

The Collapse of Empire at Gordion
in the Transition from the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic World

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Abstract: Gordion, ancient capital of Phrygia, was a large and thriving city of secondary importance during the period of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (ca. 550-330 BCE). Recent work makes possible a reconsideration of the site: evaluating its architecture, finds and use of landscape within and after the socioeconomic and administrative context of the Achaemenid imperial system enables the following new overview. During the Achaemenid period, Gordion's populace participated in the broad cultural exchanges enabled by the imperial system and may have emphasised animal husbandry. When Alexander's conquest led to the collapse of Achaemenid administrative infrastructure, the impact on Gordion's economy and cultural circumstance was profound. Its population plummeted, the architectural and spatial organisation of the site changed dramatically, and new directions and means of trade and cultural interaction developed. Gordion's archaeological remains reflect and emphasise the tremendous historical and political changes attending the end of empire and the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

Ozet: Frigya'nın antik başkenti Gordion, Akhaimenid Pers İmparatorluğu döneminde (MÖ. 550-330) ikincil öneme sahip büyük ve gelişen bir şehirdi. Yapılan son çalışmalar bu bölgenin tekrardan değerlendirilmesine imkan vermiştir. Mimari özelliklerinin incelenmesi, bulgular ve arazinin Akhaimenid İmparatorluk sisteminin sosyo-ekonomik ve idari bağlamı süresince ve öncesinde kullanımının gözlenmesi yeni bir genel bakış açısı sağlamıştır. Akhaimenid döneminde Gordion nüfusu, imparatorluk sisteminin sağladığı imkan ile, geniş kültür alışverişinde bulunmuş ve hayvancılığına önem vermiş olabilir. İskender'in fethi ise Akhaimenid idari altyapısının çökmesine ve Gordion ekonomisi ile kültürel durumu üzerinde derin etkiler bırakmasına sebep olmuştur. Gordion'un nüfusu oldukça düşmüş; bölgenin mimari ve mekansal organizasyonu önemli ölçüde değişmiş ve ticaret ile kültürel etkileşim için yeni yollar ve yöntemler ortaya çıkmıştır. Gordion'un arkeolojik kalıntıları, bir imparatorluğun bitişi ve Helenistik dönemin başlangıcına ait süreçten muazzam tarihi ve politik değişimleri yansıtır ve onlara vurgu yapar.

Gordion was the capital of ancient Phrygia, and what happened there at the end of the Achaemenid Persian Empire after Alexander the Great sliced the Gordian Knot in 333 BCE is unusually well documented in the archaeological record. The site of Gordion had had an illustrious historical past, one that was also embellished into a mythic past that could be revisited and reused in succeeding eras. The golden glories of King Midas were legendary, and the vast tumuli on the ridges and roads approaching the site certainly served as reminders of his power and wealth. But by the time the Achaemenid Persian armies arrived in central Anatolia in the mid-sixth century BCE, Gordion had already been subsumed into the expanding Lydian kingdom and had lost its position as an international "player" in political-military terms (**Figure 1**).

Achaemenid Gordion: An Overview

During the Achaemenid Persian period, ca. 550-333 BCE, Gordion was not a regional or satrapal capital, but it was large and productive, with opportunity to draw on many cultural influences and ideas in the life and behaviours of its inhabitants. It was on a branch of the road network that linked the different areas of the Achaemenid empire to each other, and it participated vigorously in the political economy of the empire.

Because there is minimal textual evidence either at or about Gordion during this period or the following Hellenistic period, we are primarily reliant upon the material record to understand the nature and development of the site and the behaviours and concerns of its inhabitants. The inhabited parts of Gordion in the Achaemenid period included a fortified Citadel Mound as well as two walled residential districts, the "Lower Town" and "Outer Town" (**Figure 2**). The city may have reached its greatest extent during this time, and indeed the three districts together have a combined area of ca. 100 ha, roughly comparable to contemporary Athens or the regional imperial capital of Sardis in western Anatolia with 120 ha each (Rose 2017: 147 for the combined area; for the size during the Achaemenid period see Voigt, Young 1999). Both the Citadel Mound and Lower Town at Gordion show an increase in domestic architecture during this time. The western part of the Citadel Mound and the Lower Town seem to have been quite extensively built with pit houses during the Achaemenid period, generally small structures with cellars often lined with stones (Voigt, Young 1999) (**Figure 3**).

The fortification wall surrounding the Citadel Mound at Gordion during the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period had been built long before, at the beginning of the Middle Phrygian period. It was part of the major reconstruction and renovation that happened around 800 and continued into the eighth century (for the date, see the contributions to Rose, Darbyshire 2012 and Rose 2013; for the "Unfinished Project," see Voigt 2012) (**Figure 4**). The wall seems to have remained standing throughout the era of Achaemenid rule. The enormous gate complex of the Middle Phrygian period was probably still in use at the time the Spartan king Agesilaos attacked the citadel in 395 BCE, as

suggested by the host of arrowheads found by Rodney Young just outside the main citadel gate (Gönen et al. 2018 and refs). The gate collapsed at some point later in the fourth century, however, and the collapse of other buildings on the Citadel Mound probably in the early fourth century has led some to suggest an earthquake (deVries 1990: 388-391; Rose n.d.).

The megarons of the Middle Phrygian period on the eastern side of the Citadel Mound at Gordion had apparently housed public and ceremonial functions: Megaron 2, for instance, may possibly have served as a religious or cult centre (Rose n.d. and refs). They were altered in various ways in Achaemenid times, mostly to make them smaller and sometimes to change their orientation (Fields 2011; Rose n.d.). In some places the function of the Middle Phrygian megarons seems to have been adopted by smaller buildings in the Achaemenid period (**Figure 5**).

The Painted House, constructed ca. 500 BCE, exemplifies this process (see Rose n.d., who establishes the date on stratigraphic grounds as well as stylistic. Suzanne Berndt-Ersöz is completing the definitive publication of the Painted House. This description draws on Young 1955, 1956, 1957; Mellink 1980; Fields 2011; <http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion/history/achaemenid>

-gordion/; Rose, Darbyshire 2016; Rose n.d.). The Painted House was highly unusual — a very small, partly subterranean building inserted between the back-ends of two pre-existing (Middle Phrygian) megarons, Buildings C and G, both of which fronted onto the Outer Court just within the citadel gate. The entrance of the Painted House was unlike any other in the citadel. Instead of being oriented toward the courtyard, it faced the opposite direction. The main room, measuring 4.50 x 3.75 m with a floor ca. 1 m below ground level, was reached by descending a twisting flight of steps to a vestibule, before turning into the room. The narrow, crooked approach and sunken nature of the room, sandwiched as it was between the megarons, meant that it probably had little or no natural light (**Figures 5 and 6**).

The walls of the vestibule were originally decorated with a mosaic of terracotta pegs, nearly 1,000 of which were found on the grey-blue stucco floor. The walls of the main room were originally covered with painted frescoes that included several figural friezes. The largest of these was about 60 cm high and featured a procession of human figures, probably arranged in two groups moving along the walls at left and right and meeting on the back wall opposite the door. The majority of the figures appear to be women dressed in brightly coloured garments with elaborate jewellery, at least one of whom is holding her hand before her mouth (**Figure 7**). The building clearly had some specialised function, possibly cultic based on its approach and decorations. Its location, above the Early Phrygian Megaron 2 that may also have had some sort of ritual purpose, may also be telling. The style of its paintings provides a clear visual link to the wall paintings of Achaemenid Lydia (Mellink 1980; for the paintings of Achaemenid Lydia at, e.g., Harta, see Özgen, Öztürk 1996: 36-39). The Painted House suggests wide-ranging contacts and close interaction with western Anatolia. It also demonstrates how much we do NOT know about life — and cult — at Gordion in the Achaemenid period.

The elaborate Mosaic Building, built over part of the Middle Phrygian Building A atop the fortification wall, also dates to the Achaemenid period and apparently also housed activities previously conducted in a megaron. It probably had some public administrative function (see esp. Rose n.d, and also, e.g., Young 1953: 11, 14, Fig. 10; Dusinberre 2008, 2013: 60-62, 284; for its date, see Glendinning 1996: 23-25; Sams 1994: 825; Roller 1991: 134 n. 37; for Building A, see Burke 2012 and refs). The Mosaic Building had a multi-room layout with an axial approach: a paved court of large, worked andesite blocks led to rooms roofed with painted tiles and decorated with colourful pebble mosaics in meander patterns, first an anteroom and then a possible throne room (**Figure 8**). One red-painted column base still stood in its original position when the building was excavated, and there was once probably a matching base on the other side of the entrance. To the rear was another room with a colonnaded entrance fronting onto the Citadel. Brian Rose suggests this rear room with its monumentalised opening into the Citadel may have been the spot where the Cart that included the Gordion Knot was on display (Rose n.d.).

In a robber's trench along a wall of the Mosaic Building was found a beautiful agate cylinder seal with imperial Achaemenid iconography and an Aramaic inscription citing someone with a Persian name (Dusinberre 2005: Cat. No. 33, 2008, 2018; Gordion fieldbook 30: 133) (**Figure 9**). The elite associations of its material and iconography, combined with its ownership by a personage of Persian name, document the presence here of a distinguished individual with Persianising inclinations and connections (even if not necessarily an ethnic Persian). The retrieval of this artefact at this spot also indicates the whole world of administrative transactions that required ratification by a seal. Thus it is corroborative evidence for some sort of public function for the Mosaic Building, which may have satisfied the administrative needs previously filled by the megarons of the eastern mound. We shall return later to the issue of seals as they indicate shifts between Achaemenid and Hellenistic Gordion.

The Mosaic Building was built next to and on top of part of Building A — and Building A was modified during the Achaemenid period to add columns along its front (Burke 2012; Rose n.d.). What this meant, as Rose has remarked, was that if one entered through the Gate and turned left along the street toward the south, s/he would

have passed three buildings with columns adorning their fronts: the Gate's South Court, Building A and the Mosaic Building (see Figure 5). The path would thus have resembled, to some extent, a colonnaded street. At least one of the rooms in Building A had also had its vestibule adorned with a pebble mosaic, too, so it seems that the building may have been being overhauled and made more elaborate altogether. As Rose suggests, perhaps this was all part of a remodeling designed to make the approach to the Mosaic Building monumental and impressive.

A change in movement and use of space on the eastern part of the Citadel Mound is indicated by the construction of the so-called Yellow House, possibly in the fifth century, that was situated directly in front of the pylon that used to lead to the Inner Court (Edwards 1959: 266; Fields 2011: 74-75) (**Figure 10**). Only one room of the building was excavated, but the excavators believed that it originally encompassed several rooms. The Yellow House thus blocked access between what had been the Outer Court to the south and the Inner Court to the north and demonstrates a major shift in direction of movement during the Achaemenid period.

A house with columns was built over what used to be the Enclosure Wall of the Inner Court apparently in the fifth century. This single room structure is called "The Room with Columns", and overlay the enclosure wall of the Inner Court (Rose n.d.). Despite the simplified drawing presented in Figure 5, it appears to have been a polygonal building rather a rectangular one, wrapped around the enclosure wall of the Inner Court and utilising it as part of the new building. It may therefore have had an L-shaped plan. Although the Enclosure Wall of the Outer Court remained intact, that of the Inner Court, at least in this area, must have been dismantled by this point.

The southeast corner of the building featured two columns in antis; one Achaemenid-style column base was retrieved and suggests a date probably contemporary with the Mosaic Building in the early fifth century (Rose, n.d.). The building had a good plaster floor and a large number of decorated roof tiles were uncovered in and around the building, of the same type as those used for the Painted House and the Mosaic Building. It was thus a building of some significance, although its actual function is unclear. Rose suggests that the entrance to the building must have been situated at the southwest (Rose, n.d.). He points out that it would have been approached along the corridor that was flanked at the west by the back,

or northeast side, of the Terrace Buildings, and at the east, by the Enclosure Wall of the Outer Court. By this point in the early fifth century, as he has ascertained, most and perhaps all of the corridors between the Terrace Buildings had been blocked at their northeastern ends, so the western side of this new avenue would have appeared a relatively continuous wall.

Additional evidence has emerged for entirely different activities on Gordion's Citadel in the fourth century. Part of the eastern mound seems to have been converted to industrial activity during the course of the Achaemenid period (Fields 2011: 61). This included metalworking and also a new industrial specialisation, working the low-quality alabaster that was readily available in nearby outcrops (for an ironworking foundry, see Young 1955: 3, 10; Sams and Voigt 1990: 79; Voigt, Young 1999: 220, 224; Fields 2011: 24. For the alabaster, see, e.g., Marsh 2005: Table 13-1; Marsh, Kealhofer 2014: 690 and fig. 1). The public and ceremonial functions served by the great megarons of the Early and Middle Phrygian periods in this area were apparently no longer necessary, or at least no longer situated here, by the fourth century BCE. Instead, this once imposing area now served in part as the locus of small-scale industry. This is a major shift in function.

Thus the eastern part of Gordion's Citadel Mound was clearly being used in very different ways by the end of the Achaemenid period than it had been at its start. This did not happen in one fell swoop immediately upon the departure of Cyrus' armies. Instead, we see here a gradual evolution of the physical urban landscape in Gordion over the course of the Achaemenid period.

Gordion's ceramic assemblage during the Achaemenid period included a significant increase in imports over earlier periods, as well as a change in locally-made pots to incorporate more vessels of distinctly Iranian or Greek shape, finished in ways that increased their resemblance to the foreign wares and decreased their similarity to the vessels of Phrygian tradition (Dusinberre 2013: 124-126 with refs). Such changes were most obvious in the vessels used for the serving and consumption of wine. But it is the skyrocketing number of imported vessels associated with drinking that is most notable.

The ceramic vessels used at Gordion during the Achaemenid period demonstrate a real contrast to those at the politically important site of Sardis in western Anatolia, for, unlike Sardis, at Gordion Attic imports were highly popular during the Achaemenid period (**Figure 11**). Their numbers dwarf those found at Sardis: the amount of fifth- and fourth-century Attic imported pottery at Gordion is ten times as high as that at Sardis (Kathleen Lynch is studying the Greek imports at Gordion and will shortly publish the definitive volume on them. The information in the next few paragraphs is drawn from DeVries 1980, 1996; Lynch, Matter 2014; Lynch 2016; <http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion/history/achaemenid-gordion/>. I am grateful to Lynch for sharing ideas and images with me in person and via email on these and related matters in 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017. For the local wares and their interaction with imports, see, e.g., Sams 1979, 1994; deVries 1977, 1980, 1988, 2000; Henrickson 1993, 1994, 2005; Dusinberre 2013: 125-126).

Although ceramics were also imported to Gordion from Corinth, Sparta and western Anatolia, pottery from Athens dominated imports — and indeed, this is the farthest inland that we see significant quantities of imported Attic pottery (Lynch 2016). The inhabitants of Gordion in the Achaemenid period imported very fine quality red-figured pottery, including a white-ground cup attributed to the Penthesileia Painter. Some of the figural wares featured scenes with eastern barbarians, perhaps in an effort to target an export market (see O'Donovan n.d.; Lynch n.d.). Thus a group of Attic rhyta by the Sotades Painter and decorated with Amazons, for instance, apparently combined Athenian notions of how easterners ought to look with how they thought easterners liked to drink (including out of what shapes of cup) (**Figure 12**). And Athenian black-gloss cups with incised and stamped patterns were also popular by the late fifth century.

The imported ceramic forms were primarily for drinking, particularly cup shapes and kraters, but other banqueting vessels such as oinochoai and lekythoi are also to be found. It is unclear whether these Greek shapes were used in the same ways at Gordion as they were in the Greek symposium context. It does not appear that the inhabitants of Gordion imported entire banqueting sets, so it is likely that the imports complemented indigenous drinking and dining practices.

A similar taste for imported vessels related to banqueting may be seen in the spectacular glass finds from Gordion (Janet D. Jones is publishing this remarkable corpus; I am grateful to her for sharing her detailed, thoughtful, expert manuscript with me and for discussing its implications. See also von Saldern 1959; Jones 1995, 2005, 2009). This is a category of artefact that is exceptionally well represented at the site. In the Achaemenid period, the rich sample of glass includes many core-formed glass bottles, imported to Gordion from Rhodes in the fifth century and from Macedonia in the fourth. Gordion's inhabitants were enthusiastic users of perfumed oils and preferred elegant imported Greek containers to hold them — whether glass bottles or ceramic lekythoi. Gordion is the farthest east that the Mediterranean Core-Formed Bottle Groups I and II have been found; the pattern of glass imports thus mirrors that of Attic ceramics.

Religion in Achaemenid Gordion offers another glimpse into the life and concerns of its inhabitants under Persian rule, and the patterns of cultural interaction between Phrygia and Greece attested in the ceramic and glass records are also to be seen in the visual expression of cult (for Greek-Phrygian contacts, see Naumann 1983: 137; Rein 1996; Roller 1991: 131 and n. 15; Roller 1999: 106. For cult at Gordion, see Roller 1999: 192). The local goddess Matar, or Kybele, remained popular even as manners of expressing her iconography took on a western Anatolian or east Greek appearance beginning already in the later sixth century. In this way Gordion fits well into what we now understand to have been a standard Achaemenid Anatolian pattern of significantly increased cultural sharing and interaction (Dusinberre 2013: Ch. 6).

The second half of the sixth century saw the introduction of a new figural typology, a series of seated sculptures in terracotta and stone showing the goddess seated on a formal throne (Naumann 1983: 19-20; de la Genière 1985: 704; Roller 1999: 105). This portrayal may have emerged from the renditions of mid-sixth-century Ionia and demonstrates an increase in visual communication during the Achaemenid period in Anatolia. One example from Gordion adopts the Greek pose but retains Phrygian costume, and the goddess continues to hold a traditional Phrygian bird of prey in her arms (Naumann 1983: 118-122, pl. 14, figs. 3 and 4; Roller 1991: 121-32 and pl. 3b). In addition to ritual practices suggested by these small sculptures, it seems that the great outdoor Phrygian sanctuaries continued in use, including at nearby Dümrek and at Midas City (Dusinberre 2013: 210-212, with refs).

Significant administrative activity is well attested at Gordion during the Achaemenid period. There was an enormous increase in the number of seals at Gordion during this time, particularly of ones that reflect Achaemenid ideas and iconography (Dusinberre 2005, 2008, 2010, 2018. Only three seals were excavated at Gordion that date to the Early Phrygian period and fourteen to the Middle Phrygian; see Dusinberre 2005). By contrast, fully twenty-nine Achaemenid-period seals have been excavated at Gordion, more than twice as many as from any other period in the site's history. They strongly suggest an upswing in imperial bureaucratic activity and demonstrate that Gordion's inhabitants participated ideologically as well as practically in the administrative activities of the empire. In this way, Achaemenid imperial structure bound Gordion and the other centres of Anatolia together in terms of political economy and administrative apparatus, and it interwove them with the far greater expanse of the empire overall (**Figure 13**).

Unlike the Early and Middle Phrygian periods, when the few seals found at Gordion were crafted from local materials, during the Achaemenid period the seals were made of a wide variety of materials — including lapis lazuli, faience, meerschaum and glass as well as agate, alabaster and chalcedony (Dusinberre 2018 with refs). Although some were made locally and in a local style, many were imported from the farthest reaches of the Achaemenid empire as well as from elsewhere within Anatolia. The iconography that decorated the Achaemenid period seals also saw a great change from before, with distinctive imagery that rendered each seal recognisable and traceable to an individual user (**Figure 14**). The tremendous increase in numbers of seals, the fact that many were imported (perhaps even along with their users), and the recognition that an individual seal could be connected to an individual user, demonstrates a significant shift in administrative and bureaucratic practice at Gordion during the Achaemenid period. Personal accountability seems to have mattered in the imperial context — and it was shared by a lot of people. This links Gordion to other parts of the empire, in important ways. The seals show that Gordion was participating in the bureaucratic setup and administrative apparatus of the empire as a whole.

Environmental analysis shows that the land around Gordion was used with an emphasis on herding rather than farming during the time of the Achaemenid empire, and with a decrease in the amount of land that was irrigated

a real change from pre-Achaemenid Middle Phrygian times (Miller 2010: 51-59, 63-71; see also Miller et al. 2009). Indeed the land seems to have been overgrazed during the Achaemenid period, suggesting large numbers of animals roaming the landscape (Miller 2010: Fig. 5.21; Marston 2011: 202. See also Marston 2012: 392) (**Figure 15**). This is particularly interesting in light of the archaeozoological evidence: fully 72% of the major animal bones from this period are ovicaprid, and there are more than four and a half times as many ovicaprid bones dating to the Achaemenid period than any other phase of Gordion's history (Zeder, Arter 1994: Tables 3, 4, Fig. 3; Marston 2011: Fig. 4). The major transition from wheat cultivation to barley during this time may also indicate a concern with foddering animals since it seems at the Persian capital Persepolis, and in Babylon, barley rather than wheat was fed to animals (Marston 2011: 197. For Persepolis, see Hallock 1969; for Babylon, see van der Spek 2014; Paulus 2016). At the same time, the kinds of wood used for fuel during the Achaemenid period suggest significant anthropogenic pressures on the processes of forest succession, keeping the local forest structure from culminating in such "climax" species as juniper, oak and pine (Marston 2012: 391).

Taken together, the botanical and zoological evidence suggests large-scale herding of sheep and/or goats, perhaps to produce fiber for textiles or for meat. There is no direct evidence for overproduction or for exports afar, but this interpretation is one that explains the evidence discovered at Gordion so far and warrants future research. The suggestion may receive some indirect support from the fact that the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis show Anatolians bringing fleecy rams to the king. Of course, those sculptures are symbolically charged imperial declarations and not to be taken literally, but they do demonstrate that Persians at Persepolis associated Anatolia with ovicaprid husbandry (For the reliefs and their interpretation, see, e.g., Root 1979, 2007). This is particularly significant, given the great upswing in numbers of seals during the Achaemenid period and their demonstration of imperially-connected and individually-responsible administrative activities.

It seems very likely that Gordion in the Achaemenid period served as a locus for large-scale husbandry of sheep and goat flocks within the imperial context — a kind of focus on livestock that is clearly attested elsewhere in the empire by texts preserved on the tablets of the Persepolis Fortification Archive. This archive, excavated at the

Persian capital city Persepolis, records the disbursal of foodstuffs at and around Persepolis between the years 509 and 493 BCE. Thus, for instance, as one example of many instances of animal husbandry documented at Persepolis, ducks were fed, farmed and harvested in enormous numbers. One tablet, PF 2034, documents a staggering 1,333 fowls (of which 62 were ducks) dispensed on behalf of the king for consumption (Hallock 1969. For ducks at Persepolis, see PF 280, 697-98, 1722-1733, 1945, 2014 and 2034. Of course this does not mean the king binge-ate all these birds at once. For dining in Persia, see, e.g., Henkelman 2010 and refs; Dusinberre 2013: Ch. 4).

If indeed Gordion was a centre for sheep and goat husbandry operating within and as part of an imperial system, this explains the city's size, wealth and ability to import the quantities of elegant ceramics, glass and other artefacts attested in the material record of the Achaemenid period. The city would have had to be bound into the complex administrative infrastructure of the Achaemenid empire to move the animals (or their products) elsewhere and trade them. Such emphasis upon a single product would explain the cultural interactions demonstrated at Gordion not only with Europe but also with far-flung parts of the empire, including western Anatolia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran, Afghanistan and Egypt. A political economy focused on raising sheep and goats also fits with the sense that Gordion was of second-tier importance during the Achaemenid period, compared to such imperial capitals as Sardis in western Anatolia. But as we shall see, if this suggestion is true, it was a subsistence strategy that relied upon the empire for continuance; when the empire ended and its imperial infrastructure and political economy collapsed, so too did this way of life. Gordion, which had seen a gradual change even in Achaemenid times, changed dramatically in the Hellenistic period.

Hellenistic Gordion: An Overview

When Alexander passed through Gordion in 333 he is famously said to have sliced through the Gordian Knot, thus heralding his conquest of Asia by the sword. The legendary destruction of the Knot portended what was to be an actual transformation in life at Gordion, a transformation that is apparent in the archaeological record. The Hellenistic period saw enormous changes even before the arrival of the Celtic Galatians in the 260s, and the rest of this discussion focuses on that Early Hellenistic period. The arrival of the Galatians ushered in a further shift in population and lifestyle at Gordion, however, until the site was apparently abandoned after its conquest by Manlius Vulso in 189 BCE (for Galatians at Gordion, see, e.g., Mitchell 1993; Darbyshire et al. 2000; Dandoy et al. 2002; Voigt 2002; Kealhofer 2005; Selinsky 2005; Marston 2012: 381).

A decline in population and significantly less intensive use of the surrounding landscape mark Hellenistic Gordion (Voigt 2002; Kealhofer 2005; Marston 2012). The monumental buildings of the earlier citadel now afforded construction materials for very different structures, as the inhabitants took advantage of easily-obtainable stone to build new things. As described already, the great gate guarding the entry into the eastern Citadel Mound had probably collapsed even before Alexander arrived. The Lower and Outer Towns were abandoned during this period, while the Lower Town was used as a cemetery (Voigt 2002. The use of the Lower Town as a cemetery may have begun already shortly before Alexander's arrival; Andrea Berlin personal communication July 2017). It is a very different picture than that presented during the earlier Achaemenid period.

On the Citadel Mound itself, space was organised and used in very different ways even in the early Hellenistic period (**Figure 16**). All public and/or administrative facilities went out of use, and no replacements were built. Instead, over the entirety of this area and its impressive earlier buildings, the site's remaining residents constructed houses, all reasonably sized and fitted out. These do not follow any particular plan or norm: each of the houses is unique and although many houses share a certain northwest-southeast orientation, there is nothing like a grid (Wells 2012). Although there is evidence for a few cobbled streets, no evidence suggests they continued far or connected with each other. Martin Wells sums up the architecture of Early Hellenistic Gordion succinctly: "From the late fourth century BCE to the third quarter of the third century BCE, Gordion was a village of tight clusters of houses mixed in among scattered, modest-sized single household structures. The village does not seem to have been laid out according to a uniform plan. Patterns of stone robbing from the earlier Phrygian buildings suggest that houses were built where access to the materials was the easiest" (Wells 2012: 257; see also Wells 2013: Fig 146; Stewart 2010: 74 and refs). Berlin points out, however, that these new houses, modest as they were, were nonetheless a real step up from the pit houses of the preceding generations (personal communication September 2017). They offered more space and light — and by their very positioning, directly above what had been set-aside public space, they bespeak a kind of personal, non-elite autonomy not previously in evidence.

What is particularly intriguing is that a majority of the larger structures on the Citadel Mound share a stone-built corner storage bin, a distinctively Pontic or Black Sea feature (Wells 2012: 261; Lawall 2012: 224) (**Figure 17**). The recognition of a potential connection to Pontic architecture and behaviours at Gordion takes on greater significance when combined with the presence of Pontic amphorae, suggesting north-south trade along the Sangarios River with Pontic areas, if not necessarily the arrival of Pontic peoples at the site. During the early Hellenistic period, the numbers of imported amphorae at Gordion "were dominated by those from the southeastern Aegean and the Pontic region, with northern Greece represented primarily by stamped amphoras from Thasos" (Lawall 2012: 222) (**Figure 18**). Those Thasian imports, like the Pontic ones, probably arrived at Gordion along the Sangarios; their prevalence at Gordion in the Hellenistic period contrasts strongly with their almost complete contemporary absence in the Aegean (Stewart 2010: 82; see also Lawall 2012: 223).

In addition to the ceramic amphorae, Shannan Stewart has identified a likely Pontic fine ware that is common at Gordion in the Early Hellenistic period (personal communication July 2014, and see also Stewart 2010: 84-85). Of real interest is that "considerable quantities of coins and imported pottery" are present at Gordion in the early Hellenistic period — although these are almost completely absent after the arrival of the Galatians — and indeed the percentage of (non-Attic) black-slipped imports increases in the early Hellenistic period (Stewart 2010: 72, 82 n. 335). The type of these imports suggests trade along the route of the Sangarios, rather than along the overland routes that once connected Gordion to the rest of the Achaemenid empire. The imports to Gordion from Mesopotamia, Iran, Afghanistan, or Egypt end along with the end of the empire. This is a complete change in trade directions and type of objects being imported, a perhaps unsurprising result of the collapse of the Achaemenid Royal Road system in this area (Kosmin 2018). And, as it turns out, the developments in local ceramic production, and in the behaviours associated with ceramic vessels, were also very different.

Stewart has demonstrated that within a few decades of the collapse of the Achaemenid empire, potters at or

near Gordion were producing black-slipped wares themselves, imitating the imported Attic wares that had previously infused the Gordion scene, and probably supplanting them overall (Stewart 2010: 83; Andrea Berlin, personal communication February 2017). The most common shapes were fish plates, shallow echinus bowls, and everted rim bowls, of which the latter two shapes mirror traditional Phrygian shapes in form and function (Stewart 2010: 86) (**Figure 19**). Their prevalence suggests not new dining behaviours but rather an ongoing taste for Greek forms, while maintaining traditional dining behaviours that had also survived the cultural shifts of life in the Achaemenid empire. It is notable that the Greek-style vessels in use were now no longer imported directly from Athens, however, but made locally in imitation of Attic pots. The importance of this observation, and its corollary that older habits remained strong in cookery and at the table, is underscored by the fact that the locally made non-black-slipped vessels remain rooted in Phrygian tradition and make up the majority of ceramics in every phase of the Hellenistic period (Stewart 2010: 86-87 and refs).

It seems that cooking pots were used also as general-utility vessels in the city during this period (**Figure 20**). Many of the inventoried cooking pots show no evidence of burning but much evidence of use — suggesting they were used to soak and pound barley, fetch and hold water for cooking and cleaning, and various other utilitarian functions (Stewart 2010: 168). Traditional cooking pots were used for food preparation throughout the Hellenistic period to the near exclusion of every other type of cooking vessel — casseroles, pans, parchers and braziers. This suggests, as Stewart wryly comments, that the inhabitants of Gordion were not enthusiastic about experimenting with their established Phrygian culinary traditions (Stewart 2010: 169, 200).

The Hellenistic meal at Gordion was a relatively simple affair in most households. Dining in Gordion was without international pretention. Gordion's diners did not have individual place settings, and there seem not to have been large

serving vessels (Stewart 2010: 199-200, 229). Instead, a meal apparently consisted of many bowls and dishes containing a variety of foods passed around among the diners (**Figure 21**). One feature of the Hellenistic assemblage at Gordion really distinguishes it from the Achaemenid period and has to do with the types of seasoning used at table — and this reflects Greek notions of dining behaviours. Stewart explains (Stewart 2010: 229-230):

Salters and gutti supplemented the standard tableware in some houses and represent not only new shapes but also new modes of dining. Salters are too small for an individual serving of food but perfect as a container for herbs and spices made from fenugreek and coriander, the two condiments attested in the archaeobotanical remains. Gutti are specifically designed for pouring controlled amounts of liquid with the least amount of dripping and would have accommodated vinegar, oil, or honey. The appearance of gutti and salters at the <Early Hellenistic> Gordion table indicates that food was seasoned after it was served. Each diner would have had some degree of control over the flavor of his own food.

One new aspect was in the manner of drinking. Only a few households owned ceramic cups in the Hellenistic period, mostly imported vessels (Stewart 2010: 232-234). More common, apparently, were stylish imported vessels in a different medium. High quality elaborate moulded glass vessels show the lasting cultural influence of Achaemenid control in the Hellenistic period, the continuing influence of Achaemenid style and its imperial associations (again I am grateful to Janet D. Jones for sharing her work in progress with me; see also von Saldern 1959; Jones 1995, 2005, 2009). These were primarily wide shallow phialae and deep calyx cups, both decorated with various Achaemenidising combinations of rays, petals, almonds, or grooves. The majority of the

samples found were of extremely high quality decolourised glass, probably intended to imitate rock crystal. Also found was a spectacular hemispherical bowl in gold sandwich glass technique with a net pattern decoration that can be dated to the late third century (**Figure 22**). With such options as these available, the dearth of ceramic drinking vessels in the Hellenistic period makes sense.

Religious behaviour at Gordion in the Hellenistic period is, as is so often the case, tricky to trace, but there is currently no evidence for temples, sanctuaries, festivals, or priests at the site. There is some evidence for the use of the Greek language and the worship of certain Greek gods early in the Hellenistic period at Gordion (Roller 1987: 103-109; Wells 2012: 244, 269). The style and iconography of the terracotta figurines of the Hellenistic period show the extent to which Greek notions and practice had altered the traditional Phrygian representations of Kybele (Romano 1995; Gallart Marqués 2018) (**Figure 23**). Four "terracotta deposits" have been isolated at Gordion that date to the Hellenistic period, all of which include figurines of Kybele as well as other vessels such as bust-flower thymiateria (Romano 1995: 66-70; see also Wells 2012: 245-251). The scores of ceramic dining vessels accompanying two of the figurine deposits suggest that some of Gordion's inhabitants sponsored dining clubs associated with Kybele, a feature also known from Greek Meter cult. The prevalence of private or household cult at Gordion in the Hellenistic period thus offsets the seeming absence of public worship at the site.

Alabaster continued to be worked at Gordion during this period and was used at least locally in various ways, including for furniture elements and, also, seals. Twelve excavated seals from Gordion of the Hellenistic period are documented, all from domestic or industrial contexts. They show a dramatic shift from the 29 seals of the Achaemenid period and are thus more informative than their paltry number might imply (Dusinberre 2005: 27, 2018). Six of them are of local alabaster. All are carved with simple linear designs, and none shows wear or other evidence of much use (**Figure 24**). Of the remaining seals, one is of basalt with similar nondescript imagery, four are apparently stamps for bread or pots and the last one is an imported

anomaly. Thus only seven Hellenistic seals might have had functional similarity to the seals of the Achaemenid period, and they demonstrate a very different approach to using seals than had pertained earlier.

Overall the seals suggest that the administrative apparatus of the Achaemenid period had no parallel in the Hellenistic period: the Hellenistic seals are not readily distinguishable as recognisable representers of individuals and were unlikely to have been used as traceable indicators of specific persons. They probably served simply to show that something had been sealed, rather than being intended to link a particular action to a specific individual. And there are very few of them. They demonstrate a tremendous shift in society, administration, political-military significance and bureaucracy during the Hellenistic period.

The landscape around Gordion was less overgrazed in the Hellenistic period than previously, as Figure 15 demonstrates, probably reflecting the smaller human population of Gordion at the time as well as a vastly decreased number of sheep and goats roaming the area — perhaps only a third as many as had grazed the landscape in the Achaemenid period. Thus analysis of zooarchaeological specimens in 1994 drew on 37,543 bones for the Achaemenid period and 13,116 for the Hellenistic; of those 10,587 were identifiable for the Achaemenid period and 3,115 for the Hellenistic (see Figure 15 above) (Zeder, Arter 1994: Tables 1, 3; see also Miller 2010: 61, 62, 71). The paleobotanical evidence suggests that subsistence farming was the norm during the Hellenistic period, and this may also be supported by the larger percentage of cattle bones dating to this time (Miller 2010), as oxen would have been useful to draw ploughs. A turn to subsistence farming may also be indicated by the discovery of small numbers of Hellenistic grinding stones in practically every trench excavated, demonstrating household-level production of grain and flour (Stewart 2010: 75). The

inhabitants of Hellenistic Gordion exploited a wide variety of agropastoral strategies, and seem to have met their dietary needs with a diverse range of foodstuffs processed on a small scale (Marston 2012: 394).

Thus it seems that Gordion telescoped as a site almost as soon as Alexander left and the imperial infrastructure collapsed. Its population plummeted. The administrative structure of the site altered drastically. Major changes in land use were accompanied by major changes in domestic and public architecture. Large-scale public or administrative buildings fell out of use entirely, as did various industrial areas, replaced by simple domestic structures with no evidence for larger scale urban planning. People moved up onto the Citadel Mound and traded along the local river rather than traversing the elaborate Achaemenid-era road system. Certain kinds of Greek-influenced artefacts, imported or created at Gordion on a notable scale, were apparently not used according to Greek behavioural norms. Even before the arrival of the Galatians, the inhabitants of Gordion lived differently in the years after Alexander sliced the Knot than they had in the centuries before. At Gordion, the political-military change that was inaugurated by the momentary presence of Alexander and his legendary actions greatly affected the ways in which people lived.

The archaeological record at Gordion combines with other historical and archaeological evidence to demonstrate local response to breakdown of infrastructure after the end of the Achaemenid empire. Imperial collapse had major impact on people's lives at this site. Gordion had been located on the northern branch of the Achaemenid Royal Road as it crossed Anatolia (Young 1963; Dusinberre 2013: 47-49 with refs). This road went out of use in the Hellenistic period (Kosmin 2018). Although certain Achaemenid political and imperial structures remained in place or formed the basis for Hellenistic practices in various parts of the empire, some of them did not (Achaemenid continuities in the Hellenistic period are far too many and complex to enumerate here; see, e.g., Briant 1973, 1982, 1985, 1990, 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 2002, 2010; Sherwin-White, Kuhrt 1993; Kosmin 2013, 2014; all with extensive refs). Thus the road and trade networks that had bound together the Achaemenid empire and formed an essential part of its workings did not all survive the ravages of war and the constantly shifting political landscape that followed Alexander's conquest. With the collapse of empire, the administrative apparatus represented by Gordion's Achaemenid-period seals fell apart.

If it is true, as suggested here, that Gordion in the Achaemenid period served as a centre for sheep and goat husbandry, that was apparently possible because of the road and transportation networks, the established political economy of the Achaemenid empire, and its administrative bureaucracy. When those imperial features collapsed, so too did the political economy of Gordion. The end of empire brought about the end of a way of life at Gordion, a reformation in a significantly reduced size, with trade now moving along the Sangarios River rather than across the Royal Road network and with the life people could live at Gordion transformed.

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Although it is unusual in an "acknowledgements" section to cite published sources, the very recent nature of many essential publications on Gordion makes it seem appropriate to mention at least a few of them here. For Middle Phrygian Gordion (ca. 800-550 BCE), see, e.g., Anderson 1980, 2012; Voigt, Young 1999; Voigt 2002, 2005, 2007; Burke 2012; Rose 2012, 2017; all with extensive bibliography. For the fortifications, see most recently Gönen, Liebhart, Miller, and Dusinberre 2018. For the tumuli, see, e.g., Young 1981; Kohler 1995; Simpson 2010, 2012; Liebhart 2012; Liebhart and Stephens 2016; Dusinberre forthcoming. For Midas, see, e.g., Sams 1995; Sams and Voigt 2011; Ballard 2012; Amrhein, Kim, and Stephens 2016. For the local wares of the Middle Phrygian period, see, e.g., Henrickson 1994, 2005. G. Kenneth Sams is currently working on the ceramics and culture of the Middle Phrygian deposits

excavated by Rodney Young, while Kim Codella and Mary Voigt are preparing publication of the Middle Phrygian architecture excavated by Voigt's team; these publications will significantly enhance our understanding of Gordion.

There are many challenges to analysis of Gordion in Achaemenid/Late Phrygian/YHSS 4 (ca. 550-330 BCE) and Hellenistic/YHSS 3 (ca. 330-189 BCE) times. The stratigraphic problems are ferocious and complex, the problems posed by archaeological record-keeping in the early years of the site's investigation scarcely less so. We can now finally begin to say something about what Gordion was like during the centuries under Persian rule thanks to the excavations and publications of Mary Voigt and her team, and the sleuthwork underway at the hands of Brian Rose, who is pulling together the Middle and Late Phrygian material excavated on the Citadel Mound under Rodney Young, as well as the work conducted on specific media by Gareth Darbyshire, Gül Gürtekin-Demir, Robert Henrickson, Janet Jones, Kathleen Lynch, Irene Romano, and Phoebe Sheftel, and the investigations into the ancient environment undertaken by Ben Marsh, Mindy Zeder, Jerry Dandoy, Canan Çakırlar, Janine van Noorden, Naomi Miller, and Mac Marston. An MA thesis written by Cincinnati graduate student Alison Fields in 2011 on the Late Phrygian material of the eastern Citadel Mound is notable for delving into often difficult excavators' fieldbooks as well as published material.

Thanks now to the work of Shannan Stewart (Ph.D. Cincinnati 2010) and Martin Wells (Ph.D. Minnesota 2012), the Hellenistic houses and ceramic sequence excavated during the Young era have recently been closely investigated and can be discussed in context. I am grateful to Stewart and Wells for permission to use their splendid Ph.D. dissertations. Wells' publication of his work, and a synthetic study of Hellenistic Gordion that is currently underway at the hands of Brian Rose and Andrea Berlin, will be essential additions to our understanding not only of Gordion but of central Anatolia in the Hellenistic period, and I am grateful to Rose and Berlin for sharing with me their work in progress. This overview remains deliberately general and summarising in order not to scoop those forthcoming publications.

This article could not have been attempted even a few years earlier; although it is by no means comprehensive, I hope it may offer a spur for ongoing discussion.

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N.B. ~ This page and the next are not included in the published Version of Account, which ends on p. 132.

CAPTIONS:

Figure 1. Map of Anatolia showing Phrygia and Gordion. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Map by Gabriel H. Pizzorno and Gareth Darbyshire)

Figure 2. Plan of Phrygian Gordion. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Plan by Richard Liebhart and Ben Marsh)

Figure 3. Achaemenid period pit-houses at Gordion. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Plan by Sondra Jarvis)

Figure 4. Plan of the Gordion Citadel Mound showing the Middle and Early Phrygian periods. (Gordion Archaeological Project. From an original plan by Martin Wells)

Figure 5. Plan of Gordion in the Achaemenid / Late Phrygian period, superimposed on the Middle Phrygian layout (Gordion Archaeological Project. Plan by Elspeth Dusinberre)

Figure 6. Plan of the Painted House. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Plan by Gareth Darbyshire and Ardeth Anderson, from an original by Christofis Polycarpou)

Figure 7. Fresco details from the Painted House: reconstruction watercolors by Piet de Jong, and (bottom right and centre) actual fresco fragments. (Gordion Archaeological Project)

Figure 8. The Mosaic Building. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Plan by Dorothy H. Cox)

Figure 9. Seal no. 100 from Gordion. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Photographer: Hüseyin Şen)

Figure 10. The Yellow House. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Plan by Joseph S. Last)

Figure 11. Comparison of Athenian pottery at Sardis and Gordion. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Graph by Kathleen Lynch)

Figure 12. Sotades Painter rhyton (Gordion Archaeological Project. Photographer: Signe Barfoed)

Figure 13. The Achaemenid empire. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Map by Karl Mueller.)

Figure 14. Achaemenid-period seals from Gordion. Top row, left to right: SS150, SS112, SS90, SS187. Middle row, left to right: SS44, SS246, SS9, SS73, SS75. Bottom row, left to right: SS199, SS56, SS100. (Gordion Archaeological Project.)

Figure 15. Paleobotanical and -zoological montage (Gordion Archaeological Project. After Arter and Zeder 1994, and Miller 2010)

Figure 16. Plan of Gordion in the Early Hellenistic period. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Plan by Martin Wells)

Figure 17. Corner bins in Operation 46. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Photographer:)

Figure 18. Stamped amphora handles. Top: Sinopean amphora stamp of Pasichares and Hekataios (SS225); bottom left: Herakleian amphora stamp with the eponym Kallias (I627); bottom right: Herakleian amphora stamp with the fabricant Archelas and the eponym abbreviation IA (SS110). (Gordion Archaeological Project. Photographer: Mark Lawall)

Figure 19. Early Hellenistic bowls from Gordion: echinus bowl (left); everted rim bowl (right). (Gordion Archaeological Project. Drawings by Shannan Stewart)

Figure 20. Hellenistic cooking pots from Gordion. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Photographer: Shannan Stewart)

Figure 21. Early Hellenistic pottery assemblage from Gordion. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Photographer: Shannan Stewart)

Figure 22. Hemispherical bowl from Gordion, in sandwich glass technique. Watercolor reconstruction by Piet de Jong (Gordion Archaeological Project)

Figure 23. Terracotta Kybele figurines from Gordion. (Gordion Archaeological Project)

Figure 24. Hellenistic seals from Gordion. Left to right: SS211, SS127, SS279, SS210, SS119, SS74. (Gordion Archaeological Project. Photographer: Elspeth Dusinberre)