

# ΚΟΡΜΑ IV

## *Νόμισμα / Κόσμημα*

Χρήσεις – Διαδράσεις – Συμβολισμοί  
από την αρχαιότητα έως σήμερα

## *Coinage / Jewellery*

Uses – Interactions – Symbolisms  
from antiquity to the present



Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου  
Ιος, 26-28 Ιουνίου 2009

International Conference Proceedings  
Ios, 26-28 June 2009

ΑΘΗΝΑ 2017



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ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ ΜΕΛΕΤΗΣ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ  
SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF NUMISMATICS AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

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Εικόνα εξωφύλλου: Νόμισμα από ήλεκτρο. Ιωνία, αβέβαιο νομισματοκοπείο. Αρχείο Λυδίας Λίθου.

Cover image: Electrum coin. Ionia uncertain mint. Lydia Lithos Photo Archive.

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## Πρόλογος

Το διεθνές ιστορικό και αρχαιολογικό συνέδριο «Νόμισμα / Κόσμημα: Χρήσεις – Διαδράσεις – Συμβολισμοί από την αρχαιότητα έως σήμερα» πραγματοποιήθηκε στην Ίο κατά το τριήμερο 26-28 Ιουνίου 2009 με πρωτοβουλία της Λυδίας Λίθου και σε συνεργασία με τον Δήμο Ίου.

Σκοπός του συνεδρίου ήταν να φέρει στον ίδιο χώρο νομισματολόγους, αρχαιολόγους, ιστορικούς του κοσμήματος, φιλόλογους, λαογράφους, ιστορικούς της αρχαίας και νεότερης τέχνης, καθώς και συλλέκτες, με σκοπό την ανταλλαγή ιδεών και απόψεων γύρω από την διαχρονική σχέση νομίσματος και κοσμήματος. Καλύπτοντας ένα ευρύ χρονολογικό και θεματικό φάσμα, μελετητές από πολλές ευρωπαϊκές χώρες παρουσίασαν τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνάς τους και συζήτησαν τα πορίσματά τους με τους συναδέλφους τους, αλλά και το πολυπληθές ακροατήριο. Ο ομότιμος καθηγητής κλασικής αρχαιολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου της Οξφόρδης Sir John Boardman, παγκόσμια γνωστός, μεταξύ πολλών άλλων, και για τις εμβριθείς μελέτες του για την αρχαιοελληνική σφραγιδογραφία, μας έκανε την τιμή, ως πρόεδρος του συνεδρίου, να κηρύξει την έναρξη και τη λήξη, συμμετέχοντας παράλληλα ενεργά στις εργασίες του.

Θα θέλαμε να ευχαριστήσουμε όλους τους συγγραφείς για τις μελέτες και το φωτογραφικό υλικό που μας παραχώρησαν και να εκφράσουμε την ευγνωμοσύνη μας και τη χαρά για τη συνεργασία στους Νιώτες φίλους μας, Ξένη και Δημήτρη Αρτέμη, στον Δήμο Ίου και τον τότε δήμαρχό του, κ. Γιώργο Πουσσαίο για την στήριξη του εγχειρήματός μας και την αφοσίωσή του σε ζητήματα πολιτισμού.

Κατερίνη Λιάμπη  
Κλεοπάτρα Παπαευαγγέλου-Γκενάκου  
Δημήτρης Πλάντζος

## Preface

The international conference “Coinage / Jewellery: Uses – Interactions – Symbolisms from antiquity to the present” was organized on the island of Ios between 26-28 June 2009 on the initiative of Lydia Lithos and in collaboration with the Municipality of Ios.

The aim of the conference was to join under the same roof numismatists, archaeologists, jewellery historians, philologists, folklorists, historians of ancient and contemporary art, as well as collectors, in order to exchange views and ideas on the relationship between coinage and jewellery over time. Covering a wide chronological and thematic range, scholars from many European countries presented their research and discussed their finds with their colleagues as well as a lively audience. Sir John Boardman, Professor Emeritus of Classical Archaeology at the University of Oxford, world renowned for his influential work on ancient Greek seal cutting, honoured us with his presence, as well as offering the opening and closing remarks as its president.

We would like to thank all the authors for their work and photographic material they provided, as well as our Niote friends Xeni and Dimitris Artemis, the Municipality of Ios and the former Mayor George Poussaïos for his support towards this project and his devotion to matters of culture.

Katerini Liampi  
Cleopatra Papaevangelou-Genakos  
Dimitris Plantzos



## Envoi Ios

Coins and gems are the most portable of antiquities and among the first objects to attract the attention of collectors. Our conference has looked at both categories, together and apart, to try better to understand their messages. While their usage differed totally, their size and often their iconography were often congruent, and study of their usage throws light on the visual experience of antiquity from a different direction to that of the major or more commonplace arts. We have, I think, successfully begun to explore these matters as they appeared over a considerable period of time. Although coins have long been the preoccupation of scholars and become a specialist study, gems have again only in the last generation begun to attract comparable scholarly attention. The range of our conference should surely enhance both these studies and diversify approaches to them as unique testimony to life in the classical world.

An added attraction to our meetings has been the venue itself. Instead of the confines of a University or Museum lecture room we have enjoyed the hospitality of one of Greece's most attractive islands. Our debt then is as much to the Municipality and its Mayor, George Poussaïos, as to the organisers of the meetings. No less memorable than the lectures and their setting has been the experience of a vocal concert in a Greek-style theatre, under the moon, ranging from Mozart to Theodorakis. This is a conference that will not easily or quickly be forgotten by those privileged to have attended it.

John Boardman

## Νόμισμα / Κόσμημα

ἄνθινοι

στέφανοι περὶ σὸν κάρα δέθεντες

Σαπφώ απ. 128\*

Με λουλουδένια στεφάνια, κλαδιά φυτών, καρπούς, θαλάσσια όστρεα, κόκαλα και δόντια ζώων, με λίθινες και πήλινες, λιτές χάντρες καλλωπίζονταν από πανάρχαιους χρόνους οι άνθρωποι για να προσελκύσουν τα βλέμματα, να προκαλέσουν την ερωτική έλξη. Κατέβηκαν στη ρίζα της ζωτικότητας, την ίδια τη φύση, και συνέλαβαν την ωραιότητα των στοιχείων που άπλετα τους παρείχε, μετουσιώνοντάς τα σε στολίδια και διαμορφώνοντας συνάμα αισθητικήν αντίληψη. Κατόπιν, ο χαλκός, ο χρυσός, ο άργυρος, το ήλεκτρον, η υαλόμαζα θα δουλευτούν με ευρηματικότητα, ως προς τις τεχνικές και περισσή φαντασία, ως προς το θεματολόγιο, από τον ανώνυμο δημιουργό που θα μεταπλάσει το υλικό του σε παντοειδή κοσμήματα: χάντρες, περιάπτα, δακτυλίδια, ειδώλια, ελάσματα, πόρπες, περόνες, περιδέρια, ψέλια, ενώτια, διαδήματα, ζώνες.

Κάθε πολύτιμο αντικείμενο ενέχει μια συγκεκριμένη αξία. Τα ψέλια και οι πόρπες ως είδη πολυτελείας υπήρξαν, κατά την προκερματική περίοδο, και αντικείμενα συναλλαγών των ανθρώπων. Μία τοξωτή πόρπη απεικονίζεται σε βραχεία ομάδα αρχαϊκών νομισμάτων από ήλεκτρο, που παρήχθησαν στις Ιωνικές ακτές. Η παράσταση της πόρπης ερμηνεύθηκε ως ανάμνηση των αρχαιοτάτων μέσων συναλλαγής: δρασκελίσε από την κατηγορία του κοσμήματος στο έδαφος του νομίσματος.

Το νόμισμα εμφανίσθηκε στις κοινωνίες των Ελλήνων και στις αγορές τους πριν από το τέλος του 7<sup>ου</sup> προχριστιανικού αιώνα στα Μικρασιατικά παράλια. Ήταν το αποτέλεσμα της επιτακτικής ανάγκης για την κάλυψη ποικίλων δραστηριοτήτων του ανθρώπου και κυρίως για την ευέλικτη διακίνηση του εμπορίου στους πελαγίσσιους δρόμους που ακολουθούσαν οι Έλληνες μεταφέροντας αγαθά. Οι χαρακτες εμπνεύσθηκαν από την άμετρη ομορφιά της φύσης, τη θεϊκή σφαίρα, τους μύθους, τις τοπικές παραδόσεις, υστερότερα από την προσωπικότητα του ηγήτορος και σφράγισαν τις όψεις των νομισμάτων με μοναδικές, σε ποιότητα, εικόνες.

Από την πρωταρχική περίοδο της διακίνησής του, το νόμισμα ‘από-νομισματοποιήθηκε’, απεγκλωβίσθηκε από την αμιγώς οικονομική του λειτουργία και μεταβλήθηκε σε κόσμημα. Το πολύτιμο μέταλλο, το οποίο ήταν προσιτό αποκλειστικά στην τάξη των ευγενών, αλλά και οι απεικονίσεις του νομίσματος, συχνά με –απαράμιλλης ωραιότητος– σφραγιστικές δημιουργίες, προσήλκυαν τις φιλάρεσκες αρχόντισσες, που δεν δίσταζαν, ανάμεσα στα άλλα κοσμήματά τους, να συμπεριλάβουν και τα νομίσματα: μια οπή ήταν αρκετή να τα αναρτήσουν ως περιάπτα στον λαιμό

τους, ή να τα δέσουν και να τα μετατρέψουν σε πολύμορφα στολίδια που θα συνέβαλαν στην έμφαση της ομορφιάς τους. Δεν λείπουν και τα χαλκά νομίσματα-κοσμήματα: οι γυναίκες των ταπεινότερων, οικονομικά, τάξεων που τα φορούσαν, μπορούσαν επίσης να επαίρονται στολίζοντας το στήθος τους.

Η κοινή εικονογραφία που διέπει τα κοσμήματα και νομίσματα, είναι συνισταμένη των εκάστοτε θρησκευτικών αντιλήψεων και ιδεολογιών. Απεικονίσεις αυστηρών, αλλά και πιο ερωτικών θεοτήτων, χαριτωμένων μορφών, μοτίβα – αγλαΐσματα από τον περιβάλλοντα κόσμο, συνθέτουν το εικονολόγιο κατά την κλασική αρχαιότητα. Οι λοξές δελφινιών ράχες αγαπήθηκαν και αποδόθηκαν σε νομίσματα και κοσμήματα. Η Θέτιδα στον θαλασσινό ιππόκαμπο των δακτυλιδιών, αλλά και στο πεδίο των νομισμάτων του γοητευτικού Ηπειρώτη βασιλιά Πύρρου, θα μεταφέρει τα όπλα που σφυρηλάτησε ο Ήφαιστος για χάρη του γιού της Αχιλλέα. Σαν τα αποτιτανωμένα παλαιά κατάλοιπα του έρωτα ο ανήσυχος γιός της Αφροδίτης, ο Έρωτας, θα καλύψει επιφάνειες επίπλων, θα συνοδεύσει την μάνα του στα πεδία των νομισμάτων, θα στολίζει τα αυτιά των κοριτσιών. Από τους όψιμους κλασικούς, κυρίως όμως από τους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους αρχίζει να εμφανίζεται δυναμικά η μορφή του ηγεμόνος στα νομίσματα και τους λίθους. Ο Μ. Αλέξανδρος ενέπνεε από την αρχαιότητα περιώνυμους καλλιτέχνες και απλούς χαράκτες, που φιλοτεχνούσαν ασταμάτητα την θρυλική μορφή του με περισσό ίμερο. Οι ελληνιστικοί ηγεμόνες με την απεικόνιση των δικών τους πορτραίτων, αλλά και των βασιλισσών τους, σε μίαν φρενήρη ανάγκη για προβολή της ελέω θεού εξουσίας τους αυτοπροβάλλονται μέσω των λίθων και των νομισμάτων. Το φαινόμενο δεν θα σταματήσει να υφίσταται έως και τους νεότερους χρόνους με εικονιστικό και οπωσδήποτε έντονα προπαγανδιστικό χαρακτήρα.

Και μπορεί να μην έφθασαν ως τις μέρες μας πολυάριθμα αρχαία κοσμήματα, όμως μέσα από τις νομισματικές παραστάσεις αναγνωρίζονται με μοναδική ακρίβεια ποικίλα είδη τους. Τα στεφάνια που έστεφαν τις κεφαλές των αθανάτων, αλλά και τα διαδήματα που επιβράβευαν το ματαιόδοξο κλέος των ηγετών. Τα ενώτια των γυναικών και των ανατολικών ιερέων ή σατραπών, τα περιλαίμια των θεαινών με την απόληξη ή το κλείστρο τους να σχηματίζεται από λεοντοκεφαλές, δελφίνια και άλλα στοιχεία διακόσμησης, αντίγραφα πραγματικών κοσμημάτων, εκπλήσσουν με τα εξάισια σχήματά τους.

Εσχατολογικοί μύθοι που συνδέονται με το αθάνατον της ψυχής, δεν άφησαν ανεπηρέαστα και τα ταφικά έθιμα. Ο νεκρός είθισται να κτερίζεται είτε με γνήσια κοσμήματα και νομίσματα ή απομιμήσεις κοσμημάτων και νομισμάτων υπό μορφήν χρυσών, αργυρών, χαλκών ελασμάτων ή δισκαρίων, αλλά και πήλινων υποκατάστατών τους. Τα θέματά τους σε πολλές περιπτώσεις είναι ταυτοτικά με τις παραστάσεις των επιχώριων νομισμάτων.

Κατά την ρωμαϊκή περίοδο, ενώ συνεχίστηκε η απλή οπή στα νομίσματα για την ανάρτησή τους, πολλαπλασιάστηκε η χρήση ενός ή περισσότερων νομισμάτων, μεταλλίων και λίθων, ένθετων ή επίθετων σε πολυτελή κοσμήματα, φλύαρες, αλλά εκθαμβωτικές συνθέσεις, μέσα επίδειξης του πλουτισμού της αριστοκρατίας. Στους πρώτους χριστιανικούς αιώνες οι θλιμμένες νεαρές γυναίκες που αναπαύονταν στο κοιμητήριο του Φαγιούμ, συνοδεύονταν με τα γραπτά ή ανάγλυφα αποδοσμένα

στολίδια τους στον κάτω κόσμο, συχνά με ένα σχηματοποιημένο νόμισμα, περί-απτο στο λαιμό τους.

Αμείωτος θα συνεχισθεί ο έρωτας της ηγεμονικής τάξης για την λαμπρότητα των κατατιξίτεχνων κόσμιων ή κοσμιδίων, όπως ονομάζονταν τα κοσμήματα στο βυζαντινό κόσμο, που τα φορούσαν γυναίκες, άνδρες και παιδιά. Το βυζαντινό νόμισμα με τις μορφές του βασιλέως, του Χριστού και της Παναγίας ή των Αγγέλων διακοσμεί δακτυλίδια, περιδέραια, πανάκριβες γαμήλιες ζώνες και πολλά άλλα είδη κοσμημάτων. Τα χρυσά, συνήθως, νομίσματα, είτε διά της εμπορικής οδού, είτε ως δώρα των Βυζαντινών στους ηγεμονίσκους της Δύσης, παρεισέφεραν σε μεγάλους αριθμούς στον κόσμο της Εσπερίας, τον έκθαμβο από τον πλούτο της Ανατολής. Αποτέλεσμα ήταν η δημιουργία εξαιρετικών κοσμημάτων, στα οποία συνυπήρχαν βυζαντινά με επιχώρια νομίσματα.

Στους χρόνους της Αναγέννησης δημιουργήθηκε ένας απίστευτος οργανισμός συλλογών μεταλλίων, νομισμάτων και κειμηλολίθων. Αρχαία ή σύγχρονα νομίσματα θα αποτελέσουν συστατικά των κοσμημάτων, αλλά και διαφόρων σκευών· θα δώσουν ερέθισμα στους μεγάλους ζωγράφους να στολίσουν τις υψηλές κυρίες· ο γλύπτης θα σμιλέψει στο λαιμό του θείου βρέφους τύπο αρχαίου νομίσματος.

Στους υστερότερους αιώνες, το νεοελληνικό κόσμημα συνεχίζει τη βυζαντινή παράδοση, υιοθετώντας, παράλληλα, τις εμπειρίες της ισλαμικής και ευρωπαϊκής κοσμηματοποιίας. Στα κέντρα, όπου ανθεί η αργυρο-χρυσοχοϊά επιλέγονται ως αναπόσπαστα στοιχεία πλείστων νεοελληνικών κοσμημάτων, παντοίων τύπων, τα νομίσματα, σπανιότερα τα αρχαία ελληνικά, συνηθέστατα τα βενετικά, αυστρουγγρικά, οθωμανικά, ισπανικά, και, μετά την ίδρυση του νεοελληνικού κράτους και τα βασιλικά. Πολυτελέστατα κοσμήματα φορούν οι πλούσιες κυράδες, προκλητική κοινωνική διαφορά από τα πλήθη των πτωχών, με αποτέλεσμα η εκκλησία, όπως είχε πράξει και κατά το βυζαντινό παρελθόν, να αντιδρά, όχι μόνον διά των λόγων, αλλά επιβάλλοντας με κανονιστικές εγκυκλίους περιορισμούς στην χρήση των κοσμημάτων ή των φλωρίων, όπως χαρακτηρίζονταν τα νομίσματα, που προσαρμόζονταν στα κοσμήματα.

Η αντιμετώπιση του κοσμήματος και του νομίσματος ως εμπορεύσιμων προϊόντων τεχμαίρεται και από την συμπαρουσία τεμαχίων μετάλλου, επίσης νομισμάτων και κοσμημάτων σε 'θησαυρούς' όλων των εποχών που συγκεντρώνονταν με επιμέλεια από τους κατόχους τους για περαιτέρω εκμετάλλευση ή για αποθησαύριση. Στην νεοελληνική κοινωνία ποικίλα έγγραφα εκκλησιαστικά, διαθήκες, προικοσύμφωνα, προσφυγές ιδιωτών σε δικαστήρια, τεκμηριώνουν ότι τα κοσμηματο-νομίσματα αποθησαυρίζονταν, λόγω του ισόποσου χρηματικού τους αντικρύσματος.

Τα κοσμήματα παλαιόθεν χρησιμοποιήθηκαν με φυλακτική ιδιότητα, αποτροπαϊκά του κακού, όπως και ορισμένα νομίσματα. Ιδιαίτερη είναι η γοητεία που άσκησαν τα συναρπαστικά γεγονότα της ιστορίας του Μ. Αλεξάνδρου. Μετουσιώθηκαν σε θρύλους και ανέδειξαν την μορφή του ως σύμβολο σε μιαν υπερβατική διάσταση. Τον 4<sup>ο</sup> αι. μ.Χ. οι Χριστιανοί χρησιμοποιούσαν ως αποτροπαϊκά για την βασκανία χαλκά κέρματα με την μορφή του Μακεδόνα στρατηλάτη, γι αυτό τους μεμφόταν οξύτατα ο Ιωάννης ο Χρυσόστομος. Μπορούμε μόνον να υποθέσουμε ότι τα νομίσματα αυτά ήσαν οι εκδόσεις του 3<sup>ου</sup> αι. μ.Χ. που έθεσε σε κυκλοφορία το

Μακεδονικό Κοινό, ή τα ρωμαϊκά, βαρύσταθμα νομισματομόρφα μετάλλια με την κεφαλή του ηρωϊκού ινδάλματος: η σημειολογία ενός υποφώσκοντος συγκερασμού της παγανιστικής και της χριστιανικής αντίληψης.

Αν ο λόγος είναι το όργανο επικοινωνίας για να υπηρετεί τον κοινωνικό βίο, η ανάγκη για κόσμηση έχει ως βασικό σκοπούμενο την ευφροσύνη της όρασης, ταυτόχρονα όμως, υπηρετεί και εκφράζει, μέσω της δημιουργίας του κοσμήματος και κοσμηματο-νομίσματος, επίσης την κοινωνία, από την οποία εκπορεύεται.

*Κατερίνη Λιάμπη*

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\* ... θα πλέξω / στεφάνια στα μαλλάκια σου, βλαστάρια με λουλούδια ... (μετάφρ. Σ. Κακίση).

## *Coinage / Jewellery*

*ἄνθινοι  
στέφανοι περὶ σὸν κάρα δέθεντες*  
Sappho fr. 128\*

Aiming to fascinate and stimulate erotic attraction, people have been embellishing themselves since ancient times with flower wreaths, branches of plants, fruits, seashells, bones and animal teeth, stone and clay beads. They returned to the roots of vitality, and grasped the beauty of the elements that nature itself generously provide, denaturing them into ornaments and, at the same time forming their aesthetic perception. Then, copper, gold, silver, electrum, and glassware were worked by the anonymous creator with ingenious technique and striking originality, regarding subject matter. He transformed his material into every kind of jewellery: beads, pendants, rings, figurines, gold-foil, brooches, pins, necklaces, bracelets, earrings, diadems, and belts.

Every valuable object carries specific monetary value. Bracelets and brooches, as luxury items, were also used as a means of exchange in the pre-monetary period. A fibula is depicted in a small group of Archaic-period electrum coins, produced on the Ionian coast. Its depiction was interpreted as a reminder of the ancient means of trading: it transcended the boundaries between jewellery and coinage.

Coinage appeared in the societies and markets of the Greeks on the Asia Minor coast before the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC. It was the result of the imperative need to satisfy a variety of human activities and, above all, to facilitate maritime trade. The die-engravers sealed the coins with images of unique quality, inspired by the boundless beauty of nature, the divine sphere, the myths, the local traditions, and, in time, by the personality of their rulers.

Since the onset of their circulation, coins have been “de-monetized”, relieved from their purely economic function, they were transformed into ornaments. The precious metals, which were accessible exclusively to the noble class, but also the coin-depictions, often of scenes of unparalleled beauty, fascinated the coquettish noblewomen, who did not hesitate to include coins among their other jewels: a tiny perforation was all that was needed to hang them like a pendant from their necks, or convert them into multiform ornaments that would serve to emphasise their beauty. Copper coin-jewellery is also existent: the women of the lower classes who wore them, could also flaunt themselves as they embellished their chests with them.

The shared iconography of jewellery and coins directly correlates with religious beliefs and ideologies. In Classical antiquity, it consists of illustrations of stern, but



also, of more amorous deities, graceful forms, motifs – endearing motifs from the surrounding world. The *arching dolphin ridges* were loved and depicted on coins and jewels. Rings, but also coins of the charming king Pyrrhos of Epirus, depict the scene of Thetis on the hippocampus, varying the weapons Haephestus forged for her son Achilles. Like the *old-fashioned remnants of love*, Aphrodite's anxious son, Eros, adorns furniture surfaces, accompanies his mother on the fields of the coins, and decorates the ears of the girls. Beginning in the late Classical period, but mainly from the Hellenistic times onward, the image of the ruler on coins and stones makes a dynamic appearance. Alexander the Great inspired, already from antiquity, famous artists and humble engravers, who constantly depicted his legendary image with notable zeal. Hellenistic rulers, with the representation of themselves and their queens, are self-proclaimed through stones and coins, because of their urgent need to display their God-given power. This phenomenon will continue to exist until the modern era and displays a figurative and certainly a strongly propagandistic character.

Ancient jewellery may not have been preserved in large numbers, but through their monetary representations, a variety of types is identified with notable accuracy: the wreaths that crowned the heads of the immortals, as well as, the diadems that rewarded the vain glory of the rulers; the earrings of the women and the eastern priests or satraps, the necklaces with their ends or closure in the form of lion heads, dolphins and other decorative elements, are all replicas of real ornaments, astonishing in their exquisite shapes.

Eschatological myths associated with the immortality of the soul, also, affected burial customs. The deceased was customarily buried with coins, genuine jewellery, or imitations of jewellery and coins in the form of gold, silver, or copper leaves or discs, or with clay substitutes. Their iconography, in many cases, is identical to that of local coins.

During the Roman period, while the simple piercing of the coins for their suspension continued, the use of one or more coins, medals and stones, inserted or mounted in luxurious pieces of jewellery, was multiplied. Extravagant and dazzling compositions bore witness to the enrichment of the aristocracy. In the early Christian period the sad young women who were interred in the Fayum Cemetery were accompanied to the underworld by their depicted or embossed ornaments, often with a stylized coin, as a pendant on their throats.

The love of the ruling class for the splendour of elaborate jewellery, worn by men, women, and children, *κόσµια* or *κοσµίδια* as they were called in the Byzantine world, would continue unabated. Byzantine coins with the figures of the King, Christ and the Virgin or the Angels decorated rings, necklaces, exquisite wedding bands and many other pieces of jewellery. Gold, usually coins, have intruded in large numbers, either through trade or as gifts of the Byzantines to the rulers of the West, into the world of Western Europe, which was amazed by the wealth of the East. The result was the creation of extraordinary jewellery, combining local with Byzantine coins.

During the Renaissance, there was an incredible blooming of collections of medals, coins and cameos. Ancient or modern coins formed components of jewellery and various utensils; they inspired the great painters to decorate the noblewomen; the sculptor added a type of ancient coin to his depiction of the divine infant.

In recent centuries, Modern Greek jewellery continued the Byzantine tradition, while adopting the knowledge of Islamic and European goldsmithing. In the urban centres where the silver- and gold-smithing flourish, coins of all types are selected as integral elements of most modern Greek ornaments - rarely ancient Greek, most commonly Venetian, Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, Spanish, and, after the foundation of the modern Greek state, the royal.

The wealthy ladies would wear luxurious jewellery, a provocative social difference from the masses of the poor. The church reacted to this, as it had in the Byzantine past, not only by words but also with the imposition of restrictions on the use of jewellery or the florins, the coins, in other words, which were adapted for jewellery.

The treatment of jewellery and coins as marketable products is also implied by the coexistence of pieces of metal, coins and jewels, in hoards dating to every period, carefully assembled by their holders for further use or for hoarding. In Modern Greek society, various ecclesiastical documents, wills, dowry contracts, and private appeals to courts verify that coin-jewellery were accumulated because of their equal worth to currency.

Both jewellery and certain coins had always been used for protection from and deterrence of evil. Of particular note are the fascinating events of the story of Alexander the Great. They evolved into legends and his image became a symbol of a mystical dimension. In the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD Christians used bronze coins bearing the figure of the Macedonian general as deterrents against the evil eye, a practice which St. John Chrysostom roundly condemned. We can only speculate on whether these coins were those produced in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD by the Macedonian Koinon or the heavy Roman coin-shaped medals bearing the head of the hero: the semantics of an underlying recognition of paganism and Christian views.

If speech is the instrument of communication that serves social life, the need for ornamentation has visual delight as its fundamental objective, while at the same time, through the creation of jewellery and coin-jewellery, is serving and expressing the society, from which it originates.

Katerini Liampi

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\* ... *I will knit / wreaths on your hair, sprouts with flowers* ... Sappho fr. 128



# The Vouni Treasure and monetary practices in Cyprus in the Persian period

ANTIGONI ZOURNATZI

PLATES 41 - 42

*For Vassos Karageorghis*

## Introduction

In the late 1920s the Swedish Cyprus Expedition's excavations at the Persian period palace at Vouni on the northern coast of Cyprus brought to light an important gold and silver treasure. Placed in a coarse, globular jar underneath a staircase of the palace, were 248 silver coins, almost all minted in Cyprus, four darics, 3 silver bowls, 4 gold and 15 silver bracelets, 2 silver pendants (in the form of a cylinder, preserved in 3 fragments, and a cicada, respectively), and 4 "lumps of gold" (Pl. 41, 1).<sup>1</sup> The treasure would have been concealed in the face of an enemy attack, responsible for the destruction of the palace, around 390-380 BC.<sup>2</sup>

At the time of the discovery, the treasure's 252 numismatic issues represented the only coin hoard known from Cyprus from a controlled excavation.<sup>3</sup> They were promptly

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<sup>1</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, pp. 238-249, no. 292, fig. 156 on p. 280, pls IV, LXXXIX 9-10 and 14-17, XC, XCI, XCII, XCV-XCVII. For the actual forms, however, of the gold "lumps", see below, Addenda and Pl. 42, 8.

<sup>2</sup> For this interpretation of the circumstances of the burial of the hoard and a dating to about 380 BC, see Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, pp. 278 and 288, followed by Schwabacher 1946 (and *eiusdem* 1947 [1949]), *IGCH* 1278, and Kraay 1976, p. 305. For a 390-380 date, see Maier 1985, p. 37; cf. Nilsson 2003, p. 307, and Hellström 2009, pp. 29 and 37 (copy of article kindly provided by Kristian Göransson). A dating in the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. is compatible with the chronology of the four darics of the hoard, all belonging to Type IIIb, which is attested, albeit by a limited number of specimens, since the 5<sup>th</sup> c.; see Carradice 1987, esp. pp. 84-87 and 92 with Table B on p. 87 (wherein a date of 380 BC for the burial of the Vouni find is accepted), and Stronach 1989, pp. 260-261.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nilsson 2003, p. 307.

published by Willy Schwabacher in 1946 (with revisions added in the following year) following the Swedish Cyprus Expedition's final report on the excavations conducted at the palace, and the coins in question have remained an important point of reference in subsequent explorations of Cypriot numismatic history and monetary practice.

All along the gold and silver objects of the treasure have been treated separately from the coins, being viewed essentially as personal valuables offering insights into the wealth of the palace's occupants and, in certain instances, their taste for the luxuries favored by the Achaemenid Persians who ruled Cyprus at that time. The latter is the case with the four *omega*-shaped gold bracelets, two decorated with calves' and two with goats' heads finials (Pl. 41, 1 and 42, 4, 6),<sup>4</sup> and two of the silver bowls (Pl. 41, 1),<sup>5</sup> all characteristic of variations of popular jewelry and vessels favored by the Achaemenid Persians.

Unmarked precious metal was widely used as money in the Persian empire, which encompassed Cyprus. Gold and silver objects also possessed, like coins, an intrinsic monetary value. Although they certainly document a degree of wealth and demonstrate interest in luxury goods made in the prevailing Achaemenid Persian style, the gold and silver objects of the Vouni Treasure also permit, therefore, a discussion of the entire contents of this important hoard in the broad context of the monetary uses of gold and silver in Cyprus in the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

### **Achaemenid approaches to gold and silver coinage**

Over the past few decades, awareness has been increasing that the use of various forms of precious metal as money was much older than the introduction of coinage.<sup>6</sup> Though especially characteristic of pre-coinage societies, this practice is now known to have continued after the introduction of and parallel to coinage and is most vividly attested by the variety of shapes of monetary silver and gold current in the Persian empire.

At a time that can be set to soon after 520 BC,<sup>7</sup> the Achaemenid monarch Darius I (522-486 BC) instituted a distinct, bimetallic Persian coinage. This Achaemenid coinage, which continued to be minted under his successors, was apparently never imposed as the official, empire-wide medium of exchange.<sup>8</sup> For instance, in Egypt (which was annexed by Persia in 525 BC during the reign of Darius' predecessor, Cambyses) coins circulated from as early as the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. These coins, coming largely from the minting states of the Aegean, Asia Minor and Cyprus, are regularly found in hoards fragmented and bearing test-marks (so "functionally no

<sup>4</sup> See Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, p. 238 nos 292 g (with calves' heads finials) and 292 e, f (with goats' heads finials), pls IV, XCI, XCII e, f, g; Gjerstad 1948, p. 166 with fig. 36.2 (drawings) on p. 167, and pp. 391-392; cf. Amandry 1958, esp. pp. 14-15 and 20, and pls 11.21-22 and 12.27-29.

<sup>5</sup> See Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, p. 138, nos 292 b, c, pls XC 4 and 6-7, XCII b, c; Gjerstad 1948, p. 160 with fig. 33.9-10 (drawings), and pp. 405-407.

<sup>6</sup> Among treatments of this subject, see the ground-breaking discussion of Powell 1978.

<sup>7</sup> A date in the beginning of the reign of Darius I for the introduction of the earliest type (I) of the Achaemenid 'archer' series has been proposed on the basis of the stylistic similarity of the latter type (including the smooth treatment of the sleeves of the robe of the royal figure) with the Bisitun relief (520-519 BC), (David Stronach, personal communication, and *eiusdem* 1989, pp. 264-266). For an overview of the relevant evidence and scholarly commentaries, see, conveniently, Zournatzi 2003[2004], pp. 6-7.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Zournatzi 2000b, pp. 245-248.

different than *Hacksilber*”)<sup>9</sup>, side-by-side with *Hacksilber* and ingots, which apparently also served monetary functions.<sup>10</sup> Transactions in precious metal in a variety of forms remained a regular practice in Egypt until at least the latter half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c., when the official minting of coins began in the area on a large scale.<sup>11</sup> A similar picture of monetary use of silver by weight emerges from Babylonian texts (indicating, among other things, that even Seleucid staters were passing by weight<sup>12</sup>) and from important Persian period hoards found in distant areas of the empire, such as Babylon (*ca* 420-400 BC)<sup>13</sup> and the Black Sea (*ca* 420 BC),<sup>14</sup> in which coins (often chipped or fragmented) are found together with complete and fragmentary ingots and jewelry, and fragments of vessels, the whole presumably serving monetary functions like analogous hoards found in Egypt.

While Darius’ coinage was not meant as a medium of an empire-wide numismatic reform, it is at least a fact that it had no impact, either, on the manner in which the Persian rulers themselves regularly hoarded their gold and silver. In the third book of the *Histories*, following a detailed exposé of the annual taxes due to Persian authorities from the empire’s subjects (an arrangement putatively authored by Darius I), Herodotus (3.96.2) states that Darius submitted his revenues in precious metal, expressed in this context in round sums of gold and silver talents, to metallurgical processing. However one chooses to interpret the implications of this admittedly ambiguous passage,<sup>15</sup> the last sentence (“and when he needs money, he mints as much as is required on each occasion”) obviously rules out the idea that the Achaemenids routinely converted their revenues into coinage. To judge by classical descriptions of the contents of royal Persian treasuries in Iran, the Achaemenids hoarded precious metal mainly in the form of finished objects.<sup>16</sup> These, in addition to supplying an appropriate form of gold and silver for gifts and storage,<sup>17</sup> could serve as “large denomination coins”. As the fragments of bowls and jewellery attested in Persian period hoards imply, finished objects could also be cut into smaller pieces when required by different transactions.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Van Alfen 2004-2005, p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> See, especially, Kroll 2001 and Van Alfen 2004-2005.

<sup>11</sup> Van Alfen 2004-2005, pp. 16-17. As he notes on p. 16, the “elevated presence of bullion in Egypt would seem to correspond to the comparative lateness of Egyptian minting”. Hoards with miscellaneous silver occur in Egypt until as late as the Roman period (Peter Vargyas, personal communication).

<sup>12</sup> See *CAD* s.v. “*istatirru*” and modern commentaries cited in Zournatzi 2000b, p. 246, n. 20.

<sup>13</sup> *IGCH* 1747; Reade 1986. Cf. Zournatzi 2000b, p. 246, n. 21, with further references. The date of the hoard was originally set to 385-380 BC. The higher date followed here relies on the chronology assigned to the “Phoenician content” by Elayi – Elayi 1993, pp. 268-270, no. 261 (cited in *CH* IX, 364).

<sup>14</sup> Kraay – Moorey 1981.

<sup>15</sup> For a detailed argument that this passage refers to control of the quality of the gold and silver collected from taxation to official Achaemenid standards of fineness, see Zournatzi 2000b (with an overview of earlier interpretations), further supported by van Alfen’s (2004-2005), and Vargyas’ (2009) analyses of relevant written evidence from Persian period Egypt.

<sup>16</sup> The relevant classical testimony is discussed in Zournatzi 2000b, pp. 249-252.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Str.* 15.3.21.

<sup>18</sup> As attested by mixed hoards, e.g., Kraay – Moorey 1981, nos 132-135 and pl. 7 (a complete bracelet with calves’ heads finials and fragments of others) and no. 137 and pl. 8 (a fragment of royally inscribed silver, perhaps from a bowl); Reade 1986, pls II and III (fragments of jewelry and bowls).

In view of the variety of shapes of monetary gold and silver in the Persian realm and the importance given to jewellery and vessels as monetary instruments in official Achaemenid contexts, it would also seem reasonable to interpret the miscellaneous gold and silver (coins, vessels, bracelets, as well as the gold lumps<sup>19</sup>) of the Vouni Treasure as different forms of currency. And by the same token, the sum of this treasure could be a monetary hoard.

### Mixed hoards in Cyprus?

At first sight, an interpretation of the miscellaneous gold and silver of the Vouni Treasure as a monetary hoard would seem difficult to harmonize with the monetary landscape of classical Cyprus. Precious metal (in particular, silver) appears to have played an important role in Cypriot economy since at least the Late Bronze Age.<sup>20</sup> There can be little doubt that, before the introduction of coinage, precious metal was used by the Cypriots by weight in economic transactions, as was customary throughout the Near East. By the Classical period to which the Vouni Treasure belongs, however, Cypriot approaches to money had presumably undergone a crucial transformation.

Cypriot silver coins found in hoards datable before 500 BC indicate that the island was among the pioneers of silver coin production.<sup>21</sup> Coin minting and use were apparently embraced, moreover, throughout the island by the 5<sup>th</sup> c. Although not all 5<sup>th</sup>- and 4<sup>th</sup>-c. Cypriot numismatic issues and series attested so far can be attributed with certainty to a particular city or mint, the island's numismatic output is effectively representative of the sum of the major population centers,<sup>22</sup> and the various smaller denominations of the Cypriot coinages provided an adequate medium of payment for both large-scale and everyday transactions.<sup>23</sup>

Until the late 1980s, the impression of a Cypriot monetary economy relying exclusively on coin was reinforced by the evidence of Late Archaic and Classical period hoards reported from the island, which, to my knowledge,—with the exception

<sup>19</sup> Cf. silver lumps in the Babylon hoard (Reade 1986, p. 83, no. 44) and the Ras Shamra hoard (*IGCH* 1478). For the actual forms of the Vouni gold “lumps”, see now below, Addenda and **Pl.**, 42, 8.

<sup>20</sup> For an insightful analysis of the evidence related to the importance of silver in Cypriot economy, and especially in the Cypriots' international economic exchanges, in the Late Bronze Age, see Kassianidou 2009, with references to earlier discussions. The two silver ingots discovered in a late-13<sup>th</sup> c. context at Pyla-Kokkinokremos (see, e.g., Karageorghis 2002, p. 84, fig. 163) offer an idea of the form(s) in which “bulk” silver circulated and was hoarded in the island.

<sup>21</sup> See Kagan's (1994, pp. 39-41) study of the relevant hoard evidence, and Destrooper-Georgiades 1995, p. 214. Kagan's study indicates, among other things, that a date before 500 is also entirely possible for the three Cypriot sigloi buried in the foundation deposits of the Apadana at Persepolis; cf., in the same sense, Zournatzi 2003[2004], pp. 8-11, with special reference to the literary and archaeological evidence bearing on the date of the foundation of the latter building.

<sup>22</sup> Pending an up-to-date, comprehensive survey of the coinages of the Cypriot city-kingdoms, one can usefully consult, e.g., Hill 1904; Kraay 1976, pp. 299-311, and the recent overviews of Cypriot city mints conveniently cited in Amandry 2009, p. 87.

<sup>23</sup> For smaller denominations (ranging from thirds of ca 3.60 gr to smaller than twelfths of 0.90 gr), see, e.g., Destrooper 2001, p. 173; cf. Picard 1994, p. 12.

of the Vouni Treasure—appeared to consist exclusively of coins.<sup>24</sup> Absent from these hoards were traces of unmarked silver, tell-tale signs of the use of bullion as money as in, say, the adjacent territories of Egypt and the Levant.<sup>25</sup>

A “treasure” said to have been found at Vavla (in the eastern part of the kingdom of Amathous) in 1989 may indicate that appearances are misleading. This “hoard” of 154 silver coins (dated prior to *ca* 340 BC), 11 silver earrings, 1 bronze pendant, and 11(?) bronze weights was found through illicit excavations, and the circumstances of its discovery remain obscure.<sup>26</sup> An allowance has been made nonetheless that all its contents could constitute a single find.<sup>27</sup> If true, this would allow a number of observations.

The “hoard” was auctioned and dispersed soon after its discovery,<sup>28</sup> and the exact number of weights therein remains unknown. However, a group of eleven weights, all ascribable to this hoard and most marked with a Phoenician letter (either ‘*ayin*, *ḥeth* or *šin*), were reviewed by Antoine Hermary in the context of a more comprehensive study of weights found at Amathous.<sup>29</sup> From his analysis it seems likely that, “in addition to the standard of a siglos of 11.20-11.60 gr current at the time in Cyprus, there were also used Phoenician weight systems, identified by the Phoenician letters engraved on the weights which appear to refer to three lighter standards of *ca* 10.50, 8.20, and 7.00 gr”.<sup>30</sup> Hermary suggested that the use of different weights “could be related to the different origins of the coins included in the hoard, subject to probable variations of the siglos-stater from one kingdom to another”, but that “the diversity

<sup>24</sup> See *IGCH* 1272 (*CH* VIII, 42; *CH* IX, 353), 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277 (*CH* VIII, 43; *CH* IX, 353), 1279, 1280; *CH* II, 28; *CH* V, 22 (*CH* VI, 13); *CH* VI, 10; *CH* VIII, 65 (*CH* IX, 378); *CH* IX, 401; Michaelidou-Nikolaou 2006.

<sup>25</sup> This assessment also clearly emerges from Van Alfen’s (2004-2005, esp. p. 16) overview of the contents of southeastern Mediterranean hoards of the Persian period.

<sup>26</sup> *CH* VIII, 140 (identified as coming from Amathous), with pls XIII.26-33 and XIV.1-42; Destrooper-Georgiades 2000, pp. 704-705 (noting, on p. 704 n. 4, auctioners’(!) claims that the coins formed a “collection” assembled over a long period time); Amandry 2002, p. 53 with n. 2; Hermary 2002, pp. 236-237 (article kindly brought to my attention by Evangéline Markou); Amandry 2009, p. 88. Hermary (2002, p. 236) speculates on the possible connection of the “treasure” with a small, rural sanctuary (active from the end of the Cypro-Archaic II to the end of the Hellenistic period) excavated at Vavla and published by Morden and Tod in 1994.

<sup>27</sup> See *CH* VIII, 140, and especially Hermary 2002, p. 237. Cf. Amandry’s (2009, p. 88) noncommittal reference to 11 bronze weights “associés à un ensemble important de monnaies”.

<sup>28</sup> As noted by Amandry 2002, p. 53 n. 2, and Hermary 2002, p. 236.

<sup>29</sup> See Hermary 2002, pp. 236-237, noting the uncertainties surrounding the information at his disposal concerning the actual weights and total number (not specified in *CH* VIII, 140) of the Vavla pieces.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Hermary 2002, p. 237. The question of the use of a uniform weight/coin standard in the Cypriot kingdoms is still to be satisfactorily settled, however (cf. also the comments of Amandry 2009, p. 88). In the course of the 5<sup>th</sup> c., for instance, a slightly lighter weight standard (perhaps peculiar to the late Archaic period?) is seemingly adhered to by the 36 Cypriot coins of the recently discovered Lefkosia hoard, dated by Destrooper-Georgiades to *ca* 500-498 BC (Pilides – Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, pp. 323-324). If they were actually used in relation to 4<sup>th</sup>-c. Cypriot coins, the weights of the Vavla hoard could imply (as Hermary 2002, pp. 236-237, also indicates) the currency in the island, during the 4<sup>th</sup> c., of monetary systems of weight that were lighter than the “theoretical weight” of 11+ gr of the Cypriot siglos.



of the weights can also be explained by the necessity of weighing other categories of objects, such as the jewelry, that was present in the hoard”.<sup>31</sup>

If the coins of the “hoard” were not accepted at face value, but their weights had to be verified on the balance in each transaction,<sup>32</sup> this reminds us of the Seleucid staters passing by weight in Babylonia and, in general, of transactions in bullion silver in Cyprus’ southeastern Mediterranean domain. If the weights were especially useful for determining the weight of the other items associated with the coins, this could suggest that the silver jewelry of the “hoard” was treated (perhaps like the coins?) as money by weight. Thinking along the same lines, the presence of a bronze pendant in the Vavla “hoard” might also be significant. This item of bronze – a metal which was used from early on as currency of lesser value alongside silver and gold (and also began to be minted into coins in Cyprus during the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC<sup>33</sup>) – could imply that bronze objects also had a place in local monetary transactions.

The uncertainties surrounding the Vavla “hoard” are numerous. At least on present perceptions of this material (i.e., as a possible *single* find), it is obvious that its contents cannot be confidently accounted for by the notion of a Cypriot monetary economy operating strictly on coin.<sup>34</sup> The Vouni find might also no longer constitute a unique instance of a Classical period Cypriot “treasure” combining coins with other items of precious metal. Truth to be told, the phenomenon of “mixed hoards” might be more extensive in the Cypriot archaeological record.

Of the hoards reported so far from Cyprus relevant to this discussion, only five – namely, the Vouni Treasure, two finds from Idalion,<sup>35</sup> the hoard of Amathous Tomb 286,<sup>36</sup> and the recent Lefkosia find<sup>37</sup> – were found in the course of controlled excavations. The remainder<sup>38</sup> were either discovered accidentally in the course of construction<sup>39</sup> or found their way to museum and private collections from the market, and it is impossible to ascertain their original contents. Currently posing as consisting exclusively of coin, some of the latter hoards could have originally included other

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Hermary 2002, p. 237.

<sup>32</sup> The notion that coinage might not (or not always) have been accepted at face value in Cyprus may be further supported by Anne Destrooper-Georgiades’ observation that coins with test-marks, which were reportedly previously rare on the island, and which are generally held not to occur in countries with a coin economy (cf., e.g., Van Alfen 2004-2005, p. 15), are attested in “an unusually high percentage ... more than eight per cent” in the Lefkosia hoard (Pilides – Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, p. 327, cf. p. 324).

<sup>33</sup> See Destrooper-Georgiades 2008.

<sup>34</sup> This is also implicit in Hermary’s (2002, p. 237) commentary.

<sup>35</sup> *IGCH* 1275 and 1276, both dated to 425-400 BC.

<sup>36</sup> Originally announced in Karageorghis 1981, p. 1016, this treasure of 11 coins was subject to detailed presentation by Masson 1982, pp. 150-151; cf. Amandry 1984, pp. 57ff, and Picard 1991, pp. 173-174. References owed to Anne Destrooper-Georgiades.

<sup>37</sup> Pilides – Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, pp. 315-328.

<sup>38</sup> See *IGCH* 1272 (*CH* VIII, 42; *CH* IX, 353), 1273, 1274, 1277 (*CH* VIII, 43; *CH* IX, 353), 1279, 1280; *CH* II, 28; *CH* V, 22 (*CH* VI, 13); *CH* VI, 10; *CH* VIII, 65 (*CH* IX, 378); *CH* IX, 404; Michaelidou-Nikolaou 2006; Apice *et al.* 2003 [Lanteri] (= Destrooper-Georgiades 2004).

<sup>39</sup> *IGCH* 1272 (from Larnaca) and no. 1279 (from Meniko). For the circumstances of discovery of the former hoard, see Dikaïos 1935, p. 165, and Robinson 1935, p. 180 with n. 1; and of the latter hoard, Karageorghis – Karageorghis 1965, p. 9.

items, which their finders disposed of separately from the coins, conceivably in response to different, specialized preferences that obtained in the market. As for any much less marketable –and, until recently, seemingly quite insignificant– pieces of scrap metal and fragments, these, if present, could have been simply melted down.<sup>40</sup> This circumstance could apply, of course, to the Vavla “hoard” as well, since it derives from clandestine excavations.

While these considerations would tend to undermine perceptions of a sweeping transformation of Cypriot monetary practices as a result of the introduction of coinage, additional reasons for supposing that Cypriot transactions in precious metal were not monopolized by coin emerge from the realities of the Cypriots’ wide-ranging commercial enterprises. We know, for instance, that coinage was not contemporaneously embraced in either the Levant or Egypt<sup>41</sup> –regions with which Cyprus, an early coin producer, had long had close commercial contacts. Trade with these areas would have inevitably dictated a flexible, cosmopolitan Cypriot outlook on the media of payments in precious metal.<sup>42</sup> As we shall see, Cypriot transactions in unmarked gold and silver might also have been a regular feature of the Cypriots’ official fiscal dealings with the Achaemenid authorities. This brings us back to the Achaemenid style jewelry and bowls of the Vouni Treasure and to Achaemenid approaches to the gold and silver coming into the Persian royal treasuries as tribute.

### **The Achaemenid objects of the Vouni Treasure: a reassessment<sup>43</sup>**

The places of production of the Achaemenid style objects of the Vouni Treasure are unknown. A case, however, for the manufacture of such objects in Cyprus might be made with reference to one of the Vouni silver bowls. An unusual limestone artifact (Pl. 42, 2), excavated in the palace of Amathous in 1975, is described by Antoine Hermary as “a solid object” in the shape of a phiale with a flaring rim, measuring six cm in height and 11 cm in diameter. Hermary was undecided as to whether the object was “an unfinished vase” or was meant to be “a model of a vase or, more likely, a model of a cup of an incense burner”.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., Kroll’s reference to Dressel’s (1900, p. 250) report, that the early-5<sup>th</sup>-c. Sakha hoard (IGCH 1639) included “an uncertain number of coin fragments, all of which were melted down as worthless” (Kroll 2001, p. 5, no. f).

<sup>41</sup> Cf., e.g., van Alfen (2004-2005, p. 16), succinctly charting the advent of coinage in the different areas of the southeastern Mediterranean.

<sup>42</sup> Although there may be various reasons (such as systematic conversion of foreign to Cypriot coin) for the apparent limited “penetration” of foreign coins in a Cypriot environment (cf. Picard 1994, p. 9), perhaps this phenomenon was also due, at least in part, to Cypriot acceptance of international commercial payments in uncoined precious metal.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Zournatzi (2000a, p. 702, and 2008, pp. 247-248), anticipating the main thrust of the argument presented in this section.

<sup>44</sup> Hermary 2000, p. 144, pl. 82, no. 964 (Amathous inv. no. 75.519.2), with the comment: “[f]ragment d’un objet plein, qui a la forme d’une phiale à bord évasé. S’agit-il d’un vase inachevé, d’un modèle de vase ou, plutôt, d’un modèle de coupelle de brûle-parfum? Il paraît en tout cas indiquer la présence à proximité d’un atelier artisanal.”

As Georghios Papasavvas informs me,<sup>45</sup> given the small dimensions, shape, and carefully finished exterior of the vase, it is highly unlikely that we are dealing with an unfinished object. For, in that case, one would expect the excess stone to have been removed from the interior of the vase before its exterior was brought to a state of final completion. An interpretation, on the other hand, of the object as a model, specifically for drinking bowls, spontaneously emerges from its close similarity in both shape and dimensions with one of the Achaemenid silver bowls of the Vouni Treasure (Pl. 41, 1b) and from the nearly identical profiles of bowls depicted in Achaemenid iconography.<sup>46</sup> A striking parallel is provided by bowls in the hands of the Lydian tribute-bearers of the Persepolitan Apadana reliefs.<sup>47</sup> On this evidence, the type of Achaemenid shallow metal bowl with flaring rim represented at Vouni might have been manufactured on Cyprus.

Achaemenid types of metalware in numerous stylistic variations were widely distributed in the provinces and along the margins of the Persian empire.<sup>48</sup> Their local production and adaptation in different areas are commonly attributed to Achaemenid influence on local tastes.<sup>49</sup> The stone model from Amathous might speak, however, for more than emulation of Persian tastes.

Herodotus' (3.96.2) depiction of the Persian king as "melting"/"smelting" the precious metal coming in from the taxes seems to imply that the gold and silver objects, in the form of which precious metal was hoarded, as indicated earlier, in the Persian royal treasuries, were manufactured by Persian authorities following the reception of the taxes and their processing in a royal foundry. Tax payments in precious metal would have presumably come in different forms, in keeping with the respective monetary devices used by Persia's various subjects.<sup>50</sup> Coin users – thus, also the Cypriots, whose annual fiscal obligations, together with those of Syro-Palestine and Phoenicia, were assessed at 350 talents of silver (Hdt. 3.91.1)– would have normally used coin for payments in precious metal. There are not a few reasons, however, why this seemingly straightforward reasoning may not be entirely reliable.

Assyrian lists of tributes, a salient element of the surviving record of royal Assyrian deeds, commonly include references to gold and silver objects presented to Assyrian

<sup>45</sup> Personal communication, June 2009.

<sup>46</sup> The interpretation proposed here has been favorably received by A. Hermay. Personal communication, 7 August 2009.

<sup>47</sup> See Schmidt 1953, pl. 32. See also *eiusdem*, pls 31, 34, 38 and 41, for bowls of identical or similar profile being brought as tribute by Delegations V (Babylonians), VIII (Cilicians?), XII (Ionians), and XV (Bactrians). Close-up photographs of the objects in Walser 1966, pls 43, 45, 51, 59, 65 and 67. Actual examples of Achaemenid bowls in ceramic from Iran are represented among the Pasargadae Fine Ware, see Stronach 1978, fig. 106 on pp. 242-243, and pl. 173 a and b.

<sup>48</sup> For a recent, succinct overview of this phenomenon, see Boardman 2000, pp. 184-199. For the types and distribution of Achaemenid types of metalware along the western periphery of the empire and extensive bibliography, see Sideris 2008.

<sup>49</sup> The introduction of bowls of Achaemenid shapes in the provinces of the Persian empire under Persian influence is clearly documented by the numerous, locally made ceramic examples excavated at Sardis, all in contexts which postdate the capture of Croesus' capital city by the Persians (see Dusinberre 2003, pp. 172-195).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Zournatzi 2000b, pp. 245-246.



kings by their subjects. Among these objects, which, as our texts make clear, were of the nature of compulsory payments, silver bowls held a prominent place, being often expressly described as “tribute bowls” and sometimes indicated to have weighed about one mina each.<sup>51</sup> The Achaemenid rulers’ approaches to their gold and silver revenues may not have differed too much from earlier Assyrian practice.

Herodotus (7.119.2-4) reports that in preparation for Xerxes’ march against the mainland Greeks in 480, the inhabitants of the coastal Greek cities of Thrace were ordered to supply, among other things, “gold and silver cups and bowls and all manner of service for the table...for the king himself and those that ate with him”, which were carried away after the “dinner” by the departing Persians. This is the only recorded instance of an express Persian demand for the manufacture of any gold and silver items in the provinces, but the traditional Near Eastern practice of offering precious metal to royalty in the form of finished objects is eloquently documented in the Apadana reliefs. On the friezes carved along the monumental northern and eastern staircases of the building, elaborate vessels, jewelry, and weapons –almost certainly manufactured of precious metal– take pride of place among the luxurious and exotic offerings (precious metalwork, textiles, exotic animals, etc.) that are being brought into the presence of the enthroned Persian king by representatives of his various subject peoples.<sup>52</sup>

There is no sound justification for limiting, as one often does, the relevance of the types of offerings brought by the Apadana tribute-bearers to symbolic expressions of fealty to the Persian monarch by his subjects, thus distinguishing them from actual imperial tributary requirements.<sup>53</sup> In as much as precious metal was regularly hoarded in Persian royal treasuries in the form of gold and silver objects, and the places of production of these vast treasures remain largely unknown, it cannot be precluded that, like the Assyrian rulers before them, the Persian kings regularly received their share of the annual revenues in the form of finished items.

Assyrian references to “tribute bowls” stress the weight of the vessels received as tribute. Where cultural preferences were at play, however, specifications of form would also be expected. And the visual message of the repetition of the same, basically Achaemenid-favored shapes in the metalware held in the hands of different

<sup>51</sup> For examples and discussion, see, in the first place, Postgate 1974, esp. pp. 111-113 (1.5-7); 306-311 (ADD 758, ADD 927 and ADD 928, all listing, with their respective weights/values, offerings of silver bowls and other precious items); 119-120 and 123 (for the nature of such silver bowls, designated in the Assyrian texts *kappe KÛ.BABBAR madatú* or *kappe KÛ.UD madatú*, as compulsory payments by peoples subdued by the Assyrians); 127 (depictions of such bowls in tribute processions depicted in Assyrian art). Cf., in the same sense, Fales – Postgate 1992, e.g., nos 62 and 127, and comments on p. xxiv, Zaccagnini 1989, pp. 196-198, and *eiusdem* 1991[1994], p. 374 (with special reference to bowls and other vessels recorded as tribute in Hittite texts and subsequently redistributed as gifts to personages of high standing and the temple).

<sup>52</sup> See Schmidt 1953, pls 27-43 *passim*.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Postgate’s (1974, pp. 121-127) commentary concerning the delivery of a part of the (required) tributes, which would “have included the small, valuable items, and probably horses” (pp. 122-123) to Assyrian monarchs by representatives of their subjects, probably during an actual annual ceremony that served as a model for the tribute processions depicted on Assyrian reliefs, and drawing a direct comparison (p. 127) between the latter reliefs and the Apadana tribute procession.

foreign tributaries<sup>54</sup> on the Apadana reliefs strongly suggests the existence of cultural preferences in an imperial Achaemenid tributary setting. If the Achaemenids indeed required gold and silver tribute in the form of bowls, they might have specified (as they might have done in the case of other kinds of metalwork received as tribute) not only their weight(s) but also their forms.

Could the Amathous bowl be a model for such standardized production of precious vessels for the Achaemenids on Cyprus? The Amathous vase –closely resembling both the actual silver bowl from Vouni and the standardized Persepolitan sculptured examples and made of stone, as opposed to, say, more modest and perishable wood– would certainly tally with the idea of a standard, conveying the quantitative requirements and aesthetic preferences of the Persian king.<sup>55</sup>

Taking this reasoning a step further, Cypriot gold and silver payments to Persia in the form of finished objects might not be confined to silver bowls.<sup>56</sup> The type of Achaemenid *omega*-shaped bracelets with animals' heads finials, represented by four gold specimens at Vouni (Pl. 41, 1e-g and Pl. 42, 4, 6), is another case in point. Writing in 1948, Einar Gjerstad noted that “[b]oth typologically and chronologically” the four gold bracelets with goats' and calves' heads finials found at Vouni “are so closely related to the Persian types that we must consider them to be of Persian workmanship”.<sup>57</sup> Gjerstad was seemingly thinking in particular of the characteristic incurved hoop of the Vouni pieces,<sup>58</sup> prominently featured in depictions of jewelry worn in the Achaemenid court.<sup>59</sup> Long considered a mark of Achaemenid (rather

<sup>54</sup> Scholars investigating the identity of the tribute bearers of the Apadana reliefs have long recognized that the types of fine metalwork brought by different delegations do not necessarily constitute indicators of the bearers' ethnic identities. While there has been a pronounced tendency to consider that the bearers were not “necessarily from the region of manufacture” (Moorey 1985, p. 22, with references), the more or less obvious implication of the context –namely, that Persian types of metalwork were manufactured in a number of different regions– is nonetheless acknowledged by, among others, Amandry (below, n. 74) and Boardman (2000, pp. 184 and 194).

<sup>55</sup> For Persian royal standards in stone, see, e.g., the official pyramidal weights in green diorite, inscribed in the name of Darius, in Schmidt 1957, pp. 105-107. Though not imposed upon the everyday practices of the empire's subjects, official standards of weight and measures were nonetheless an essential feature of imperial fiscal administration. See, e.g., Hdt. 3.89.2 (cf. 3.95), stating that the amounts of tribute imposed upon Persia's various subjects were reckoned by the “Babylonian” talent, when paid in silver, while the “Euboic” talent was the standard measure for payments in gold. For Achaemenid standards of weights and measures in general, see Briant 1996, pp. 300, 426-427, 464, 961, 963-964, 998. A stone weight, inscribed “III si(gloi)” and “ki(ng) Ni[...]” (Masson 1983, no. 368), suggests the use of stone for official standards locally in Cyprus.

<sup>56</sup> Contributions of different kinds of metalwork by the same subject people are attested on the Apadana reliefs. See, e.g., the bowls, amphoras with handles in the forms of animals, and bracelets (or torques?, cf. Roaf 1974, p. 101) with finials in the form of winged griffins' protomes brought by different members of the Lydian delegation (Schmidt 1953, pl. 32).

<sup>57</sup> Gjerstad 1948, p. 392.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Gjerstad (1948, p. 391), referring to the “typical Persian depression opposite the opening...”

<sup>59</sup> The relevant evidence is cited in Gjerstad 1948, p. 392; Amandry 1958, p. 11; Moorey 1985, p. 32. As earlier scholars have pointed out, such bracelets, always worn in pairs, are clearly visible around the wrists of, e.g., royal guards on the glazed-brick reliefs of the Achaemenid palace at Susa (see, e.g., Curtis – Tallis 2005, fig. 51 on p. 87, and fig. 52 on p. 88), nobles in Persian and Median attire on the Persepolis reliefs (e.g., Walser 1980, pls 63, 64, 76), and the personifications of the Medes and the Persians carved on the base of the Egyptian-made statue of Darius I found at Susa (Roaf 1974, pp. 96 and 101, and drawing on p. 99).

than earlier [e.g., Assyrian] or provincial) production of bracelets with animals' heads finials, the incurved hoop is also represented, as we now know, in a palatial Persian context by the two elaborate gold bracelets with ibices' heads finials of the Pasargadae Treasure (Pl. 42, 3)<sup>60</sup> which provide close parallels to the Vouni examples.

Even though "the *omega*-shaped hoop [was] apparently confined to the Achaemenid period"<sup>61</sup> and was evidently tied to Achaemenid court preferences, the places of production of these bracelets remain unknown. Other details of workmanship have been seen since the 1990s to warrant close comparison of the *omega*-shaped gold bracelets of the Pasargadae Treasure with western metalworking traditions.<sup>62</sup> These recently prompted Dyfri Williams to suggest, more specifically, that the pair is "not perhaps Achaemenid, as is so often claimed, but Cypriot".<sup>63</sup> If true, this leaves open the possibility that their counterparts from Vouni could also have been manufactured by Cypriot craftsmen.

Considerations of style and workmanship –crucial in proposing the "Persian" and "Cypriot" manufacture, respectively, of the Vouni and Pasargadae bracelets–dominate attempts to locate the workshops that produced the variations of the largely unprovenanced, extant examples of Achaemenid jewelry and to distinguish pieces manufactured in royal workshops (and presumably expressing "official"/"Court" norms) from provincial adaptations combining local with Persian features and tastes. Valuable though they may be in general for defining the particulars of different artistic traditions, such considerations may still be of limited value in elucidating (official) imperial patterns of production.

The oblong (hence, presumably *omega*-shaped?)<sup>64</sup> bracelets (or torques?)<sup>65</sup> brought by Medes (Delegation I), Lydians (Delegation VI), pointed-hat Scythians (Delegation XI), and Sogdians or Chorasmians (Delegation XVII) on the Apadana reliefs<sup>66</sup> show that the craftsmen of subject states were enjoined to make jewelry for the Achaemenids. These representations would allow at once for the production of "Court" jewelry in different provincial settings and for stylistic and technical variation, subject to

<sup>60</sup> Stronach 1978, pp. 168 and 173-176, fig. 85.4 on pp. 200-201, pls 146d and 147a-f. For an earlier known example of *omega*-shaped bracelets (with lions' heads terminals) excavated in a grave at Susa, see conveniently, Harper – Aruz – Tallon 1992, p. 246 (F. Tallon), nos 172-173, and color illustrations on p. 247.

<sup>61</sup> Moorey 1985, p. 32

<sup>62</sup> Ogden – Williams (1994, p. 226), noting, among other things, the Pasargadae bracelets' assembly from separate components ("hoops of twisted wires and hollow sheet-gold heads with filigree-decorated collars and separately made and inserted horns and ears") and the use of filigree as features, which tend to be lacking in oriental examples, and which could point to these bracelets' "origin in Cyprus, the Syria-Levant coast or Asia Minor" or their production by Greek or Greek-trained goldsmiths working for the Persian kings.

<sup>63</sup> Williams 2005, p. 110.

<sup>64</sup> As suggested by Amandry 1958, pp. 11 and 17.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Roaf 1974, p. 101.

<sup>66</sup> See Schmidt 1953, pls 27, 32, 37 and 43, respectively, and the close-up photos in Walser 1966, pls 31 (Delegation I), 47 (Delegation VI) and 58 (Delegation XI). For the types represented, see Schmidt 1953, pp. 85, 88-89 (wherein the bracelets or torques are called "rings"), and Moorey 1985, p. 32.

different regional metalworking traditions and evolving trends in metalworking.<sup>67</sup> Argued to be “not perhaps Achaemenid...but Cypriot”, yet evidently owned by a member of the Achaemenid court, the Pasargadae gold bracelets could represent a 4<sup>th</sup>-c. version<sup>68</sup> of “Court” jewelry enriched with features from a western/Cypriot milieu and offer leads to otherwise unattested supplies of jewelry to the Persian homeland capitals from Cyprus.

Bracelets with a remarkable “Persian” flavor (such as Gjerstad thought he could recognize in the pieces from Vouni) found in distant corners of the empire – and usually interpreted as diplomatic gifts from the Persian king to provincial grandees<sup>69</sup> – may not be exclusively liable, either, to circumstances of a homeland Persian production. A small limestone plaque from Egypt, published by Henri Frankfort, is carved with Achaemenid motifs. Judging by carving flaws attested on the stone, Frankfort interpreted the find as a trial-piece, rather than a model, and suggested that it belonged to a “Persian goldsmith”.<sup>70</sup> The identity of the jeweler is unknown. This plaque presents us nonetheless with concrete evidence –analogous to that offered by the Amathous stone bowl– that Achaemenid “Court style” jewelry was manufactured in workshops in Egypt.<sup>71</sup>

Gold, *omega*-shaped bracelets with goats’ and calves’ heads finials, as in the Vouni Treasure, were excavated in Colchis, Georgia, in a burial dating from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> or the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Pl. 42, 5 and 7).<sup>72</sup> One of the Georgian examples is furnished with a flat hoop,<sup>73</sup> and there is a distinct impression of the execution of the respective Colchis and Vouni pieces by different hands, probably in different regional workshops/traditions (Pl. 42, 4-7). However, an extraordinary formal and stylistic

<sup>67</sup> The rich potential for variation (implied *a priori* by the different details of the bracelets in the hands of the Apadana tribute bearers, see above, n. 66) also emerges from the actual examples treated in, e.g., Amandry 1958, Stronach 1978, pp. 173-176, Moorey 1985, pp. 32-33, Williams 2005, pp. 210-211 with col. pls 3-5, Curtis and Tallis 2005, nos 152-171. The Greek and Egyptian elements attested in the decoration of the vessels carried by Parthian or Bactrian tribute bearers in the Apadana reliefs (Boardman 2000, p. 194, fig. 5.76) may offer an indication of the parallel potential for interaction among distant regional metalworking traditions that was inherent in such a complex, imperial artistic environment.

<sup>68</sup> For a dating in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c., see Stronach 1978, pp. 174-175.

<sup>69</sup> Cf., in the same sense, Williams 2005, p. 110. For the bestowal of jewelry and other items by Persian kings as tokens of honor, see, e.g., Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.27.

<sup>70</sup> Frankfort 1950, with pl. III, and references to other known instances of such models and/or trial pieces. Cf. Amandry 1958, p. 16 n. 55.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Frankfort’s (1950, p. 112) comment that “the making of the characteristic Achaemenian jewelry can be expected wherever satraps and other high officials were in residence”. Pace Frankfort, however, it cannot be automatically assumed that the piece belonged to a “Persian” goldsmith. For the Achaemenids’ high regard for Egyptian goldsmiths, see Kent 1953, DSf ll. 49-51, where the text identifies “the goldsmiths who wrought the gold” for Darius’ palace at Susa as Medes and Egyptians. For the making of Persian fine metalwork in Egypt, see the relief of an Egyptian artisan working on a rhyton of Persian type on the Tomb of Petosiris at Hermopolis (Egypt), dating immediately after the Persian period (Boardman 2000, pp. 184 and 186, fig. 5.67a).

<sup>72</sup> See Lordkipanidze *et al.* 2007, pp. 47 and 49 (with color photographs). The items are in the Georgian National Museum nos 11-974:14a-b (goat-headed finials) and 11-974:15 (calf-headed finials).

<sup>73</sup> This type of hoop is also attested on the Apadana reliefs, see Schmidt 1953, pl. 32, and Walser 1966, pl. 49.

affinity among the Vouni and Colchis pieces (and their kinship with Achaemenid art) emerges from the stylizations of their respective goats' and, especially, calves' heads finials. This close kinship could offer further scope for contemplating, among other possibilities, a production, based on officially disseminated models, of Achaemenid-favored jewelry in a number of different subject provinces, potentially including Cyprus.<sup>74</sup>

Raised here specifically with reference to the Achaemenid style vessels and jewelry of the Vouni Treasure, the possibility of Cypriot tributary contributions to Persia in the form of precious objects has implications in general for the discussion of Achaemenid metalwork attested in Cyprus. To mention a notable example, the portrait (of the local ruler?) featured on the reverses of late-4<sup>th</sup>-c. gold coins of Cypriot Salamis registers, among other things, a surprising Cypriot preference for Achaemenid torques with finials in the form of animal protomes.<sup>75</sup> This preference could issue forth from a spontaneous interplay of Achaemenid and local tastes or, as perhaps in the case of the Egyptian Ptah-hotep,<sup>76</sup> allude to a distinction granted by the Persian king.<sup>77</sup> Imperial demands for precious metalwork on the Cypriots might also be responsible, however, for setting initial parameters for the adoption in Cyprus of this splendid type of Achaemenid jewelry which is infrequently seen outside Iranian contexts.

### Concluding remarks

The thoughts on the possible monetary significance of the objects of the Vouni Treasure presented in the foregoing discussion have been primarily meant to draw attention to hitherto unexplored possibilities. Seen through the lens of an economy that was presumed to have been dependent on coinage, the gold and silver bracelets and vessels of the Vouni Treasure have long failed to impress us as anything more than personal luxury and prestige items. The complexity, however, of Cyprus' environment calls for reassessment from different standpoints. If the Vavla "hoard" is correctly perceived as a single find, its mixed contents (coins, jewelry, weights) could allude to the continuity of Near Eastern monetary diversity in classical Cyprus despite the island's minting of coinage. The gold and silver coins, vessels, and jewelry of the Vouni Treasure may offer yet another view on Cypriot society as a meeting ground for West and East. Suitable though they may have been as symbols of wealth and as prestigious gifts, precious vessels and jewelry fulfilled a range of monetary functions in Achaemenid contexts and are featured among the items received by the Achaemenids as tribute from their subjects.

<sup>74</sup> Amandry (1958, p. 18) pointed out a broad correspondence between, on the one hand, the distribution of mining districts in the empire and, on the other hand, the locations of workshops producing fine metalwork, as these emerge from the Apadana reliefs and the Foundation Charter of Darius' palace at Susa (Kent 1953, DSf). Such demands would be logical in general in areas with abundant reserves of precious metal, hence, also in the case of Cyprus (cf. Zournatzi 2008, p. 248 and n. 73 on p. 252).

<sup>75</sup> See Markou 2006, pp. 137-139 and figs 1 and 8, for a discussion of this unique attestation of torques of Achaemenid type in Cyprus and parallels, and p. 143 for an interpretation of the portrait as representing the heroic founder or the king of the city.

<sup>76</sup> Bothmer 1960, p. 77, no. 64, fig. 151 on pl. 60.

<sup>77</sup> See, e.g., Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.3 and 8.2.8.



The three Cypriot silver coins buried in the foundation deposits of the Apadana at Persepolis<sup>78</sup> indicate that Persian rulers did not ignore the importance of the Cypriots as coin-producers. Achaemenid preference for precious metal in the form of finished objects and the prominent Cypriot tradition in fine metalwork may have nonetheless prompted the Persian kings to require tributary contributions in alternative forms of currency; namely, gold and silver jewelry and metalware manufactured on Persian demand and to Persian specifications<sup>79</sup> –an imperial requirement that would further promote, alongside the extensive local transactions in coin, the Cypriots’ uses of unmarked gold and silver as money.

## ADDENDA

Following the submission of the present article for publication in December 2009, there was an opportunity to view in the Cyprus Museum, where they are currently conserved, the items of the Vouni Treasure described as four “lumps of gold”,<sup>80</sup> never previously illustrated. These are in fact a fragment of a bar ingot, a likely second ingot fragment, a small spherical bead, and what appears to be a folded sheet (Pl. 42, 8). This “miscellaneous”/ “cut” gold, which finds numerous parallels in silver in the contents of contemporary mixed hoards from the adjacent territories of the Persian empire, and which calls for a more detailed future treatment, would tend to lend additional support to the foregoing interpretation of the sum of the Vouni Treasure as a monetary hoard.

On the increasing scholarly attention to the composition of Cypriot and Achaemenid numismatic precious metal (above, n. 79), see, among others, the additional analyses of gold Cypriot royal issues and darics published more recently, respectively, by E. Markou, *L’or des rois de Chypre. Numismatique et histoire à l’époque classique* (MEAE-THMATA 64), (Athens 2011), and F. Duyrat and J. Olivier, “Deux politiques de l’or. Séleucides et Lagides au III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.”, *RN* 166 (2010), pp. 71-93.

Evidence for a continuing use, after the introduction of coinage locally, of “a traditional currency of unminted silver” (in the form of hammered discs and fragments thereof, amorphous lumps, and scrap pieces of worked silver) is now also available from Ionia, from a mixed silver hoard of the later 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (*CH* I, 3) found in Colophon. See H.S. Kim – J.H. Kroll, “A hoard of archaic coins of Colophon and

<sup>78</sup> See Schmidt 1953, pp. 70 and 79, and *eiusdem* 1957, pp. 110, 113-114, nos 37-39.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Journatzi 2000a, p. 702, and 2008, p. 248. The arguments presented here also raise inevitably the question of Cypriot conformity to standards which arguably applied to official Achaemenid gold and silver (see above, n. 15). To my knowledge, published experimental data for such an investigation is presently limited to the results of analyses of 21 Cypriot gold coins attributed to kings Milkyathon and Pumyathon of Kition (Gondonneau – Amandry 2002) and of a similarly small number of Achaemenid gold coins (see, e.g., Gondonneau – Guerra 2000). It is hoped that it will be possible to address this question in the near future through systematic analyses of Cypriot and Achaemenid silver and gold.

<sup>80</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, p. 238, no. 292p.

unminted silver [CH I.3]”, *AJN* 20 (2008), pp. 53-103 (article kindly brought to my attention by J.H. Kroll, personal communication, September 2010).

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## PLATES 41 - 42

1. Part of the non-coin contents of the Vouni Treasure. Concealment *ca* 390-380 BC. Cyprus Museum. (Adapted from Gjerstad *et al.*1937, pl. XCII, Courtesy Medelhavsmuseet).
2. Stone bowl from Amathous. D. 11 cm, H. 6 cm. (Courtesy Antoine Hermay).
3. Gold, ibex-headed bracelets of the Pasargadae Treasure. First half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. D. 7.00 cm and 6.50 cm. National Museum of Iran. (After Stronach 1978, pl. 147a, courtesy David Stronach).
4. Detail of gold calf-headed bracelets. Vouni Treasure. Cyprus Museum. (Adapted from Gjerstad *et al.*1937, pl. XCI.7, courtesy Medelhavsmuseet).
5. Gold calf-headed bracelet. Vani, Tomb 6. 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Max.Dm. 9.48 cm. From the Collection of Georgian National Museum (© Georgian National Museum).
6. Detail of gold goat-headed bracelets. Vouni Treasure. Cyprus Museum. (Adapted from Gjerstad *et al.*1937, pl. XCI.6, Courtesy Medelhavsmuseet).
7. Gold goat-headed bracelets. Vani, Tomb 6. 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Max.Dm. 10.19 cm and 9.85 cm. From the Collection of Georgian National Museum. (© Georgian National Museum).
8. Miscellaneous/cut gold. Vouni Treasure. Cyprus Museum (Courtesy of the Director, Cyprus Department of Antiquities).

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## ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Αντιγόνη Ζουρνατζή

**Ο Θησαυρός του Βουνίου: νομισματικές πρακτικές στην Κύπρο κατά την περσική περίοδο**

Από τη στιγμή της ανεύρεσής του στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1920, ο θησαυρός του Βουνίου κατέχει σημαντική θέση στη μελέτη της αρχαίας κυπριακής νομισματικής χάρη στο πλούσιο νομισματικό του περιεχόμενο, το οποίο περιλαμβάνει 248 αργυρά, σχεδόν αποκλειστικά κυπριακής προέλευσης, νομίσματα και τέσσερις δαρείκους. Τα αργυρά αγγεία και περίαπτα και τα χρυσά και αργυρά βραχιόλια που εμπεριέχονταν στον ίδιο θησαυρό θα φαίνονταν να παρέχουν, ως πολύτιμα προσωπικά αντικείμενα, ενδείξεις κυρίως για τον πλούτο των ενοίκων του ανακτόρου του Βουνίου και σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις για τη γοητεία που ασκούσε η πολυτέλεια της περσικής αυλής στην κυπριακή αριστοκρατία.

Οι διαρκώς αυξανόμενες γνώσεις μας γύρω από τη σημασία των τεχνουργημάτων από χρυσό και άργυρο στις αρχαίες χρηματικές συναλλαγές, ιδιαίτερα στην αυτοκρατορία των Αχαιμενιδών Περσών, μέρος της οποίας αποτελούσε και η Κύπρος, επιτρέπουν την πρόταση ότι το σύνολο των περιεχομένων αυτού του θησαυρού παρέχουν συμπληρωματικές μαρτυρίες για τις νομισματικές πρακτικές που επικρατούσαν στη Μεγαλόνησο κατά τη διάρκεια του 5<sup>ου</sup> και του 4<sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ.



