

1st INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran Cross-Cultural Encounters

ATHENS, 11-13 NOVEMBER 2006

Edited by Seyed Mohammad Reza Darbandi and Antigoni Zournatzi



National Hellenic
Research Foundation



Hellenic National
Commission for UNESCO



Cultural Center of the Embassy
of the Islamic Republic of Iran

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Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters.
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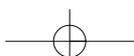


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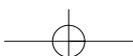


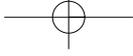


In memoriam

MASSOUD AZARNOUSH

27 November 2008





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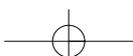
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ANTIGONI ZOURNATZI

Cultural Interconnections in the Achaemenid West: A Few Reflections on the Testimony of the Cypriot Archaeological Record

UP UNTIL about three decades ago, archaeological inquiries into Cyprus' (Fig. 1) two-century-long and eventful relationship with the Achaemenid empire (c. 545-c. 330BC) ¹ were focused almost exclusively on a scattering of important archaeological findings that were seen to echo the narrow focus of our texts on the political and martial aspects of Cypro-Persian encounters. A Cypro-Syllabic inscription on a bronze tablet, reportedly found in the Western Acropolis of Idalion before 1850, offered testimony about an otherwise unattested siege of that important inland Cypriot city by 'Medes' (i.e., Persians) and by troops from Kition, the main Phoenician center on the island.² The substantial remains of a siege mound excavated by the Northeast Gate of Palaipaphos in the 1950s and 1960s illustrated a second, well-known instance of armed conflict involving the Persians. Dated on the basis of ceramic evidence to c. 500, the siege ramp and associated traces of counter siege operations spontaneously lent themselves to an interpretation as relics of the siege of this city by Persian troops at the time of the Cypriot uprising of the 490s.³ In turn, the remains of two important edifices, one excavated at Vouni between 1928 and 1939 and the other at Palaipaphos in 1952-1953, presumably reflected the political repercussions of the revolt.

The extensive remains of the impressive, fortified palace on the hilltop of Vouni on the northwestern coast of the island (Fig. 2) were dated by the excavator, Einar Gjerstad, on ceramic evidence between c. 500 and c. 330BC.⁴

Fig. 1
Map of Cyprus.

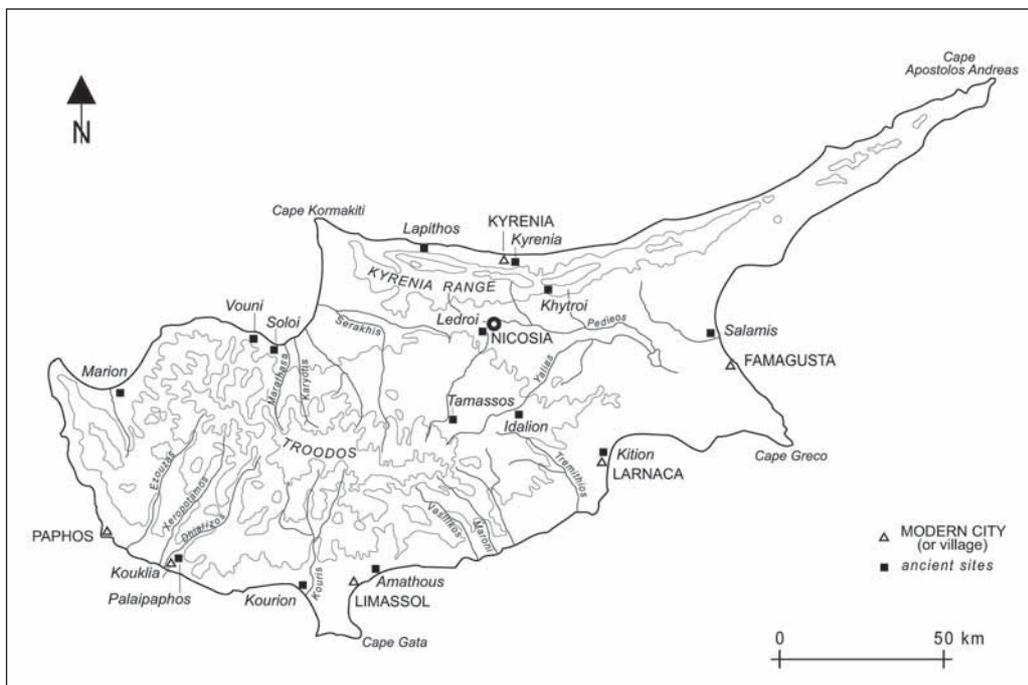


Fig. 2
The 'palace' at Vouni,
viewed from the east.
(Courtesy of the Director,
Cyprus Department
of Antiquities.)



The complex —erected on a naturally defensible location overlooking the capital city of the kingdom of Soloi and lacking any traces of destruction in its earlier phases that could be connected with the protracted Persian siege and capture of Soloi in the 400s (Hdt. 5.113.2)— was interpreted by Gjerstad as a strategic control point, built after the Cypriot Revolt by puppet kings of the Persians from the neighboring coastal city of Marion in order to safeguard a sensitive area of the island.⁵

In the case of the building on the Hadji Abdullah plateau at Palaipaphos, it was not possible to establish a close chronological correlation with the Cypriot Revolt, since the building's construction is only approximately datable by the associated pottery to the Cypro-Achaic II period (600-475 BC).⁶ However, the building's fine, drafted ashlar masonry and 'many small rooms and narrow corridors arranged on symmetrical axes' were seen to echo Achaemenid stonework and the plans of Persepolitan structures.⁷ As such they also seemed to allow —especially in the light of evidence (supplied by the adjacent siege mound) for the Paphians' fierce resistance against the Persians—a perception of the structure as a *Perserbau* or a 'Persian commander's residence' or 'headquarter of a Persian garrison' erected in the wake of the revolt.⁸

Starting in the 1980s, a growing interest in the investigation of the material culture of the Persian period in the territories of the Achaemenid empire at large also led to more detailed scrutiny of the Cypriot archaeological evidence. Today the earlier interpretations of the buildings at Vouni and Palaipaphos as imperial administrative and/or military control points —and with them the notions of a permanent Persian presence on and rigorous control of the island— have lost much of their earlier ap-

peal.⁹ The results of more recent inquiries have still provided us with additional insights into the potential of the Cypriot archaeological record to broaden our perspective on Cyprus' cultural interconnections with the Achaemenid world. This presentation considers briefly some of the relevant instances and the issues they raise.

Outside the putative close affinities of the Palaipaphos building with Achaemenid architecture, earlier recognized traces of Persian impact on Cypriot material culture used to be confined to a limited range of items. A hellenized double-bull-protome capital, possibly of Hellenistic date, offered the most conspicuous (though relatively late) manifestation of Cypriot Salamis' exposure to the Achaemenid world.¹⁰ At the monumental complex of Vouni, whose architecture displayed no obvious Achaemenid style elements,¹¹ allusions to the imperial environment derived from four darics and a handful of precious vessels and bracelets with calf's heads finial, all of which formed a part of the Vouni Treasure.¹² Precious metal bowls and bracelets with finials in the form of heads of animals were popular in the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean before the Achaemenid period. The profiles of two of the Vouni silver bowls (Fig. 3) are specifically associated, however, with the Persian period and Achaemenid tastes, being attested among other instances in Achaemenid pottery from Pasargadae and on the Persepolitan Apadana reliefs, where they are repeatedly encountered on bowls (almost certainly of precious metal) brought by different foreign delegations as gifts or tribute to the Great King.¹³ The *ōmega* shape of some of the Vouni bracelets is also characteristic of variations of such popular jewelry favored by the Persians;¹⁴ and much the closest parallels for the modeling of the calf's heads finials are provided by the two similarly *ōmega*-shaped bracelets that formed a part of the treasure excavated by David Stronach at Pasargadae in 1963 some thirty-five years after the discoveries at Vouni.¹⁵ Finally, terracotta figurines, deposited piously as offerings in Cypriot sanctuaries, showed Iranian attire.¹⁶ Though in general these figures are rendered in a summary way, there are a number of instances when the modeling or color suggests that they wore hoods with flaps and long trousers (*anaxyrides*).¹⁷ Examples of such figurines from the Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, studied by John Howard and Suzanne Halstead Young in the 1950s, were dated to the period before 400 BC; and the introduction of the iconographic type was linked to the establishment of Persian rule on the island.¹⁸

To date the volume of the relevant materials from Cyprus is still relatively limited.¹⁹ Over the past three decades, however, studies by Thierry Petit,²⁰ Christopher Tuplin²¹ and others demonstrated that the materials

Fig. 3. Silver bowls from the Vouni Treasure. Fifth/fourth century BC. Cyprus Museum. Left: D. 9.6cm; right: D. 14.2cm. (Courtesy of the Director, Cyprus Department of Antiquities.)





Fig. 4
The Kiti hoard of darics.
Cyprus Museum Kiti
1978/XII-19/3-8
(Courtesy of the Director,
Cyprus Department
of Antiquities.)

for the study of Cypriot contacts with the Achaemenid world can be derived from an additional number and variety of archaeological artifacts.

The circulation of Achaemenid coins in Cyprus is now attested by at least one small hoard of six darics discovered in the sea by the village of Kiti on the southeastern coast of the island in 1978 (Fig. 4).²² The Achaemenid profiles of the Vouni bowls can be seen to represent a larger group of Achaemenid shapes of drinking vessels attested on the island in metal, ceramic, and in one instance in stone.²³ The examples of Achaemenid or Achaemenid style jewelry have also been increasing, and testimony about their appeal to the local aristocracy is offered by the torque and earring of the bust that served as the reverse device of the gold numismatic issues of the last Salaminian rulers.²⁴

While figures with Iranian trousers and hoods had been known earlier, a chance discovery in the storerooms of the Cyprus Museum in 1987 revealed a still closer familiarity of Cypriot artists with the details of Iranian garb. A complete set of Iranian clothes, characterized by a hood with lappets, trousered costume, and a coat with sleeves (the *kandys*) was found to be featured on a hitherto unpublished limestone statuette, which is reported to have been found on Cyprus and which possibly also depicts (albeit in very rudimentary fashion) two further familiar details of Iranian appearance: namely, an *akinakēs* and a torque (Fig. 5).²⁵ The production of this iconographic type in Cyprus is now attested by at least two further examples in stone: one elaborately executed limestone life-size headless statue excavated in Pyla to the west of Kition in the late nineteenth century (Fig. 6), and a votive limestone statuette from Kourion now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.²⁶ As Mitford has pointed out, the plinth of the latter statuette bears a dedicatory inscription in the Cypriot syllabic script characteristic of the coastal area of Kourion during the fourth century BC, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the execution of the statuette.²⁷

Terracotta and stone statues and statuettes of individuals in the Iranian attire as well as precious metalware and jewelry of Achaemenid shapes continue to provide, as before, the most 'visible' leads to Cyprus' connec-



tions with the imperial environment. Awareness is increasing, however, that the spectrum of the archaeological evidence for Cypro-Persian interactions, is not determined solely by the number of occurrences of 'pure' Achaemenid types and forms. The variety of such less conspicuous expressions of contacts began long ago to be exposed in the cases of gems.

Achaemenid style seals are so far represented on the island by a single example. This is a still unpublished cylinder seal, discovered during the excavations of a late Archaic rural sanctuary at the site of *Peristeres* in ancient Marion by the Princeton Cyprus Expedition under the direction of William A. P. Childs. On a photograph of a modern impression of the seal kindly provided by Expedition member, Joanna S. Smith, who will publish the object, the cylindrical sealing surface bearing the device appears to be extremely worn. On close inspection it is still possible to discern, however, the heraldic motif of an individual clad in the long, ceremonial 'Persian' robe and struggling with two 'standing' animals, probably lions,²⁸ a motif widely attested on seals and sealings coming from the heartland of the empire as well as the western provinces, sometimes from Achaemenid administrative contexts.²⁹

The find from Marion is the only example of an Achaemenid style cylinder seal known so far from Cyprus. And to my knowledge, there is only one other postulated instance of the representation of Persian figures on a gem from Cyprus, namely, on a pear-shaped pendant of pink chalcidony, now in London.³⁰ Relations with the Achaemenid world may be, however, echoed (as suggested by earlier scholars) by a small number of other seals — most of which, admittedly, are far from as well provenanced as one would like and which represent different shapes, styles, and iconographic traditions that are at once alien to the local Cypriot repertory and widely distributed in the Achaemenid realm.³¹

One group evidencing Near Eastern influence are at least seven Neo-Babylonian style pyramidal or conical chalcidony seals which bear on their flat, sealing surfaces the more or less standardized devices of one or two priests or worshippers depicted in profile before an altar and/or religious symbols (Fig. 7).³² In one case, Cypriot use is implied by a Cypro-Syl-

Fig. 5
Limestone male statuette with *kandys*. Cyprus Museum 1968V-30/684. H. 0.65m. (Courtesy of the Director, Cyprus Department of Antiquities.)

Fig. 6
Limestone male figure wearing a coat with sleeves. Bequest of John Ringling, 1936. Collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art SN28 1928. Dated in the Museum's records to the Hellenistic period, 325-230BC. H. 1.25m. (Copyright Collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Florida.)

Fig. 7
 Neo-Babylonian style
 pyramidal stamp seal from
 Larnaka and modern
 impression. Larnaka
 Museum E 3 L. 2cm.
 (Courtesy of the Director,
 Cyprus Department
 of Antiquities.)



labic inscription rendering the proper name Ζωσιγόρο(ν)τος.³³ Vassos Karageorghis³⁴ first drew attention to the presence of a number of examples of seals of this type in Cyprus; they were later drawn into discussions of Cypro-Persian contacts by Petit³⁵ and Tuplin.³⁶ As their name indicates, such seals were initially at home in Mesopotamia at the height of the Neo-Babylonian period in the seventh and sixth centuries BC. Discussing them in the present context may seem an anachronism. However, these were nonetheless used both within and outside Babylonia during the Persian period and, as shown not least by excavated specimens from Cyprus (Paphos, Amathous and Larnaca-*Turabi Teke*, respectively),³⁷ they occur in archaeological assemblages as late as the Roman period. Their use in an Achaemenid imperial administrative context, long attested in Babylonia³⁸ and Persepolis,³⁹ is also documented at the Achaemenid satrapal center of Daskyleion in Hellenespontine Phrygia.⁴⁰ The moment when Neo-Babylonian style seals were introduced to Cyprus cannot be identified precisely. The majority of the specimens reported as coming from the island were obtained in the antiquities market, and three of the four pieces coming from controlled excavations were found in burials of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁴¹ On the whole, however, the lack of evidence for close contacts between Cyprus and the Neo-Babylonian state during the seventh and earlier sixth centuries and the use of such seals in the ensuing Persian era (notably in an imperial administrative environment) support speculation that hardstone Neo-Babylonian style seals were introduced to the island in the latter era.

Other seals that have been more or less securely associated with Cyprus represent different expressions of a widespread phenomenon of hybridization that was characteristic of seal production in the territories of the Achaemenid empire.⁴² Aside from Achaemenid cylinder seals *per se*, the traditional Assyro-Babylonian cylinder seals in use during the Achaemenid period were enriched with Iranian sacred symbols or with characteristic Persian figures and activities.⁴³ During the same period, the pyramidal type of seal, also at home in Mesopotamia before the Achaemenid period, became widespread throughout the empire, with a breakdown of the traditional motifs in favor of a mixture of styles.⁴⁴ Various examples in the corpus of such seals put together in two complementary publications by John Boardman feature devices in Achaemenid style, motifs of Achaemenid or other Near Eastern origin rendered in different local styles, or motifs of Greek origin rendered in Greek style, the whole displaying inscriptions in

a variety of languages.⁴⁵ It was also during the same period that motifs alluding to an Achaemenid environment made their appearance on scarabs, scaraboids, and rings — types of seals that were traditionally favored by the inhabitants of Syro-Palestine and the Greek districts.⁴⁶

In the case of Cyprus, devices alluding to Achaemenid art and also rendered in Achaemenid style are depicted on a conoid stamp seal from the Ashmolean⁴⁷ and on a gem (perhaps a cut scaraboid, according to Boardman) once in the Southesk Collection⁴⁸ which have been reported to have been 'bought' and to 'come' from Cyprus, respectively (Fig. 8a-b).

With reference to the two seals now in Péronne and in Boston, the traditional Neo-Babylonian scene of worship on Mesopotamian pyramidal stamps has been replaced, in the former instance, by a motif of a griffin attacking a stag and, in the latter instance, by a mythological episode that features Herakles and the Gorgon (as Mistress of Animals) holding two lions (Fig. 8-d).⁴⁹ Both of these devices are executed in Greek style; and it is only the pyramidal shape of the seals, which had become canonical in the empire, that serves to allude to the Achaemenid world. The use of the Péronne stamp in a Cypriot context is indicated by a Cypro-Syllabic inscription (rendering the genitive of the proper name Ἀχεστοδάμω),⁵⁰ which to all appearances was added after the motif was carved. In the case of the pyramidal stamp in Boston, the gem's Cypriot provenance postulated by Boardman would appear to be justified by an attested predilection of Cypriot seal engravers for 'mythological stories with a strong narrative content'.⁵¹

Possible Cypriot connections have been tentatively suggested, among others, in the case of the gold ring depicting a sow, which is of unknown provenance and is now in the Borowski Collection;⁵² in the cases of three more pieces (a scaraboid, a scarab, and a gold ring, each featuring a lion or a boar motif) excavated at Sardis in the early twentieth century (Fig. 8-g);⁵³ and in the case of another scaraboid depicting a sow in the Hindley Collection in Toronto.⁵⁴ Boardman characterizes them as seals 'of Greek styles with devices..., all of probable Anatolian (or Greek Cypriot) origin'.⁵⁵ The reference to a possible Greek Cypriot origin underlines the uncertainties that stand in the way of modern attempts to estimate the role of the Cypriots in contemporary developments in seal production and use.⁵⁶

Fig. 8 a-g

Drawings of seal impressions.

- a. Impression of a green jasper conoid stamp seal with winged and horned lion. Ashmolean 1891.654. 1.6x 1.8cm. (After Buchanan and Moorey 1988 pl. XVIII, no. 567.)
 - b. Impression of a green jasper conoid stamp seal (or cut scaraboid) with Bes-sphinx. Ex Southesk Collection. L. 1.7cm. (After Carnegie 1908 vol. I, pl. 16O. 19.)
 - c. Impression of a blue chalcedony pyramidal stamp seal with griffin and stag. Museum of Péronne. L. 1.9cm. (After Reyes 2001: 165, fig. 435.)
 - d. Impression of a blue chalcedony pyramidal stamp seal with Herakles and Gorgon. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 95.80. L. 1.9cm. (After Boardman 1970a: pl. 846.)
 - e. Impression of a haematite scaraboid with crouching lion from Sardis. İstanbul Archaeological Museum 4639. L. 1.7cm. (After Dusinberre 2003 267, fig. 79 [reversed].)
 - f. Impression of a carnelian scarab with boar from Sardis. İstanbul Archaeological Museum 4632. L. 1.3cm. (After Dusinberre: 2003 267, fig. 78 [reversed].)
 - g. Impression of a gold seal ring with walking lion from Sardis. İstanbul Archaeological Museum 4636. L. 1.6cm. (After Dusinberre 2003 265, fig. 73 [reversed].)
- Drawings: Anna Ghamaryan.





Fig. 9
Limestone head of a male
votary from Lefkoniko.
c. 515-500 BC. Cyprus
Museum 1940/XI-4/1.
H. 0.58 m.
(Courtesy of the Director,
Cyprus Department
of Antiquities.)

The small number of ‘hybrid’ seals associated so far with the island might point to the conclusion that ‘there were no customers for such cultural hybrids’ in Cyprus.⁵⁷ The potential for hybridization, however, which is to be *a priori* expected on the margins of an empire, was evidently inherent in the cosmopolitan Cypriot environment.⁵⁸ Glimpses into the varied manifestations of fusion of elements that were at home in Persian iconography and architectural expressions in Cypriot creations are offered, for instance, by Persian period representations of the characteristically Cypriot sculptural type of ‘temple-boys’ wearing hoods with lappets⁵⁹ and by the combination of the Achaemenid-inspired double-bull-protome with a Greek style Caryatid on the capital from Salamis.⁶⁰ Evidence for artistic interaction is also detected in stylistic aspects of Cypriot works. Franz-Georg Maier, for instance, has long pointed out the synthesis of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Achaemenid symbols of power and religious authority—a combination of elements that can be traced to no single tradition—in the iconography of the so-called head of a Paphian priest-king excavated from the debris of the Palaipaphos siege mound.⁶¹ Assyrian and Achaemenid influence has been specifically proposed with reference to ‘the very elaborate, carefully executed beard’ of the represented figure.⁶²

The Achaemenid stylistic affinities of this work also emerge from Glenn Markoe’s subsequent study of another locally made limestone head of a bearded male votary from Lefkoniko, a village near Salamis (Fig. 9). In keeping with general trends in Cypro-Archaic sculpture, the head shows, as Markoe’s detailed analysis indicates, influence from both the Greek and the Near Eastern artistic traditions. The influence of sixth-century East Greek art is perceptible in particular in the disposition of the mouth and the supple modeling of the face. Near Eastern influence is represented, in turn, by the figure’s conical headgear, its ‘large, almond-shaped eyes and “feathered” eyebrows’ (which ‘are typically Syrian in form and stylization’)⁶³ as well as by the general treatment of the figure’s hair and beard,

which point to an even broader, 'longstanding Near Eastern stylistic tradition prevalent in the North Syrian and Assyrian mainland throughout the first half of the first millennium BC.'⁶⁴ The general conformity to the broader, traditional Near Eastern artistic idiom notwithstanding, certain details in the execution of the latter features betray, as Markoe argued, indebtedness to stylistic developments that were particular to Achaemenid art and datable as early as the Bīsoṭūn relief of Darius I (c. 520-518BC).⁶⁵ One such development was the depiction of the beard and rear hair bunch as composed entirely of snail curls, whereas they were commonly rendered by means of alternating registers of vertical strands of hair and rows of curls in earlier Neo-Assyrian art. These stylizations, moreover, which were to attain considerable currency in Cypriot sculpture,⁶⁶ may well have been transmitted to Cyprus not too long after their evolution in Persian art. A *terminus ante quem* for their appearance in Cyprus is provided—with as much certainty as the dating of the Cypriot Revolt and the Palaipaphos siege mound to c. 500 would allow—from their occurrence in the modeling of the head of the Paphian priest king. The fine state of preservation of the latter work which is believed to have been placed originally, like the rest of the complete and fragmentary sculpture and inscribed stones recovered from the mound, in a nearby open sanctuary, would allow the placing of its production to 'sometime in the closing decade of the sixth century or slightly before, i.e., c. 515-500BC'.⁶⁷ According to Markoe the 'flatter, two-dimensional treatment' of the forehead curls of the Lefkoniko head, which is 'more akin to the style worn by the two attendants on the Bīsoṭūn relief', might point to a still more rapid transmission of these stylistic developments in Achaemenid sculpture to Cyprus.⁶⁸

The foregoing examples do not exhaust the range of Cypriot artifacts that have been associated with Cypro-Persian encounters.⁶⁹ And it is at least a fact that references to Persia remain a relative rarity in the Cypriot archaeological landscape, where the majority of outside influences appear to come from Greece, Egypt, and Phoenicia. Even this limited sample, however, which alludes to affinities with the imperial cultural environment, offers useful vistas onto the varied interconnections between Achaemenid and local traditions and practices—and raises questions about Cypriot receptivity to imperial tastes and the luxuries of the Achaemenid court.

The iconographic type of individuals in Iranian costume (often depicted as riders) became more or less ubiquitous in the arts of the eastern Mediterranean during the Persian period.⁷⁰ The limestone and terracotta statues and statuettes depicting figures in Iranian attire found on the island were still certainly produced in local Cypriot workshops. They thus represent a Cypriot component to a widespread *koinē* of representations of such figures in the Persian era. Are they, however, representations of Cypriots who had adopted the sartorial habits of the imperial elite? Or is it possible that their production aimed to satisfy (at least at given moments) the particular preferences of an Iranian clientele established on the island? Could their offering in Cypriot sanctuaries supply indications for syncretism between Cypriot and Persian divinities and cults for which other evidence is not available?⁷¹

Emulation of Persian tastes by the local elites—a widely attested phenomenon throughout the Persian realm—can explain, at least in part, the presence locally of Achaemenid types of precious metalware and jewelry

as well as the evident preference for Achaemenid style jewelry for the adornment of the bust which appears on the reverse of gold fourth-century Salaminian numismatic issues. Simultaneously, however, since precious metals received by the Achaemenids from their subjects as tribute were likely regularly in the form of finished objects,⁷² these same items might offer insights into the workings of Achaemenid tributary realities as well as to Cypriot contributions to the production of 'Achaemenid' metalwork. Considering the Cypriots' easy access to precious metal supplies and their distinguished tradition in metalworking since prehistoric times, tributary demands in the form of precious items would have been especially apposite in the case of Cyprus.⁷³ Such demands, which imply a local production of 'Achaemenid' precious metalware, could further support Dyfri Williams' recent suggestion that the two *ōmega* shaped bracelets with calves' heads finials in the Pasargadae Treasure, which are stylistically akin to the Vouni examples, could have been manufactured on the island of Cyprus.⁷⁴

From the Achaemenid cylinder seal excavated at Marion and the handful of Neo-Babylonian and hybrid seals of types that were current in the empire and also associated with Cyprus, one could hardly infer a transfer to the island of Achaemenid bureaucratic functions.⁷⁵ However, such seals, whose places of production and whose users remain unknown, continue to pose questions about the Cypriots' exposure to trends in seal production current in the Achaemenid world — especially in view of the prominent tradition of seal cutting in archaic and classical Cyprus.

The Achaemenid stylizations detected in Cypriot sculpture are no less intriguing. The iconographic type, for instance, of the 'Persian man' was widely common in the arts of the eastern Mediterranean; and Cypriot representations of individuals in the Iranian garb could be more directly inspired from first-hand observation of the essentials of Persian appearance at, say, those moments of known Persian military expeditions to the island. Models for the local production and adaptation of Achaemenid shapes in tableware and jewelry would have been just as readily available to Cypriot craftsmen, since Achaemenid metalware circulated widely and, as suggested above, was possibly produced on the island on Persian demand (and, logically, to Persian specifications). Whether or not the range of Achaemenid or Achaemenid-inspired artifacts in circulation in the empire's western provinces could also be responsible for the seemingly rapid transmission of characteristic stylistic features of Achaemenid monumental sculpture to Cyprus is more difficult to answer.⁷⁶

Although so far unattested on Cyprus, Achaemenid sculptural works were not exclusively on view in homeland Iranian settings. In particular, at least the copies of the Bīsotūn relief of Darius, which were sent to the provinces in the early 510s,⁷⁷ and the same ruler's statue from Susa commissioned in Egypt⁷⁸ would make it difficult to preclude that Achaemenid sculptural models were accessible to Cypriot sculptors in the late sixth century when Achaemenid stylistic elements make their appearance in local sculpture.⁷⁹ The active involvement of Greek craftsmen in the early Persian rulers' building and sculptural programs in Iran and the roughly contemporary introduction of snail curls in both Greek and Cypriot art⁸⁰ might also imply a path of transmission of Achaemenid stylizations to the island through, say, Ionian art, whose dialogue with Cypriot sculpture is well attested. Cyprus' voluminous sculptural production through the Archaic

period leaves open, however, yet a third possibility. That is, the possibility of a direct exposure of Cypriot craftsmen to Achaemenid monumental art. References to Cypriots remain difficult to ascertain among the hosts of foreign craftsmen whose skills were employed, according to Achaemenid inscriptions, in the construction and decoration of Persian palaces in Iran.⁸¹ Nonetheless, at a time of flourishing Cypriot sculptural activity, which has left numerous traces both on the island and abroad, Cypriot sculptors may well have been a sought-after resource by imperial rulers embarking on ambitious projects of palace construction.

Future finds and specialist studies may enable us to place in clearer perspective the stylistic affinities between Cypriot and Achaemenid sculpture. At least on present evidence, however, the material culture of Cyprus, on the far western fringe of the Persian empire, might not offer merely distant, indirect echoes of artistic developments in the Persian heartland. At least Cypriot competence in the domain of sculpture could imply that Cypriot craftsmen, who adopted Achaemenid elements in their own creations, may have also literally had a hand, as active participants in the multicultural creative processes that led to the formation of Achaemenid art, in bringing such elements into physical existence.

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¹ For the history of Cyprus under Persian rule, see, in the first place, Hill 1940: 111-55; Stylianou 1989: 413-85.

² Masson 1983 no. 217, l. 1.

³ See, conveniently, Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 192-203 with references to earlier excavation reports and studies of the finds.

⁴ For a detailed report of the excavations of the palace and Gjerstad's chronological arguments, see Gjerstad et al. 1937: 111-290; a summary is offered in Gjerstad 1948: 23-9.

⁵ See Gjerstad et al. 1937: 287-8; Gjerstad 1948: 477.

⁶ *Contra* Iliffe and Mitford's (1953) preliminary dating of the life-time of the building to the fifth and fourth centuries, see Schäfer 1960: 169-75.

⁷ See Schäfer 1960: 174; Maier and von Wärtburg 1985: 155.

⁸ See, e.g., Iliffe and Mitford 1953; Schäfer 1960; Meiggs 1972: 481.

⁹ For the general lack of evidence for a permanent Persian presence in Cyprus, see, in the first place, Petit 1991: 163, 166-70; Tuplin 1996 esp. 48-9. Against the function of the building at Palaipaphos as a Persian control point, see, e.g., Maier 1985: 33 n. 7, 1989a: 17. However, despite views to the contrary (e.g., Collombier 1991: 32; but see Zournatzi 2005: 43 n. 121), a close connection of the emergence of Vouni with the Cypriot Revolt remains difficult to dismiss. The palace, earlier interpreted mainly as a lookout on the rebellious city and area of Soloi, was in fact important for the strategic defense of the entire island against incursions from the adjacent Ana-

tolian coast, and especially from the Aegean, where most outside threats to Persian control of Cyprus are known to have originated in the course of the Persian period. This complex, which on current evidence did not predate the revolt, was in an ideal position to monitor maritime traffic from the northwest. At the same time, it guarded the coastal plain of Soloi which was the gateway to the main land corridor that led to the interior (and copper-mining districts) of the island as well as to the important eastern Cypriot cities of Salamis and Kition (Zournatzi 2003a).

¹⁰ See Ghirshman 1964 352-3 with fig. 454; Karageorghis and Vermeule 1966 245 no. 90 pl. XIX; Tuplin 1996 53 with further references.

¹¹ The monumental design of Vouni may well represent, however, an example of composite provincial Achaemenid palace architecture, as suggested by Stern 1982 58-60 and Zournatzi 2003a.

¹² Darics: Gjerstad et al. 1937: 238 and 244 no. 292b, pl. XCV; see now also Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2006 21-3 fig. 3 on p. 21, with earlier bibliography. Bowls: Gjerstad et al. 1937: 238 nos. 292b-c, pls. XC and XCII. Bracelets with calves' heads finials: *ibid.*: 238 nos. 292b-g, pls. XCI-XCII.

¹³ For the Vouni examples, see Gjerstad et al. 1937: pl. XC 4 and 6-7 (silver); cf. a similar example in bronze on pl. LXXXVIII 11 (424). Depictions of similar bowls on the Persepolitan Apadana reliefs are illustrated in Schmidt 1953 pls. 30-41 *passim*. For excavated specimens in ceramic from Pasargadae, see Stronach 1978 242-3 and pl. 173. The wider currency of such bowls outside Iran is indicated not least by their mass production in ceramic at the Persian satrapal center of Sardis (e.g., Dusinberre 2003 172-96).

¹⁴ See Amandry 1958 20.

¹⁵ National Museum of Iran no. 3183 Stronach 1978 168 no. 1, fig. 85/4 pls. 146-7; color illustration in Curtis and Tallis 2005 137, no. 152. On the possible Cypriot connections of the Pasargadae bracelets, see page 254 and note 74 below.

¹⁶ References to earlier known examples of figurines of individuals dressed in the Iranian costume (mainly riders) are conveniently collected in Zournatzi 1989 127, n. 3(a); cf. Tuplin 1996 54-6. For an example in bronze which was reportedly excavated in the sanctuary of Apollo at Idalion, see now Reyes 1992 245.

¹⁷ *Anaxyrides*: Hdt. 7.61.1. Clearly indicated by color on, e.g., a terracotta figurine from Limassol (Limassol Museum 2/158) in Karageorghis n.d.: no. 156 and cover photograph. For other elements of Iranian equestrian apparel depicted on such sta-

tuettes, see, e.g., a stone figurine of a rider sitting on a saddlecloth with fringed edges from the 'palace' of Amathous in Hermary 2000 129-30 no. 851, pl. 66 and further examples in Tuplin 1996 50-1.

¹⁸ Young and Young 1955 99-211 *passim*. From subsequent investigations (see, e.g., Moorey 2000 480) it emerges that figurines of this type came into general currency in the western provinces of the empire in the fifth and fourth centuries and their production outlived the empire.

¹⁹ This is not entirely surprising, since Persian presence is known to have left very few traces on the ground. See the various papers addressing this topic with reference to a number of the empire's provinces in Briant and Boucharlat 2005.

²⁰ Petit 1991.

²¹ Tuplin 1996 48-61.

²² Cyprus Museum 1978XII-1938 ('Kiti Hoard'). Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2006 initially announced in Karageorghis 1979 676III with fig. 1 on p. 672 and fig. 7 on p. 675. Another daric, presently in the Gunther Collection of the Cyprus Museum (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2006 21 [with fig. 4], 23), is without known provenance.

²³ Relevant examples are cited in Petit 1991: 171-2; Tuplin 1996 53 with ns. 118-19. For a unique, unfinished phiale with an offset, everted rim of locally quarried stone from the 'palace' at Amathous interpreted as a model of either a vase or, more likely, a bowl of an incense burner, see Hermary 2000 144 no. 964 pl. 82.

²⁴ Markou (2007: 288-9 with pl. III.8) suggests the Persian origin of the torque and cites (on p. 289 and n. 57) a North Syrian parallel of the sixth century (in Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 268 pl. 217) to the ear-ring of the figure. For parallels to the figure's penannular earrings with globules around the edge, see also Curtis and Tallis 2005 145 nos. 177 and 179.

²⁵ Zournatzi 1989.

²⁶ For the Pyla statue, which is dated in the J. and M. Ringling Museum's records to the 'Hellenistic period, 325-250 B.C.', see Zournatzi 1989 128 n. 9 with earlier bibliography; cf. Tuplin 1996 56 n. 133 (3-4). For the Kourion statue (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.2339), see Mitford 1971: 54-6 no. 22 fig. on p. 54; Zournatzi 1989 133 and 134 (Appendix). Tuplin (1996 56 n. 133(5)) notes yet another occurrence of a 'cloak with arms' on a statuette in Iranian attire from Golgoi (?), illustrated in Hermary 1989 no. 547.

²⁷ Mitford 1971: 55.

²⁸ Joanna S. Smith, personal communication.

²⁹ See, e.g., Garrison and Root 2001 for the numerous variations of the motif of 'heroic encounter' attested on seal impressions on the Persepolis Fortification tablets. For examples of the motif on clay sealings, probably remnants of an administrative archive, discovered at the site of the Persian satrapal center of Daskyleion, see Kaptan 2002 figs. 75-9 (DS 11 and DS 12) on which, however, the motif appears on pedestal animals.

³⁰ See Boardman 1970a: 316 and 322, pl. 891, color illustration no. 4 on p. 304.

³¹ For the *koinē* in seals circulating in the Achaemenid empire, see, e.g., Dusinberre 2003: 158-71 and the works cited in n. 2 (p. 158).

³² See, conveniently, Reyes 2001: 139-42, nos. 328-35. For two possible derivatives/local imitations' of Neo-Babylonian seal designs, see *ibid.*: 139-40, nos. 327 and 328.

³³ Reyes 2001: 141, no. 334, fig. 340. For the inscription, see Masson 1983: 344 and 421, no. 353, fig. 109 on p. 345.

³⁴ Karageorghis 1988: 804 with n. 17, and fig. 24 on p. 805.

³⁵ Petit 1991: 171 with n. 28 (identified as Achaemenid [sic!] style gems).

³⁶ Tuplin 1996: 48.

³⁷ Paphos Museum 2595/3 Karageorghis 1988: 804 with fig. 24 on p. 805; Reyes 2001: 140, no. 330, fig. 336.

Amathous T 11/19 Karageorghis 1988: 804 n. 17; Reyes 2001: 139, no. 326.

Larnaca. Ashmolean, Oxford 1896-1908 C. 337. Myres 1897: 153, fig. 9; Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 82, no. 564; Reyes 2001: 140, no. 329, fig. 335.

³⁸ See, e.g., Zettler 1979: esp. 258-60, 266.

³⁹ For impressions of Neo-Babylonian style stamp seals on Persepolis tablets, see Schmidt 1957: 38 nos. 61 and 62, pl. 13 (PT6 215, PT4 774, PT6 293); Root 1998: 277 (Appendix II), pls. 10-12; Garrison 2000: 142-3, fig. 20.

⁴⁰ Kaptan 2002 vol. 1, pp. 106-7, and vol. 2, pp. 3 and 154, figs. 3-4 (DS 1); cf. vol. 2, pp. 150 and 244, figs. 460-1 (DS 179) for possible traces of another Neo-Babylonian style seal on a fragmentary bulla. For an actual find of a Neo-Babylonian style chalcedony stamp seal in a sixth-century context at Daskyleion, see Bakır 2001: 175-6 with fig. 13 on p. 180 (mentioned in Kaptan 2002: vol. 1, p. 107 with n. 8), who suggests an Achaemenid administrative use.

⁴¹ See note 37, above. Judging from its material, the fourth piece (Cyprus Museum A.I. 2684) —a

faience conoid from Aghia Irini Level V, which is dated to the first half of the sixth century, thus to the Neo-Babylonia period— may not be an import but a local imitation (Reyes 2001: 139-40, 142, no. 328, fig. 334).

⁴² For the cosmopolitan character of Achaemenid glyptic, see, more recently, Boardman 2000: 150-74; Merrillees 2005: esp. 26-43.

⁴³ See Zettler 1979; Merrillees 2005: no. 31.

⁴⁴ On the emergence of non-Babylonian pyramidal stamps, see now Root 1998, with earlier bibliography.

⁴⁵ Boardman 1970b, 1998.

⁴⁶ See Boardman 1970a: 303-27.

⁴⁷ Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 82, no. 567, pl. XVIII.

⁴⁸ Boardman 1970b: 35-6 and 44, no. 168; see earlier Carnegie 1908 vol. I, 206, no. O 19, pl. 16O. 19.

⁴⁹ For the seal in Péronne, see Boardman 1970a: 309, pl. 847, 1970b: 26, 40, no. 13, pl. 2; Decaudin 1987: 223, no. 2, pl. LXXXIV; Reyes 2001: 165, no. 431, fig. 435. For the seal in Boston, see Boardman 1970a: 309 and 351, pl. 846 and 1970b: 26 and 40, no. 12; Reyes 2001: 152, no. 366, fig. 373.

⁵⁰ Masson 1983: 349-50, no. 363 and fig. 118.

⁵¹ Reyes 2001: 148.

⁵² Boardman 1998: 3.

⁵³ Boardman 1998: 11, no. 196.1, fig. 19. See now also Bernheimer 2007: 67-8, GF-2, identifying the ring as a Lydian or East Greek work of the late sixth or early fifth century BC.

⁵⁴ Curtis 1925: nos. 99, 98 and 90, respectively, and pls. 9, 11; Boardman 1970b: 45, nos. 194-6, pl. 8 (cf. *idem* 1998: 3); more recently, Dusinberre 2003: 267 and 269 with fig. 79 (IAM 4639), p. 267 with fig. 78 (IAM 4632), p. 264 with fig. 73 on p. 265 (IAM 4636). Dusinberre (p. 264) identifies them as '[s]eals carved in imperial koine styles apparently of local Sardinian production'.

⁵⁵ Boardman 1998: 11, no. 194.1, pl. I, 9.

⁵⁶ Cf. Boardman 2000: 155 and fig. 5.2 on p. 154 (a stone tabloid coming 'probably from Syria or Cyprus').

⁵⁷ Tuplin 1996: 48.

⁵⁸ See, in particular, Counts 2008, with relevant bibliography.

⁵⁹ Beer 1994: nos. 110, 164, 205, dated, respectively, to 425-400 BC, 'probably second quarter' of the fourth century, and 350-300 BC.

⁶⁰ See note 10, above.

⁶¹ Merseyside County Museums, Liverpool, KA 730 E.g., Maier 1989b: 378-9, figs. 40 1-2

⁶² Maier 1989b: 379

⁶³ Cyprus Museum 1940/XI-4/1. Markoe 1987: 121 with n. 19

⁶⁴ Markoe 1987: 120 with n. 9

⁶⁵ Cf. Markoe 1987: 120, n. 12 (who dates, however, the relief to 522-519 BC).

⁶⁶ Cf., among other instances, Curtis and Tallis 2005: 245, no. 442 (dated to c. 475-450 BC).

⁶⁷ Markoe 1987: 121

⁶⁸ Markoe 1987: 121, n. 18

⁶⁹ For more extensive references to the relevant types of artifacts, see Petit 1991; Tuplin 1996: 48-60

⁷⁰ For the widespread phenomenon of representations of 'Persian' riders, see Moorey 2000, with references to earlier discussions.

⁷¹ For the varied views expressed concerning these still open questions with respect to the Cypriot examples, see Young and Young 1955: 196-7, 200, 230-1 (c.f. Moorey 2000: 480-3; Zournatzi 1989: 134; Petit 1991: 173; Tuplin: 1996: 55-6

⁷² For this Achaemenid practice, explicitly stated by Herodotus (7.119) in the case of the Greek cities of Thrace, see Zournatzi 2000: 249-52

⁷³ The tribute due to Persian authorities by the fifth Persian *nomos*, of which Cyprus formed a part, was assessed to a total of 350 talents of silver (Hdt. 3.91). Although gold and silver do not occur, at least not in any significant quantities, on the island, a surplus in these metals could accumulate as a result of the island's lucrative trade in native bronze and the coastal Cypriot cities' involvement in transit trade. Precious metals are also attested among the Cypriots' earlier compulsory contributions to Hittite and Assyrian monarchs (see, e.g., respectively, Güterbock 1967: 75 and Malbran-Labat 2004: 348). For the island's contribution to the production of luxury vessels of precious metals during the Archaic period, see Markoe (1985 e.g., 3-4, 87-9). The importance of Cyprus to the Achaemenids as one of their main western suppliers of precious metals may be alluded to by the inclusion of three archaic Cypriot silver issues among the coins of the southeast foundation deposit of the Apadana (see Zournatzi 2003b: 18-19).

⁷⁴ Williams 2005: 111

⁷⁵ The use of seals in administrative contexts is generally very poorly documented in Cyprus until the Hellenistic period. See Reyes 2001: 166 with references.

⁷⁶ Usually depicted in a more or less summary way and in miniature, figures on metalware, coins, and seals can hardly be envisaged, of course, as links in the transmission of stylistic minutiae of Achaemenid monumental sculpture.

⁷⁷ The dissemination of copies of the Bisotūn relief and inscriptions by Darius I (explicitly stated in DB §70) is evidenced by fragments of the relief found in Babylon (e.g., Seidl 1976: Taf. 34.1) and of the inscription in Babylon, Elephantine, and perhaps Susa (see, conveniently, Briant 1996: 135-6 and documentary note on p. 928).

⁷⁸ See Curtis and Tallis 2005: 99, no. 88, with bibliography. The shoulders and head of the statue are broken off, but judging from the figure's Persian robe, it is more than likely that the head of the king (and, thus, the details of the hair and beard) would have been executed in Persian style. Cf. S. Razmjou's reconstruction of the original appearance of the statue on p. 99 and a fragment, 'possibly of a royal head from a monumental statue', perhaps a twin to the statue of Darius I, from Sousa on p. 100, no. 89

⁷⁹ For other examples of Achaemenid statuary and circulation of Achaemenid sculpture in the west, see Dusinberre 2003: 79-90; Curtis and Tallis 2005: 99, no. 87; Stronach forthcoming [2008]: e.g., n. 37. See also the Achaemenid style reliefs at Site B at Meydancık Kale (Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker 1998 with figs. 1-10 and 15 ['Bloc 1']), aptly described (p. 393) as 'témoins d'un art "officiel" ... fidèle à celui de la capitale du Grand Roi'. Though ascribed to a considerably later date (end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century BC [p. 300]) than the Cypriot examples discussed here, these reliefs still offer a valuable indication of the potential for reproduction of the Achaemenid style in monumental sculpture in the West.

⁸⁰ Markoe (1987: 121, n. 14 following Ridgway 1977: 107-8) inclines to ascribe the more or less contemporary appearance of this element to Cypriot and Greek sculpture to Oriental/Persian influence.

⁸¹ For Lewis' suggestion that certain workmen, who are designated as *kupirriyaš* in the Persepolis tablets, could be Cypriots, see, e.g., Tuplin 1996: 43. On the other hand, if the largely Greek-speaking Cypriots lived and worked side by side with Aegean Greeks in the Aegean, on Cyprus, and in Naucratis (see, e.g., Kourou et al. 2002: esp. 73-7), this may have made the necessity of distinguishing between the two groups less than urgent for the Persians. Cypriots could thus be designated by the generic term *Yaunū* used for all the Greeks.

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