a; fig. 85; Romano cat. no. 47
T 123	Bust-flower thymiaterion	Room a; Romano cat. no. 48
P 1664*	Tyche vessel	NW of shrine; fig. 100 B; Romano cat. no. 34

Roger's House

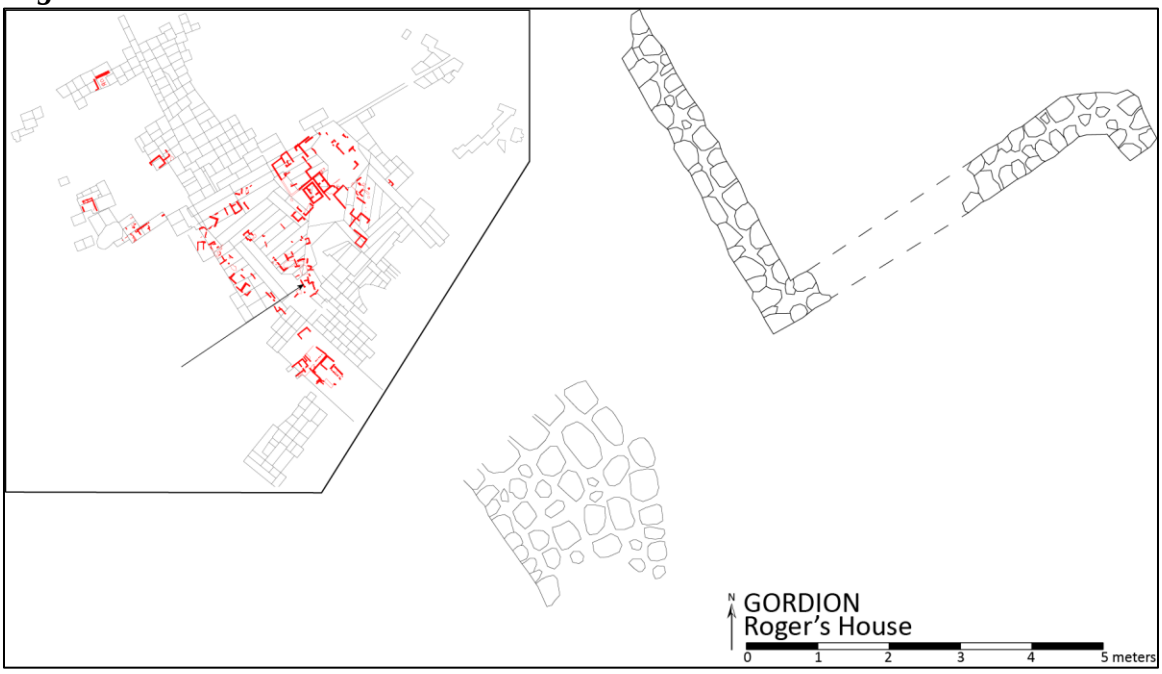


Figure 104. Plan and location of Roger's House.

Associated Trenches: SET-NW "Roger" and Roger Extension
Notebook: 21
Excavator: Charles Fleischman
Architect: Dorothy Cox
Year: 1951
Excavation information: SET-NW "Roger" was one of several cuts opened in 1951 in the areas north, west and northwest of Southeast Trench (SET), dug the previous year. Young found the Middle Phrygian Building A in SET, a structure which indicated the potential for more monumental architecture in the immediate area. Mellink found Middle Phrygian structure, the NCT Building, in 1950 in North Central Trench (NCT). Young's idea was to connect the two areas.

The SET-NW trenches were neither systematically opened nor named. Edwards started with SET- NW 1a and 1b, but when he had exposed part of Middle Phrygian Building B and was starting SET-NW 1d, Fleischman took over. He opened the trenches

SET-NW "Roger" and Roger Extension as continuations and expansions of Edwards' work. He found the structure designated as Roger's House while digging these trenches.

Documentation: The excavation of Roger's House is documented in Notebook 21. Fleischman drew one sketch plan with the two house walls, some of the find spots inside the room and part of the courtyard outside the room.[155] Dorothy Cox also drew the walls on her final architect's plan of the area.[156] My state plan and reconstructions are based on these plans as well as Fleischman's descriptions of the room in the notebook. I have not found any photographs of this house.

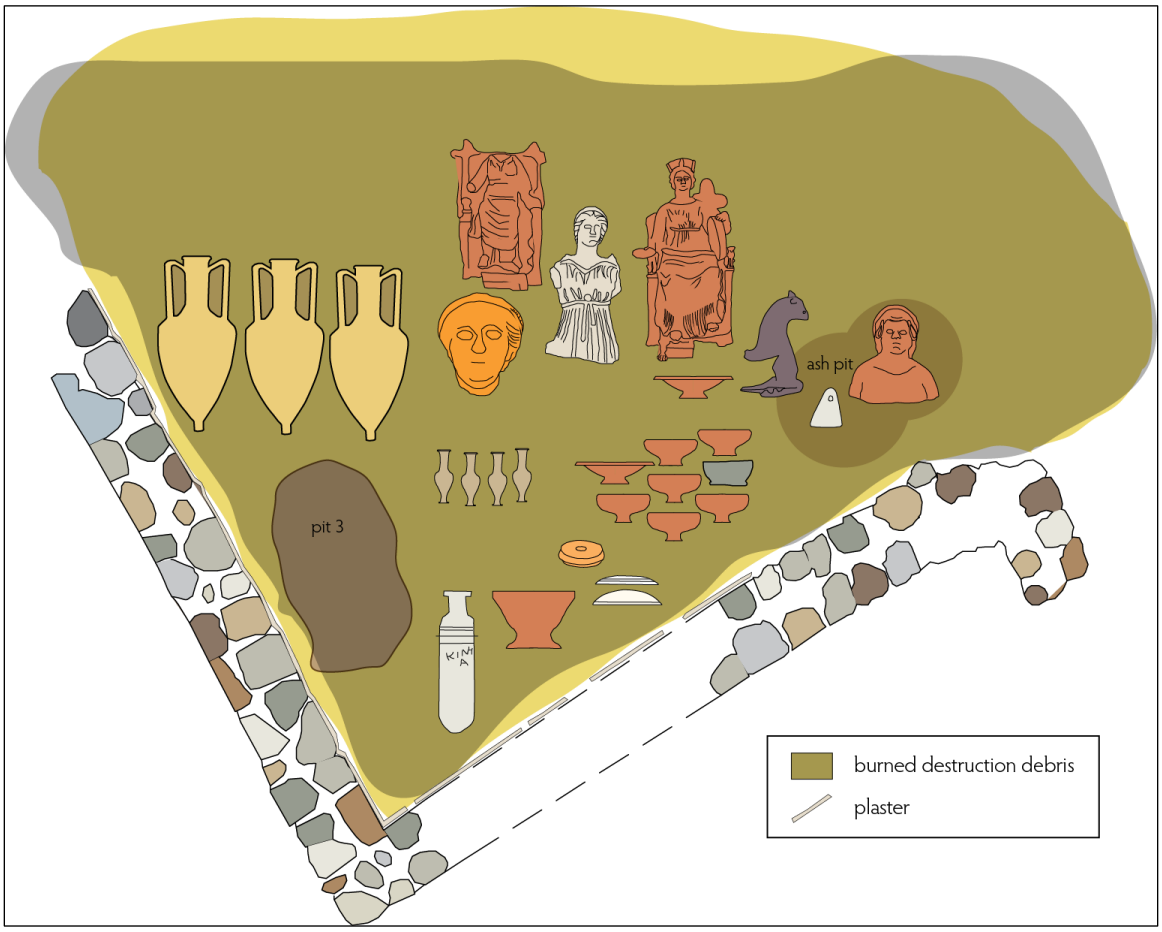


Figure 105. Schematic reconstruction of the floor deposit in Roger's House.

[155] NB 21:58

[156] "CM. Trenches NCT-A6 and 7. Level 2." Neg 58-140320 = GB 91-63.

Roger's House is, along with Rodney's House, one of the two richest MH abandonment /destruction contexts at Gordion. Among the debris that covered the floor were nearly 40 complete or fragmentary ceramic vessels, six terracotta figurines, bronze and iron tools and construction materials, iron weapons, fragmentary glass bowls, unguentaria, an inscribed alabastron, an inscribed disc, unbaked clay loomweights and wood and reed roofing materials. In striking contrast to this wealth of evidence on the domestic life of Gordion residents in the late 3rd/early 2nd century BCE is the little evidence that remained of the house itself—two walls and the floor of one room and the partial remains of an exterior courtyard. The house had been so thoroughly destroyed ("Covered by a burned area, 10 to 20 cm. thick, particularly heavy…much evidence of a house destroyed in a conflagration – charred beams, fallen mud brick…") and the area so disturbed by later stone robbers that the original plan of the house could not be established.[157] It is our luck that Fleischman took such detailed notes of the architecture and building materials that *did* remain because this is the only house where some of this material was noted.

Roger's House consisted of one room whose south and east walls were preserved. An exterior paved court over a foundation of small cobbles lay outside the room to the south. Fleischman found pyramidal and doughnut-shaped loomweights, a handstone and a lower grindstone on the courtyard floor. Inside the room, there was an earth floor, baked hard in places because of the fire. The walls were stone-built for at least 1.15 m above the floor with small, roughly hewn blocks for the first three courses and smaller

[157] NB 21:57

stones on top. The inner faces of the walls were treated with mud and then covered with a thick coat of plaster. The walls had mudbrick upper portions, the bricks of which, also plastered, were found over the floor. The house had the usual reeds-and-mud plaster roof, though how it was supported is not known. Early on in the excavation of the house, Fleischman describes burned beams averaging 0.05 m in diameter lying in every direction over the floor amidst the fallen bricks and plaster roofing pieces.[158] Five centimeters is too thin for these beams to have been used as support posts, though it is possible they could have been part of the frame of the roof or support for the reeds.

In a different part of the room, Fleischman noted that, "The floor is strewn with charred beams held together by a large variety of clamps, nails, and plates both of bronze and iron, betokening quite a carefully built and elaborate structure."[159] He inventoried these and other bronze and iron items and I, along with Gareth Darbyshire, who is studying the iron objects from Gordion, have looked at them. Figure 106 depicts an iron plate (ILS 138) which Fleischman describes as having been "fitted over the end of a beam. Secured by four bronze nails, three of which remain. Charred wood adhering to the inner surface 0.07 x 0.65 m."[160]

[158] NB 21:57
[159] NB 21:68
[160] NB 21:67

Figure 106. Iron plate (ILS 138) with bronze nails from Roger's House (photos by author).

Darbyshire interprets this object as part of a lock.[161] He also notes that it had been altered in antiquity—the original key-hole (fig. 106a) in the plate was apparently too big so a smaller plate with a smaller, more rectangular hole was affixed to it (fig. 106b). Traces of wood are still visible on the plate. It is difficult to reconcile Fleischman's description of this having been attached to the end of a beam with Darbyshire's and Tsakirgis' identification of it as part of a lock mechanism. It could have been reused and fit over the end of a beam, but I do not have an explanation for its purpose there.

[161] B. Tsakirgis identifies this as a latchplate and suggests the repair may have been needed because the hole was worn with repeated use or perhaps the plate had been damaged in a burglary (pers. comm.).

Figure 107. Bronze “clamps” (B 424) from Roger’s House (photo by author).

Figure 107 shows four bronze “clamps” which were found embedded in a burned beam which lay on the floor of the house (B 424). The two shorter plates had two hooks with circular ends attached while the two longer plates had what appear to be straight nails hammered through and then bent over. There was no wood preserved so we could not see how they were “embedded” in the beam. Darbyshire, noting their small size (0.035 – 0.05 m x 0.015 – 0.02 m), suspects these were decorative attachments, perhaps for a box.

Figure 108. Iron plate ILS 141 from Roger's House (photos by author).

Figure 108 is of a rectangular iron plate with two iron studs protruding from the sides at opposite ends (ILS 141). The outline of a third stud, now gone, is visible in the center of one side (fig. 108 a). These studs had been driven through the plate or stuck into holes. Traces of wood are still visible on the plate. Again, it is unclear how this object was used.

Six terracotta figurines were recovered from among the debris on the floor in the east corner of the room (Romano's Terracotta Deposit 4).[162] One was a goat rhyton, an imitation of Achaemenid-style rhyta, one of only four animal vessels found in Hellenistic contexts at Gordion and the only one found in a primary deposit (fig. 109a). The other five items include a Nike protome vessel handle attachment (fig. 109b), notable for its distinct Phrygian/central Anatolian fabric and (possible) Celtic torque painted around the neck,[163] two bust-flower thymiateria, one in the form of a young, pudgy satyr (fig. 109c), another in the form of a female (fig. 109d), a small enthroned Kybele (fig. 109e), and a large statuette of Kybele over half a meter tall (fig. 109f).

[162] Romano 1995, 67.
[163] Another, more securely identified depiction of a Celtic torque was found on a figurine fragment in the Pottery Establishment (fig. 83a).

Figure 109. Terracotta Deposit 4 (All images from Romano 1995, **a**: P 666, Romano cat. no. 15; **b**: P 648, Romano cat. no. 33; **c**: T 32, Romano cat. no. 35; **d**: T 33, Romano cat. no. 38; **e**: T 34, Romano cat. no. 60; **f**: T 32, Romano cat. no. 52).

Finally, there were two inscribed objects. The first was a small ceramic disc, what Fleischman described as an "inkwell." Inscribed on the side was "ΚΑΛΛΥΡΙΑΤΙΣ," a female name with Phrygian roots (fig. 110). The second was an alabaster alabastron with

"KINNA" incised on it (fig. 111). This could be another Phrygian name, or it could be short for KINNABAPI, or cinnabar, a substance used for rouge make-up in antiquity.[164]

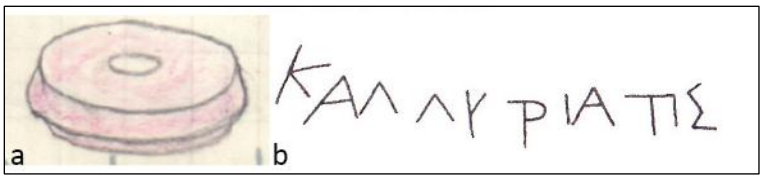


Figure 110. Roger's House, **a**: "inkwell" P 651. **b**: inscription on **a**, Roller 1987a, cat. no. 54.

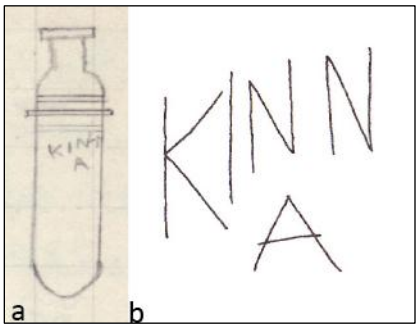


Figure 111. Roger's House, **a**: alabastron ST 159. **b**: inscription on **a**, Roller 1987a, cat. no. 55.

Finds

Table 40. Roger's House Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	**Shape**	**Period**	**Comments**
P 682	Cooking Pot	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 209
P 715	Cooking Pot	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 212
P 793a,b	Cooking Pot	189 BCE	Stewart cat. nos. a214, b224
P 856	Cooking Pot	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 205
P 663	Incurved Rim Bowl	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 235
P 672	Incurved Rim Bowl	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 238
P 673	Incurved Rim Bowl	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 257
P 674	Incurved Rim Bowl	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 258
P 705	Incurved Rim Bowl	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 256
P 707	Incurved Rim Bowl	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 246
P 708	Incurved Rim Bowl	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 227
P 723	Incurved Rim Bowl	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 237
P 704	Triangular Rim Bowl	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 297
P 713	Ledge Rim Dish	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 310
P 725	Ledge Rim Dish	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 307
P 726	Ledge Rim Dish	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 308
P 706	Fishplate	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 357
P 794	Fishplate	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 361
P 805	Cup with Recurved Handle	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 378

[164] DeVries 1990, 404; Roller 1987a, 128-129.

P 724	Bowl-Kantharos	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 380
P 799	Bowl-Kantharos	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 379
P 675	Unguentarium	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 403
P 676	Unguentarium	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 404
P 677	Unguentarium	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 408
P 678	Unguentarium	189 BCE	Stewart cat. no. 410
P 681	Table		
P 664			
P 798			
P 804			

Table 41. Roger's House, the "Edwards Pit" Pottery[165]

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Period	Comments
P 697	Everted Rim Bowl	MH	Stewart cat. no. 304
P 698	Hemispherical Bowl	MH	Stewart cat. no. 374
P 699	Fishplate	MH	Stewart cat. no. 359
P 700	Fishplate	MH	Stewart cat. no. 362
P 701	Fishplate	MH	Stewart cat. no. 360
P 703	Pitcher	MH	Stewart cat. no. 397
P 712	Pitcher	MH	Stewart cat. no. 396
P 696			

Table 42. Roger's House Stamped Amphora Handles

Gordion Inv. #	Source	Date	Period	Comments
SS 81	Rhodes	¾ 3rd cent. BCE	MH	Probably from the same vessel as SS 85; Lawall 2003, 18
SS 82	Rhodes		MH	Lawall 2003, 18
SS 83	Rhodes		MH	Lawall 2003, 18
SS 85	Rhodes		MH	

Table 43. Roger's House Inventoried Finds

Gordion inv #	Description	Comments
B 473	Knucklebone ?	
B 482	Arrowhead	
B 472	Handle fragment	
B 424	4 clamps	Fig. 107
G 98	Black and white glass bead	
G 99	Pink pendant glass bead	
G 102	Yellow and blue-green faiance bowl profile	
G 103	Blue faiance bowl	
G 105	Clear green glass fragments	
G 106, 66, 2166	Glass bowl	
MC 85	Black mosaic cone	
P 651*	"inkwell"	Roller 1987a, cat. no. 54 **ΚΑΛΛΥΡΙΑΤΙΣ**[166]

[165] This pottery is from a large pit in the floor near the southwest wall of Roger's House. Stewart believes this pit to be a refuse pit and the pottery recovered from there to have possibly been a matched set that was damaged and thrown out (Stewart 2010, 219).
[166] Roller 1987a, 128-129.

ST 158	Alabaster loomweight	
ST 159	Alabaster unguentarium	Roller 1987a, cat. no. 55 **KINNA**[167]
ST 160	Two spindle whorls	
ST 161	White stone pestle, found with lower grindstone	
P 648*	Goat rhyton	Fig. 109 a; Romano 1995, cat. no 15
P 666*	Nike protome vessel handle attachments	Fig. 109 b; Romano 1995, cat. no. 33
T 32	Satyr bust-flower thymiaterion	Fig. 109 c; Romano 1995, cat. no. 35
T 33	Female bust-flower thymiaterion	Fig. 109 d; Romano 1995, cat. no. 38
T 34	Enthroned Kybele	Fig. 109 e; Romano 1995, cat. no. 60
T 35	Large Kybele statuette	Fig. 109 f; Romano 1995, cat. no. 52

[167] Roller 1987a, 129.

The SET Level 2 Complex

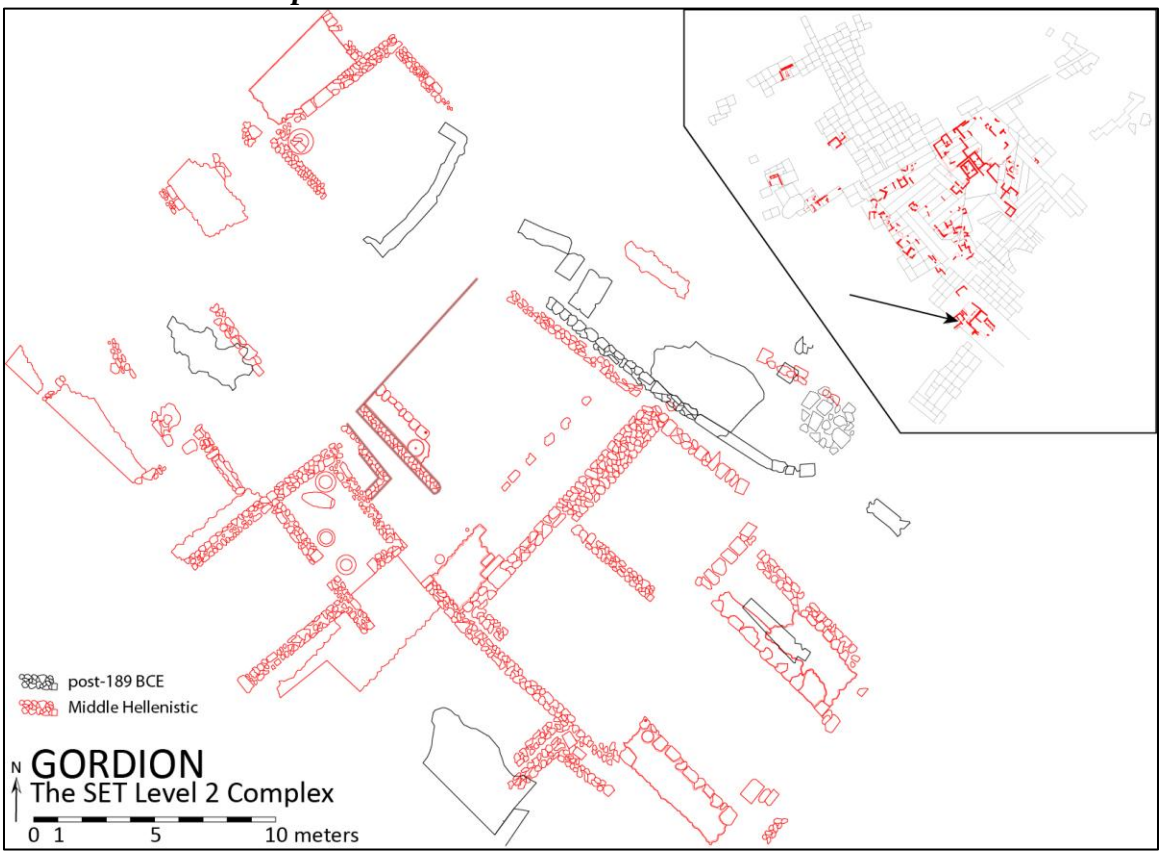


Figure 112. Plan and location of the SET Level 2 Complex (plan adapted from originals by E.B. Reed, "CM. Southeast trench. Level 1," Drawing 16-A and "CM-SET, Level 2 (Hell. Level)," Plan 1950-12, neg. 46860).

Associated Trenches: SET (South East Trench)
Notebook: NB 2
Excavator: Rodney Young
Year: 1950
Excavation information: SET was the first trench that Young opened on the first day of excavation of the first season. He chose a spot on the southeast edge of the mound because it was near two modern trenches dug into the side of the slope by villagers looking for stones; he felt it looked promising.[168] Young began by clearing the modern backfill from the robbers' trenches and opening four north-south cuts moving eastward down the slope of the mound. He then moved west, to the level top of the mound, and

[168] NB 2:1

began opening north-south cuts heading west. These cuts were large; the first west cut was 17 m long, 4.5 m wide at the north end and 1 m wide at the south. East-west cuts of varying dimensions were opened as well. Young continued to move west eventually opening up an area approx. 56 m x 23 m. He did not always give the dimensions for his cuts and he only made one plan of them: the eastern cuts going down the slope of the mound.[169] This sketch included only two walls, labeled "wall A" and "wall B." These appear to be the robbed out eastern ends of the side walls of Middle Phrygian Building A.

Documentation: Young recorded the excavation of SET in Notebook 2. He drew only two schematic plans of the major house walls. Reed drew formal plans of the upper levels and a series of pencil field drawings.[170] In 1951, Roger Edwards dug the area to the southwest of the house in the trenches over Middle Phrygian Building A, documented in Notebook 22. He did not find any more architecture but did recover a number of Rhodian amphora handles.[171] A series of contact prints supplements the notebooks and plans.

Because Rodney's House was abandoned and many of the objects within it were found in situ, they are discussed here according to the most specific locations possible.

[169] NB 2:29
[170] Post-189 BCE: "CM. Southeast trench. Level 1," Drawing 16-A; MH: "CM-SET, Level 2 (Hell. Level)," Plan 1950-12, neg. 46860.
[171] NB 22:123-125

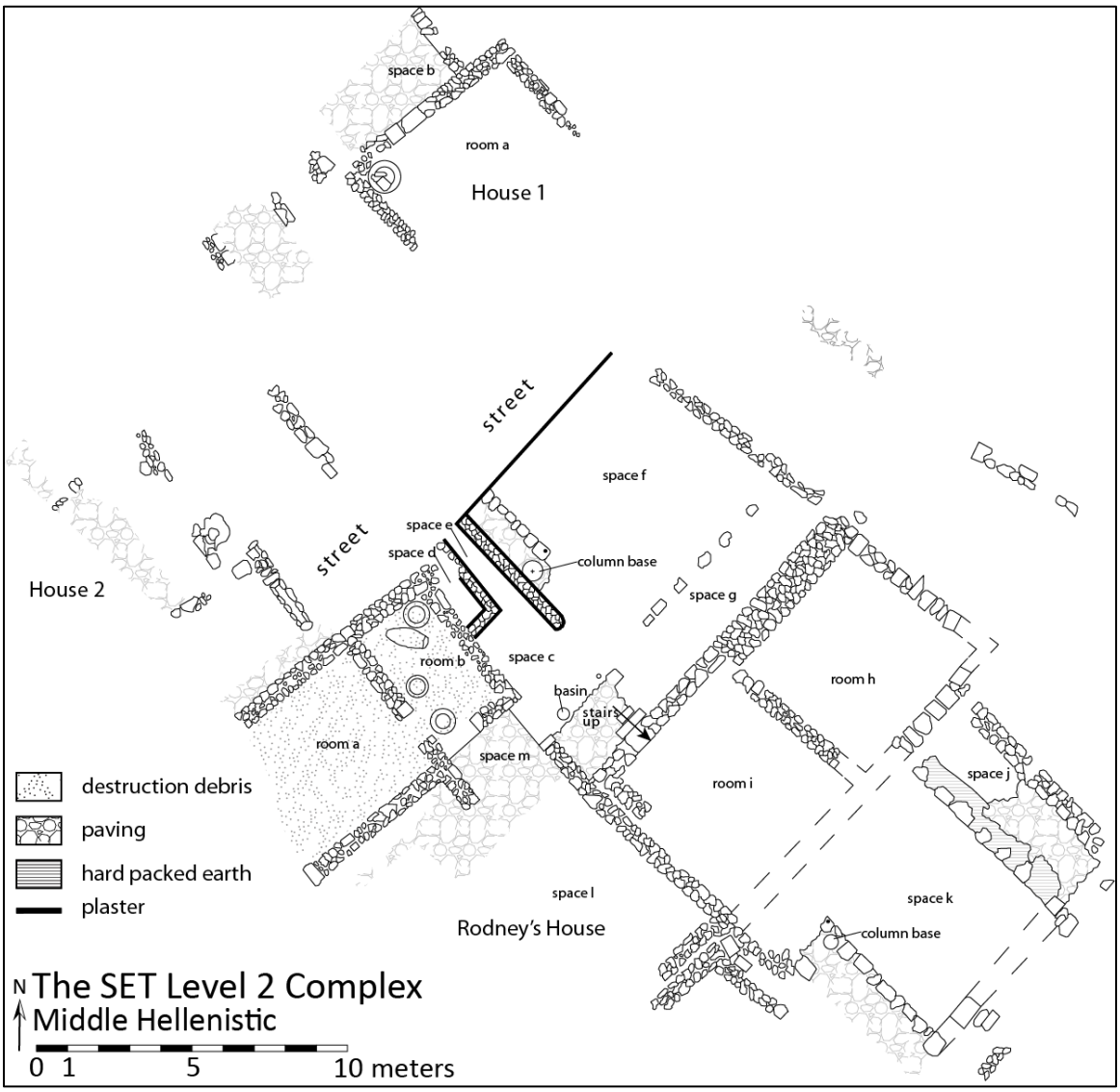


Figure 113. Plan of the SET Level 2 Complex (plan adapted from original by E.B. Reed, "CM-SET, Level 2 (Hell. Level)," Plan 1950-12, neg. 46860).

Middle Hellenistic

The MH level in SET was a distinct stratum marked by blackened ashy soil, well preserved architecture and significant localized assemblages of ceramic material found in primary contexts. The ashy soil, a clear destruction layer marked in places by higher

concentrations of ash and burned wood beams and posts, covered all of the MH architecture.

Young's crew uncovered the walls and floors of at least three structures (Houses 1, 2 and Rodney's House) and some features which were exterior and possibly part of a street (fig. 113). In general, the walls were mudbrick on top of stone socles consisting either of fieldstones or cut ashlars robbed from earlier levels. Some of the walls were plastered and floors are packed earth or stone and cobble paving.

House 1 was located in the northwestern part of the trench. There were parts of a room and an outdoor (?) space which shared a party wall. Room a had a dirt floor that was strewn with bits of iron. There was a pithos sunk into the floor in the west corner with the flat stones serving as a lid still in situ. Whoever installed the pithos dropped or put a bronze ring, a bone object and a terracotta female head (T 4) in the backfill packing between the pithos and the cut.

Young does not mention a doorway in the party wall but the two large blocks in the wall just north of the pithos may have been the threshold between Room a and Space b. A spur wall running northwest defined the northeastern edge of the paved area of Space b. Both the wall and the paving presumably continued to the northwest although there is no further discussion of it in the SET or SET N notebooks.

Table 44. SET House 1 Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape	Date	Location
P 98			North of room a

Table 45. SET House 1 Coins

Gordion inv #	Harl's #	Ruler/Type	Date	Location
6-12-50 #2		Macedonian shield	After 311	Room a
6-13-50 #1		Lysimachus	306-281	North of Room a

6-13-50 #2		Alexander	c. 320	North of Room a

Table 46. SET House 1 Inventoried Finds

Gordion Inv #	Description	Location/Comments
B 54	Bead	
B 66	Ring	Room a pithos pit
BI 40		Room a pithos pit
T 4	Female head	Room a pithos pit; Romano cat. no. 89

House 2 was west of Rodney's House. There were two sections of paved floors associated with stubs of walls and an oven. Between Rodney's House and House 2, the fill was hard and gravelly, suggesting a northeast-southwest street. A stone-lined drain ran east-west under the street.

Table 47. SET House 2 Coins

Gordion inv #	Harl's #	Ruler/Type	Date
6-9-50 #1		Macedonian Shield	Post 311 BCE

Table 48. SET House 2 Inventoried Finds

Gordion Inv #	Description	Comments
B 45	Bronze arrowhead	
B 41	Bronze arrowhead	
BI 31		
T 3	Female figurine head	Fig 120 f; Romano 1995, cat. no. 93; Terracotta Deposit 3

Rodney's House was the largest structure in SET and one of the largest and most well preserved of the entire Hellenistic settlement, with 13 distinct spaces covering over 358 m^2. It is likely that there was originally more to the structure to the southeast and southwest. The walls of the house were built with a mixture of red, grey and white limestone and basalt ashlars most likely robbed out from Middle Phrygian Building A below. Young found Hellenistic material in the back filled areas of the robbing actions.[172]

One entered the house on the south side through Space m. This space was framed by doorways to the northwest and northeast and a spurwall on the south. Young thought

[172] NB 2:53

that this short wall might have functioned as a base or support for a small roof which would have provided some shelter at the entrance into both Room b and the larger part of the house. The paving in Space m continued south and southeast into Space l, a large open area defined by the house wall to the northeast and the partial remains of a wall to the southeast. (Figure 113 shows this wall as two parallel walls. Young felt as though the wall had crumbled slightly and split. The case is the same with the southeast continuation of the house wall, i.e., the southwest wall of Space k.)

Young found the northeast doorway out of Space m blocked up with stones set directly on the floor (fig. 114). When open, this doorway led to an open space, Space c, which contained two complete ledge rim dishes and a small pit near the east jamb of the door which held "a quantity whole and broken unbaked doughnut-shaped whorls or loomweights."[173] There was a paved area to the right and a curious arrangement of walls to the left. Two thin plastered walls created a narrow corridor, Space e, which led out of the house through the northwest wall.[174] The southern wall of the corridor and the northeast wall of the Pantry Room b formed a small closet, Space d, apparently only accessible from the outside.

[173] NB 2:140. These were certainly loomweights.
[174] It is unclear if this was an entrance to the courtyard. Reed's plan shows a conjectured extension of the western wall of the courtyard south, closing off the passageway. Young's sketch of the western half of the house at 2:157 shows the passage, and the small closet to the south, as open.

Figure 114. Rodney's House, Room c, **a**: blocked doorway between Spaces c and m; **b**: stone basin; **c**: steps up into Room i (GO 27).

Continuing northwest, one entered Space f, a large, nearly square open area about 61.5 m^2. Six stone bases for posts supporting the roof and a posthole marked out the line of a portico (Space g) along the southeast side (fig. 115).These bases all showed burning on their upper surfaces and a burned stick (post?) was lying on the floor nearby. A smashed pithos (I 9) with a graffito indicating its capacity was also found on the floor near the line of stone bases. A curious feature of the courtyard was the northwestern wall, indicated at the time of excavation only by a northeast-southwest line of plaster in the earth. There were no stones or evidence of a foundation trench for the wall. Young speculated that the wall itself was made of earth (mudbrick?) and, due to a vertical groove in the plaster, could have had some kind of wood frame or support built up against its inner face. The gap between the northeast and southeast walls gave access to Space g and the courtyard from outside the house to the northeast.

Figure 115. Rodney's House, post bases in Space f, from northwest (GO 271).

Figure 116. Rodney's House, paving and column base in west corner of the Space f (GO 278).

The southwestern limit of the courtyard was marked out by a plastered spur wall extending into the courtyard from the northwestern wall (fig. 116). On the north side of the spur wall was a section of stone slab paving 1.08 m wide. A marble column base was

set into the eastern end of this paving against the wall, its upper surface about 0.10 m above the surrounding slabs. Young offered no explanation of this but it is possible that this column base was being reused as a lower grind stone.[175]

On the southeastern side of Space c was a section of paving extending out from the eastern wall as far as the line of post bases. It is not clear if the portico roof over Space g covered all, part or none of this area. Directly in line with the roof post bases and near the southern wall was a large, deep stone basin that was set into the floor. This basin may have served to collect rainwater as it ran off the end of the roof, suggesting that the roof continued all the way to the southern wall. If it did, it would have provided some shelter for people moving between the courtyard and the central Rooms h and i.

Southeast of the courtyard was a suite of two rooms, h and i. One entered this part of the house from the paved area through a doorway in the corner of Space c. Two steps brought the visitor up to the higher floor level as one entered Room i. The plan of these rooms is straightforward but the sequence of construction is more complicated. There was an early/mid-4th century BCE structure below the floor level here, the so-called "mudbrick house."[176] The northeastern wall of this structure was reused in the period of Rodney's House as the foundation for the party wall between Rooms h and i. This party wall and Space f were built at this time. Later, in the final phase of the house, the h-i party wall was removed and a new floor was laid over the space of both rooms, creating a single room. Regarding the courtyard party wall, the northern part was twice as thick as the southern half, possibly owing to the increased need for support for the roof in the

[175] See Chapter 3 for further discussion.
[176] NB 2:143ff.

courtyard or possibly for an unrecognized second story. The two halves of the wall abutted and are of different masonry styles, but the sequence of the construction is unknown.

One more aspect of the wall construction deserves some attention. In the southwest corner of Room i there was a short stretch of wall running east from the western wall (fig. 113). Young attributes this wall to the last phase of the house, when Rooms h and i were one room. He has no explanation for it, does not say that it was robbed out, but does note that there was plaster in the corner where it met the north-south wall.

The southeastern wall of these rooms presents a bit of a problem. Reed's plan shows a conjectured extension of the one piece of the extant east wall of Room h connecting with the east-west wall dividing the two rooms and continuing south to meet the southwest wall of the house. Young does not mention a wall here or any indication that one was definitely robbed out in this spot. His only remark that has anything to do with these walls is that the north and east walls of Room h look to have once met in the northeast corner, but were later robbed for their stones. Thus, I hypothetically include the wall on the plan.

Spaces j and k constituted the eastern courtyard of the house. There was a paved portico on the north side (Space j) and an uncovered paved area on the south. Set in to this southern paving was another reused column base, also showing a grinding wear pattern on the surface (fig. 118). This courtyard was closed on the southeast by a wall which was mostly robbed; only a few stones were left and a robbing trench marks the line

of the wall between the two sections of paving. The south side of the southern paving was a good solid line which continued the line of the southern wall of the house to the west. This area had been robbed out by modern looters who had tunneled in from the side of the mound. The closeness of this spot to the slope was also most likely responsible for the condition of the east end of the southern house wall and the wall that extended south; these walls had split due to the settling of the dirt at the edge of the mound. Young notes a considerable amount of burning and ash in the fills over the floor in this courtyard. He also mentions a pile of burned grain on the floor, a smashed pithos near the southwest paving (fig. 117), and a stone spindle whorl near the northeast paving.

Figure 117. Rodney's House, Space k, southwest paving and smashed pithos (GO 207).

Figure 118. Rodney's House, Space k, southwest paving and column base A8 (GO 216).

Returning to the entrance to the house at Space m, if one did not want to go into the courtyard, the other choice was to enter the Pantry suite, Rooms a and b. The doorway into Room b was blocked up, again with a line of stones set directly on the floor. Room b contained four large pithoi, three of which were upright but smashed and one broken and lying on its side. All four pithoi carried graffiti on their exterior walls: units of measurements in the Pergamene system and Ionic numerical notations.[177] One pithos (I 34) contained an unknown amount of burned grain at the bottom. Young also noted that a number of stones, what he referred to as "orthostates," were set against the south wall but does not offer an explanation.[178] The fill covering the floor of Room b was full of ash and burned pieces of wood and a large quantity of Hellenistic fine ware.

[177] Buff pithoi I 34, I 35, I 117, Grey ware pithos I 36; Roller 1987b, 63-65; catalog nos. 3B-36, 3B-37, 3B-34, 3B-38.
[178] NB 2:176. These "orthostates" were not saved.

A doorway in the southwestern wall of Room b led into Room a. This doorway was also blocked up with stones that sat on the floor, filling the space between the two nicely built jambs (fig. 119). Young's team found a great deal of material in this room: a very large amount of fine and coarse ware pottery, ten stamped amphora handles, five terracotta figurines, a large coarse ware storage vessel inscribed with the name "MENEKPATOY" and a bone die, all in fill containing ash, cinders and burned wood. The southwestern end of Room A was not preserved. However, the large stone at the end of the southeast wall may be a doorjamb, similar to the northwest jamb in the doorway between Rooms a and b.

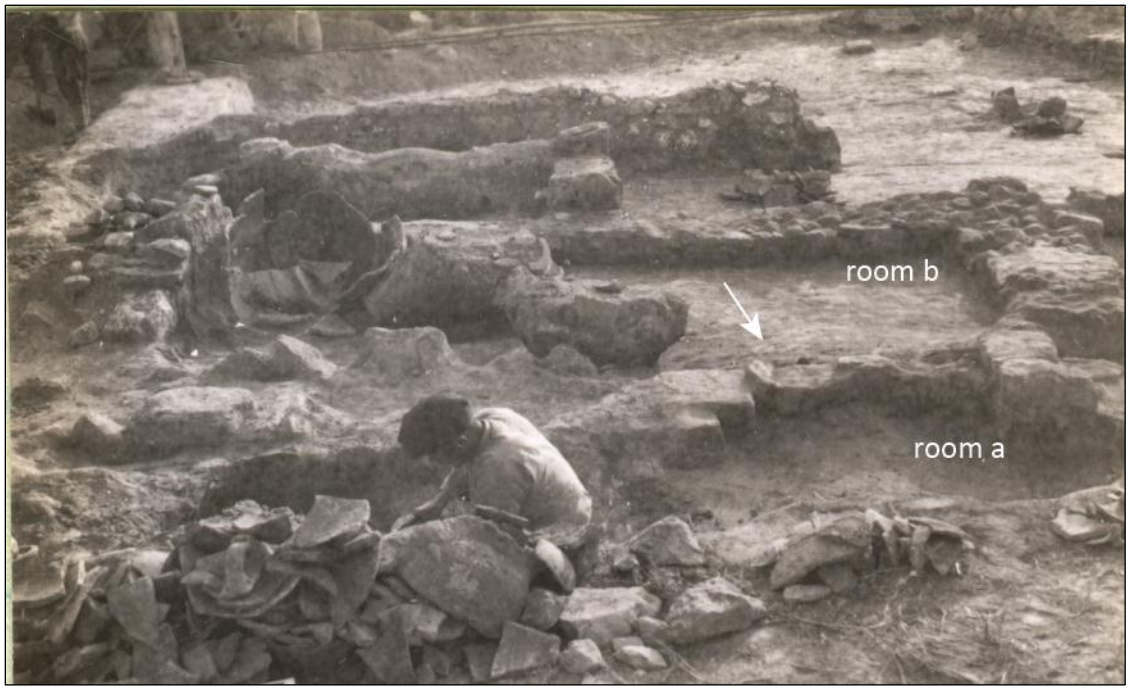


Figure 119. Rodney's House, Rooms a and b from the south. Arrow indicates blocked door (GO 283).

Destruction

All the fills which came down on the walls and floors of this house were black and ashy, evidence, along with the burned beams and posts found on the floors, of its destruction. Massive numbers of plates and bowls, Rhodian amphorae, and six terracotta figurines (Romano's Terracotta Deposit 3) were all found in the pantry suite (rooms a and b). Four large pithoi were also found there. Every door except the one leading from Space g to Room i was blocked up. The disposition and number of artifacts and the heavy destruction layer over everything suggests that the house was suddenly abandoned and then burned down. It is possible that the blocked doors indicate an intention on the part of the owners to return, especially since the blocking is focused on denying access to the storage suite and the high-value objects inside.

Young's account of the excavation of these rooms and the photographs offer some help in understanding their function and arrangement and perhaps something about their destruction. Room b, the room with the pithoi, was the first to be cleared. The pithoi were spaced out over the floor in no obvious pattern, although Young suggests that the easternmost pithos was situated to block easy access through the doors, perhaps moved there at the same time the doors were blocked up. There is no information to indicate in which part of the room the pottery was found.

Room a contained the bulk of the pottery and the terracotta figurines. It is possible that all the ceramics in both these rooms were originally in Room a and that in the course of the destruction of the house, the fine ware assemblage was scattered into Room b. Young says that the pot menders were finding joins between sherds that came from

different rooms.[179] An interesting feature of the stratigraphy in Room a is that the mass of coarse ware pottery was above the fine ware deposit. This might indicate that the coarse ware was stored on shelves above the fine ware. The ash and cinders in the room could be the remains of the shelves along with the roof. Another possibility is that the coarseware was thrown on top of the pile of fine ware in some post-destruction looting action.

The figurines recovered from the room were similar to the other major terracotta deposit found in Roger's House: standing females and goddesses, Kybele, in this case (fig. 120). All were imports with petrologic or iconographic links to Pergamon.[180]

[179] NB 2:164
[180] Romano 1995, 66-67.

Figure 120. Terracotta Deposit 3 (all images from Romano 1995. **A**: T 7, Romano cat. no. 57; **b**: T 6, Romano cat. no. 59; **c**: T 5, Romano cat. no. 67; **d**: T 10, Romano cat. no. 67; **e**: T 8, 9, Romano cat. no. 68; **f**: T 3, Romano cat. no. 93).

Table 49. Rodney's House Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	**Shape**	**Date**	**Location/comments**
L 10			Room a
I 9	Pithos, inscribed		Room f; Roller 1987b, cat. no. 3B-35; capacity marks
I 22	Pithos, inscribed		Room a; Roller 1987a, cat. no. 42; **MENEKPATOY**
I 34	Pithos, inscribed		Room b; Roller 1987b, cat. no. 3B-36; capacity marks
I 35	Pithos, inscribed		Room b; Roller 1987b, cat. no. 3B-37; capacity marks
I 36	Pithos, inscribed		Room b; Roller 1987b, cat. no. 3B-38; capacity marks
I 117	Pithos, inscribed		Room b; Roller 1987b, cat. no. 3B-34; capacity marks
P 4350a*	Casserole	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 220
P 68	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 269
P 69	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 276
P 88	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 272
P 124	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 273
P 99	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 281
P 4076a-f*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. nos. a-254, b-244, c-250, d-247, e-245, f-243

P 4097*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 249
P 4098*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 253
P 4102*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 260
P 4103*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 262
P 4156*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 251
P 4215*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 263
P 4219*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 241
P 4220*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 230
P 4228*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 234
P 4244*	Incurved Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 255
P 4132*	Vertical Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 285
P 64	Triangular Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 296
P 67	Everted Rim Bowl	MH	Room b; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 300
P 4087*	Everted Rim Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 302
P 66	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room b; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 323
P 70	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room c; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 318
P 71	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room c; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 314
P 77	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 332
P 157	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 333
P 4109*	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 326
P 4120*	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 311
P 4155*	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 319
P 4184*	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 320
P 4229*	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 327
P 4245*	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 329
P 4325*	Ledge Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 331
P 91	Downcurved Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 345
P 101	Downcurved Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 338
P 120	Downcurved Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 344
P 121	Downcurved Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 339
P 126	Downcurved Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 341
P 4167*	Downcurved Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 343
P 4168a-b*	Downcurved Rim Dish	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. a-340, b-342
P 84	Fishplate	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 363
P 89	Fishplate	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no.353
P 90	Fishplate	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 354
P 4059*	Fishplate	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 350
P 4186*	Fishplate	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 356
P 119	Hanging Rim Platter	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 368
P 123	Hanging Rim Platter	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 367
P 4071*	Hanging Rim Platter	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 365
P 4058*	Strainer Askos	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 369
P 4041*	Hemispherical Bowl	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 371

P 65	Unguentarium	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 401
P 4029*	Unguentarium	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 409
P 4305a-b*	Unguentarium	MH	Room a; Stewart 2010, cat. no. 411
P 80	Table	MH	Room b
P 81	Table	MH	Room b
P 4020*	Table	MH	
P 85		MH	
P 100		MH	
P 102			
P 122		MH	
P 125		MH	
P 127		MH	
P 181		MH	

* - object inventoried after excavation

Table 50. Rodney's House Stamped Amphora Handles

Gordion Inv. #	Source	Date	Period	Location/comments
SS 21	Rhodes	mid 3rd – mid 2nd; 196 BCE	MH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 22	Rhodes	mid 3rd – mid 2nd	MH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 23	Rhodes	mid 3rd – mid 2nd; 209-188 BCE	MH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 24	Rhodes	mid 3rd – mid 2nd	MH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 25	Rhodes	mid 3rd – mid 2nd	MH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 26	Rhodes	mid 3rd – mid 2nd	MH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 27	Rhodes	mid 3rd – mid 2nd	MH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 28	Rhodes	mid 3rd – mid 2nd	MH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 29	Rhodes	mid 3rd – mid 2nd	MH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 30	Rhodes	mid 3rd – mid 2nd	MH	Room a; Lawall 2003, 17

Table 51. Rodney's House Inventoried Finds

Gordion Inv #	Description	Comments
B 56	Bronze handle	Room a
BI 34	Bone die	Room a
MC 28	Circular loomweights	Room c, in depression near doorway with room m
T 5	Female figurine with wreath	Fig. 120 c; Room a; Romano 1995, cat. no. 66, Terracotta Deposit 3
T 6	Enthroned Kybele	Fig. 120 b; Room a; Romano 1995, cat. no. 59, Terracotta Deposit 3
T 7	Kybele riding a lion	Fig. 120 a; Room a; Romano 1995, cat. no. 57, Terracotta Deposit 3
T 8	Standing female (joins with T 9)	Fig. 120 e; Room a; Romano 1995, cat. no. 68 Terracotta Deposit 3
T 9	Standing female (joins with T 8)	Fig. 120 e; Room a; Romano 1995, cat. no. 68 Terracotta Deposit 3
T 10	Standing female	Fig 120 d; Room a; Romano 1995, cat. no. 67 Terracotta Deposit 3

Post-189 BCE

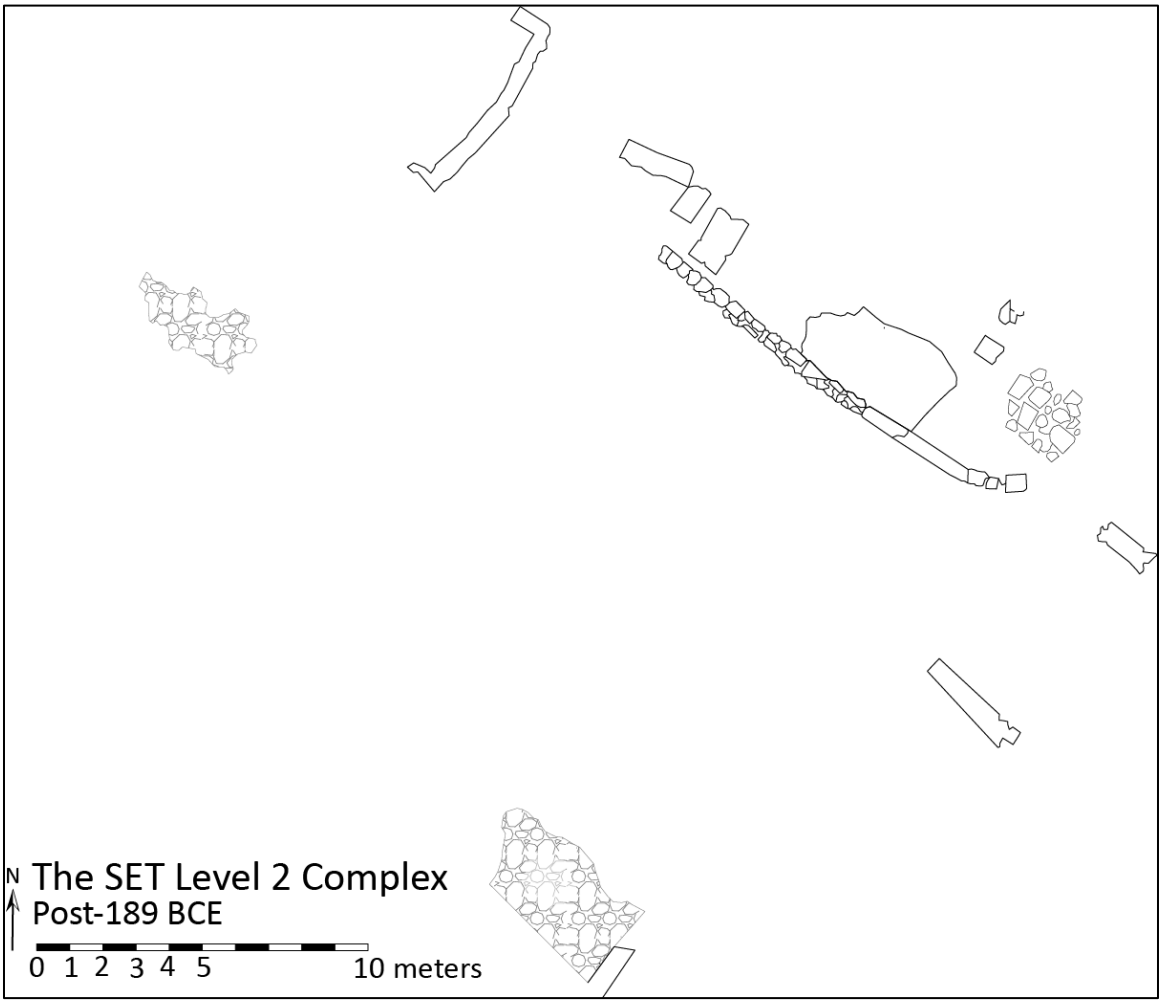


Figure 121. Post-abandonment level above the SET Level 2 Complex (plan adapted from original by E.B. Reed, "CM. Southeast trench. Level 1," Drawing 16-A).

The latest architecture here consisted of stretches of walls and sections of paving in the northern part of the trench and a section of paving in the south with a large pit (fig. 121, 122). This is consistent with post-abandonment occupation elsewhere.

Figure 122. SET, post-abandonment level (GO 244).

Table 52. SET Post-abandonment Pottery

Inv. Ceramics	Shape
L 9	Lamp
P 79	

Table 53. SET Post-abandonment Stamped Amphora Handles

Gordion Inv. #	Source	Date	Period	Location/Comments
SS 2	Rhodes			West cut 3; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 3	Rhodes	195 BCE	MH	West cut 4, joins with SS 13; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 5	Rhodes	193 BCE	MH	West cut 3; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 6	Thasos	234 BCE	EH	West cut 3; Lawall 2003, 16
SS 7	Rhodes			West cut 3; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 8	Rhodes			West cut 4; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 11	Rhodes			West cut 4, south; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 12	Rhodes			West cut 4, south; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 13	Rhodes			West cut 4, south; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 14	Rhodes	c. 189 BCE	MH	West cut 8-9, north; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 17	Rhodes	c. 196 BCE	MH	West cut 8-9, south; Lawall 2003, 17
SS 40	Rhodes			West cut 4, south; Lawall 2003, 18

Table 54. SET Post-abandonment Coins

Gordion inv #	Harl's #	Ruler/Type	Date	Location
6-7-50 #1		Alexander I	328-later	West cut 8-9, north
6-7-50 #2		illegible		West cut 8-9, north

Table 55. SET Post-abandonment Inventoried finds

Gordion Inv #	Description	Location/comments
B 52		West cut 8-9, north

B 53		West cut 8-9, north
B 55	Fibula	West cut 8-9, center
B 114	Ladle	West cut 8-9, center
BI 23	Bone pin	West cut 4
ILS 15	Shears	West cut 8-9, center
J 29		West cut 8-9, north

CHAPTER 3

The Built Environment

This chapter is an examination of the physical environment of the village. It begins with a survey of the construction methods and materials employed by the builders by way of the different constituent elements and features of the structures, i.e., walls, doorways, floors, etc. The second section is a look at the function of space in the houses and in the village at large. Here, I will combine the evidence from artifacts and the architectural articulation to explain how spaces were used.

Construction Methods and Materials

The following sections focus on the construction features, materials and techniques found in the houses of Hellenistic Gordion. The Catalog of Houses has shown how much variety there is in the sizes and layouts of the dwellings and other structures. That variety is matched here by the many specific structural and organizational needs of the individual households. As in the Catalog, the details on materials and construction techniques given below depend on the details given by the individual supervisors in the original records and, therefore, will vary.

Walls

Gordion's Hellenistic builders used stone for wall socles, foundations and sometimes the entire wall. Stone is easily shaped and manipulated and, in the case of the Hellenistic builders, easy to obtain. The Phrygian architects had to quarry their stone from the surrounding landscape – the marly and basaltic mountains c. 10 – 30 km to the

north and east of the site.[181] The Hellenistic architects only needed to dig down into the mound to scavenge the blocks they needed from the walls of the Early and Middle Phrygian buildings and the Late Phrygian cellars which, in turn, had been built using blocks from the Middle Phrygian structures. The ubiquitous robber trenches and pits, some several meters wide, testify to the extent to which the Hellenistic construction crews made use of the earlier walls. The practice continued in the Middle Hellenistic period when many of the Early Hellenistic houses were themselves robbed out, along with more of the Phrygian buildings.

The Hellenistic builders had at their disposal a supply of basalt and siltstone/conglomerate blocks. The basalt was either red or black, the red collected probably for its color. Neither the red nor black basalt is particularly strong, limiting the load the stones could bear and therefore limiting the size and design of the building.[182] The siltstone is a white stone cut from marly sedimentary bedrock. It is also not good building stone since it cannot be finely worked or polished, cannot bear heavy loads and the varieties with high percentages of gypsum start to weaken and disintegrate as the gypsum dissolves as a result of long periods of exposure to rainfall. The Hellenistic architects also had access to the rare exotic rocks that the Phrygians used for special purposes—rhyolite and a hard sandstone. Like the basalt and siltstone, these once favored rocks fulfilled their ultimate purpose in the walls of the Hellenistic houses. All of these stones can be seen today in the Middle Hellenistic Building 1 and ashlar wall of the

[181] No ancient quarries have been identified in the surrounding mountains. Ben Marsh believes that they were probably used up in antiquity. I thank Ben for his help in identifying the stone and his insight into its qualities and properties. The present discussion is based on personal communication with him.
[182] This restriction applies more to the Phrygian citadels which lack structures with solid stonework (Marsh 2005, 162).

Northwest Quadrant, still-extant examples of Hellenistic architecture revealed by Young in 1950 and excavated by Voigt in 1988-1989 (fig. 123).

Figure 123. Hellenistic walls in the Northwest Quadrant (photos by author).

Techniques of stone wall construction varied from house to house and sometimes even from room to room. The most common method was rubble masonry, with stones ranging from fist-sized to shoebox-sized and even larger. Smaller stones were often laid with a mud mortar while larger stones were usually laid dry. The larger the stone, the

more likely it was to have been worked, but only to create a smooth wall face. This stone work was done on the blocks when they were laid for the Phrygian citadel buildings, since there is no mention of stone chips near Hellenistic wall foundations. Larger stones were often used to make the two wall faces and smaller cobbles filled in the space between. Walls averaged between 0.65 and 0.75 m. The widest walls were 0.95 and 1.01 m wide. The builders did not course the purely rubble walls, but when they used larger stones or flatter stones, they seem to have tried to lay them in courses. These often did not extend the length of the wall, so perhaps randomly coursed is a more appropriate description for walls with the mixed techniques.

Ashlar masonry was rare and was used most commonly in the lower courses of walls where the blocks from the Phrygian walls were set as solid foundations for the upper courses. In at least two structures, Street Corner House 5 (fig. 30b) and the Pottery Establishment Shrine (fig. 95), ashlar blocks were used in higher courses as well, interspersed among the rubble. The Street Corner House even shows some quoining. The very few walls that were built completely with ashlars all belonged to ancillary structures like the 4th century cellars, possibly because these acted in part as retaining walls for these subterranean structures.

I was not always able to distinguish the walls that were completely stone-built from the walls that had stone socles and mudbrick superstructures. Mudbrick walls require stone foundations to prevent rainwater from dissolving and weakening the lowest mudbrick courses. Most walls did not have any preserved or detected mudbrick on them so it is not clear if the preserved parts were socles or actual walls, though I suspect most

were socles supporting mudbrick upper portions since many of the preserved stone portions have flat, even upper surfaces. Two houses that did have in situ mudbrick were Mabel's House (Room c), where the socle was 1.01 m high, and the Eisman House, where the socle was 0.71 m high. In both cases, the socles have flat, even upper surfaces. At the extreme, the walls of the Pottery Establishment basement and shrine were stone-built for c. 1.20 m in the Basement and 1.50 m in the Shrine, at which point the mudbrick started, at least in the Basement where it was preserved. It is worth restating that the Basement was not subterranean.

Small crosswalls were often built right on the floor without foundation trenches. For outside/exterior house walls, there are no references to foundation trenches in any of the notebooks. Either Young's team did not find or detect them, or if they found them, did not dig them separately, or they just were not there. I suspect, however, that the majority of the house walls were built in foundation trenches and not directly on the floors since trenches add a certain degree of stability.

Three other wall types are attested only once in all the Hellenistic houses excavated to date. The first is the northwestern wall of the large courtyard of Rodney's House, which was apparently built completely of mudbrick. Nothing remained of the wall but a line of plaster in the earth. Young understood grooves in the plaster to be imprints of a wood frame or support. Again, there was no foundation trench. The second is the southwestern wall of the Muscarella House (fig. 124), which was revealed in Op 2 during the 1988 Voigt excavations immediately west of the Young trenches TBT 1-3. It is unique in that there are vertical slots built into the rubble on the exterior, courtyard side.

Voigt interpreted these as slots for wooden posts which would support an upper wall made of branches and reeds and covered with plaster.[183] The final non-standard wall type was the reuse of a still-standing Phrygian wall, found in the northeast wall of Street Corner House 1. This wall was the southwestern wall of the Middle Phrygian Gate building.

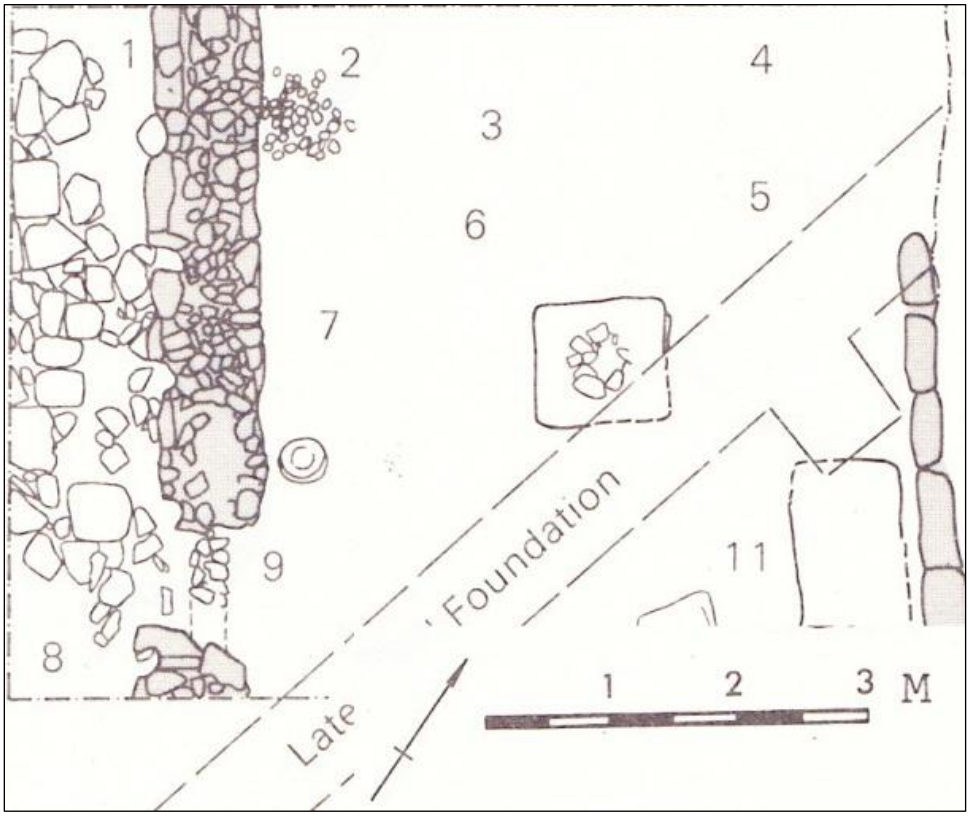


Figure 124. Western courtyard and southwest wall of the Muscarella House, Op 2 (Sams and Voigt 1990, 87, fig. 4).

There seems to be no difference in house construction techniques between the Early and Middle Hellenistic periods. The builders in both periods used robbed Phrygian blocks and rubble to construct their house walls. It seems that the determining factor in

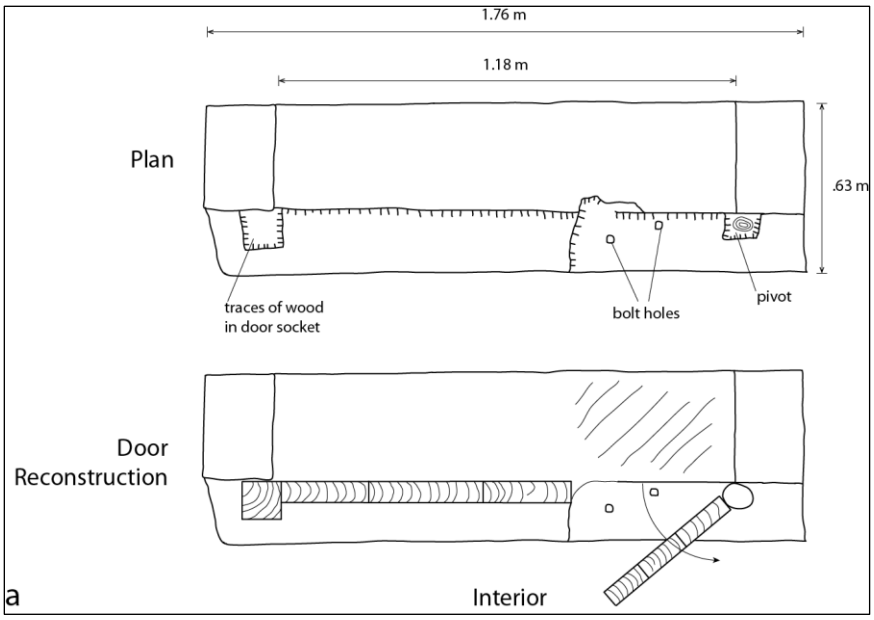
[183] Voigt 2003, 15.

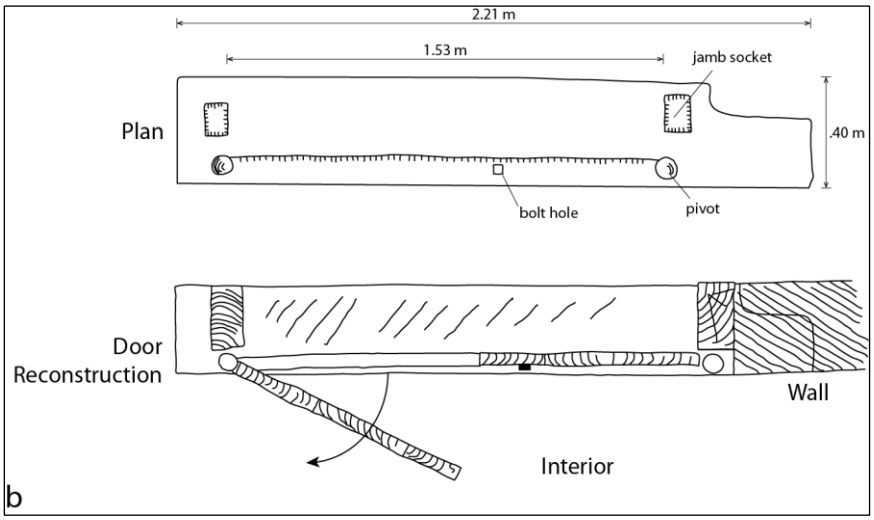
the choice of materials was where on the mound one chose to build. A spot over or near substantially preserved Middle Phrygian walls meant that house was more likely to have walls with big solid ashlars, e.g. the Street Corner Houses (EH) and the Pottery Establishment Shrine and Basement (MH). Following this logic, Building 1 of Voigt's Northwest Quadrant probably was built over or close to a substantial Phrygian structure.

Thresholds and Doorways

External and internal doorways are generally simple affairs. Stone thresholds, found in both kinds of doorways, are as elaborate as any construction found on the site. The average width of the 17 securely identified doorways was 1.17 m, with widths ranging from 0.68 m to 1.83 m. The most common arrangement was two well-built rubble wall ends on either side of a gap with no real threshold apart from a slightly raised strip of dirt. Variations in this simple arrangement include small cobbles serving as a threshold (between Rooms a and b in Ken's House, fig. 72) and wall ends built as proper doorjambs with large squared blocks (Pottery Establishment, fig. 87; Keith's House, fig. 67). A further elaboration was to set large flat unworked or roughly worked stones to serve as thresholds. This kind of arrangement is seen in the doorways to Rooms b and i in Mabel's House (figs. 49 and 50). The only definite example of a pivot-hole in these simple doorways is in the southeastern wall of Room j in Machteld's House, though only one side of the doorway is preserved and it is unknown if the doorway is interior or exterior (fig. 35). Pivot holes in internal doorways, and the fixed doors they indicate, are

not common at other sites and Gordion is no exception. In the absence of fixed doors, textiles may have been used to provide some privacy.[184]





[184] Cahill makes the same conclusion about the doorways without doors at Olynthus (Cahill 2002, 191).

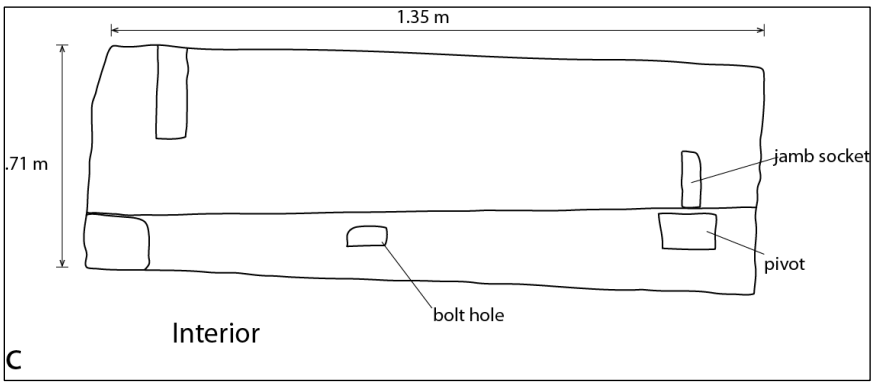


Figure 125. Limestone thresholds. **a**: Eisman House threshold plan with possible door reconstruction (author's); **b**: stray threshold plan and door reconstruction; **c**: stray threshold plan (Courtesy Gordion Archives, **a**, **b**-adapted from J. Shaw unpublished plans; **c**-adapted from C. Moore sketch plan, NB 127:122).

There is one example of a more elaborate doorway, an extravagance for Hellenistic Gordion but not so unusual for houses in cities in the wider Greek world. The Eisman House had a limestone block threshold (1.76 x 0.63 m) with cuts for the jambs (0.15 x 0.15 m) and locking bolts (fig. 125 a). The configuration seems to indicate that the left side of the door, or the left valve (from the interior) was fixed since there were no signs of wear in the left socket and Shaw did not indicate that the exterior step was worn at all.[185] The right socket showed signs of wear from the valve opening inward and closing against the ridge, as did the exterior step on the right side. In this arrangement, the width of the doorway would have been about 0.70 m. The presence of the two bolt holes is perplexing and may indicate that the block had been recut and the thickness of the right-hand valve changed. The other possibility is that the left-hand valve extended further across the block and was held in place by a bolt in the more interior hole. The

[185] I am following Tsakirgis' usage here with the term "valve" to refer to the individual sides of the door (Tsakirgis 1984, 320-321). The set configuration of this door, with one fixed valve, may be similar to what Tsakirgis describes in some houses at Morgantina, what Sjöqvist and Kyllingstad call the "shop-type" threshold.

hole closer to the exterior would then have been for a much thinner working valve on the right. The actual width of the doorway in this configuration would have been about 0.50 m. Whatever the case, the evidence indicates that the left side of the door was hardly used, if it was used at all.

There are no sockets for jambs in this threshold. It is likely they were built up from the two blocks which flank the actual step. Their surfaces are 0.22 m above the step. There is also the matter of the two posts that were set between the left hand side of the block and the wall end (dia. 0.19 m; see the Eisman House, fig. 56). These seem to have been installed to correct for the difference in length between the block and the width of the door.

Two other cut limestone thresholds were found in Hellenistic levels a few meters to the northwest of the Eisman House. The block in Figure 125b was found near a patch of rubble but not in situ.[186] The design is simple: a block (2.21 x 0.40 m) with two sockets for the jambs on the exterior side of surface (0.10 x 0.14 m and 0.09 x 0.13 m), two interior pivot holes for the two valves (dia. 0.08 m), a ridge between the pivots (0.03 m high), and a single bolt hole to the right of center. Shaw's reconstruction has the right-hand valve as the more stationary one and locked against the ridge. The wear patterns he includes on his plan may indicate that the left side of the door was used more often, but that both valves were open often enough so that the whole block was worn.

The other non-in situ threshold was found in the access ramp of the next trench to the north (fig. 125c).[187] This block (1.35 x 0.71 m) had been broken in antiquity at one

[186] The block was found in trench WS 5-6, S1, NB 127: 110ff.
[187] Trench WS 4-5 S1, NB 127: 122.

corner and does not appear to have been especially well cut.[188] On the interior side there are two square cuttings at the ends (0.08 x 0.011 m and 0.05 x 0.10 m); apparently these are the pivot sockets for the valves. Just left of center is the cutting for the bolt (0.04 x 0.06 m). The ridge up against which the valves were shut runs all the way across the block but at an angle so that it is 0.08 m from the edge on the left side and 0.13 m from the edge on the right side. On the exterior right side, there is a rectangular cutting adjacent to the pivot socket (0.03 x 0.12 m). On the left side, there is a similar cutting starting at the exterior edge (0.05 x 0.16 m). Cuttings on the exterior surface would normally be jamb cuttings but the cuttings here appear too long and narrow and are asymmetrical.

Floors

There are 76 rooms and spaces with discernible floors in the houses of the current study. Fifty-three are dirt, fifteen are paved with large flat stones, four are plastered, two are cobbled and two are pebbled (figs. 126, 127). The settlement was built on top of a tell, a man-made hill built up over centuries by successive layers of construction and destruction. The earth on which the houses were constructed was therefore of uneven compaction and full of various large and small inclusions. Some care would have been taken to make floors that were free of sherds, bones and other trash, though the floors may not have been kept in such conditions. There does not seem to have been a tremendous amount of concern in keeping the floors level. Some surfaces sloped quite sharply and there may be differences of up to 0.20 m from one spot on a floor to another.

[188] There is only the sketch of the block with the cuttings marked and their dimensions to go on in making this observation.

The changes in floor level may have resulted from settling of uncompacted earth below. Nearly every floor was cut by pits, either dug down from the use surface as trash pits or for storage or dug down from upper levels by stone robbers or later inhabitants who also dug trash and storage pits.

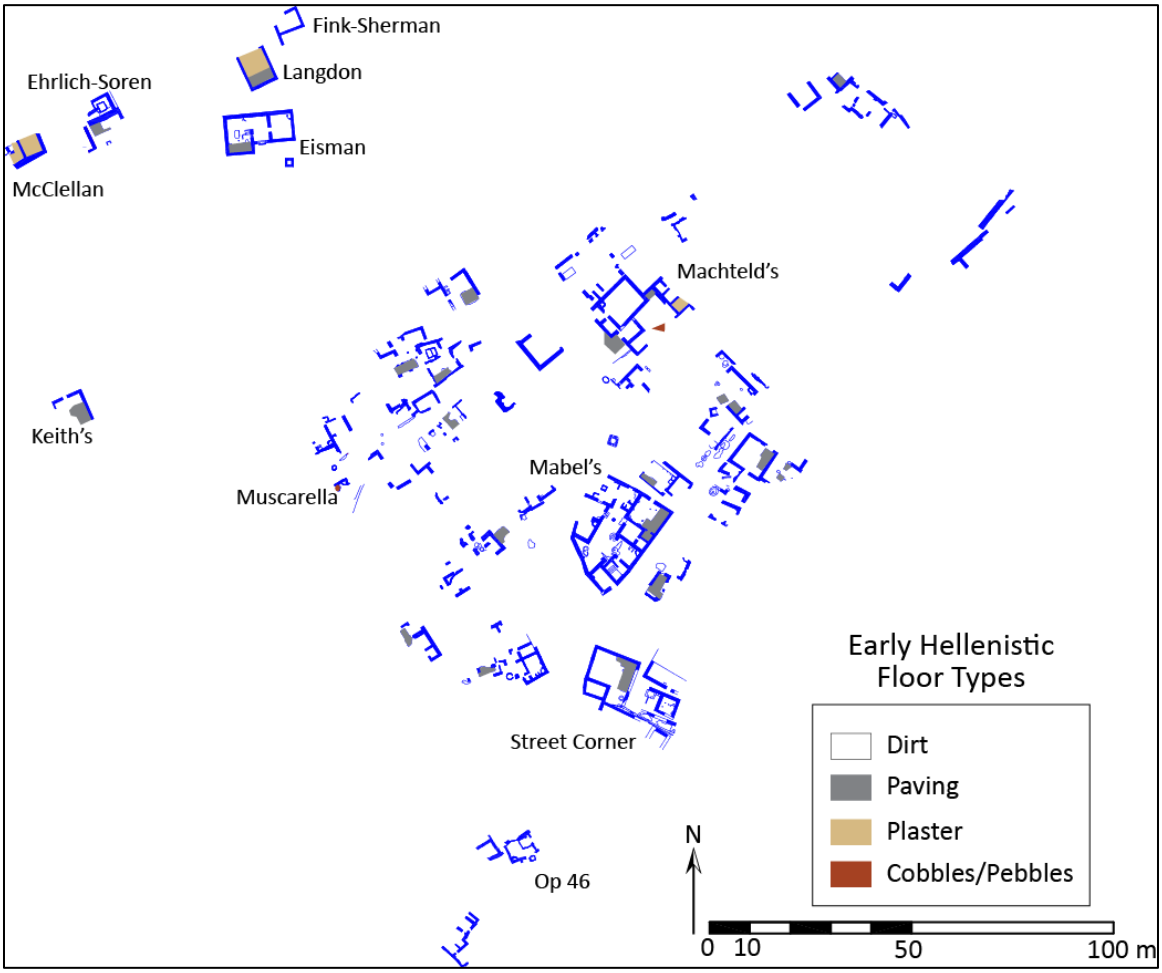


Figure 126. Early Hellenistic Floor Types.

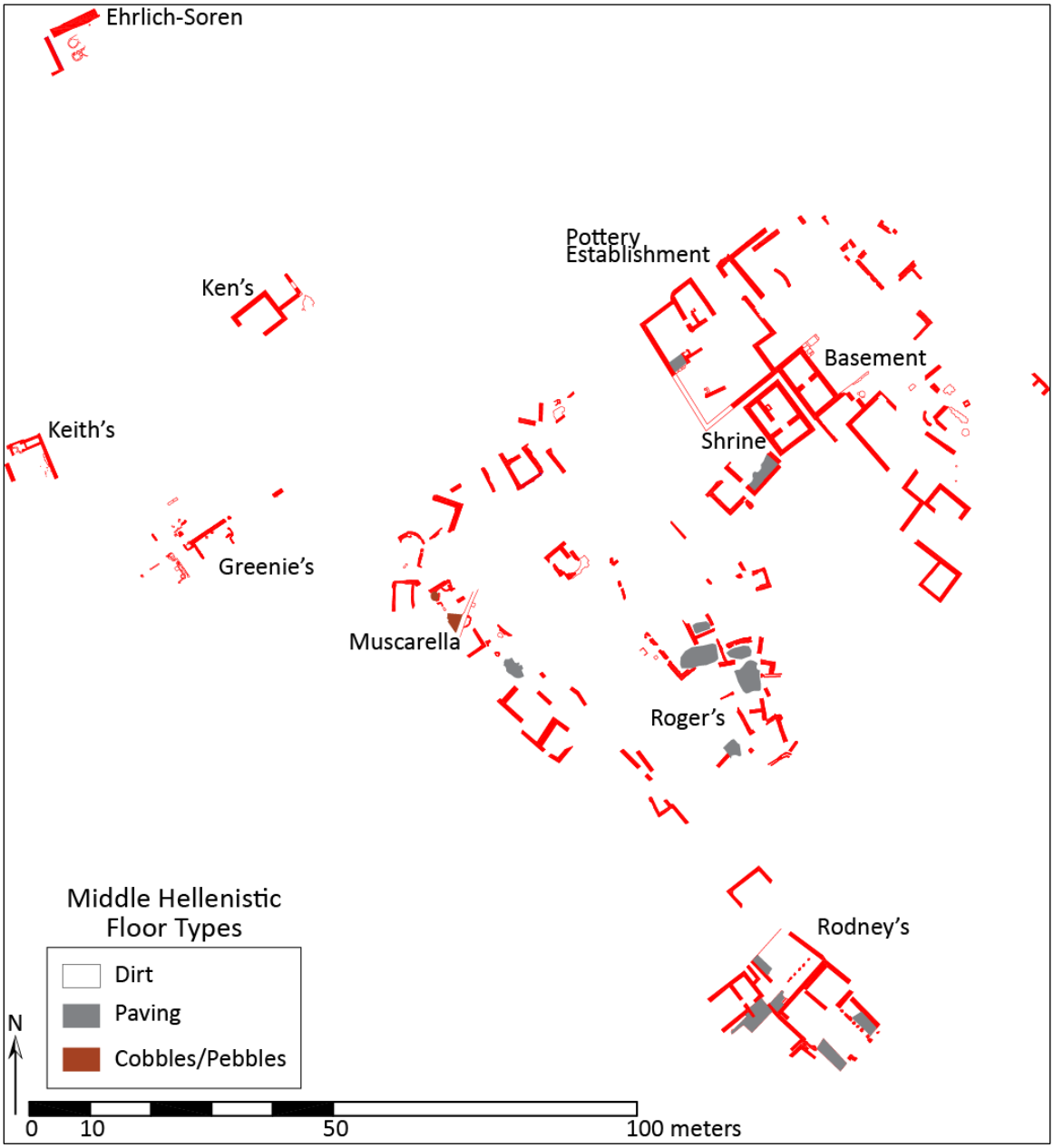


Figure 127. Middle Hellenistic Floor Types.

The floors of most rooms in the houses were dirt, or dirt mixed with bits of lime. If the excavators recorded any information about how compact the dirt was, it was most often described as hard-packed.

Paved floors, or more specifically, paved portions of floors, are almost always found in courtyards. In all cases but two where there is a large section of paving in a courtyard, the paved sections are open to the sky: Mabel's House, Middle Hellenistic Machteld's House, the Eisman House, Early Hellenistic Keith's House and Space f in Rodney's House. One exception is Street Corner House 5 where the entire eastern side of the courtyard appears to have been paved and the western edge of the paving stones is marked by a line of three post bases. The distance to the eastern wall is 1.84 m. The distance to the western wall of the courtyard is 7.86 m. It must be the case that there was a roof over the paving from the east wall to the post bases. The second exception is Space j in the back courtyard of Rodney's House. In both cases, the roofs may have provided shade for some activity that took place on the paving. The back end of the Langdon Room was paved and also appears to have been roofed.

Other rooms with paved sections are the kitchen of the Pottery Establishment and the two alcoves off large courtyards, Space c in Mabel's House and Space i in Machteld's House. In the Pottery Establishment kitchen, the paving was adjacent to the fireplace. The nooks, on the other hand, do not have any associated finds which might help in understanding the function of the rooms or why they were paved. If they were used for storage, wood bins or reed baskets may have been used since the paving would have kept their bottoms dry.

Plastered floors are rare and only found in the Early Hellenistic houses; the four examples are the Langdon Room, Room f of Machteld's House and the two rooms of the McClellan House. The plastered part of the floor of the Langdon Room was described as

"white, hard-packed, and of a coarse, granular nature."[189] The plaster in the McClellan House continued up the sides of the walls. Cobbled surfaces are also rare. There was a patch of cobbling in Space h of Machteld's House and cobbles and paving out in the street in front. The Muscarella House has some cobbling and a section of pebbled floor in the kitchen Room b.

Staircases and Second Stories

Young's excavators found only two sets of steps or stairs that appeared to lead to second stories. The most securely identifiable staircase was a late addition in the south corner of Mabel's House. It started against the southwest wall of Room f and climbed east. The four complete steps were 2.00 m wide, with treads of about 0.45 m and risers between 0.14 and 0.23 m. Each step consisted of five or six separate roughly hewn ashlars of different stone. Two blocks remained of a fifth step. The staircase was completely stone-built for the preserved portion. There may have been a wooden landing at the fifth step, in the corner of the room, to the north of which wooden stairs could have continued up to a second story. The southeast wall was thicker here and could have provided the additional support needed for an upper floor. The other set of stairs was on the northeast exterior of the Pottery Establishment Basement. Here, four large ashlars may have been the start or the foundation for a set of wooden stairs up to the second floor of the basement.[190]

[189] NB 140: 132.This is different from the descriptions of the wall plaster elsewhere which is often described as "mud plaster" and quite thin.
[190] See Trümper 1998, 94-96 for Delian parallels for external staircases.

There is a spurwall in Room b of the Pottery Establishment which appears to be the foundation of a staircase leading to the roof of the kitchen next door (fig. 87).[191] If one entered Room b from the courtyard, the stairs would begin immediately on the left and rise up sharply over the kitchen door. On the other hand, it is possible that the stairs went the other way. One entered Room b from the kitchen and the stairs were directly in front, rising over the entry from the courtyard. This would mean that there was a second story to Room b. Edwards and Young found no evidence of this but most of the northern parts of the walls were robbed out so the evidence may have disappeared. The curious arrangement of short parallel walls in the south corner of Space a of Early Hellenistic Machteld's House may also have been foundations for stairs (fig. 35).

Bases and Postholes

Bases and postholes, usually found in courtyards, were used as secure footings upon which or into which wood posts were set to support a roof. The bases were usually large flat stones averaging between 0.35 and 0.45 m wide. The largest bases were those in the courtyard of Street Corner House 5, 0.55 m wide. They bore circular cuttings in the middle, 0.22 m in diameter, for the posts they held. The three bases in this courtyard were arranged in a line along the side of the pavement, spaced 1.39 and 1.16 m apart. The six bases in the large courtyard of Rodney's House were flat stones between 0.35 and 0.55 m wide. They were spaced at varying intervals, 0.12 to 0.84 m, along a line in the eastern part of the yard. Mabel's House had four square bases, 0.30 - 0.50 m wide, and one circular base, 0.45 m diameter, arranged around the bottoms of the northwest and

[191] This spur wall is similar to the "stairbases" that Cahill describes for the foundations of staircases inside Olynthian houses (Cahill 2002, 94, 118, 125).

southwest walls of Space a.[192] Other houses had one or two bases close to walls which supported roofs over small spaces.

Sometimes the bases were used in conjunction with postholes. Examples of this arrangement include the Mabel's House Space a and the Eisman House courtyard. The diameter of the holes was between 0.22 and 0.24 m. The placement of the holes and bases seems to have been determined by the size of the space to be roofed and any individual design needs. The advantage of bases over postholes would have to be similar to the reason mudbrick walls require stone socles – to keep the wood posts dry. Accordingly, we would expect to find bases where the edge of the roof ends and the posts were exposed. This is the case in the courtyards of Street Corner House 5, Eisman House, possibly Early Hellenistic Ken's House, Room a of the Pottery Establishment, and Spaces f and k in Rodney's House. Conversely, we would expect to find post holes predominately in places far enough under roofs that wet ground would not be a problem, as in Room a of Street Corner House 2, Space a of Mabel's House, and the Eisman House courtyard.

Roofs

All the houses excavated under Young had roofs made of organic material, reeds and sticks, held together by mud or clay plaster. There is no evidence that any of the houses Young excavated had a tile roof,[193] though the roof over the Pottery Establishment kitchen may have been mudbrick given the amount of burned mudbrick found on the floor. The evidence for the roofs is the burned and decayed masses of reeds found on

[192] It is not clear if these were actual post bases or bases for wood wall supports.
[193] Building 1 in the NW Quadrant, excavated by Voight, had a terracotta tile roof.

floors of rooms and courtyards. Sometimes there were chunks of plaster in these masses which showed imprints of the reeds, especially in houses which were destroyed by fire. Some posts, and other roof elements, were preserved in houses that burned. Edwards could distinguish the remains of three posts or beams among the burned debris on the floor of the Pottery Establishment Basement with the following dimensions: 0.80 x 0.12 m; 0.50 x 0.13; 0.60 x 0.06 m. Given the organic and ephemeral nature of this kind of roofing, it is not surprising that most houses and rooms did not have any evidence of a roof. However, the fact that reeds and other roofing material were found in both Early and Middle Hellenistic houses shows that houses of both periods were roofed in this way.

Plaster

The plaster used to cover the walls of the Hellenistic houses was variously described as clay, mud, mixed with gypsum, stucco, white or yellow. Recorded thicknesses varied from just a few millimeters to .015 m. Where a wall was plastered, it seems first to have been covered by a layer of mud or mud mortar and then a layer of plaster, often mixed with gypsum. This coating was then reapplied when necessary. Painted plaster showed up in only one building, the basement of the Pottery Establishment (figs. 90, 91). Young described the patterns as imitation egg-and-dart and veined marble.

We know something about the production of gypsum plaster from ethnographic studies in the villages around Gordion.[194] Raw gypsum is collected from the ridge a few kilometers northeast of Yassıhöyük and piled several meters high. Fires are set, usually fueled with dung, and the gypsum is allowed to burn for three to four days until it is soft

[194] Miller 2010, 17. Gypsum plaster is still used in village houses today.

and powdery. This powder is mixed with water and the resulting plaster then can be applied to walls. It is not a very stable plaster as it is still powdery when dry on the walls and rubs off on clothing. Three to four reapplications during a single year are common.

The following houses have preserved plaster on the walls: the Eisman House, Mabel's House, Machteld's House, Rodney's House, the Pottery Establishment and Roger's House (figs. 128, 129). The plastered walls were in the courtyards, the alcoves, the rooms with cultic material and those without any finds at all. Walls were not plastered according to any discernible pattern.

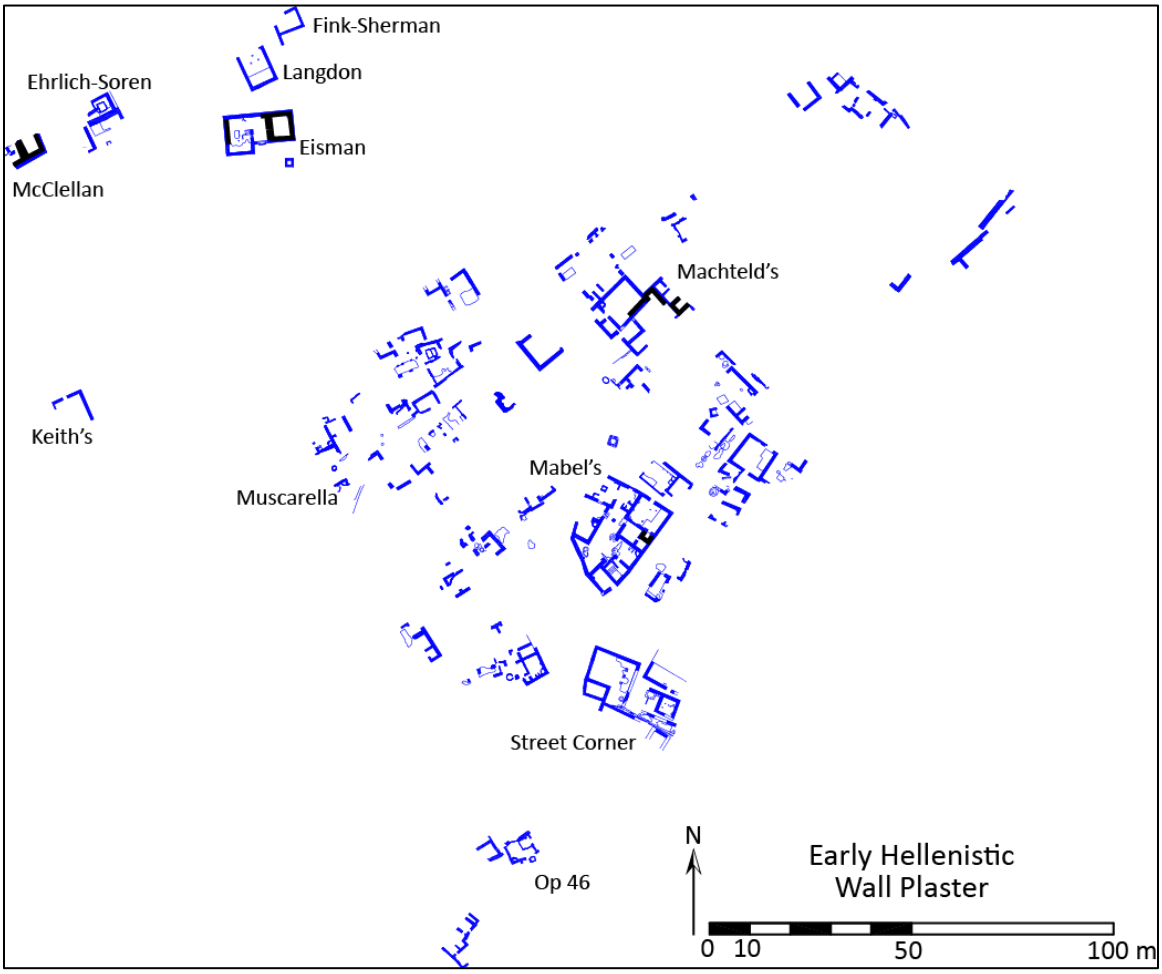


Figure 128. Early Hellenistic Wall Plaster locations.

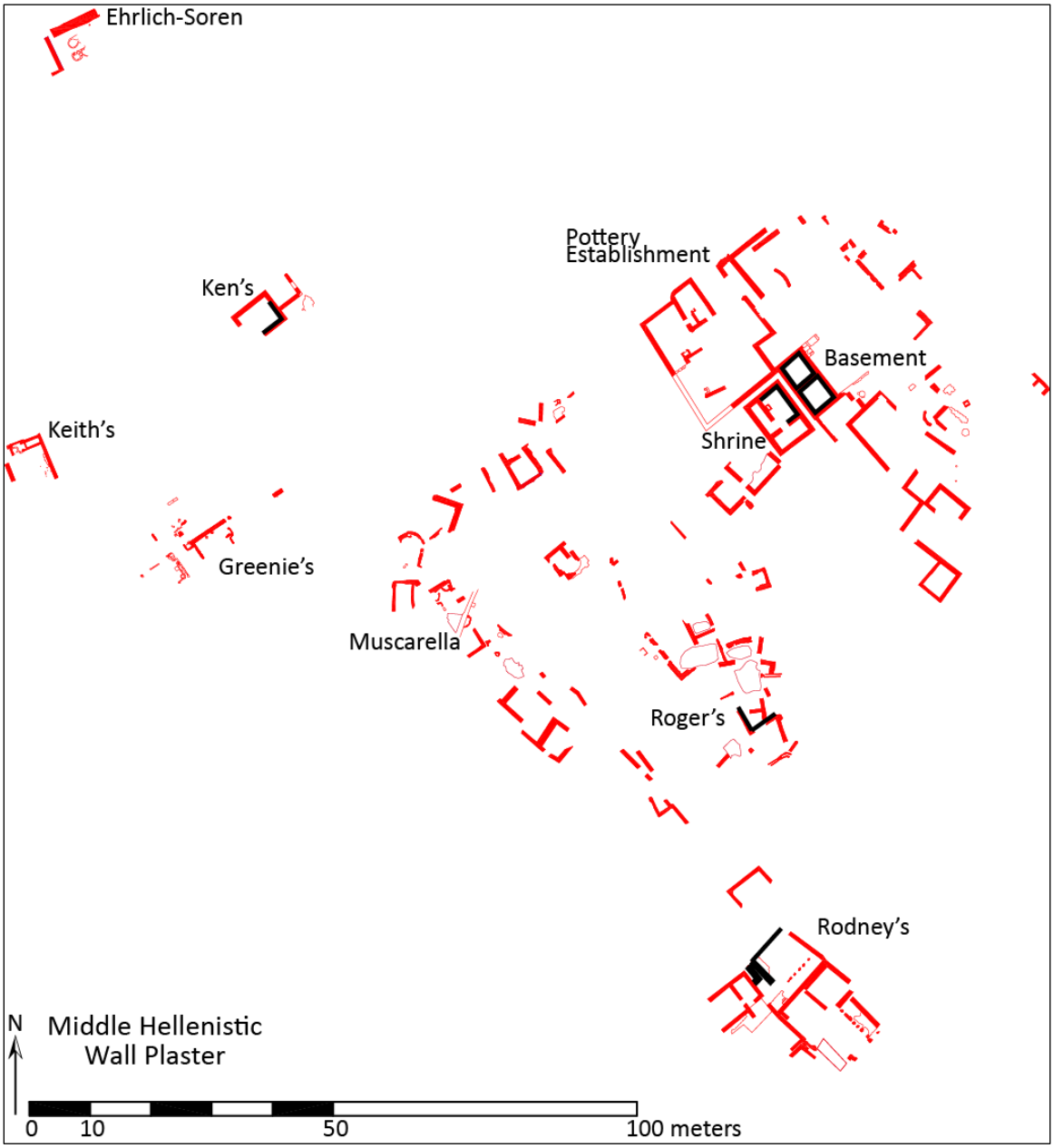


Figure 129. Middle Hellenistic Wall Plaster locations.

The Hellenistic builders at Gordion were similar to those at any other ancient residential site in nearly every way. First, they built their houses with what materials were readily available: stone (quarried from below rather than some distant ridge), mudbrick, wood and plaster. Second, there are things that can only be done a certain way with these

materials no matter where one lives. For example, mudbrick walls have to have stone socles and roofs or they will not last. Third, they used these materials to construct spaces which served the needs of individual households, resulting in a tremendous degree of variability in plan from house to house. No Gordion house looks like another. If there is a reason why our Gordion builders are different, it is in their reasons behind the variation. Why are some paved portions of courtyards covered and others not? Why are certain floors plastered and some just dirt? Why plaster one wall and not the other three? There may be more evidence, either in material remains or attested in texts, at urban locations which could help answer similar questions there. Gordion only has the evidence presented here and it cannot reliably be interpreted through the lens of more well-known sites. The Gordion builders were responding to the needs of a multi-cultural local population and, at this point, we must take the physical environment they created on its own terms.

Household Activities and Architectural Space

In most treatments of ancient architecture, there will be a description of the kinds of rooms, as defined by architecture or features. For the Gordion houses, this turns out to be a difficult, if not impossible, task. There are three reasons for this. One is that the Gordion houses do not look like each other. Each house is unique in its plan, size, number of rooms, access and features. Only spaces that I can confidently identify as courtyards show up in enough houses to make a general discussion of courtyards worthwhile. The variability in the plans of other rooms make similar treatments overwhelming and pointless. The second reason is that the Gordion houses do not look

like other houses in the Greek world from which and for which we have a vocabulary of domestic architecture. One finds no *pastas*, *prostas* or *oikos* in these structures, and only one room in one house, the Eisman house, might be called an *andron*. The third reason is one that may be at the root of the other two; it is the probability that not all the structures on the Citadel Mound were houses, or they functioned as houses and something else. Whether due to a lack of identifiable features or evidence (wooden furniture) at one extreme, the presence of ambiguous evidence in the middle (the Langdon Room) or, at the other extreme, an abundance of conflicting evidence (Rodney's House, Roger's House), it is difficult to label some of the structures as houses. A different approach is needed. The state of preservation of many structures and the features and finds inside allow for a discussion based on activities and activity areas. This method will describe those spaces which can be labeled (courtyards) and those that cannot (most every other room) in the context of the activities that went on there. This way, I can present the spaces as accurately as possible, by talking about what they looked like and what went on inside them, without trying to force them into a framework which has been acknowledged as artificial and modern in the first place.[195]

In the following sections, I will present the movable and permanent evidence for household activities and then discuss the contexts in which this evidence was found.

Cooking

The excavators used the terms *ovens*, *fireplaces*, *kilns* and *hearths* to describe built features which showed evidence of repeated burning. They did not define these labels and used them indiscriminately to describe features of different plans, sizes and

[195] Cahill 2002, 148-150.

construction methods. To simplify things, I have divided the various examples found throughout the houses into three categories: hearths, above-ground ovens, below-ground ovens. I include kilns in the "Ceramic Production" section below. Evidence for cooking was found in both Early and Middle Hellenistic houses.

I define *hearths* as fire-hardened and fire-blackened areas of earth or stone partly delineated by stones, tiles or mudbricks, though not always. This is the simplest kind of spot for a fire and the construction methods and placement seem to be rather ad-hoc. All that was really needed was at least one large stone or brick or tile to act as a windbreak, though no windbreak was needed in the Langdon Room since the fire was inside. There are ten hearths in the houses covered in this study: MH Machteld's, Mabel's, Eisman, Langdon, Muscarella (2), Greenie's (3), Pottery Establishment Shrine. Basic examples are the hearths in the Eisman House and in the Muscarella house, the latter just a spot against the wall next to a bin. The most elaborate example of a hearth is from Greenie's House 1, where mudbricks and one large stone defined a burned area 1.24 x 0.87 m (fig. 130).

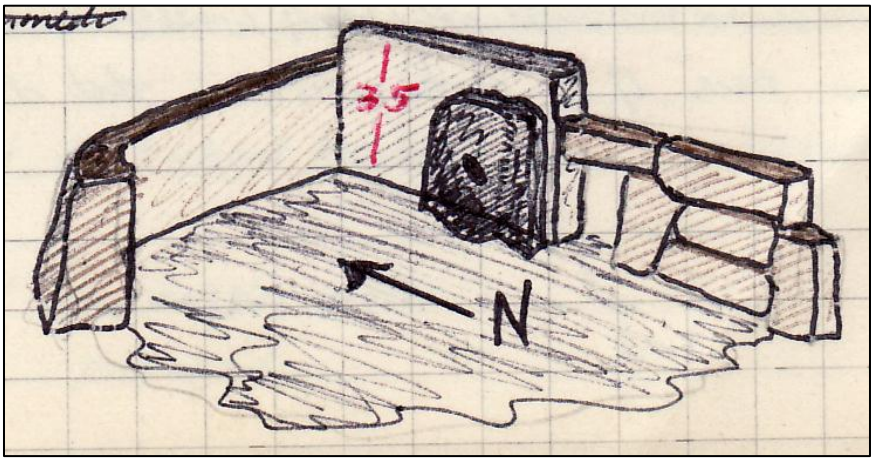


Figure 130. Greenie's House 1 hearth (drawn by C. Greenewalt, NB 91:31).

Above-ground ovens are defined here as square, rectangular or circular stone or mudbrick installations open on one side, open at the top and blackened by fire inside. They were often built against room walls or small windbreaks and sometimes contained several layers of ash, often up to 0.30 m thick. The walls were usually plastered on the inside regardless of their material. There are 12 such ovens in the following houses: Street Corner House 2, Machteld's, Mabel's (4), Eisman, Ehrlich-Soren, Keith's, Pottery Establishment kitchen.

The above-ground ovens were built in two sizes. There are five smaller versions, between 0.65 and 0.90 m in interior length and width. These are comparable to modern hibachis or Weber grills (fig. 131a). Examples are in Room a of the Pottery Establishment, the courtyard of the Eisman House, and Space k of Mabel's House. There are five large ovens. Examples can be found in Space h of Mabel's House, Keith's House, and the largest is in Space b of Street Corner House 2. It measures 1.68 x 1.19 m, similar in size to a modern brick pizza oven (fig. 131b).

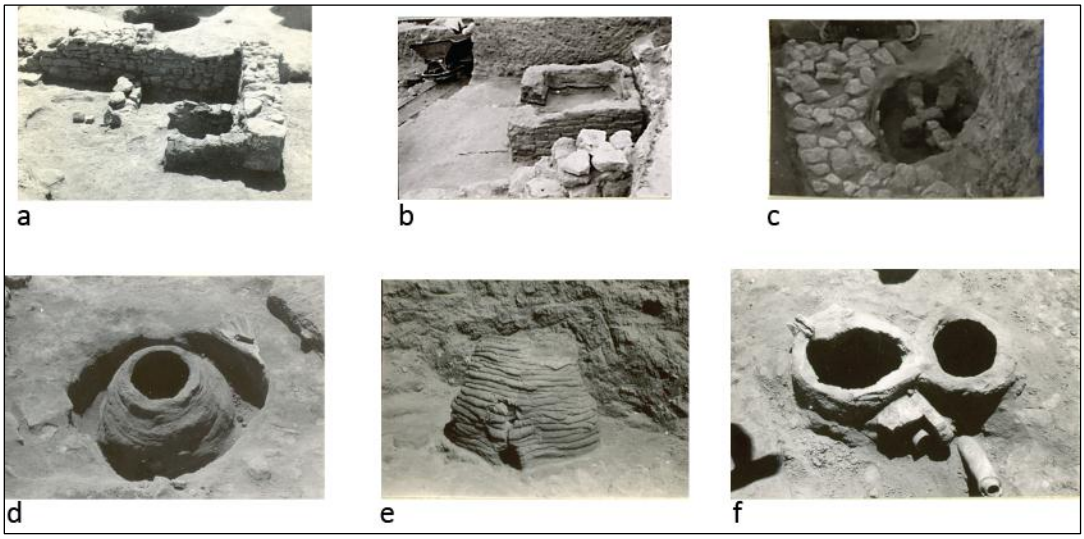


Figure 131. Hellenistic ovens (courtesy Gordion archives, **a**: above-ground oven, Mabel's House, space k, GO 4158; **b**: above-ground oven, Street Corner House 2, space b, GO 1475; **c**: below-ground oven, Street Corner House 5, space c, 1486; **d**: below-ground oven, GO 5998; **e**: below-ground oven, GO 5641; **f**: below-ground oven, GO 5776.

Below-ground ovens are defined in essence by their construction (similar to a modern-day *tandır* in Turkey) and they generally appear in one of two forms. In the first and usually larger version, a circular pit is dug into the living surface. The sides are lined with stone or mudbrick and stones or bricks are set into the bottom, forming a kind of support frame (fig. 131c). These ovens are found exclusively in the Early Hellenistic houses. The oven in courtyard of Street Corner House 5 is the only example in the houses considered here. The second kind of below-ground oven starts again with a pit dug into the living surface. Ropes of clay are coiled at the bottom of the pit and stacked upon each other, creating a beehive-shaped structure that tapers as it reaches top of the pit and extends slightly above the level of the surrounding floor (fig. 131d,e). The interiors are between 0.60 and 0.80 m in diameter and plastered. A small hole is kept open at the bottom of the wall for ventilation. An elaborate version was a double oven with reused

water pipes attached to the vents that functioned as flues (fig. 131,f). There are examples of these ovens in Ken's House and the Muscarella House and in perhaps ten other locations not covered in this study.

The hearths and the ovens were features used for heating and cooking. These were small areas or structures with evidence of repeated and localized fires. Wood and perhaps dung would have been used for fuel. With the hearths, the fires were built directly on the floor. The above-ground ovens had walls which would contain and focus the heat and flames. Fuel was set into the bottom of the oven and cookpots could have been set into the flames or suspended above them. The cookpots ranged between 8.8 cm and 21.6 cm at their widest points which would allow between four and ten pots in one above-ground oven depending on the size.[196] Casserole widths fell between 18.0 cm and 36.0 cm allowing for two to four per oven.[197] There is some evidence of meat consumption in localized deposits of bone; the animals could have been cooked on wood skewers or spits which rested on the side walls. Fuel was also loaded into the bottom of the below-ground ovens through the opening at the top. Cookpots could have then been set into the oven or put on top. The inner diameters of the coiled-clay ovens would allow for slightly fewer pots than the above ground ovens. Given the similarities in form that the below-ground ovens have with modern *tandırs*, it is possible that flatbread was baked on the interior sides. Flat stones could have closed the tops for dishes which required baking.

The hearths and the small above-ground ovens were most often found in spaces that were either inside a structure or closely connected to one. The spaces were probably

[196] Stewart 2010, Fig. 191.
[197] Stewart 2010, 241-242.

open to the sky but in most cases there is no evidence one way or the other as to whether or not the space was roofed. What does appear to be the case with these is that the spaces all seem to be domestic. They are usually single rooms within a larger structure. The oven or hearth is against one wall and open to the middle of the room. Often there are other features (bins) or finds (loomweights) nearby which suggest other domestic activities. Stone built hearths in the middle of rooms, like those common in Olynthian kitchen-complexes, are rare at Gordion;[198] there was one in Room l of Mabel's House and a smaller version in Phases 1 and 2 of Space c in the Eisman house.

The large ovens, both above- and below-ground, were probably used for another purpose besides single-family cooking. They are nearly twice the size of the smaller versions. In the case of the large, mudbrick oven in Street Corner House 2, ash was found inside the oven and around it and a fragment of a Kybele mould was found nearby.

The small, coiled-clay below-ground ovens were found only in Middle Hellenistic levels and only loosely associated with any one structure. They are always in outside spaces. The oven just south of Ken's House is one that can be directly tied to that house and to domestic cooking since cookpots were found around it.

Milling and Grain

It seems appropriate for a discussion of food processing to follow one on ovens and cooking. The inhabitants of Hellenistic Gordion were no different from any other ancient agropastoral community in their diet: grains and meat. Young's excavators did

[198] The Olynthian hearths were almost always used for heating the kitchen, a comfortable space for food production, weaving and other household tasks, and not for cooking food (Cahill 2002, 90, 156-160).

not collect or extensively describe any faunal remains they found but there is good information on the cereal part of the Gordion diet.

Grain processing and production was a household activity throughout the Hellenistic period. Portable grinding equipment was found on the floors of the rooms and courtyards. It was also not uncommon for Young's excavators to find small piles of grain in pots or on the floors of the Middle Hellenistic houses.[199] Naomi Miller has analyzed the botanical samples recovered from all the occupation phases revealed during the Voigt excavations. The results from the YHSS 3 samples are the ones relevant to us. The main crops, as in earlier periods, were wheat and barley. Wheat came in two categories. The free-threshing wheat or naked-wheat, with varieties like *Triticum aestivum* and *Triticum durum*, proved to be the largest crops. This is to be expected since it is the best grain for making bread. Hulled wheat like einkorn and emmer was present but in much lower percentages.[200] Barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) was grown for beer, some low-quality bread and fodder. It made up about half of the collected samples. Other crops with significant percentages were bitter vetch, lentils and chickpeas.

The excavators used a range of generic names to refer to the grinding equipment they found in the houses: *stone grinder*, *grindstone*, *lower grindstone*, *grinding stone*, *grinding mill*. These names are not helpful in determining exactly what kind of object was found and, unfortunately, the excavators rarely included these objects in photographs or sketched them in their notebooks. All is not lost, since there were only really four or

[199] The samples were collected as "Botanicals" with the hope that they might someday be studied. The best guess where these samples are now is Ankara and, to my knowledge, they have never been studied. G. Kenneth Sams, pers. comm.
[200] Miller 2010, 52, fig. 5.11.

five types of groundstone used in manual grain processing (mortars and pestles, upper and lower stones (saddle-querns) and mills) and it appears that all were present in the Hellenistic levels.

Basalt is the only material mentioned for these tools and it is likely that the majority was made from it. The vesicular basalt found in the ridges and valleys east of Gordion was the perfect material for grinding grain. The holes in the rock are the result of gas bubbles in the lava and are excellent for cutting and grinding grain into flour when two rock faces are rubbed against each other.[201] The tools may also have been made out of other stones like alabaster.[202]

PESTLES AND MORTARS

Pestles are mentioned in the notebooks a few times but there are no measurements, sketches or photographs. It is likely most were missed and that those made of wood did not survive. Mortars, on the other hand, were sometimes photographed and, if they were found on the floor, sometimes drawn onto top plans (fig. 132). Mortars were generally described as stones with holes in them. The dimensions of two such examples were 0.40 x 0.35 m with a cylindrical hole 0.21 x 0.15 x 0.18 m and 0.40 x 0.40 m with a hole 0.20 m in diameter and 0.25 m deep. Some are described as sitting on the floor and some are embedded in it. The deep central hole and stable footing on the ground are necessary qualities for mortars. These tools, along with pestles, were used for hulling, or pounding grains such as barley and emmer to remove the tough outer husk before grinding. Of course, other material besides grain was often crushed or even ground

[201] Marsh 2005, 161-164; Wells et al., in press.
[202] Young's team found significant deposits of alabaster debitage in the fills of the trenches just northwest of the central part of the main excavation area.

up in mortars. Various plants for dyes, for example, might require shallower mortars and smaller pestles, such as the alabaster example mentioned above that was described in the notebook as "finger and nail."[203]

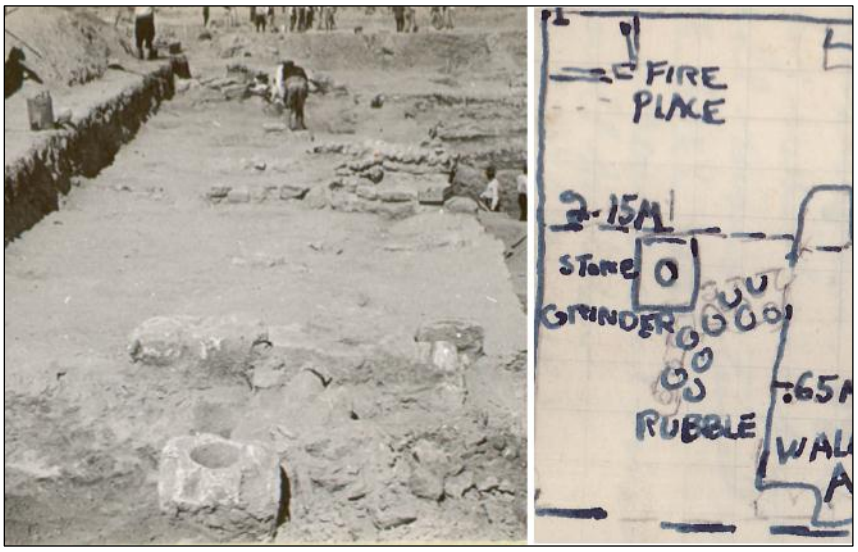


Figure 132. Mortar (GO 4399 and sketch from NB 53:36).

UPPER AND LOWER STONES (SADDLE QUERNS)

This category represents the least sophisticated type of portable grain grinding tool. Upper stones are generally oblong, oval or loaf-shaped in plan and flat on one side and convex on the other. The flat side is the grinding surface and the narrow ends act as handles for the user to hold on to as she rubs the stone over the lower part. The lower part is broad and flat and rectangular (fig. 133). The lower stones are often set up at an angle sloping away from the operator so that the flour falls out at the bottom where it can be easily picked up. The upper stones usually have grooves cut into their grinding faces to direct the flour out.

[203] NB 51:138. Voigt found pots with traces of pigment on the floor of Building 2 in Op 37/29 (Voigt 2003, 18). At least two alabaster examples of this kind of pestle were recovered during the Young excavations: St 236 and St 686.

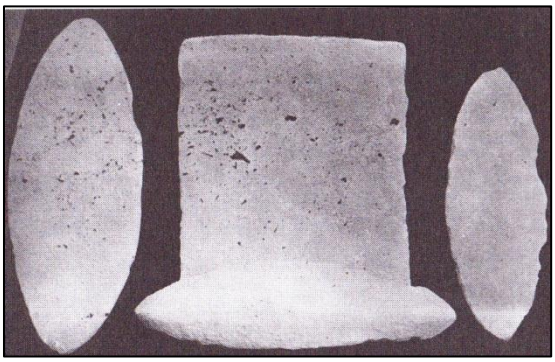


Figure 133. Saddle querns from Olynthus (Cahill 2002, 163, fig. 34).

To my knowledge, there are no photographs or sketches of saddle querns in any of the notebooks dealing with the Hellenistic levels. I also cannot recall anyone using the term "saddle-quern" to describe a grindstone that they found. The only description that seems to refer to this specific tool is "boat-shaped grinding stone."[204] Nevertheless, I imagine that many of the generic *grinding stones* that the excavators did find looked something like a saddle quern.

There is one more possible type of lower grinding stone left to discuss. In Rodney's House, there are two instances where single marble column bases are embedded into sections of cobble paving (Spaces f and k). In both cases the bases would have been too close to walls to be useful in supporting a roof. Both are much larger than any other stone post base (A 8 - 0.462 m diameter; A 9 - 0.49 m diameter). In the absence of any other explanation for these bases, I suggest that they might have served as lower grinding stones. I have looked at the surfaces of both bases and they do have wear patterns that are consistent with having been used as grinding surfaces (figs. 134-137).

[204] NB 51:123

The rough chisel marks left on the original surface and still visible on the outer part have been worn down in the middle of the surface and toward the center.

Figure 134. Profile of column base A 9 (R 207-33; photo by author).

Figure 135. Column base A 9 showing circular wear pattern (photo by author).

Figure 136. Profile of column base A 8 (R 44-13; photo by author).

Figure 137. Wear pattern on the surface of column base A 8 (photo by author).

OLYNTHUS MILL or HOPPER-RUBBER

The saddle-quern, while efficient, was not as good as it could be. The fundamental problem with it was that the operator had to stop grinding in order to put more grain on the bottom stone. The invention of the hopper-rubber, or Olynthus mill, sometime in the 5th century BCE in Greece or Anatolia solved this problem.[205] This mill was self-feeding and really became a machine, understood in the simplest sense.[206] These mills are often referred to as Olynthus mills because of their early and detailed treatments in the excavation reports from that site.

The change took place with the upper stone which was now a square or rectangular cube of basalt with a rectangular shaped depression with sloping sides carved out of the top (fig. 138). A slit was carved through the remainder of the thickness of the block at the bottom of the funnel perpendicular to the long axis of the block. Two square

[205] Frankel 2003, 18.
[206] Moritz 1958, 46.

slots were cut into the top of the block on either side of the funnel, also on the long axis. The bottom of the block was often grooved, either straight or diagonally. If the lower stone changed from the saddle quern, it got wider.

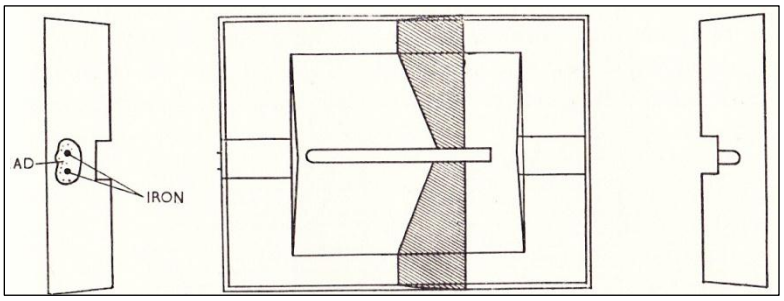


Figure 138. Olynthian mill (Moritz 1958, 45, fig. 3).

The operator would dump an amount of grain into the funnel, or "hopper." A handle would then be inserted into the slots, sticking out a little on one side and some ways on the other. The short end would be pierced or somehow attached to a vertical member which would be anchored to a table or some horizontal surface and act as a pivot (fig. 139). The operator would then grasp the other end of the handle and move the mill in an arc over the lower stone. As the stone moved back and forth, the grain would fall through the slit onto the bottom stone and be crushed and ground down. The striations on the bottom of the upper stone would guide the flour off the mill by the repeated motions through the arc.

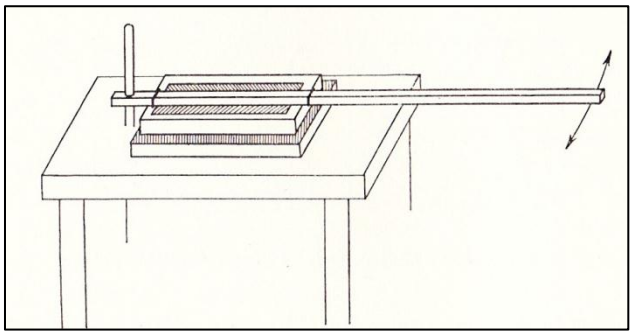


Figure 139. Operation of the Olynthian mill (Moritz 1958, 45, fig. 4).

We have slightly more evidence for these mills at Gordion than for saddle querns. The Körte brothers found two in their early excavations (fig. 140b) with the measurements of 0.63 x 0.42 m and 0.52 x 0.37 m. Young's excavators found at least three, one of which was described as "a wheat grinding stone – the slot and handle grinder channel type" and another of which was drawn (fig. 140a).[207] These mills differ from standard Olynthus mills in that there is a spur on the lower part through which a hole has been drilled, Frankel's Type II4.[208] This hole was where the vertical pivot rod would go, up through the horizontal handle and down into the table or whatever flat surface the mill was set on. It is not immediately clear what advantage there would be in having the mounting for the vertical rod be part of the mill itself rather than a separate piece as it is in the mills from Olynthus. It may be that it held the handle in the sockets more securely. On the Olynthus mills, this was managed by iron hooks or clamps set into the stone.

[207] Körte 1904, 175-76. No measurements were given for the mills found in the later excavations. Their presence was noted and, like the other grindstones, thrown in the rock pile. The Gordion Museum in Yassıhöyük has one example on display.
[208] "Upper Stone with vertical hole for pivot." Published examples of this type of mill are known from Alişar Hüyük and Hama on the Orontes in Syria (Frankel 2003, 12).

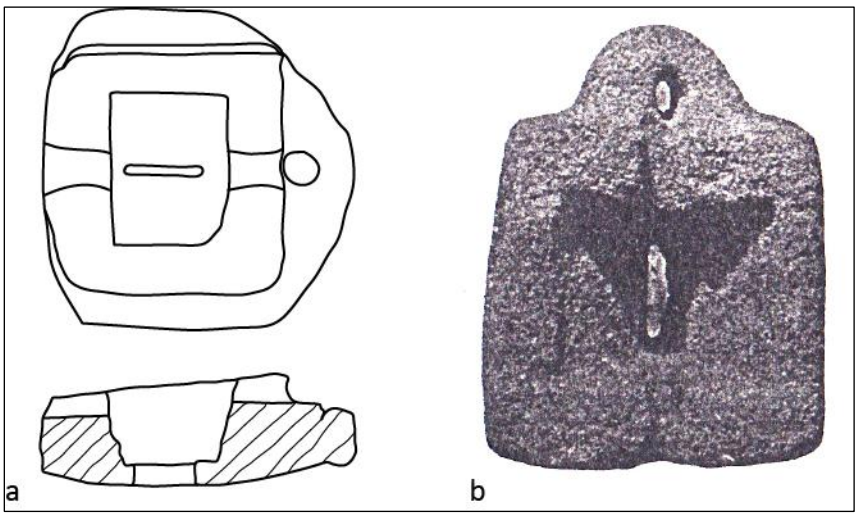


Figure 140. Olynthus mills from Gordion. **a:** sketch by M. Lang, NB 14:48 (ST 164); **b:** Körte and Körte 1904, 176, Abb. 158.

The "bread tray" or "kneading tray" is the last category of milling equipment found in the houses. Clay and wood versions of these trays were known from the anterooms of the Early Phrygian Terrace Buildings where they were apparently used for mixing the flour with water and kneading it into dough.[209] The Hellenistic examples were likely similar in how they looked and how they were used, with the added possibility that they were also used for the actual baking; one tray was found in the hearth in Space k of Mabel's House and another in a hearth southeast of Mabel's House (fig. 141).

[209] DeVries 1980, 39.

Figure 141. Baking tray in an oven (GO 4109).

Grinding was a task usually done in open spaces, and I suspect was as common in the early period as it was in the middle period, though the Middle Hellenistic houses are better represented. In this study, grinding equipment was recorded in the McClellan House, Muscarella House, Greenie's House 1, Roger's House and Rodney's House. In Rodney's House, the equipment found together with the grain. The fact that there were mortars, grinding stones and mills indicates that both pounding and grinding were used for processing grain. This conforms to the types of grains that were identified from the later excavations. The grains themselves, in contexts where they survived, were found in piles on the floor or in pots.

The highland plateau of Phrygia has a specific climate, natural resources and geomorphology which combined to set the conditions for success with certain crops. The agricultural and geological conditions which existed in the Bronze Age resulted in the residents processing their grains with grinding stones and saddle querns. These same conditions persisted into the Iron Age and allowed the Phrygian capital to produce

thousands of kilograms of wheat and barley, quantities large enough to fulfill the needs of the kingdom. Those environmental conditions and natural resources continued into the Hellenistic period. The social structure did not continue, however, and so the food production that had been administered by a king was now in the hands of individual families. The tools and the techniques stayed the same, just now put to use on a smaller scale.

Weaving

Figure 142. Doughnut-shaped loomweights (Burke 2005, 75, fig. 6-5).

Textile production was a household affair throughout the Hellenistic period. Mothers and daughters, and perhaps men in the agricultural off-season, would spin and weave wool with spindles and looms, equipment familiar from any study of ancient textile manufacturing. For the Early Hellenistic period, Young's excavators found a quantity of doughnut-shaped loomweights and two spindle whorls (one stone, one ceramic) in Space h of Machteld's House. A grindstone was also found here. Burke found doughnut-shaped weights in the bin in the Middle Hellenistic house in OP 46 (fig. 142).

Four of the abandoned Middle Hellenistic houses contained deposits of loomweights in numbers consistent with what Burke and others have put forth as numbers needed for an ancient warp-weighted loom.[210] The groups of loomweights were found in both interior and exterior spaces and most were close to grindstones or mortars. None was found in a line, so the specific location of a loom cannot be postulated. Roger's House contained two stone whorls and an unknown number of weights inside and a set of pyramidal and doughnut-shaped weights outside on the courtyard floor. Again, the weights were close to a handstone and a lower grindstone. A shallow pit near the doorway in Space c of the large courtyard in Rodney's House held an unknown number of doughnut-shaped weights. In two houses, the weights had been piled up near the walls of interior rooms. A pile of 15 doughnut-shaped weights were found in a pile against the northwest wall of Greenie's House 1. They were located just a few meters away from the large hearth and a lower grindstone. In the part of the Muscarella House excavated in 1988, Voigt's excavators discovered a group of about 40 weights against the northwest wall of a room that also contained other loom elements, weaving tools, a hearth, a stone mortar and grindstone.[211] Nineteen doughnut-shaped weights and three pyramidal weights were found on the floor of Keith's House, covering an area 3.17 x 1.48 m. They were not found in a pile nor were they found in a line, so they could not have been set up on a loom. They were scattered, spread out from the southern to the northern part of the room, as if they had spilled across the floor when the pot they were being stored in fell over and

[210] Cahill figures between 10 and 40 weights (Cahill 2002, 175). TB 7 at Gordion had 21 weights (see previous note); Fourteen pyramidal weights were found in two rows in an early La Téne period house in Niemitz, Germany (Hoffmann 1974, 312).
[211] This northwestern part of the Muscarella House was excavated by Voigt in 1988. See Voigt 2003 and Sams and Voigt 1990.

broke. One doughnut-shaped weight was found in earlier kiln of the Pottery Establishment.

The weaving evidence shows that the Hellenistic households at Gordion were producing their own textiles. Nearly every Middle Hellenistic house had enough loomweights to operate one warp-weighted loom, if we extrapolate from the sets of 15 and 40 to those sets that were not counted. The evidence shows a preponderance of doughnut-shaped examples, most likely as a result of their unbaked clay composition—they could be manufactured by anyone. On the other hand, the lower number of baked clay pyramidal-shaped weights may reflect the extra effort needed to produce and acquire them and/or their function as weights set up on the edges of the loom for the construction of the selvedge.[212] There is not enough evidence on the typology of the spindle whorls from which to draw any conclusions.

We know some about the masses of the doughnut-shaped weights. For the doughnuts found in the Early Phrygian Terrace Buildings, the average mass was 557 g, with most of them weighing between 400 – 700g.[213] These are heavy when compared with doughnut-shaped weights found at other ancient Aegean and Near Eastern sites; examples from Olynthus fall in a range of 148 – 174g[214] and those from Jebel Khalid fall in a range of 180-240g.[215] The heavier the weight, the tighter the warp threads are pulled and tighter warp threads mean denser textiles.[216] The Phrygian plateau has a colder climate than these sites so a need for thicker fabrics is not surprising. To date, no textile

[212] Crewe 2002, 240-241.
[213] Burke 2010, 117.
[214] Cahill 2002, 252.
[215] Crewe 2002, 235.
[216] Larson and Erdman forthcoming.

fragments have been found among the Hellenistic houses, so we do not know how they compare to the Phrygian examples recovered from the tumulus graves and the Early Phrygian citadel.

We do not know the exact spots where the looms were set up since no weights were found in a line. However, looms were heavy and cumbersome once they were set up and probably not moved very often. We might conclude, then, that the location of the weights indicates approximately the location of the looms, especially the three sets found near walls against which the looms would have had to lean. The excavators found the sets of weights in both exterior and interior spaces with the same frequency. One set was stored in a shallow pit in a courtyard, two sets were simply piled up near interior walls and out of the way and one set may have been kept in a pot. Two other sets were found in courtyards, though the circumstances of their dispositions are unknown.

Weaving was then an inside and outside activity. Working outside would have necessitated good weather or some kind of shelter while working inside meant there had to be a good light source. Unfortunately, we do not have enough of most of the houses to say whether the inside looms were indeed set up near doors. We can say that five of the six sets were found close to grinding equipment, indicating that these tasks were carried out in the same spaces and probably by the same members of the family, e.g., mothers and daughters, working closely together.

Like food production, the domestic setting marks a change from the industrial scale textile production of the Early Phrygian citadel. The Hellenistic residents were using the same equipment as the workers in the Terrace Buildings – spindles to spin wool

and looms to weave it. Again, the climate and the natural environment of Gordion did not change over the millennia; people were still raising sheep for wool. The modern villagers of Yassıhöyük still shepherd their flocks around the citadel mound today. The organizational structure around textile production had changed, however. The responsibility did not fall to some central authority. It was now, along with food production, the responsibility of individual households. The two activities were once again carried out in proximity, only now in modest courtyards instead of the mass-production facilities of the Phrygian Terrace Buildings.

Storage

The residents of all but three of the houses discussed here employed some means of storage in their homes.[217] Dry foodstuffs, liquids, cooking and table ware, and household and religious equipment required storage with means of easy access. In the Early Hellenistic period, the most common storage installation was the bin, a stone built quarter-circle or square in the corner of a room or space, ranging in area from 0.58 m^2 to 0.98 m^2 (figs. 37, 40). These are found in Room e and possibly Room i of Mabel's House, Space p and Room g of Machteld's House, Room a of the Eisman House, and Room b of the Muscarella House. There are also bins in four other Early Hellenistic houses not discussed here, including the 3rd century house excavated by Brendan Burke in 2005 (fig. 143).[218] The bins are built next to hearths or above-ground ovens in six of the ten rooms, suggesting that the same family members were responsible for the cooking and weaving; the bin that Burke found contained a quantity of unfired doughnut-shaped loomweights.

[217] The Fink-Sherman House, the McClellan House, and Greenie's House have no equipment or obvious storage installations, though none of the homes was completely excavated.
[218] Op 46 is just southeast of Rodney's House. See Burke 2005, 3-4.

As for the other cases, two are in incompletely excavated or disturbed rooms (Room g of Machteld's House, Room i of Mabel's House), one is in a courtyard (Space p of Machteld's House), and one is in the andron of the Eisman House.

Mark Lawall has recently suggested that these bins may indicate the presence of Pontic immigrants at the site in the Late Phrygian and Early Hellenistic periods.[219] This is based on two factors: one, that there is a strong trade link between Gordion and the Black Sea beginning in the late 4th century as shown by the steady flow of Pontic amphoras to the site at that time and, two, stone-built bins are features commonly found in 3rd century houses at several sites around the Black Sea and the Chersonesan chora: Olbia, Kerkinitis, Baclanya Skala, Pustyany Bereg I, Zolotaya Balka, Kyta, and Tiritake. [220] Conversely, they are extremely rare at Aegean sites, with examples coming only from the 5th and 4th century houses at Mesembria-Zone and Argilos on the Thracian coast.[221]

[219] Lawall forthcoming b, 338-340.
[220] Olbia: Kryžickij and Lejpunskaja 2010, 46, 77, pls. 10. 2-3, 32.1. For the other Pontic sites, see Lawall forthcoming b, 339.
[221] Lawall forthcoming b, 338. At Gordion and the Pontic sites, the rooms in which the bins are found are domestic contexts. The pottery associated with the bins at Olbia was mostly cookware and the bin at the house in Tiritake contained a pile of loomweights. Mesembria-Zone: Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi 2001; Argilos: Bonias and Perreault 1996.

Figure 143. Corner bin and above-ground oven in OP 46 (Courtesy Gordion Archives).

There were other means of storage in the Early Hellenistic period besides the bins. The residents of Mabel's House (Space c) and Machteld's House (Space i) built small, closet-like pantries in the corner of two rooms. These spaces, 4 m^2 and 2.77 m^2 respectively, have plastered walls and paved floors. The small size would make it difficult for any activities requiring space to be carried out in them but they could easily hold some kind of household equipment, though nothing was found within them. The residents of Machteld's House also dug rectangular trenches in Spaces a and b and plastered the sides and floors. These pits, perhaps in combination with pots, would have

effectively kept dry goods cool. Perishable goods storage may have also been the reason for the residents of the Ehrlich-Soren House to continue to use the late-4th century cellar built against the Middle Phrygian city wall. The residents of the Street Corner House 5 sank a large pithos into the courtyard Space c. Finally, the owner of the Langdon room kept some of his cups in a small niche in the wall.

In the Middle Hellenistic period, the houses with bins, and the Pontic amphoras, have disappeared. These changes may reflect a concomitant disappearance of Pontic immigrants. Pontic amphoras began to arrive at Gordion in the 4th century BCE and continued into the early 3rd century, but they cease to appear after the 260s. This disruption in the trade pattern has been credited to the settling of the Galatians in the region.[222] When the connections with the Black Sea coast are reestablished c. 240-235 BCE, only a few figurines and thymiateria are making their way south[223] and the Gordion houses are no longer built with bins

The most common means of storage in the Middle Hellenistic period is the pithos or simply a jar. The Pottery Establishment owners sunk a pithos in the floor of their kitchen (Room a). Ken's House contained six pithoi and Room b of the storage suite in Rodney's House held four.

The 13 cataloged pithoi range between 59.9 and 92.2 cm in height, with rim diameters between 21.9 and 47.7 cm.[224] All have unstable bases, suggesting that they were at least partially buried in the earth for support. The four pithoi in Room b of Rodney's House were inscribed with Ionic notations for measurements of dry goods, the

[222] Lawall forthcoming b, 337; Stewart 2010, 107; Darbyshire, et al. 2000.
[223] Stewart 2010, 115, 119.
[224] Stewart 2010, 186.

same system used at Pergamon. This epigraphic evidence, coupled with the fact that Pergamon is the likely source for the six figurines found in the next room,[225] suggests contact with the Attalid capital.

Other vessels were also used for storage by the Middle Hellenistic residents. Wide-mouth amphoras were a convenient way to keep dry goods like grains and barley for domestic food production.[226] The two inventoried examples have heights of 46.8 cm and 43.7 cm and so are comparable in size to the pithoi. One of the two storage jars found smashed in the courtyards of Rodney's House still contained grains in its base. The loomweights scattered on the floor of Keith's house were also possibly stored in such a jar. Liquids were probably stored and moved around in narrow-neck amphoras, a design which would minimize evaporation and spillage.[227] We may add to the liquid storage options the wine transport amphoras.

These vessels, as well as other jugs and pots, had to be stored someplace. These spots were just the places we might expect, in the corners of rooms or courtyards or in their own special rooms, out of the way but easily accessible. Major pot deposits were found on the paved portion of the kitchen (Room a) and in the corner of Room b in the Pottery Establishment, in the courtyards of Ken's and Keith's Houses, and in both rooms of the storage suite of Rodney's House.

For storage needs besides those for grain and liquids, the Middle Hellenistic residents could build or dig. The owners of Keith's House chose to build a compartment in one corner (fig. 71). The only room excavated of Roger's House contained the bronze

[225] Romano's "Terracotta Deposit 3," Romano 1995, 66-67.
[226] Stewart 2010, 189.
[227] ibid.

and iron fittings of a box and the burned remains of what may be shelving. Shelves were also most likely set up in Room a of Rodney's House, the room which held the figurines and the large quantities of table ware. Very close to Room a, in Space c of Rodney's House, there is the one recorded example of loomweights being stored in a hole in the ground.

The village residents were able to store their goods by any number of the ways discussed here. Each household chose the methods that were suitable for the types of goods they wanted and needed to have on hand. They would have also used storage equipment that would not have left any trace. Sacks and bags made of leather or wool and baskets woven of reeds would have offered strong, portable and inexpensive storage options but would not necessarily survive in the material record. Storage equipment like this could be used anywhere, moved as needed and set down or hung up where desired. Whatever the method, the presence of some means to store everyday necessities in all extensively excavated structures illustrates the self-sufficiency of the individual households in the village.

Ceramic Production

Locally produced pottery had a long tradition at Gordion. In the Early and Middle Phrygian periods, professionals manufactured native Phrygian shapes on a large scale. The Late Phrygian period saw a shift to small workshops run by a few skilled potters who each produced vessels in quantities not meant for more than a limited number of households.[228] Production in the Early Hellenistic period changed slightly, marked by a rise in the number of local workshops, each generating its own variations in size, shape,

[228] Stewart 2010, 51-52.

fabric and surface treatment, yet still only producing enough for only a few households. It was not until the Middle Hellenistic period that professional potters again began producing ceramics in greater numbers,[229] though the production sites were still small operations serving the surrounding families.

Pottery was not the only local ceramic industry at Gordion. Terracotta figurines had been locally produced since the Early Bronze Age, though no local manufacturing sites have been identified for the early levels. In the Middle Hellenistic period, coroplasts at Gordion were producing terracotta figurines and thymiateria in numbers equal to the imported Greek terracottas.[230] Evidence of their production, e.g. moulds, fragments, and unfinished figurines, was found mostly in abandonment contexts.

Ceramic production, either for pottery or for figurines, requires an open air space large enough to accommodate the kiln, fuel, the potter or coroplast and the equipment. The heat generated by the kilns is quite high, necessitating their construction in spots some distance away from nearby structures. The Pottery Establishment stands alone among the excavated Hellenistic structures as a secure site of ceramic manufacture (figs. 79-82). The two kilns in the southern corner of the courtyard were found to contain fragments of fired and unfired vessels, figurines, and two moulds for bust-flower thymiateria. There is a second production location in the CC trenches at the very western edge of Young's excavation area. The two large kilns found there are of general Hellenistic date; there is no architectural context in which to put them.[231]

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[229] Stewart 2010, 232-33.
[230] Romano 1995, 71.
[231] NB 88:173-184.

The small-scale domestic nature of the ceramic production facilities speaks to the very ad-hoc nature of the ceramic production itself. This was neither an industrial enterprise in operation nor output. Those who ran the Pottery Establishment probably served the intermittent needs of only the few families who lived nearby or produced only a few items. There were certainly other such small scale production loci elsewhere in the village who catered to their own neighbors or who specialized in other forms.

Beekeeping

The evidence for beekeeping is slight, but assured.[232] A single complete beehive was found in the courtyard (Room a) of Ken's House, an obvious, if slightly uncomfortable, location for it. The hive is a tall, narrow-necked ceramic vessel with crosshatch scoring and short spikes on the interior to facilitate construction and attachment of the honeycomb. The top would have been capped and the bees would still able to access the hive through a small nozzle on the shoulder.

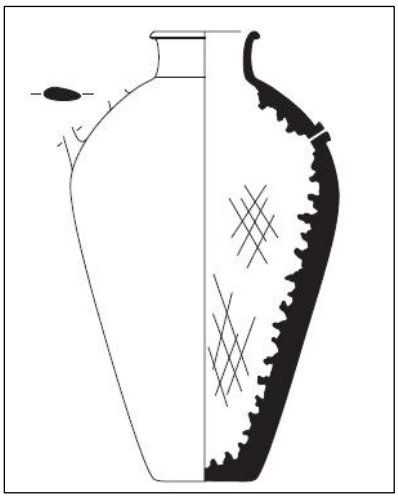

Figure 144. Beehive (Stewart 2010, fig. 214 no. 202 (scale 1:10)).

[232] This beekeeping section is a summary of Stewart's discussion in Stewart 2010, 191-92, cat. no. 202, fig. 214.

That the residents of Ken's House kept bees is not surprising. They maintained the richest ceramic corpus after that in Rodney's House, and the five pithoi would have held stores of grain and other staples far beyond those of almost every other contemporary house; something different was going on here.[233] It may be the case that the owner made enough money selling grain that he could afford the beehive and thus expand his inventory and make honey and wax available to his customers.

Ritual Activities

It is difficult to know what to call this section. Words like "cult" and "ritual" are terms that we use in modern scholarship to categorize a specific set of objects and the behavior associated with those objects. Those words themselves fall into the broader category of "ancient religion." When these words are used in the context of the larger ancient Mediterranean world, our understanding of them is essentially framed by the architectural and textual manifestations of behavior associated with cities: sanctuaries, temples, festivals and priesthoods. The terms we have at hand for this kind of activity are useful in an urban context since they allow us to understand architectural and material remains in verifiable ways, i.e., through comparisons with similar remains at other sites or with artistic or textual representations. Hellenistic Gordion was, however, not a city. It did not have (as far as we know from the present state of the evidence) sanctuaries, temples, festivals nor priesthoods. This being the case, using words like "cult" or "ritual" to categorize what we understand to be "religious" objects or architecture is problematic. Doing so ascribes a set of behaviors to the objects (figurines and statuettes) and to the

[233] Stewart 2010, 224.

architecture (the Pottery Establishment shrine) that we cannot know were true and valid. It is true that the figurines and statuettes and thymiateria are objects that we know in general to be associated with behavior demonstrating a connection between human individuals and the divine. But in the context of the village at Gordion, we cannot know what form the expression of that connection took or if it was anything like what we know from urban centers. We do not know if "cult" and "ritual" are the right categories to use in order to understand these objects which largely seem to be ingrained in the fabric of the villagers' daily lives and do not stand out within their own space. It may have been something more subtle and integrated than words like "cult" and "ritual" imply. One could temper the force they carry with some descriptor like "domestic" or "household," but these words also come from an urban context and only serve to make the scale smaller. There may not be more appropriate words. I am not trying to make the case that we need new words or that what the people at Gordion were doing with their figurines was fundamentally different than what people elsewhere in the Hellenistic east were doing. I simply want to point out that given the remoteness of the site, the architectural character of the houses and the settlement as a whole and how different it is from what we understand to be a typical Hellenistic city, our conception of ancient cult and ritual is probably different from their reality. That being said, those are the words we have and I use them here.

In the Hellenistic period, material remains inside houses allow for identification of space devoted to ritual or cultic activities. I define such an area as a space or context in which cultic equipment appears to have been used or stored. Five of the structures

abandoned in 189 BCE are the only Hellenistic contexts in which I suspect there was cultic or religious activity. This identification is determined solely by the presence of cultic equipment, figurines, statuettes, statuette bases, and thymiateria, though I cannot tell if these items were being simply stored in such contexts or whether they were in their operating space. Architecturally defined spaces with no equipment, even those of unusual dimensions and placements like the small plastered closets or pantries in Mabel's House and Machteld's House, cannot be included since we have no way of knowing how people used them. The probable cult areas of the Middle Hellenistic period are the Pottery Establishment Basement and Shrine, the courtyard of Greenie's Neighborhood, Roger's House, and Room a of Rodney's House. I will discuss the Pottery Establishment rooms first because of the unique nature of their architecture and the artifacts found inside.

The Basement and the Shrine of the Pottery Establishment (figs. 79, 148) stand apart as the only spaces with cultic equipment that are also completely devoid of cook pots, loomweights, grindstones or other clearly domestic items. There is, however, an overwhelming number of items indicative of some ritual activity or that are otherwise uncommon. The buildings seem to be intended for a single, cult-oriented purpose. In the case of the Basement, the recovered items include the following: two pithoi, three imported dishes unparalleled at the site,[234] four Rhodian amphora handles, painted plaster, a bronze boss, a bronze astragalus, a glass bowl, an iron chisel, a gold rosette, a piece of gold foil, an alabaster alabastron, two limestone statuette bases (one inscribed ΕΧΕΒΙΟΣ), limestone sculpture fragments (a female head, drapery, a male leg and sandal, shield) and terracotta figurines (an Artemis bust-flower thymiaterion, two female

[234] Stewart 2010, 159-160.

heads, two standing females, a Kybele head, an enthroned Kybele; fig. 94). The items from the Shrine include the following: a piece of gold foil, an inscribed limestone statue base (EX[---), limestone sculpture fragments (arm, female torso), terracotta figurines (standing female, quadruped rear legs, Tyche vessel fragment; fig. 100).

These buildings also exhibit several architectural features that set them apart from all other Hellenistic structures at Gordion. First, the entrance to the Shrine is from the southeast, towards a possible street and away from the Establishment proper. It is deliberately more accessible. The Basement was entered from above, with the entrance to the upstairs presumably from the staircase off the street on the northeast side. Second, Room f of the Basement has a niche in the northwest wall, where the door between the rooms was blocked up, an appropriate spot for the sculpture and figurines. Third, both rooms of the Basement were plastered and painted with egg-and-dart and marble veining motifs, a decoration found in no other Hellenistic space at the site. Fourth, the Shrine exhibits a plan unparalleled at Gordion: an anteroom with a central doorway leading to the main room. In one sense, this is not remarkable since all the Hellenistic structures have unique plans. However, the plan of the Shrine *is* remarkable for its resemblance to buildings from the wider Greek world with very well-known ceremonial and religious functions: treasuries and temples. Just a few examples are Temple E at the Letoon[235] and the Temple of Demeter at Pergamon.[236]

The figurines, statuettes and bases are our evidence for who was worshipped here. Kybele, Artemis and EXEBIOΣ are represented in the Basement. The Shrine contained

[235] Balland 1981, Plan 1.
[236] Thomas 1998, Figure 1.

no evidence of Kybele, but there is another possible ΕΧΕΒΙΟΣ base and a vessel fragment of Tyche holding a cornucopia. Because of its direct access, I would say that the Shrine was the primary activity site, though there is no evidence as to where the activity was actually happening. The building faces what was probably a street and there were no steps to climb. In this case, the Basement may have then functioned as a storage facility. Alternatively, the basement could have been the site of a different set of rites, perhaps for a smaller, or more select, group of people.

Greenie's Neighborhood, Roger's House and Rodney's House are three demonstrably domestic contexts. They all contain cult material but, for various reasons, the exact nature of the cultic space is unclear. The space, and the activity, may be purely domestic, where the individual household members were the only ones engaged in ritual activity at any given time, or the cult could have involved additional members of the community.

Greenie's Neighborhood consists of the partial remains of two structures with hearths and loomweights. The courtyard is an open space with unknown limits and no coherent architecture (fig. 74). It lies northwest of the two structures and the street or alley running between them. There are five groups of stones in the space, two of which may be the remains of walls, and a small hearth. In the alley, at the corner of the northern house, there is a stone platform. Four cultic items were found scattered across the courtyard surface: a limestone statuette of a draped female with a torch, possibly Kore, a limestone enthroned Kybele, a limestone thymiaterion with steps and incised doors, cut to

look like a temple or an altar, and a second limestone thymiaterion with the name ΜΙΣΤΡΑΒΟΥΤΑΣ (fig. 75-77).[237]

The cult items from the courtyard certainly indicate there was ritual activity in the immediate area of Greenie's Neighborhood. However, their scattered disposition over the courtyard surface gives no clue as to where that activity occurred and the incompletely excavated plan of the area makes it difficult to visualize the setting. If the architectural remains are those of two houses, then the statuettes and thymiateria might have been equipment from a communal domestic shrine for a few households. Alternatively, the items could have come from a single house. Either way, the modest nature of the extant architecture and the loomweights and pot in the northern house, give a generally private domestic feel to the area and not anything for the larger community.

Roger's House is another structure where the finds indicate cultic activity yet the architecture reveals very little about the nature of that activity. The physical space is marked out only by two walls of one room and part of a paved courtyard (fig. 104-105). Loomweights and grindstones in the courtyard indicate a private domestic environment. Among the wide array of personal items (unguentaria, weapons, tools, an alabastron) and tableware (40 vessels) found in the room was a collection of terracotta figurines. These included a Nike protome possibly with a Celtic torque, two bust flower thymiateria and an enthroned Kybele. There was also a terracotta statuette of an enthroned Kybele over half a meter tall. Notable here is the strong emphasis on Kybele worship with a nod to the Greek pantheon and the possible inclusion of Celtic iconography. The presence of

[237] See Roller 1991, esp.132-134, for a discussion of these items in the context of the Hellenization of Kybele/Mater at Gordion.

cooking, dining and drinking vessels in numbers exceeding what was necessary for a single household together with the figurines, including the largest Kybele statuette from the site, may indicate communal ritual dining in a domestic context.

Rodney's House is the final cultic space to discuss. Unlike the houses of Greenie's Neighborhood or Roger's House, the architecture is very well preserved, yet the nature of the cult activity is just as enigmatic (fig. 113). Room a, a storage room or pantry just off the main entrance to the house, contained the cultic equipment: terracotta figurines of Kybele riding a lion, an enthroned Kybele and three standing females (fig. 120). These figurines have close iconographic and petrographic parallels with Pergamene terracottas. It should be noted that the Ionic notations inscribed on the pithoi in the next room were in the Pergamene system. The storage suite also held several Rhodian transport amphoras, storage jars and over 170 bowls and dishes, a number which again suggests communal dining.

The number and nature of the figurines found here is on par with those from Roger's House, the location of a domestic shrine on the scale of a single household. Taken alone, the architecture of Rodney's House is appropriate for a single household. But if we take into consideration the extremely high numbers of bowls and dishes, the picture changes. If Rodney's House was indeed a kind of dining establishment and not a ceramics retail outlet, it is possible that the Kybele figurines played some part in ritual dining, similar to Roger's House but on a vastly larger scale. If this was the case, the pantry was probably not the locus of the ritual activity but simply a space to store the figurines. Alternatively, the figurines may have had nothing to do with any communal

activity, in which case the pantry may have been a convenient place for the family living at Rodney's House to carry out their religious activity.

The deposits from Greenie's Neighborhood, Roger's House and Rodney's House illustrate a Hellenizing trend in Kybele (or, more appropriately, Meter) worship which began in the second half of the 6th century BCE. It is during this time that Kybele is first represented in what will become her standard form: seated on a throne, holding a tympanum and phiale, and accompanied by a lion. These attributes first appear in East Greek and Aegean cities and have no Anatolian precedents.[238] All the Gordion figurines show Meter enthroned, riding a lion or accompanied by lions; and holding a phiale and tympanum.[239] Most of these were either made in Pergamon or copy the Pergamene model. Statues and figurines such as these, executed in a Greek artistic style, gradually replace the sculptured images and aniconic idols of the Phrygian period. Additionally, the torch-bearing female attendant wearing a chiton and himation found with the enthroned Kybele in the courtyard area of Greenie's Neighborhood, may reflect participation in mystery rites associated with Meter attested to in Classical Greece (fig. 145).

[238] Roller 1999, 136-37. The image of the enthroned goddess has indirect Anatolian precedents.
[239] Also from a Hellenistic context is an alabaster statuette of Kybele, seated on a throne, holding a tympanum and accompanied by a lion. ΜΟΥΣΑΙΣ is inscribed on the back. (S 103; Roller 1987a, 111-112)

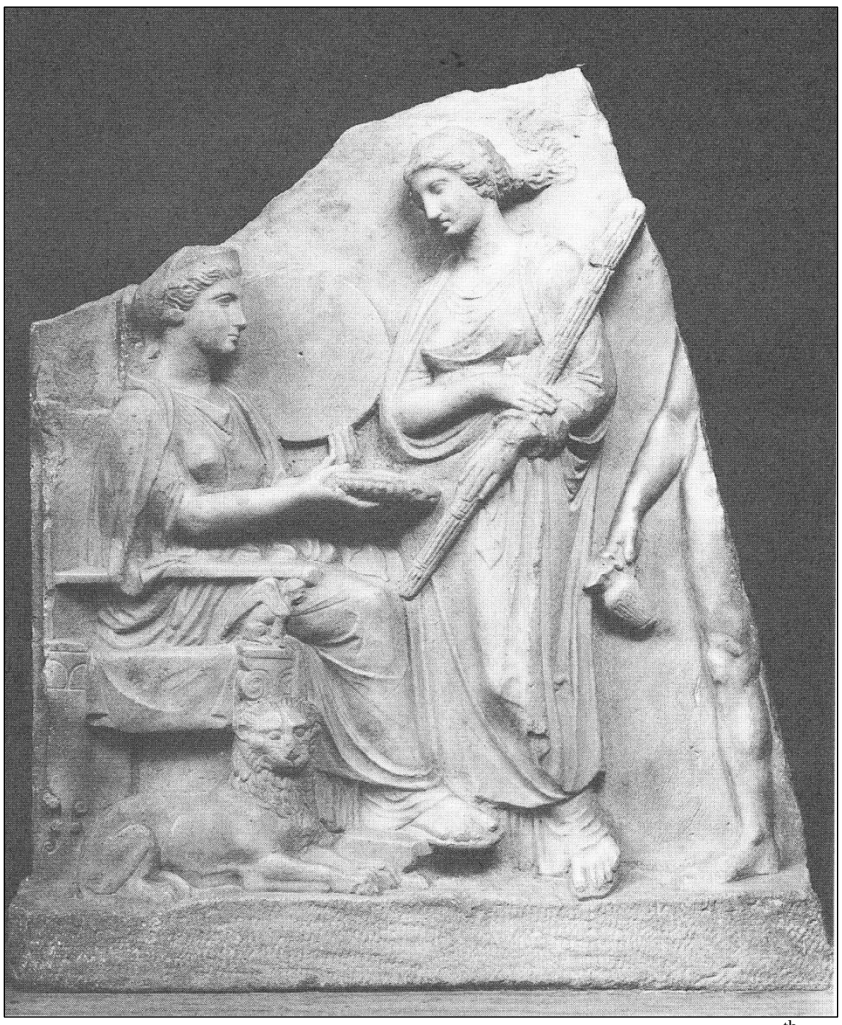

Figure 145. Votive relief of Meter and a torch-bearing attendant. Piraeus. Mid 4th century BCE (Roller 1999, 150, Fig. 42).

The figurine deposits also show a distinct pattern of concentrated Kybele worship taking place in domestic contexts.[240] Hellenistic Gordion is not alone in this. The practice of private household Kybele cult is known elsewhere. In Lydian Philadelphia, a late 2nd/early 1st century BCE decree lists the regulations of a community of worshippers who have agreed to live by a strict moral code. The members are instructed to sacrifice to gods

[240] Roller 1999, 79. This is a pattern Roller has identified in the Phrygian period at the site. She refers to large and small cult objects that "were found throughout the city, within and without the walled citadel, suggesting that the cult was practiced in both public and domestic shrines."

who are associated with right living: Arete, Hygeia, Agathe Tyche[241], Mneme, the Charites, Nike, Ploutos, Eudaimonia, Agathos Daimon. The goddess Angdistis, the Phrygian personal name for Kybele, oversees and protects the whole community.[242] Statuettes and figurines attesting to private and domestic worship have also been found at Priene, Halikarnassos and Pergamon.[243] Taking the evidence a step further, the Kybele figurines in Roger's House and Rodney's House are in the very same contexts as the numerous vessels appropriate for communal dining clubs. Two late 3rd century BCE decrees from Piraeus describe another close-knit community of Meter worshippers, the financial obligations of its more wealthy members, and the provisions allotted for the establishment of a kitchen and a communal dining club.[244] Might we have something similar going on at Gordion?

The Basement and the Shrine are part of another pattern of behavior. They exhibit minimal or no Kybele imagery and they are not domestic buildings. They do not look like the other domestic structures nor do they contain any domestic objects. Instead, the Shrine looks like a religious building and both contained only special and cultic items. They are set apart furthermore by the nature of the cultic objects. Both had marble sculpture and bases inscribed by (or dedicated to?) ΕΧΕΒΙΟΣ. Two of the seven figurines in the Basement were of Kybele. The Shrine had none. And both had a figurine depicting a Greek deity: Artemis and Tyche.

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[241] ΑΓΑΘΗΣ ΤΥΧΗΣ appears on a small limestone pedestal that was found in the Hellenistic levels at Gordion.
[242] Roller 1999, 194-95.
[243] Roller 1999, 203-04, 207.
[244] Roller 1999, 220-21

The five deposits of cultic imagery show two contemporary patterns of behavior. On the one hand, there is Kybele worship, a vivid blend of native and imported traditions and iconography, taking place in domestic contexts where the community of worshippers may have dined together. On the other hand, a different kind of ritual practice is taking place in non-domestic contexts; the plan of the Shrine is conspicuously *religious* and the Basement rooms show no indication of domestic activity. Who was worshipped here? The evidence allows for any number of options: Kybele and/or Exebios in the Basement; Tyche and/or Exebios in the Shrine; these in combination with the statuettes. Regardless of who the titular deity or deities were, the ritual activity happening here was different from that which took place in the houses.[245]

There were certain activites in the ancient eastern Mediterranean household that were done the same way with the same tools no matter where one lived. Basalt is good for grinding grain and using a basalt Olynthus mill was the easiest and fastest way to get the job done. This was as true at Gordion as it was in sites in the Levant, Syria, Greece and around the Black Sea. Spindle whorls and looms are perfect for spinning and weaving wool so much so that the use of such equipment was ubiquitous throughout the Mediterranean basin, Gordion included. But the rural and culturally heterogenous population of Gordion chose to do some things differently than other places and even within itself. In such cases, we must be more cautious in our interpretation of the evidence. On the one hand, there is clear and undeniable evidence that the Early

[245] These are not the only cults attested to at Hellenistic Gordion: the inscriptions ΑΓΑΘΗΣ ΤΥΧΗΣ and ΜΟΥΣΙΑΣ have been mentioned; the caduceus on several stone weights suggests some connection to Hermes Agoraios (G. Kenneth Sams, pers. comm).

Hellenistic houses had bins and the Middle Hellenistic houses did not. One could postulate that this architectural change indicates a change in the Pontic component of the population and this claim could be convincingly backed up with corroborating evidence from transport amphoras and bins in Black Sea houses. On the other hand, while some domestic structures show a strong tendency toward Kybele worship, the decidedly non-domestic structures do not. In this case, we could safely say that Kybele worship at Gordion sometimes took place in a domestic setting and may have involved ritual or communal dining. But we can go no further. It is tempting to split the loci of ritual activity into public (the Pottery Establishment Basement and Shrine) and private spaces (the houses), but we cannot know for sure that these are even valid categories in the reality of village life at Gordion. To force the evidence into a modern framework denies the evidence the chance to speak on its own terms. Loomweights and spindle whorls state their case very clearly. An assemblage of Kybele figurines, 40 bowls and dishes, and personal items speaks in more hushed tones.

CHAPTER 4

Conclusions

Gordion has presented researchers in the past with an enticing body of evidence with which to identify people ethnically. My hope is that this dissertation has shown that the Early and Middle Hellenistic residents lived their lives without thinking of themselves in this way. Ethnic labels here only serve to limit the possibilities and the discussion. That said, yes, there are aspects of the cultural material from the site which we can, with all the information we have available from the larger region, connect to specific places: casseroles demonstrate a taste for Greek cuisine;[246] bins and transport amphoras attest to links with the Black Sea; Kybele figurines speak to reverence for the Hellenized Phrygian goddess; a Celtic torque indicates an awareness of this particular European cultural accessory. None of these, however, needs to mean the diner, builder, worshipper, or coroplast would identify themselves as Greek, Pontic, Phrygian or Celtic. Labeling them as such is one, probably wrong, and two, does not get to a more interesting question: What can we say about these people as, first and foremost, residents of this small village in the middle of Phrygia in the Hellenistic period?

The Early Hellenistic Village

The Early Hellenistic period saw the emergence of a new kind of society at Gordion. The days of the empires were over. The remains of the monumental buildings, vast production centers and fortification walls that had constituted those Phrygian and Achaemenid citadels were picked apart, nothing more now than readily available sources of

[246] Stewart 2010, 81.

construction materials for structures of quite a different nature. What rose in the place of the capital city was a village, and above where the magnificent megarons and long terrace buildings once stood, were now the modest houses of a small but industrious multi-cultural community.

From the late 4th century BCE to the third quarter of the 3rd century BCE, Gordion was a sprawling village of tight clusters of houses mixed in among scattered, modest-sized single household structures. The village does not seem to have been laid out according to a uniform plan. Patterns of stone robbing from the earlier Phrygian buildings suggest that houses were built where access to the materials was the easiest. A few cobbled streets ran alongside the houses and wound around through the clusters, though there is no evidence that the streets continued and connected with each other (fig. 146).

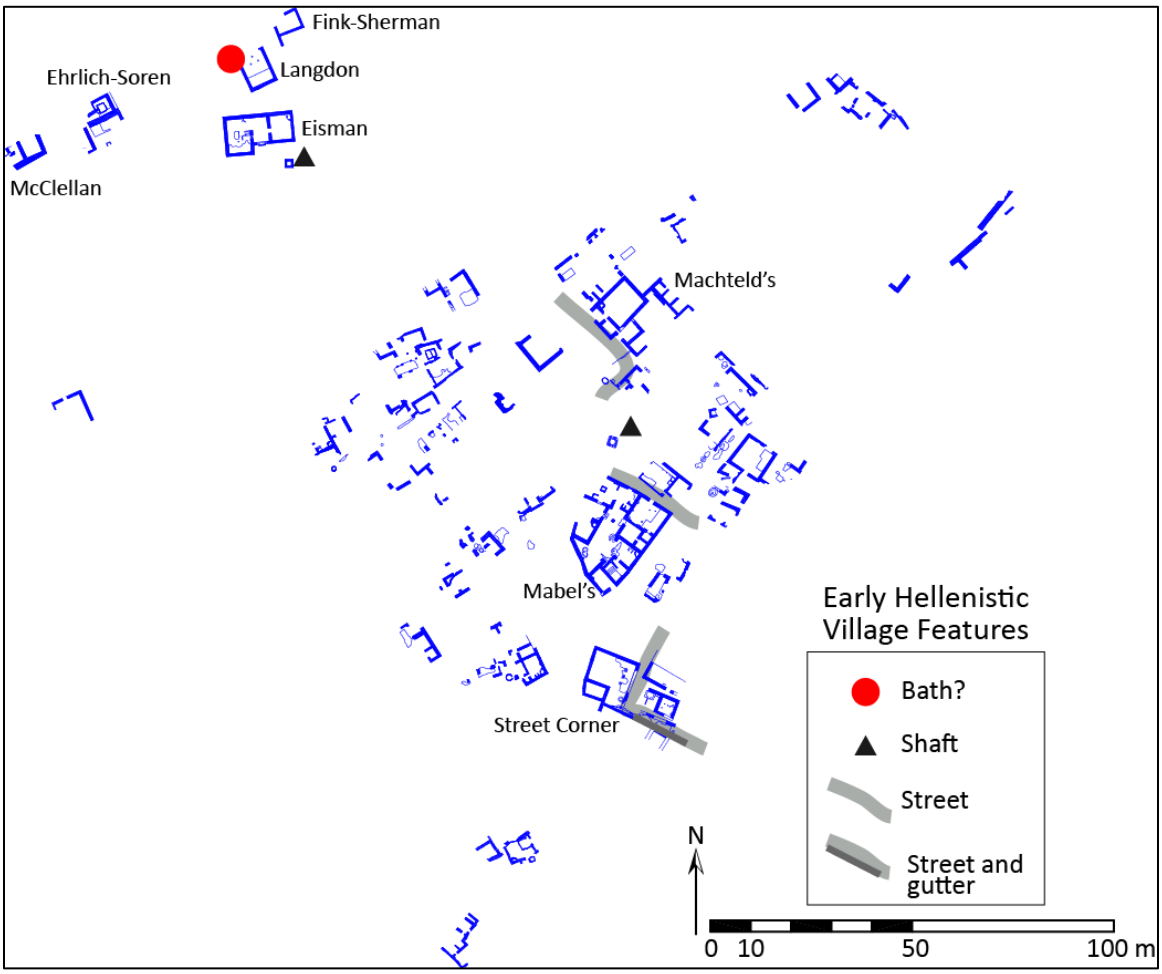

Figure 146. Early Hellenistic Village Features.

In addition to streets, the Early Hellenistic village infrastructure likely included wells, as suggested by two stone shafts, one near the Eisman House and one between Mabel's and Machteld's. Water was also readily available from the Sangarius River flowing past the southeast side of the mound.

Another possibly water related structure is the curious Langdon Room. All the evidence points to this building being a public bath house: plastered and stone floor, central large fire with a tripod pot support, its location at the north edge of the mound with the open side facing north, away from all other structures, and the small collection

of drinking cups stored in the niche, refreshments for the bathers. If this is the case, it is the only building of its type in the Early Hellenistic village.

Young's excavations revealed at least three and as many as five clusters of houses: The Street Corner Houses, Mabel's House, Machteld's House, a poorly preserved group of structures just northeast of Mabel's House, and another group west of the Street Corner (fig. 147). In the three secure clusters, the individual houses or rooms are tightly grouped, sharing party walls and common spaces. Each cluster except for Machteld's House contains an outdoor, industrial sized oven, suggesting that those living in the clusters shared in the labor or that the products of these ovens supported the whole group. Large ovens are not found in the individual, non-clustered structures.

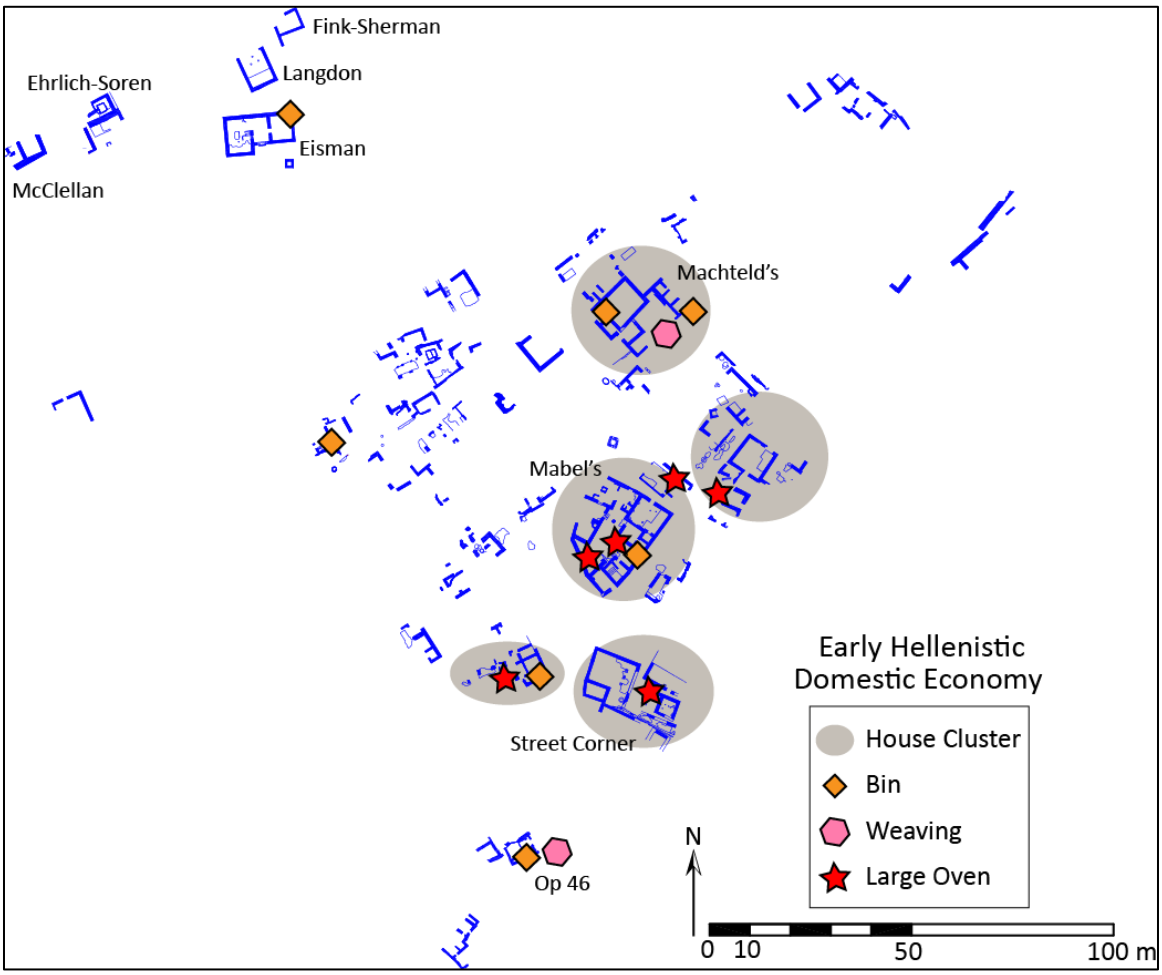

Figure 147. The Early Hellenistic Village Domestic Economy Distribution.

All of the large houses (except the Street Corner group), both those within clusters and those standing individually, contain small hearths or above-ground ovens and bins. Usually these are in proximity, often built against the same wall, suggesting that they were planned and used in tandem. The bin in the house that Burke excavated in Op 46 contained loomweights, but the bins were relatively spacious and certainly could have held other domestic necessities like firewood at the same time.

Seven out of the eight largest structures had bins. As discussed earlier, the bins have been seen as clear cultural and architectural links to the Black Sea region and

perhaps even as indicators of Pontic immigrants at the site. Houses with bins are scattered throughout the village so it does not appear that there were any ethnic or cultural neighborhood divisions, at least in this part of the mound.

There is one structure that stands out architecturally from all other Early Hellenistic houses – the Eisman House. It is not simply the case that the Eisman House has a unique plan, since every house in the village is unique. The distinction is in the details. First, the house has the simplest plan of all the Early Hellenistic structures: three rooms of relatively equal size side by side sharing party walls. Second, the limestone threshold and the single-fixed valve door it supported formed the most elaborate of all the preserved doorways in all the houses. Finally, and most importantly, is the nature of Room a, the room on the right as one enters. Its off-center doorway marks it as an *andron*, the standard dining/drinking room for the middle-class and aristocratic Greek male. The remains of two wine amphoras and a salter in the entry room reinforce this interpretation of the room.[247] While the presence of the andron does not unequivocally signal the presence of ethnically Greek residents, such a room suggests awareness of a specifically Greek cultural activity. Interestingly, there is also a bin in the andron.

The residents built their homes according to their own individual tastes and needs. There was no grid to follow and no prescribed plan. The only feature that appears to be common to all the structures was a more or less northwest – southeast orientation. Yet while the houses are all individually custom-built with unique plans, the same stone-built corner storage bins are found in a majority of the larger structures, identifiable reflections of a current trend in Pontic domestic architecture.

[247] See Tables 16 and 17, pp. 95-96.

The Eisman House andron adds another note to our cultural picture. Here, a single individual chose a different kind of cultural marker. The andron stands as a symbol of a particular way of life and ideals: that of the middle-class Greek male. We cannot be sure that the owner of the Eisman House was ethnically Greek, and asking the question misses the point. Drinking and dining while reclining in an andron shows a familiarity with the institution of the symposium that goes beyond a mere recognition of the accompanying ceramic kit and a desire to drink out of those same cups in one's house. It is now a question of behavior.[248]

There are aspects of Early Hellenistic Gordion which connect this small agricultural village to other parts of the Hellenistic world. Yet the ethnic labels attached to the bins and the andron do not have to apply to the people using them. A world of new cultural contacts had opened up in the century following Alexander's conquest of Asia. The residents of Gordion, whoever they were, had access to some of the same cultural trends as people in mainland Greece, on the Aegean Islands, or the shores of the Black Sea. They chose to build their houses a certain way and eat a certain way not because of some higher authority, but because to do so was important to them. It was this choice that made the village at Gordion part of the Hellenistic world.

[248] Stewart uses the presence of specific pottery types (gutti, salters, fishplates) to similar conclusions (Stewart 2010, 83, 85-86, 229-230, 235).

The Middle Hellenistic Village

In 278 BCE, migrating Celtic tribes from Europe crossed into Asia Minor, contracted by Nicomedes of Bithynia to assist him in his war against his brother Zipoetas.[249] For the next four decades, according to ancient sources, they subjected the Hellenistic cities and sanctuaries of the coastal kingdoms to repeated episodes of pillaging, intimidation and extortion, augmenting their take by periodic hire as mercenaries. Gordion was not immune to the effects of these troublemaking newcomers. Imported goods like black slipped table vessels and Pontic amphoras no longer arrived at the site and the scarcity of coins dating from the 270s to 240 BCE, both in the hoards and individual finds, shows a significant drop in the amount of business Gordion residents were doing with contacts outside of central Anatolia.

Despite disruptions in the trade networks, village life continued during those decades. Gordion was not completely abandoned. The Early Hellenistic structures Keith's House, the Ehrlich-Soren House, and the Muscarella House all have Middle Hellenistic phases, showing uninterrupted habitation. The residents of the Muscarella house even added on to the building. There was some significant change, however. The old streets went out of use and new streets, still cobbled and pebbled, were laid down (fig. 148). The possible wells of the early village disappeared. Most importantly, the other large Early Hellenistic houses were deserted and new houses were built in new locations with new

[249] Pausanias 10.23.14; Memnon of Heracleia 2.1.

plans. These new constructions coincide with the arrival and settlement of the Galatians in the area in c.240-235 BCE.[250]

[250] Antiochus I's victory over the Celts in 269 or 268 BCE resulted in their departure from the western territories for the more unsettled and unclaimed regions of central Anatolia. The ancient accounts are conflicted as to what happened over the next 30-40 years, but it seems sure that the tribes were involved with the affairs of Bithynia, Pontus and Cappadocia, again as mercenaries. Their participation in the struggle with Antiochus Hierax and Mithradates II against Antiochus' brother Seleucus II won them ally status with Antiochus and seems to have solidified their control over the region around Ancyra which they had held since the early 260s (Mitchell 1993, 19-20).

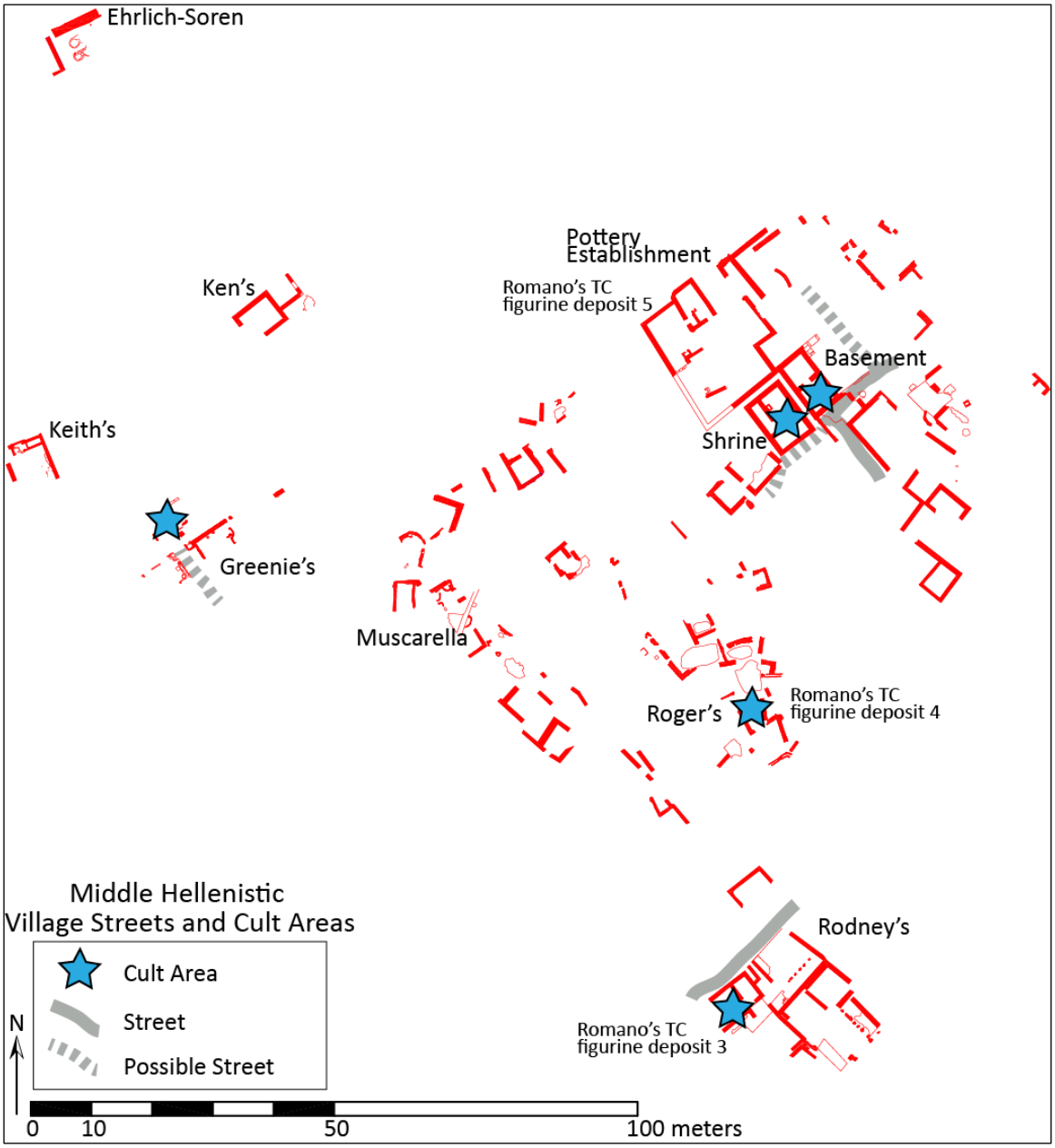

Figure 148. The Middle Hellenistic Village – Streets and Cult Areas.

The new houses changed the plan and the character of the village. Individual structures replace the Early Hellenistic house clusters. This change took place alongside changes in the village economy. The large industrial ovens that featured so prominently in four of the five Early Hellenistic house clusters disappeared along with them. None of

the Middle Hellenistic houses have such ovens.[251] Taken together, the disappearance of the house clusters and the ovens signals a move away from the system of several households or family groups working together. Taking its place are private, single household domestic enterprises (fig. 149). The owner of Ken's House practiced beekeeping and kept surplus stores of liquid and dry goods. Those who lived at the Pottery Establishment produced ceramics, terracotta figurines and thymiateria. The residents of Rodney's House, like those at Ken's House, had the means for surplus storage of dry goods and may have also operated a kind of dining establishment. It may be that this domestic enterprise economy did not run on coinage, as no hoards were found in these three structures or even loose coins in large enough numbers to be of note. An exchange of goods or services seems more likely. Weaving and food production activities were not affected by this change and remained the concern of individual households.

[251] There are two ovens at the Ehrlich-Soren House but not enough of the structure was excavated to determine its nature.

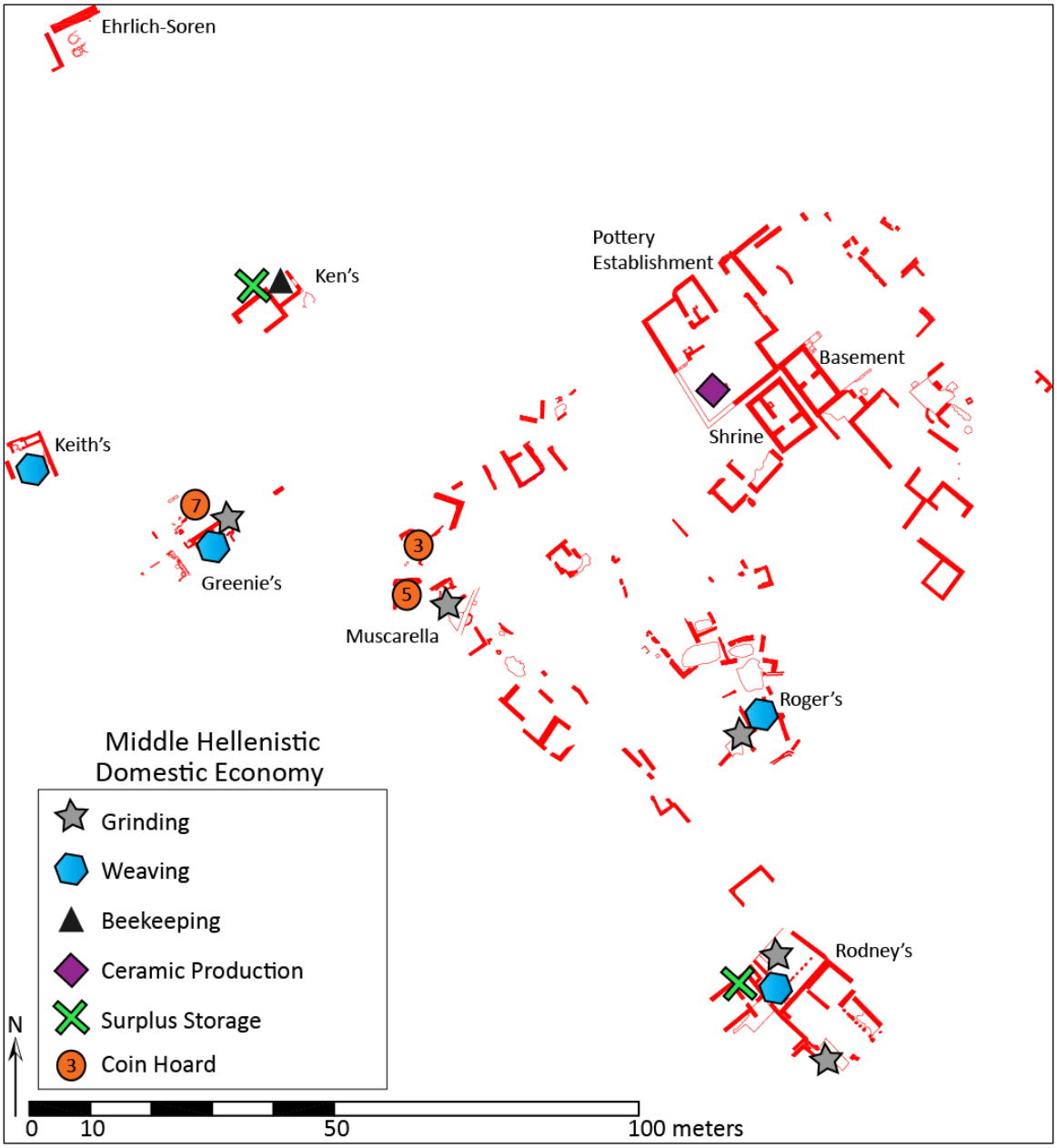

Figure 149. The Middle Hellenistic Village Domestic Economy Distribution

The new architectural character of the village also marks a change in the level of influence external cultural forces had on the residents. When the new houses are built, not one of them features a corner bin. In fact, the only bin in all of the excavated Middle Hellenistic houses is in the Muscarella House, specifically in the part of the house that

was built in the Early Hellenistic period. Pontic influence on architectural trends had faded. The corresponding absence of Pontic amphoras after 270 BCE suggests Black Sea influence in other areas of life had also faded.

The Middle Hellenistic cultic equipment provides points of increased cultural contact between the Gordion residents and the outside world. The style and iconography of the terracotta figurines and stone statuettes show the extent to which Greek religious practice had altered the traditional Phrygian representations of Kybele. The scores of dining vessels accompanying two of the figurine deposits may indicate that some villagers sponsored communal dining clubs, a practice also know from Greek Meter cult. There is even a bit of Celtic iconography, not in connection with Kybele, but with the Greek goddess Nike, if she is, in fact, wearing a torque. The appearance and adoption of these foreign elements never threatened the primacy of Kybele, especially here in her homeland. Instead, these new aspects complemented the traditional modes of Kybele worship. In fact, she appears to be as strong as she ever was at Gordion. The resulting Hellenized version brought the residents of Gordion, these shepherds and farmers and traders alone on the Phrygian plateau, into the mainstream Hellenistic world.

We have seen other manifestations of how the Gordion residents adopted and adapted to new cultural trends coming in the wake of Alexander's conquest. In the Early Hellenistic village, we have evidence of it in the limited architectural (the Eisman andron) and ceramic (the fishplates, salters, gutti)[252] manifestation of new dining practices. In the Middle Hellenistic village, we find it in the figurines, the transport

[252] See n. 248.

amphoras, and the increase in the use of the Greek alphabet.[253] The andron and the tableware are about dining practices. The figurines reflect the Hellenization of traditional, domestic worship and the large deposits of dining vessels may indicate the adoption of ritual communal dining. Amphoras mean people are drinking Greek wine. Greek letters mean some percentage of the population knew how to write in the Greek alphabet. Each of these represents a choice of an individual or the community to participate in something new and different. Participation did not come at the expense of tradition; Hellenistic Gordion will never be mistaken for anything else. Participation meant affinity and connection.

The residents of Hellenistic Gordion have a story. The architecture and the artifacts, the trappings of their daily lives, are the only traces of that story we have. Ancient authors indicate Gordion was a popular market town but say nothing about what the people who lived there did and what life was like. We must rely on what they left to reconstruct their environment and to understand how they lived in that environment. The picture we get is one of a small, self-sufficient community, equally comfortable in acquiring and using the natural resources of the Phrygian plateau as they are in adopting new trends in dining or religion coming from the west. The people reacted to population shifts and changes in trade networks by adapting to the new conditions and taking

[253] Epigraphic texts, i.e., graffiti mostly in the form of proper names or abbreviations scratched on ceramic vessels, attest to a decline in the use of the Phrygian script and language in the Hellenistic period. Individual Greek letters begin to appear in the 1st half of the 4th century BCE and by the late 3rd century BCE, Greek was the dominant writing system. Greek personal names are the most common among these texts, and their presence along with those of Phrygian and Celtic names reflect one aspect of the population shifts at Gordion since Alexander (Roller 1987a, 103-109).

advantage of new opportunities, e.g. a new connection to Pergamon. There was much to choose from. The various choices people made reflect what was important to each individual household, e.g., beekeeping was a priority for one family while coroplasty was a priority for another.

By no means do we have the whole story of this community. We are lucky, however, that the vicissitudes of time and historical forces have been kind to the Citadel Mound; the archaeological record at Gordion is amazingly well preserved. We may not have the whole story, but we have enough to start the discussion.

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APPENDIX

Figure 1. The Street Corner Houses and SET N trenches.

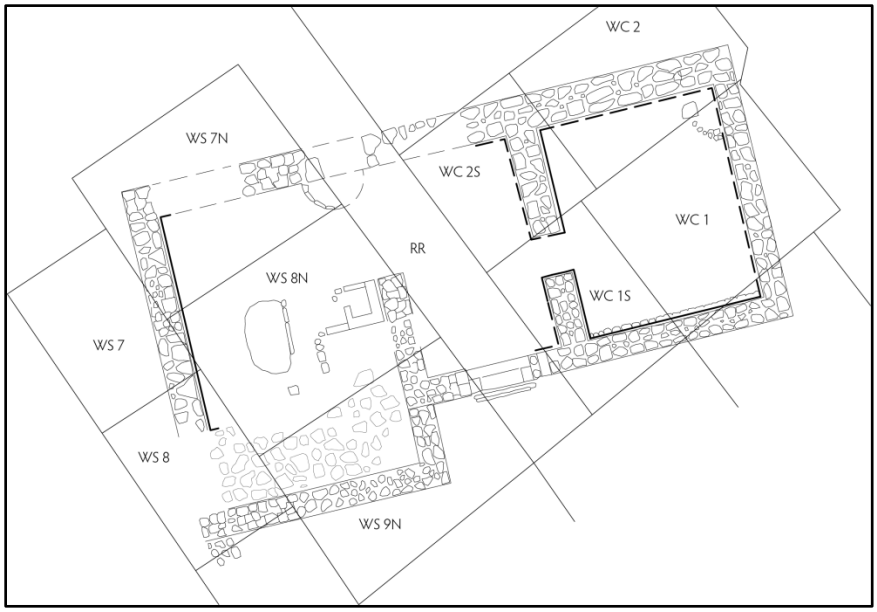

Figure 2. The Eisman House and WC, WS trenches.

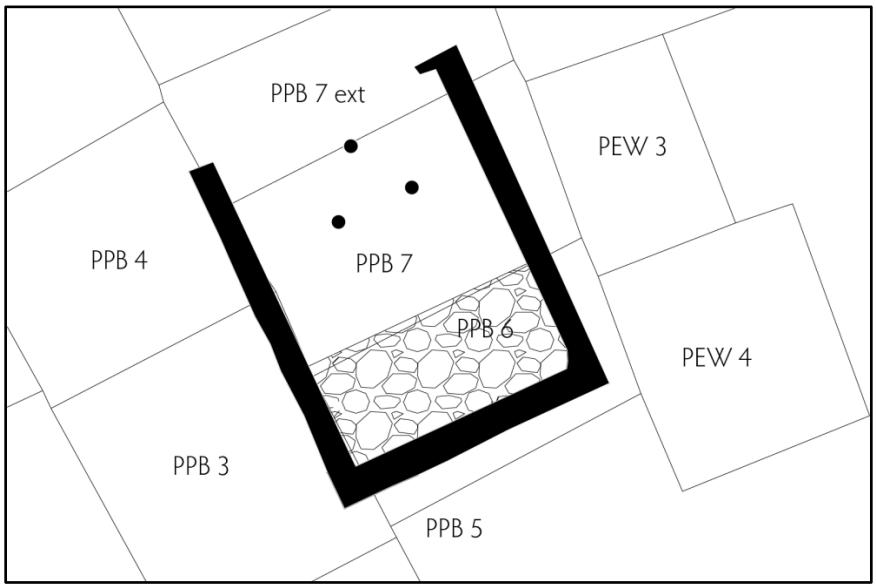

Figure 3. The Langdon Room and PPB trenches.

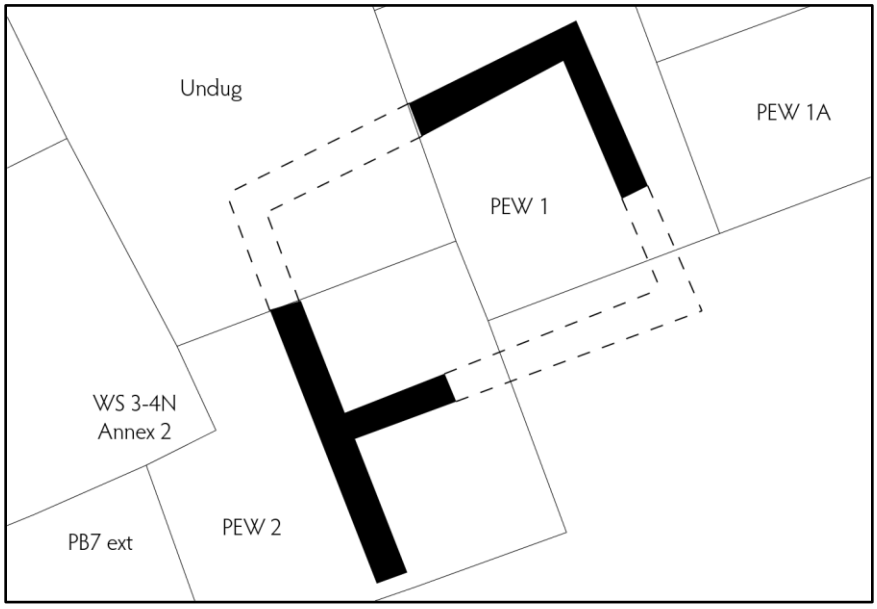

Figure 4. The Fink-Sherman House and PEW trenches.

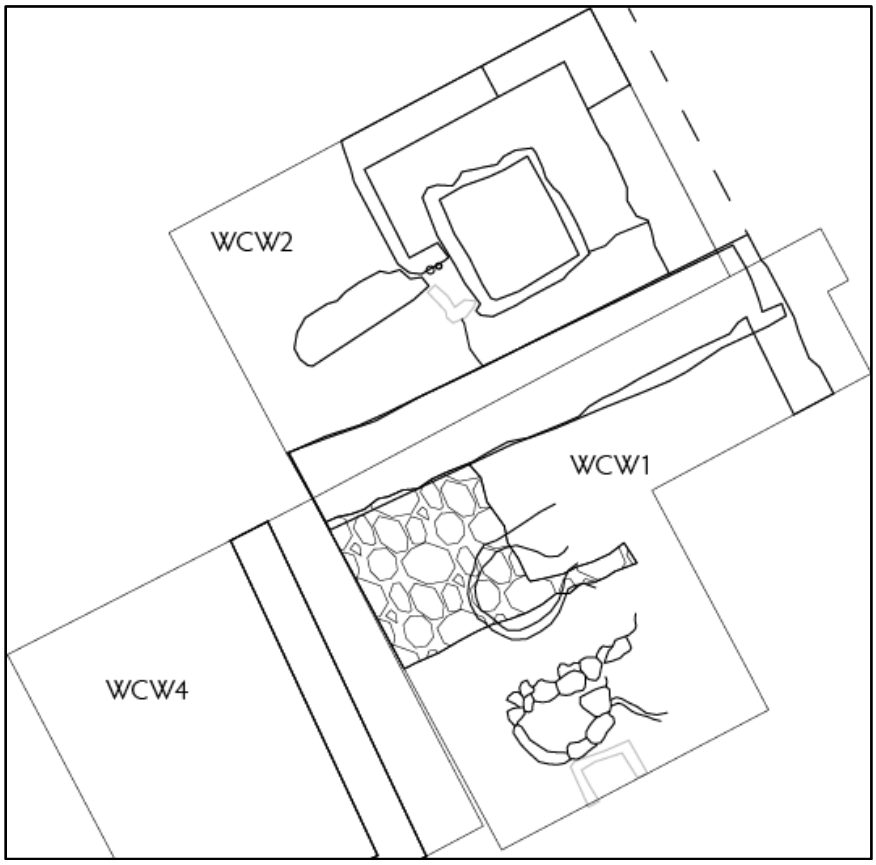

Figure 5. Ehrlich-Soren House and WCW trenches.

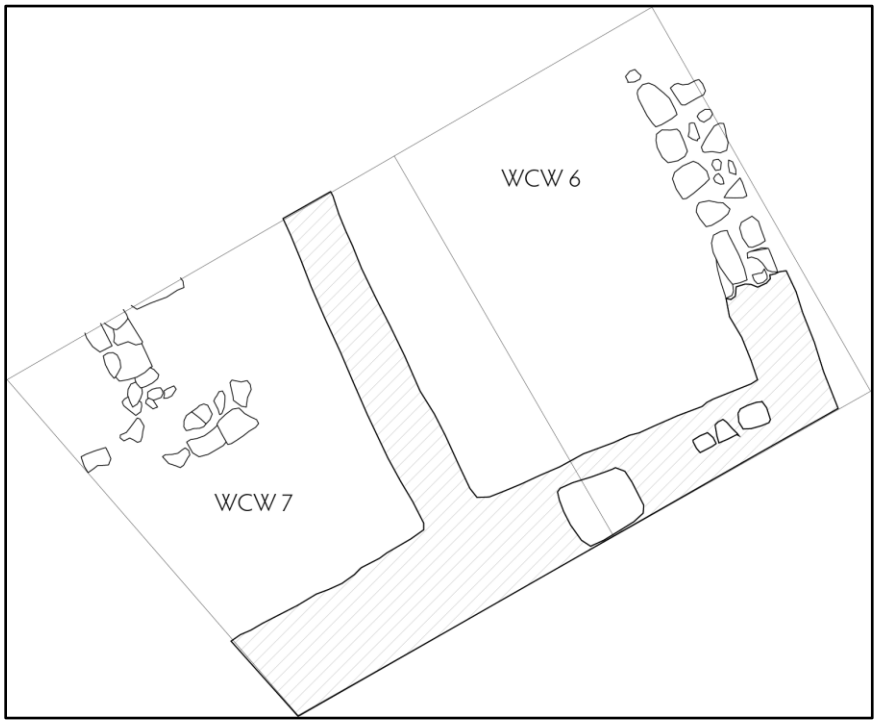

Figure 6. The McClellan House and WCW trenches.

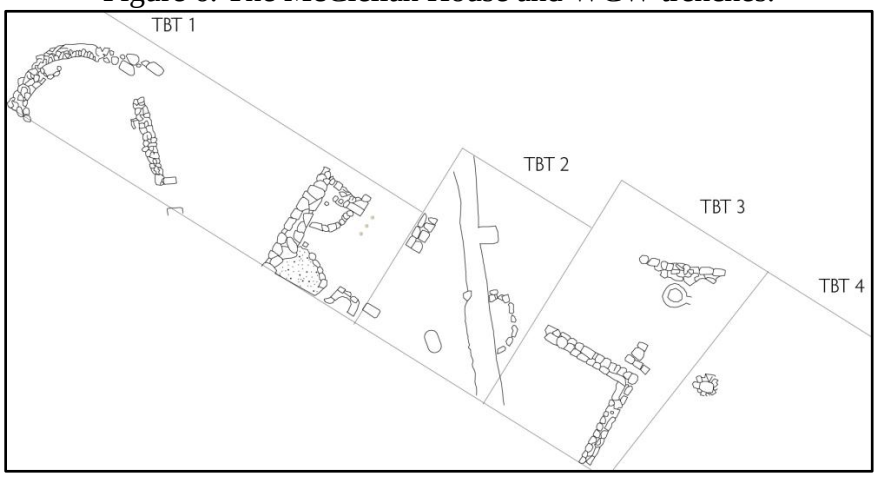

Figure 7. The Muscarella House and the TBT trenches.

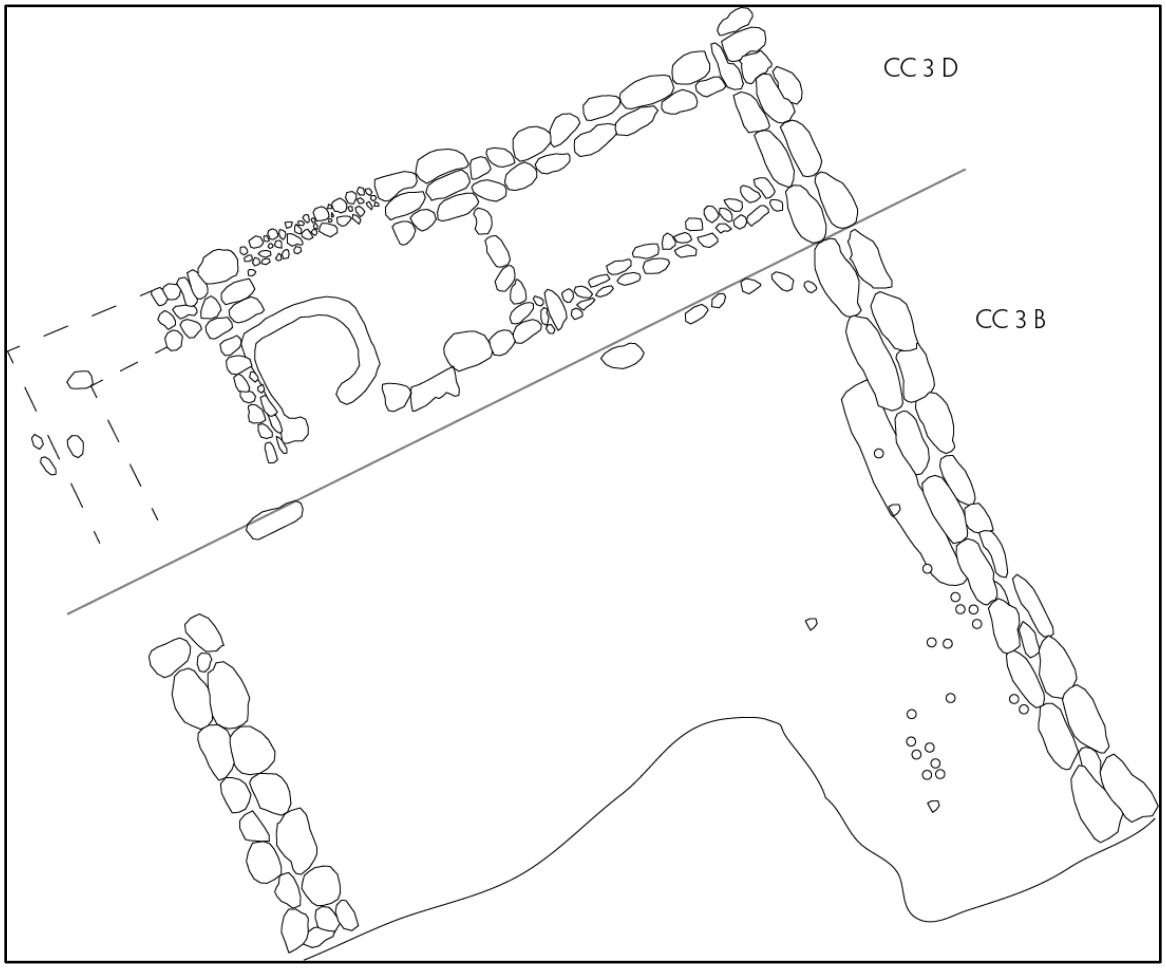

Figure 8. Keith's House and the CC 3 trenches.

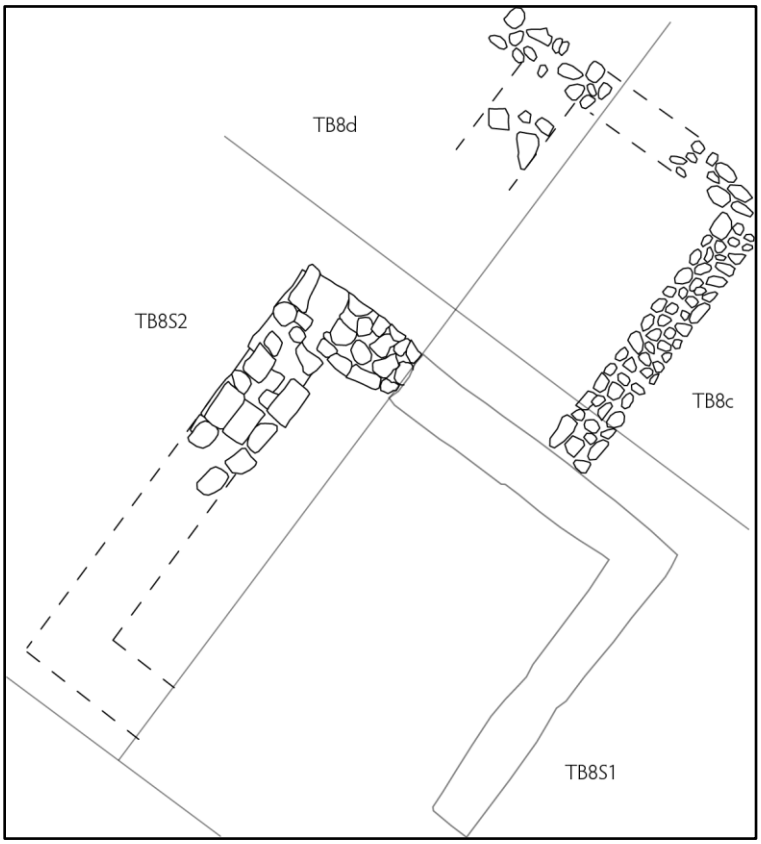

Figure 9. Ken's House and the TB8 trenches.

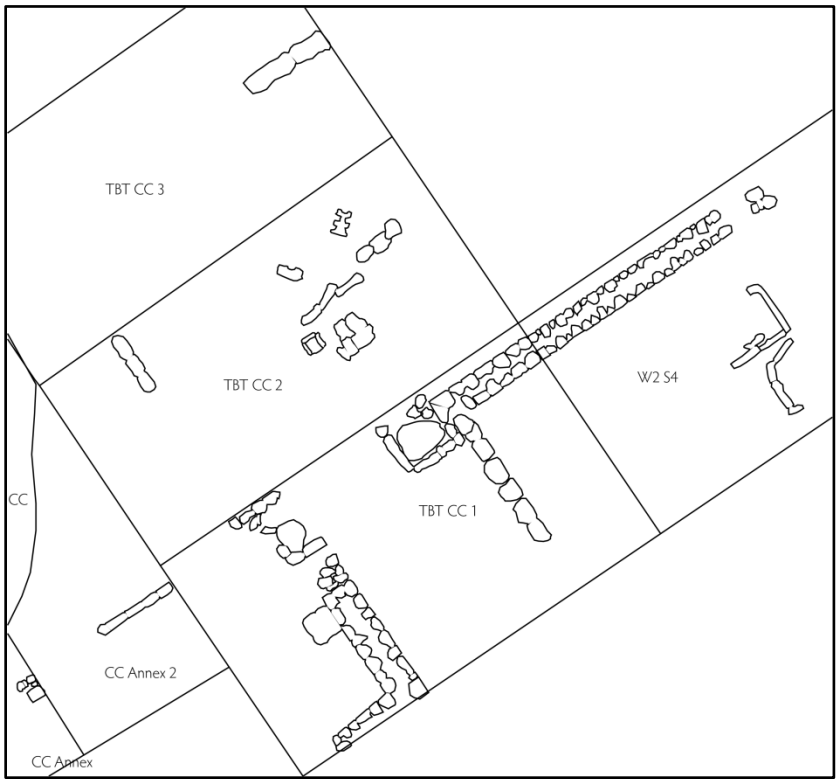

Figure 10. Greenie's Neighborhood and TBT CC trenches.