

THE POETICS OF EMULATION IN THE ACHAEMENID WORLD: THE FIGURED BOWLS OF THE 'LYDIAN TREASURE'*

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Abstract

The rhetoric of inclusion commonly features in the propaganda of empire but the success of the message and extent of its embeddedness in the ideology of the subject peoples are rarely traceable in the archaeological record. Newly published evidence allows a case study for the Lydian kingdom within the Achaemenid Persian empire. Three silver lobed bowls, all evidently from a wealthy Lydian burial of the early Persian period, feature Achaemenidising figured decoration between their lobes. 'Syntactical irregularities' in their imagery, technique and even morphology reveal a local production in emulation of imperial symbols of power.

The discovery of nearly intact elite burials of the late 6th and 5th centuries BC in the upper Hermos river valley in Western Anatolia, at a time when the region lay within the Persian empire, provides a rare opportunity to examine questions of receptivity to, even adoption of, the decorative vocabulary of an imperial power by elite members of a regional population.¹ Thanks to the prompt, thorough and well-illustrated publication of the material in *The Lydian Treasure* catalogue on the repatriation of illicitly exported goods to Turkey, this valuable archaeological resource is available for analysis and integration into broader discussions of the cultural interrelations of satrapal province and imperial centre in the Achaemenid Persian world. The three silver vessels with figural decoration inserted between their lobes (from Ikiztepe) in particular shed light on a variety of questions of circulation and reception of imperial imagery in the western reaches of the Persian empire.²

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¹ Özgen and Öztürk 1996; date briefly discussed 29-30.

² Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 33-35 (fuller information below).

The Rhetoric of Imperial Unity – Representation and Reality

The past generation has seen major advances in the understanding of the visual expression of the Achaemenid world, its links with and departures from prior Near Eastern visual language, as well as its historical, social and economic environment.³ Root has especially explored the central message of collaborative support that permeates the presentation of empire at Darius' Persepolis, truly *e pluribus unum*. It emerges from inscriptions such as that on Darius' tomb which proclaims Darius as 'King of Kings, King of Countries containing all kinds of men', and then instructs the reader to enumerate (visually) the peoples of the empire:

If now thou shalt think that 'How many are the countries that King Darius held?' look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, then shalt thou know, then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.⁴

The texts stress conquest but the image conveys also harmonious collaboration: it is the image that will have reached a wider audience.⁵ All the peoples of the empire, each carefully identified by ethnic, support together the throne of the king. A more familiar image is that of all the peoples processing with gifts, each in their distinctive dress, on the Apadana reliefs of Persepolis. The same message of the peoples collaborating on a major imperial undertaking can be found in the Susa foundation inscription, reflecting the conspicuous incorporation of everyone.⁶ Even the very choice of masonry type – a complex jigsaw of interlocked blocks of different sizes as opposed to the regular ashlar of Pasargadae – on the Persepolis platform might be viewed as a metaphorical expression of the same principle.⁷

The central Achaemenid vision of unity and collaborative harmony is clear; but the mechanisms of its dissemination throughout the empire and its reception within the empire remain less clear. Impressive progress has been made with regard to the role of circulated coinage.⁸ Yet the receptivity of the different peoples to the imperial ideology or any aspect of the culture of the heartland is still largely uncharted owing to the shortage of material with good archaeological provenance. To date,

³ Visual expression thanks largely to the pioneering work of Root 1979. For context note especially Lewis 1977; Wiesehöfer 1993; Briant 1996. The Achaemenid History Workshops were a galvanising force and the Achaemenid group under Briant continue to provide a focal point.

⁴ Translation: Kent 1950, 137-38, DNa, ll. 8-9, 38-47 (the enumerated peoples in DN minor inscriptions).

⁵ The rhetoric of collaboration first argued in Root 1979 and elaborated in Root 1990, 120.

⁶ Kent 1950, 142-44, DSf.

⁷ Root 1990, 118.

⁸ For the role of numismatics (the 'Archer' coins), see Root 1991; Dusinger 2000; Nimchuk 2002.

seals (especially as known from sealings) provide the fullest evidence for regional response to and adoption of imperial vocabulary, so that it begins to be possible to define specific regional reworkings of Achaemenid expression.⁹

Luxury metal-ware vessels offer one medium of reciprocal exchange. Ancient sources attest to the role of metal-ware as royal gifts to loyal subjects; the handful of vessels with trilingual royal inscriptions perhaps provide testimony to the practice though their lack of secure provenance is problematic.¹⁰ In turn loyal subjects carry metal-ware vessels, presumably to the king, on the Apadana reliefs.¹¹ Three types of vessels are depicted as gifts, all three what we understand to be canonical Persian form: deep bowls with offset everted rims, cylindrical beakers, spouted amphorae. All three types are carried by Delegation VI, which is now generally identified as the Lydians thanks to their distinctive hairstyle (Fig. 1).¹²

On the Apadana reliefs the different peoples of the empire are distinguished one from another by careful differentiation of details of dress and equipment. While many Iranian peoples wear the 'rider dress', differences in the design of the sleeved garment, footwear and headgear would seem deliberately to distinguish the peoples. If the precise association of known people with Delegation is not always certain, the uncertainty is a function of our ignorance of ethnic dress rather than necessarily a lack of artistic precision or a tendency to the generic.

The limited repertoire of vessels carried as gifts by the delegations contrasts with the sartorial variety. The deep bowl with offset everted rim is especially represented: it appears in the hands of Delegations V (Babylonians), VIII (Assyrians), XII (Ionians),

⁹ Current research on sealings tends to the recognition of local workshops working within Achaemenid iconographic paradigms. For Sardis, see Dusinger 1997, 2003; see also Root 1998. For Daskyleion, see Kaptan 2003. See the valuable discussion of 'Other Sealing Archives in the Achaemenid Empire' in Garrison and Root 2001, 32-39; note especially their comments on the distinctive features of the Memphis archive (35-36) and on the striking absence of the winged sun disk from the corpus of sealings from Wadi-el Daliyeh, whose population, significantly, was Jewish (38-39). Nippur's Murasu archive shows more kinship with the immediate past than is found in the Fortifications archive (Root, personal communication). For Babylon, see also Root 2003, with references.

¹⁰ Gunter and Root 1998, investigating the silver phiale in Washington (inv. 74.30) with the name Artaxerxes inscribed, have gathered as strong a case as possible to argue that it is an authentic artefact seen by Herzfeld in Hamadan in October 1929.

¹¹ Most recently on gifting, with references, see Gunter and Root 1998, 22-29; see also Miller 1997, 127-28. Vessels carried by delegations outlined by Calmeyer 1993, discussed more fully below.

¹² Delegation VI carried the cylindrical beaker and deep bowl on the north stairway and the deep bowl and spouted amphora on the east stairway (here illustrated). Schmidt (1953, 85) (followed by Walser [1966]), first identified Delegation VI as Syrians, though he did note that the braid of hair to the shoulder behind the ear also appeared on the Lydian throne-bearer of Xerxes' throne (n.124); he later revised his opinion to Lydians (Schmidt 1970, 152-53). The Lydian identification was also argued by Greenewalt (1971) and again by Roaf (1974, 126-27, with bibliography); accepted, for example, by Calmeyer 1993; Curtis and Tallis 2005; Koch and Rehm 2006, 132, fig. 7.

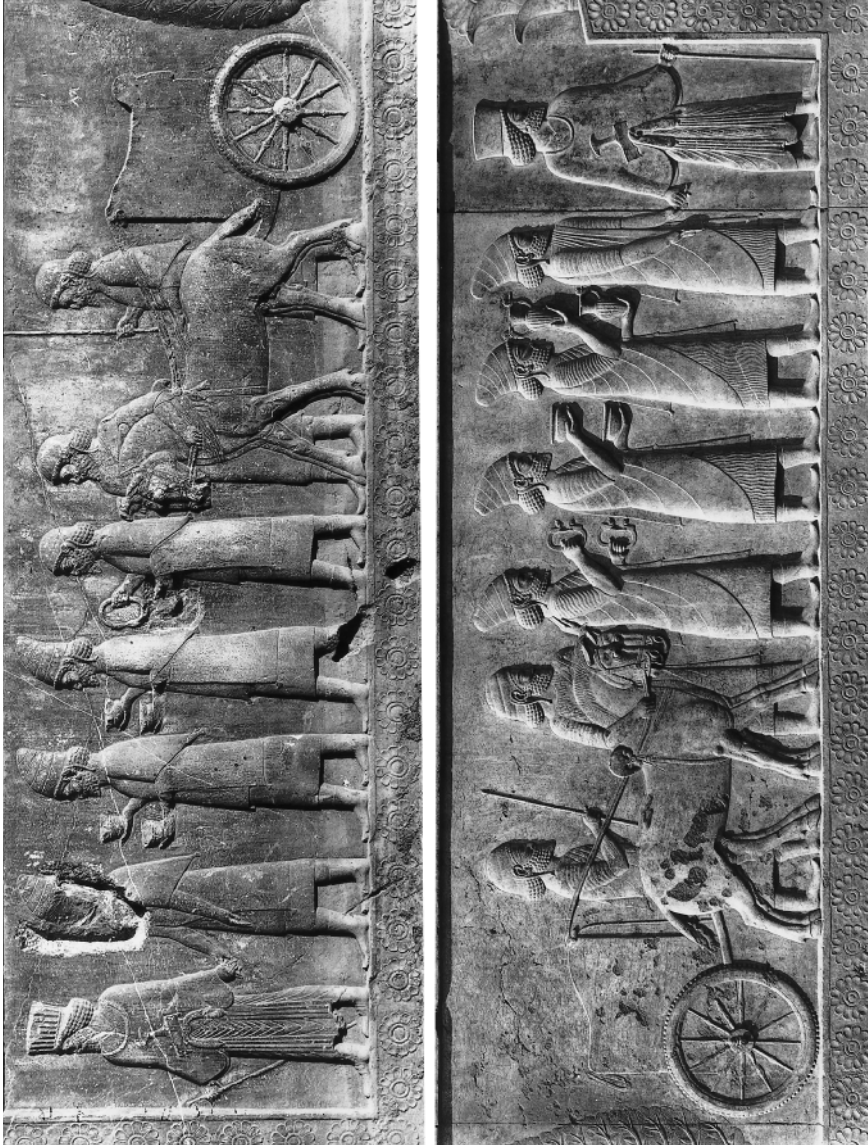


Fig. 1: The Lydian Delegation (VI), Apadana North and East stairs, Persepolis
(photograph: courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, P 29002 / N.15272 / Ps-82).

XV (?Arachosians), as well as Delegation VI (Lydians).¹³ The specific shape is not well attested in the prior traditions of most of these peoples.

The uniformity of metal-ware offering (especially in the context of articulated difference of dress) might suggest that tribute production in the empire was expected to match a central standard.¹⁴ Yet other gifts suggest that the central gift requirement was modulated to suit local competence: local specialty products are conveyed to the centre, like the camels brought by Delegations XIII, XV and XX, and the elephant tusks carried by Delegation XXIII, the Ethiopians. On such logic, Lydians bear metal-ware vessels because they, with their rich local resources in gold and electrum, were acknowledged masters of toreutics. But what of the vessels' manifestly Achaemenid form? Do the vessels on the Persepolis reliefs reflect a local product made to precise specifications from the centre? Or is their restricted repertoire merely a function of imperial visual rhetoric about the unity of the empire? Or does the similarity of vessels indicate regional receptivity to the luxury arts of the centre? Our lacunose archaeological documentation of the epichoric traditions in both provinces and the Iranian heartland, especially in luxury toreutics, continues to cause problems in addressing such issues.¹⁵ Until more metal-ware vessels with secure provenance and workmanship are recovered, we must reserve final judgment on the meaning of the vessels on the Apadana reliefs. Yet the representation of Achaemenid-style vessels in metal workshop scenes on the late 4th-century BC tomb of the priest Petosiris at Hermopolis in Egypt at least establishes that the vessels on the Apadana reliefs are not solely rhetorical intimation of uniform culture. On the Tomb of Petosiris the depiction of at least one deep bowl with offset everted rim and one shallow bowl with offset everted rim, as well as a number of bent animal-protome vessels provide testimony to their production in another region of the empire for local consumption.¹⁶

In the case of Western Anatolia and specifically Lydia, thanks to the establishment of at least the general provenance of the 'Lydian Treasure', one has a firmer basis from which to consider Persian-period interculturalisation. After decades of excavation at Sardis, the basic shape of the pre-Persian epichoric culture of Lydia is known. It begins to be possible to consider the extent to which local elites emulated

¹³ Calmeyer (1993, 160) summarises.

¹⁴ Considered and rejected as 'less plausible' by Schmidt 1957, 95.

¹⁵ Boardman 2000 has gone with current evidence about as far as is possible.

¹⁶ Albeit from a period after Persian hegemony, still valuable as evidence for local production in the Achaemenid manner: Lefebvre 1923, pls. 7-8. See Muscarella 1980, 28-29, with fig. 4 (pl. 8), who first drew attention to the importance of the tomb. A detailed photograph now in Koch and Rehm 2006, 127, fig. 2.

the centre, and made its status expression their own. Furthermore, it begins to be possible to propose strategies for identifying regional expression within the overarching material and visual culture of the Achaemenid world.

Lydia at the Crossroads. A Tradition of Interculturation

Lydia offers ample evidence of receptivity to cultures both East and West long before the arrival of the Persians. In the 7th century BC, even while local traditions held sway, goods from the Phrygian highland to the East and the East Greek states to the West were imported and imitated. Sardis' Indere Tomb, dated early 6th century BC, exemplifies the international character of Archaic Lydia. The ceramics of the tomb included Lydian pottery (two 'Orientalising' skyphoi and two 'streaked' skyphoi), but it also included Greek wares (an Ionian cup and rosette bowl). Most interestingly, it included a Lydian marble-ware ceramic imitation of the typical Phrygian bronze bowl with spool-shaped attachments.¹⁷

Communication between Lydia and the Phrygian highlands was readily available through the upper Hermos valley. In addition to the marbled-ware bowl of the Indere Tomb, the Butler expedition to Sardis excavated a local clay imitation of the Phrygian bowl with spool-shaped attachments, now in New York.¹⁸ More recently, a bronze Phrygian-style bowl with the distinctive spool-shaped attachments was excavated at Basmacı Tomb I (Güre district) in the upper Hermos valley (alongside a silver omphalos bowl with internal concentric ribbing in the Phrygian fashion); adduced parallels are 8th century BC but the bronze bowl could date as late as the 6th century BC.¹⁹ The Basmacı bronze bowl lacks a characteristic feature of the parallels from Gordion: whereas the Phrygian bowls have a central gap in the band that links the vertical spools around the exterior at the lip, the Basmacı bowl carries the band all the way around.²⁰ This deviation may have a chronological value (no example was known to Knudsen among Gordion's 8th-century BC material); or it may reveal that this is a Lydian artisan's imitation of the Phrygian vessel, for

¹⁷ Manisa Museum: Sardis Indere Grave T61.2. Hanfmann (1962, 24-27, fig. 19-22) briefly summarises the contents of tomb; see the group photograph in Hanfmann 1983, fig. 119. Knudsen 1964 publishes the Indere Phrygian bowl, with full Phrygian comparanda. Muscarella 1971 addresses the role of Phrygian goods in Lydia (spool-handled bowls: 58-60). Another Phrygian shape that was imitated in Lydia is the strainer-spouted jug (Greenewalt 1966, 135-36). See also the list in Paspalas 2000, 159-60.

¹⁸ From Sardis Tomb 23a, now New York, MMA 14.30.20, illustrated by Muscarella 1971, pl. V, fig. 12.

¹⁹ Uşak 1.5.89. Özgen and Öztürk 1996, no. 225 (silver bowl, Uşak 1.3.89, no. 224); with references. Date: Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 30.

²⁰ Gordion bowls: Young 1981, 125-30, with pls. 65-67 (MM 55-69). Ribbed omphalos bowl: Young 1981, 141-43, with pl. 71 (MM 125-130).

whom the detail was deemed decorative rather than functional.²¹ Moreover, at Sardis both imported Phrygian and local Phrygianising fibulae are attested.²²

The Indere Tomb's inclusion of Greek ceramics comes as no surprise: wares from mainland Greece (Corinthian, Laconian and Attic), as well as East Greece, are otherwise attested in Archaic Sardis.²³ The Lydian ceramic repertoire has many links with Archaic East Greece, such as the use of various vessel types like the column-krater, skyphos and some forms of oinochoe.²⁴ Yet, while ceramics provide ample evidence for both trade and cultural exchange with Greek-speaking peoples, the distinction between 'East Greek' and 'Lydian' cultural expression is best conceived as shading rather than line; East Greeks were themselves part of the wider Western Anatolian culture. The distinctive white ground of many East Greek wares is but a local manifestation of the Western Anatolian decorative grammar seen both in prior Phrygian and Lydian wares. Similarly in sculpture, both large and small scale, the kinship of East Greek with Western Anatolian is readily observed.²⁵

The conquest of Western Anatolia by the Persians added an important new cultural element to the mix in Lydia. On the basis of some ceramic deposits, Dusinger has made the stimulating and attractive proposal that Lydians in Sardis abandoned their traditional skyphos in favour of the Achaemenid deep bowl as their drinking vessel of choice over the early 5th to 3rd centuries BC.²⁶ The Achaemenid shape of shallow bowl with offset everted rim is otherwise attested in local ceramic copy from the tumulus at Harta.²⁷ Such emulation of Persian luxury *toreutics* in local ceramic products would seem to indicate a high level of receptivity among the population generally, but it cannot directly answer the question about 'native' elite practice: did the local elite, sponsoring the production of metal-ware vessels to a central model for tribute, themselves use and copy imported metal-ware bowls?

In her fuller study of satrapal Sardis, Dusinger identified several categories of 'Achaemenid' artefacts that give every indication of having been locally produced; seals

²¹ Knudsen 1964, 66 n. 17. Kohler (1995, 203-04) briefly summarises and updates knowledge of the bowls with swivel-handles and spool-shaped attachments, reading the continuous band as a retention of form from a prior structural requirement to strengthen the wooden model bowl.

²² Waldbaum 1983, cat. nos. 671-675, with commentary at 112-13.

²³ Schaeffer *et al.* 1997.

²⁴ Greenewalt 1966.

²⁵ Asheri 1983, 15-65, especially 39-51. On the regional quality of East Greek dialects, reflecting their incorporation of elements of the local Anatolian language, whether Lydian or Carian (Herodotus 1. 142. 3-4), see Blümel 1998. For sculpture, see Özgan 1978.

²⁶ Dusinger 1999.

²⁷ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 39, fig. 67. Note the parallel (imitation of Persian *toreutics* in local ceramics) in modern Georgia, at Gumbati (Knauss 2000, fig. 4).

and jewellery feature most strongly.²⁸ She urges the case that the local population made Sardis' 'Achaemenid' products for their own consumption in ready emulation of the new cultural centre rather than under compulsion by their new masters. Such a reading fits well the pattern emerging elsewhere in the Achaemenid empire.²⁹ To what extent do the contents of the 'Lydian Treasure', and more specifically the contents of the tumulus at Ikiztepe, support it?

First, it needs to be stressed that the combination of Lydian tomb design and burial practice in the Ikiztepe tumulus urge the identification of the deceased with a native population, as was argued by Özgen and Öztürk.³⁰ Several of the vessels parallel vessels depicted on relief sculptures of Persepolis and other Persian products so closely as perhaps to identify them as imports.³¹ Nonetheless on a few, such as a magnificent silver incense-burner, Lydian inscriptions may bear witness to local production (as they surely do in the case of Lydian inscriptions on Achaemenid-style seals).³² Even more revelatory, Lydian/Persian hybridisation – that is, Persian decorative details applied to traditional Lydian ceramic shapes – can be identified on such vessels as the bronze chytra with stepped lid or silver lydion with horizontal flutes.³³ Items such as these surely attest to the local production in Lydia, that deliberately emulated some facet of imperial models.

Syntactical Irregularities in the Ikiztepe Figured Bowls

Amidst all the wealth of metal vessels from the Ikiztepe tumulus, three lobed silver bowls stand out:³⁴ they incorporate figural compositions between their lobes, in two cases made of separately produced appliqué.³⁵ All three compositions incorporate Achaemenid Persian imagery, which allow the vessels to be analysed not only by

²⁸ Dusingberre 2003.

²⁹ See the arguments for glass production throughout the western empire (Triantafyllidis 2003) and the accumulating evidence for Georgia, now conveniently amassed in Knauss 2006.

³⁰ The details of the Ikiztepe tomb are given in Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 48-52; see also 54.

³¹ For example Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 47-48 (deep bowls with horizontal fluting); also no. 49 (with vertical tongues); nos. 50, 124 (plain).

³² Incense-burner: Uşak 1.55.96: Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. no. 71; p. 34 that it was probably made by Lydians. Its seeming informal epigraphic character encouraged Melikian-Chirvani (1993, 113-15) to see the item as an import from Iran and the inscription as secondary. The name Artimas is uncertain, and could be either Anatolian or Iranian. The name is found in Caria and Lycia (Briant 1996, 1014/2002, 988, with references). Seals with Lydian inscriptions: Boardman 1970, 20-21; 1998, 2-3; Root 1998, 264.

³³ As noted by Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 23 (chytra), 63 (lydion).

³⁴ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 33-35. They caution (p. 51) that the second and third vessels discussed here (Uşak 1.29.96 and 1.30.96) are not securely associated with precisely the Ikiztepe tumulus; only cat. no. 35 (Ankara 75-8-66) certainly comes from the Ikiztepe tumulus.

³⁵ See the important article by Moorey (1988).

shape and technique of manufacture, but also by iconography. At the outset, the Persian-ness of the elements of decoration most strikes the viewer. Yet these very elements are combined in a manner that defies the conventional syntax of heartland Persian art as we understand it from palatial decorative systems and from seals. The bowls deserve closer analysis.

Genre Confusion and Misplaced Modifiers: The Phiale with Addorsed Rams

The first vessel from the tumulus at İkiztepe to be discussed is a shallow silver phiale with very widely spaced lobes and, introduced in repoussé technique between the lobes, the figural design of addorsed ram protomes above a winged sun disk (Fig. 2).³⁶ Several features make this phiale noteworthy: design, iconography and figural syntax.

Design: Visual Prolivity. The introduction of figures between the lobes (characteristic of all three bowls under discussion) is foreign to the age-old aesthetic preference for repetitive patterning in the Mesopotamian tradition of bowls. Within this tradition lobed phialai typically exhibit a consistent pattern of embossed lobes; stylised lotus patterns may be tucked in between the lobes, but they do not displace the visual predominance of the lobed element. Accordingly, the design type does not appear in the standard studies on phiale typology: in Luscheý's categorisation, the type would fit merely within his category of phiale with simple bosses. Howes Smith's Type A4 (dated to the 8th century BC) has 'large drop-shaped bosses separated by interspace', but no figures are inserted in that interspace.³⁷ As Roger Moorey put it: 'The use of figured designs on external surfaces is still surprisingly rare in the published repertory of genuine Achaemenid plate in precious metals.'³⁸

The deviant insertion of repoussé figural decoration between the widely spaced lobes is most readily compared to two vessels with northern provenances, one in the Oxus Treasure and the other from Ünye in northern Turkey. The gold phiale from the Oxus Treasure is often taken as Bactrian work (Fig. 3).³⁹ Despite continuing discussion about the integrity of the 'Oxus Treasure' and its precise provenance, its antiquity (i.e. authenticity) and general provenance are secure.⁴⁰ Repoussé pairs of

³⁶ Ankara 75-8-66. Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. no. 35; also published in Toket 1992, 174, 223 cat. no. 153. The earlier interpretation of the animal protomes as bulls rather than goats is surely incorrect, given the curvature of the horn and the regular ridging along the length of the horn, neither of which is characteristic of bulls in life or in Achaemenid art.

³⁷ Luscheý 1939, 61-63. Howes Smith 1986.

³⁸ Moorey 1988, 232.

³⁹ London BM ANE 123919 (12.1 cm diam.): Dalton 1964, no. 18, pl. 8; Luscheý (1939, 61, no. 1; 62-63) includes the Oxus phiale with his 'simple boss' category and concludes that it is a native Bactrian work; Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 109, as Iranian, F2c17.

⁴⁰ See the helpful outline of evidence in Curtis 2004.



Fig. 2: Silver shallow six-lobed bowl from Ikiztepe, with repoussé figures, *ca.* 500 BC (Ankara 75-8-66) (after Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 89).



Fig. 3: Gold shallow six-lobed bowl from the Oxus Treasure, with repoussé rampant lions (London, BM ANE 123919) (photograph: courtesy of The British Museum).

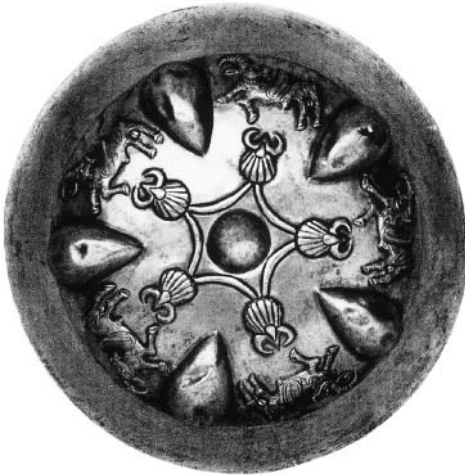


Fig. 4: Silver shallow five-lobed bowl from Ünye, with repoussé regardant goats (Ankara 57-1-55) (after Akurgal 1968, pl. 67).

frontal-faced rampant lions are disposed back-to-back between the six lobes. Frontally they frame the lobes, though visually the back-to-back pairs of lions predominate.

Akurgal published the five-lobed silver phiale from Ünye (ancient Oinoe on the south coast of the Black Sea east of Samsun) (Fig. 4).⁴¹ Although a confiscated rather than excavated artefact, its antiquity and general provenance are relatively secure. It features repoussé standing regardant winged goats between the widespread lobes. The decorative aesthetic of the Ünye phiale's lower elements – the curvilinear pattern below the goats and around the central boss – more readily parallels the Ikiztepe phiale's curved lines linking the lotus blossoms in contrast to the Oxus Treasure's bowl with its simple ring and row of six inversed lobes (yet in terms of figural style the two phialai are quite distinct).

On the basis of the detail of the winged goats (and the provenance), Akurgal identified the Ünye phiale as late Cimmerian work. Attractive though the suggestion is, there is nothing concrete at present from the Cimmerian side to support it; indeed, Ivantchik, in his summary of what is known about Cimmerian material culture, utterly rejects the identification and insists that the phiale is Achaemenid.⁴² Toker similarly calls it 'Achaemenid' but (rather inconsistently) dates it to the first half of the 6th century BC, noting that the awkward details betray the 'carelessness of the local artist'.⁴³ Yet Achaemenid decorated phialai with good archaeological provenance consistently have close-set lobes (or other regularly recurring pattern), like those of the majority of phialai from the 'Lydian Treasure'; examples are known from Deve Hüyük and Susa.⁴⁴ From Persepolis come precious fragments of a glass phiale of the same type.⁴⁵ In view of all this Boardman has recently characterised the Ünye phiale as: 'a fore-runner of the Lydo-Persian series... which has the lobes but whose animals hail from an earlier Urartian tradition'.⁴⁶ For the vessel type with

⁴¹ Ankara AMM 57-1-55 (15.9 cm diam.). Akurgal 1967; Toker 1992, cat. no. 152 (where dated first half 6th century BC); Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 100, 109, as Anatolian, F1d18.

⁴² Ivantchik 2001, 96. Still helpful is Sulimirski 1959, 45-64.

⁴³ Toker 1992, No. 152.

⁴⁴ 'Lydian Treasure': Özgen and Öztürk cat. nos. 38-41 (lobed); see also nos. 46-47, 49, 122-123 (tongued); erroneously alleged to be Greek by von Bothmer (1981, 1984); Muscarella (1988, 218-19 n. 1) protested concerning his cat. nos. 326-327, which are the typical lobed type. Deve Hüyük: Moorey 1980, nos. 93-99 (see also nos. 85 and 92). Susa: Louvre Sb 2756; Harper *et al.* 1992, 244, cat. no. 170. See also Lushey 1939; Howes Smith 1986. For the argument that Herzfeld's four lobed bowls inscribed in Old Persian with the name of Artaxerxes should be taken as ancient and reliable evidence for heartland toreutic, see Curtis *et al.* 1995; Gunter and Root 1998. Cf. London WA, silver phiale (25.3 cm diam.), 'from Erzingan' (Dalton 1964, no. 180).

⁴⁵ Schmidt 1957, pl. 67.3.

⁴⁶ Boardman 2000, 247 n. 132.

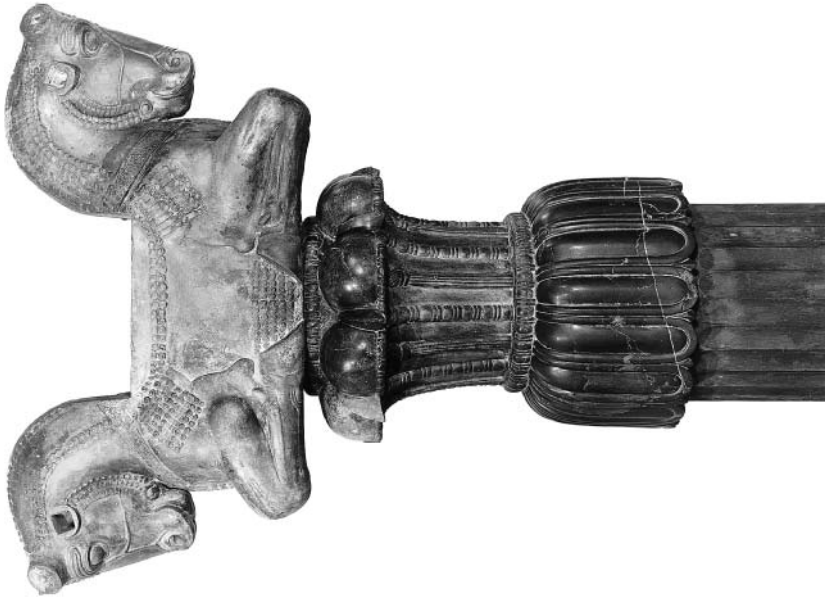


Fig. 6: Bull protome capital from Apadana South Porch, Persepolis (photograph: courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, P 67572 / N.46348a / OIM A 24069-79).

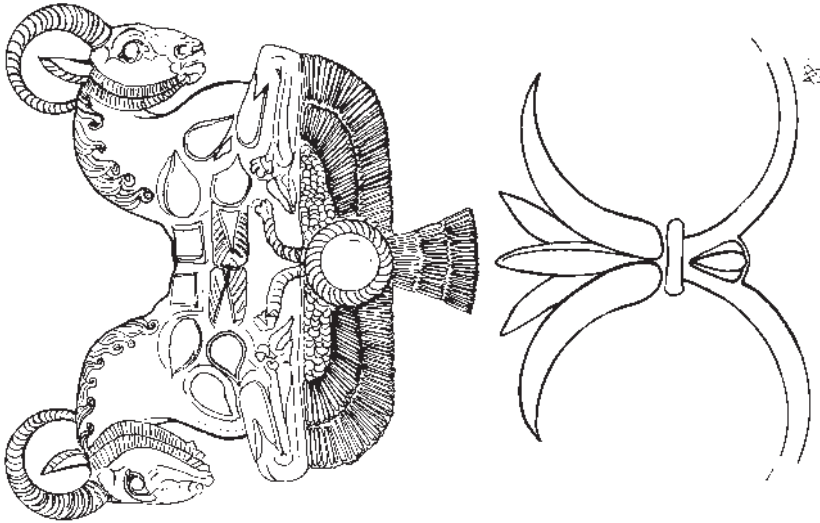


Fig. 5: Double-protome design of silver bowl from Ikiztepe (Ankara 75-8-66) (drawing by Amanda Dusting based on Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 89).

widely spaced lobes and figures between the lobes, the lack of parallel with firm provenance elsewhere is not much to go on; but at present, the evidence points to an East Anatolian or Pontic rather than heartland Iranian aesthetic.

Three other phialai of the early 5th century BC provide slightly more distant parallels: they share the feature of a limited number of repoussé lobes (six), spaced wide apart, with repoussé figural elements introduced between: all three have a pattern of lotus and palmette flanked by pairs of swan-necks between the lobes. Two come from Rhodes in East Greece, and the third (with an Aramaic inscription) from Kazbeg in the Caucasus.⁴⁷ Their provenances are hence not incompatible with an Anatolian origin, as has already been noted by Boardman.

Iconography: Genre Confusion. The repoussé figures between the lobes exhibit an iconography whose separate elements are recognisably Achaemenid: addorsed ram protomes and a winged sun disk (Fig. 5). Yet the appearance of pairs of addorsed animal protomes as two-dimensional vessel decoration is an instance of *genre confusion*. Addorsed animal protomes are imports from the three-dimensional arts, notably architecture, and are best known from the (bull) protome column capitals from the Apadanas of Susa and Persepolis, and perhaps even Pasargadae (Fig. 6).⁴⁸ They are not commonly found in two-dimensional minor arts, though an origin in furniture manufacture has been suggested.⁴⁹ An interesting parallel exception occurs on a gold ring with engraved bezel from Rawalpindi (5th century BC bezel style, according to Dalton), which features addorsed bull protomes.⁵⁰ Here, too, the animal protome capital, whose architectural iconography links it with imperial Persian power, appears displaced into another realm – personal jewellery – in a distant outpost of empire.

Despite the fact that the overall form adopts the design of the typical Achaemenid addorsed protome capital, such genre-confusion with architecture does not tell the whole story. Özgen and Öztürk describe the animal protomes on the phiale as bull

⁴⁷ Ialysos, Rhodes, Tombs 61 and 72, ca. 500: Miller 1997, 43 n. 63 with references. Kazbeg, now Moscow: Lushey 1939, 61, cat. no. 3; illustrated: Boardman 2000, fig. 5.73, with references at 247 n. 133 (where appears the judgment about production); Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 106, F1c16.

⁴⁸ It is doubtless this similarity that made Özgen and Öztürk 1996 (and Toker 1992, 223) identify the phiale's figures as addorsed bulls. Susa: de Mecquenem 1947, 37-39, with fig. 17 and pl. 4. Persepolis, Apadana, Throne Hall: Schmidt 1953, fig. 48b-c, fig. 61c; and see the man-bull addorsed element on the composite capitals of the Council Hall, figs. 54e-55. Pasargadae: four sadly fragmentary capitals were found by Herzfeld (described as horned lion, leonine figure, bull, horse), of which only two were recovered by Stronach 1978, 61-62, fig. 29a-d, pl. 55a-d. See further below.

⁴⁹ Boardman 2000, 74. See also Stronach 1978, 73-74.

⁵⁰ London WA 124007: Dalton 1964, no. 106, pl. XVI; illustrated in colour in Curtis and Tallis 2005, no. 18.



Fig. 7: Ram protome silver rhyton, mid-5th century BC. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.30) (photograph: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, all rights reserved).

protomes; the bull capitals of Susa and Persepolis and Pasargadae do provide good parallels for the formation of the mane and beard by rows of separate spiral tufts on the phiale's animals. Yet the backward-curving horns on the phiale characterise the ram (or, if longer, the ibex) rather than the bull.⁵¹ Ram or ibex capitals are to date unknown in Achaemenid monumental architecture. At Pasargadae a fragmentary

⁵¹ I am most indebted to Susanne Ebbinghaus for pointing this out to me; this material, and its possible link with Anatolia, will be further discussed Ebbinghaus forthcoming.

sculpture identified as a horse-protome capital by Schmidt and Stronach was re-identified as an ibex by Kawami. However, on the basis of guardian sculptures from Persepolis, Kawami suggests that it too was a guardian sculpture rather than a capital; and in any case, its smooth features make it less of an apt parallel for the figures on the phiale.⁵²

Small-scale three-dimensional goats found on zoomorphic handles and animal-protome rhyta provide closer parallels to the details of the phiale's rams. In toreutics the interior detailing of the curved horns by a series of horizontal ridges characterises the ram or wild goat, though it is also found on the curved horns of fabulous creatures (Fig. 7).⁵³ The busy stylisation of the musculature also tends to find parallels among the goats of minor arts rather than column capitals. The tiny leaf- or feather-shaped 'underwing' is best paralleled in the ram-protome rhyta, especially the silver rhyton formerly in the Schimmel Collection, which also features the spiral tufts; and that in the Pomerance Collection.⁵⁴ The 'underwing' is barely visible in Fig. 7, incised at the transition from protome to fluted drinking element, in the shadow. Yet, the 'underwings' on the phiale's rams take an unusual form: they are doubled and reversed, in opposition to the placement of wings in nature. They thus add to the decorative rather than the organic quality of the detailing. The stylised shoulder musculature is more readily paralleled by the ibex handles of the later amphora from the Duvanlij treasure in Bulgaria.⁵⁵

While the overall composition of the addorsed rams on the phiale comes from architecture, the model for their anatomical details would seem to have been small-scale plastic arts.⁵⁶ In addition to genre confusion, there is misquotation as the anatomy confuses the heartland Achaemenid treatment of musculature.

Decorative Syntax: Misplaced Modifiers. The addorsed ram protomes kneel not on the usual support for column capitals but above winged sun disks. The winged sun disk itself is very well known in both large- and small-scale Achaemenid arts (except vessels), where it occurs both independently and in composition. When in composition, the sun disk consistently appears above the other element, as is appropriate

⁵² Kawami 1986, 265-66. Ibex guardian sculptures near the north-east tower of the Apadana at Persepolis: Kawami 1986, pl.16, fig. 8; Schmidt 1957, pl. 36c. Ibex-figures in relief sculpture: Schmidt 1953, pl. 187a-b (Palace of Xerxes).

⁵³ Note the lion-griffin handles (Pfrommer 1990, pls. 36.2, 37.1).

⁵⁴ An observation I owe to Susanne Ebbinghaus. New York MMA 1989.281.30: Muscarella 1974, no. 155. Pomerance: Terrace 1966, cat. no. 59.

⁵⁵ Sofia Mus. 6137: silver-gilt amphora from Kukuva Mogila, Duvanlij, Bulgaria. Filow 1934, 46, no. 14; Marazov 1998, no. 117.

⁵⁶ The discovery of a cache of impressions at Ur reveals an indiscriminate use of seals, coins and metal-ware details, presumably as models for seals, and so suggests that some translations between media may have commonly occurred (Garrison and Root 2001, 39).

to its symbolic significance.⁵⁷ Sometimes that other element is paired creatures.⁵⁸ Tendrils commonly descend, reminiscent of birds' legs.⁵⁹

On the phiale the placement of the winged sun disk below the figured elements turns it into a supportive platform. Its details are adapted to suit the new syntax: here the tendrils curve upwards. With their enlarged finials, they almost take the form of twin heads, rather like a janiform eagle in effect.⁶⁰ Such a figural syntax is highly ungrammatical in heartland terms, and ruptures the Achaemenid convention.

All three aspects – the insertion of figural elements between the lobes, the translation of visual imagery from the three-dimensional media of architecture and toreutics to the two-dimensional realm, and the displacement of the winged sun disk to the role of support – point to a production away from the heartland. Yet the phiale derives its visual vocabulary from Achaemenid Persian production.

'Loan Words' and a Provincial Accent: The Phiale with 'Royal Guard'

A second shallow silver lobed phiale, though adorned with a more canonical number of lobes (10), also inserts figures between the lobes (Fig. 8).⁶¹ Here the technique is of particular interest, but the iconography and contrasts in style give significant information. As in the case of the phiale with addorsed rams, the phiale presents links with and disjunctions from Achaemenid heartland production.

Technique: Rhetorical Flourish or Narrative Twist? On the phiale both the gilt lobes and the gilt figures were made separately and subsequently attached to the surface

⁵⁷ Whether or not the image represents Ahuramazda, it would seem to have precise religious significance. See Garrison and Root 2001, 39, 69, with references.

⁵⁸ For example, the glazed brick from the north-west corner of central court of the palace at Susa, where pairs of sphinxes are associated with the sun disk: Louvre Sb 3324; see Harper *et al.* 1992, no. 157 with discussion and references. The current restoration is admittedly based on comparanda. As for minor arts: the winged sun disk is omnipresent in Achaemenid cylinder seals. Kaim (1991, 31–32) succinctly summarises the standard arrangements of the winged sun disk in composition on seals. For the winged sun disk above paired animals, see the sealing from Daskyleion inscribed with the name of Xerxes, where two sphinxes leap towards each other below a winged sun disk (Kaptan 2003, DS 2).

⁵⁹ I adopt the term 'tendrill' from Roaf 1983, who discusses this motif 133–38, noting a possible origin in 'the legs of the supposed sun-bird...on Egyptian reliefs' (137).

⁶⁰ From the sealings of Persepolis, Garrison and Root (2001, 185) note only one instance of the winged symbol as a pedestal device (for a hero controlling a pair of animals) and comment that it is 'a very unusual placement of this device' (cat. no. 104; pl. 60). Although the winged sun disk is almost a cliché in Achaemenid glyptic, the up-turned tendrils appear only in two other cases to my knowledge, and there they occur in combination with down-turned tendrils: Kaim 1991, pl. 7.1; London, BM, WA 89304 above a heroic combat, though Merrillees (2005, 59) describes this more precisely as 'centred above is a small disk with horn-like appendage over it'.

⁶¹ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. no. 33. Also von Bothmer 1981, 195–96; 1984, 25; and especially Moorey 1988, 234 (no. 2).



Fig. 8: Silver shallow bowl with ten appliqué lobes and figural decoration, probably from Ikiztepe, *ca.* 500 BC (Usak 1.29.96) (after Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 87).

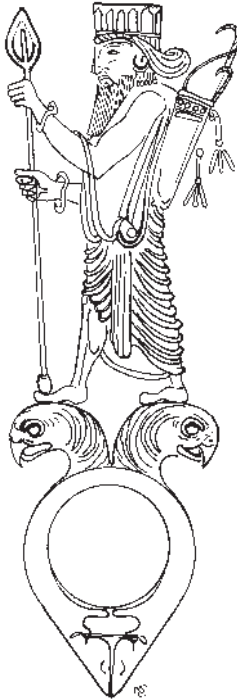


Fig. 9: 'Royal Guard' appliqué design of silver bowl probably from Ikiztepe (Usak 1.29.96) (drawing by Amanda Dusting based on Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 87).

of the exterior into specially cut grooves.⁶² As Moorey demonstrated, these bichromatic processes are unusual and sophisticated. The technique of inserting lobes to the exterior of a bowl whose interior is plain (except for the lower omphalos) differs from the usual repoussé technique whose interior shows the negative of the exterior.⁶³ This rare complicated process is otherwise found on a few other vessels from the Lydian Treasure.⁶⁴ It also occurs on a silver deep bowl in the Shumei Collection as well as a silver hemispherical bowl in London, both of regrettably uncertain provenance.⁶⁵

It is not clear whether the supremely competent metalworker who produced the bowl primarily intended by the experimental technique to provide a strong contrast between an elaborate exterior and plain interior. Such contrasts are otherwise found in Achaemenid toreutics: a bronze deep bowl from Deve Hüyük has a separate overlay that featured 11 repoussé lobes with lotus designs engraved between. The silver shallow bowl excavated at Susa is suspected of having been cast because there is no trace on the interior of the 40 long petals of the exterior; instead a light lotus and bud frieze circle the omphalos.⁶⁶ For the Ikiztepe phiale, the innovation may have been to enhance further the bimetallic quality, as the attachments – both lobes and relief figures between – are gilt.⁶⁷ In contrast the figural appliqués of the Shumei vessel are silver rather than gold (albeit with a contrasting sheen owing to a different finish); the use of silver throughout made Thomas suggest that the purpose of the technique was to allow the interior surface to remain smooth.⁶⁸

The rare type of figural decoration is dubbed ‘gold figure’ by Moorey. He suggested that the regional home for ‘gold figure’ is ‘West Anatolian Achaemenid’, though he argued for a long prehistory for the technique in Iron-age Iranian metalwork.⁷⁰ The technique allows for a double effect: to bedazzle the eye with bichromy; and to create surprising contrasts between interior and exterior.

⁶² Described by Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 87.

⁶³ The plain interior possible in such a technique (albeit different examples, two deep bowls with attached lobes modelled in the shape of Persians’ heads) is best seen in the photograph in von Bothmer 1984, 24, for cat. nos. 16-17.

⁶⁴ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 34 (discussed below), 36, 37.

⁶⁵ Shumei Collection, Miho Museum: Arnold *et al.* 1996, 47-48, cat. no. 18 (entry by Nancy Thomas). London, WA 13470: Moorey 1988, 233-34, pl. 1a. See also London WA 135571: Moorey 1988, 235-36, no. 4, pl. 4a; Curtis and Tallis 2005, no. 101.

⁶⁶ Oxford, Ashmolean 1913.594: Moorey 1980, no. 111. Paris, Louvre Sb 2756: Harper *et al.* 1992, 244, no. 170.

⁶⁷ Bi-metallic aesthetic also to be seen in Scythian work: Greifenhagen 1970, 56, pl. 29.

⁶⁸ In Arnold *et al.* 1996, 47-48, cat. no. 18.

⁶⁹ Moorey 1988, 238; Achaemenid-period florescence as an Anatolian phenomenon (p. 235).

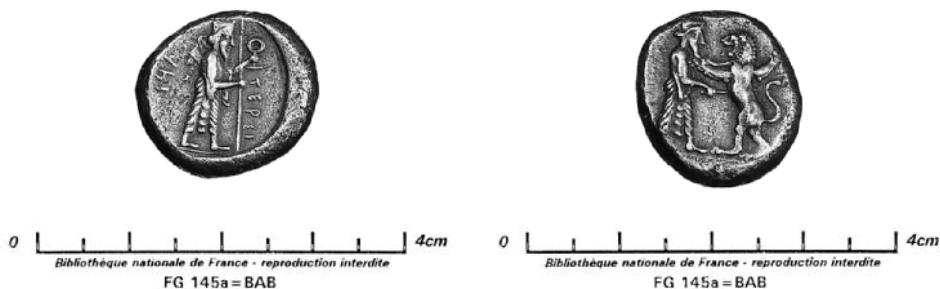


Fig. 10: 'Royal Guard' (rev.) and 'Royal Hero' (obv.) on silver sigilos from Tarsus, Cilicia, ca. 400-385 BC. Paris, Cabinet des Medailles (photograph: Bibliothèque nationale de France).

Iconography: Provincial Accent and Unconventional Syntax. The ten figures between the ten lobes wear the Achaemenid court robe, carry a bow and quiver on their backs, and hold a spear upright (Fig. 9). By and large they parallel the guards on the palace walls of Susa and Persepolis (and in minor arts) who signify attendance on the king.⁷⁰ Yet there is one important deviant detail, already noted by Moorey: they wear a serrated crown. The crown makes them 'Royal Guard' (i.e. King-as-Guard) figures, much like the 'Royal Archer' of Achaemenid coinage.

The Royal Guard characteristically appears in the arts of the Western empire, such as the reverse of early 4th-century BC coins from Tarsus (Fig. 10, left).⁷¹ It may be an invention of the western satrapies, signifying the king's protection of his peoples. The inclusion of the crown to create the Royal Guard on the phiale then responds well to the conditions of production.⁷² Any message about the king's protection of his peoples had especial urgency in the further reaches of the empire, under threat from Greek 'freedom fighters' from without.

The dress of the Royal Guard on the Ikiztepe phiale offers one further argument for a manufacture in Western Anatolia. Boardman noted that whereas in Persian art only the near lower hem of robes is rendered, on the phiale, the far hem appears as

⁷⁰ Note an interesting parallel among the Persepolis sealings, PTS No. 24, the seal of Appish-manda, which shows two such palace guards, dubbed 'Susian' by Schmidt, flanking a palm tree overtopped by the winged sun disk (Schmidt 1957, 27-28, pl. 8). Given the frequent association of the date palm with the king on cylinder seals, these are doubtless meant to range in the same semantic field as the guards on the palace walls: they are palace guards themselves guarding the king rather than the 'Royal Guard'.

⁷¹ Levante 1993, no. 209 (dates 425-400 BC) = Babelon 1910, no. 528; Casabonne 2004, 126, dates 400-385 BC. Note his interesting suggestion (p. 172) that the king holds a key signifying his local suzerainty.

⁷² Root 1979, 306-07; Moorey 1988, 235. For an analogous argument with regard to the knotted kidaris strap on 'satrapal' coinage, see Harrison 2002, 312.

a curving arc; the treatment is characteristic in Greek art of the period.⁷³ In view of the tradition of interculturalism between East Greece and Lydia noted above, such a detail would not be surprising in a West Anatolian/Lyidian workshop.

Yet here, too, there are syntactical irregularities. In complete rupture with the norm for guards in Achaemenid art (royal or not), these figures neither float in space nor stand on a simple base line: they plant their feet firmly on two addorsed eagle-heads. The concept of the pedestal animal is itself imported from glyptic, where in the early Achaemenid period it is associated with high social status.⁷⁴ On a characteristic example from Persepolis, a cylinder seal, a hero stabbing a horned winged lion stands on a lion.⁷⁵ Here, too, a provincialism: whereas in the heartland bestiary pedestal animals tend to be lions, sphinxes and griffins, the pedestal creatures of the phiale are addorsed eagles. Moreover, they are executed in a distinctively different style.

Style: Loan Words. There is a marked contrast between the naturalistic, if formal, style of the 'Royal Guard' figure, whose closest cognates are the figures from Achaemenid 'court art', and the highly schematised base on which he stands. Each foot rests on the head of an eagle whose linked attenuated bodies enclose a circular space, with a triangular element projecting at the bottom. Moorey aptly describes the pedestal figures as 'an unusually concise zoomorphic abbreviation', and notes a relationship with the art of the Steppes.⁷⁶ The triangular elements below resemble a hoofed lower leg and Özgen and Öztürk adduce as a parallel the attachments for a Scythian wooden bowl from Maikop in Berlin. The Maikop bowl was adorned by a series of golden relief attachments in the shape of the lower legs of deer and swine.⁷⁷ The mixture of medium (gold inset into wood rather than merely covering wood) offers interesting conceptual parallels to the inserted gold figure relief plaques.⁷⁸

The phiale with Royal Guard employs a number of surprise elements which conflate prior traditions. The 'provincial accent' of artistic language in the placement of the crown on the Royal Guard may point to the west, with parallels from Anatolia and the Levant; but the pedestal animal, both in choice and design, represents a borrowing from the north and north-east. Such loan elements perhaps reflect what

⁷³ Boardman 2000, 191.

⁷⁴ Dusinberre 2003, 161; argued more fully in Dusinberre 1997, 105-06 (where it is observed that pedestal animals in the Achaemenid world appear only in glyptic).

⁷⁵ Garrison and Root 2001, cat. no. 209 (PFS 523*); pl. 114. The language of the cuneiform script has not been identified; the seal's use is attested from 495/4 BC.

⁷⁶ Moorey 1988, 234. Ivantchik 2001 seems not to know of Moorey's article or the 'Lydian Treasure'.

⁷⁷ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 87. Berlin, inv. 30221.d1-4 ('Hirschenchenkel'), inv. 30221.d5-7 ('Schweinefuss'); Greifenhagen 1970, 57, pl. 32.1 and 32.3 (right); 58, pl. 32.4 and 32.3 (left).

⁷⁸ Greifenhagen 1970 notes other Scythian wooden bowls with inserted gold appliqué.

Dusinberre has dubbed the ‘polyethnic elite’ of satrapal Sardis; there is moreover good evidence for pockets of imported populations in Western Anatolia.⁷⁹

Mixed Metaphors: Deep Bowl with ‘Royal Hero’

The third figured vessel from Ikiztepe is a deep bowl (Fig. 11).⁸⁰ It combines Persian heartland iconography—the Royal Hero stabbing a rampant lion—with the unusual design (widely spaced lobes) of the first phiale and the unusual technique (‘gold figure’) of the second. Both the lobes and the figures were originally gilt and all were separately attached. The subsidiary decoration, engraved hatched triangles at the join of bowl to rim and opposed hatched triangles below, was reasonably identified by von Bothmer as Greek or Lydian, though it is difficult to find a certain parallel later than the bronze age.⁸¹

Morphology: Complex Structure. The bowl’s profile closely resembles that of the deep bowls of the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis (Fig. 1), a fact which makes all the more striking the unorthodox application of shallow lobes to the exterior. Extant deep bowls with swelling curves, like those of the reliefs, tend to be plain. When deep bowls were decorated, the decoration took the form of overall patterning (fluting or stylised lotus).⁸² The idea of enhancing the surface texture with the addition of lobes comes from shallow phialai (though it can be paralleled in some provincial ceramic imitations of Achaemenid metal-ware).⁸³ The addition of lobes, with or without figures inserted between, is anomalous and adds to the experimental quality of the Ikiztepe bowl. Indeed, it might even be argued that in order to introduce lobes to a rounded deep bowl with offset everted rim, the use of appliqué is necessary; repoussé is not an option.

The bowl is highly unusual but not entirely without parallel. In several respects it resembles the silver deep bowl in the Shumei Collection mentioned above: the profile, the technique, and even the iconography with a Royal Hero combating a rampant lion.⁸⁴ In style alone the two bowls differ. The use of appliqué rosettes as subsidiary decoration occurs in the silver shallow bowl with frontal-faced Bes-headed

⁷⁹ ‘Polyethnic elite’ (Dusinberre 2003); immigrant populations (Miller 1997, 91-97).

⁸⁰ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. no. 34, 10.56 cm diam. Discussed by Moorey (1988, 234-35, no. 3), with his pl. 3 being the best published illustrations of the bowl; von Bothmer 1981, 195.

⁸¹ von Bothmer 1981, 195.

⁸² Miller 1993, n. 28, lists examples, to which should be added Özgen and Öztürk 1996, cat. nos. 50 (plain), 46-49 (overall decoration).

⁸³ Knauss 2001; 2006. The longer body of the bronze deep bowl Stuttgart A 38.286, without provenance, resembles more closely the Georgian ceramic versions: (Koch and Rehm 2006, p. 118b). Edomite sites include loped deep bowls in their emulative corpus. See Bennett and Bienkowski 1995, fig. 6.8, nos. 9-10 (plastic), no. 14 (painted); Bienkowski 2002, 286, no. 22 (plastic).

⁸⁴ Shumei Collection, Miho Museum: Arnold *et al.* 1996, 47-48, cat. no. 18 (where it is presumed to be Iranian).

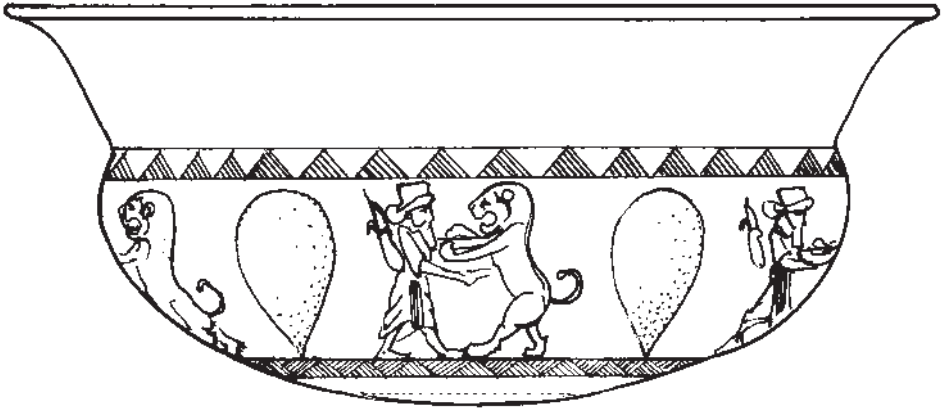


Fig. 11: Silver deep bowl with six appliqué lobes and figural decoration, probably from Ikiztepe, ca. 500 BC (Usak 1.30.96) (drawing by Amanda Dusting based on Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 88).



Fig. 12: 'Royal Hero' combats lion appliqué design of silver deep bowl probably from Ikiztepe (Usak 1.30.96) (drawing by Amanda Dusting based on Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 88).

winged lions in London.⁸⁵ Unfortunately the lack of provenance of both the Shumei and the London bowls makes these parallels suggestive but ultimately uninformative. They cannot elucidate the problems of locus and intent of manufacture.

Iconography: Mixed Metaphors. The subject of the figural zone, a figure in Persian dress stabbing a lion, emerges from the traditional 'heroic contest' motif of the ancient Near East (Fig. 12). In Achaemenid glyptic the 'heroic encounter' (the term embracing both heroic control and heroic combat) is especially popular, appearing on about one third of all seals; the popularity has suggested that the image had a particular significance in the Achaemenid world.⁸⁶ At Persepolis a subset of only one third of 'heroic encounter' scenes show scenes of the Hero battling beasts. On the Ikiztepe bowl, the figure stabs a rampant lion while grasping its throat; the inclusion of a dentate crown identifies him as royal. The court robe (sleeve pulled up to the shoulder on the left arm) is often worn by such figures on Achaemenid cylinder seals as is the combination of quiver and bow at his back.

In Achaemenid glyptic and other small-scale arts, especially in the provinces but also in the heartland, it is often the king with dentate crown who encounters the beast, as on the Ikiztepe bowl.⁸⁷ The crowned 'encounter' can be found amidst the sealings of Daskyleion in North-Western Anatolia and in the Murasu Archive at Nippur, Mesopotamia.⁸⁸ The same appears on early 4th-century BC coinage from Cilician Tarsus (Fig. 10, right) and also Sidon, which was in turn emulated in Samaritan coinage; the Royal Hero with crenellated crown appears also in local glyptic.⁸⁹ The crowned figure frequently appears on sealings from Persepolis in the heartland.⁹⁰ In fact, Root observed that the subject occurs on 'ten of the fifteen known seal types inscribed with the name of an Achaemenid king'.⁹¹

⁸⁵ London WA 135571, with eight lobes: Moorey 1988, pl. IVa (17.2 cm diam.); Curtis and Tallis 2005, no. 101.

⁸⁶ Garrison and Root discuss proportions (2001, 54-55); and subdivisions (59) of 'Encounter', noting that 'Control' appears twice as frequently as 'Combat'.

⁸⁷ Garrison and Root 2001, 57.

⁸⁸ Daskyleion: Kaptan 2003. DS 18: Aramaic inscription with seemingly Iranian name, West Semitic possession format – (Röllig in Kaptan 2003); DS 3: cuneiform inscription in OP and ?Babylonian says 'I am Xerxes'. Murasu Archive: The king without a quiver stabs a winged lion: Briant 1996, 742, fig. 54 bottom, illustrates; Legraine 1925, no. 936 on pl. LVIII; cf. no. 941. Legraine 1925, no. 936 = Bregstein 1993, no. 73 (as unwinged lion).

⁸⁹ Tarsus: Levante 1993, no. 209 (dates 425-400 BC) = Babelon 1910, no. 528; Casabonne 2004, 126 (dates 400-385 BC). Sidon: Hill 1910, 141, no. 9 = pl. 18.5 (half-shekel, ca. 400 BC); Boardman 2000, fig. 5.53. Samaria: Meshorer and Qedar 1999, 43-45 outlined (and relationship with Sidonian coinage noted); examples nos. 7, 20, 22, 23, 35, 74, 86, 96, etc. Uehlinger 1999, 153-62, though Uehlinger suspects that the cylinder seals were made elsewhere in the West and imported to Samaria.

⁹⁰ See Garrison and Root 2001, cat. nos. 221, 230.

⁹¹ Quotation from Root 1979, 303; see the discussion also in Garrison and Root 2001, 58.

The image of the king slaying a beast long served as an important symbol in the ancient Near East; the immediate antecedent to Persian art was the 'Royal Seal' type from Neo-Assyrian glyptic.⁹² Yet in the monumental art of Persepolis, the beast-slayer was stripped of his crown, to become (in Root's application of Darius' phrase to his visual realisation) a 'Persian Man', a heroic figure embodying the high ideals of courageous defence.⁹³ On a variety of doorjambes at Persepolis, the type can be found. On the Palace of Darius, the Hero tackles a bull, a lion-headed monster and a lion; in Xerxes' 'Harem', it is a lion and a lion-monster; and the Hero battles a lion, a griffin-monster, a lion-monster and bull in different doorways to Xerxes' Throne Hall.⁹⁴ This translation of the beast into fantastic figures of the mythical sphere (rather than the Assyrian lion) in conjunction with the removal of the crown underscored Darius' transformation of the traditional royal message.

The disjunction between the 'official' monumental imagery with its generic beast-slaying and more easily circulated small-scale imagery with its 'Royal Hero' is most telling. On the seals it is surely not merely a conservative retention of the traditional Near Eastern royal iconography. It is more as though the subjects insisted on a closer identity of King and Hero, as we saw in the case of the 'Royal Guard'; popular thought evidently viewed the crownless beast-fighters of the palaces as standing in for the king, presumably defending his peoples from hostile forces. Moreover, they insisted that the message be not subtle.⁹⁵

We may never know the programme of decoration of the Persian satrapal palace at Lydian Sardis, though there is some slight evidence that throughout the empire local Achaemenid administrative centres replicated to some degree the imagery of the centre as part of the dissemination of the imperial message.⁹⁶ Despite the probability of an alternative local model, the maker of the Ikiztepe deep bowl evidently adopted the imagery of the Royal Hero from models in glyptic rather than palace programmes.

The Poetics of Emulation in the Achaemenid World

In any act of production (Greek *poiesis* or 'making') many decisions are made, both conscious and subconscious. Decisions to follow conventional practice are mostly subconscious, while those to innovate, emulate, or abandon or modify past practice

⁹² Garrison and Root 2001, 53-60, with references, for range and meaning of the heroic encounter in Near Eastern glyptic. 'Royal Seal': see Herbordt 1992, 123-36 (with references).

⁹³ Root 1979, 305-07; see further Garrison and Root 2001, 57-58.

⁹⁴ Palace of Darius: Schmidt 1953, pls. 144-146; Harem: Schmidt 1953, pl. 195-196; Throne Hall: Schmidt 1953, pls. 114-117.

⁹⁵ Royal hero discussed by Root 1979, 303-08, crownless, 306-07; Moorey 1988, 235; Garrison and Root 2001, 56-60.

⁹⁶ Miller 1997, 123-24, with references. The material from Gumbati corroborates Knauss 2000. See now the Achaemenid column base fragment, Brussels O. 1929 (Koch and Rehm 2006, 111).

perhaps are more active. Modern discussions about the utility of concepts such as ‘influence’ with its implications of passivity have receded in the face of a more widespread awareness of the complexities of production, not least the interplay of maker and market; the concept of ‘emulation’ as a form of positive endorsement, even political statement, is now preferred.⁹⁷ Yet there is still need to deconstruct the decisions made in the process of emulation. The term ‘poetics’ is adopted here to flag both the creative decisions that go into an act of production (whether to adopt, modify, integrate), and the ideological processes engaged by the act of production. The Ikiztepe bowls are a creative production employing Persian visual vocabulary, a production that both links with and separates from the idiom of the Achaemenid heartland. In general, study of Achaemenid metal-ware is fundamentally handicapped by the shortage of examples with good archaeological provenance in Iran.⁹⁸ This gap of the centre makes impossible the study of relations based on vessel form or finish alone. Hence my focus on the figured vessels: they provide different realms of evidence. Not only the overall composition but also and especially the specific choice and disposition of the figural elements reveal a non-heartland production. Other features – the technique, as suggested by Moorey, the hem line of the Royal Guard, as suggested by Boardman, as well as the archaeological provenance – urge the identification of the locus of manufacture as the satrapy of Lydia.

The importance of the vessels of the ‘Lydian Treasure’ arises from their secure provenance. As noted above, on the basis of tomb construction, furnishings and the offerings, Özgen and Öztürk identified the rich burials in the region of Güre as burials of the local, rather than Persian, elite.⁹⁹ In a Lydian-style tomb with apparently Lydian burial practice, someone who was presumably ethnically Lydian was interred with a wealth of Persian-style vessels.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, for the various reasons outlined above, at least the three figured vessels discussed here must have been local products. They were worked partly within the cultural mosaic of a general north-west aesthetic, adopting and mixing different motifs from the Persian repertoire.

⁹⁷ For challenges to archaeological ‘influence’, see, for example, Winter 1977; Miller 1993, n. 187; 1997, 151.

⁹⁹ It is the same comparative isolation of the famed Hasanlu gold bowl that causes difficulties in identifying its cultural context and reading. See Winter 1989; Rubinson 2003.

⁹⁹ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 28. They further conclude, on the basis of such features as the absence of weapons in the burials, that the deceased of the rich Güre tombs were ‘more likely to have been either of mixed Anatolian-Persian stock, or Anatolians who favoured Persian ideas in decorative arts’ (Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 30). Contrast the archaeological invisibility of Persian funerary practice.

¹⁰⁰ Dusinberre (2003, 128-57) outlines well the difficulties in trying to analyse issues of ethnicity from archaeological, especially funerary, evidence. I do not contest her vision of ‘polyethnic’ elite of Sardis, but wish to focus attention on the probable transformation of self-expression of the local elite.

A regular feature on the three vessels is the (figurative) mixing of media, the displacement of one element into a different artistic context. This is why it has been so hard to characterise the material. Too little is known of the subject matter of earlier Lydian art (other than what Hanfmann dubbed the 'leontomania' of Archaic Lydian sculpture) to enable a detailed analysis of possible mingling of ideas in the Persian period, but in their conflation and modulation of Achaemenid and Near Eastern imagery, the Ikiztepe bowls seem to stand independent of any prior Lydian iconographic tradition. Of the subjects, only the lion combat may have figured in prior Lydian imagery as it was so widespread in the Near East.

In his study of the shapes of vessels brought by the delegations at Persepolis, Calmeyer observed a contrast between the careful ethnographic distribution of dress from one Delegation to another, and the more uniform appearance of the vessels, with the exception of a few vessel types from the periphery of the empire.¹⁰¹ As noted above, the deep bowl with offset everted rim appeared from a broad region from West Anatolia across Mesopotamia up to Drangiana and Arachosia; a smaller region (including Lydia), that perhaps represented the extent of the old Median zone of influence, contributed the spouted amphora. Calmeyer proposed that these vessels, which were not characteristic of their respective peoples (unlike the Bactrian camels), did reflect the practice of gift-giving in a wider circle among the elites of the empire. The Delegation reliefs of Persepolis, Calmeyer concluded, convey two messages, both ideological: 'So united is our ruling class!' and 'Over such widely scattered individual peoples do we rule!'¹⁰²

The 'Lydian Treasure' shows that such a reading can be taken further. Not only did the Lydians (and the other peoples who carry such vessels at Persepolis, including the Ionians!) participate in this gift-exchange of appropriate gifts; it is now clear that emulation of the Persian model caused them to adopt these signifiers of wealth and status in their own lives. Yet their imitation admitted creative innovation and reciprocity: interculturalisation perhaps rather than acculturation. In her studies of the imagery of the heartland, Root has had occasion to urge the reconsideration of the products of the regions of the empire as part of a creative dialogue with the imagery emanating from royal patronage, especially as created under Darius.¹⁰³

Why did the metalworkers of the Ikiztepe bowls modify the syntax of the imagery so strikingly? Should we view the specific instances of 'deviation' from Achaemenid imagery as the result of ignorance of the proper 'grammar' of imperial art, as mere provincialisms? Cultural anthropology knows many parallels. Or can we see the

¹⁰¹ Calmeyer 1993.

¹⁰² As noted above, the wide-ranging discussion of Root 1990 is very insightful.

¹⁰³ Root 1991; 1994, 15-22.

iconographic innovations as motivated by a desire to convey a locally nuanced special meaning, even possibly one intended for royal eyes?

There is as of yet no clear answer for the Ikiztepe material. Each of the three figured vessels picks up on an Achaemenid symbol of royal power. The double-protome column capital on the first is elusive but some examples of it outside the heartland suggest that it played a role in the architectural symbolism of the Achaemenid world (Figs. 2, 5).¹⁰⁴ Like the columned hall, it had a distinctively royal stamp and could connote royal authority. Hence its appearance on the gold ring from Rawalpindi noted above. The placement of the capital on top of the winged sun disk violates the religious principles behind the Achaemenid imagery, where the sun disk set above probably symbolises the protection of Ahura Mazda. Is this inversion a clumsy or ignorant (western) way of expressing divine support of the king?

The insistence that the guard figure on the phiale is actually the king changes the metaphor of its presence in art (Figs. 8-9). It does not signify the awesome power and separation of the king from his people by the thousand attendants of his dignity so much as the king's own role as guardian of the people, in the mode of 'the Lord is my shepherd'. The king as beast-slayer on the third bowl follows a more conventional heartland meaning (Figs. 11-12). The king as insurer of peace defeats the lie; but also again as protector, not only from internal dissension but also from external threat.

Local meaning rather than random assortment of alien symbols of power would seem to be at play here, as would local acceptance of royal ideology that all order in the cosmos stems from the king and his support by Ahura Mazda. What cannot yet be settled is whether we have here an attempt at iteration, an attempt employing the language of the centre, to communicate with the centre.¹⁰⁵

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¹⁰⁴ The appearance of Achaemenid-style column bases at Gumbati and elsewhere in the Caucasus exemplifies the same principle (Knauss 2000, 121-29; cf. Knauss 2006); presumably double-protome capitals were also used there. The double-bull protome from Sidon long known is now illustrated in colour in Curtis and Tallis 2005, fig. 29.

¹⁰⁵ Yet, as Dan Potts has forcefully put it to me: a Persian from the heartland would have been appalled at such blatant misunderstanding of the winged sun disk.

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