

The Classification of Objects from the Black Sea Region Made or Influenced by the Achaemenids¹

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Frequently, objects from the Achaemenid period are described as “Achaemenid” without a precise definition of the term being given. Often the term is used in a generalized way for objects produced within the Achaemenid Empire or during that period. Rarely have the artefacts been classified into various groups so as to make clear the degree of proximity to or dependence on the great Persian Empire and its centre.² This may be due to a reluctance to ascribe the Achaemenids with their own “art” and reference is always made to the eclecticism of objects produced under the Achaemenids.³ If more specific ascriptions result, then usually they refer only to a particular object or group of objects. One reason for the wide use of the term “Achaemenid” is that the material legacy of the Achaemenid Empire is marginal to many disciplines. Ancient history is concerned mostly with historical and political developments. Classical archaeologists and ancient Near Eastern archaeologists do occasionally include the legacy, but most only consider and label it from their own perspective.

In 2002, Jacobs noted this phenomenon and hoped to redress the balance by classifying the reliefs.⁴ What mattered to him most was to discuss the themes depicted and their origin and imitation – especially in Asia Minor – but he also discussed the layout of the monuments. Besides the contents of representations and the shapes of artefacts, my own research focuses on style from the aspect of the history of art. Accordingly, here I will attempt to draft various categories for small artwork and metalwork by marking off boundaries. The guidelines for the classification of these categories – proposed for the Black Sea region but equally valid for other regions of the Persian Empire – will be presented by means of examples. This attempt starts with a gradation of variation analogous to the distance from centre to periphery. The hope is to be able to apply this three-stage model to all the satrapies and neighbouring regions, whilst being well aware that this implies a generalization. In my opinion, the opposite approach, working from local characteristics of the time and relating them to the centre, has so far not led to any convincing differentiation. The density of influences is too diverse and the degree of adaptation too varied. Comparisons of various regions to determine the types of dependence in the

Achaemenid Empire cannot be carried out in this way. Therefore, here, as a trial run, a three-stage model of influence will be proposed. Finer differentiation would complicate the classification of the obviously heterogeneous material.⁵

These categories – the original as well as the grades of distance from the original – will be given “catchy names”, which will be easy to understand and allow quick reference.⁶ The proposed names are “court-style art”, “satrapal art” and “Perso-barbarian art”,⁷ and definitions of these categories follow.

Even if at first glance these names – especially that of Perso-barbarian art – seem provocative, they should be adduced on a trial basis. Court-style art refers to finds from the residences and palaces in Persia, built by the ruling Persians, and going back to the patriarch Achaemenes. The term Satrapal art is intended to clarify the trends in style produced in the courts of satrapies following the original, but allows various independent elements. The expression Perso-barbarian art denotes objects which are clearly steeped in the indigenous ideas of “barbarians”, in our case, in the regions bordering the Black Sea, fashioned in a way that is only reminiscent of the original. The term “style” is consciously avoided in favour of the all-inclusive term “art”. Thus, alongside considerations of art-historical style, characteristics such as appearance and form can also be included. The examples in the following paragraphs show that the boundaries between these three classes are not always clearly drawn and, inevitably, there is some overlap. This system follows modern ideas and is based on the material so far known. However, the general classification of an object that cannot be precisely classified, for example as a product of court-style art/satrapal art, is still significant, as it clearly shows a trend which can be helpful in a later evaluation of all the material. Thus, some artefacts are identified as overlapping between categories. A further limitation should be mentioned. The categories given above principally concern valuable objects, which is inevitable in respect of court-style art, but not for the other two categories. Simpler local variants, for example made from less precious materials, cannot always be precisely classified or else presuppose a system with subdivisions, which cannot be pursued here as it would lead to too fine a classification of the assorted material into a large number of subgroups. Therefore, here – in spite of some unavoidable reductions – I adopt a three-fold division, since it provides a suitable system in respect of the various stages of acculturation – in our case, in the Black Sea region. On the other hand, they should also be considered as chronological signposts. For western Thrace, above all, it will be accepted that objects which are purely Achaemenid come from the first decades of cultural contacts. In later periods, with the strengthening of the Odrysian Empire, there was little demand for original Achaemenid objects, especially containers with distinctive Achaemenid representations. In this connection, one can find one’s bearings from Aegean and Oriental ideals: the themes displayed follow Greek models whilst the external shapes follow Achaemenid models.

On the one hand, the classification presented here also affects the question of craftsmen; where they originated from and the nature of their training. Above all, this topic will be treated in respect of the postulated presence of eastern craftsmen in Greece and of Greek craftsmen in Scythia. However, an exposition of this often controversial discussion would not only go beyond the framework of this research but would also change the emphasis, and so, in what follows, it will only be touched upon in isolated cases.⁸ It should also be noted that both written⁹ and non-written sources are very rare. Here it should be noted that there were definitely workshops in the satrapies in which indigenous craftsmen prepared objects in court-style art.¹⁰

On the other hand, the connotation of these objects in the peripheral areas must be discussed. The artefacts in court-style art were certainly seen as presents from the Persian king to indigenous leaders.¹¹ In any case, the find circumstances in Thrace are all more recent than the direct Persian contact in the period after the campaign of Dareios I up to about 470 BC, when Thrace was probably a satrapy of the Persian Empire. The same applies to objects found east of the Black Sea. Therefore, they must basically have been “antique” objects which were placed in the graves of the leaders.

What is the context in which objects made in “satrapal art” style are to be placed? The question arises as to whether they are to be considered only as contemporary imitations of originals, as Archibald assumes,¹² or whether they must be considered as a conscious extension of the style of the great empire, as is proposed here.

Generally, objects of Perso-barbarian art are clearly more recent, as is apparent from their adoption from Greek art. As an example, for the western region of the Black Sea, vessels inscribed with the word “Kotys” can be mentioned. They are understood to be gifts from the Thracian king, Kotys (383/82-359 BC), to neighbouring leaders.¹³ The (inter)relationships of these three groups must be considered from various aspects.

Thus, the chronological classifications must be examined in order to determine whether they correspond to political movements, such as the expansion and withdrawal of the Persians. In addition, the topographical classifications must be considered. Were objects which stylistically are the least like court-style art found furthest away from the centre of the Achaemenid Empire? Similarly, the number of finds in the various regions must be cross-referenced because, in spite of the detail of the original material so far known, trends have yet to be established.

The question of the classification of types follows, as a difference in weighting between finds in the east and the west is conspicuous. As yet, there is a large amount of seals and decoration in court-style art only in the east, not in the west, which is rather poor in these “original” products. An evaluation of all the finds will throw new light on the spread of typical Achaemenid elements and thus allow a better understanding of the mechanisms of the cultural convergence and development, as the transfer of culture will be more

transparent and the acculturation in the various topographical regions can be described better.

Achaemenid court-style art

The expression “court style” (“Hofstil”) was coined by Furtwängler¹⁴ and made widely known by Boardman, who applied it to the classification of Persian stamp seals,¹⁵ even though “Empire style” had already been used by Herzfeld¹⁶ and occasionally also adopted, together with other terms, by Boardman for metalwork.¹⁷ Boardman explained the trend in style in glyptic through a lack of Greek influence and the presence of Assyrian influence. For Boardman were – in addition to the shapes of seals – places of production and iconographic elements relevant. Thus, alongside the motifs (for example, date palms, griffins), antiquarian features (such as pleated garments) were also criteria of the court style. Stylistic peculiarities had a secondary role, even though the reliefs from Persepolis provided a model. In what follows, the term is above all limited to glyptic products.¹⁸ Garrison¹⁹ tried for the first time to express this style in concrete terms and to stress its variety of shapes.²⁰ Since glyptic in general is subject to very many more influences than monumental art, in the meantime, very fine differentiations in style have been made.²¹

On this basis, a court-style art is presented here which, on the one hand, is much wider, as it can also be used for other types of products, but which, on the other hand, is narrower, as it is demonstrably orientated to products of the Persian court.²² Alongside pure stylistic elements in the sense of art-historical concepts, “style” characteristics are also listed. Basically, we can assume that, starting with Dareios I (521-486 BC), a style was created that remained decisive for the following generations. Therefore, it was dependent on representations in the Achaemenid palaces in Persepolis, Susa and Pasargadae.²³ The reliefs in Persepolis²⁴ in particular show a uniform style, which in the following almost 200 years was to be modified only slightly. The palace in Susa was also newly built under Dareios I²⁵ and lined with reliefs in glazed brickwork.²⁶

Basically, firm canons of form for the patterned strips and the shapes of the animals represented can be determined. All the elements, as well as the composition,²⁷ are marked by a formal rigidity as well as ornamentation and leave only little room for individual divergences.²⁸ In what follows, the most important stylistic elements will be set out.²⁹

As examples of continuing patterns, strips of rosettes,³⁰ which formally separate the reliefs of the various peoples, conifers³¹, which again frame the individual nationalities, as well as chequered plants³² can be mentioned. All the originally floral elements have almost become geometric shapes because of their ornamental images. The same applies to the friezes of lotus palmettes, which, for example, were found as a decoration on the bell-shaped bases in Persepolis.³³ Basically, it should be noted that any naturalness and movement³⁴ seems unwelcome (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Curtis & Tallis 2005, cat. no. 46.



Similarly, animals are predominantly represented in abstract form, since muscles and hair are turned into ornamentation.³⁵ In addition, a particularly symmetrical representation is striven for. Thus, on a lion's head there is a clear separation of the mane, which is indicated by a doubled line³⁶ or a collar of loop-shaped elements³⁷ or indentations.³⁸ The nose is marked by a double stepped – straight or round – line. Above the nose there are two round tips.³⁹ The lips are always grooved,⁴⁰ the snout often has a double border⁴¹ and the cheeks are indicated by one⁴² or two⁴³ horizontal tear-shaped elements. A thick bulge above the eyes pointing inwards can again assume this form.⁴⁴ Mostly, the ears are raised up hemispherically and the hair inside is occasionally indicated by parallel lines.⁴⁵ When a mane is shown, it is formed from several elongated lozenges standing on their points.⁴⁶ In many cases, their tips continue under in a curl or small wave, all bent to one side.⁴⁷ The lion's shoulders are not covered with the mane, they are marked with a sharp border, while frequently the belly hair on the side is bent slightly upwards in various ways.⁴⁸ The body itself is also marked off by various ornamentations, derived from abstract stylized muscles. While on the foreleg the stylized muscles can be indicated by an inverted "tulip"⁴⁹, the shoulder is almost always exaggerated by a doubled, framed element, which looks either like a figure of eight⁵⁰ or a pretzel⁵¹ or is formed from a circle and one tear-shaped element⁵² (pear-and-apple) or two.⁵³ In addition, there is a circular lump under the belly.⁵⁴ The hindquarters are also indicated by ornaments in the shape of a circle and one or two bean-shaped elements.⁵⁵ Occasionally the joint of the hindquarters is stylized with a small filled circle or a small filled figure of eight,⁵⁶ which in turn is surrounded by lines (to represent sinews).⁵⁷ The tuft can be shaped like an arrow, a heart or a bud⁵⁸ (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Boardman 2003, 135, fig. 3.34.

Other animals also show stylized parts of the body. On the bulls from Persepolis, the heads are separated by lines – stylized eagles – leading to the muzzle and jowls. The base of the long cone-shaped ears is round and lumpy⁵⁹ and the horns are slightly bent.⁶⁰ The eyes are round and the inner corner of the eyes can be emphasized.⁶¹ Often the brows over the eyes are separated inside by lines,⁶² an ornamentation also found on the caprids.⁶³ Conspicuous is the ornamentation of the mane. This frames the cheeks, decorates the crest and on the back closes as a semicircle, it runs down diagonally on the chest and, like a strip, can indicate the hair on the belly, back and hindquarters.⁶⁴ The same structure is also found in the shape of the beards on caprids.⁶⁵ Of course, beards on caprids – occasionally in two rows – can also be provided with a tongue pattern⁶⁶ or as fluted.⁶⁷ The horns of the caprids are recognizable by the schematically drawn, conspicuous natural annual rings. Typical of the horses is the curved forehead.⁶⁸ Calves are often distinguished by long ears, which are also typical in simplified representations, for example on bracelets.⁶⁹

Hybrid creatures combine the elements mentioned above. As an example, a brief description of the popular lion-griffins and bird-griffins can be given. Lion-griffins have the body and head of a lion, bird-griffins have the body of a lion and the head of a raptor. Both hybrids usually have long bulls' ears and curved horns, which can be shaped like a chain of balls⁷⁰ and provided

with a ball⁷¹ or ending like a sort of trumpet⁷² or rolled up.⁷³ Occasionally, the griffins have an upright crest, intended to emphasize the feature of a raptor.⁷⁴ As another important feature of Achaemenid court style, the bent wings of all the creatures can be mentioned⁷⁵ (Fig. 3).

The tendency towards ornamentation is also noticeable in the way humans are represented. Alongside a uniform rigidity of the forms – occasionally again interrupted by quite stiff movements, intended to indicate vivacity⁷⁶ – the details exhibit a great deal of abstraction. If individual parts of the body, for example, the hair, are considered separately, they never look realistic, but appear as a uniform pattern.⁷⁷

Here, typical features, relating to the shape and choice of motif and thus not belonging to the criteria of style for the history of art, will be included. Thus, one criterion in metalwork is the blending of a motif with the object. Very good examples are the ends of bracelets and necklaces as well as the handles of containers. Typically, the front part of the creature depicted – usually animals and hybrids rather than humans⁷⁸ – is in full relief, i.e. paws, wings etc., whereas the back part is in shallow relief. Often the relief is only



Fig. 3. Frankfort 1950, pl. 1.

recognizable on a second look, as it merges with the object.⁷⁹ A further possibility of the *pars pro toto* depiction is that only the head of an animal or hybrid creature is represented. As evidence are the decorations from containers⁸⁰ as well as from the numerous bracelets.⁸¹ A peculiarity of the shape of the bracelet should also be mentioned here. Opposite the opening they have almost a “wave”-shaped part running in the opposite direction, which originally would absorb the pressure on opening and closing.⁸² However, as is also found on cast bracelets filled with frit,⁸³ this feature seems later not to have been functional but to have become an ornamental feature of this group of material (cf. Figs. 5, 10, 14).

Particularly typical forms are the rhyton, the amphora with a spout and the bowl. Usually, a rhyton has a slightly open horn on top and a protome in the form of an animal or hybrid.⁸⁴ As on the bracelets, occasionally the rear of the creature’s body is blended with the vessel⁸⁵ (Fig. 4). Often there is an opening between the forelegs through which the drink can be poured directly into one’s mouth or into a bowl.⁸⁶ This shape of vessel, which is not without forerunners, was very widespread in later periods.⁸⁷ In contrast, amphorae with spouts are restricted to the Persian period. These are amphorae with two handles, and one handle has a tube-shaped extension and additionally serves as a spout, which is quite a refinement. In this way, function is combined with a perfect shape.⁸⁸ Alternatively, the amphorae can have a spout underneath and these are called “amphora-rhyta”.⁸⁹ The phiale is a shallow bowl or slightly raised bowl (known as “Achaemenid beakers”) with or without an omphalos.⁹⁰ Occasionally there is a “false” omphalos, i.e. the navel is not worked as a raised part of the body of the vessel but as a separate element placed



Fig. 4. Boardman 2003, 225, fig. 5.69.

inside the bowl.⁹¹ Already exceptionally popular during the Assyrian period, as illustrations⁹² and finds⁹³ show, the bowl was widespread especially in the Achaemenid period⁹⁴ and was also a popular shape in Greece.⁹⁵ As few bowls come from secure contexts in Iran, it is difficult to determine what the typical bowls of court-style art look like. Following the tradition of Assyrian models and the illustrations on the reliefs in Persepolis, pure geometric decoration can be seen as typical, the various patterns of which can be determined as variants of tongues, grooves⁹⁶, lotus blossoms and bosses. It should be noted that undecorated bowls cannot be placed in the categories given here.

In order to classify an object as court-style art, (almost) all the criteria mentioned above must be met. If there are deviations, then it is a product of satrapal art (see below). If there are significant changes and the objects only remotely evoke Achaemenid models, the objects belong to the group of artefacts produced by Perso-barbarian art (see below).

A few artefacts from the regions around the Black Sea can be mentioned as examples which correspond to court-style art. There is a huge number of these objects in the east.

Here can be mentioned two pairs of golden bracelets from Vani in Georgia. The first pair comprises two identically shaped bracelets, with the openings ending in caprid heads.⁹⁷ They are recognizable by the typical round shape of the eyes, which end in a point inside, the long ears, on the lower inside of which are signs of stylized hair, the two-pointed beard and fine twisted horns. The second pair consists of bracelets with U-shaped cross-sections, the open sides of which point outwards and were once filled with frit.⁹⁸ One bracelet ends in a lion's head, inside whose ears hair is indicated by hatched lines. The other bracelet has finials of calves' heads, with brows, double beards and long ears with details of fur inside them (Fig. 5a, 5b). The head seems to have been moulded following a standardized model, the shape and size of which fit the mould found in Persepolis⁹⁹ (Fig. 6). Besides its individual elements of style, the "wave" opposite the opening also shows that it unequivocally belongs to the court style. In Kertch on the Krim, two cylinder seals¹⁰⁰ were found, corresponding to court-style art. The first shows the king wearing a pleated

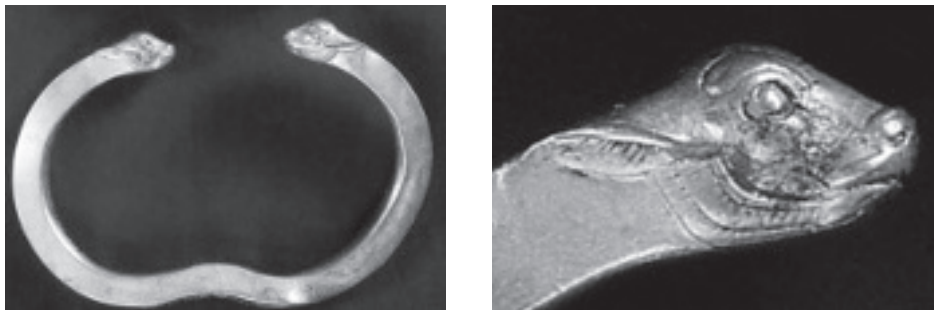


Fig. 5. Miron & Orthmann 1995, 149, cat. no. 148.

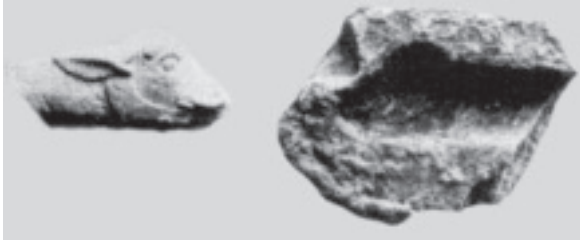


Fig. 6. Schmidt 1957, 79, fig. 16.

garment and a crown, vanquishing two Lamassu standing upright.¹⁰¹ Further motifs are a caprid standing upright and a winged sun with a human head hovering over the scene. It is framed by a date palm. There is also a second date palm on the second seal. Here, a Persian king wearing a pleated garment and a crown leads four prisoners behind him, while with his lance he presses down on a fifth, kneeling in front of him.¹⁰² Alongside the palm motif, which unequivocally belongs to the court style,¹⁰³ the compositions of the seals betray the stiffness mentioned previously, whether in the heraldic representation of the king defeating the hybrids or in the line-up of the prisoners.¹⁰⁴

It is difficult to classify objects from the region of Thrace west of the Black Sea as court-style art.¹⁰⁵ An example is a silver vessel with a neck but without a handle, which comes from the grave mound of Rozovec.¹⁰⁶ The body of the egg-shaped vessel seems to grow out of a lotus bud, its large grooved leaves embracing the body in relief. The shoulder is decorated with a tongue pattern, the neck left smooth (Fig. 7). There are no true models for the form in metal – based on the state of research today – found in an unequivocally Achaemenid context.¹⁰⁷ Two vessels of similar shape and size in glazed pottery from Persepolis have come to light¹⁰⁸ and also reliefs from the same place can be considered.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, ancient representations can help, since, even if on the reliefs from Persepolis only amphorae with handles are known, seals in the Achaemenidizing style demonstrate that bowls, handle-less containers and spoons belonged to drinking sets, as a Persian wife provides her husband with wine using such utensils.¹¹⁰ If we turn to the lotus decoration, it is clear that here a typical adoption from a great empire has taken place. The lotus pattern is also found on bowls which originally were decorated with ribs or tongues, and in Egypt this was a typical local decoration.¹¹¹ This decoration comes from lotus beakers with a tall stem, which show a transposition of a lotus blossom. Once accepted into the Achaemenid repertoire of shapes, vessels with this decoration were also acquired in the satrapies of the Achaemenid Empire.¹¹² The same applies to the tongue pattern, which perhaps in this period derived from a Greek milieu,¹¹³ but in the Near East it was already documented in the Neo-Assyrian period.¹¹⁴ During the Achaemenid period, this motif is found not only on the manes of caprids, but also as decoration on the façades of the tombs of the Achaemenid kings in Naqsh-e Rostam,¹¹⁵ as a border on parts of buildings in Persepolis¹¹⁶ and as decoration on the vessels, carried by the bringers of

Fig. 7. Bonn 2004, 232, cat. no. 238.



tribute, on the Apadana staircase.¹¹⁷ Therefore, this vessel combines disparate elements: an Oriental shape¹¹⁸ and two originally non-Oriental decorative elements, which, however, were incorporated into the art of the great empire. As these adaptations had occurred already at the start of the fifth century BC, they are elements – the tongue pattern more clearly than the lotus decoration¹¹⁹ – that should be added to the repertoire of court-style art. Thus the vessel can be placed in the category of court-style art. Several bowls with geometric decoration from Thrace also belong to this category.¹²⁰

Achaemenidizing satrapal art

This category includes trends in style which very closely follow court-style art and directly imitate it, but which, through omissions and the adoption of new elements of form or material, also deviate from it.¹²¹ However, this does not mean that the objects produced in the satrapies must necessarily deviate from the court style. Rather, the category denotes variously weighted trends in style in the respective satrapies that are very close to the original style. From the nature of these products, we can presume that they were probably made in the main towns of the satrapies.¹²²

As an example, a bull rhyton which comes from a hoard from Borovo can be mentioned¹²³ (Fig. 8a, 8b). Two other rhyta were discovered together with it, one with a horse protome, the other with a sphinx protome, as well as a vessel with a neck and a foot bowl. Whereas non-Persian influences are evident

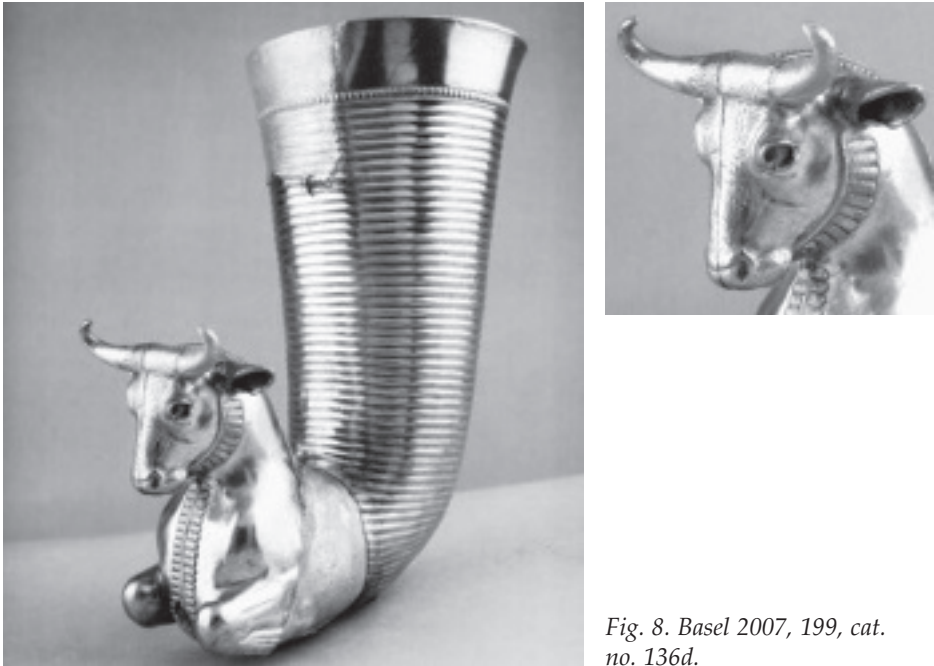


Fig. 8. Basel 2007, 199, cat. no. 136d.

in the other two rhyta, the bull rhyton is occasionally considered to be in the typical Achaemenid style.¹²⁴ At first glance, the elaboration of the bull appears exactly the same as in the representations on the capitals in Persepolis. There are the same shapes in the posture of the head and forelegs. The stylization of the eyes, the indication of veins on the face and the hair ornamentation on the belly, beard and back correspond to the court style. However, the way the hair is depicted on the back and the small circular hollows in the mouth do not occur on any of the court-style art models. These small alterations are intended to provide realism. Even when they are quite remote from reality, because they are so schematic, they still contradict the Near Eastern tendency for ornamentation and would be unthinkable in Achaemenid court-style art.¹²⁵

Common to all three rhyta¹²⁶ is the use of two colours. They were formed from silver, but the parts to be especially emphasized, such as the manes, hooves and geometrical decoration on the mouth of the horn, were gilded.¹²⁷ As far as I know, this technique was not employed for objects in the court style.¹²⁸ In any case, here it must be added that most court-style containers in precious metals do not come from academic excavations¹²⁹ but from the art market,¹³⁰ and, as a consequence, their authenticity can be doubtful.¹³¹ Bichrome objects from Anatolia are also known.¹³² A horse- or shield-decoration from the Oxus Treasure also seems to come from this region¹³³ and should provisionally be considered typical of the satrapies of Asia Minor. If, as Vickers¹³⁴ attempted to explain, the appearance of red-figured vases was influenced by partially gilded silver vases, this would mean that in Athens,

and thus probably also in Ionia, bichrome metal containers had been the standard.¹³⁵ A transfer of the use of two colours to products of satrapal art made in Asia Minor¹³⁶ would certainly seem possible.¹³⁷ According to Athenaeus, this technique was known in Lycia.¹³⁸ The Anatolian workshops may have served Thrace, as Boardman has previously suggested¹³⁹, and so it would not be surprising to find bichrome metal vessels there.

This result brings us to the well-known amphora from Duvanli (Fig. 9a). Generally, it is stressed as an especially good example of an Achaemenid vessel in Thrace.¹⁴⁰ All its features concur with the court style: the single elements and the ornamentation of the hybrids,¹⁴¹ the tongue pattern also known to the Achaemenids¹⁴² as well as the palmette-lotus frieze which is also found on tiles from Susa,¹⁴³ and, not least, the typical Achaemenid shape. Once the use of two colours, which is unusual for the court style, has drawn our attention, on closer inspection further deviations can be identified, even though only in the detail (Fig. 9b). Thus, underneath, in the stylized forequarters, in the spandrel of a quarter palmette, in the stylized shoulder, instead of the balanced relationship between a circle and a teardrop, is what is more like a circle, in the middle of which there is a stylized cowlick.¹⁴⁴ In addition, alongside the crests of the lion-griffins there are two rolled-up locks of hair underneath, a motif which originated in the Aegean.¹⁴⁵ On the basis of this small modification, as well as the overall colouring, the vessel should be accepted into the group of satrapal art, even though it is surprisingly close to court-style art.¹⁴⁶ Conceivably, such examples were produced either in Sardis or Daskyleion.¹⁴⁷

Fig. 9. *Basel 2007, 176, cat. no. 124.*



The craftsman who created the shape and the decoration could have been a Persian, who had been stimulated by local craftsmen, who in turn later also adopted the technique of gilding.

There is another type of foreign influence on two unusual vessels found far north of the Black Sea in Filippovka, kurgan 1, treasure pit 2. One is a silver rhyton, ending in a bull protome.¹⁴⁸ Although close to the original – for example the protomes of the columns in Persepolis – the slightly different way the body is handled as well as the sloping forehead indicate a foreign element. The second object is a gold amphora,¹⁴⁹ its handle made in the form of a leaping ram. As usual, the handle is covered with an animal relief on the underside and ends in lions' paws. Conspicuous on both objects is the lack of ornamentation on the bodies and also missing is the decoration on the vessel, such as fluting, etc., often found in court-style art.

A further example of satrapal art, clearly even more remote from court-style art than the vessels mentioned above, is a pair of bracelets found in Pichvnari in Georgia in a tomb¹⁵⁰ (Fig. 10). Both identically shaped bracelets are made of silver, and opposite the opening they have the typical Achaemenid "wave" and end in calves' heads. These show round eyes, simple fluted sideburns and long ears, inside which the details of the coat are depicted by hatching. A few criteria of court-style art are followed: silver is used very often for typical calf-head bracelets,¹⁵¹ the round ears and beards and the long ears are also part of the repertoire. However, clear differences can be noted: the heads do not merge with the bracelet, but seem to have been put on top, the brows over the eyes are missing and some simplification and rough fashioning are to be noted.

These three examples indicate how objects of satrapal art can be both close to and different from the original in various ways.

In the last section it was noted that for the bowls, due to the number of objects and the variety of their decoration, on the one hand, and due to the



Fig. 10. Gambaschidze 2001, 429, cat. no. 420.

lack of information concerning the original court-style art objects due to the unsatisfactory number of finds, on the other hand, allocation to the categories proposed here is difficult. Even so, I shall make an attempt to define satrapal art within this genre. First, bowls will be included which have a geometric pattern that diverges from bowls (phiale) belonging to court-style art. Examples are bowls from Pichvnari and Vani.¹⁵² The bowl from Pichvnari has an inner frieze of fan-shaped blossoms with bosses in the spaces between them. A comparable pattern is known from a bowl from Susa.¹⁵³ An outer frieze is made from a ring of fluting and is separated from the inner decoration by an emphatic bulge. This separation is unusual for Achaemenid bowls.¹⁵⁴ The bowl from Vani is decorated with three narrowly trimmed rows of bosses, all of which have a pronounced frame. Common to both bowls – and unusual for the court style – is a fine decorated strip running round the large omphalos, in one case a row of pearls with palmettes and in the second example with a tongue pattern. The other set of bowls which in my opinion should be added to the category of satrapal art are the ones decorated with figured ornamentation in the Achaemenid style. Even though, as far as I know, as yet only a small number of such objects from the Black Sea region are known, they still form an important transition point to Perso-barbarian art (see below). A good example is the Kazbek bowl from Georgia,¹⁵⁵ which has two parallels in Rhodes¹⁵⁶ (Fig. 11). On each of the bowls, between almond-shaped bosses, is

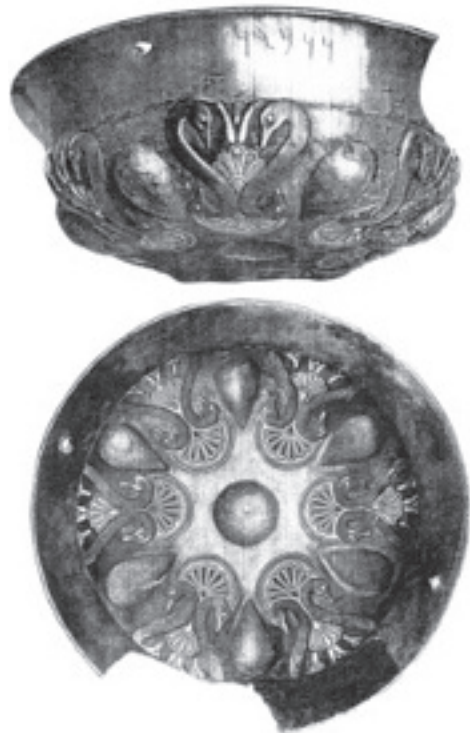


Fig. 11. Boardman 2003, 229, fig. 5.73a.

a pair of swans' heads whose long necks form a lyre-shaped element which is decorated with palmettes. Swan and duck protomes in the round have been found on stone vessels from Persepolis¹⁵⁷ and clearly show Achaemenid inspiration, which fuses a decoration of spandrel and palmettes. A few additional examples can better illustrate the group of artefacts decorated with Achaemenid-style figures. Thus, from the Oxus Treasure a bowl with bosses depicting lions walking upright is known, which has a parallel in a bowl from the art market with the winged and crowned figures of Bes with lions' bodies.¹⁵⁸ We have to include bowls belonging to the so-called "Lydian Treasure"¹⁵⁹ which are also covered with figures. Stylistically, they do belong to the Achaemenid style but, as with the figures of Bes, there is a noticeable shift in content.¹⁶⁰ Two rows of identical figures are depicted in gold on silver – a crowned figure in the Persian pleated garment, holding a lotus blossom in one hand and a ring or crown in the other. This iconography is unusual,¹⁶¹ as, strictly speaking, a deity would hold a ring¹⁶² and the king a lotus blossom.¹⁶³ Therefore, there has been a fusion, comparable to the figure of Bes on the bowls mentioned above.

Finally, yet another example for satrapal art from another area can be mentioned: from architecture. In Sidon a capital with two bulls¹⁶⁴ was found, which is related to the capitals from Persepolis,¹⁶⁵ even if it is more realistic and has softer contours. Even so, the ornamented manes, the brows over the eyes, the emphasized veins and the decorative stripes have been retained (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12. Curtis & Tallis 2005, 41, fig. 29.

Perso-barbarian art

The final category in this discussion relates to objects which combine an Achaemenid original with both indigenous and Greek influences. The expression "Perso-barbarian art" has been chosen in order to indicate that these objects mix Achaemenid court-style art and satrapal art with trends in art and style that are already present.¹⁶⁶ These indigenous peculiarities also include Greek influences,¹⁶⁷ which are to be explained, on the one hand, by the proximity to Greece of the colonial towns on the Thracian Mediterranean coast and, on the other, by the existence of Greek colonies on the coast of the Black Sea. The problems mentioned at the beginning of the article concerning the craftsmen, their training, their teachers and the location of their workshops,¹⁶⁸ as well as the question as to how they followed the wishes of those commissioning them, will be seen most clearly for this category and in many cases remain insoluble.

Basically, we can say that this fusion has many facets. It must be stressed, however, that in most cases it was not elements of artistic style that were adopted, but rather shapes. This means that the most obvious, external form, the silhouette – whether for amphorae, bowls, rhyta or decoration – determines the identification as "pseudo-Achaemenid". The idea but not the style was adopted – for example by the Scythians¹⁶⁹ – to some extent, not even the motif.¹⁷⁰ This again allows the conclusion that attempts were made to emulate objects, to imitate them and so follow the Persian Empire. This would mean that the Persian Empire was seen not only as an opponent but also as an inspiration and a bringer of culture, with the Persian lifestyle worth striving for. In this connection, an interest in the exotic cannot be completely excluded.¹⁷¹

I consider it questionable whether it is possible to consider objects combining different elements – Persian, Greek and indigenous – into a synthesis as having their own trends in style, when not all the influences have the same relationship and so develop their own particular styles. Archibald attempted to do this, labelling some objects as in "Odryian 'Court style'".¹⁷²

A very good example of Perso-barbarian art is an amphora from Panagyurishte¹⁷³ (Fig. 13). The egg-shaped vessel has a decorated body, which, as on the amphora from Duvanli, is decorated on the shoulder with a frieze of lotus-palmettes and a tongue pattern. Underneath, a figure is shown. The neck is left smooth. The two handles are formed from two centaurs with bows, the lower parts of their bodies merging with the neck whilst the upper parts are worked freely. The rim is bent outwards and decorated with a pearl and egg pattern. Under the base of the handle there are negro heads with an open mouth as a wine-pourer. This amphora is the ideal example to show the imitation of an Achaemenid object in Perso-barbarian art. The silhouette corresponds to the egg-shaped container with a slender neck opening at the top, as do the emphasis of the transition of both parts of the vessel with a lip decorated with a border of alternating egg-shaped and arrowhead-shaped patterns¹⁷⁴, the two figures on the handle bent at the hip, which grow out of



Fig. 13. Basel 2007, 201, cat. no. 137a.

the handle after a bulge-shaped thickening, and its size.¹⁷⁵ The shape of the spout and especially the style of the decoration are different.

Two pairs of bracelets from Vani are mentioned here, in order to show how far apart from each other objects classified as Perso-barbarian art can be. On the one hand, there are the golden bracelets whose ends are decorated with complete animals.¹⁷⁶ The decoration comprises crouching wild boar, their hide shown by hatched lines. The ring has no “wave” opposite the opening.¹⁷⁷ Even if animal-head bracelets are known from the beginning of the first millennium BC both in Mesopotamia¹⁷⁸ and in Iran¹⁷⁹, we must assume that here Achaemenid bracelets served as models.¹⁸⁰ For the bracelets decorated with wild boar, the allusion is to the Persians in the widest sense.¹⁸¹ On the other hand, two gold bracelets should be presented, which, based on their shape with the “wave” opposite the opening, are associated with the Achaemenids (Fig. 14). The ends, with their crude carving, allow one to suspect Achaemenid models, without which the decoration would be inexplicable. Here, heads with the pattern of a mane are intended, as known from the decoration of the rich tomb of a woman from Susa.¹⁸² The silhouette of this jewellery for the arm evokes something supposedly Achaemenid.

As a further example, some rhyta found in Borovo can be mentioned. Only the shape of the sphinx rhyton still evokes an Achaemenid original and the horse rhyton may also allude to the horse-riding peoples of Persia.¹⁸³ A horse rhyton from Bashova must be added, which is as impressive as it is lifelike.¹⁸⁴

In the previous section, these bowls were defined as satrapal art, with their clear modifications in ornamental decoration. Also included are phialae

Fig. 14. Berlin 2007a, 135.

decorated with figures, especially as the decoration deviated slightly from the court style. Again, bowls in the category of Perso-barbarian art demonstrate a further development of the previous variants. On some bowls from the treasure found in Rogozen,¹⁸⁵ the pattern of an omphalos bowl is certainly retained, occasionally also the bosses, but the figured motifs inscribed on the bowls have been changed to indigenous motifs: the motifs are faces and bulls' heads. An additional good example for Perso-barbarian art is a particularly lavishly shaped bichrome bowl, also from the treasure found in Rogozen.¹⁸⁶ Its omphalos is framed by petals. In an outer frieze sit very thin winged lion-griffins facing each other in pairs, their tails framed by palmettes. There are also simple fluted bowls, which instead of an omphalos have a raised face.¹⁸⁷ These are so remote from court-style art in terms of content that we cannot call them satrapal art and so they must belong to Perso-barbarian art (Fig. 15).

*Fig. 15. Bonn 2004, 201, cat. no. 231d.*



Fig. 16. Miron & Orthmann 1995, 170, fig. 174.

As a last example, an architectural element can be given, which came to light in Zichiagora in Georgia¹⁸⁸ (Fig. 16). The small capital with two bulls¹⁸⁹ is a remote imitation of the bull capitals from Achaemenid palaces,¹⁹⁰ although the rounded saddle shows that it is not an architectural support as at Persepolis. Furthermore, the sculpture does not completely match the original either in its proportions or in its decoration, although reminiscences are recognizable. Thus the eyes are round and the internal corner is pointed, over the eyes there is a divided bulge and where the ear joins there are two hemispherical lumps. The beard on the jowls and the coat on the chest are stylized as ornamental stripes, although each in different ways and completely unlike the original.

Summary

The classification set out here is a proposal. It should provide an aid to classifying the wide variety of material from the whole Persian Empire – not just the regions bordering the Black Sea – in order to form a better foundation for work in the future. The development of this system and its explanation are still ongoing, and many finds have not as yet been appraised¹⁹¹ or have only just come to light.¹⁹² The intention is to arrive at a broad classification that is also quite comprehensible to non-specialists in Achaemenid studies. The eloquent names proposed here for the three groups, namely court-style art, satrapal art and Perso-barbarian art – especially the last label – already represent an evaluation and so must be understood as an interpretation. In my opinion, however, only with such labelling, even if it is perhaps provocative, can the discussion be set in motion and one's eye for objects from the

Kingdom of Persia become sharper. Finally, it should once again be noted that the frame of reference for this modern classification is flexible. Also, there are many objects whose classification is not clear and which must be regarded as transitional pieces from one group to another. In addition, there are objects whose features do not fit the classification proposed here. It is to be hoped that in the long term further research on material from other regions can lead to a more exact definition of these groups.

Notes

- 1 I would like to express my gratitude to Wilfred G.E. Watson for translation of the text.
- 2 Probable exceptions are the seals produced in Asia Minor. Furtwängler (1900, Bd. II, 55, Bd. III, 116) called them "griechisch-persisch". This description was accepted and later used extensively in the form of "graeco-persisch". Cf. Zazoff 1983, 175 pp.; Boardman 2003, 186 pp.
- 3 Rehm 1992, 260-261.
- 4 Jacobs 2002, 345, 387-388.
- 5 A – somewhat more open – division into three categories ("achämenidisches Importstück" [cat. no. A]; "von achämenidischer Tradition beeinflusst" [cat. no. B]; "Werke, die mit dem Achämenidischen nur noch entfernt zu tun haben" [cat. no. C]) has been proposed by Lushey (1983, 322 pp.). I would classify some objects that he considered to be "achämenidisch" as Achaeminizing. Based on the adoption of Achaemenid art in central Asia, Francfort (2007, 277) described a model with five phases: "On peut procéder à des 'copies' fidèles des originaux, à des imitations, à des contrefaçons, à des dérivations, à des transformations". In a similar study, Miller (1993) used the terms "Adoption" and "Adaption" for the borrowing of Achaemenid metal moulds in Attic black-glazed ware.
- 6 Some blurring of the groups cannot be avoided. This applies especially to the classification of material that comes from such a wide area and was subject to countless influences.
- 7 As alternatives, the expressions "Perso-indigenous art" or "peripheral art" can be proposed, even though these are, in fact, more neutral they are also more liable to be misunderstood.
- 8 For discussion, see, for example, Braun-Holzinger & Rehm 2005, 178 pp. (on ancient Near Eastern craftsmen in Greece); Boardman 2003, 153 pp. (on foreign craftsmen in Persia documented in the inscriptions); Lushey 1983, 316; Ewigeleben 1989; Boardman 1994, 189; Ebbinghaus 1999, 405-406 (on the Thracian or Greek craftsmen of objects found in Thrace).
- 9 For the heartland, a mould for an animal's head as part of a bracelet came to light in Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, 79, fig. 16). For a satrapy, punches, but with motifs that are clearly not Achaemenid, are found together with the so-called Lydian Treasure; its find context is unknown (Özgen & Öztürk 1996). Some Greek writers occasionally report on craftsmen in short notes. However, no information is available about the origin or training of these craftsmen.
- 10 Lefebvre 1923. The illustrations in the tomb of Petosiris (ca. 300 BC) are indicative of workers who, as well as other objects influenced by Greece, produced objects that – as far as can be determined – are Achaemenid in form and style, for example

rhyta. However, it is not clear from the illustrations whether the objects belong to court-style art or to satrapal art. Instead, in the inscriptions the craftsmen are described clearly as the best in the country. Proof that objects in court-style art were produced in Egypt comes from the rhinoceros-horn knife handles, which plainly must be considered as court-style art. Stucky 1985, nos. 34-36, pl. 10; cf. Rehm 2006, fig. 4.

- 11 So, for example, Fischer 1983, 193-194.
- 12 Cf. also Archibald 1989, 15.
- 13 Fischer 1983, 193-194; Luschey 1983, 317; Fol 1989; Hind 1989; Archibald 1998, 222 pp., 260-261; Bonn 2004, 293 (Rogozen), for example.
- 14 Furtwängler 1900, Bd. III, 116.
- 15 Boardman 1970b, 305pp. He differentiated between "Archaic Court style" and "Classical Court style". Many of his examples exhibit non-Oriental features. The discussion concerning the extent to which the Greeks influenced Achaemenid style cannot be considered further here. Cf. also Boardman 1970a, 30pp.
- 16 Herzfeld 1988, 274.
- 17 Boardman 2003, 221, 298, n. 458.
- 18 Garrison & Cool Root 2001, 18-19; Kaptan 2002, 108; Merrillees 2005, 32 pp.
- 19 Garrison 1991, 13 pp.
- 20 Cf. Garrison & Cool Root 2001, 19.
- 21 Cf. Boardman 1970b, 309 pp; Garrison 1991; Merrillees 2005, 25 pp.
- 22 For this category, Jacobs (2002, 388), proposed the term "(achämenidenzeitlich-) persisch", which in my opinion, however, is confused since it should, in fact, be the other way round. These objects follow the style of the ruling tribe, the Achaemenids, and their buildings, whereas the whole Empire is to be understood as Persian.
- 23 The reliefs in Pasargadae, which are from the time of Cyrus, as the inscriptions added later would have us believe, are still clearly based on Neo-Assyrian models; cf. Stronach 1978, 68 pp., pls. 58-61.
- 24 Schmidt 1953; Walser 1966; Walser 1980.
- 25 Cf. the text in which Dareios gives an account of the building of the palace and describes which of the peoples had performed each particular task; Kent 1953, 142 pp. (DSf).
- 26 Amiet 1977, 141, 142, 676-679.
- 27 The rigid representation is particularly obvious in the procession of the so-called "Unsterblichen" and "Adeligen" on the Apadana staircase (Schmidt 1953, pl. 57-59) as well as elsewhere. In other words, where movement and departure should be expected, the effect is stiffness (Schmidt 1953, pl. 70.b-70.c).
- 28 Roaf 1983.
- 29 The influences that this style combines cannot be considered here; cf. Rehm 1992, 253-260. Pfrommer (1990) has indicated the Egyptian influence, which he analysed chronologically.
- 30 Walser 1966, pls. 3-4.
- 31 Walser 1966, pls. 3, 37 (detail).
- 32 Ghirshman 1964, 162-163, 171, fig. 217; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 84, fig. 46.
- 33 Speyer 2006a, 61. On the development of friezes in Greece and in the Near East, cf. Boardman 2003, 99. See also Pfrommer 1990, 196.

- 34 The occasional staggered arrangement as well as the concern and movement of the so-called nobles on the Apadana clearly show the portrayal to be stylized and wooden; Walser 1980, figs. 59-63.
- 35 Cf. Rehm 1992, 261 pp.
- 36 Ghirshman 1964, 239, fig. 286.
- 37 Ghirshman 1964, 220, fig. 269; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194-195, nos. 301, 302.
- 38 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193.
- 39 Ghirshman 1964, 212, fig. 260, 219, fig. 268.
- 40 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194-195, nos. 301, 302.
- 41 Ghirshman 1964, 142-143, figs. 191, 193; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194-195, nos. 301, 302.
- 42 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 102, no. 95.
- 43 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193, 219, fig. 268; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194, no. 301.
- 44 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193.
- 45 Ghirshman 1964, 193, fig. 240 (here, the horizontal lines of the hair at the base of the ears make them look rectangular), 239, fig. 286; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 102, no. 95, 195, no. 303.
- 46 Ghirshman 1964, 243, fig. 291.
- 47 Ghirshman 1964, 220, fig. 269; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 102, no. 95; Speyer 2006a, 14.
- 48 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 191; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194, no. 301.
- 49 Ghirshman 1964, 142-143, figs. 191-193.
- 50 Ghirshman 1964, 239, fig. 286 (lion on the left); Amiet 1977, fig. 678.
- 51 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194, no. 301.
- 52 Ghirshman 1964, 239, fig. 286 (lion on the right); Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194, no. 301.
- 53 Walser 1980, figs. 88-89.
- 54 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193.
- 55 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 191, 239, fig. 286; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 138 (hybrid with a lion's body), 147, no. 190.
- 56 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 191, 238, fig. 285 (the relief is of a bird-footed griffin with a scorpion tail; its sinews are represented by the shape of a two-pronged fork).
- 57 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 78 pp., 84, no. 46.
- 58 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 78 pp., 84, no. 46, 194, no. 301.
- 59 Occasionally there is another small, round bobble under the base of the ear: Ghirshman 1964, 137, fig. 186.
- 60 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 64, no. 16; cf. Ghirshman 1964, 175, fig. 221: also on the "foreign" zebu on the relief of the nations the veins and the eye are represented in this typical way; the horns and ears are shown differently.
- 61 Curtis & Tallis 2005, title page.
- 62 Speyer 2006a, 10; Curtis & Tallis 2005, title page.
- 63 Rehm 1992, 372-375, figs. 30-37; Miron & Orthmann 1995, 149, fig. 148 below. Proof is provided by bracelets, some of which were found in places far from the centre of Persia, such as Vani (Georgia) and Vouni (Cyprus). But the comparison with a mould of the end of a bracelet in the shape of a calf from Persepolis, which exhibits the same shape – without the horns – shows that this is in typical Achæmenid court style. The other known stylistic features on the bracelets, such as the fashioning of parts of the eyes and the brows over the eyes, are in agreement with the features mentioned above; cf. Schmidt 1957, 79, fig. 16.

- 64 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 192, 216-217, fig. 264, 266; Curtis & Tallis 2005, title page, 97, no. 84.
- 65 Berlin 2007b, 250, fig. 7, an *akinakes* handle from Certomlyk, but undoubtedly made in the Achaemenid court style.
- 66 Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 156; Pfrommer 1990, 193 also uses this term for this strip of animals, in any case similarly for the fluting.
- 67 Cf. n. 63.
- 68 Schmidt 1953, pl. 29; Roaf 1983, pl. XII; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 70, no. 25, 211, fig. 58.
- 69 Rehm 1992, 367-371.
- 70 Especially on seals, cf. Curtis & Tallis 2005, 159, no. 202.
- 71 Garrison & Cool Root 2001, pl. 179.d.
- 72 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 138. These hybrid creatures are a good example of court style. However, it should be noted that the dot-and-comma style under the stylized hindquarters was borrowed from the art of the steppes, cf. Rehm 1992, 45; Amiet 1977, figs. 707-708; Schmidt 1953, pls. 116, 145; and more recognizable in the drawing in Curtis & Tallis 2005, 82.
- 73 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 191.
- 74 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 191.
- 75 Ghirshman 1964, 142, figs. 191, 192, 159, fig. 210; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 84, no. 46, 97, no. 84, 138. On its origin, cf. Rehm 1992, 263-264.
- 76 Schmidt 1953, pls. 52-52, 57-58, 70-73 (persons turning round interrupt the sequence of people walking in single file). In general, overlapping is rare and is used only in certain situations, such as, for example, people leading animals and what is known as the tribute relief (Walser 1966). It is interesting to note that the reliefs are arranged down to the last detail with great consistency. Thus, the persons bringing tribute on the eastern staircase of the Apadana are shown from the right sides of their bodies, on the northern staircase from their left sides. This is also recognizable from the details of their dress. Similarly, the people leading animals are depicted behind their animals on the east side and in front of them on the north side; cf. Schmidt 1953, pls. 27-49.
- 77 Walser 1966, pls. 35 pp. with numerous details.
- 78 Cf. the linchpin, the upper human part of which runs into the nail (Curtis & Tallis 2005, 224-225, nos. 403-404, 212, fig. 59. However, these nails are still in the ancient Near Eastern tradition, as the so-called foundation nails have this shape already in the third millennium BC; cf. Rashid 1983, 1 pp.
- 79 Decoration: Rehm 1992, 384, figs. 58-59, 385, fig. 60 (here the animal's body is represented only in abstract form, since the ribs are shown, but the hindquarters and legs are missing; cf. 363, fig. 6; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 175, nos. 268-270), 386, fig. 62 (style strongly influenced by Scythian art); Curtis & Tallis 2005, 138, no. 153, 143, no. 168. Handle of the amphora: Curtis & Tallis 2005, 106, fig. 46 (cf. detail: Speyer 2006a, 132, fig. 7), 125, no. 129.
- 80 Schmidt 1957, pls. 53-54; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 91, no. 59.
- 81 Rehm 1992, 361-379.
- 82 Easily recognized in the so-called "immortals" in Susa: Amiet 1977, fig. 139; reliefs in Persepolis: Walser 1980, fig. 64; realiter: Rehm 1992, 47-48.
- 83 Rehm 1994; Berlin 2007a, 48-49; Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 178-179, no. 130.
- 84 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 121 pp.
- 85 Muscarella 1974, no. 155.

- 86 Speyer 2006a, 192-193, figs. 3-4.
- 87 For further information, see Boardman 2003, 298, n. 457.
- 88 Walser 1966, pls. 45-46; Speyer 2006a, 133, figs. 8-9.
- 89 On the type of vessel, see Haerinck 1980. On its origin in Armenia, see Amandry 1958, 52-54. Cf., for example, Curtis & Tallis 2005, 124, no. 126; Ghirshman 1964, 254, fig. 307.
- 90 Cf. Dusinberre 1999.
- 91 Harper 1992, 244, no. 170.
- 92 Barnett & Lorenzini 1975, figs. 8, 12, 16 (Assurnasirpal II, 883-859 BC), 124, 168 (Assurbanipal, 661-631 BC).
- 93 Hussein & Suleiman 2000, no. 37, 152, 208 as well as IM 115598 on p. 369.
- 94 Abka'i-Khavari 1988.
- 95 Luschej 1939; Speyer 2006b, 61 pp.
- 96 For the terms "Zungenschalen", "Zungendekor" and "Zungenmuster", cf. Luschej 1939, 79. In this book the term "Zungenfries" is used and denotes decoration formed like an Ionian *kymation* without the middle points.
- 97 Berlin 2007a, 47.
- 98 Berlin 2007a, 48-49.
- 99 Schmidt 1957, 79, fig. 16. The length of each head is 1.8cm. The details were engraved after moulding.
- 100 Minns 1965, 411, figs. 298.6, 298.9.
- 101 Human-headed winged bulls, which are known principally from colossal statues functioning as guardians of gates from the Neo-Assyrian palaces.
- 102 On the seal, see also Strelkov 1937.
- 103 Persepolis: Schmidt 1957, pl. 3 (nos. 1-3), pl. 4 (nos. 4-7), pl. 5 (no. 8), pl. 8 (no. 24), pl. 9 (no. 32); Ur: Legrain 1951, pl. 41 (778); Daskyleion: Kaptan 2002, 157-164, 174, 182, 182; Memphis: Petrie 1910, pl. XXXV, 27, 30, 31, pl. XXXVI, 27, 30, 31.
- 104 This representation follows the rock relief from Bisitun: Speyer 2006a, 42, fig. 2, 48, fig. 3, 62, fig. 5, 63, fig. 6.
- 105 On this, cf. Luschej 1983.
- 106 Bonn 2004, 232, no. 238a.
- 107 Cf. a sturdy silver exemplar, belonging to satrapal art and found in Filippovka south of the Urals; Aruz et al. 2000, 88-89, no. 19. Its diagonals emphasized with gold wire incorporate the pattern of the glazed ware mentioned below, cf. n. 108.
- 108 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 126, nos. 130-131.
- 109 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 83, no. 44.
- 110 Speyer 2006a, 92, 94.
- 111 Similarly, Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 101.
- 112 MacAlister 1911, 296, fig. 157.4.
- 113 Boardman 2003, 55.
- 114 Hussein & Suleiman 2000, no. 74.
- 115 A tongue pattern forms the upper end of the couch, on which the king sits and which is carried by the peoples. The effect is as if the frame were made of fabric; Schmidt 1970, pls. 19, 22, 25, 41-43, 49, for example.
- 116 Schmidt 1957, pl. 72.
- 117 Walser 1966, pl. 67; Calmeyer 1993, pl. 47.
- 118 Neo-Assyrian vessels: Andrae 1923, pl. 17; Hausleiter 1999, fig. 6, 67, fig. 15.d (with a pointed base).
- 119 See n. 33 (Boardman 2003, 99).

- 120 Compare, for example, the collection in Lushey 1983, 324, fig. 4, nos. 1, 3 (Duvanli), no. 9 (Gradnitsa), no. 7 (Schapladra); Bonn 2004, 147, nos. 200-201.
- 121 In glyptic, the terms “Persianizing style” (Kaptan 2002, 133 pp.) and “achämenidizierend” (Nunn 2000, 82, 104, 106) are used to describe a style that is principally adopted in the western satrapies. However, numerous subdivisions have been developed, so that this model cannot be applied to other groups of objects without modification.
- 122 For workshops producing court-style art in the satrapies, see Rehm 2006, 507-508.
- 123 Bonn 2004, 195, no. 226.d; Basel 2007, 199, no. 136.d.
- 124 For example, Ebbinghaus 1999, 390.
- 125 Similarly also Oppermann 1984, 111: “Allerdings wird es sich hier nicht um direkten orientalischen Import handeln, da also bei diesem Stück Elemente griechischer Kunst erkennbar sind”; as well as Lushey 1983, 316: “Nur im gelockten Stirnhaar verrät sich ein nicht-iranisches Element”.
- 126 On the basis of technical details, Ebbinghaus (1999, 390-391) assumes a common workshop, but for chronological reasons this does not seem plausible.
- 127 On the technique, see Moorey 1988; Moorey 1999, 226-228.
- 128 Differently, Boardman 2003, 228 with a reference to Moorey 1988, who in any case accepts the origin of objects from the Achaemenid period to be in Asia Minor (Boardman 2003, 232).
- 129 Cf. Muscarella 1977b, 192-194.
- 130 Cf. a gold amphora, found in a kurgan in Filippovka, south Ural, the authenticity of which was doubted, as it certainly appeared from the art market; Aruz et al. 2000, 92-93, no. 93.
- 131 So, for example, the lion rhyton found in “Hamadan”; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 121, no. 118. Calmeyer doubted the authenticity of an object with this provenance, cf. P. Calmeyer, “Hamadan”, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 4, Berlin 1972-1975, 64-67.
- 132 Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 87, no. 33; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 122, no. 119 (art market, said to be found near Erzincan).
- 133 Dalton 1964, 13 (no. 24), pl. X; respectively Curtis & Tallis 2005, 220-221, no. 396. The stylized ornamentation of individual elements as well as the antique nature of this horse-harness ornament or shield-boss mark it as undoubtedly Achaemenid. On the contrary, the structure of the scene, a representation of a genre, is atypical and suggests foreign – western – influence.
- 134 Vickers et al. 1986. Reference courtesy of J. Nieling.
- 135 Cf. a partially gilded silver container from the kurgan of Solocha, very clearly related to a Greek model; Berlin 2007b, 248-249.
- 136 Cf. n. 132.
- 137 Moorey (1988) sees the forerunners of the technique in Iran, but also accepts that it was then typical of workshops of the Persian Empire in Asia Minor. He places this development in connection with the “orientalizing period” (238 with a reference to Muscarella 1972; see also Muscarella 1977a). In my opinion, there should be a differentiation between individual figures in relief made of gold and gilding, and also emphasis on isolated parts with thin gold leaf and gilding (Moorey 1999, 227: probably attested since the Achaemenid period). Of course, gilding could have developed following the model of projecting reliefs, but this would be to take an original step and so be a further development. Moorey’s suggestion is that during the “orientalizing period” the technique of bichrome

- vessels in precious metals was brought in from the west, that means to Greece. If Moorey's suggestion is right, then this idea would have been later carried from Greece to Asia Minor, because there, during the Achaemenid period, both techniques are found: the technique using projecting reliefs in gold, which are recognizable now as outlines (Curtis & Tallis 2005, 118 no. 111), and the technique where certain parts of the relief beaten out in silver were covered with thin leaf (cf. the rhyta mentioned above and the amphorae discussed afterwards). See also gilded Phoenician bowls: Markoe 1985, 10, cat. nos. Cy1, Cy2, Cy8, Cy12, Cy15 (from Cyprus), E2, E3, E4, E6, E7, E9, E11, E13 (from Italy), U7 (unknown provenance).
- 138 Athenaeus (*The Learned Banqueters* 11.784) states, in his comments on Persian bowls (*batiakē*), that much silverware produced in Lycia was covered with gold.
- 139 Boardman 1994, 184.
- 140 For example, Lushey 1983, 323-324 (A2), pl. 59.2; Basel 2007, 176-177, no. 124a "Werk eines achämenidischen Toreuten".
- 141 Note the stylized dot-and-comma pattern on the hindquarters, which is also found on the pair of bracelets from the Oxus Treasure; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 138, no. 153.
- 142 See n. 115.
- 143 Boardman 2003, 98-99, fig. 2.66. He shows that the frieze – initiated through Oriental friezes – was already a typical Greek variant after the seventh century BC.
- 144 The whirl occurs especially in Egypt and the ancient Near East as the stylization of a natural cowlick. On this element, see the lengthy discussion in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*: Kantor 1949; Arkell 1948; van Buren 1950; Bate 1950; Kantor 1950; Vollgraff-Roes 1953. Kantor assumes that the whirl belongs to the Achaemenid style, but as proof can only identify the Duvanli amphora, which appears to be purely Achaemenid; Kantor 1949, 262, 274, fig. 7.D.
- 145 The griffin's curl is an Aegean and Levantine element already found in the second half of the second millennium BC; Orthmann 1975, fig. 428b.
- 146 How close this type of object is to court-style art is visible when there is no gilding. An amphora from the Ortiz Collection is from the same workshop as the amphora from Duvanli, only the handles are ibexes instead of lion-griffins and the number of floral friezes varies; Ortiz 1996, no. 205. Also very similar are two additional amphorae, which also come from the art market and belong to the "amphora-rhyton" type, as the spout is not on the handle, but on the base of the vessel; Pfrommer 1990, pls. 41.1 ("Pommerance Collection"), 36-39, 44 (J. Paul Getty Museum).
- 147 On the geographical position of the workshops, most of which were in the vicinity of the Hellespont, cf. Summerer 2006, 139, n. 43. See also Pfrommer (1990, 193, 195, 205), who also suggests that this type of amphora came from workshops in Asia Minor.
- 148 Aruz et al. 2000, no. 94.
- 149 Aruz et al. 2000, no. 93.
- 150 Gambaschidze et al. 2001, 429, no. 420.
- 151 Rehm 1992, 25.
- 152 Miron & Orthmann 1995, 139, fig. 134, 150, fig. 149 and very good photographs; Soltes 1999, 161-162, no. 45, 178-179, no. 70.
- 153 Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 121 (F2c18).

- 154 Cf. Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 121 (F2c14 from Sardis) and 125 (F3c17 from Prokhorovka, south Ural).
- 155 Tallgren 1930, 116-118; Boardman 2003, 229, fig. 5.73.b.
- 156 Miller 1998, 43, fig. 11.
- 157 Schmidt 1957, pls. 53.2, 54.2.
- 158 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 113-114, nos. 99-100.
- 159 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 118, no. 111; Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 87 pp., nos. 33-35.
- 160 Cf. also a bowl on which can be seen unusual winged ibexes, which clearly do not belong to court-style art; Akurgal 1967.
- 161 Moorey (1988, 234) calls the figure a "hero"; likewise, Garrison & Cool Root 2001.
- 162 Cf., for example, the representations of Ahuramazda at Persepolis (Schmidt 1953, pls. 75-78, 79, 160, for example); in ancient Near Eastern art particularly, the ring and the staff – tools from the building trade for measuring foundation walls – are divine symbols which are transferred to a ruler only in the imagination.
- 163 For example, Schmidt 1953, pls. 121-123.
- 164 Nunn 2000, 237 with literature. Colour illustration: Curtis & Tallis 2005, 41, fig. 29.
- 165 Ghirshman 1964, 215 pp., figs. 263-264, 266.
- 166 Pfrommer (1990, 200) prefers to use the label "provincial" as typical of a peripheral region and not as an evaluation of quality. In my opinion, however, this term always has negative connotations.
- 167 Further subdivisions into objects that exhibit both Achaemenid and autochthonous elements and those with Achaemenid together with Greek elements/elements influenced by Greece, would be extremely difficult, since a number of questions would have to be answered. What is autochthonous and what is Greek, and at what stage can one speak of a combination of influences? In addition, this would take us away from our formulation of the problem, since it would also involve the influences of the Persian Empire on its satrapies and their neighbouring regions.
- 168 See n. 8.
- 169 Scythians adopted not only motifs but also elements of style; Francfort 2007. The applied lion-griffins made from fabric use not only the motif but also exhibit the typical stylized hindquarters in "dot and bean"; Berlin 2007, 126, fig. 10; Jettmar 1980, 109 above. See also Aruz et al. 2000, 164, no. 101 for the pear-apple-element.
- 170 Cf. the sphinx rhyton from the treasure found in Borovo (Bonn 2004, 196, no. 226b). Although winged, beardless – not necessarily female! – sphinxes are known from the ancient Near Eastern and Achaemenid repertoires of motifs (Garrison & Cool Root 2001, 149-152, cat. nos. 73-75), no rhyton has a sphinx protome. Against a possible difficulty in respect of finds is the fact that also in Achaemenid decoration the ends of bracelets are not found in the shape of a sphinx. There is a fixed set of motifs (Rehm 1992, 47 pp.) which could be transferred to rhyta.
- 171 Usually, elements from enemies are only adopted when the enemy no longer poses a threat. Cf. Persian fashion in Greece: Miller 1997, 183-187, 254; Bäbler 1998, 188; Pekridou-Gorecki 1989, 119-120 (the Persian cloak, *kandys*, was only adopted by Greeks at the end of the fifth century BC). This happens most frequently; cf., for example, "Turkish fashion" in 18th century in Europe linked to the fascination of the danger of the Ottoman Empire.
- 172 Archibald 1998, 261.
- 173 Bonn 2004, 226, no. 233a.

- 174 The bulge is the result of the original manufacturing technique for such vessels. Both elements of the body of the vessel were joined and the join would have been concealed by the bulge.
- 175 The amphora from Panagyurishte is 29cm high, the amphora from Duvanli – even if produced in satrapal art, and so a piece that is extraordinarily close to court-style art, as shown above – is 27cm high.
- 176 Berlin 2007a, 125.
- 177 Occasionally in court-style art and more frequently in satrapal art the “wave” is missing; cf. Rehm 1992; Dalton 1964.
- 178 Hrouda 1965, pls. 9.10-12, 10.25, 10.34; Hussein & Suleiman 2000, no. 65.
- 179 Bracelets from Luristan: Moorey 1971, 218 pp., pls. 61-62.
- 180 The Greek bracelets with animal heads seem to have been inspired by the Near East. Only a few examples can be dated to 800 BC and to the mid-sixth century BC (Cumae and Rhodos), but their frequency in the fifth century BC makes influence from the east appear plausible; Deppert-Lippitz 1986, 154-156.
- 181 Cf. the wild boar as a motif in Persian jewellery; Rehm 1992, 122, esp. 190 pp. Wild boar, as powerful and dangerous animals, fit the set of motifs that can be determined for decoration.
- 182 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 175, no. 268; de Morgan 1905, pl. V.1-2, fig. 76.
- 183 Bonn 2004, 195, nos. 226.c, 226.d; Basel 2007, 196, no. 136.b, 198, no. 136.c. For the horse rhyton, an object which is now in the Miho Museum, Japan, and must have come from Bactria, cf. Miho 2002, 108-109, 244-245, no. 116. Everything is in favour of its having been produced in the same workshop. Such discoveries in widely separated sites are not surprising in the Achaemenid Empire, see n. 133.
- 184 Bonn 2004, 157, no. 211.b; Basel 2007, 179, no. 125.b.
- 185 Bonn 2004, 199, no. 230, 205, fig. 2.
- 186 Bonn 2004, 143, no. 192.
- 187 Bonn 2004, 200, no. 231.c-e.
- 188 Miron & Orthmann 1995, 170, fig. 174.
- 189 40cm high, 25cm and 70cm wide; cf. Knauß 2006, 93.
- 190 In respect of the furnishing for satrapal residences, Jacobs (2002, 386, 390) argues against influence (relating to content) from the Achaemenids in the provinces and traces the arrangement back to local desires.
- 191 That is, the material in Egypt; Rehm 2006.
- 192 The finds in the kurgans in the region round Orenburg: Aruz et al. 2000, nos. 93-94. This region is very remote from the borders of the Persian Empire, but the objects are very much like court-style art and must be considered as satrapal art. These objects raise particularly urgently the question of workshops.

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