

A Mid-6th-Century B.C.E. Deposit from Gordion in Central Anatolia: Evidence for Feasting and the Persian Destruction

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A coherent deposit of dumped debris, excavated at Gordion in 1950 and the 1990s, was apparently formed during the cleanup following the Achaemenid Persian attack on the city, ca. 540 B.C.E. It offers a first glimpse of life at Gordion during the mid-6th century (end of the Middle Phrygian period, Yassihöyük Stratigraphic Sequence 5A). Greek imports provide a relatively firm date for the deposit and allow a chronologically specific snapshot of locally produced fine, household, and coarse wares. Vessels made of traditional Phrygian black-polished ware were used primarily for drinking. Lydian influence at the site is seen in the large number of burnished gray stemmed vessels, although the size of Gordion's stemmed dishes and the way in which they were used apparently differ from the Lydian capital, Sardis. Bowls come in a variety of wares, shapes, and sizes, while large jars and jugs are primarily gray-slipped household wares, with some imports. Puzzling is a large terracotta object with pseudomorph appliqués suggesting metal attachments, which may have been a niche for a household cult. This initial presentation of the pottery from the mid-6th-century dump provides insight into multiple concerns and behaviors of Gordion's inhabitants just before the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

Keywords: Gordion; Phrygia; Achaemenid conquest; chronology; feasting; ceramic assemblage; destruction debris; household cult

This article examines an understudied but chronologically significant period in the history of Gordion in central Anatolia: the last phase of the Middle Phrygian period (Yassihöyük Stratigraphic Sequence 5 [YHSS 5], ca. 800–540 B.C.E.) (Table 1). A coherent deposit of debris, probably domestic, provides a first glimpse of life at Gordion during the mid-6th century B.C.E. The deposit discussed here, as articulated below, includes multiple strata that accumulated within a large square pit. The topmost layer represents material from a wealthy sector of Gordion immediately prior to the Achaemenid conquest,

ca. 540 B.C.E. The relatively firm dating of the formation of the deposit allows a first attempt at a chronology for locally produced fine, household, and coarse wares. To our knowledge, the two best mid-6th-century deposits in Anatolia, at Gordion and Sardis, were both the result of Achaemenid conquests, and we offer a comparison between the deposits and the sites in this article.

Gordion served as the capital of the Phrygian kingdom from about 900–600 B.C.E. (Fig. 1). During the period when Phrygia was most powerful, the site saw the construction of monumental elite buildings and tumuli. Much of the published research on Gordion relates to the two major Phrygian phases of occupation: Early Phrygian (YHSS 6 in the stratigraphic sequence), and the early part of the Middle Phrygian period (YHSS 5C) (Rose and Darbyshire 2011; Voigt 2012, 2013; Rose [ed.] 2012, 2017a; Codella and Voigt forthcoming).¹ The

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¹ As described below, one goal of Voigt's excavations was to determine a more reliable and refined chronology for the site. The stratigraphic sequence was divided into chronological "phases," making up the Yassihöyük Stratigraphic Sequence (YHSS 1–11). Breaks were made

TABLE 1. Chronological Periods at Gordion

YHSS Phase	Period Name	Approximate Dates
1	Medieval/Selçuk	late 12th–14th century C.E.
2	Roman	mid 1st–7th century C.E.
3	Hellenistic	333–1st century B.C.E.
4	Late Phrygian/Achaemenid	540–333 B.C.E.
5A	Middle Phrygian	600–540 B.C.E.
5B	Middle Phrygian	700–600 B.C.E.
5C	Middle Phrygian	800–700 B.C.E.
6A	Destruction Level	800 B.C.E.
6B	Early Phrygian	900–800 B.C.E.
7	Early Iron Age	1150–900 B.C.E.
8–9	Late Bronze Age	1400–1150 B.C.E.
10	Middle Bronze Age	2000–1400 B.C.E.
11	Early Bronze	3000–2000 B.C.E.



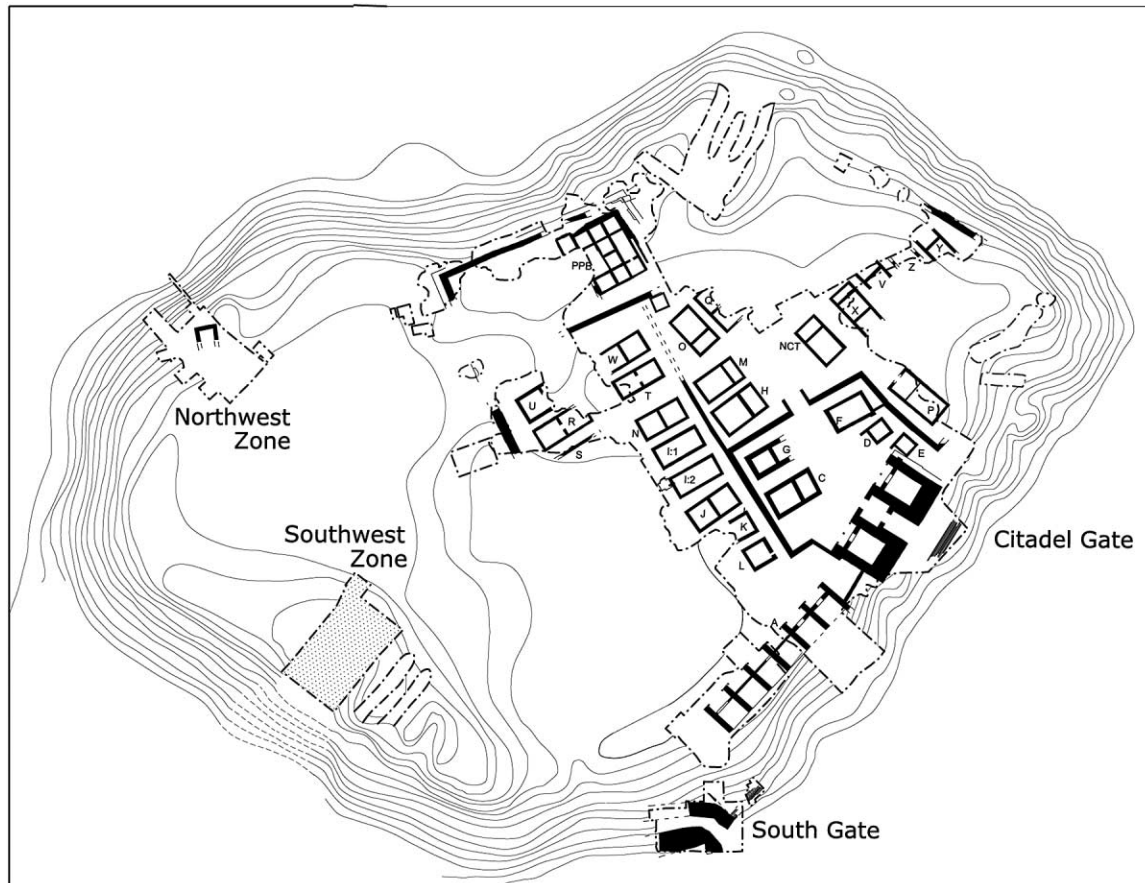
Fig. 1. Anatolia, Phrygia, and Gordion. (Prepared by G. Darbyshire and A. Anderson; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

break between the Early and Middle Phrygian periods, now dated ca. 800 B.C.E., is defined by a fiery destruc-

tion of elite structures on the eastern part of the Citadel Mound.² A major construction project was underway at

when there was a significant discontinuity in material culture and/or depositional process (Voigt 1994). Where possible, the YHSS phases correspond in name and relative date to chronological units previously designated for Gordion; however, the YHSS phases are always tied to specific stratigraphic complexes rather than architectural units.

² The fire that destroyed much of the Early Phrygian elite quarter took place ca. 800 B.C.E., not 700 B.C.E. as previously thought; for the chronological revision, see DeVries 2007; DeVries, Kuniholm, Sams, and Voigt 2003; Rose and Darbyshire 2011. For construction as possible cause: Rose 2012b: 6.



YASSIHÖYÜK/GORDION

Citadel Mound

Middle Phrygian/YHSS Phase 5C, ca. 800-700 B.C.E.

--- Excavated Area
1900 - 2017

0 100 M ▲

Fig. 2. Plan of Middle Phrygian citadel, ca. 800–600 B.C.E. (Prepared by M. M. Voigt, S. Jarvis, C. Alblinger, G. Darbyshire, and A. Anderson; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

the time of the fire, raising the level of important buildings and using new construction techniques (the “Unfinished Project,” Voigt 2012). This project resumed soon after the fire to produce the Middle Phrygian citadel, which closely followed the Early Phrygian plan (Fig. 2) (Voigt 2007, 2013). At the same time, fill was used to create a high Western Mound.³ During the course of the 8th century Phrygian power grew, paralleled by growth in the size of the site, with the settlement expanding to include a heavily walled Lower Town to the north and

south of the central mounds and a more lightly fortified Outer Town (Fig. 3) (Voigt 2013; Rose 2017a: 137–47, figs. 3–5, 7–11).

During the 7th century Phrygian power declined, and Gordion came under strong Lydian influence in the early 6th century B.C.E. as seen in the material culture of the site, from coins to ceramics to molded architectural revetment tiles.⁴ In the 540s B.C.E. Gordion fell to the Achaemenid military. A siege ramp is still visible against

³ The boundary between the two Middle Phrygian mounds is currently being investigated. See Voigt 2013: 189; Rose 2017a: 138.

⁴ Coins: Bellinger 1968; Tiles: Glendinning 1996, 2005: 97; Pottery: Gürtekin-Demir 2007, Greenewalt 2012. The Lydian and Lydianizing pottery will be published by Gül Gürtekin-Demir. Excavations recovered Lydian and Lydianizing pottery from the fort known as the Küçük



Fig. 3. Aerial photo looking southeast, showing the citadel, northern and southern lower town areas, and the fortification tower (Küçük Höyük). The Southwest Zone (SWZ) of excavation is also marked. (Photo by GGH; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

a large mudbrick fortress centered on the walls of the Lower Town to the south of the Citadel Mound (the so-called Küçük Höyük) (Young 1953, 1957: 324; Mellink 1959: 104, 1992: 653; DeVries 2011: 17–18; Rose 2012: 16).⁵ Burning from an extensive fire and arrowheads embedded in the exterior mudbrick walls attest to a serious battle that culminated in Gordion's conquest.⁶

The Achaemenid administration during the Late Phrygian period (YHSS 4) maintained control of the site until the arrival of Alexander the Great in 333 B.C.E. During the Late Phrygian/Achaemenid period some new construction accompanied by extensive deconstruction and repurposing of the Middle Phrygian megarons on the eastern mound continued a process that had begun during the 7th century.⁷ The town of Gordion maintained

its size during the Achaemenid period, and although as far as we can tell the site held limited administrative importance during this time, nonetheless, its population seems to have been both large and busy, with abundant evidence for manufacturing activities and trade with Lydians and Greeks as well as many others.⁸

This paper examines an archaeological context that provides insight into the life of Gordion's inhabitants at the mid-6th-century B.C.E. transition to Achaemenid rule. The deposit we discuss is located in the Southwestern Zone of the Citadel Mound (Figs. 2–4). The area was first explored by the German brothers Gustav and Alfred Körte in 1900, then excavated by Rodney Young in 1950 and Mary Voigt in 1989 and again from 1993–1996. The Young and Voigt excavations both discovered part of a large rectilinear pit filled with pottery and other artifacts, as well as animal bone (the “Dump”). In this article, we jointly introduce the archaeological and cultural significance of this context, one of the largest closed deposits from Gordion for the period from 600–200 B.C.E. After discussing the history of its excavation, Mary M. Voigt will describe the pit, its origins, and its afterlife. Kathleen M. Lynch will discuss evidence for secure dating

Höyük that may suggest a degree of Lydian political control of the site; see Young 1957: 324 and Mellink 1992: 629, 647, 653.

⁵ Geophysical prospection revealed a second siege ramp outside another wall fort, called Kuş Tepe in modern times; see Rose 2012: 16.

⁶ The extensive destruction of the fort at the Küçük Höyük requires re-study, but preliminary comments appear in Young 1957: 324, 1958: 141, and Mellink 1959. The Küçük Höyük will be published by Gebhard Bieg, the arrowheads by Askold Ivantchik.

⁷ For new construction, see the Painted House (Young 1955: 8–10, 1956: 255–56; Mellink 1980, 1988; Rose and Darbyshire 2016: 23, 176–87) and the Mosaic Building (Glendinning 2005: 98; Burke 2012). On deconstruction, see Fields 2011, Codella and Voigt forthcoming, and Sams forthcoming. See also Dusinberre 2019a, 2019b.

⁸ For the size of the Late Phrygian settlement see Voigt and Young 1999. For some of the activities of its inhabitants see Dusinberre 2005, 2019a, 2019b; Miller, Zeder, and Arter 2009; Miller 2010; Burke 2012; Marston 2012; Rademakers et al. 2017; Rose forthcoming.

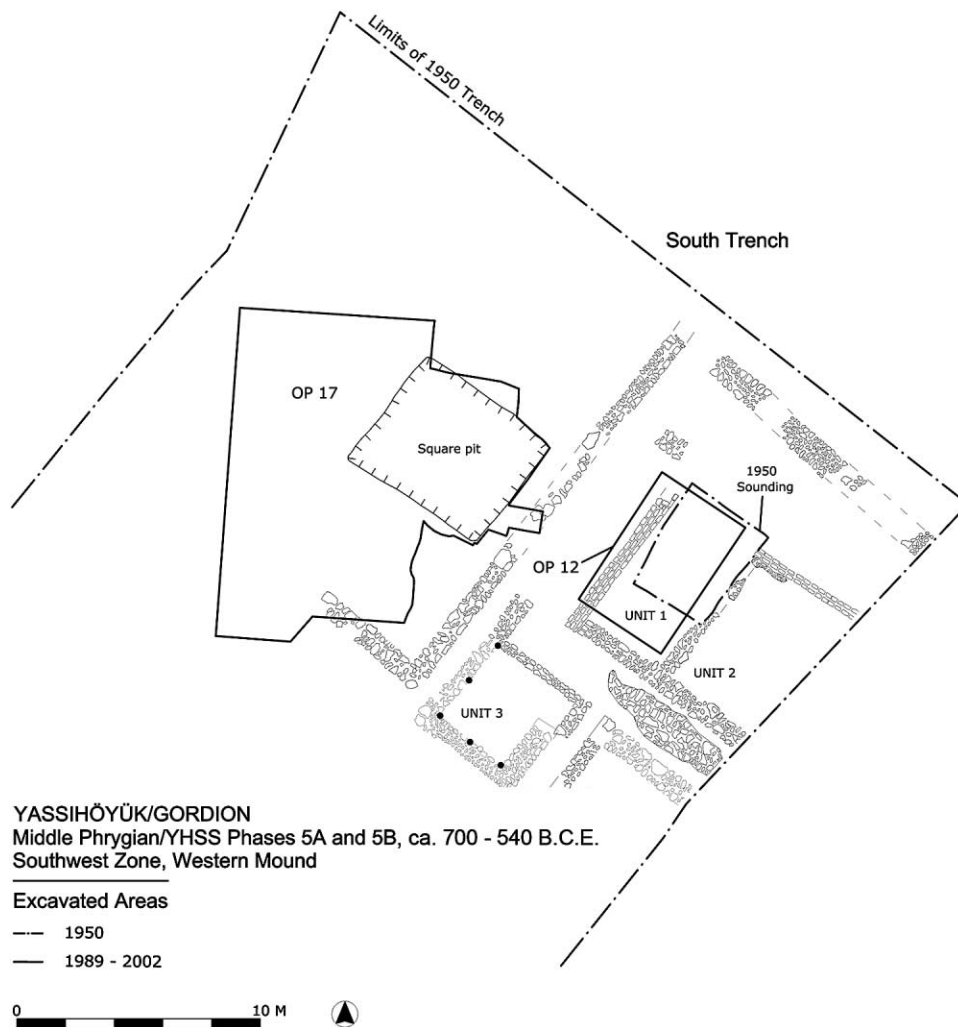


Fig. 4. Plan of the Southwest Zone of excavation showing trenches from the Young and Voigt campaigns, including the Square Pit. (Prepared by C. Alblinger, A. Anderson, G. Darbyshire, K. Leaman Insua, S. Jarvis and M. M. Voigt; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

provided by imported Greek pottery, and Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre will present a selection of Lydian/Lydianizing and Middle Phrygian pottery from the mid-6th century B.C.E.

Imported pottery provides a *terminus post quem* for the Dump of 550–540, and we suggest its uppermost layer is the result of a cleanup after the Achaemenid Persian conquest of Gordion. The Dump contains a great variety of material, and this article does not attempt to present the deposit in full. Instead, our objectives are to characterize the deposit (particularly its ceramic material), to provide evidence linking it to a historical moment at the site and in the life of ancient Anatolia, and to offer some preliminary interpretations of the original

context of use. We hope that this overview will inspire others to ask more specialized questions of the material.

History of Excavation and the Archaeology of the Dump

Although German archaeologists Alfred and Gustav Körte excavated a large trench in the southwestern area of the mound, it lay to the southwest of the mid-6th-century deposit discussed here (Körte and Körte 1904: 146–211). Some published finds from the Körte excavation are similar to those discovered by Young and Voigt, and it is possible that these artifacts were displaced objects from the dump deposit described in this article, or

else that they derived from a second context of a similar nature.⁹ In 1950, Young's team carried out excavation adjacent to the large but eroded trench left by the Körtes as part of his initial exploration of the Citadel Mound (Young Notebook 4: 101).¹⁰ The supervisor of Young's "South Trench," Conrad Wilson, found a deposit in Squares D-II and D-III with relatively complete pots dating to the 6th century B.C.E. (Young Notebook 8: 14–22), which he called the "Jackpot!" (Young Notebook 8: 20).¹¹ Subsequent investigation demonstrates that Wilson had excavated roughly one-half of a major dump deposit.¹² Wilson expressed hope that work would continue in the South Trench the following year, but Young never returned to it, focusing instead on the eastern part of the present Citadel Mound where the deep Roman deposits characteristic of the western part of the mound were not present (Young Notebook 8: 28).

Two primary goals of the Voigt excavations were (1) to obtain a well-dated local ceramic sequence for the site and (2) to explore poorly known areas, including

⁹ E.g., fragments of at least one large elaborate terracotta object with a central depression and decorated ledges (mentioned below), and several mid-6th-century B.C.E. Attic black-figure cups: Körte and Körte 1904, 187, nos. 50a, 50b, 51, figs. 177, 178.

¹⁰ Excavation notebooks are kept at the Gordion Archive at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

¹¹ The dump was labeled as part of Level V (now dated to the Middle Phrygian period or YHSS 5) beneath Floor 4, in cuts D-II–D-III.

¹² The South Trench began as a 10 × 17 m rectangle between the northeastern arms of the Körte brothers' trench, and was initially called A (for its excavation, see Young Notebooks 4 and 8). South Trench was later expanded to the northeast and to include the arms of the Körtes' trench, by means of an extension initially called B that together with A created a large 25 × 30 m rectangle, its corners oriented roughly on the cardinal points of the compass. B was found to be too large to excavate all at once and was first divided into quarters, called B-I, B-II, B-III, and B-IV (B-I at the south, B-II at the east, the others at the north and west). B-I and B-II were excavated, then the northwest half was itself divided into quarters. These became B-III, B-IV, B-V, and B-VI (again, south, east, west, and north). A small add-on, the "NW corner extension," was added to the northern corner of this part of the trench (B) to catch more of the walls of a Roman structure in the northern corner of the trench.

When that part of the South Trench initially called B had been excavated down to the same level as that part initially called A, the whole trench was subdivided anew into 5 × 5 m squares, each of which was given a new name. Thus there were five squares along the 25-m-long southwest–northeast line, and six along the 30-m-long southeast–northwest line. These were named in strips, beginning with A-I at the northeast corner down to A-V in the southwest corner, then moving to the northwest B-I–B-V, etc. Near the end of the season, when the A strip and the B strip had reached levels previously explored by the Körte brothers in the northeastern part of their trench, they were expanded into the area of the German trench in two new 5 × 5 squares called A-VI and B-VI. The two primary cuts that encountered the dump were D-II and D-III, both of which were explored by Wilson only east of the wall of the Roman house (Level III in both the 1950 and new Goldman terminologies). Together, D-II and D-III make up about half of the Dump's volume.

the western half of the Citadel Mound. In 1989 Voigt placed a small test trench, Operation 12, in the Southwest Zone of the western mound in order to clean and explore Middle Phrygian walls and surfaces exposed in 1950.¹³ In 1993 Operation 17 was set out in an area that had been left with standing Roman architecture in 1950, providing an island of intact material that could be used to explore the archaeological sequence more fully in the Southwest Zone, and paralleling the sequence obtained during 1988–1989 from a sounding in Young's main excavation area on the eastern half of the Citadel Mound (Voigt 1994) (Fig. 4). It was hoped that this material, including the Jackpot that had previously been only partially excavated, could help answer major outstanding questions about the stratigraphy and chronology of Gordion as a whole.

Excavation in the Southwest Zone thus became part of an emerging new goal, to obtain information on the date of Middle Phrygian remains across the site. Analysis of stratigraphy documented in the sounding conducted in 1988–1989 on the eastern mound suggested that the Middle Phrygian project might have begun almost immediately after the fire associated with the Destruction Level that ended the Early Phrygian period, rather than more than two centuries later as Young had thought. One of the difficulties faced by Young in constructing his chronology had always been the paucity of sealed deposits that could be directly linked to the Middle Phrygian rebuilding. The 1989 exploratory trenches in the Southwest Zone (Operation 12) showed that the buildings exposed in 1950 were stratified above earlier houses that had been built on a thick layer of clay fill (Voigt 2013: 209, figs. 35, 36). Identification of this fill with the rebuilding sequence so well-known from the eastern mound was confirmed; in a pithos cut into clay and associated with the floor of the earliest house was found pottery typical of the Middle Phrygian period in Voigt's new sounding on the eastern mound (Henrickson 1994: 111–13, figs. 10.7, 10.8a).

In order to answer the questions raised by stratigraphy on the eastern mound, the rich and varied ceramic assemblage within the Jackpot of the South Trench/Southwest Zone presented a singular opportunity—if it was securely associated with the Middle Phrygian houses excavated in 1950 and 1989 it would support Young's dating

¹³ Operation 12 consisted of several small trenches set out in order to establish the stratigraphic and chronological sequence in this area, and to relate the new sequence to extant remains excavated in 1950. A step trench, excavated by Robert Dyson, extended from Roman strata down to Middle Phrygian deposits. Timothy Matney cleaned the foundations of Middle Phrygian walls exposed in 1950 and excavated beneath them into a layer of sterile earth (Voigt 2013: 209, figs. 35, 36; Codella and Voigt forthcoming).

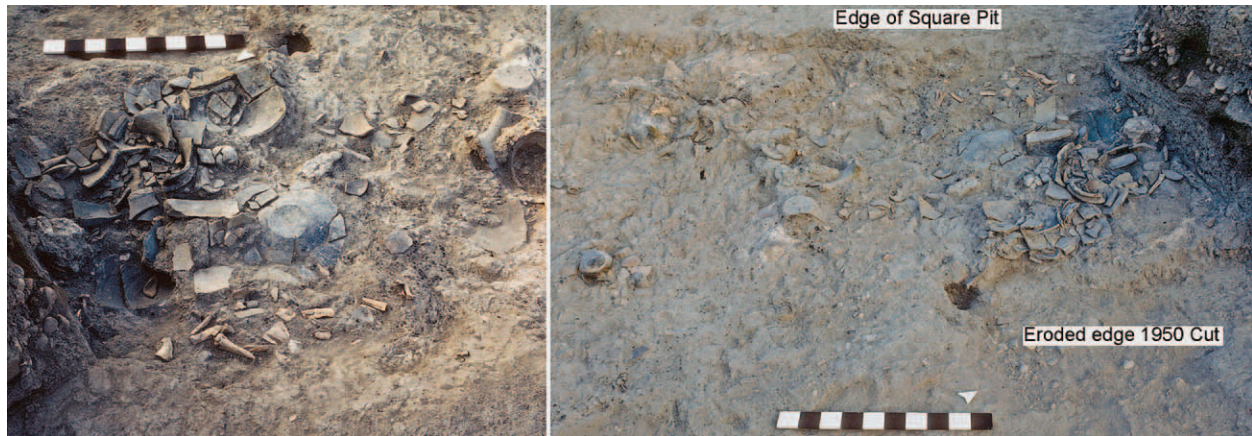


Fig. 5. Area of the Dump excavated in 1996, Locus 708. Left: Top stratum of the Dump with complete vessels and articulated animal skeletons. Right: At the top is the northwest edge of the Square Pit. The irregular line just above the scale and north arrow is the eroded edge of the 1950 South Trench, disturbed by a rodent burrow. To the right is the densest part of the Dump deposit extending into the north balk of Operation 17. (Photos by M. M. Voigt; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

of both architecture and clay fill to the mid-6th century; if not, the Jackpot represented a later phase in the Middle Phrygian occupation of the site, leaving open the dating of the clay fill and earliest Middle Phrygian remains.

Excavation of the sequence in Operation 17 continued during 1994 and 1995 under the supervision of Julide Aker, and by the end of the 1995 season she had reached the top of a deposit that was clearly the 1950 Jackpot, soon informally re-named by Keith DeVries as “the great mid-6th-century dump” (hereafter the Dump) (Fig. 5). A final brief season of excavation was carried out in 1996 in order to recover the unique artifact sample from what was now interpreted as a zone of transition between the Middle and Late Phrygian periods (ca. 540 B.C.E.) (Sams and Voigt 1998: 684–87, fig. 8; DeVries 2005: 47–50). We wish to emphasize that what was recovered in 1995–1996 represents less than half of the large deposit, the rest having been cleared in 1950 with very different methods.

As now defined, the Middle Phrygian period stretches over a period of more than 250 years (Table 1). Using stratigraphic data it has been possible to divide this phase into three subphases, YHSS 5C (ca. 800–ca. 700 B.C.E.), 5B (ca. 700–ca. 600 B.C.E.), and 5A (ca. 600–540 B.C.E.). Absolute dates for these subphases were obtained from rare Greek imports (Codella and Voigt forthcoming).¹⁴ The uppermost layer of the Dump comprises a deposit of material dating to the end of YHSS 5A, terminated by the Achaemenid conquest of Gordion ca. 540 B.C.E.; the final

¹⁴ Radiocarbon dating is not effective during the calibration plateau extending from ca. 700 to 400 B.C.E., so we are lucky to have datable imports at Gordion that provide a relatively secure chronology.

stage of the Dump’s fill was thus deposited at the very beginning of the Achaemenid period, initial YHSS 4.

Analysis of the stratigraphy in Operation 17 indicates that the pottery and animal bone comprising the Dump were deposited into a 6.5 × 5.2 m pit (hereafter the “Square Pit”) that was cut into earlier Middle Phrygian/YHSS 5B mudbrick architecture and wall collapse.¹⁵ Based on its form and comparison with contemporary structures elsewhere on the site, Voigt has interpreted this cutting as a domestic structure, either a pithouse or a storage unit, as described below. When the Square Pit was abandoned, its walls collapsed and it became a repository for trash, with relatively sterile layers alternating with deposits of animal bone and other cultural material. The mid-6th-century Dump deposit represents the final event in an ongoing process, but an event that involves more than simple refuse disposal. A few sherds that join vessels from the Dump were recovered from a flat surface adjacent to and contemporary with the top of the Square Pit. These artifacts were either deposited at the same time as the Dump, or redeposited when the Dump was disturbed by a subsequent pit cut in Late Phrygian/Achaemenid/YHSS 4 times.

The discussion presented in this study focuses on two stratigraphic units excavated in 1995 and 1996 that make up the final stratum (Locus 692 and Locus 708). Within

¹⁵ Based on Voigt’s excavation, the Dump lies within the Square Pit and is no larger than that. Roughly half of the Dump was excavated in 1950 in excavation squares D-II and D-III (see above), but it was not precisely mapped at that time. We therefore do not know how much of the area within the Square Pit was filled by the mid-6th-century Dump; the very few sherds found beyond or above the Square Pit are the result of later disturbance.



Fig. 6. Strata within the Square Pit: (1) irregular northwest edge of the Pit and rounded eastern corner; (2) surface beneath the Dump deposit; (3) bone rich strata covered by layer of erosion; (4) earliest deposit with eroded wall material sloping up to the sides of the Square Pit; (5) flat area that is probably the bottom of the Square Pit; (6) arbitrary surface made to define the southeast edge of the Square Pit; (7) surface of the 1950 excavation as preserved in 1996. Left: View to the south. Right: View to the northwest. (Photos by M. M. Voigt; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

the Square Pit both sterile and trash layers slope away from the pit walls toward the center of the original structure, as documented by a series of steps cut by Aker as she moved down the intact deposit left after the Young excavation and 40 years of erosion (Fig. 6). Loci 692 and 708 form an irregularly shaped area that extends over nearly the entire width of the pit (just over 5 m), but that represents only a ca. 4 to 2 m-wide portion of the Square Pit's original 6.5 m length. Cultural material within the Dump is not evenly distributed, but it is relatively sparse to the southwest and is most dense in the northern corner of the Square Pit. The depth of the deposit is difficult to measure accurately because of its downward slope, but it is surprisingly shallow: the greatest depth encountered in 1996 measured ca. 0.35 to 0.5 m as documented by elevations and a very limited stratigraphic section near the north corner of the square pit.

The Square Pit deposit, sealed by a Late Phrygian house and outside surfaces dated to the 5th century B.C.E., provides secure evidence for life, defeat, and destruction at Gordion at the end of the Middle Phrygian period. The top stratum, the Dump deposit discussed here, was discarded over a short period of time—thrown in over an apparently brief period of days rather than weeks. Items that were still useful, including pots of various forms and other valuable artifacts (see below) were also found in the Dump along with articulated partial animal skeletons and fish scales.¹⁶ Many of the local

Middle Phrygian household and fine ware vessels recovered from the final phase of deposition in the pit remain nearly complete, suggesting the material was discarded when intact or at least in usable condition (see Fig. 5 and also the excavator's day plan, Fig. 7). Incomplete vessels, such as the Gordion cup signed by Sondros discussed below, may represent artifacts thrown into the deposit complete but not fully recovered. Its pieces were found distributed across the deposit.¹⁷ This latest material must be considered as part of a process: the fill within the pit is stratified, with layers of refuse separated by relatively clean layers of eroded soil or fill, documenting the fact that it was repeatedly used for the disposal of refuse and especially food debris even before the final layer or Dump.¹⁸ The range of material discarded and the fine nature of some of the Dump's contents suggest an origin in one or more elite households and hint at Middle Phrygian social structures, as will be discussed below.

Architectural Context

Identification of the Square Pit as a former building or storage unit is based on two lines of evidence. First, the pit is neatly cut, with careful corners and straight vertical sides; the kind of care and maintenance that might preserve this kind of cut is unlikely for a pit built and

but rare, as were the remains of wild species: hare, birds, and fish. For horse gear, see Voigt et al. 1997: fig. 32i, l, m.

¹⁷ The northern corner of the Square Pit was not excavated, and Late Phrygian pit digging also disturbed the contents.

¹⁸ The cleanup of Persian destruction debris in Athens also produced stratified fills: Shear 1993; Lynch 2011a: 5–20.

¹⁶ The animal bone from the Dump was identified by zooarchaeologist Jeremiah Dandoy. Most common within Locus 692 and 708 were domestic food animals: sheep, goats, and cows. Horse bone was present

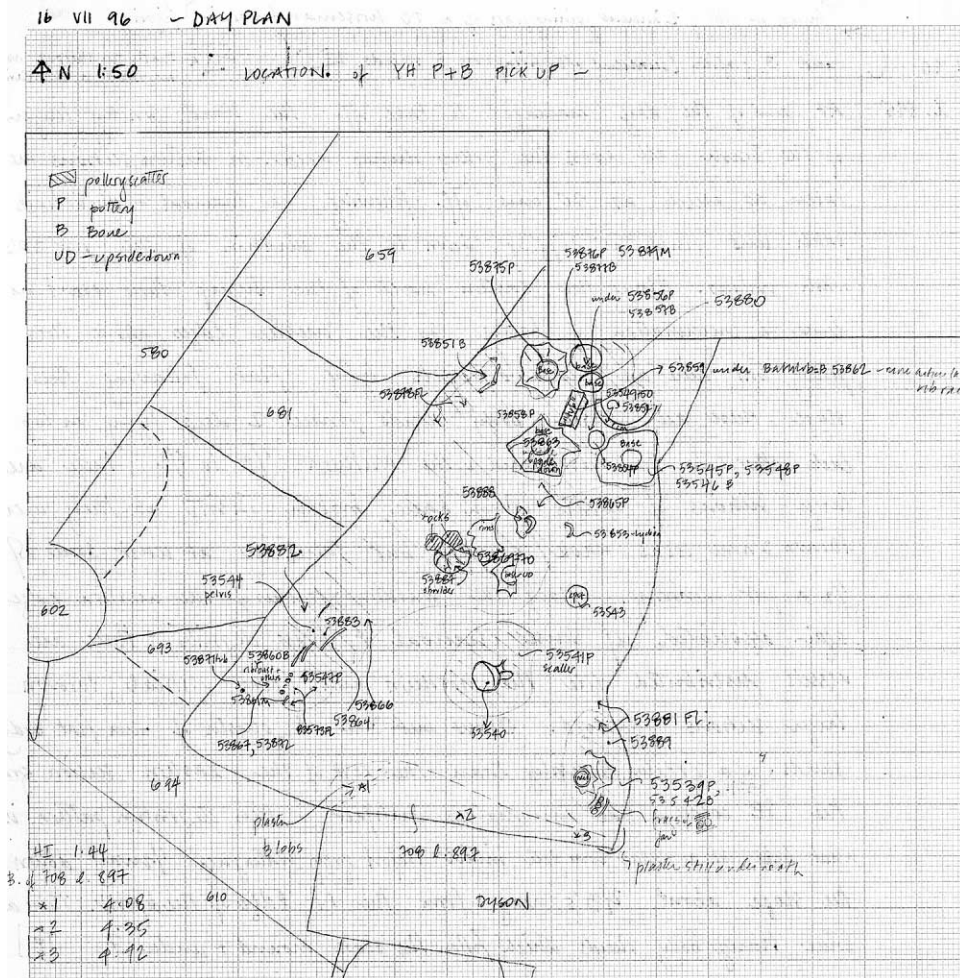


Fig. 7. Daily plan from Operation 17 1996 notebook showing the distribution of finds in Locus 708. (Drawing by J. Aker; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

used strictly for refuse disposal. Second, semi-subterranean structures with hearths, ovens, and large storage jars preserved on/in their floors have been found in the Main Excavation Area on the Eastern Mound and in the Northwest Zone on the Western Mound (see Figs. 2, 3). The earliest of these structures were part of the initial Middle Phrygian or YHSS 5C construction, their walls set along with the clay fill (e.g., the South Cellar and Building I:2 cellar; Codella and Voigt forthcoming). A later example from the Northwest Zone was cut into the clay, using the rubble foundations of a 5C structure as two of its walls (Operation 29 YHSS 5B.1 Unit 2).¹⁹ A

¹⁹ Deep and wide rubble foundations are characteristic of the Middle Phrygian/YHSS 5C phase in the Main Excavation Area, which is characterized by large public buildings, and the Northwest Zone. Where the buildings are best preserved these rubble foundations support walls made of ashlar blocks with a course of timbers laid between

single pithouse that is tentatively assigned to YHSS 5A, or the late Middle Phrygian period, was found in the Main Excavation Area, in Operation 1 of the 1988–1989 Upper Trench Sounding.²⁰ Although the bottom of the Square Pit was reached, it was not cleared in 1996 due to time and financial constraints, so we remain uncertain as to its nature; nonetheless the resemblance between the Square

foundation and wall. Examples of this construction technique that have been published include the Middle Phrygian gate (Young 1953: 19–21), Building A (Sams and Burke 2008: 332–33, fig. 10 [with incorrect caption]), and Building M (Edwards 1959: 265, fig. 11).

²⁰ This structure, which is very similar to the pithouse in Operation 29 in that it is cut into a corner formed by a wall of YHSS 5C Building I:2 and a later (5B) wall, cannot be precisely dated using stratigraphy alone. Its contents (fibulae, gray burnished pottery with graffito, pithos sherds with capacity marks) all suggest a Middle Phrygian date, but this is tentative pending further study of the local pottery. For photographs see Voigt 1994: pl. 25.7.3–4.

Pit and the Middle Phrygian cellars excavated elsewhere on the Citadel Mound is telling.

If the Square Pit in Operation 17 was indeed a domestic structure, there must have been some kind of lining to protect its vertical surfaces. All of the semi-subterranean domestic structures listed above have some evidence of stone-lined surfaces to their subterranean walls, either purpose-built or formed by the rubble foundations of earlier (YHSS 5C) structures. During Late Phrygian/Achaemenid and later times the robbing of older walls was a constant process, as stone was quarried from structures that were sometimes deeply buried. Archaeological excavation of Middle and Late Phrygian pithouses elsewhere on the Citadel Mound sometimes found only a few stones representing what had once been substantial lining walls. Since Voigt's excavation did not reach the full depth of the deposit along the sides of the Square Pit, it is possible that a stone lining was preserved near the pit's floor. It is also possible that there was a *pisé* or packed mud facing on the walls and floor that would have protected the interior of the pit from wall collapse.²¹ A mud facing would explain the difficulty that the very skilled excavator Aker had in finding the actual pit edge (Voigt 1996 Notebook 1: 114). Moreover, the excavator recognized that deposits inside the Square Pit consistently followed a slope that began about 70 cm away from the northwest and southwest edges, a phenomenon that is hard to explain unless there was some kind of barrier or wall lining.²² No other house from the site of Gordion preserves a packed mud lining, but the pithouse in the Northwest Zone (Operation 29 Unit 2) had layers of mud plaster on the interior face of the rubble foundation/wall (Voigt 2013: fig. 33; Codella and Voigt forthcoming).

Contents of the Dump

The Dump possesses particular characteristics that make it extraordinary. A few exquisite imports provide a date; they are primarily related to drinking (an Attic kylix, sherds of an Attic krater, pieces of Lydian and Lydianizing skyphoi, and fragments of Corinthian kotylai). Middle Phrygian black-polished ware is used for small stemmed dishes, small bowls, and small jugs and jars. The local fine and household ware assemblage includes examples of dining vessels (small and large bowls, stemmed dishes of various sizes) and large jugs with trefoil or cutaway mouths. Storage vessels in local coarse wares are present, as are a few cooking pots. Jars,

jugs, and stemmed dishes might also be imported, from various places in addition to European Greece. (For cataloged vessels from the Dump, see the **Appendix** and accompanying table below.) At this time, we are unable to provide accurate quantification of these categories, but the most closely datable vessels, the imported pottery, comprise far and away the smallest component of the ceramic assemblage.

As mentioned already, in addition to ceramic material the deposit included large quantities of animal bone that was sometimes articulated, as well as a range of non-ceramic artifacts (**Table 2**; Sams and Voigt 1998: 684). The contents of this Dump considered altogether do not resemble the household deposits found at Sardis or Olynthos, but they do represent a range of activities on the part of (probably) both men and women (Cahill 2002a, 2002b, 2005, 2010a). Fiber work is suggested by three loomweights, two spindle whorls, and a bronze needle. Four bits of gold foil, a silver ring and some silver wire, a bronze bracelet, and two beads (one stone, one bone) may be remnants of personal adornment. Bronze and antler harness elements were recovered. Along with four bronze points and twelve iron ones, an iron sickle (?) and a hammered iron sheet forming an iron cone were found. Other tools include four whetstones, a small assortment of nails and tacks, and twelve possible gaming pieces (animal astragaloi that were ground and in some cases pierced). A broken terracotta rider figurine that was also found in the Dump is discussed below. There are no metal vessels, no glass, and no wooden vessels or utensils. Some of the artifacts in the Dump have greenish accretions, and chunks of plaster as well as ashy lenses demonstrate the disposal of trash.

The deposit, with a complete set of ceramic vessels for the storage, preparation, and serving of food as well as other goods, including military items and personal ornament, may represent the material goods of an (extended?) elite household. Alternatively the contents of the Dump might represent the belongings of another type of social group that required communal dining, for example a group bound together by gender, age, or occupation. We do not know enough to speculate why this Dump was created, but people generate deposits for a variety of reasons, some symbolic. Because the imported pottery provides a date for the uppermost fill of the Dump of ca. 540 B.C.E., it seems likely that the formation of the Dump was in some way a response to the Achaemenid arrival at or conquest of Gordion. Parallels from elsewhere show a desire to start over with a clean slate after the Achaemenid onslaught, a psychological state common to survivors of war and natural disaster.²³ The discard of functional pottery and

²¹ The Square Pit did cut through earlier slumped domestic debris, so the stone-lined walls would stabilize it.

²² A section through the edge of the Square Pit was preserved in only one small area and the evidence can be interpreted to show a packed mud lining, but the inner edge of this brickly mass/lining was not investigated.

²³ After the Achaemenid destruction of Athens in 480 B.C.E., for instance, Athenians also discarded whole pots into pits and wells, cre-

TABLE 2. Non-Ceramic Artifacts from the Mid-6th-Century Dump
(Not Including Artifacts that are Fragmentary or of Uncertain Function)

<i>Artifact Type</i>	<i>Materials</i>	<i>Identification Number</i>
Loomweights	Unbaked clay, terracotta	YH51667, YH51246, YH51666
Whorls	Pottery	YH51669, YH53982
Needle and needle case	Bronze	YH53512
Textile fragments		YH53898
Awl	Bone	YH51959
Burnisher	Antler	YH51838
Pins	Bronze	YH51815, YH53707, YH53743, YH54247, YH54417
Beads	Bone, stone	YH53717, YH51673
Bracelet	Bronze	YH51838
Rings	Antler, silver	YH53744, YH53703
Foil pieces	Gold	YH51674
Wire	Silver, bronze	YH51813, YH53894
Tweezers	Bronze	YH53708
Inlays	Antler, bone or ivory	YH51210, YH53899
Harness elements	Antler, bronze, iron	YH51816, YH51655, YH51961, YH51996 YH53508, YH53738, YH53745, YH53867, YH54488, YH54204
Points	Iron	YH51653, YH51818, YH51820, YH53713, YH53714, YH53874. YH53883, YH53886, YH54231, YH53861, YH54348, YH54349, YH57009
Points	Bronze	YH51219, YH53739, YH53711, YH53730, YH53874, YH54489
Sickle	Iron	YH53747
Whetstones	Stone	YH51997, YH53534, YH53896, YH54675
Nails and tacks	Bronze, iron	YH51046, YH51550, YH51812, YH51818, YH51991, YH51994, YH53735, Y53971, YH53986
Hooks	Bronze, iron	YH51048, YH51993
Manufacturing debris	Lead	YH53706, YH54221
Gaming Pieces	Bone	YH46526, YH51837, YH54396, YH54400, YH54424, YH54425, YH54426, YH54430, YH54431, YH54432, YH54499
Rider Figurine	Terracotta	YH51693

partially-articulated animal skeletons stands in contrast to the normally thrifty behavior of the ancients, so it encourages us to look for an explanation beyond the practical. For example, the household goods might have been disposed of as part of a process commemorating or perhaps erasing the memory of someone killed or shamed during the battle. It is possible the Dump results from particular unusual feasting behaviors associated with the final battle(s) and defeat. In any case, the disposal of usable and valuable belongings implies that the group of people who used them was dissolved and dispersed. At the moment, the reason for disposal and dispersal remains uncertain, but some event or situation related to the Achaemenid conquest of Gordion seems certain.²⁴

ating an archaeological horizon that includes 22 closed deposits of which some represent individual households (Lynch 2011a: 26–28, 2011b: 74).

²⁴ A deposit dating to the same time with similarities to the Dump was excavated in 2017 and 2018 at Gordion, in Area 4 (Rose 2017b: 10–12, fig. 15). That deposit, too, includes fragments of an Attic Little Master cup, a Corinthian kylix, elegant Lydian fine wares, and large quantities of storage vessels of which some are marked with graffiti. It also includes the architectural terracottas and roof tiles of two sepa-

Imported Greek Pottery from Athens and Corinth (See Appendix for Catalog and Figures 8, 9 for Illustrations)

The Greek pottery imported from Athens and Corinth provides a *terminus post quem* of ca. 550–540 B.C.E. for the deposition of the final stratum of debris. The Dump contained a Gordion cup signed by Sondros as potter,

rate roofing systems. Its complete publication will help elucidate further the circumstances and activities of those at Gordion at the time of Achaemenid conquest. There is a gap of 50 years between that dump in Area 4 and the next period of construction on the eastern mound (Rose 2017b: 11–12, forthcoming). This parallels the situation on the western mound. Although in theory the contents of a house or other building might have been dumped as part of a cleanup prior to new construction soon after 540, current evidence indicates that the construction of new structures during the Late Phrygian/Achaemenid/YHSS 4 period did not begin until around 500 B.C.E., located in the Northwest Zone of the city's western mound, at a newly excavated gateway along the southern edge of the mound (Area 1), and in the Main Excavation Area on the eastern mound (Rose 2017a, 2017b, forthcoming; Dusingberre 2019a, 2019b; Codella and Voigt in press). In the Southwest Zone where the Dump is located there is no evidence of reoccupation until the early 5th century.



Fig. 8. Imported Athenian and Corinthian Pottery from the Dump. (Photos by G. Bieg; drawings by E. Dusinberre, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

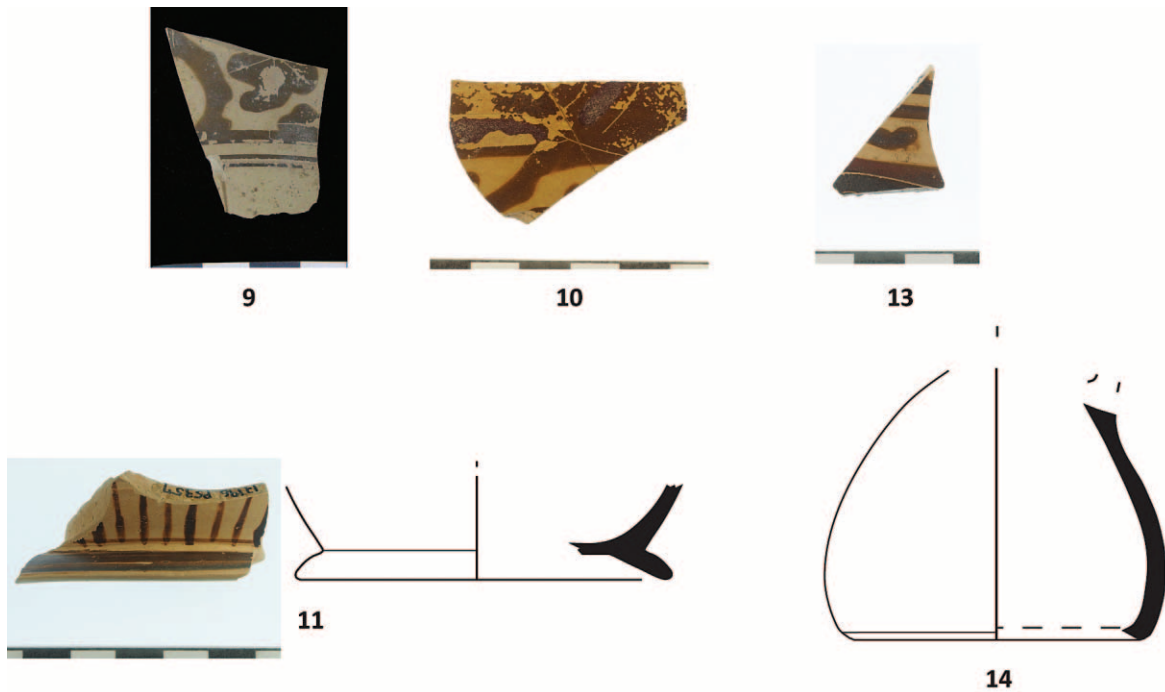


Fig. 9. Imported Athenian, Corinthian, and East Greek Pottery from the Dump. (Photos by G. Bieg; drawings by A. Fields and K. Leaman Insua, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

the most complete cup by the potter known at this time (**Fig. 8:2, Appendix No. 2**).²⁵ Fragments of the cup were found scattered within a mixed deposit of ash and trash along the northwest edge of the Square Pit, with a single sherd on a surface adjacent to the pit, perhaps redeposited by later activity (see above). H. A. G. Brijder dates the Sondros group of Gordion cups to the decade 560–550 B.C.E. (2000: 554–55);²⁶ Pieter Heesen allows the Sondros potter's cups to span 560–540 B.C.E. (2011: 31–35).²⁷ Heesen orders the Sondros chronology partially on the basis of the style of the signature. In particular, the Sondros cup from the Dump falls into his second stage and thus should probably date to 555–550 B.C.E. (DeVries 1997b: 21; Heesen 2011: 34–35).

The Dump also produced two non-joining sherds of a column krater attributed to Lydos (**Fig. 8:1, Appendix No. 1**). An additional non-joining sherd comes from a very different part of the site: P 4653b was excavated in a trench along the northwest corner of the Middle Phrygian wall that enclosed the elite occupation and production area on the eastern mound.²⁸ The fragmentary krater features men running to the left. Lydos's hand is evident in anatomical details such as the ear, clavicles, profile, and circular nipples within an added red circle (Sams 1979: 8, fig. 3; DeVries 1997a: 447, fig. 1, 1997b: 20, fig. 28, 2005: 47, figs. 4–12).²⁹ Another non-joining sherd, a handle plate (P 324), comes from the Young excavation of the citadel gate area, and if it belongs to the

²⁵ For this cup, see Brijder 2000: 556–57, no. G17, fig. 114, where he dates it to ca. 560–550 B.C.E.; DeVries 2005: 46–47, fig. 4–10; Heesen 2011: 31–35, no. 27, pl. 9.

²⁶ The two eponymous Gordion Cups from Gordion found in Tumulus K-V, one of which is signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, he dates slightly earlier, to the 560s or ca. 560. Sondros was either in the Kleitias-Ergotimos workshop or strongly influenced by it, see Heesen 2011: 31.

²⁷ There is some debate about the chronology of Gordion Cups, see Heesen 2011: 34–35.

²⁸ Found August 17, 1971, Trench WCW-11, Notebook 153: 96. The findspot for the fourth sherd in **Figure 8:1**, P 4653a, has been lost, but it was inventoried in 1971, so it may have also come from the trenches excavated that year, which clustered in the northern portion of the central mound area. For WCW-11, see DeVries 1990: fig. 29. The disbursement of krater fragments documents additional evidence for post-Middle Phrygian disturbance of the Dump deposit, see DeVries 1997b: 20.

²⁹ Mentioned also in Sams and Voigt 1998: 687. Tiverios 1976 (84–86) divides Lydos's career into three phases, and the style of our fragments best matches the middle phase, which he dates to 555–540 B.C.E.

same krater, provides even better evidence for Lydos's characteristic facial profile.³⁰ The krater should date ca. 550–540 B.C.E.³¹

Several fragmentary vessels in Corinthian fabric date to the first half of the 6th century B.C.E. A single fragment of a skyphos preserves the head of an animal grazing on a groundline (Fig. 8:6, Appendix No. 6).³² It is probably Middle Corinthian, although it is difficult to say with such a small fragment.³³ Nevertheless, the fragment probably dates around 575 B.C.E. if not before. From the 1950 South Trench, a spherical Corinthian aryballos (Appendix No. 12) featuring a bird with spread wings should also date to the Middle Corinthian period, thus before the mid-6th century.³⁴ An intact miniature linear style skyphos (Fig. 8:7, Appendix No. 7) comes from the center of the Dump. The linear style is hard to date, but a mid-6th-century B.C.E. date would be reasonable.³⁵

A highly decorated cup rim, unfortunately gray from secondary burning (Fig. 8:5, Appendix No. 5), also dates to the late second quarter of the 6th century B.C.E. It is likely Attic, although the combination of interior and exterior lip decoration is unusual.³⁶ An East Greek juglet (Fig. 9:14, Appendix No. 14) is harder to pinpoint but could also date to the middle of the century. Other East Greek vessels that cannot be closely dated are discussed separately below.

Additional Attic and Corinthian fragments probably originating from the Dump but found outside of the Square Pit itself further support a date soon after 550 B.C.E. for the closing of the pit. For example, two small, non-joining Attic fragments come from a lip cup with short rim, dating ca. 575–550 B.C.E. (Fig. 8:4, Appendix

No. 4).³⁷ An even smaller fragment of a Cassel cup (Fig. 8:3, Appendix No. 3) and several other Corinthian fragments of Middle Corinthian production (Fig. 9:9, 10, 13, Appendix Nos. 9, 10, 13) and Late Corinthian production (Fig. 8:8 [preserved as fourteen fragments], 9:11, Appendix Nos. 8, 11), should all date to the middle of the 6th century B.C.E., if not to the second quarter of the century. It is impossible to know if the “older” objects were still in use at the time of the destruction, or if they were redeposited from elsewhere. Nevertheless, the imported pottery reflects access to high-quality vessels made in European Greece, and most relate to wine drinking. The small quantity of pottery imported to Gordion during the first half of the 6th century B.C.E. argues against organized trade, but may rather reflect idiosyncratic acquisition or gift exchange (for this phenomenon, see Lynch and Matter 2014; Lynch 2016).

The *terminus post quem* of ca. 550–540 B.C.E. for the deposition of material provided by the imported pottery allows us to link the formation of the deposit to the Achaemenid attack on the citadel. The deposition of such well-dated debris provides an archaeological connection to a historical moment and thus presents a very good rung on the chronological ladder for more poorly understood local and regional pottery production. Below, we compare this destruction deposit to that excavated at Sardis, also attributed to the Achaemenid conquest.

Lydian and Lydianizing Pottery (See Appendix for a List of Objects and Figures 10–13 for Illustrations)

The term Lydianizing is used here to describe vessels that—based on their fabric—are not from Sardis or Lydia, and indeed may be local products, but that are made in shapes and with surface decorations that connect them to the pottery found at Sardis. Lydian and Lydianizing vessels from the Dump match closely the pottery from the Achaemenid destruction contexts at Sardis in shapes represented, if not necessarily fabric. Sherds of skyphoi, the quintessential Lydian drinking vessels, are abundant in the Gordion deposit, and several compare closely with skyphoi from the houses destroyed by the Achaemenid attack on Sardis in the mid-6th century B.C.E. and are therefore probably contemporaneous in date.³⁸ Similarly, a Lydian amphora (P 241) from the deposit finds parallels

³⁰ Found in the highest level of trench SET-N, 1951. Cf. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum no. 2098, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* Amsterdam 5 [48], pl. 266 [575]:1. See comments there on relationship to Painter of Vatican 309. It seems unlikely that there was more than one krater by Lydos.

³¹ It is tempting to connect “Ο Λυδός” (“Lydos” or “the Lydian”) with the Lydian presence at Gordion, but at Sardis itself there are only two vase fragments attributed to his manner, see Ramage 1997: no. Att2, Att3, pl. 24 (in the circle of Lydos and Close to Lydos (?), both ca. 560 B.C.E.).

³² Mentioned by DeVries 1997b: 20; Sams and Voigt 1998: 687; DeVries 2005: 47, n. 22.

³³ Cf. Stillwell and Benson 1984: 114, no. 556 and 177, no. 575, pl. 27.

³⁴ Mentioned in DeVries 1997b: 20; Sams and Voigt 1998: 687; DeVries 2005: 47, n. 21. Kathleen Lynch was unable to view this artifact in person.

³⁵ Cf. Risser 2001: 58, no. 105, pl. 13, dated “second quarter of the 6th century B.C.”

³⁶ See discussion under Appendix, no. 5.

³⁷ Not unlike the products of the Painter of Athens 533, see Brijder 1983: 97–100, pl. 72b, although not by this painter.

³⁸ E.g., YH53511, 51983, 53514; cf. Greenewalt 2010a: 113, fig. 6, 2010b: 130, fig. 5; Cahill [ed.] 2010: no. 77–80. For the sack of Sardis, see Cahill 2010b.



Fig. 10. Lydian and Lydianizing Pottery from the Dump. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

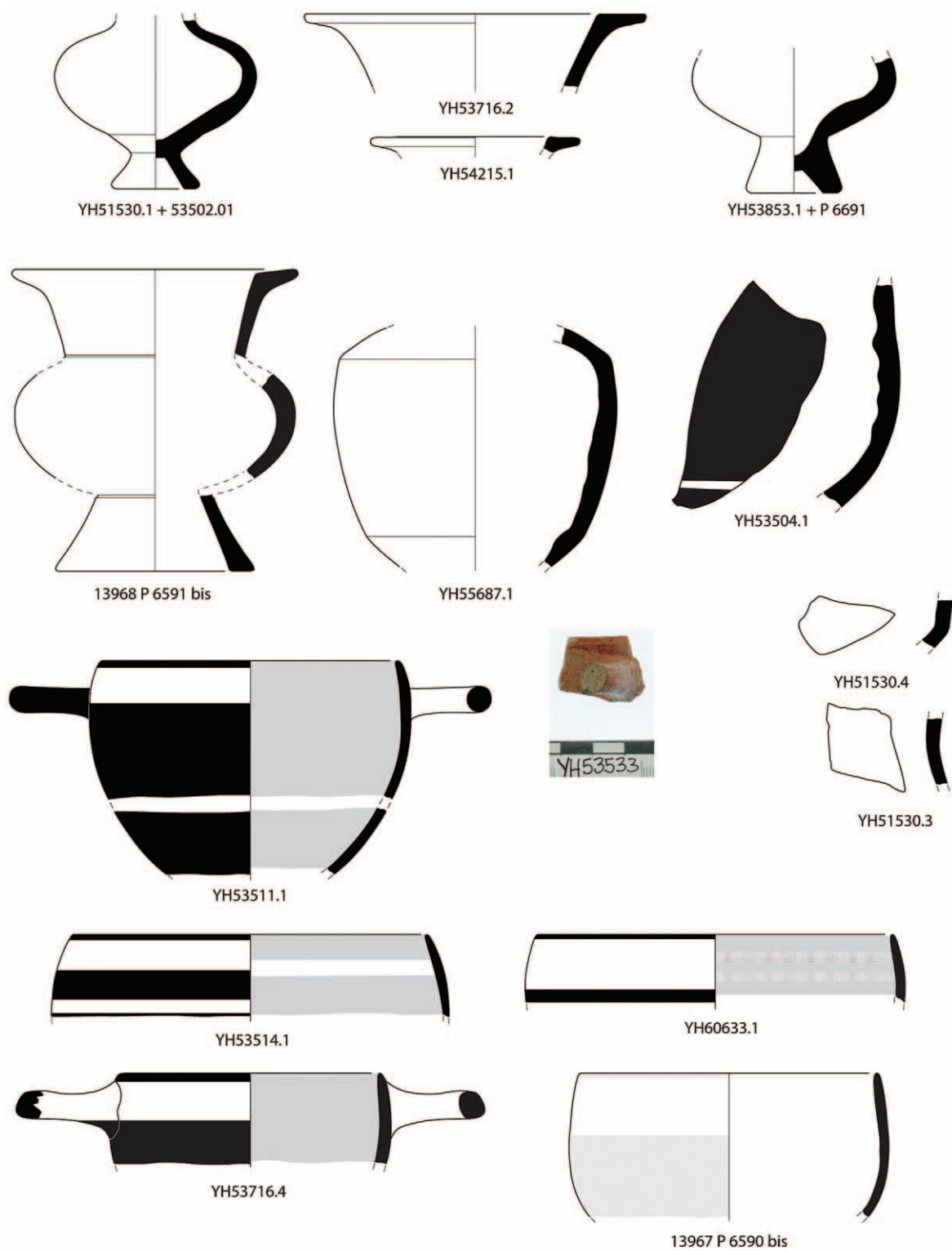


Fig. 11. Lydian and Lydianizing Pottery from the Dump (scale 1:2). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre and R. Henrickson, inked by T. Ross; © Gordian Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)



Fig. 12. Lydian and Lydianizing Pottery from the Dump. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

in the style of the closed vessels from the same Sardian houses (Cahill [ed.] 2010: no. 75, P84.101:8973; Greenewalt 2010b: 130, fig. 5).

In addition to these vessels for serving and consuming beverages (perhaps wine), oil vessels in distinctively Lydian shapes are well represented in the Dump deposit. The use of *lydia* for scented cosmetics, some in Sardian fabric and others imitating it, finds close parallels in those excavated in the Sardian houses, but they are present in

greater relative abundance at Gordion than at Sardis.³⁹ *Lydia* and Lydianizing *lekythoi* appear in smaller numbers in the Dump than in the other good Achaemenid destruction context at Gordion, the Küçük Höyük fort,

³⁹ For the destruction level in the theater at Sardis, see Greenewalt 2008: 375, 2009: 194–95; Cahill 2010c: 64–65, 2011: 358–59, 2012: 212. Interestingly, Sardian houses seem to have one *lydion* per house, whereas the abundance of *lydia* at Gordion suggests a more widespread or different kind of use at this site.

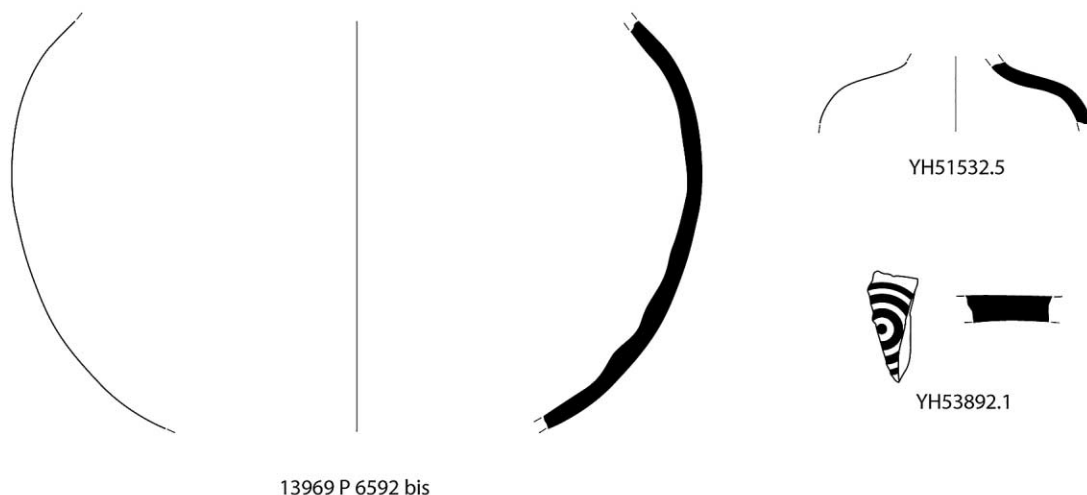


Fig. 13. Lydian and Lydianizing Pottery from the Dump (scale 1:2). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

but they are nonetheless present.⁴⁰ Most of the pots from the Dump are not imported Lydian vessels from Sardis but were produced at one or more different production centers instead (and not necessarily at Gordion itself). These Lydian and Lydianizing vessels are all to be associated with feasting—particularly with drinking (wine?) and with attractive scents—and fit neatly and complementarily with the activities suggested by the local pottery described below.⁴¹

Local and Regional Pottery (See Appendix for a List of Objects and Figures 14–46 for Illustrations)

Gordion's Middle Phrygian local pottery has not yet received full study, primarily because of a dearth of externally datable contexts and an enormous amount of later pitting at the site that effectively destroyed most Middle Phrygian contexts and redeposited artifacts in later strata.⁴² Thus, this mid-6th-century Dump of

pottery from the end of the Middle Phrygian period (YHSS 5A) is of particular significance in understanding typological developments and chronology. It supports and adds to the work done by G. Kenneth Sams, Robert Henrickson, and others on ceramics created during the height of Phrygia's power between ca. 800 and 650 B.C.E. (YHSS 5C–B).⁴³ A table of inventoried diagnostic pottery is provided in the **Appendix** of this article, and we have selected representative examples to illustrate here in order to assist future researchers. Images of additional vessels from the Dump will be made available online at <http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion/>.

The vessels from the Dump deposit are mostly fired shades of gray to black, sometimes with pattern burnishing or other surface decoration, although these embellishments are limited to a few shapes.⁴⁴ Both the quantity and size of most vessels are large. Although the numbers we cite here for the Dump deposit are preliminary estimates and should not be taken as absolute, they give a

⁴⁰ From the dump: SF 96-170; SF 96-169. Gül Gürtekin-Demir comments that nearly 70% of the Lydian vessels at Gordion were used to store scented oil or some kind of cosmetics; Young's excavations on the Citadel Mound yielded 66 lydia and 20 lekythoi, while excavations of the Küçük Höyük fort produced 27 lydia and 12 lekythoi (Gürtekin-Demir forthcoming; Chapter 4).

⁴¹ A puppy burial excavated by Voigt in the Northwest Zone is contemporary with the Square Pit, see Codella and Voigt forthcoming. For puppy burials dating to the same period at Sardis, where they probably have some ritual function, see Greenewalt 1978.

⁴² The pitting (generally assigned by Young to a "cellar" phase) began during Middle Phrygian times, accelerated during the Late Phrygian period/YHSS 4, and extended into Early Hellenistic/YHSS 3B times. It is relatively common for 6th-century material to be recovered

from Hellenistic and even Medieval/YHSS 1 contexts at Gordion. For a preliminary summary of the chronological problem see Voigt 1994: 274–76. See also Fields 2011.

⁴³ Codella and Voigt forthcoming have isolated two good sealed deposits from the YHSS 5B/Middle Phrygian phase and one sealed context from jars set in the floor of a house built on clay in Operation 12 (YHSS 5C). Pottery from the latter context includes a spouted jar, bowls, and a pitcher, all quite different from the later dump material presented here (see Sams and Voigt 1991: figs. 14, 15; Henrickson 1994: figs. 10.7, 10.8a). For general discussions of Middle Phrygian/YHSS 5 ceramics see Henrickson 1993: 131–40, figs. 14–17, tables 2–4; Sams forthcoming.

⁴⁴ The grays are largely 7.5YR 6/1–2.5/1 and 10YR 6/1–2.5/1, but there is considerable variation.

sense of relative percentages of vessel types and convey a sense of the proportions of forms within the assemblage (and see the table in the **Appendix**). Black-polished ware is primarily used for jugs, although stemmed vessels and small bowls are represented too. Roughly speaking, there are a dozen large stemmed dishes of the same size (rim diameter ca. 30 cm) made in elegant gray ware and a dozen small ones (rim diameter ca. 11 cm) in attractive fine wares (some imported from elsewhere in Anatolia). There are three dozen flat-bottomed bowls made of gray fabric in the same size (rim diameter ca. 20 cm). A dozen large jugs were made of household ware, as well as the dozen small ones of black-polished ware. One large trough-spouted jug is painted, and several examples were imported from East Greece and elsewhere. Storage vessels, of which there are two dozen altogether, are flat-bottomed and come in two basic sizes, and nine cooking pots have been identified (not including Young's South Trench, from which household and coarse wares were not kept).⁴⁵ The imported Greek and Lydian[izing] drinking vessels discussed above, including the glorious Sondros cup and several almost-complete skyphoi, complement the black-polished jugs.

Fine Ware: Black-Polished Vessels
(See *Appendix for a List of Objects and Figures 14–22 for Illustrations*)

The black-polished vessels excavated from the Dump continue the tradition of earlier Middle Phrygian wares, but in a less elaborate manner than that displayed by their counterparts recovered from 8th- and 7th-century contexts in the eastern Main Excavation Area.⁴⁶ The mid-6th-century Dump is the latest deposit excavated so far at Gordion to include quantities of black-polished ware; deposits from later in the Achaemenid period (YHSS 4, or Late Phrygian/Achaemenid) include but few examples (Henrickson 1993: 132–33, 144–47 and notes 173 and 174 with references; Henrickson 1994: 113). This pottery, the only local fine ware, is a black-polished or black-sintered thin-walled gray ware, consisting of a very finely levigated clay, often with tiny silver mica inclusions, that is slipped and sometimes burnished to

⁴⁵ Excavation notes from 1950 refer to boxes of coarse wares discarded at the site rather than kept, but do not allow for quantitative analysis. This article does not include the pithoi in its discussion, an important subject for future study; significant numbers of pithos sherds were, unusually, kept from the 1950 excavations.

⁴⁶ Although earlier Middle Phrygian black-polished ware has not been published, preliminary comments appear in Voigt et al. 1997: 15 (Henrickson); from the South Cellar, DeVries 2005: 40–43, fig. 4-4; Sams 2012: 60–65, figs. 5-11, 5-12.

TABLE 3. Counts of Black-Polished Vessels by Shape

<i>Black-Polished Vessels</i>	<i>Minimum Number of Vessels</i>
Trefoil and probable trefoil jugs	8
Globular jugs	5
Other jugs/jars	5
Stemmed dishes	4
Bowls	7
Uncertain shape, appliqué decoration	1

an exceptionally high gloss; the sintering created by introducing carbon to the firing process makes a lustrous sheen even on those pots that were not additionally burnished.⁴⁷ Of particular interest is that the local fine ware vessels in the Dump come in surprisingly few shapes and surprisingly few sizes, a characteristic of Middle Phrygian fine wares of the 7th century as well but even more restricted in this Dump deposit (**Table 3**). Their almost modal sizes and the paucity of shape variation are particularly interesting. The vessels are usually quite simple in form and decoration compared to the elaborate beauty of the earlier Middle Phrygian vessels with their painstakingly hand-crafted diamond faceting, reeding, fluting, and incisions (DeVries 2005: 40–43, fig. 4-4; Sams 2012: 60–65, figs. 5-11, 5-12; Sams forthcoming).

Most of the black-polished vessels considered here come from the 1950 Young excavation, and their precise findspots and stratigraphy are therefore unavailable although they were described at that time as coming from the “Jackpot” or “pottery dump.”⁴⁸ That so many of them seem to have been found together, and that they did not extend in the same quantities into the part of the dump excavated by Voigt almost 50 years later, may suggest they had been stored or collected together in antiquity before being thrown into the pit. They do in any case differ from the elaborate forms and decoration of the earlier Middle Phrygian period, as is particularly clear in the pots of the South Cellar on the Citadel Mound at Gordion and, to a

⁴⁷ For the early Middle Phrygian pottery, see, e.g., Sams 1994; Henrickson 2005, 2007; see especially Henrickson et al. 2002 and Sams forthcoming. For the likelihood that the sieve-spouted jars of Early Phrygian times and their descendants were used as beer-drinking vessels, see Sams 1977.

⁴⁸ It is unfortunately not clear if Young's excavations reached the bottom of the pit, although Wilson does seem to have cleared the top fill of what we describe here as the Dump. It is possible that some of the black-polished wares included here from 1950 may pre-date the final Dump episode. We cannot tell what percentage of material was saved from the early excavation, but as noted above it is certain that Wilson found crates' worth of storage jars, none of which were saved.



Fig. 14. Black-Polished Ware, Jugs. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

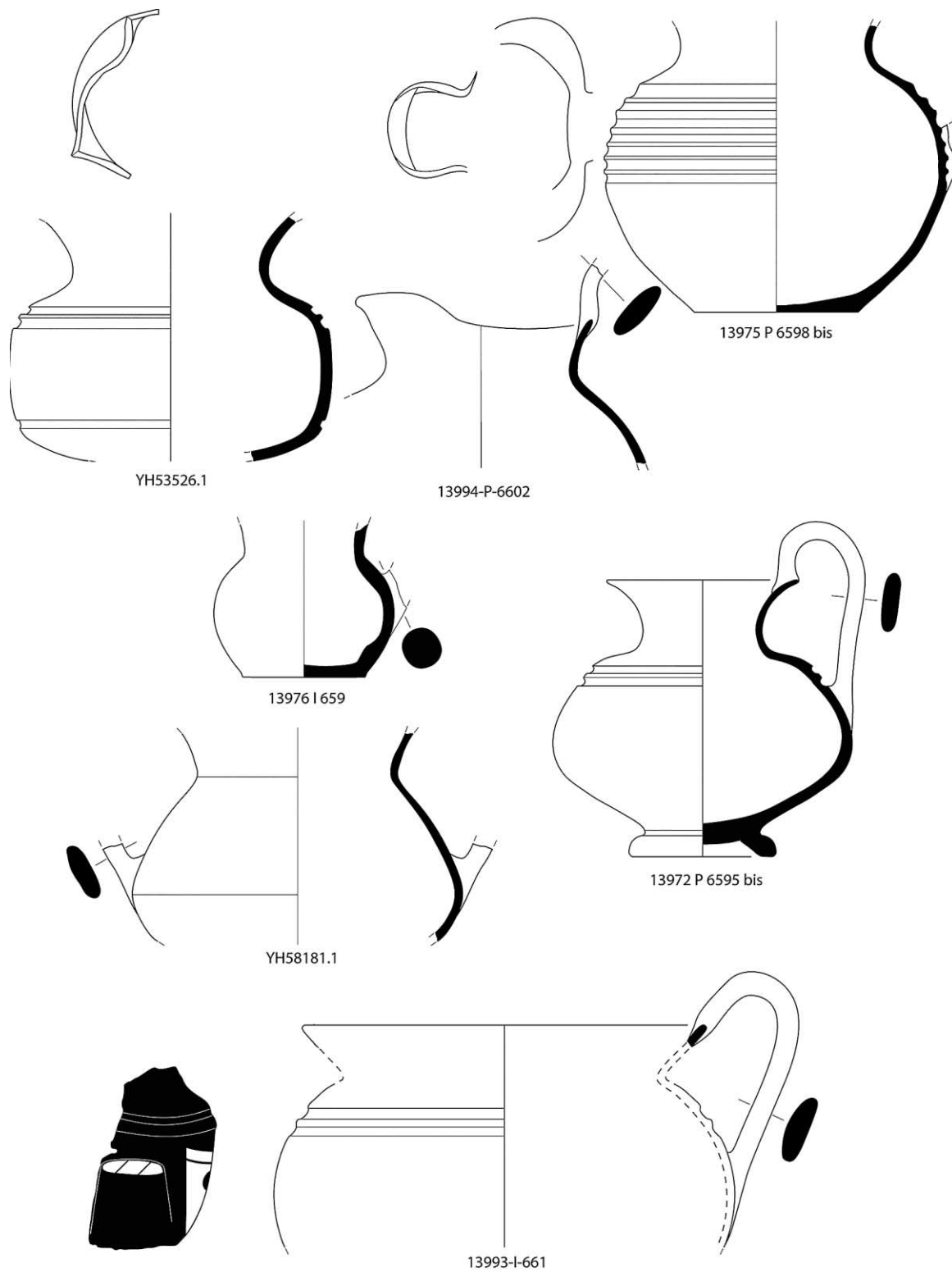


Fig. 15. Black-Polished Ware, Jugs (scale 1:2). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre and S. McCarthy, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)



Fig. 16. Black-Polished Ware, Jug. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

lesser extent, the houses of the contemporaneous Northeast Ridge.⁴⁹ Those pots include numerous examples with intricate surface treatment, including that most idiosyncratically lovely and labor-intensive of vessels, the diamond-faceted, black-polished, side-spouted sieve jug. Such elaborate vessels are not to be found in the later Dump, a fact that warrants brief exploration.

The South Cellar, like the Dump discussed here, is apparently the result of a cleanup operation. It has been associated with a military destruction event on the Northeast Ridge at Gordion. The South Cellar has been dated to 710–690 (DeVries et al. 2003; DeVries 2005: 40–43, 2007), or, without firm evidence to support a later date but also without definite contradictory evidence, to the second quarter of the 7th century (Sams forthcoming); Dusinberre now dates it to 690–680.⁵⁰ For now, a date for the South Cellar and the destruction on the Northeast Ridge of sometime around 690–680 seems safe. This demonstrates a date for the presence of diamond-faceted pots at Gordion that is earlier than that suggested for the pots at Kamankalehöyük (Matsumura 2008). Such pots

make up a significant percentage of the jugs found in the South Cellar (five out of twelve side-spouted sieve jugs recovered, plus two round-mouthed jugs). Diamond-faceted pots are, however, completely missing from the Dump—as indeed are almost all the rest of the highly labor-intensive relief or faceted wares of the early Middle Phrygian period.

Black-polished ware is represented in the Dump primarily in the form of small jars and jugs (Figs. 14–18), all of which are the descendants of earlier Middle Phrygian black-polished shapes associated with drinking. At least some of the jugs have trefoil mouths; many of them have vertical strap handles and flat disk bases created by trimming away excess clay from the bottom of the vessel. Aside from small bowls (Figs. 21, 22), the only remaining black-polished shape found in the Dump is the small stemmed dish (Figs. 19, 20), a form that appears at Gordion in the 6th century along with a tremendous uptick in Lydian influence at the site.

The one-handled and globular jugs may have been beer-drinking vessels, if their resemblance to the earlier side-spouted sieve jug is indicative. Although some of the black-polished jugs have broad horizontal facets, the surface decoration on the vessels largely takes the form of grooving or incision (usually horizontal, but sometimes diagonal incisions giving an impression of triangles or diamonds). These incisions thus mirror the elaborate carved or molded decorations of the earlier vessels, using incised triangles or diamonds to suggest diamond-faceted ware. Compared to the labor-intensive decorations of their early Middle Phrygian (YHSS 5C–B) predecessors, the decorations on these pots of late Middle Phrygian times (YHSS 5A) seem quick and almost cursory.

A relatively large percentage of the black-polished vessels were inscribed with letters and symbols. Common areas for these marks are at the bases of handles or just next

⁴⁹ Elspeth Dusinberre has been studying the fine wares from the South Cellar; that deposit will be published shortly (together with Maya Vassileva and Gareth Darbyshire). For the Northeast Ridge, see Anderson 1980, 2012. The pottery recovered from tumuli at Gordion includes no examples of diamond-faceted ware and therefore cannot help with understanding the dates of its use (Kohler 1995; Kohler and Dusinberre forthcoming).

⁵⁰ Sams would like to connect the destruction on the Northeast Ridge to a Kimmerian invasion—such an invasion was suggested by much later literary sources to have been linked to the death of Midas around 700 and/or to have occurred in the mid-7th century. Texts from Nineveh dating to the reign of Esarhaddon (ca. 678–676 B.C.E.) refer to a Phrygian-Kimmerian alliance, and it seems likely that the Kimmerians had arrived at Gordion by then. For the Kimmerians, see, e.g., Adalı 2017 and accompanying references. Dusinberre's restudy of the South Cellar aligns closely with DeVries's 2005 suggestion, placing the date ca. 690–680.



Fig. 17. Black-Polished Ware, Jugs. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

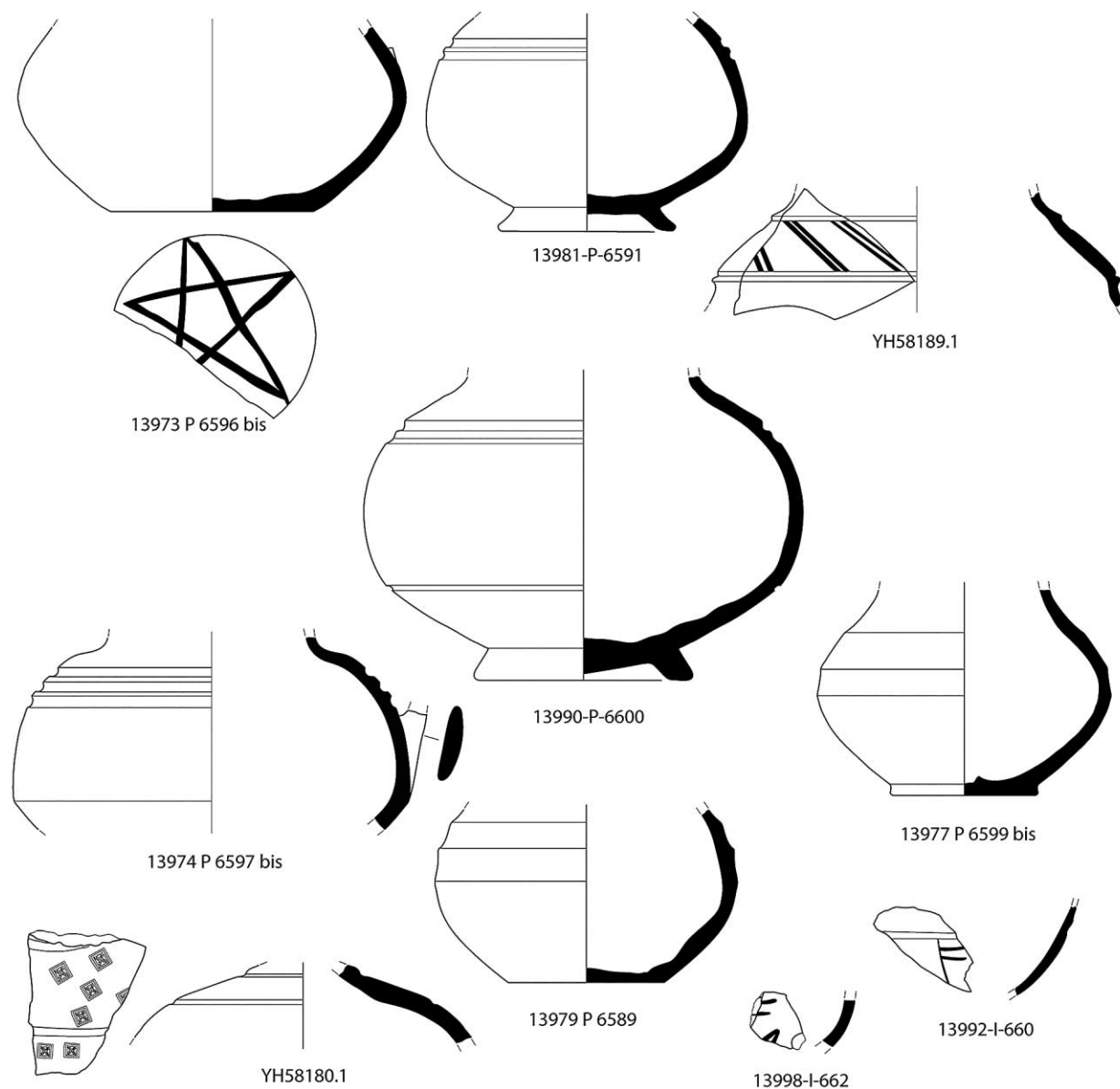


Fig. 18. Black-Polished Ware, Jugs (scale 1:2). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre and S. McCarthy, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

to a handle on the body of a jug, or on the underside of the base of bowls. The inscriptions are generally short alphabetic graffiti (including a possible number, digamma-omicron) (I 660, I 661, I 662), but there are also other patterns such as stars.⁵¹ Pattern burnishing is also found on the un-

derside of bases (P 6596 bis, **Figs. 17, 18**; YH55691.1, **Figs. 21, 22**). The graffiti were apparently inscribed after firing. They combine with those on the stemmed vessels and trefoil jugs in some potentially interesting ways (see below).

⁵¹ Roller (1987) includes no mention of the digamma-omicron incision, but stars are a common incision on Early and Middle Phrygian pottery, particularly on the underside of bowl bases (there are seventeen examples of stars in the selection she considers, more than any other nonalphabetic symbol). See Roller 1987: 8, 16-32, Nos. 2A-1, 2A-9, 2A-27, 2A-28, 2A-31, 2A-51, 2A-56, 2A-64, 2A-70, 2A-97, 2A-

166, 2A-168, 2A-210, 2A-211, 2A-213, 2A-225, 2A-226. She places most of these in the 6th–4th centuries. For digamma as a number, see Roller 1987: 64. For inscribed vessels from Operation 12, and their possible use as drinking vessels, see the collection of two pitchers and a group of bowls: Henrickson 1994: fig. 10.7; Sams and Voigt 1991: figs. 14, 15.



Fig. 19. Black-Polished Ware, Stemmed Dishes. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

Of note is that alongside the traditional Phrygian shapes are two black-polished rim sherds that may be fragments either of Achaemenid bowls or traditional Phrygian phialai (P 6599 and YH60625.1), and a pattern-burnished omphalos that could also come from either shape (P 6617, **Figs. 21, 22**). It would be somewhat unusual if they were Achaemenid bowls, as other sites in Anatolia seem to produce examples of the shape only after the Persian conquest and the presence at those sites of people from elsewhere in the new empire (if not necessarily ethnic Persians themselves). If these are indeed Achaemenid bowl fragments rather than phialai, they suggest the vessels were being made here by the middle of the 6th century, perhaps even before ethnic Persian presence at the site. If that were true it

might not be surprising, as the vessel shape is close to various traditional Phrygian ones, but it would still be noteworthy as it departs from the norm in Anatolia.⁵² The presence of a rider figurine in the deposit adds to the complexity of interpretation in ways that are not at this point clear: these are generally thought of as being an Achaemenid phenomenon, although earlier examples have been found in mainland Greece, western Anatolia, Cyprus, and Egypt.⁵³ It is possible that

⁵² Dusinberre 2013: Chapter 4.

⁵³ SF 96-158. For rider figurines in the Achaemenid empire, see, e.g., Stern 1982: 158–68; Moorey 2000; Downey 2003: 133–53; Stronach 2009. For 8th-century examples from western Anatolia we are grateful to Günsel Güngör, personal communication July 2018. For a Cypriot example found at Naukratis, see British Museum 1911,0606.1.

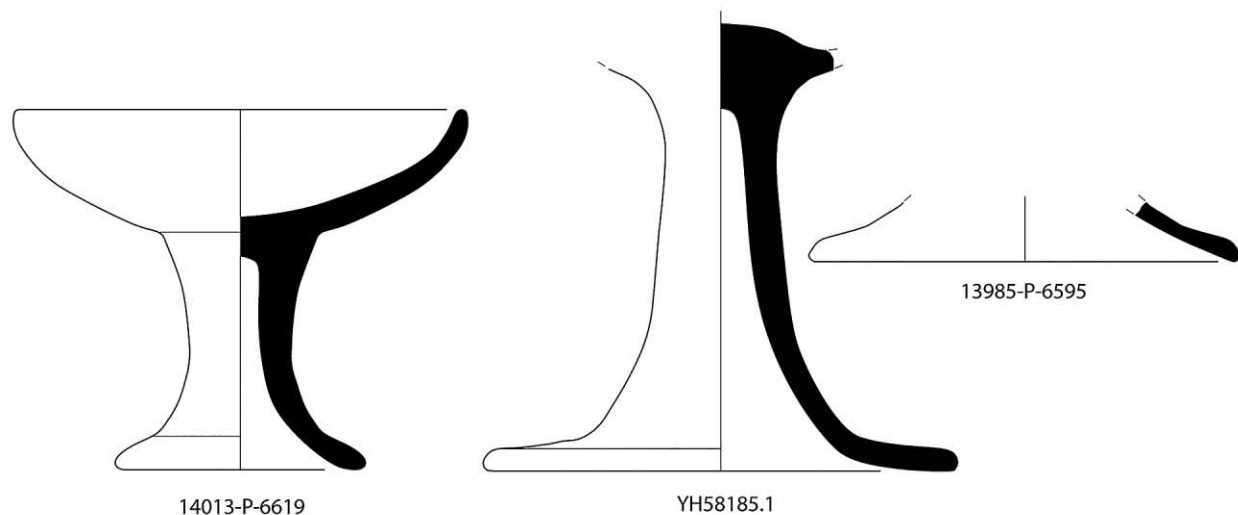


Fig. 20. Black-Polished Ware, Stemmed Dishes (scale 1:2). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre and S. McCarthy, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

the black-polished rim sherds were indeed from phialai rather than Achaemenid bowls, or that they—and the rider—were imported from elsewhere or perhaps slightly postdate some of the other vessels in the dump. They add to the evidence that the deposit was made just after the Achaemenid conquest.

Gray-Slipped/Burnished Vessels: Stemmed Dishes (See Appendix for a List of Objects and Figures 23–29 for Illustrations)

One of the most common vessel shapes from the Dump is the so-called stemmed dish or plate, a deep plate on a hollow stem with a flaring foot (Table 4). They are made of finely levigated clay with small voids and a small amount of added fine grit, smoothly slipped and glossy on their surface. Rims of the stemmed dishes are gently flattened, with a rounded tip at the outer edge and a very slight lip on the upward edge (generally discernable by feel rather than sight). Much care was taken in the production of the stemmed vessels: the small ones are exquisite, and the larger ones elaborately decorated not only through application of a slip and burnishing but also with extra elaboration on the stems in the form of horizontal ridging. The gray stemmed vessels have a pearly luster and many of them closely resemble silver in their coloration. Their distinctive “soapy” feel is diagnostic.

In this deposit stemmed vessels come in three primary sizes: “small” (diameter = ca. 11 cm, mostly East Greek imported and local burnished and black-polished gray wares) (Figs. 19, 20), “large” (diameter = ca. 30 cm,

slipped and burnished gray ware) (Figs. 23–26), and “very large” (diameter = ca. 40 cm, also slipped and burnished gray ware) (Figs. 25–29). The large and very large gray ware versions often preserve pattern burnishing on the underside of the bowl, creating a darker burnished border at and under the rim and radiate spokes emerging from a circle surrounding the stem to the rim (e.g., P 6612, P 6613, YH55678.1, YH55679.1, YH55680.1). A relatively large number of these large stemmed dishes have a graffito on the floor of the bowl above the stem attachment, incised after firing. In the Dump, most of these graffiti resemble an elongated stylized alpha (e.g., YH55618.1, YH55679.1, YH56118.1) (see also below).

It seems likely that the different sizes had different uses, perhaps for different foods and sauces or perhaps for different quantities of food at meals with different numbers of people. As suggested below, it may be that the larger stemmed vessels held and presented a quantity of food from which people might help themselves, while the small ones served for individual use. The numbers suggest batches of perhaps a half-dozen (included in Table 4 are the imported small stemmed vessels to make it clear).

Gray-Slipped/Burnished Vessels: Bowls (See Appendix for a List of Objects and Figures 30–34 for Illustrations)

Although the stemmed dishes seem to serve the function of flat-based vessels or plates, which are otherwise missing from the assemblage, bowls are represented in large numbers (Table 5). It is possible they could have



Fig. 21. Black-Polished Ware, Bowls. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

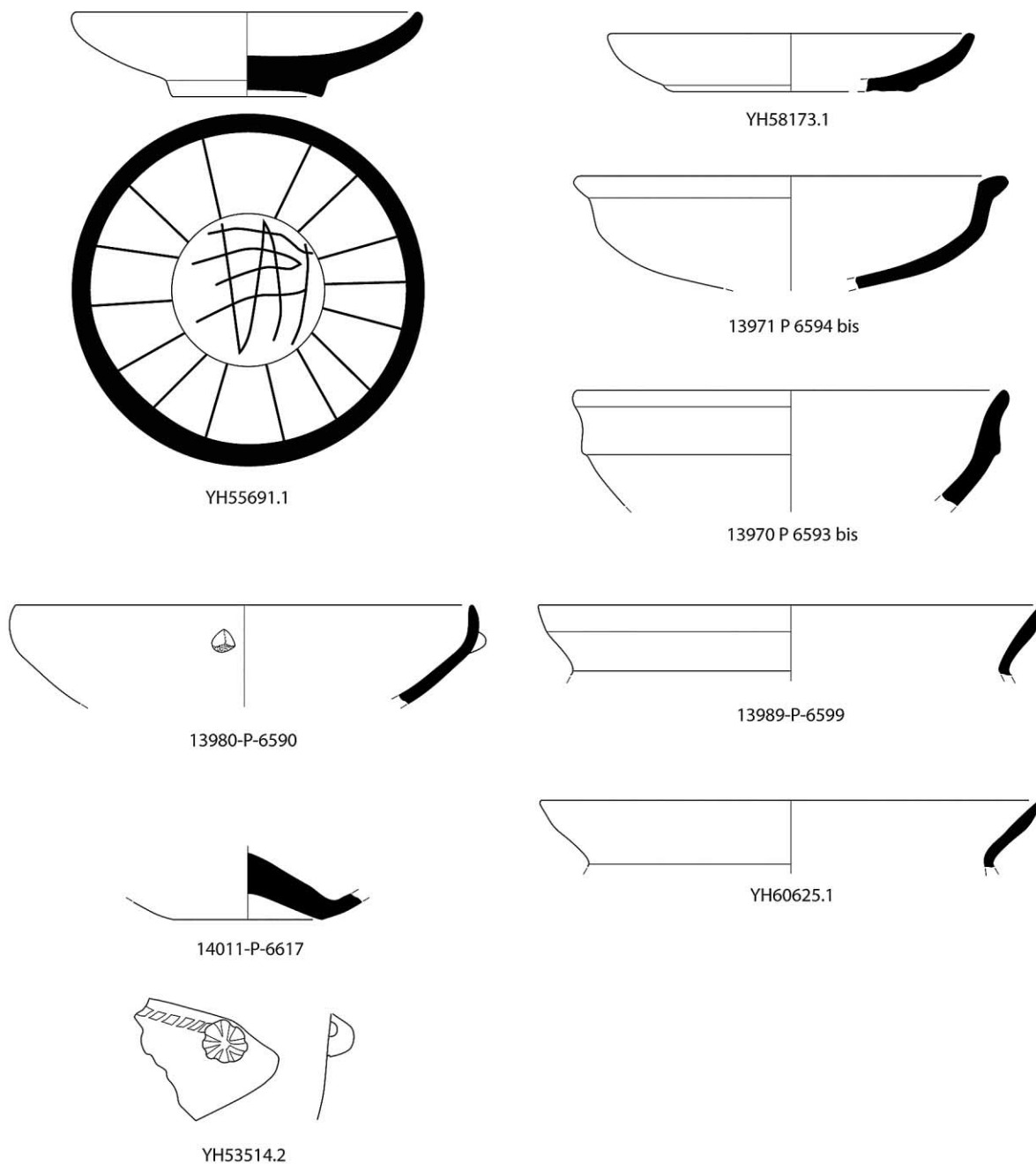


Fig. 22. Black-Polished Ware, Bowls (scale 1:2). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre and S. McCarthy, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

been used for drinking—but certainly not necessary. Most of the bowls are finely levigated clay with added grit that is fired gray, with some fired buff and one slipped red. They are generally self-slipped and sometimes lightly burnished, with a pearly luster and often dark silver color. With a few outliers they come in three basic sizes: ca.

20 cm in diameter, ca. 30 cm in diameter, and ca. 40 cm in diameter (**Figs. 30–34**). There are two primary shapes represented: smooth-walled bowls, and bowls with a finger groove on the exterior below the rim. The lip is rounded, and the interior smooth even on those bowls with a finger groove; there is no carination. They have flat

TABLE 4. Counts of Stemmed Dishes by Ware

<i>Stemmed Dishes</i>	<i>Minimum Number of Vessels (Based on Stems)</i>
Small, East Greek	4
Small, black-polished ware	4
Small, slipped/burnished gray ware	5
Large, slipped/burnished gray ware	9
Very large, slipped/burnished gray ware	11
Additional Stemmed Vessels (counts based on rims)	
Large slipped/burnished gray ware rims	18
Very large slipped/burnished gray ware rims	6

TABLE 5. Counts of Bowls by Ware

<i>Bowls</i>	<i>Minimum Number of Vessels</i>
Small, black-polished	7
Finger-grooved, buff, ca. 20 cm	2
Finger-grooved, gray, small	2
Finger-grooved, gray, ca. 20 cm	18
Finger-grooved, gray, ca. 30 cm	8
Finger-grooved, gray, ca. 40 cm	3
Plain, buff, ca. 20 cm	5
Plain, gray, small	4
Plain, gray, ca. 20 cm	32
Plain, gray, ca. 30 cm	1
Other	11

bases, or (very occasionally) a base that has been gently carved out to make a shallow concavity on the bottom.

Although the vast majority of the bowls in the Dump are slipped/burnished gray ware, a few additional wares are also represented. One uncommon variety is a coarse, deep, thick-walled, buff-fired bowl with straight walls, flat base, and flattened rim that resembles the so-called yogurt bowls of the destruction level at Sardis (Figs. 33, 34).⁵⁴ A few shallow black-polished bowls are also preserved, small and thin-walled with narrow up-curved pinched-off rims and flat bases that may have pattern burnishing on their underside (Figs. 21, 22).

The numbers of bowls in the Dump given here may be misleading, because of the way they were recorded and stored even in recent excavations, let alone those of the 1950s. Rather than being able to count bases to provide a minimum vessel count, we have had to rely on drawings predominantly of rims selected and identified in the field in the 1990s as individual vessels. Because two people worked full-time under expert supervision for an entire two-month season identifying individual vessels for a minimum vessel count, however, those vessels drawn can reasonably be used in this way. The absolute numbers may be slightly high, but the relative percentages should be accurate. We identified no imported bowls.

The exceptionally large number, let alone percentage, of bowls that are made of slipped/burnished gray wares with a rim diameter of ca. 20 cm (Figs. 30–32) suggests

both mass production and that these vessels were used for a common or similar purpose. Given their association with pitchers in Operation 12, noted already, it seems possible they could be used as drinking vessels as well as for holding comestibles. We cannot be sure, however, and since one modal diameter of stemmed vessels at Sardis was 18 cm, and they were apparently used for eating, our bowls might well form part of the eating rather than drinking assemblage at Gordion. The finger groove on the exterior of some might make them easier to lift and hold, while their flat bases would make them stable when resting on a surface no matter what their use.

***Gray-Slipped Household Ware Vessels
(See Appendix for a List of Objects and
Figures 35–38 for Illustrations)***

Along with the black-polished and imported jugs mentioned already (Figs. 39–45), large gray vessels probably used for storage are common in this deposit—no fewer than twelve have been identified (Figs. 35–38). These large vessels are made of fine-to-medium levigated clay with added grit of fine to medium size, which we are terming household ware. Most of the vessels (eight) are light gray trefoil mouthed vessels, with self-slipped exteriors and necks slipped on interior and exterior. They almost all have an interior diameter at the neck of 10–12 cm, and vertical strap handles (occasionally inscribed, usually at the base of the handle, and/or burnished). Many of these trefoil-mouthed vessels have an added ridge at the base of the neck and grooves on the shoulder, perhaps with reference to metal vessels. Three vessels have cutaway spouts, generally with a slightly narrower

⁵⁴ For the destruction level in the theater at Sardis, see Greenewalt 2008: 375, 2009: 194–95; Cahill 2010c: 64–65, 2011: 358–59, 2012: 212 (cited above also). For the Lydian houses in MMS, see Cahill 2002b, 2005, 2010a, and the reports in *BASOR*: Greenewalt et al. 1985; Greenewalt, Cahill, and Rautman 1988a, 1988b; Greenewalt et al. 1990, as well as Greenewalt, Rautman, and Ratté 1995. See also Greenewalt 1992.



Fig. 23. Stemmed Dishes. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

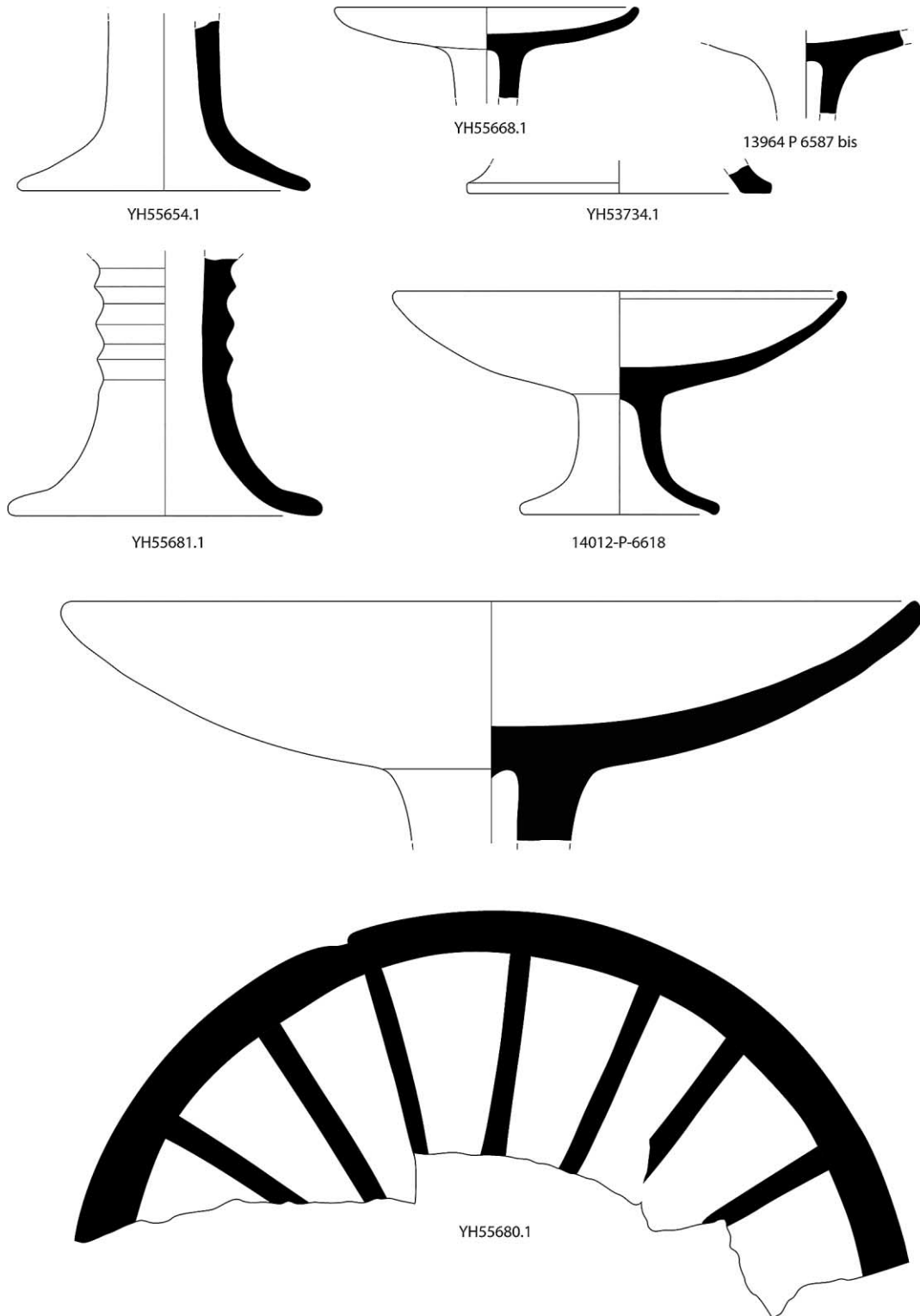


Fig. 24. Stemmed Dishes (scale 1:2). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)



Fig. 25. Stemmed Dishes. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

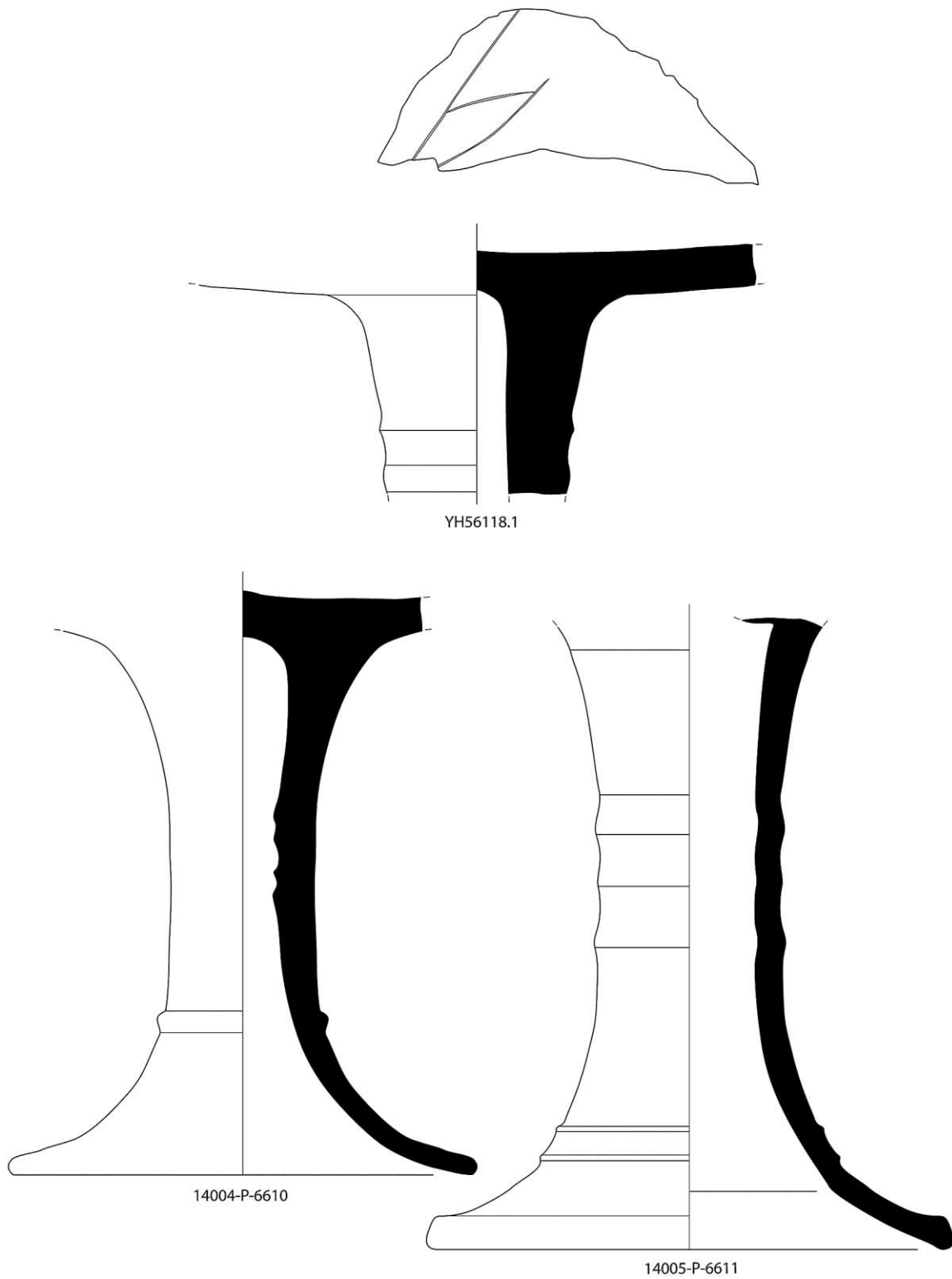


Fig. 26. Stemmed Dishes (scale 1:2). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)



Fig. 27. Stemmed Dishes. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

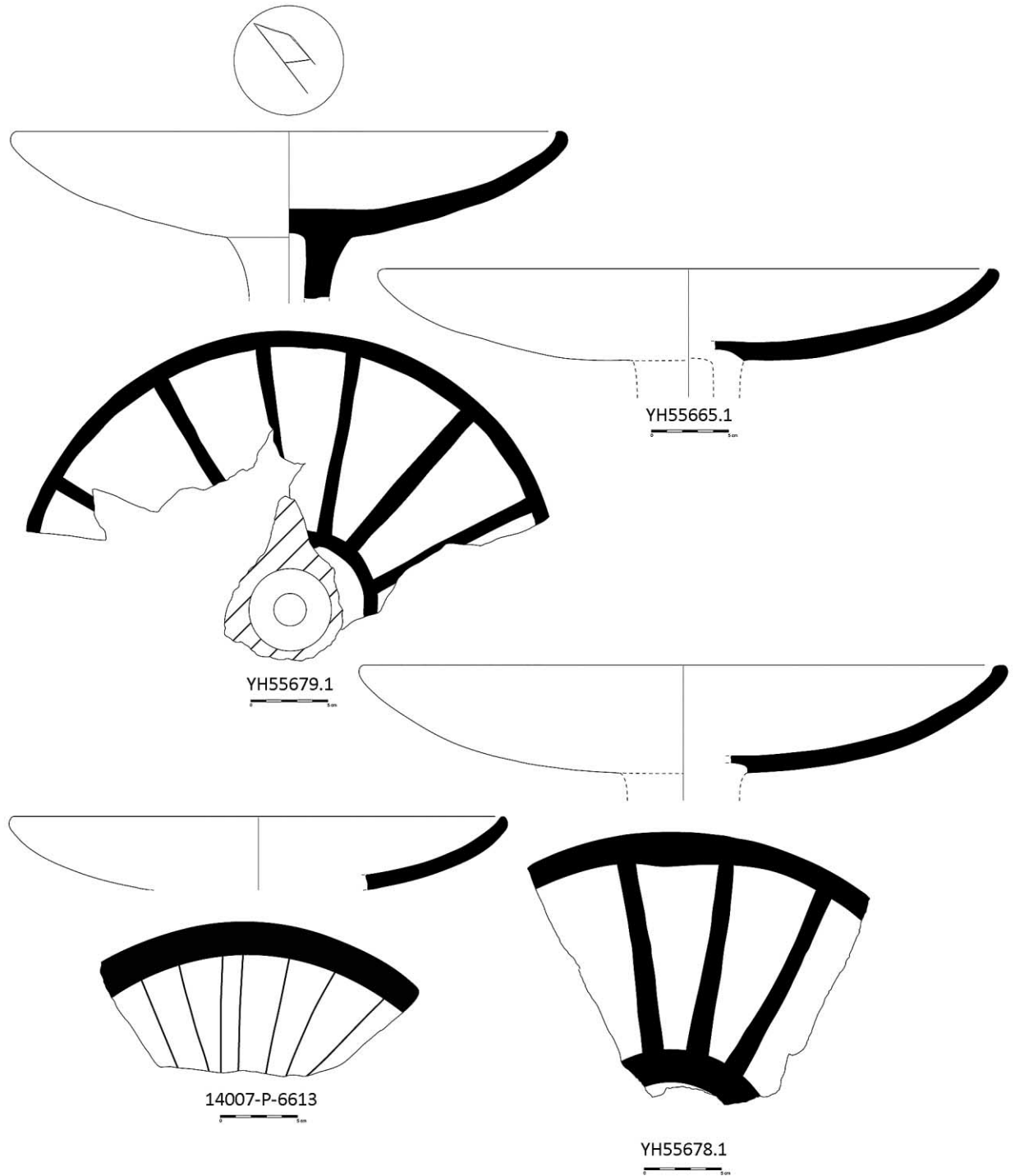


Fig. 28. Stemmed Dishes (scale 1:4). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

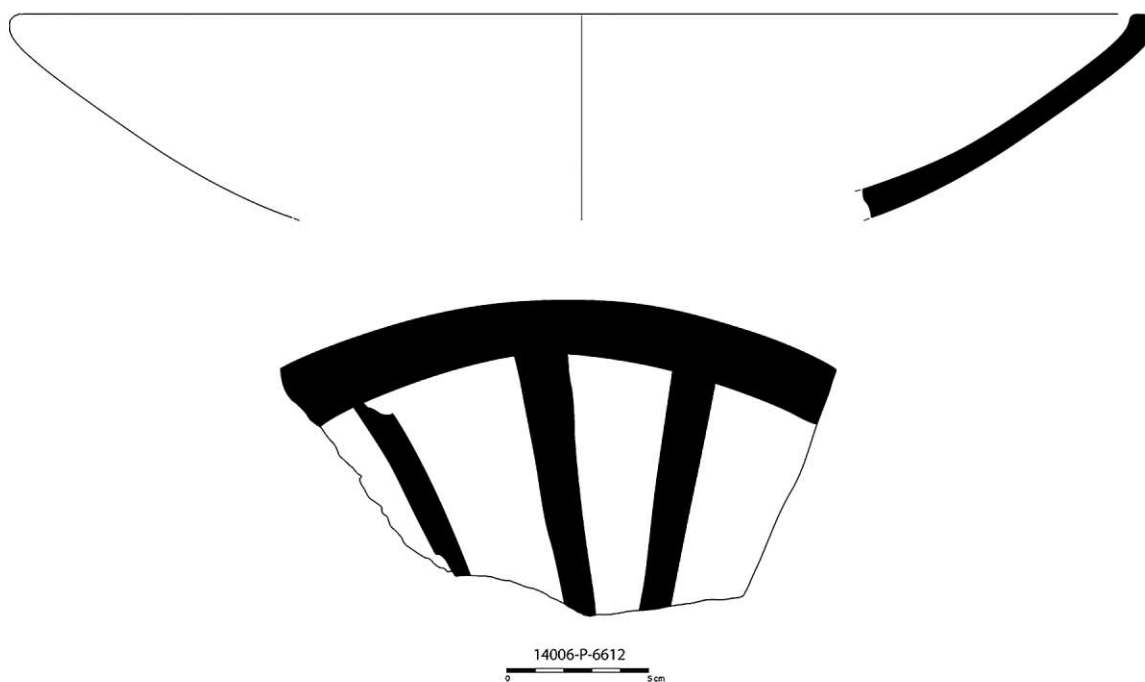


Fig. 29. Stemmed Dish (scale 1:4). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

neck diameter and, again, an added ridge at the base of the neck that imitates metalwares. These added ridges for decoration are interesting: the high quality of the light gray vessels and their glossy surface strongly recalls silver. Contemporary silver vessels have not been found at Gordion, but the site's wide range of elaborately decorated Middle Phrygian bronze vessels, and the somewhat later and smaller silver vessels excavated from such sites as İkištepe, suggest a lively and ongoing tradition in metal at the same time as these Middle Phrygian gray ceramic vessels.⁵⁵

Utilitarian Pots: Storage Vessels and Cooking Pots (See Figures 46, 47 for Illustrations)

Although this article does not provide a detailed overview of the storage vessels excavated from the Dump—and in particular, it leaves out the pithoi of which many were found both in 1950 and the 1990s—a few preliminary observations may be made. The storage vessels considered

here are all of local gray household ware, medium levigated with added grit and other inclusions and voids in the fabric. Their exterior surface is generally smoothed but not usually treated otherwise. Like the fine wares, these household ware vessels come in a fairly small range of sizes. Thus, for instance, the flat bases of gray closed vessels come in small and medium sizes (**Table 6**). Their rims come in three major sizes, of which the medium and large are far and away the most common, with a few outliers. In addition, five round-mouthed jars with everted ledge rims share a single size. Of the nine cooking pots recovered, eight have rims of the same diameter. At least one of the cooking pots has two vertical strap handles and boasts additional surface decoration in the form of incised lines.

It is striking that the storage vessels once again come in units of roughly a dozen. It should be emphasized that these are small- and medium-sized storage vessels, which are (at least theoretically) portable; they may represent storage facilities for foodstuffs or other items associated with drinking and dining that would be needed on a regular or imminent basis, rather than the kind of “deep storage” provided by pithoi. A complete study of these vessels, including the pithoi, will provide essential information for understanding storage capacity and, it is to be hoped, identification of different materials stored as well

⁵⁵ For silver and bronze vessels with ridges at the base of the neck from Achaemenid-period contexts in the Uşak tombs, see, e.g., Özgen and Öztürk 1996: nos. 14, 15, 22, 65, 222, 223. For bronze vessels from Gordion dating to the Middle Phrygian period, see, e.g., Young 1981; Kohler 1995; Kohler and Dusinberre forthcoming.



Fig. 30. Bowls. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)



Fig. 31. Bowls. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

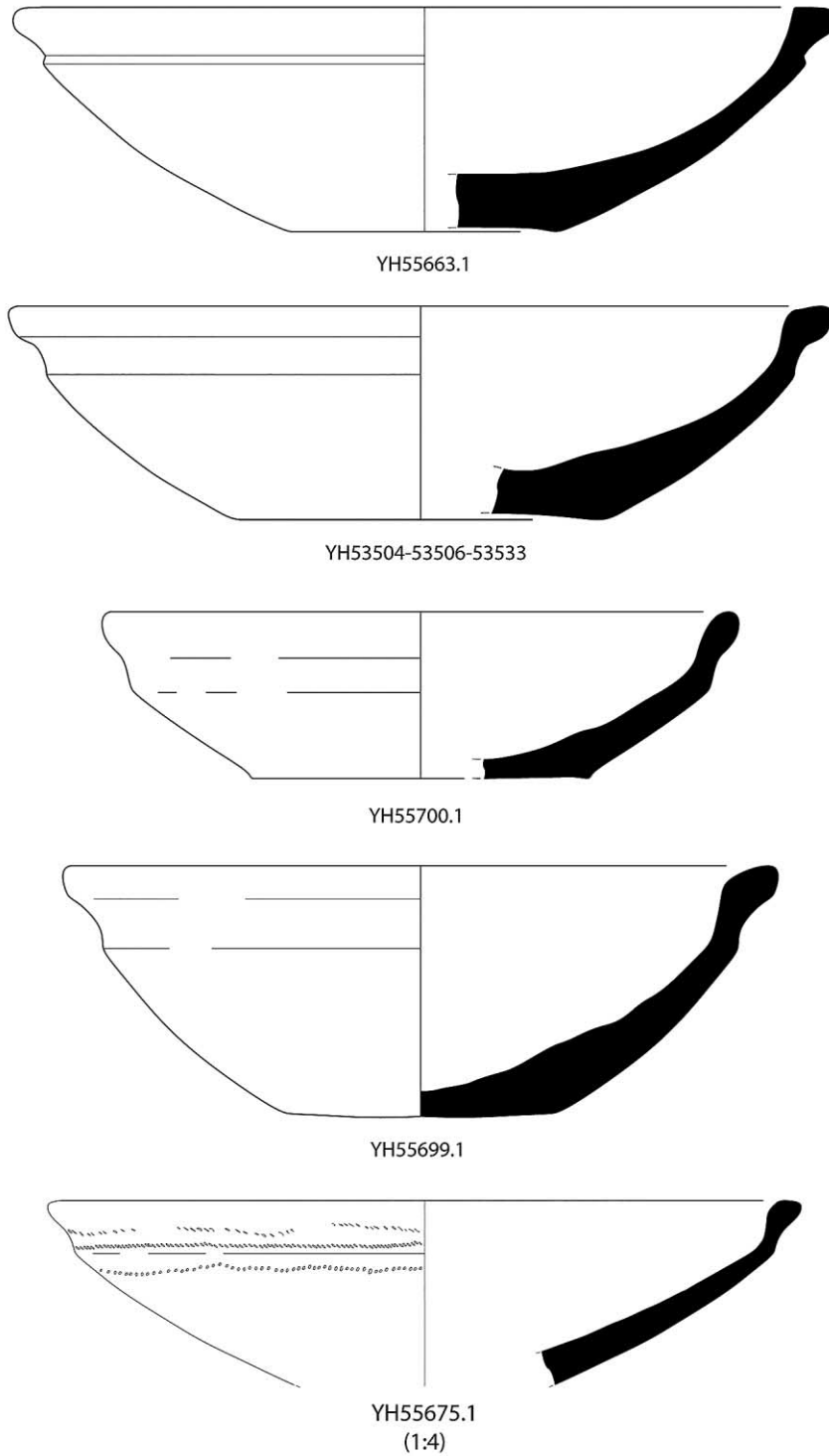


Fig. 32. Bowls (scale 1:2, except as noted). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre and R. Henrickson, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)



Fig. 33. Bowls. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

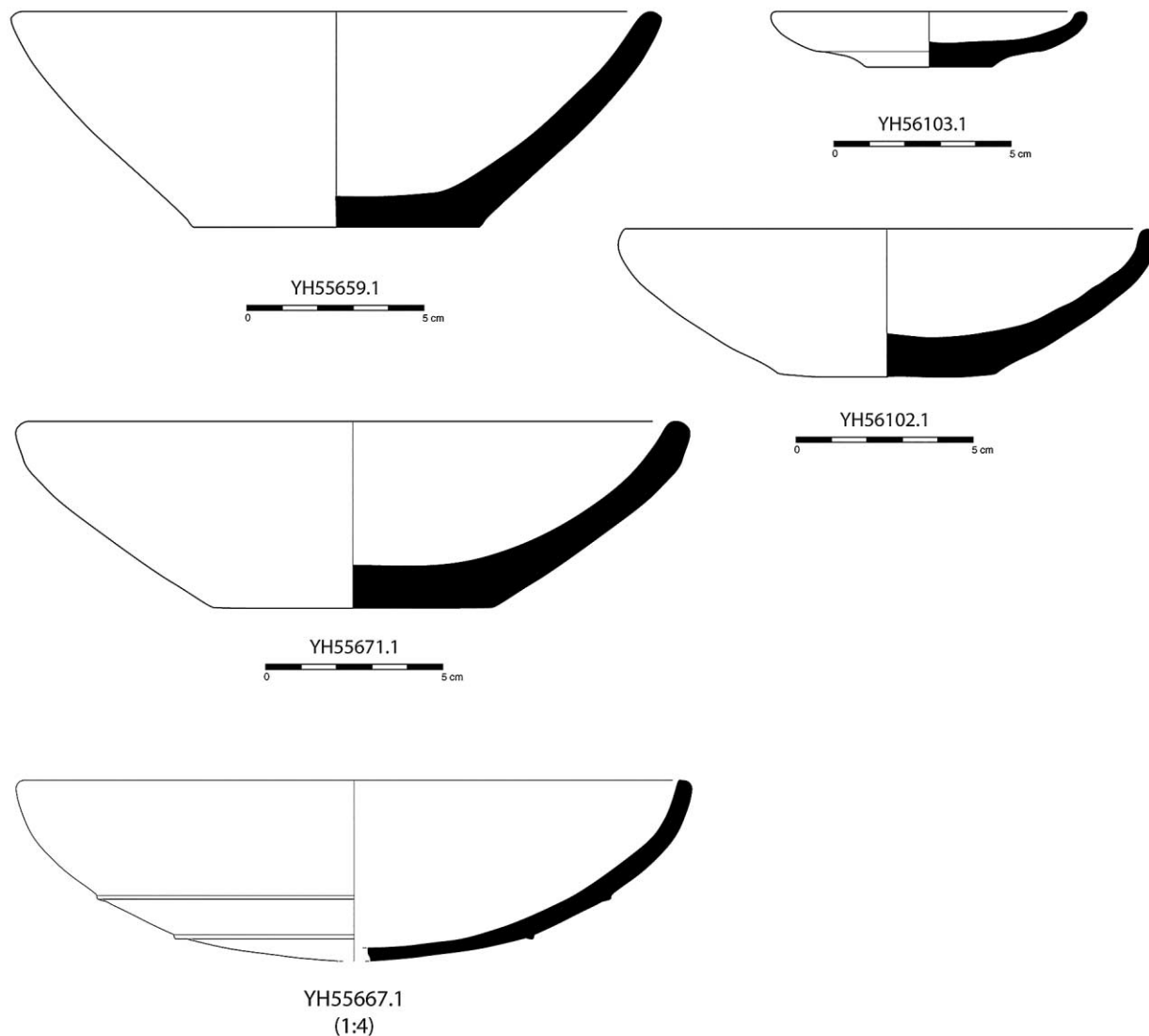


Fig. 34. Bowls (scale 1:2, except as noted). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

as a clearer notion of what was transportable and what vessels were used for which kinds of functions.

A Quick Note on Graffiti

The digamma-omicron graffito inscribed on various small black-polished vessels has been mentioned. It is interesting to note that there are two other primary locations for graffiti on pottery from the Dump: the large pattern-burnished stemmed vessels with an inscribed symbol resembling an elongated alpha in the middle of the dish, mentioned already, and the medium-sized

trefoil-mouth jugs, possibly used as storage jars.⁵⁶ Several of these include graffiti at the base or the top of their handles, and a few on the shoulder. The graffiti on the stemmed vessels and the bases of trefoil jug handles were generally alphabetical and inscribed after firing, while those marks on the tops of the handles could sometimes be inscribed before firing and were sometimes simply linear. Why were these vessels in particular selected to

⁵⁶ Trefoil mouthed jugs were used as storage jars for grain in the buildings of the Early Phrygian Destruction Level. See DeVries 1990: 385.

TABLE 6. Counts of Household Ware Vessels by Size and Ware

<i>Gray Household Ware Closed Vessels</i>	<i>Minimum Number of Vessels</i>
Base 6–10 cm	13
Base 10–15 cm	2
Base 15–20 cm	11
Rim 20–26 cm	3
Rim 32–34 cm	2
Rim 40 cm	10
Rim 46 cm	2
Rim 52 cm	1
Rim 56 cm	1
Rim 60 cm	8
Gray Household Ware Round-Mouthed Jars with Everted Ledge Rims:	
Rim 15 cm	5
Cookpots:*	
Rim 12 cm	1
Rim 15–20 cm	8

* These vessels were not cataloged or assigned individual numbers.

be marked? Why are the black-polished vessels inscribed with a digamma-omicron but not an alpha, while the stemmed dishes are inscribed with an alpha but not a digamma-omicron? This is a particularly interesting topic for further study.

A Large Terracotta Object (See Figs. 48, 49 for Illustrations)

The Dump deposit yielded an unusual terracotta artifact that continues to defy certain explanation (YH53701.1) (Figs. 48, 49).⁵⁷ This object, which bears a superficial resemblance to a bathtub and a closer resemblance to a Middle Phrygian wooden bier (cf. the “king’s coffin” from Tumulus MM; Simpson 1990: 69–87; Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999: 50–52, figs. 55–58; Simpson 2010: 119–25), apparently served as neither. Our current best guess for its use is as a household niche, perhaps used in household cult (see below).

⁵⁷ The artifact was drawn by Eric Little in 1997, a drawing augmented by Sarah Beal in 2015 when she discovered a joining fragment of it in the storage containers of the 1950 excavation. It underwent intensive conservation in 2016 and 2017 at the capable hands of Jessie Johnson (Smithsonian Institution), Cricket Harbeck (Cricket Harbeck LLC), and Julia Commander (intern at the University of Pennsylvania Museum), a particularly arduous task given its size, weight, and condition. For an initial discussion, see Rose 2016: 4–5; Hickman 2017: 58.

The object consists of a trough-like central depression surrounded by a ledge rim; at the top of the object, the rim projects deeply to form an arched platform. The depression is 46 cm wide at its top, and the object is preserved to 85 cm in length. Its inner surface is smooth and was painted with a creamy paint post-firing. The upper surface of the ledges and arched platform is burnished, and applied clay features include three bosses, rows of studs, a rope molding, and horseshoe-shaped false handles at either side. A third, elaborated lug handle is attached to the exterior face of the ledge at the top of the object. These skeuomorphs resemble metal embellishments and may reflect either an all-metal version of such an object or a wooden one with metal decorations. Although this artifact is broken and its foot was not recovered, as described below a foot fragment from a different example was excavated by Young and, it seems, another by the Körte brothers: they demonstrate that the end opposite the arch was flat, with the side ledges slightly thickened along their flat ends and the depression apparently left open like a (very large) spout.⁵⁸ Thus the arched end preserves the rounded beginning of the depression and looks rather like a bathtub or trough, but the other end terminated in flattened ledges and an open depression, shaped in section a little like a capital Greek omega. The object thus could not have been used to hold liquids.

On the underside of the projecting, arched ledge are two sets of thick loop handles. One handle, at center of the arch, features two holes oriented horizontally. A set of handles attached to the lateral ledges slightly higher than the false handles each feature a single hole oriented vertically. No handles appear farther down the lateral sides of the artifact as preserved. The two sets of handles preserved could not be used with poles inserted through their holes, for the holes are on the same plane as each other. This means that poles inserted through the handle loops would intersect perpendicularly; moreover, the rounded depression that forms the center of the object extends in front of the side handles in such a way as to preclude the insertion of a pole. In addition, the holes through the handles are not even: some are wider on one side than the other or have their narrowest point in the center of the hole. They were almost certainly not used for poles. This makes it seem most likely that ropes were passed through the sets of handles; they may have been used either to tie it securely to something or, possibly, to lift it.

⁵⁸ The foot excavated by the Körte brothers was decorated with an appliqué with vertical reels and grooves, that they termed a “lion’s foot.” See Körte and Körte 1904: 197, fig. 197c.



Fig. 35. Jugs. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

Signs of burning appear on the upper surface of both the arching ledge at top and the lateral ledges. Burning also appears on the underside of the top projecting ledge including over the handles on the underside, and the ledges are fired gray throughout. It seems most likely that the object was fired (possibly upside down) in a pit with firing material placed around its ledges; the pink core of

the depression suggests it was not in contact with that material during firing.

We confess ourselves baffled as to the original function of this object. As mentioned already, because it was open at one end it could not have held liquid within its depression and therefore did not serve as a bathtub, basin, or trough. As preserved, it weighs just over 110 lbs

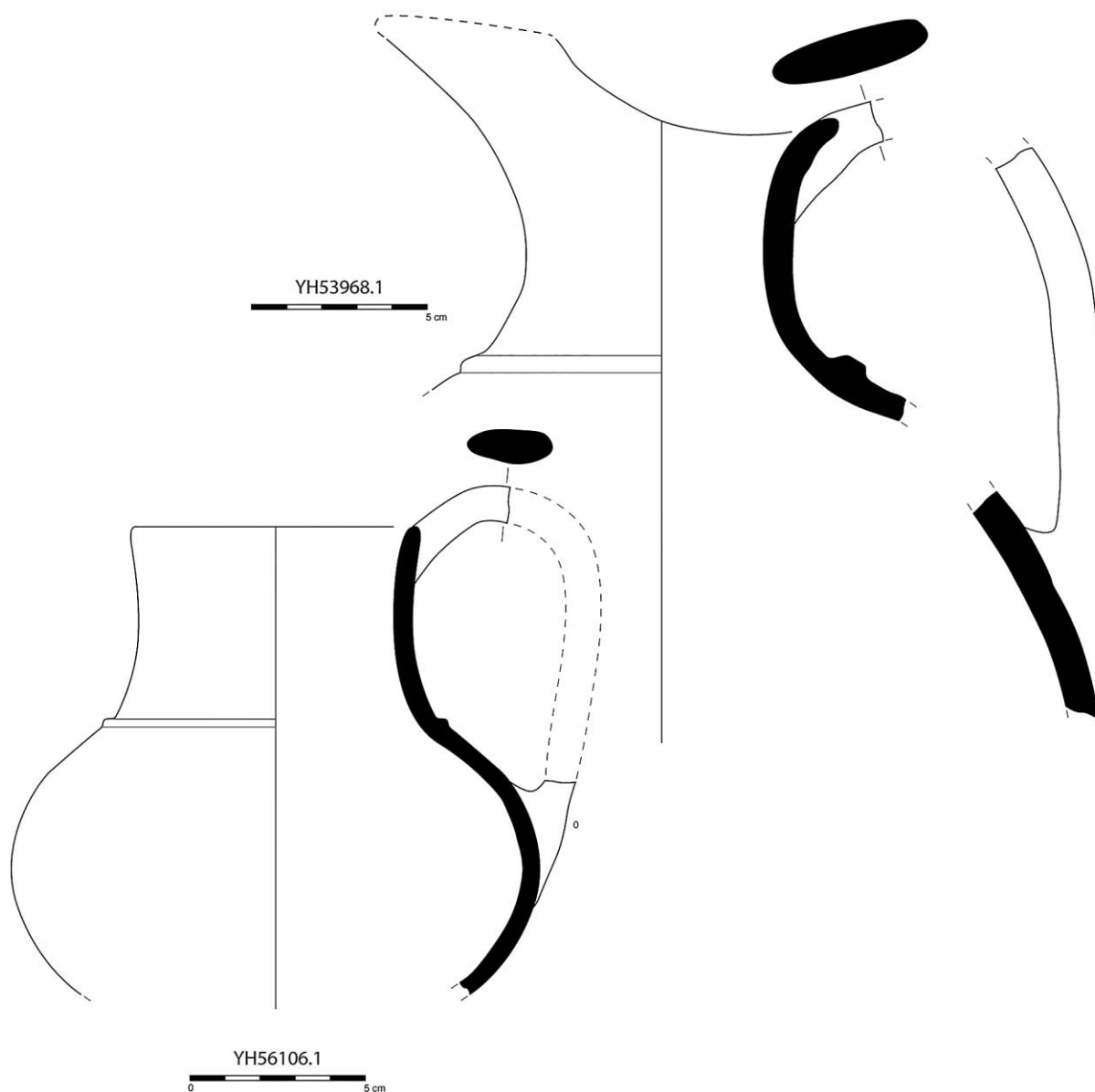


Fig. 36. Jugs (scale 1:2). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

(50 kg), a weight that makes it unlikely that the handles were used to lift it. Its resemblance to the wooden bier found in Tumulus MM has been noted, and the skeuomorphs add to its elaborate appearance. The shape and size of the central depression, ca. 46 cm across at its widest, could accommodate a slender or tightly-shrouded body, and it is possible the artifact was used for temporary display of the deceased before transport to a tomb. With no textual or visual evidence for Phrygian funerary rites, we cannot be sure. Its spout-like appearance might suggest some sacrificial use, but there is no discoloration

in the depression's creamy paint that might demonstrate the presence of blood or other liquids.

It seems most likely that the artifact stood upright on its open flat end, while ropes passing through the handles allowed it to be tied into a secure vertical position.⁵⁹ In this case, it may have functioned as a niche or naiskos of some sort, perhaps even associated with

⁵⁹ The suggestion may receive additional support from the difficulties faced in mending the artifact: despite elaborately constructed molds and props, it proved impossible to glue it while it lay flat. It could only be successfully mended when stood upright.



Fig. 37. Trefoil-Mouthed Jug. (Photo by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

household cult. That might link it to the household cult of Kybele/Matar attested in the Hellenistic period at Gordion, if household cults of Kybele were present also in the Middle Phrygian period (Romano 1995: 66–70; Wells 2012: 245–51). The conceptual resemblance between the flat sides and rounded top of this object, if it stood upon its flat foot, and the Middle Phrygian “semi-iconic idols” carved in stone, may support this interpretation.⁶⁰ The very large number of niches carved in rock faces and associated with the cult of Kybele demonstrates that a niche might function on its own, even without a sculpted figure of the deity within (Haspels 1971: 92; Roller 1988, 1999: 138; Işık 1999, 2001; Roosevelt 2009: 129; Dusinberre 2013: 209–13). Ongoing study of the artifact may help to elucidate its original use.

Surprisingly, Operation 17 and the South Trench produced a minimum number of twelve similar objects including YH53701.1. This number is based on the dissimilarity of individual fragments, indicating they came from different objects.⁶¹ Since all but YH53701.1 are

⁶⁰ There is at this point no evidence for idols being set up in houses, or indeed buildings, at Midas City, Kerkenes Dağ, or Boğazköy. For idols in outdoor niches, or just niches, at Midas City, see, e.g., Berndt 2002. For idols at Kerkenes Dağ, see, e.g., Summers 2006; Summers and Summers 2007: 124. For Gordion and Phrygian idols more broadly, see, e.g., Roller 1999: 77–78, 2007, 2008: 194, 2012; Berndt-Ersöz 2004, 2006: 56–59, 159–62.

⁶¹ In 2015 and 2016 University of Cincinnati graduate student Sarah Beal scoured the inventory depot and context pottery bags for

highly fragmentary, and it is unlikely that the twelve other objects had been deposited complete and excavations missed all other sherds of the other eleven, perhaps these objects had already been discarded. If each one represents a household, however, this could give us an indication of the number of households that contributed cleanup debris to the Dump. A further search in Gordion’s storage depots for similar fragments yielded evidence for a minimum of 28 examples of such artifacts from across the site, concentrated in three primary areas of discovery, a number that increases the likelihood they were connected with household use in some way.⁶²

The Character of the Ceramic Dump Deposit

Although these comments must be considered preliminary, a number of patterns and observations emerge.⁶³ The local gray ceramic assemblage includes quantities of a very narrow range of vessel shapes, especially stemmed dishes, flat-bottomed bowls, and large closed vessels with trefoil or cutaway mouths, in a narrow range of sizes. Fine black-polished vessels include small stemmed dishes and small jugs, as well as small bowls. Storage vessels of local household and coarse wares are also present in quantities; the majority of them have a rim diameter of ca. 40 cm and flat bases. These local vessels seem to represent roughly a dozen sets, each of which included a small black-polished or imported stemmed dish and a large gray one, a small black-polished jar and a large gray one, roughly three gray bowls and a small black-polished one, as well as vessels associated with food storage and preparation: a large- and a medium-sized flat-bottomed storage vessel and a cooking pot.

The very few fragments of imported Greek pottery paint a picture of special items, but there are no full sets of Greek pottery. The Sondros cup and the Lydos krater may have graced the banquet of an individual person or household, but it is also possible that different families owned each one. Despite the fact that these two and the Corinthian and East Greek vessels are made to

additional fragments of this type of object; in this venture she was ably joined in 2016 by Istanbul Archaeological Museums curator and Gordion’s government representative, Özcan Şimşek. Fragments of a similar artifact were published by the Körtes, reconstructed as a basin: Körte and Körte 1904: figs. 197, 198.

⁶² Four additional fragments identified in the summer of 2018 have not yet been studied carefully enough to know if they represent four additional examples of the shape or rather additional fragments from the already-identified examples. They all stem from another destruction debris deposit that seems to date to the mid-6th century; see above, note 24.

⁶³ The pottery storage depot for the Gordion excavation is undergoing re-organization, and quantification activities will need to wait until all pottery from Operation 17 is available for study.

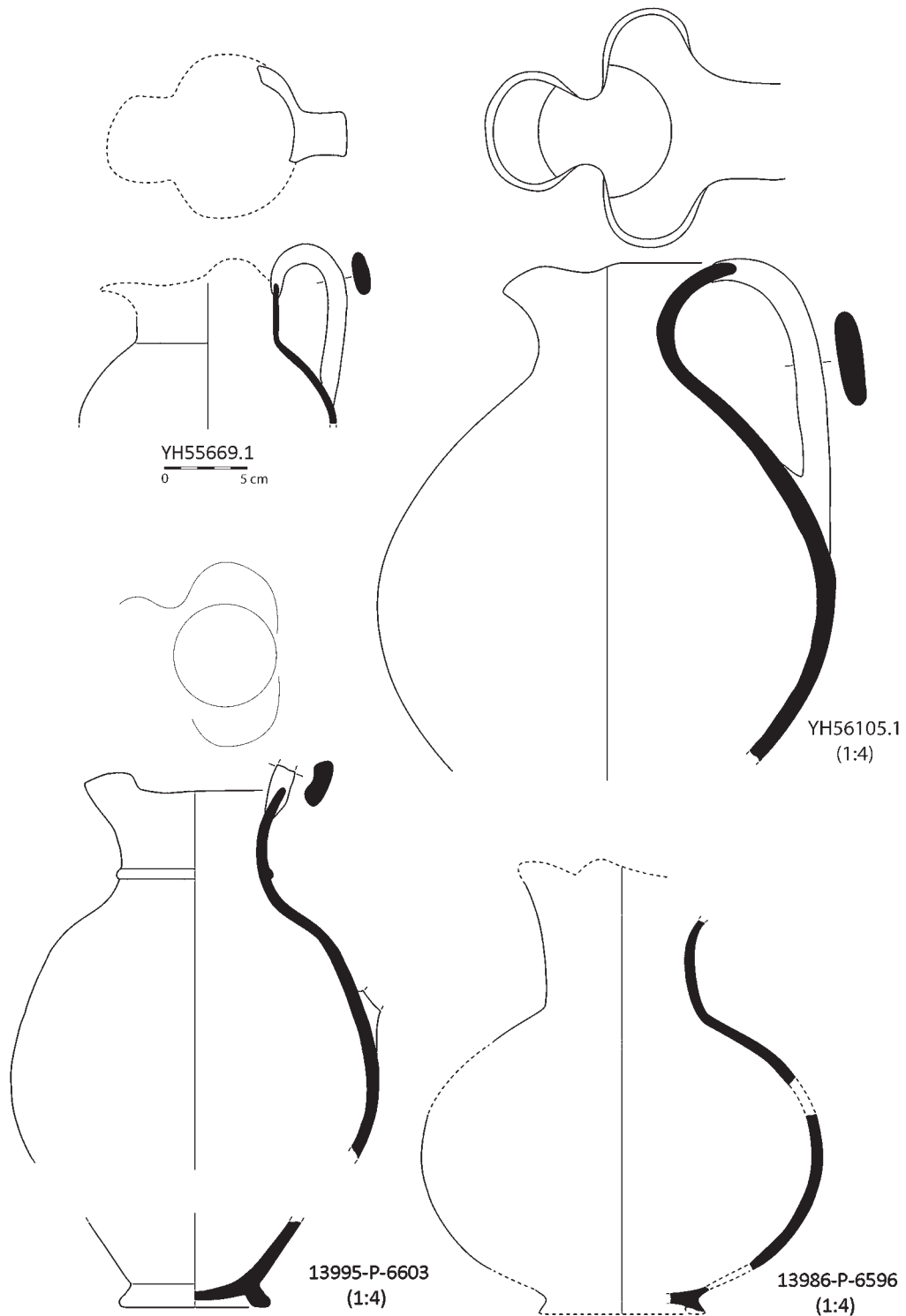


Fig. 38. Jugs (scale 1:4). (Drawings by E. Dusinberre, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

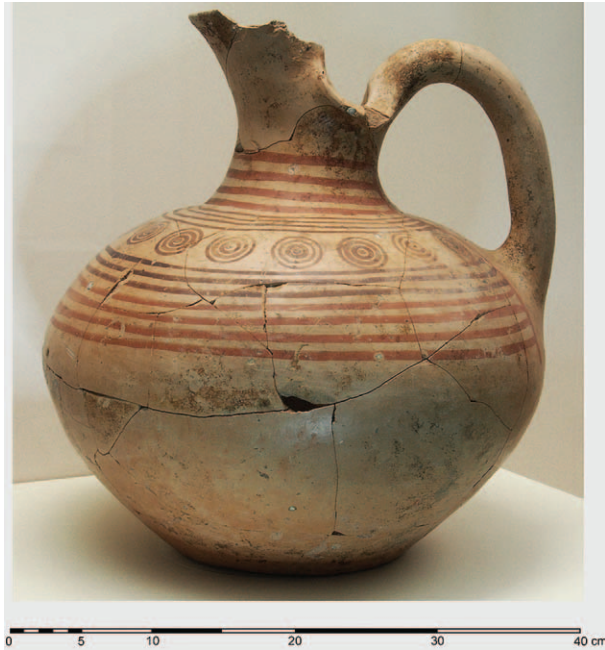


Fig. 39. Painted Trough-Spouted Jug. (Photo by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

accommodate the Greek wine-drinking ritual, the symposium, we should not imagine the owners at Gordion hosting symposia. Instead, the vessels probably took on symbolic meaning within an existing local social practice. To possess the exotic imports certainly provided the owners an opportunity to stand out from the grayness of available pottery through a material correlate to knowledge. The Lydian pottery, on the other hand, is more abundant and represents both drinking (skyphoi) and perfume (lydia and Lydian[izing] lekythoi). They suggest a banqueting event in which participants, adorned with Lydian-inspired scents, used the local black-polished and gray burnished pottery alongside the Greek and Lydian drinking vessels. Some of the gray ware stemmed dishes are extremely large, so we can and probably should imagine communal dining alongside this array of drinking equipment. Alphabetic and figural graffiti appear on a variety of gray and black-polished objects from the deposit; these may represent personal property used in communal dining or a particular size of vessel or, perhaps, a set belonging to a particular household or other kind of group.

Conclusions

Large, secure contexts of the 8th to the mid-6th centuries B.C.E. are rare at Gordion, so this deposit provides

insight where little existed and prompts new questions about the life of residents other than the ruling elite.⁶⁴ Several aspects of the deposit emerge as striking. Ceramic contents of the Dump relate almost entirely to food storage, food preparation, and food and drink consumption. Local bowls and jars and elegant imports seem to have served side by side as drinking vessels. In addition, the deposit includes large numbers of vessels for the presentation and consumption of food (stemmed dishes, bowls), as well as the presentation of beverages (large gray ware jugs, small black-polished jugs, bowls). These ceramic wares seem to represent roughly a dozen place-settings that included stemmed dishes, bowls, and jars. Imported drinking vessels were largely Lydian or Lydianizing with a few Greek vessels; thus, the residents here had access to status objects that connected them to western Anatolia and the Aegean.

In addition to the ceramic evidence, several articulated partial skeletons of animals were recovered from the pit—as much as half an animal at a time—as well as metal horse trappings. These objects are striking. If the Dump contents reflect a comfortable lifestyle of good food and drink and access to fine objects, it is a lifestyle that is very different than that suggested by the destruction debris at Sardis. Indeed, it is possible that this Dump at Gordion represents specialized feasting.

The size of some of the vessels and the foreign prestige vessels certainly indicate conspicuous consumption whether in the context of household dining or specialized feasting. We still know little about Middle Phrygian social organization, and the Dump study is an important step in the process of this examination. It is possible that an elite household (one characterized by elegant imports and elaborate horse fittings, such as those recovered from the Dump, but perhaps lower in status than the megaron dwellers on the Eastern Mound) might have held commensal events to reinforce the status of its inhabitants to those even lower in the hierarchy. Thus the equipment for feasting might reflect a ceramic replication of the metal feasting equipment used by the Middle Phrygian ruling elite.⁶⁵ The social objective

⁶⁴ Two other previously excavated 6th-century contexts are the Küçük Höyük, currently under study by Gebhard Bieg, and a house in the Northwest Zone, currently under study by Kim Codella and Mary Voigt. Their publication will help contextualize this pit and its dump. In addition, excavations in 2017 and 2018 in Area 4 on the eastern citadel mound revealed a portion of a deposit remarkably similar to the Dump in both formation and contents (see above, note 24). Like the Dump, it contained a mid-6th century B.C.E. import, F03689, an Athenian Little Master cup that established the date. It also included numerous complete, gray coarseware vessels, and an assortment of local fineware, as well as a large number of roof tiles and architectural terracottas.

⁶⁵ This is best exemplified by the spectacular banqueting equipment recovered from the Middle Phrygian tumulus MM; see Young 1981:



Fig. 40. Imported Jugs and Jars. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)



Fig. 41. Imported Jug. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

of the communal event would be similarly diacritical: to reinforce status difference and dependency, but at a different level of the social hierarchy (Dietler 2001: 86). The large number of storage vessels also prompts the possibility of

redistributive activity in which non-elites received supplies from those higher in the hierarchy.

It should come as no surprise that a site that produced such spectacular banqueting vessels from its Early Phrygian destruction contexts and its Early and Middle Phrygian burials should also provide evidence for feasting in a domestic context. Thus, for instance, the great Middle Phrygian tumulus MM (ca. 740 B.C.E.) produced the most famous bronze banqueting vessels (Young 1981 and Rose and Darbyshire 2016: 82–97). Other tumuli closer in date to the Dump also yielded banqueting vessels and accoutrements (e.g., Tumulus B, an inhumation burial dating ca. 575, Tumulus K-II, an inhumation burial dating ca. 550, and Tumulus C, an inhumation burial dating ca. 540).⁶⁶ Cremation burial K-V (ca. 560) produced two Gordion cups that probably served funerary banqueting.⁶⁷ Tumulus M, a cremation dating ca. 550, produced several

123–47 for the whopping 120 bronze bowls found in this tomb chamber alone (MM 49-169), and not including the bronze cauldrons. That tomb was of course exceptional, but a survey of the metal drinking vessels from tumuli demonstrates far fewer in the tumuli of the 7th and 6th centuries (see Kohler 1995; Kohler and Dusinger forthcoming), and it may be that by the time of the Dump there were fewer people with access to metalware than in the 8th century. The 7th- and 6th-century tumuli with bronze vessels are the following (with dates according to the new chronology, all B.C.E.):

S-2 (640–630) (inhumation): bronze bowls B 258, B 243a-b

F (625–615) (cremation): bronze trefoil jug B 469, bronze bowl B 468, bronze small cauldron B 470

J (600–590) (inhumation): bronze trefoil jug fragments B 406, bronze petaled omphalos bowl B 271, bronze ribbed omphalos bowl fragments B 391, bronze cauldron B 402, B 403, bronze bowl B 405

B (580–575) (inhumation): fragmentary bronze cauldron B 269

M (550) (cremation): bronze trefoil jug B 467, bronze bowl B 466

E (530) (cremation): bronze tripod cauldron B 428, bronze cauldron B 426, bronze bowl B 2018

A (525) (cremation): bronze jug B 261.

⁶⁶ Tumulus B: Kohler 1995: 9–24; Tumulus K-II: Körte and Körte 1904: 104–29; Tumulus C: Kohler 1995: 35–42.

⁶⁷ Tumulus K-V: Körte and Körte 1904: 139–45; Gordion cups: Lynch 2016: 46–48. Tumulus D dates to the same period but evidence for feasting is less clear: Kohler and Dusinger forthcoming.



Fig. 42. East Greek Jar. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

ornate bronze vessels including a bowl and a trefoil oinochoe, as well as sherds of a stemmed dish.⁶⁸ The presence of Gordion cups in both burial and the domestic Dump contexts strongly supports the notion that feasting occurred in both circumstances at Gordion during the Middle Phrygian period, and the difference between bronze funerary assemblages and the pottery contents of the Dump indicates that feasting occurred at different scales and in different manners on different occasions, reflecting a range of particular social messages.

Although no similar deposits from Gordion are available to provide a comparison, contemporary ceramic inventories at Sardis share some similarities and support the notion that the Dump contents served a commensal purpose. Moreover, Sardis provides comparative evidence that suggests Gordion's Dump could represent the contents of but a single (extended?) household. At Sardis, the houses excavated next to the Lydian fortification wall in sector MMS, also destroyed during the Achaemenid sack of the city in the 540s B.C.E., included such enormous quantities of pottery that initial discussions even suggested the rooms might have been a shop or store rather than a house (an idea later rejected, although one area clearly functioned as a glass workshop).⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Kohler and Dusinberre forthcoming.

⁶⁹ For these houses, see Cahill 2002b, 2005, 2010a; Greenewalt et al. 1985; Greenewalt, Cahill, and Rautman 1988a, 1988b; Greenewalt et al. 1990, as well as Greenewalt, Rautman, and Ratté 1995. See also Greenewalt 1992. For the glass workshop, see Brill and Cahill 1988. Sardis Project Director Nick Cahill generously shared numbers and sizes of pots and ideas for interpretation with Elspeth Dusinberre in a series of email exchanges during September and October 2016. Cahill cautions

For the vessels excavated from Lydian houses in sector MMS-I at Sardis there were roughly equal numbers of pithoi, amphorae, hydriae, and kraters (ca. four of each).⁷⁰ Almost twenty cooking pots were recovered from the houses—five times as many as there were the other vessel categories mentioned. There were, additionally, four times as many coarse ware bowls as the storage and larger serving vessels (ca. fifteen bowls), the same number of table amphorae (ca. fifteen) and eight times as many pitchers (ca. thirty), ten times as many drinking vessels (ca. forty), and twelve times as many stemmed dishes (a whopping fifty). With sixteen oil vessels and lamps and almost thirty lydia, the household was well-supplied with light and fragrance.

Twenty-three stemmed dishes were piled on the floor in the northeast corner of a room identified as a kitchen in this Sardian house (Cahill 2002b: 177). Like the stemmed dishes from the Dump they seem to have been made in a standard size: they ranged in diameter from 19–23 cm and were almost identical in shape. Worn on their interior, they served as the standard plate for eating. Eighteen of them were incised with graffiti, an unusually high percentage.

that the Lydian houses at Sardis were not fully excavated, thus numbers of vessels are not an indicator of a complete household assemblage, but rather they represent only those found in the portions of rooms excavated. He also notes that vessel shape may not be an indicator of final use: a hydria might be made to hold water, but it could also hold slag (Cahill 2010a), personal communication 10/16/2016.

⁷⁰ We are very grateful to Nick Cahill (personal communication 10/16/2016) for providing these preliminary numbers.



Fig. 43. Imported Jug. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

Several observations may be made here. The first is to note that the stemmed dishes recovered from the Dump at Gordion, too, were relatively frequently incised with graffiti, as were the black-polished drinking vessels and the handles of trefoil-mouthed jugs. The graffiti on stemmed dishes from the Dump, like those at Sardis, most frequently took the form of a monogram of some sort, at Gordion usually a symbol a little like an alpha with an elongated leg (the most common one at Sardis resembled a figure eight with a bar crossing the center) (Cahill 2002b: 178). The Sardian stemmed dishes are much smaller than those from Gordion, however, and the suggestion has been made that they served as individual plates that could be held by the stem by each diner (Cahill 2002b: 177). The stemmed dishes excavated from the Dump are far too large, heavy, and unwieldy for this to have been easy. It seems much more likely that the large ones, with diameters of 30 and 40 cm, served as some kind of central dish while the small ones might have served as individual plates. That is, the stemmed



Fig. 44. Imported Jug. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

dishes of Gordion suggest communal dining in a way that those of Sardis do not.

The comparison between the vessels in the Dump and contemporary pottery from Sardis is informative. At both Gordion and Sardis, the houses do not seem to be associated with the highest echelon of elites, but rather comfortable, mid-level people who had the resources to acquire fine pottery and to host commensal events. The comparison to Sardis underscores the greater abundance of lydian found at Gordion, however, and the large size of some of the gray ware pottery from the Dump.

Even though both assemblages point to communal dining and drinking, the specific form of dining may have been different at Gordion where extremely large

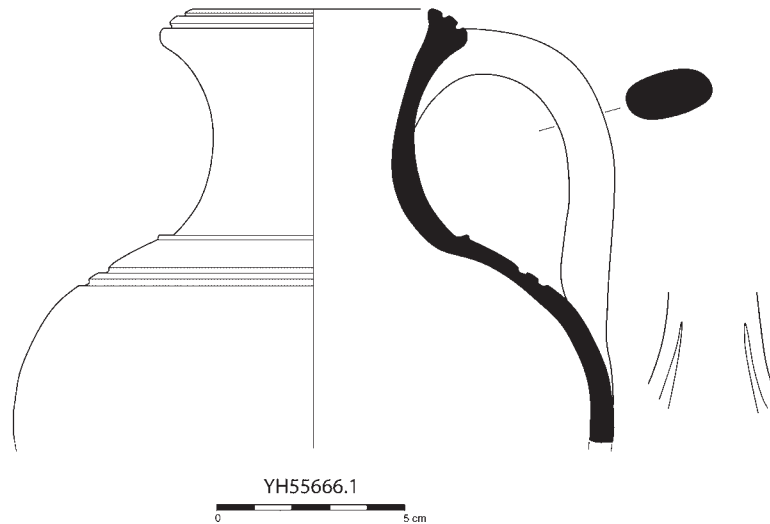


Fig. 45. Imported Jug (scale 1:2). (Drawing by E. Dusinberre, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

stemmed dishes must have been used for communal dishes. Sharing from a single platter like this further reinforces group identity. The situation of the Dump atop the Citadel Mound at Gordion may suggest a high-status place, group of people, or activity. As suggested already, the unusually well-preserved household niche (?) that may be represented by the strange terracotta object suggests Gordion's Dump deposit might perhaps reflect feasting, possibly associated with household cult, in a manner perhaps similar to that so well attested in the Hellenistic period at Gordion in deposits associated with Kybele.⁷¹

⁷¹ For Kybele in Hellenistic Gordion, see Stewart 2010: 116–19; for feasting associated with her cult see Stewart 2010: 221–22. For Kybele and household cult in Hellenistic Sardis, see Gallart Marqués 2019.

If the Dump results from behavior associated with the Achaemenid conquest, the niche (?) may have formed a particularly meaningful focus of feasting activity.

This study has presented the contents of a single, extraordinary deposit for the first time, and has proposed that the Dump was created through cleanup following the Achaemenid attack on the city ca. 540 B.C.E., that the origin of its contents was a mid-level elite household (or households), and that the assemblage of vessels reflects commensality probably intended to reinforce hierarchy or define a group. Continued analysis of the excavations at Gordion will, it is to be hoped, further elucidate the social scene during the Middle Phrygian period and the kinds of interactions that characterized inhabitants of all statuses.

Acknowledgments

The authors are grateful to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, the Gordion Museum in Yassihöyük, the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and the many members of the Gordion Archaeological Project team and staff who have enabled the initial archaeological work and subsequent research necessary to write this article. All modern archaeological research at Gordion (1950–present) has been sponsored and supported by the University of Pennsylvania Museum; co-sponsors for the 1995–1996 seasons were the College of William and Mary and the Royal Ontario Museum. Excavation in the Southwest Zone during those years was supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities (a

US federal agency), the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Royal Ontario Museum, and gifts from generous private donors. Additional funding for this study was provided by the Semple Fund and University of Cincinnati Research Council, and by the Graduate Committee on Arts and Humanities at the University of Colorado Boulder.

The current study of the Dump is possible thanks to hundreds of hours spent on the deposit by many people. Its painstaking excavation has been described already. The material was recovered from many excavation units or lots, sorted by ware and form, and its sherds united and drawn by a team supervised by Robert C. Henrickson and Marica Cassis. Publication drawings of



Fig. 46. Large Storage Vessels. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)



Fig. 47. Cooking Pots and Lid. (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)



Fig. 48. Large Terracotta Object: Household Niche? (Photos by G. Bieg; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

the site were prepared by Carrie Alblinger, Ardeth Anderson, Gareth Darbyshire, Kimberly Leaman Insua and Sondra Jarvis. Jülide Aker drew the trench plan that is **Figure 7** here. Sue Ann McCarthy, Robert C. Henrickson and Elspeth (McIntosh) Dusingberre drew virtually all of the more or less complete forms from Operation 17 in 1997–1999; Elspeth Dusingberre drew additional vessels from both Operation 17 and the South Trench in 2015 in connection with the current study. The terracotta object was drawn by Eric H. Little in 1999. Pottery drawings were inked by Tina Ross, Tina Ross Archaeological Illustrations. Gebhard Bieg

took all photos of artifacts included here, including of sherds as well as of vessels conserved and mended by conservators Jessica Johnson, Cricket Harbeck, and Julia Commander, and we are grateful for the artistry of them all. Mary Voigt took the photos of the Dump under excavation. Deep gratitude goes to Gareth Darbyshire of the Gordion Archives for assistance with images and ideas, and to C. Brian Rose for his thoughtful comments and insights on drafts of this article. Our research at Gordion was made possible and inspired by Robert H. Dyson, Keith DeVries, G. Kenneth Sams, T. Cuyler Young and C. Brian Rose, and to all of them we offer heartfelt thanks. Thanks also to the two anonymous reviewers for BASOR, both of whom provided exceptionally helpful thoughts and suggestions.

Appendix: Greek Imported Pottery from the Dump

We present here and in the accompanying table the inventoried diagnostic fragments discussed in the article and used to formulate the minimum number of vessels listed in this article's other tables.⁷² A detailed catalog of imported Greek pottery is provided since it is crucial to the chronological argument. Due to space constraints we have elected to illustrate a sample of the assemblage presented in the table below, rather than all examples of each shape; for a more complete selection see <http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion/>.

IMPORTED GREEK POTTERY

1. Attic Black-figure Column Krater fragments (Fig. 8)

Inventory Number: YH51501.101, P 4653a, P 4653b, P 5415, P 324 (not pictured)

Measurements: Maximum diameter: (a) 7.11 cm; (b) 5.5 cm; (c) 4.75 cm; (d) 7.1 cm; thickness: 0.07 cm; (e) width: 8 cm; thickness: 1.23 cm; preserved length: 7.0 cm

Description: Five non-joining fragments from wall and handle panel. (a) preserves torsos of two men to left; female figure to right at left break; (b) band tongues from shoulder with top of figured zone; (c) parts of two figures; (d) more of figured scene; (e) one handle panel with head of a bearded man to left.

Contexts: P 4653 a: Unknown, 1971; P 4653 b: WCW-11, Layer 6, August 17, 1971, Notebook 153: 96; P 5415: South Trench, Context bag #12, Cut DII,

⁷² Ceramic artifacts excavated by Young's team received a sequential inventory number beginning with P for pottery. Voigt's material received a YH number related to the excavation unit, and individual pieces of interest received a decimal point and a sequential number. Voigt artifacts that were relatively complete or unique could also be given a small find (SF) number which includes the year of excavation and a number that begins anew in each year.

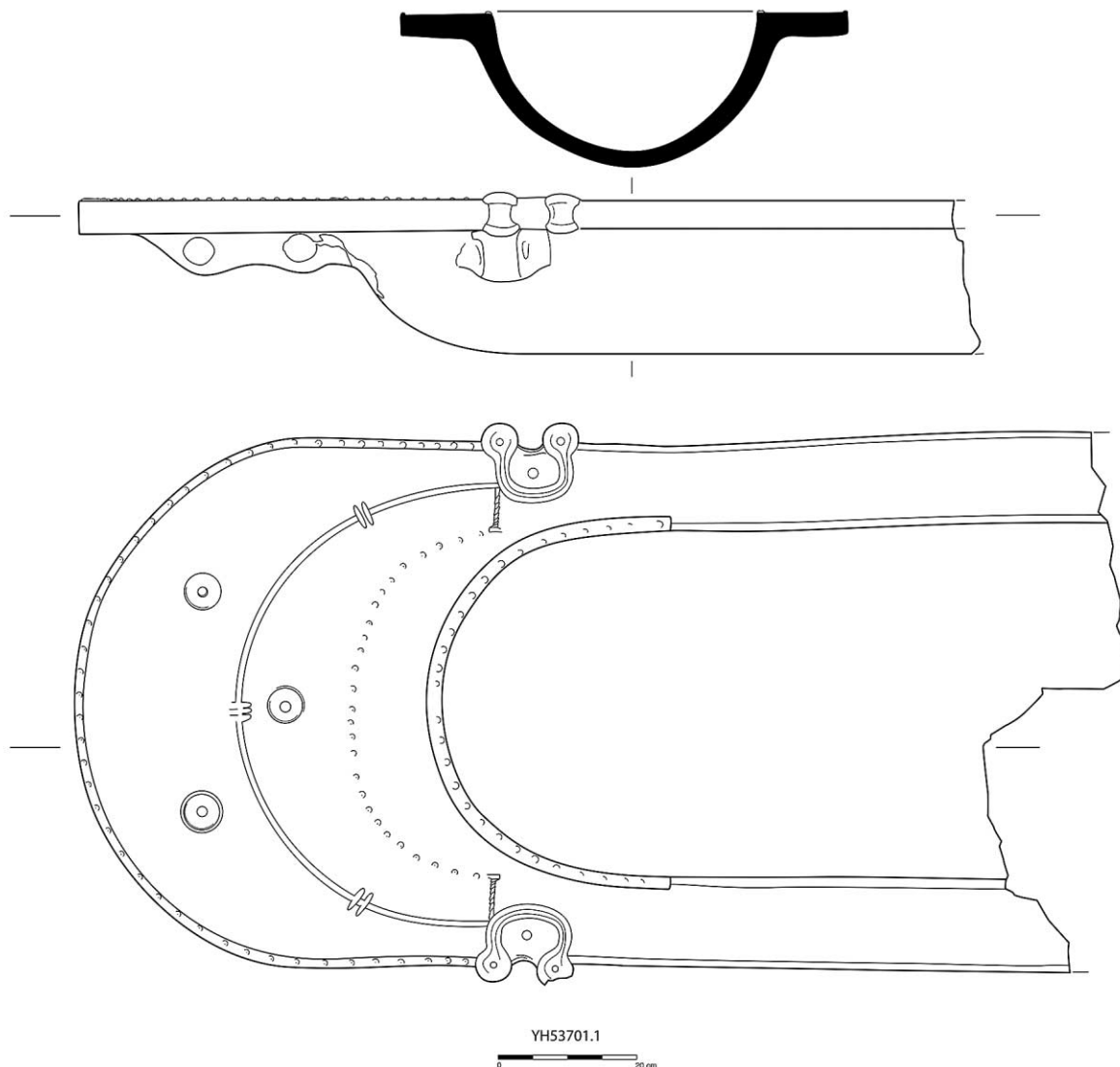


Fig. 49. Large Terracotta Object: Household Niche? (Drawings by E. H. Little, inked by T. Ross; © Gordion Archaeological Project, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)

below fourth floor, July 19, 1950, Inventoried 1982; YH51501.101: Operation 17, Locus 692, Lot 884, Phase 5110; P 324: SET-N, Cut N-3-F, Layer 1, Vol. 18, p. 135, May 16, 1951

Publications: Sams 1979: 8, fig. 3; DeVries 1997a: 447, fig. 1; DeVries 1997b: 20, fig. 2; Voigt et al. 1997: 20, fig. 28; DeVries 2005: 47, fig. 4-12. Mentioned in Sams and Voigt 1998: 687.

Comments: DeVries associated the fragments with Lydos's middle phase as defined by Tiverios 1976: 84-86, esp. 85. For the handle panel: cf. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum no. 2098, CVA Amsterdam 5 [48], pl. 266 [575]:1. See comments there on relationship to the Painter of Vatican 309.

Attributed to Lydos by Keith DeVries.

Date: ca. 550-540 B.C.E.

2. Attic Black-figure Gordion Cup Type B, Signed by Sondros as Potter (Fig. 8)

Inventory Number: SF 96-269

Measurements: Height: 9.4 cm; diameter: 15.3 cm

Description: Full profile. In handle zone: between palmettes on each side ΣΟΝΔΡΟΣ : ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. In tondo: black-figure sphinx to right, looking left.

Context: Operation 17, Locus 708, Lots 898, 899, 916

Publications: DeVries 1997b: 21; Sams and Voigt 1998: 686-87, fig. 8; Brijder 2000: no. G17, 556-57, fig. 114; DeVries 2005: 46-47, fig. 4-10; Heesen 2011: no. 27, 262, pl. 9 c, d; Lynch 2016: 50-51, fig. 8. Mentioned in Voigt et al. 1997: 20-21.

Date: ca. 555–550 B.C.E.

3. Attic Cassel Cup Fragment (Fig. 8)

Inventory Number: YH50282.1

Measurements: Preserved height: 1.3 cm; rim too small for diameter

Description: Small fragment of rim.

Context: Operation 17, Locus 657, Lot 837

Parallel: Musei Capitolini 490, Brijder 1993: 135, fig. 11 (ca. 540–530 B.C.E.)

Date: ca. 540–530 B.C.E.

4. Attic Cup Fragments (Fig. 8)

Inventory Number: YH50256.2

Measurements: a) Maximum diameter: 2.4 cm; estimated diameter: 16 cm; b) maximum diameter: 1.5 cm

Description: Two non-joining fragments of rim and wall.

Context: Operation 17, Locus 638, Lot 830

Parallel: Brijder 1983: 97–100, pl. 72b.

Comments: The short, flaring rim resembles the products of the Painter of Athens 533, but none have been found in the East, see Brijder 1983: 99–100. The cup could have a decorated tondo or palmettes in handle panels.

Date: ca. 575–550 B.C.E.

5. Attic Cup Fragment (Fig. 8)

Inventory Number: YH51532.01

Measurements: Preserved height: 2.63 cm; estimated diameter ~25 cm (small fragment); thickness: 0.24 cm

Description: Single fragment, discolored gray from burning. On interior, one open lotus bud; on exterior, one lotus and part of one palmette. Originally on interior a chain of open and closed lotus buds, cf. Taranto 20253, Brijder 2000: no. 512, pl. 180c, d; 181a, b (The Red-Black Painter, ca. 560–550 B.C.E.). On exterior, lotus and palmette chain, cf. Rome, Villa Giulia 64608, Brijder 2000: no. 544, pl. 186b (related to the Red-Black Painter, perhaps by him). The presence of interior and exterior lip decoration is unusual, Brijder 2000: 624, but see also Malibu 86.AE.57, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* Malibu 5 [30], pl. 243 [1520]: 1-5, a black-figure, Little Master cup in East Greek fabric with ivy on exterior and geese on interior. Likely a Siana Cup.

Context: Operation 17, Locus 692, Lot 885, Phase 5100: pottery and bone layer at the top of the square pit.

Date: ca. 550 B.C.E.

6. Corinthian Skyphos Fragment (Fig. 8)

Inventory Number: YH54242

Measurements: Maximum diameter: 2.88 cm; thickness: 0.38 cm

Description: Fragment of wall with animals.

Context: Operation 17, Locus 719, Lot 921; Phase 5100: pottery and bone layer at the top of the Dump

Publications: Mentioned in DeVries 1997b: 20; Sams and Voigt 1998: 687; DeVries 2005: 47, note 22.

Comments: Probably Middle Corinthian, cf. Stillwell and Benson 1984: 114, no. 556 and 177, no. 575, pl. 27. DeVries 2005: 47, note 22 reports that Ann Brownlee (personal communication) says it has “a Middle Corinthian character.”

Date: ca. 600–575 B.C.E.

7. Miniature Corinthian Skyphos (Fig. 8)

Inventory Number: SF 96-122

Measurements: Height: 3.21 cm; diameter: 4.9 cm

Munsell: 10YR 7/4

Description: Full profile.

Context: Operation 17, Locus 708, Lot 892

Comments: Miniature skyphoi are notoriously hard to date, but the general trend is for increasing simplification throughout the 6th century; see Risser 2001: 68; cf. Risser 2001: 58, no. 105, pl. 13, dated “second quarter of the 6th century B.C.”

Date: ca. 575–550 B.C.E.

8. Corinthian Kotyle (Fig. 8)

Inventory Number: P 5492

Description: Fourteen non-joining fragments of rim and wall.⁷³ Preserves part of a long panther and goose (?) to right with much filling ornament.

Context: South Trench, cut A-I, June 6, 1950, Notebook 4: 135, no. 17; Deep cut under floor three (Roman). Found along with many gray wares and at least one stemmed dish.

Parallel: Cf. Stillwell and Benson 1984: 120, no. 590, pl. 28, Middle Corinthian.

Date: ca. 600–575 B.C.E.

9. Corinthian Kotyle Fragment (Fig. 9)

Inventory Number: YH54238

Measurements: Maximum diameter: 4.0 cm; thickness: 0.28 cm

Description: Fragment of wall with an animal.

Publications: Mentioned DeVries 1997b: 20; Voigt et al. 1997: 20; Sams and Voigt 1998: 687; DeVries 2005: 47, note 22.

Context: Operation 17, Locus 719, Lot 920, Phase 5150.

Parallel: Cf. Stillwell and Benson 1984: no. 575, pl. 27.

Comments: Another fragment of same skyphos: YH42953.101, from stratum above the dump. YH54242 may also be from same, in Operation 17, Locus 719, lot 921. The widely spaced rays argue for an early Middle Corinthian date, so closer to 600

⁷³ Overall measurements not possible because of the large number of non-joining fragments.

than 575 B.C.E. DeVries 2005: 47 note 22 reports that A. Brownlee (pers. comm.) says it has “a Middle Corinthian character.”

Date: ca. 600–575 B.C.E.

10. Corinthian Kotyle Fragment (Fig. 9)

Inventory Number: YH42953.101

Measurements: Maximum diameter: 4.73 cm; thickness: 0.28 cm

Description: Two joining fragments of wall with animal to left.

Context: Operation 17, Locus 422, lot 538, Phase 4237

Parallels: Amyx and Lawrence 1975: no. 172, pl. 32 f and h (although this is from a krater); Amyx and Lawrence 1975: no. An 186 (among others), pl. 91 b.

Comments: Possibly from no. 8, above.

Date: ca. 600–575 B.C.E.

11. Corinthian Kotyle Foot Fragment (Fig. 9)

Inventory Number: P 5357

Measurements: Preserved height: 2.4 cm; estimated diameter: 10.5 cm, thickness: 0.38 cm

Context: Selected in 1982 from a bag labeled “Context bag #17” from South Trench 1950. This bag contained a mix of pottery from: South Trench, Cuts AI-AII, June 16, 1950, Vol. 4, p. 152, no. 3; Cut AIII, June 17, 1950, Vol. 4, p. 156, no. 5; and Cut E2, Deep hole below fourth floor July 19, 1950

Comments: The rays at the base of the wall are reduced to lines, a trait that seems to be found first in the Samos Painter (Amyx 1988: 191, pl. 74) but continues into the Late Corinthian I period (Payne 1931: 324, no. 1341). The spreading foot also points to a Late Corinthian I date: cf. Amyx and Lawrence 1975: 56–57, no. 209, pl. 39, Late Corinthian I. Narrow lines instead of rays point to Late Corinthian more than Middle Corinthian.

Date: ca. 575–550, closer to 550 B.C.E.

12. Corinthian Aryballos

Inventory Number: P 210

Measurements: Preserved height: 4.4 cm; diameter: 5.1 cm

Description: Small squat spherical aryballos with a large black-figure bird with spread wings; incised rosettes in the field.⁷⁴

Context: South Trench, Cut D II, D III, Fifth level, Notebook 8: 20, no. 6, July 24, 1950

Publications: Mentioned in DeVries 1997b: 20; Voigt et al. 1997: 20; Sams and Voigt 1998: 687; DeVries 2005: 47, n. 22. DeVries 2005: 47, n. 22 reports that Ann Brownlee (pers. comm.) says it has “a Middle Corinthian character.”

Date: ca. 600–575 B.C.E.

13. Corinthian Open Shape, Possibly a Lid (Fig. 9)

Inventory Number: YH46219.03

Measurements: Maximum diameter: 2.57 cm; thickness: 0.33 cm

Description: Fragment from a broad, flat form. Preserves traces of an animal.

Context: Operation 17, Locus 557, Lot 692, Phase 4230.062

Comments: Shape and date uncertain. The flatness suggests a plate or lid, but the underside is black, so more likely to be a lid. Date likely to be late Early Corinthian or early Middle Corinthian because of the neat horizontal lines and the blob.

Date: ca. 620–575 B.C.E.

14. Juglet (Fig. 9)

Inventory Number: SF 01-10

Measurements: Preserved height: 5.3 cm; diameter: 7.02 cm; thickness: 0.35 cm

Description: Eleven joining fragments of body and foot. Buff clay with voids, large white inclusions, one popped on surface.

Comments: East Greek: Munsell: 7.5YR 7/6

Context: Operation 17, Locus 708, lot 898

Parallel: Cf. for shape, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 249, pl. 12 (575–550 B.C.E.), although ours is not Attic.

Date: ca. 550 B.C.E.

⁷⁴ Description from photo and original inventory card; studied by Keith DeVries, not seen by Kathleen Lynch.

List of Inventoried Vessels from the Dump, other than Greek Imported Pottery

	<i>Identification Number</i>	<i>Comments</i> (<i>D</i> = diameter; <i>H</i> = height; <i>int</i> = interior)	<i>Figures</i>
Lydian and Lydianizing			
Lydion	YH51530.1 + YH53502.1	H = 5.8 cm, D base = 3 cm	10, 11
	YH52502.1		
	YH53716.2	D rim = 11.5 cm	10, 11
	YH53853.1+P 6691	D rim = 6 cm	10, 11
	YH54215.1	D rim = 7 cm	10, 11
	13968 P 6591 bis	D rim = 9.5 cm	10, 11
Lekythos	YH51530.4		10, 11
	YH51530.3		10, 11
	YH53504.1		10, 11
	YH55670.1	D rim = 4.2 cm	12
	YH55687.1	Max. D = 9 cm	10, 11
Skyphos	YH51958.1		
	YH53511.1	D rim = 10 cm; 7 joining fragments	10, 11
	YH53514.1	D rim = 12 cm	10, 11
	YH53533.1	D rim = 10 cm	10, 11
	YH53716.4	D rim = 12 cm	10, 11
	YH60633.1	D rim = 12 cm	10, 11
	13967 P 6590 bis	D rim = 10 cm	10, 11
	13984 P 6594	D rim = 9 cm	
Pilgrim flask	YH55672.1		12
Closed	YH53892.1		12, 13
	YH51532.5	D = 7 cm (greatest preserved)	12, 13
	13969 P 6592 bis	marbled; Max. D = 18 cm	12, 13
Black-Polished Ware			
Trefoil jug	YH53526.1	Max. D = 11 cm	14, 15
	13994 P 6602	D int neck = 6 cm	14, 15
	13976 I 659	D base = 4.2 cm	14, 15
	13972 P 6595 bis	D base = 5 cm	14, 15
	YH58181.1	Max. D = 11 cm	14, 15
Trefoil jug (?)	YH55693.1	Max. D = 12 cm, D base = 6 cm	
	13991 I 661	Max. D ca. 16 cm	14, 15
	13988 P 6598 bis	D base = 5.6 cm	14, 15
Globular jug (?)	13982 P 6592	D base = 7.7 cm	16
	13973 P 6596 bis	D base = 6 cm	17, 18
	13981 P 6591	D base = 5.2 cm	17, 18
	13990 P 6600	D base = 6.4 cm	17, 18
	13974 P 6597 bis	Max D = 11.5 cm	17, 18
	YH58189.1	Max D = 14 cm	17, 18
Faceted jar, indeterminate mouth	13989 P 6599 bis	D base = 4.2 cm	17, 18
	13979 P 6589	D base = 4.4 cm	17, 18
Jar, uncertain type	YH58180.1		17, 18
	13992 I 660		17, 18
	13998 I 662		17, 18
Stemmed dishes	14013 P 6619	D rim = 11.5 cm; D stem = 2.6 cm; D base = 6.5 cm	19, 20
	YH58185.1	D rim = 11 cm	19, 20
	13985 P 6595	Foot fragment	19, 20
	13983 P 6593	Foot fragment	
Bowl	YH55691.1	D = 10.5 cm	21, 22
	YH58173.1	D = 11 cm	21, 22
	13971 P 6594 bis	D = 13 cm	21, 22
	13970 P 6593 bis	D = 13 cm	21, 22
	13980 P 6590	D = 14 cm	21, 22
	13989 P 6599	D = 15 cm; Achaemenid bowl? Phiale?	21, 22
	YH60625.1	D = 15 cm; Achaemenid bowl? Phiale?	21, 22
	14011 P 6617	Omphalos; phiale?	21, 22
Uncertain shape	YH53514.2	w/appliqué	21, 22

	<i>Identification Number</i>	<i>Comments</i> (<i>D</i> = diameter; <i>H</i> = height; <i>int</i> = interior)	<i>Figures</i>	
Stemmed Dish				
<i>Small, East Greek</i>	YH55654.1	D base = 10 cm	23, 24	
	YH55668.1	Rim + stem; D rim = 10.5 cm	23, 24	
	YH53734.1	D base = 10.5 cm	23, 24	
	13964 P 6587 bis	D stem = 2 cm	23, 24	
<i>Small, black-polished</i>		See above		
<i>Small, slipped/burnished gray ware</i>	YH55681.1	D base = 11 cm	23, 24	
	YH57627.1	D rim = 14.5 cm		
	14012 P 6618	D rim = 15.6 cm, D base = 6.9 cm	23, 24	
	YH57308.1	D base = 12 cm		
	YH57320.1	D stem = 3 cm		
<i>Large, slipped/burnished gray ware</i>	YH35441.2	D base = 14 cm; probably not from locus 692 or 708		
	YH57624.1	D base = 14 cm		
	YH57346.1	D base = 16 cm		
	YH55696.1	D base = 17.6 cm		
	YH55698.1	D base = 18 cm		
	YH55680.1	D rim = 30 cm	23, 24	
	YH53504.1	D stem = 4 cm		
	YH56115.1	D stem = 5 cm		
	YH56118.1	D stem = 6 cm	25, 26	
	<i>Very large, slipped/burnished gray ware</i>	14004 P 6610	D base = 16 cm	25, 26
14005 P 6611		D base = 18 cm	25, 26	
YH55657.1		D base = 19 cm		
YH57623.1		D base = 19 cm		
YH55679.1		D rim = 36 cm	27, 28	
YH55677.1		D rim = 37 cm		
YH57329.1		D rim = 40 cm		
YH55656.1		D rim = 41 cm		
YH55665.1		D rim = 41 cm	28	
YH54453.1/YH53702.1		D rim = 42 cm		
YH55678.1		D rim = 42 cm	27, 28	
<i>Probable large, slipped/burnished gray ware</i> (<i>stemmed dish?</i>)	YH57322.1	D rim = 24 cm		
	YH57339.1	D rim = 24 cm		
	YH57321.1	D rim = 26 cm		
	YH57626.1	D rim = 26 cm		
	YH57350.1	D rim = 28 cm		
	YH56131.1	D rim = 30 cm		
	14007 P 6613	D rim = 32 cm	27, 28	
	YH55674.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	YH56121.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	YH56126.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	YH56148.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	YH57318.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	YH57331.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	YH57333.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	YH57625.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	YH57629.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	YH57316.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	YH57335.1	D rim = 32 cm		
	<i>Probable very large, slipped/burnished gray ware</i> (<i>stemmed dish?</i>)	YH57347.1	D rim = 35 cm	
		YH57348.1	D rim = 36 cm	
YH57628.1		D rim = 36 cm		
YH57630.1		D rim = 36 cm		
14006 P 6612		D rim = 42 cm	27, 29	
YH55662.1		D rim = 42 cm		

Bowls		
<i>Black-polished</i>		See above
<i>Finger-grooved rim, buff</i>	YH55658.1	D rim = 18 cm
	YH55663.1	D rim = 22 cm
		30, 32
<i>Finger-grooved rim, gray slipped/polished</i>	YH57343.1	D rim = 13 cm
	YH53533.1	D rim = 16 cm
	YH55700.1	D rim = 17 cm
	YH51935.1	D rim = 18 cm
	YH53513/YH53856/YH53533	D rim = 18 cm
	YH56125.1	D rim = 18 cm
	YH57607.1	D rim = 18 cm
	YH55689.1	D rim = 19 cm
	YH55699.1	D rim = 19 cm
	YH56104.1	D rim = 19 cm
	YH56120.1	D rim = 19 cm
	YH57341.1	D rim = 19 cm
	YH55690.1	D rim = 20 cm
	YH56142.1	D rim = 20 cm
	YH53504/YH53506/YH53533	D rim = 21 cm
	YH53513/YH53533	D rim = 21 cm
	YH56101.1	D rim = 21 cm
	YH56117.1	D rim = 22 cm
	YH57302.1	D rim = 22 cm
	YH56143.1	D rim = 24 cm
	YH57342.1	D rim = 25 cm
	YH55692.1	D rim = 26 cm
	YH57613.1	D rim = 26 cm
	YH53869.1	D rim = 28 cm
	YH56111.1	D rim = 28 cm
	YH56107.1	D rim = 30 cm
	YH57616.1	D rim = 30 cm
	YH57614.1	D rim = 32 cm
	YH55675.1	D rim = 40 cm
	YH53974/YH53725/YH53964	D rim = 42 cm
	YH55676.1	D rim = 42 cm
		31, 32
<i>Plain rim, buff</i>	YH55659.1	D rim = 18 cm
	YH55671.1	D rim = 19 cm
	YH55664.1	D rim = 20 cm
	YH55660.1	D rim = 21 cm
	YH55661.1	D rim = 22 cm
		33, 34
<i>Plain rim, gray slipped/burnished</i>	YH51502/YH41238/YH51242/ YH51501	D rim = 8 cm
	YH56103.1	D rim = 9 cm
	YH53513/YH53865	D rim = 15 cm
	YH56102.1	D rim = 15 cm
	YH56134.1	D rim = 16 cm
	YH57344.1	D rim = 16 cm
	YH56116.1	D rim = ca. 16 cm
	YH53954/YH53866/YH53865	D rim = 18 cm
	YH55695.1	D rim = 18 cm
	YH57604.1	D rim = 18 cm
	YH57608.1	D rim = 18 cm
	YH57610.1	D rim = 18 cm
	YH57622.1	D rim = 18 cm
	YH56119.1	D rim = 19 cm
	YH56130.1	D rim = 19 cm
	YH56137.1	D rim = 19 cm
	YH56138.1	D rim = 19 cm
	YH56145.1	D rim = 19 cm
		33, 34
		33, 34

	<i>Identification Number</i>	<i>Comments</i> (<i>D = diameter; H = height; int = interior</i>)	<i>Figures</i>
	YH56147.1	D rim = 19 cm	
	YH57349.1	D rim = 19 cm	
	YH57602.1	D rim = 19 cm	
	YH57603.1	D rim = 19 cm	
	YH57605.1	D rim = 19 cm	
	YH57611.1	D rim = 19 cm	
	YH57617.1	D rim = 19 cm	
	YH57621.1	D rim = 19 cm	
	YH56132.1	D rim = 19.5 cm	
	YH56112.1	D rim = 20 cm	
	YH56139.1	D rim = 20 cm	
	YH57618.1	D rim = 20 cm	
	YH57620.1	D rim = 20 cm	
	YH56110.1	D rim = 21 cm	
	YH56114.1	D rim = 21 cm	
	YH57619.1	D rim = 22 cm	
	YH56124.1	D rim = 24 cm	
	YH56146.1	D rim = 24 cm	
	YH57601.1	D rim = 28 cm	
<i>Ridged, red slipped</i>	YH55667.1	D rim = 38 cm	34
<i>Grooved, gray</i>	YH55673.1	D rim = 31 cm	
<i>Offset rim, gray</i>	YH56133.1	D rim = 27 cm	
<i>Ledge rim w/lugs</i>	YH56141.1	D rim = 28 cm	
<i>Rim w/groove on exterior</i>	YH57304.1	D rim = 18 cm	
	YH57612.1	D rim = 18 cm	
	YH57301.1	D rim = 19 cm	
	YH57345.1	D rim = 19 cm	
<i>Wheel ridge on exterior</i>	YH57608.1	D rim = 18 cm	
<i>Pinched rim</i>	YH57609.1	D rim = 15 cm	
<i>Squared, ledge rim</i>	YH57615.1	D rim = 36 cm	
Jugs and Jars			
<i>Black-polished</i>		See above	
<i>Buff</i>	YH55669.1	D neck = 9 cm	38, 40
	13995 P 6603	D neck = 9 cm	38, 41
	13978 P 6588 and 13999 P 6606		42
<i>Red friable fabric, with red and white slip</i>	13986 P 6596	D neck int = 7.5 cm	38, 40
<i>Large slipped/burnished gray trefoil</i>	YH55685.1	D neck = 11 cm	
	YH53697.1	D neck = 11 cm	
	YH56105.1	D neck int = 8 cm	37, 38
	YH56108.1	D neck int = 6.5 cm	
	YH57634.1	D neck int = 10 cm	
	YH57639.1	D neck int = 11 cm	
<i>Large slipped/burnished gray round mouth</i>	YH56106.1	D rim = 8 cm	35, 36
<i>Large slipped/burnished gray cutaway mouth</i>	YH57637.1	D neck = 89 cm	
	SF 96-151	D neck = 6.4 cm	
	YH53968.1	D neck = 11 cm	35, 36
<i>Large painted trough-spouted</i>	SF 95-332	D neck = 10 cm	39
<i>Unidentified import</i>	YH55666.1		43, 44, 45

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