The Archaeological Evidence for Relations between Greece and Iran in the First Millennium B.C.

OSCAR WHITE MUSCARELLA
Metropolitan Museum of Art

Over a period of many years objects of Iranian origin or reflecting Iranian influences have been excavated in the Greek world. Classical archaeologists date their contexts between the late 8th and the 7th centuries B.C., a chronology not inconsistent with that assigned to the Iranian objects and motifs in general. As more material from Greece and Iran is excavated (and published), and as more research is devoted to old Greek excavations, scholars concerned with Greek-Near Eastern cultural relations will perhaps be able to recognize additional Iranian objects and their offspring in the West. An important article published recently by Hans-Volkmar Herrmann has demonstrated how careful reexamination of earlier site reports will yield significant results in this area of study.[1]

The aims of this paper are both to review the conclusions of Herrmann and other scholars who have discussed pre-Achaemenian Iranian and Greek relations, and to offer a summary of what I regard as the evidence that should be presented in determining what may and what may not be accepted as examples of Iranian material occurring in the West. As we shall see, the data indicates that Iranian goods and ideas reached the West in pre-Achaemenian times, and that historians may legitimately cite their influences on Greek culture. Because of the subjective nature of some of the conclusions presented here, this paper should be considered to be in the nature of a preliminary report, as work in progress, and one that seeks to generate future comments and refinements.

In the course of the Persian wars with Greece in the early fifth century B.C. a large amount of personal and military equipment was abandoned by the invaders and eagerly gathered by the victors. Ancient historians, Herodotus in particular, have furnished us with details of the abandonment and inventories of the material collected by the Greeks. Thus, although surprisingly few Persian objects have been discovered in Greece, we are faced with no serious problems concerning which types of Achaemenian objects reached

---

1 Hans-Volkmar Herrmann, "Frühgriechischer Pferdeschmuck vom Luristantypus," *JdI* 83 (1968), 1–78. (I wish to thank Günter Kopcke and Joan Mertens for making important suggestions in the writing of this paper.)

Greece and the nature of their arrival.[2] In pre-historic Greece, however, there are no historical records to guide and instruct us, and archaeological activity remains at present the only source of information concerning cultural contacts between Greece and pre-Achaemenian Iran. Moreover, with respect to the identification and boundaries of specific states then existing in Iran, and their local cultural characteristics reflected in art, we know very little. Thus, except for material obviously characteristic of Luristan in western Iran and, to a certain extent, northwestern Iran, it is difficult to identify the exact area within Iran where an Iranian object excavated in a foreign land may have originated. Nevertheless, we are able to note that the material recovered in the West is heterogeneous and that it is paralleled by objects excavated in several areas within Iran, Luristan, northwestern Iran, the South Caspian area, and western Iran in general. Obviously, only a judicious investigation of the art historical and archaeological background of all the material under review will yield meaningful conclusions, and cautious, conservative methodology must underlie the study of each piece.

Not surprisingly, the Iranian objects and motifs in the West are relatively few when compared to those from North Syria, the Near Eastern area that seems to have had the greatest artistic influence upon Greece. The Iranian imports are also fewer than those from Phrygia, but apparently equal to those from Assyria.[3] Noteworthy, and of still

2 For a discussion of Achaemenid remains and influences in Greece see D. B. Thompson, "The Persian Spoils in Athens," in *The Aegean and the Near East* (New York, 1956), ed. Saul Weinberg, 281–291; Herbert Hoffmann, "The Persian Origin of Attic Rhyta," *AntK* 4, 1 (1961), 21–26; The article by Anna Roes, "Motifs iraniens dans L'Art grec archaique et classique," *Revue Arch.* IV (1934), 135–154, juxtaposes too many motifs and cultures and presents conclusions too broad to be of value. In *BCH* 85, 2 (1961), "Chronique des Fouilles," 722 and pl. XXV, is a report from Olympia of a bronze pointed helmet with an inscription identifying it as an object captured from the Medes—i.e. from the Persian army in the early 5th century B. C. (see also my comment in *AJA* 73, 4 (1969), 479). And at least two Achaemenid gold lion bracteates have been found on Greek soil, at Dodona and on Samothrace: *BCH* 80 (1956), 300, fig. 2; *Archaeological Reports 1965–1966,* 19, fig. 33. J. Börker-Klähn in *ZfA* 61, 1 (1971), 138–139, notes 31 and 32, fig. 15b, publishes a drawing of an apparently Achaemenid seal that was claimed many years ago to have been found at Marathon: unfortunately there is no documentation to support this claim. For a discussion of the lack of information regarding the find-spot of the gold Achaemenid bracelet in the Karlsruhe Museum ("said to be" from Corinth), see my "Unexcavated Objects and Ancient Near Eastern Art," in *Mountains and Lowlands* (Undena Press, California, 1977), ed. Louis D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young, Jr., 195. This latter work includes a list of excavated Achaemenian *Kleinkunst* and their proveniences, 192–196. Andrew Oliver, Jr. in "Persian Export Glass," *JGS* XII (1970), 9, believes that glass fragments excavated at Olympia were "imported . . . from Persia . . . , " a conclusion yet unproven. For a discussion of a 4th century quasi Achaemenid relief excavated in Athens see A. D. H. Bivar, "A Persian Monument at Athens, and its Connections With the Achaemenid State Seals," in the *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume,* ed. M. Boyce, I. Gershevitch, (London, 1970), 43–61. Bivar concludes that the relief was sculpted by a Greek—an opinion I share (at least we can state the relief was not sculpted by an Achaemenid Persian.) That non-Persians manufactured Achaemenid-style objects is proven by the Tomb of Petosiris reliefs from Egypt; see my comments in *BASOR* 223, (October, 1976), 72; and *Unexcavated Objects,* 193f., No. 100.

3 For a discussion of North Syrian exports to the West, see my "Near Eastern Bronzes in the West: A Question of Origin," in S. Doehringer and David Mitten, eds., *Art and Technology*, (Cambridge; Mass., 1970), 116 f. See also note 67 for Phrygian and Assyrian imports.

undetermined significance, is the fact that to date no recognizable Iranian object (as opposed to motifs) has been recovered on the Greek mainland. Except for one piece discovered on Crete, Iranian objects have been recovered only from Samos, an island within sight of Asia Minor.

The example from Crete comes from Fortetsa and is the well-known Luristan-type bronze open-work pendant depicting a "master of animals" scene (Figure 1).[4] From Samos there is the equally well-known bronze spouted vessel at home in western and northwestern Iran (Figure 2),[5] as well as the more recently excavated Luristan bronze standard finial fragment (Figure 3), and a bronze figure of a mountain goat (Figure 4).[6] These four objects, which in Iran range in date from the late 9th or early 8th through the 7th centuries B.C., have generally been accepted as Iranian and their identification present no problems.[7]

---

4 Berta Segal, "Greece and Luristan," *BMFA* 41 (1943), 22 f., fig. 3; J. W. Brock, *Fortetsa* (Cambridge, 1957), 199, pl. 114, "unmistakable Luristan type"; John Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford* (Oxford, 1961), 150, "related to Persian ('Luristan') bronzes" that came "via North Syria"; idem., *The Greeks Overseas* (Penguin, 1964), 89; Roman Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1964), 331, fig. 406; Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 26, fig. 20, "luristanischen Fassung"; Pierre Amandry in *Le Rayonnement des Civilisations Grecque et Romaine . . .*, Huitième Congrès International d'Archéologie Classique (Paris, 1963), 487, considers the Cretan pendant to be one of the few objects "sûrement iraniens" found in the West. P. R. S. Moorey, *Catalogue of the Ancient Bronzes in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1971), 26, alone to my knowledge rejects an Iranian attribution for this pendant: ". . . if anything [it is] Caucasian." Note that Moorey claimed that Jacobsthal had changed his mind that this object was "sub-Luristan," but it is my impression that Jacobsthal was referring only to the Perachora buckle (*infra*); see Paul Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins* (Oxford, 1956), 77, n. 1. Compare the Fortetsa pendant to the same type of objects attributed often to Luristan or Iran, Andre Godard, *Les Bronzes du Luristan* (Paris, 1931), pl. 32, nos. 116, 117, pl. 35, nos. 148, 151; H. Potratz, "Das 'Kampmotiv' in der Luristan-Kunst," *Orientalia* 21/1 (1952), pls. VI–X, nos. 23–35.

5 Cited many times, e.g., Segal, "Greece and Luristan," fig. 2; Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran*, fig. 406; Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 26, fig. 20; Moorey, *Catalogue*, 276 ff., 280; idem, "Ancient Persian Bronzes from the Island of Samos," *Iran* 7 (1974), 191, fig. 1 (hereafter Moorey 1974); Peter Calmeyer, *Datierbare Bronzen aus Luristan und Kirmanshah* (Berlin, 1969), 101; for Iranian proveniences, Amandry, *Le Rayonnement des Civilisations*, 487; R. M. Boehmer, "Zur Datierung der Nekropole B von Tepe Sialk," *AA* 1965, 811 f.; Judy Birmingham, "The Overland Route Across Anatolia," *An. St.* 11 (1961), 192; Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, 89.

6 Ulf Jantzen, *Ägyptische und orientalische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos: Samos VIII* (Bonn, 1972), pl. 74, B896, pl. 72, B1282; for the latter see also Günter Kopcke, "Heraion von Samos: Die Kampagnen 1961/1965 im Südtemenos," *Ath. Mitt.* 83 (1968), 291 f., fig. 33, pl. 123. Birmingham, *Overland Route*, 192, mentions "the Ibex" at Samos as Iranian but gives no clarification with regard to what object she refers; nor is there any further information concerning the "horse handle fitting and the heavily bossed harness and armour pieces" from Samos likewise attributed to Iran.

7 See for example the notes above and my review of Jantzen, *Samos VIII* in *AJA* 77 (1973), 237; Moorey, *Catalogue*, 280; idem 1974, 191, 193. Jantzen catalogued the Samos mountain goat as Assyrian on pp. 70, 73; and see note 4 for Moorey's rejection of the Cretan pendant as Iranian. Hermann and J. Börker-Klähn in their reviews of Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, in *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 398, 399, and *OLZ* 70/6 (1975), 544, respectively, also accept the Cretan pendant and the Samos mountain goat as Iranian. Börker-Klähn, ibid., 540 f., claims Samos B589 is Iranian, an opinion I cannot accept.

In addition to this primary listing of undisputed Iranian objects, there is another category consisting of three types of objects, all from Samos, whose identification as imports from Iran present no major difficulties. An Iranian attribution for these objects, however, is slightly less demonstrable for various reasons, and, therefore, I prefer to list them separately. Within this category I place an open-work bronze bell (Figure 5), a bronze pendant (Figure 6), and seven bronze goats, each set on a ring base (Figure 7).[8]

Open-work bells have been excavated not only in Iran but also in the Caucasus, in Urartu, and in Europe (below). The particular type of bell from Samos, of pomegranate shape, is commonly reported from clandestine digging in Iran, but more significantly, it has been excavated in Iran at Marlik, south of the Caspian Sea, as Sialk in western Iran, and at Hasanlu in northwestern Iran, covering a period from ca. 1000 to 800 B.C.[9] It seems to me, therefore, that we may with some confidence accept an Iranian source for the Samos bell unless future excavations document a more widespread distribution for the type.

The bronze pendant, unlike the bell, has to date no published parallels from excavations in Iran or, to my knowledge, elsewhere in the Near East. However, similar types of objects have been reported from clandestine digging in Iran, and on the basis of style an Iranian attribution for the pendant is not precluded. Therefore, it is suggested that the pendant be accepted, at least on a tentative basis, as an Iranian product, with the understanding that we cannot accept proveniences offered by dealers as an historical reality.[10]

As for the goats, I have noted elsewhere that no excavated parallels are presently known.[11] Nevertheless, as with the pendant, the goats fit into an Iranian background stylistically, and the few exact parallels known to me are claimed to be from Iran (which without the stylistic underpinning would be of doubtful value). On this basis, therefore, it is suggested that the goats derived from Iran. It is of some interest to note that the goats were excavated in five different areas at Samos and that each is slightly different in height, width and body structure, which surely indicates that they should be considered as seven separate objects, rather than as parts of a single unit.

---

8 Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, pl. 74, B1161, pl. 75, B1278, and pl. 58. Jantzen attributed the bell and pendant to Iran, the goats to North Syria.

9 Muscarella, *AJA* 77 (1973), 237, Moorey, *Catalogue*, 138, and idem, (1974), 192, as well as Herrmann, *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 398, and Börker-Klähn, *OLZ* 1975, 545, accept the Samos bell as Iranian. For excavated examples, see E. Negahban, *A Preliminary Report on Marlik Excavation* (Tehran, 1964), fig. 132; R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk* (Paris, 1939), pl. LVI: S833; Hasanlu, unpublished: 72.151, two examples. For bells said to be from Iran (all unexcavated except no. 12 from Sialk) see Jan Bouzek, "Openwork 'bird-cage' Bronzes," in J. Boardman & M. A. Brown, eds., *The European Community in Later Prehistory, Studies in Honor of C. F. C. Hawkes* (London, 1971), 80, fig. 8. Bouzek does not cite the Marlik example and does not distinguish the Samos pomegranate bell from the others; see pp. 88 and 94.

10 Muscarella, *AJA* 77 (1973), 237, Moorey 1974, 192, and Herrmann, *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 398, accept these objects, including the Samos example, as Iranian. For problems related to proveniences offered by dealers, see my " 'Ziwiye' and Ziwiye: The Forgery of a Provenience," *JFA* 4/2 (1977), 197–219.

11 Muscarella, *AJA* 77 (1973), 236, where the two parallel pieces are mentioned; Moorey 1974, 192 f., and n. 56, and Hermann, *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 396 f., also accept the Samos goats as Iranian.

These two groups, a total of thirteen objects, are to my mind the exampels that may legitimately be brought forward in discussions concerned with Iranian material excavated in the West. If they are separated into two groups it is because I am deliberately taking a conservative position in the conclusion that the first category is more firmly grounded —because derived from excavations—in an Iranian background than the second; in the final analysis the division may be more theoretical than factual.

Turning now to a direclty related subject, the recognition of specifically Iranian motifs manifesting themselves in Greek art, we find ourselves in a more difficult type of research. It is more difficult because the motifs alleged to be Iranian have been translated into Greek forms and style and are thereby at least one step removed from the original model. The problem for those concerned with these orientalizing (Iranianizing) motifs is to recognize in the Greek object or design the Iranian tradition by convincingly matching it with the prototype preserved in its homeland. With the caveat that subjective analysis plays more of a role in this type of research than that with identifying actual imports, we may proceed.

To my mind there are at least a minimum of approximately four categories of objects within the Greek world that may be accepted with some degree of certainty as having developed as a result of contact with Iranian prototypes. Three of the categories have been systematically presented by Herrmann in the paper mentioned above and therefore require only a brief summary here. With regard to the first category, Herrmann has presented good evidence and arguments for accepting an ultimately Iranian source for the V-shaped horsebits excavated at Delphi (Figure 8) and Olympia.[12] He has demonstrated not only an iconographical but also a formal relationship between the Greek examples and the V-shaped types that without doubt derive from Iran (cf. Figure 9); he has also called attention to the rarity of this shape among the known Greek horsebits. His conclusions are convincing and derserve acceptance.

The second category of objects consists of an animal or bird set on a shank that is itself attached to a disc, examples of which have been excavated on Rhodes (Figure 10) and at Samos.[13] To my eyes the parallels cited by Hermann as Iranian prototypes are not so close as one might wish to support a Greek-Iranian relationship. However, aside from the many excellent parallels available on the art market and there attributed to Iran (Figure 11), excavated examples are now known from Marlik where they functioned as stamp seals.[14] While it is not clear whether the Greek examples also functioned as stamp seals,

---

12 *Pferdeschmuck*, 3–18, figs. 1, 4, 7–10, with parallels given in footnotes; P. R. S. Moorey, "Towards a Chronology for the 'Luristan Bronzes'," *Iran* 9 (1971), 123, seems to support Calmeyer's suggestion. See also J. A. H. Potratz, *Die Pferdetrensen des Alten Orient* (Rome, 1966), figs. 32:f. g, 46:c, 60, pl. LVI, 133–35.

13 *Pferdeschmuck*, 31 f., n. 117, fig. 26.

14 E. Negahban, "The Seals of Marlik Tepe," *JNES* 36/2 (1977), 99 f., figs. 19–26; for unprovenienced examples attributed to Iran, see P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Persian Bronzes in the Adam Collection* (London, 1974), 177 f., nos. 175–179. The Caucasian example cited by Herrmann in note 117 is not close enough; the Marlik examples were not available to Herrmann but give excellent support for his conclusions. In part they also satisfy Roes' suggestion that the Near Eastern derivatives for the Greek examples would someday be recovered; Anna Roes, "Protomes Doubles et Tètes d'Animaux Géminées," *Revue Arch.* 35 (1932), 206.

the formal similarities between these and the Iranian types are too close to permit a rejection of the relationship suggested by Herrmann.

The third category of objects consists of pottery vessels from East Greece decorated with horizontal animal friezes and filler ornaments (Figure 12); as I have argued elsewhere, they depend, ultimately at least, on an Iranian source.[15] Evidence for the Iranian origin of the animal frieze exists both on excavated vessels from Marlik and on other vessels, which although clandestine finds, are stylistically surely Iranian (Figure 13). I am able to present here another metal vessel, hitherto unpublished and in a private collection, which in basic shape, construction, and general decorative scheme, is similar to the Metropolitan Museum example of Figure 13, and which probably came from the same area in Iran (northwest?).[16] (The neck part of this vessel should be examined to see if any repairs have been made in modern times.) The suggestion that the Greek animal frieze in horizontal zones may depend on Iranian prototypes has recently received welcome support from Moorey.[17]

With regard to filler ornaments one must be on guard against isolating minor details on Greek pottery and casually interpreting them as examples of influence from one or another Near Eastern culture.[18] However, it may not be a mere coincidence that rosettes were commonly used as filler ornaments on Greek pottery of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. and that they were equally popular on earlier and contemporary Iranian metal and terracotta vessels (cf. Figures 13 and 14).[19] Since the quarter-rosette has been attributed

---

15 O. W. Muscarella, "A Bronze Vase from Iran and its Greek Connections," *MMA Journal* 5 (1972), 43f.

16 Ibid. 49 f., n. 80: Heeramaneck collection [now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art]. I did not know the owner of the vessel when I wrote note 80. This vessel is also cited by P. R. S. Moorey, "Some Elaborately Decorated Bronze Quiver Plaques Made in Luristan," *Iran* 13 (1975), 25, n. 42. (*N. B.* In my article "A Bronze Vase from Iran . . . " I inadvertantly neglected to point out an important parallel for the metope type of decoration represented as a band on the upper part of the bronze vessel and on other Iranian vessels [41 f., note 23; fig. 9]. This very same type of decoration occurs on the fringe of the kilt worn by the boxer and the archer on the Hasanlu gold bowl. Also note that the Objects Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art believes that the vessel represented in figures 13–14 of the bronze vase article is apparently modern: one of the motifs that convinced me it was ancient was the metope type banded decoration! For this piece see also Oscar White Muscarella, *Unexcavated Objects*, 172, no. 10).

17 *Iran* 12 (1974), 195. Note that Moorey in *Iran* 13 (1975), 25, considers both the Metropolitan Museum and the Heeramaneck vessels to be later in date (Iron Age IIIB) than suggested by me (ca. 1000–800 B.C., i.e., Iron II)—which would make them closer in time to the Greek examples I claim to be derivative; Peter Calmeyer, *Reliefbronzen in babylonischem Stil* (Munich, 1973), 205, n. 442, c, on the other hand, dates the Metropolitan Museum vase earlier: "wohl zu spät datiert. . . ."

18 See also the comments of Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 33, n. 121; 34, n. 130; J. Weisner, "Zur orientalisierenden Periode der Mittelmeerkulturen," *AA* 1942, 392, n. 4, 437; Jack Benson, *Horse Bird and Man* (Amherst, 1970), 67; Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, 80.

19 Ghirshman, *Sialk*, pl. 83:A D, 87: S1548, 90:9; Negahban, *Marlik*, figs. 109, 136, pl. XVI; Muscarella, *A Bronze Vase*, figs. 1 f.; L. vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran Ancien* (Leiden, 1969), pls. 107:c, 150:b, 171:a, 143:d. Compare also rosettes on pottery from Kultepe, T. Özgüç, *Kültepe and its Vicinity* (Ankara, 1971), pls. 17:3a, b; 21:1b; 22:6; on pp. 86 f. they are dated to the 6th century B.C., too late to relate them to the earliest Greek examples.

to Iran, may we not assume the same source for the full rosette?[20] Moreover, during the same period bees were also represented on both Greek and Iranian vessels.[21] Ought we to assume an independent, coincidental use of this motif in both cultures, or can we hypothesize that the earlier Iranian examples were the source for the Greek (mainly Cretan) representations? I do not find it difficult to conclude that Greek artisans may have been made aware of both rosettes and bees by the same Iranian vessels that were decorated with animal friezes.

The fourth category that should be included in our discussions is a fragmentary bronze spout on which stands a horned animal in the round; it was excavated at Aetos on Ithaca (Figure 15), and Herrmann argues that the piece "ist ohne Luristanvorbilder schwer denkbar."[22] If a spout of this type had been excavated in Iran no doubts as to its indigenous origin would have been raised; in fact, a terracotta vessel with a very similar spout supporting an animal was excavated in a late 9th century context at Hasanlu (Figure 16).[23] Given this striking parallel, I believe we may easily accept Herrmann's conclusion that the Ithaca spout was an adaption or an Iranian vessel shape. And in this context it should be remembered that it is a historical fact that Iranian vessels were capable of reaching the West (Figure 2). One wonders whether the animals on both the Aetos and Hasanlu spouts served apotropaic roles and whether the role as well as the vessel form was borrowed by the bronze workers of Aetos.

Two other types of objects excavated in Greece warrant special consideration at this point of our discussion because the possibility that they developed from an Iranian source is still unresolved. The ambiguity exists because these objects are not stylistically defined enough to allow one to come down definitely on the side of those who argue that they are examples of Iranian influence, or, equally, that they are not. Hermann discerns Iranian influence in a fine bronze horsebit and on other objects that depict the "master of animals" motif, in particular on a bronze horsebit from Messinia and ivory and lead figurines from Sparta.[24] The Iranian parallels he cites are obviously pertinent, and one's

---

20 R. D. Barnett, "Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece," in S. Weinberg, ed., *The Aegean and the Near East*, 230; Ekrem Akurgal, *The Art of Ancient Greece* (New York, 1966), 194, wonders if the Greek rosettes came from Urartu because of their occurrence on siren attachments, which to Akurgal are of Urartian origin, to me North Syrian; see Muscarella, *Near Eastern Bronzes*, 110 f., for a summary of various opinions regarding their origin.

21 For a discussion of bees and "birds," sometimes represented together with rosettes, on Iranian vessels, see my *A Bronze Vase*, 42, notes 24 and 25 and Fig. 13 here. See also T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbors* (London, 1957), 45, and Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion* (London, 1967), 60 f., where it is suggested that there might be a direct connection between the geometric styles of Greece, Anatolia, and Iran: but this is a complex topic that needs much research and thought before it is accepted as a definite historical event, rather than as an hypothesis worthy of serious consideration.

22 Herrmann, *Pferdschmuck*, 30 f. By "Luristan" Herrmann means western Iran; 6, n. 26.

23 Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran*, fig. 25; cf. also his fig. 102. Herrmann's parallels cited in his n. 110 are not so obvious. The idea of an animal or bird perched on a spout occurs also in Phrygia; E. Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst* (Ankara, 1955), pl. 24b, but the Hasanlu example is obviously closer to the Aetos example than are the Phrygian examples.

24 *Pferdeschmuck*, 18 f., figs. 14, 15; cf. his figs. 11 and 12.

first reaction is to accept them. But since the motif occurs throughout the Near East—whence the Greek examples no doubt derive—the "master of animals" motif *per se* must be excluded from consideration as a specifically Iranian influence.[25] At the same time, inasmuch as the Messinia horsebit is V-shaped, it is by no means impossible that in this instance the motif may also reflect an Iranian source. Thus, although we should not include the Messinia horsebit within the corpus of definitely Iranianizing material, we should not categorically exclude it.

One is equally tempted to agree with Herrmann in deriving from Iran the many fenestered spheres surmounted by an animal or bird that have been excavated in Greece.[26] Examples of similar spheres are reported to come not only from Iran but also from the Caucasus.[27] Though it seems that the spheres attributed to Iran, some of which functioned as bells (cf. Figure 17), appear to be closer to the Greek examples than those from the Caucasus, we cannot know for sure which were available to the Greeks. Nevertheless, in this instance it seems certain that either Iran or the Caucasus—or both—was the source of inspiration; even if we cannot pinpoint a specific region, at least we have evidence of influence reaching Greece from a general area.[28]

This brief discussion on the search for the oriental provenience of the "master of animals" motif and the fenestered spheres leads to a related subject for study. Scholars are now becoming aware that it is sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to recognize in which

---

25 Moorey, *Catalogue*, 27. It is not clear if this motif was known in the Greek Bronze Age; Benson, *Horse Bird and Man*, 46 f., 147, n. 48. I leave out of discussion here any mention of the Italian horsebits that have been related to Iranian prototypes (e.g. Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 13 f., notes 56, 57 [add T. J. Arne, "Luristan and the West," *ESA* 9 (1934), 283]) both because the issues of possible Italian-Greek-European relationships is outside my competence, and because of Moorey's reservations, *Catalogue*, 27. Note also that I have consciously accepted above the Cretan open-work pendant with a "Master of Animals" motif as Iranian (*contra* Moorey) because of specific formal parallels of the whole object with examples considered to be Iranian.

26 *Pferdeschmuck*, 32, with Greek, Iranian and Caucasian references in note 118. See also Bouzek, *Openwork*, 87 f., fig. 13.

27 Moorey, *Adam Collection*, 100 f., nos. 71–75. Bouzek illustrates none attributed to Iran and connects the Greek examples to those he calls "Thrako-Cimmerian," unconvincingly to my mind; his fig. 12:7 is without an excavated provenience. In "A Note on Pre-Achaemenid Bronze Standard-Tops from Western Iran," *Iran* 15 (1977), 143, Moorey states that similar objects were excavated in Gilan, northwest Iran, but he cites the *Adam Collection* references above. In *7000 Years of Iranian Art* (Smithsonian Institution, 1964–65), no. 422, a similar object is said to come from Pir-Kouh, Gilan, but with no further references.

28 Equally, if not more, difficult to place solely in Iran are the many bronze animal figurines with suspension loops (*Anhänger*) excavated in the West. They have a wide distribution in the Near East and the Caucasus; Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 31, nn. 111–15; see also an example from Hasanlu; M. Rad, A. Hakimi, *The Description and Results of the Scientific Excavations of Hasanlu, 'Solduz'*, (Teheran, 1960), fig. 1 opposite page 72 [in Persian] . It is also possible that the addorsed heads of *Samos VIII*, pl. 73, B1130 may be accepted as Iranian-Caucasian in the broad sense; Moorey 1974, 192, sees it as Caucasian, Muscarella 1973, 237, as possibly Iranian; see also on the same page my comments regarding the open-work bird, BB762. For references to material common both to Iran and the Caucasus, see F. Hančar, "Kaukasus-Luristan," *ESA* 9 (1934), 47–112.

specific culture of the Near East a particular orientalizing motif or imported object may have originated, and whence it came to the West. The evidence from controlled excavations—as opposed to the unverifiable proveniences offered by dealers—has demonstrated that several types of objects were manufactured, or at least used, at more than one near eastern region. Unless there is unambiguous evidence, such as obvious stylistic indications, for one of these regions to be indicated as the probable oriental source, it is methodologically safer to conclude that the object had a general near eastern background, rather than to guess at a specific source. We thereby avoid distorting the evidence and assigning credit for cultural contributions to the West to one culture when in fact it may actually belong to another.[29] In the following passages I shall comment upon some of those objects and motifs that to my mind have been erroneously attributed solely to Iran, to the exclusion of other regions.

We begin with a number of bronze objects excavated on Samos and Rhodes, and called at different times mace heads, scepters, furniture fittings, and cosmetic containers. (It is probable that these similarly shaped objects were utilized for different functions).[30] Judy Birmingham considered the western examples to have been imported from Iran merely because she encountered one in a Teheran dealer's shop. But these objects have been excavated not only in Iran at Hasanlu (Figure 18), but also in Cyprus, Assyria, and North Syria; consequently, it is not possible to isolate one near eastern source for the western imports to the exclusion of others, and to claim to know where the Samos and Rhodes pieces came from. Moreover, stylistic details characteristic of one culture are lacking, which means that we do not know at present where they were manufactured; thus, the objects are to be regarded as near eastern in general.[31]

The same problem exists with the various types of bells excavated on Samos (Figure 19) because similar types are known from excavations in Europe, the Caucasus, Iran, Urartu, North Syria, and Phrygia.[32] One of the Samos bells has been accepted on the

---

29 For further discussion on near eastern proveniences and problems raised in attribution see Muscarella, *Near Eastern Bronzes*, 109 f.; Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 33, and his "Urartu und Griechenland," *JdI* 81 (1966), 79–141.

30 Birmingham, *Overland Routes*, 192, 187, figs. 7–10; Calmeyer, *Datierbare Bronzen*, 91 f., figs. 94, 95; Kopcke, *Heraion von Samos*, 294, pl. 126:4; R. H. Dyson, Jr., "In The City of the Golden Bowl," *ILN* (Sept. 12, 1964), 375, fig. 10; E. Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* 4/2 (Stockholm, 1943), fig. 24, no. 11; R. D. Barnett, "Layard's Nimrud Bronzes and their Inscriptions," *Eretz Israel* 8 (1967), 4 f., pl. VIII (called Syrian); Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 56 f., pl. 50 (called North Syrian). Note that at Hasanlu at least one "footed" example contained kohl, the "footed" end was sealed with a wooden plug, and a kohl stick was excavated juxtaposed, which means that it could only be a cosmetic container; others found there are either not so clearly distinguished or are apparent mace heads.

31 For a discussion of proveniences and possible sources of manufacture, see Calmeyer, *Datierbare Bronzen*, 91 f. and the map of fig. 94, which should have the Cypriote and Hasanlu examples added. See also Herrmann, *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 396.

32 Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 81 f., pls. 79, 80; Hans Möbius, "Kaukasische Glocken in Samos," in E. Sprockhoff, ed., *Marburger Studien*, (Darmstadt, 1938), 150–66, pls. 66–69; Calmeyer, *Datierbare Bronzen*, 111 f.; idem, "Glocke," In *RLA* (Berlin, 1969), 427–31. Möbius and Calmeyer suggested

basis of characteristic features as an Iranian import (above), but the others from Samos, not so clearly differentiated in style, must be accepted as deriving from some still undetermined area or areas.

Herrmann has also argued that the fragment of a horsebit itself cast in the form of a galloping horse, excavated on Rhodes, is an East Greek copy of a Luristan bit,[33] even though he was aware that the closest parallels are an electrum example from Nimrud and several representations depicted on Assyrian reliefs. To Herrmann, both the Rhodes and Nimrud examples were derived from Luristan. Based on stylistic grounds, expecially the lack of a ground line and the galloping position of the horse, Calmeyer and Moorey have rejected an Iranian attribution for the Lindos bit, and consider, correctly I believe, that it is Assyrian and came from there.[34] This conclusion obtains equally for the similar bits that were excavated on Samos.[35] That Iranian horsebits were probably the inspiration for the Assyrian examples is not to be denied, but this is not at issue here: the horsebits from Samos and Rhodes came from an Assyrian workshop and they cannot be cited as examples of Iranian imports in the West.

In my review of *Samos* VIII I stated that a fragment of a bronze vessel excavated on Samos was to be considered an Iranian import.[36] I now realize that although very similar vessels have been excavated at War Kabud and at Tepe Guran in western Iran, other examples have been excavated at Uruk in Mesopotamia.[37] Most of the known examples of this bronze vessel shape, those excavated and those from dealers' shops (Figure 20), are reported to come from Iran (which is why I originally attributed the Samos vessel there), but the excavated examples from Uruk must also be introduced into the discus-

---

that the Samos bells came from the Caucasus; Moorey, *Catalogue*, 138, suggested they came either from the Caucasus or Urartu; Bouzek, *Openwork*, 88, sees the Samos bells "related more directly to Caucasian bells. . . but there need not be any direct connection"; Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 31, recognized the bells' wide distribution. For other near eastern bells see Guitty Azarpay, *Urartian Art and Artifacts* (California, 1968), 25, fig. 6; L. vanden Berghe, *La Nécropole de Khurvin* (Istanbul, 1964), pl. 37, also pl. 29, no. 216; R. H. Dyson, Jr. "Hasanlu and the Solduz and Ushnu Valleys. . . . ," *Archaeologia Viva* 1 (1968), 90, upper left; Potratz, *Die Pferdetrensen*, 161, n. 1; Gordion, unpublished, 1910 B300, from the destroyed Phrygian level.

33 *Pferdschmuck*, 22 f., fig. 17; 13, n. 53. In *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 397, Herrmann changed his mind and sees the Samos bit as a local copy of an Assyrian bit.

34 Calmeyer, *Datierbare Bronzen*, 114; Moorey, *Iran* 9 (1971), 123 f.; idem., *Iran* 2 (1964), 194; also Börker-Klähn, *OLZ* 1975, 540.

35 Muscarella, *AJA* 77 (1973), 236; Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 64 f., pl. 61, there called North Syrian.

36 *AJA* 77 (1973), 237; see also Calmeyer, *Datierbare Bronzen*, 115 f.; Moorey, *Iran* 13 (1974), 194. I believe that Moorey's fig. 4 is not correctly drawn as there should be a sharper carination at mid-point; cf. Kopcke, *Heraion von Samos*, pl. 127:1.

37 L. Vanden Berghe, "La Nekropole de War Kabud," *Archaeologia* 18 (1967), 60 f.; J. Meldgaard et al., "Excavations at Tepe Guran, Luristan," *Acta Archaeologica* 1964, fig. 30. Compare the War Kabud vessels to Eva Strommenger, *Gefässe aus Uruk*. . . (Berlin, 1967), pl. 32, especially no. 78. Of some interest is the juxtaposition of the spouted vessel and and carinated example from Tepe Guran, both types of which have been excavated at Samos.

I would also now claim that the knobbed mace from Samos (Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, pl. 51, B574:

sion. At this time we do not know whether the Uruk vessels were Iranian imports into Mesopotamia, although I suggest that this conclusion is probable. In any event, we do not know at present if the vessel came from an Iranian or from a Mesopotamian shop, and it is therefore a safer conclusion to suggest that it be considered a near eastern import, with no sharper distinction.

Another statement made in the *Samos* VIII review must be modified; it concerns the near eastern origin of a bronze horsebit terminating in animal heads excavated on Samos. I suggested there[38] that the horsebit "B951 is probably Iranian as bits of this type occur there. . . ," but neglected to note that similar bits, with animal-headed terminals, are also known from the Caucasus.[39] It would seem, therefore, that the Samos bit could have come either from Iran or from the Caucasus—similar in this respect to the fenestered spheres discussed above. A stylistic examination of the animal heads on the Samos bit—not clearly seen in the published photographs—might help scholars to be more specific in the future.

A bronze strip from Fortetsa on Crete was compared by its excavator to Luristan belts, an opinion supported by Herrmann.[40] I take issue with these opinions because it appears that the parallel suggested is too general and is based on comparing belt to belt, disregarding stylistic references. Peoples from more than one culture of the Near East wore decorated belts,[41] and it is not possible to isolate one region to the exclusion of others as the source for the Fortetsa strip—which may in fact not have been a belt.

Equally tenuous is Ghirshman's attempt to derive the terracotta boots excavated in Greek tombs from Iranian models.[42] Terracotta and bronze boots are known from Iran but they also occur in Urartu and the Caucasus in the first millennium B.C. Moreover, and significantly (below), they are documented both in Anatolia and Greece in the second millennium B.C.[43] Only by ignoring all the evidence could an Iranian model for the Greek terracotta boots be claimed.[44]

A few other objects need only be mentioned here for they have all been discussed by Moorey who rejects the Iranian background alleged by others. The best known of these is the bronze "buckle" excavated at Perachora in Greece by Humfry Payne. Moorey believes

---

upside down?), which I suggested in *AJA* 77 (1973), 236, "has good parallels in Iran," also has good parallels elsewhere and therefore might better be labelled near eastern; see Calmeyer, *Datierbare Bronzen*, 108.

38 *AJA* 77 (1973), 236.

39 Potratz, *Pferdetrensen*, figs. 48, 94, 95; Moorey 1974, 194; Börker-Klähn, *OLZ* 1975, 540.

40 J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa* (Cambridge, 1957), no. 1568, pls. 115, 168; Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 30.

41 Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, 107 f.; P.R.S. Moorey, "Some Ancient Metal Belts: their Antecedants and Relations," *Iran* 5 (1967), 83 f.

42 *Arts of Ancient Iran*, 336.

43 Guitty Azarpay, "Two Urartian Boot-Shaped Vessels," *Artibus Asiae* 27 (1964), 61–71, for a discussion of these objects in Greece and the Near East; see also vanden Berghe, *Khurvin*, 63, pl. 27; Özgüç, *Kültepe and its Vicinity*, 101, pl. XXXIV.

44 Ghirshman's attempt, *Arts of Ancient Iran*, 341, to link bucchero pottery in Italy with grey wares in Iran, and winged creatures in Greece to those from Iran, are equally unacceptable and only further complicate the issue under study here. However, his discussion on p. 343 regarding the use of pins as votive offerings in Greece and Iran is probably correct, except that this idea was prevalent all over the Near East, at least with regard to fibulae, see Oscar White Muscarella, "Fibulae Represented on Sculpture," *JNES* 26 (1967) 84 f.

that the piece actually has affinities with the Caucasus; it seems certainly to be near eastern and, if not necessarily Iranian, then possibly Caucasian.[45] Moorey also rejected as Iranian two fine bronzes excavated on Samos. One (B1211) consists of two confronted equids, and is considered by him to be near eastern, with no specific source suggested; the other (B1130) consists of addorsed wolf heads each devouring a bull head, and is assigned to the Caucasus. While neither object would cause surprise if it were excavated in Iran, one could agree with Moorey that an Iranian attribution, to the exclusion of other regions, is not compelling, and, therefore, I tend to support his position.[46] In addition, Moorey has correctly denied an Iranian attribution to a bronze object from Olympia, which Herrmann (apparently unknown at the time to Moorey) had implicitly claimed to be related to a mirror handle said to be from Luristan.[47]

Whereas after critical analysis an Iranian attribution might be rejected for the objects just discussed, most, if not all, have at least certain features that allow such attribution to be understandable. This is not the case with a particular motif that has been presented as an example of Iranian influence in the West, and for which the evidence offered is non-existent. Ghirshman has cited the mounted archers employing the "Parthian Shot" on one of the well-known Cretan bronze shields and maintained that the "motif can only have come from Iran."[48] However, to my knowledge this motif is not depicted in Iranian art before the Sasanian period, but it is depicted in the earlier art of Assyria, Urartu, and on Cypro-Phoenician bowls.[49] Further, it is mentioned as an Urartian technique of fighting

---

45 Moorey, *Catalogue*, 26, nn. 4, 5; Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 27, also rejected an Iranian attribute claiming that its origin is not clear (but cf. *Gnomon* 47 [1975], 399); Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, 89, thought that it "may have come" from Iran; Amandry, *Le Ravonnement des Civilisations*, 487, believed it to be Iranian.

46 Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 74 f., "Luristan," pl. 75; Moorey, *Iran* 12 (1974), 191 f.; cf. Muscarella *AJA* 77 (1973), 237, ". . . they could tentatively be considered Iranian," which is still true although modified by the Caucasian factor. Herrmann, *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 398 f., also rejected an Iranian attribution.

47 Moorey, *Catalogue*, 26; Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 30.

48 *Arts of Ancient Iran*, 341, fig. 432. A bronze bowl in the Ashmolean Museum that depicts the Parthian Shot is to my mind incorrectly listed as having derived from Olympia: F. Studniczka, *JdI* 22 (1907), 165; H. T. Bossert, *Altsyrien* (Tübingen, 1951), 803; Dunbabin, *Greeks*, pl. VII, 1. In fact, the bowl was purchased by the Ashmolean in 1903 and attributed by the dealer to Olympia, which means that it cannot be legitimately cited as an example of an import to Olympia or to any other site (information about the acquisition supplied to me by P. R. S. Moorey).

49 T. Sulimirski, "Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia," *Artibus Asiae* 17 (1954), 290 f., fig. 1. Sulimirski and others, e.g. R. H. Dyson, Jr., "Problems of Protohistoric Iran as Seen from Hasanlu," *JNES* 24 (1965), 208, and T. C. Young, Jr., "The Iranian Migration into the Zagros," *Iran* 5 (1967), 20, have assumed that the warriors on this relief are Scythians, a conclusion I consider to be dangerous. There are no identifying inscriptions on the relief, which was sculpted before the time we first learn of Scythians in the Near East; see also K. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes* (new York, 1964), fig. 44. R. D. Barnett, "Assyria and Iran. . . ," *Survey of Persian Art* 14 (1967), 2997, sees the figures on this relief as Iranian, inferring that they are Zamuans, to my mind not a proper—because it is a guess—conclusion.

For other examples of the Parthian Shot depicted in art, see Eva Strommenger, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia* (New York, 1964), figs. 242, 243, practiced by Arabs; Potratz, *Pferdetrensen*, Pls. IX:15, XXXIV:7; D. Randall Maciver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), pl. 38: 1, 2; M.

by Sargon II of Assyria in his report on his eighth campaign in 714 B.C.[50] To relate the representations on the Cretan shields specifically to Iran, where to date there is no evidence for its depiction in the first millennium, and to ignore the multiple near eastern examples, is a distortion of the facts.

We come now to the final category of objects to be discussed in the context of possible Greek-Iranian contacts. Instances occur where a motif or object excavated in a first millennium B.C. site in Greece has parallels in the contemporary Near East as well as in the earlier second millennium B.C. Greek Bronze Age. In this connection we may cite, besides the terracotta boots mentioned above, double-headed animals, two animals sharing one head, animal-headed pins, and a bird mounted on the back of a horse, and possibly still others. These motifs are represented in Greece both in the round and painted on pottery;[51] all have been cited by some scholars as examples of Iranian influences on Greek art—improperly, it will be argued here.

In these cases it is difficult to determine whether we are witnessing the reappearance of motifs locally preserved, recognized and deliberately developed from the earlier period, or whether in fact we are witnessing a new appearance, solely derived from recent stimuli from the East. Were the motifs copied by Greek artists of the first millennium B.C. who discovered them on their own soil as a consequence of an interest in their Bronze Age heritage, or were the motifs observed and adapted because they were *first* noticed on oriental objects? Or, to mention yet another possibility, did the Greek artists discover a motif as a result of knowledge from their own past but used it in art only after exposure to oriental exotica? This last suggestion seems too elusive to document without textual evidence and may actually beg the question. For we would actually be arguing that the oriental stimulus was the primary source and the historically significant one; cultural continuity would have played no *creative* role, and the term orientalizing would be the correct term to describe the action.

Thus, when Herrmann suggests that the double-headed animal, which he recognized had a Bronze Age history both in the Near East, and in Greece, re-emerged in late Geometric Greek art because of contemporary influence from Iran ("der Zweiten Rezeption"), he is actually arguing that the motif is an example of oriental influence, not of cultural continuity.[52] The Greek examples of this motif (Figure 21) appear close in form to

---

Rostovzeff, "The Parthian Shot," *AJA* 47 (1943), 180 f., n. 15. In Urartu it is represented on a belt in the Ashmolean Museum and on another in the Norbert Schimmel Collection; Oscar White Muscarella, ed., *Ancient Art, The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz, 1974), no. 133, panel 20. Note that the archer on the Cretan shield is represented riding backward in the saddle, which also occurs in Sasanian art; R. Ghirshman, *Parthians and Sassanians* (London, 1962), figs. 248, 250, 251.

50 D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1927), 2: paragraph 158, describes Urartian horsemen turning around in the saddle when fighting.

51 Segal, *Greece and Luristan*, 72 f.; Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 33 f.

52 *Pferdeschmuck*, 34 f., nn. 130–31; cf. also Benson, *Horse Bird and Man*, 70, who believes that the animal frieze was known to 8th and 7th century B.C. Greeks from their Mycenaean heritage but that they decided to use them in art only after they were exposed to oriental models; i.e., that the motif is an orientalizing one according to the position taken here. To the three possible explanations suggested for the use of a motif in the first millennium B.C. one might add another: the motif was independently

contemporary examples attributed to Iran (Figure 22), but it is argued here, *pace* Herrmann, that the issue of cultural continuity cannot be set aside; it must be an integral part of the discussion. To my mind, once it has been established that a given motif used in first millennium B.C. Greek art had both an earlier local history and a contemporary life in the Near East, we cannot presume that the latter occurrence was the stimulating force. To accept as fact either that the oriental source was the cause for the Greek artist's use of a motif, which was already known to him, or that it was cultural continuity that was the cause, is in the final analysis sophisticated guesswork. Therefore, this charged category of material should be kept separate in our minds subject to on-going research; we cannot rise above the evidence by imposing subjective concepts on the inadequate data. In short, we may ask the question about possible sources, but we do not know which stimulus set off the spark.

As with the double-headed animal, the motif of two animal bodies sharing one head *en face* (both motifs may be related) had a long history in ancient art. It too may be seen represented in the art of both the Greek world and the Near East in the second millennium B.C., and it was drawn on metal and pottery in Greece and Crete in the first millennium B.C.[53] Barnett and Ghirshman, ignoring the Greek Bronze Age evidence, claim that its occurrence in Greece in the first millennium was a result of cultural contacts with Iran.[54] The motif apparently does exist in Iran in the first millennium B.C. although its occurrence is not so easily documented as alleged because it is represented to date only on objects that derive from dealers' shops. Further, one of the alleged Iranian parallels cited as a source for the Greek examples is to my mind of doubtful authenticity.[55] In any event, Iran was not the first nor the only region to have depicted this motif in art, and given its local Bronze Age history in Greece, the cultural source for the first millennium B.C. Greeks eludes us.

Equally difficult to pin down to a specific source are the first millennium B.C. Greek examples of pins with animal finials. They occur not only in the Caucasus and in Iran at

---

borrowed from the Near East twice, once in the Bronze Age, the second time centuries later (an idea suggested by Roes, *Revue Arch.* 4 [1932], 198). This theory, however, also rejects continuity and actually argues for the new arrival in the first millennium of the motif, i.e. that it is an example of orientalising. For evidence of first millennium B.C. physical contacts with Mycenaean remains, see A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Ages of Greece* (Edinburgh, 1971), 394 f., and Benson, *Horse Bird and Man*, 109 f., 115 f., 121 f.

53 Pierre Amiet, *La Glyptique Mesopotamienne Archaique* (Paris, 1961), pl. 26: 425, pl. 66: 890; Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London, 1941), 163, fig. 278, below; Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos* IV 2 (London, 1935), figs. 575-577; Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), 52, fig. 12, pl. 16:4; Muscarella, *Norbert Schimmel Collection*, no. 15; Ghirshman, *Arts of Ancient Iran*, figs. 581, 582.

54 *Oriental Influences*, 232, pl. XXI: 1, 2, 3; *Arts of Ancient Iran*, 316, figs. 383, 384, and page 335 (see note 55).

55 *Oriental Influences*, pl. XXI: 2; *Arts of Ancient Iran*, fig. 383. Figure 384 appears to be genuine; I know of another example of this motif on a disc pin of first millennium date in a private collection that seems to be genuine; see also Muscarella, *Unexcavated Objects*, 184, no. 156. For an Achaemenian example of this motif, see John Boardman, "Pyramid Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire," *Iran* 8 (1970), 35, fig. 12. The gold appliques in *7000 Years of Iranian Art*, no. 456, and *Kunstschätze aus Iran* (Zurich, 1967), no. 868, illustration no. 18a, may be genuine—but I have not examined them personally.

this time,[56] but also in Greece and the Near East in the second millennium B.C.[57] Again given these facts, Herrmann's suggestion that an Iranian source sufficiently explains the motif in Greece must be rejected.

Years ago Berta Segal suggested that the representation of a bird on a horse's back was dependent on Iranian prototypes; the motif occurs in first millennium Greek art in the round and on pottery.[58] Both Benson and Herrman have rejected Segal's conclusions, the former because he believes that the motif developed within Greece itself and is an example of cultural continuity from the Mycenaean period, the latter apparently because it is too causal a motif.[59] There is yet another reason for rejecting the suggested Greek-Iran relationship—namely, that in the Near East Iran was not alone in depicting the motif in art.[60]

How did the objects and motifs arrive in Greece? It could indeed be argued that suggestions concerning the routes by which the material travelled from the various areas within Iran can only be speculative.[61] Yet the possible routes available to us for serious consideration are not so many and may be discussed with some profit; it is even possible to point to a specific, known route as probably the one on which goods moved from East to West.

While there can be little doubt that central Anatolian goods travelled overland across

---

56 For excavated examples in Iran, see Ghirshman, *Sialk*, pl. XXIX: 1, top; Negahban, *Marlik*, fig. 131 (cf. fig. 85); at least one example, with a ram's head, comes from Hasanlu, unpublished: 70–50. For others attributed to Iran, see André Godard, *Les Bronzes du Luristan* (Paris, 1931), pl. XXXII; Moorey, *Catalogue*, 191 f., 197 f., pls. 50, 53; Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, 154 f., fig. 275, pl. XXXI; for the Caucasus, see F. Hančar, "Die Nadelformen des Kaukasusgebietes," *ESA* 7 (1932), figs. 10, 17, 18.

57 Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 32, n. 119; Moorey, *Catalogue*, 191 f.

58 Segal, *Greece and Luristan*, 72 f.

59 Benson, *Horse Bird and Man*, 142, n. 71, 143, n. 80; Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 33, n. 121; for a recently discovered example of this motif, see Marvin H. Pope, "The Scene on the Drinking Mug from Ugarit," in H. Goedicke, ed., *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 395, fig. 2. Compare also Pierre Amandry's study of the widespread motif of the reclining goat, "Un Motif 'Scythe' en Iran et en Grèce," *JNES* 24/3 (1965), 149–60. Amandry rejects a specific near eastern background for the Greek use of this motif and raises the questions (without attempting to answer them) whether it was an independent use in the first millennium or whether it resulted from continuity from the Mycenaean period. Benson, *Horse Bird and Man*, 58, 150, n. 92, cites the motif as an example of a true "Mycenaean renascence."

60 Muscarella, *Near Eastern Bronzes*, 120, fig. 11, North Syrian style; see also Segal, *Greece and Luristan*, fig. 121; Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, fig. 286; Pope, *The Scene on the Drinking Mug*, fig. 2.

61 Here we may note the statement of M. I. Finley, *Early Greece: The Bronze and Archaic Ages* (New York, 1970), 39: "Archaeology alone, it cannot be repeated often enough, rarely can reveal the mechanism of foreign relations even when it unearths great quantities of foreign or foreign-inspired goods." And Dunbabin, *Greeks*, 15, speaking about historical interpretation of archaeological material, says: "The historian who is to attempt to use archaeological material must have a clear idea how much to expect and how to go about it. . . .a superficial treatment will lead to many pitfalls, mistakes of method, misunderstandings and misconceptions, errors of detail and errors of scope, and particularly, ignorance of what is possible and of the limitations on what archaeological evidence may be used to establish."

Anatolia to the West in the 8th century B.C.,[62] there is no evidence to suggest that goods originating in western and northwestern Iran also travelled by this route. And there are two archaeological indications that suggest that Iranian goods did not travel by this route. The first is negative, but significant: It seems clear on the basis of recent research that Urartian goods did not travel West across Anatolia, nor, it would seem, did they travel West by any route.[63] Thus, given our present knowledge, there is no reason to assume that the overland Anatolian route extended as far east as Urartu. Following upon this, how then may we hypothesize that goods originating in Iran moved north through Urartu in order to cross Anatolia by a route which seems not to have existed? We cannot; and if the northern route is rejected, we must equally reject an alleged Black Sea route to the West.[64] We must look elsewhere, and this brings us to the second archaeological indication mentioned above.

In the 9th century B.C. a vigorous trade existed between northwestern Iran and Assyria and North Syria. The evidence consists of a large quantity of imported Assyrian and North Syrian objects excavated at Hasanlu, many of which are still unpublished.[65] The existence of these imported objects conclusively documents an overland route connecting North Syria, and ultimately the Mediterranean Sea, on one end, and Assyria and Northwestern Iran across the Zagros passes on the other. Whether this route was used in the 8th and 7th centuries is, of course, not proven. But inasmuch as Assyria continued to be interested in Iran during this period and was still a power from the late 8th through most of the 7th century, it is probable that the route was not discontinued. To summarize, we have archaeological evidence for only one general route by which Iranian goods apparently reached the West: across the Zagros Mountains via Assyria and North Syria.

Related to our concern regarding trade routes is our interest in discovering which groups or categories of people transported the material to the West, and why. Was some of the material carried long distance from Iran by an Iranian trading group, or were they carried in stages by groups of foreign merchants? Was some of the material transmitted from the emporia on the North Syrian coast to Greek cities by Greek merchants, or foreign middlemen, or both, and did the objects arrive as items of trade? Were some of

---

62 For a summary of routes suggested for the movement of material over long distances within the Near East to Greece, see Birmingham, *Overland Routes*, 185 f.; Bouzek, *Openwork*, 94, dismisses an overland route from the Caucasus across Anatolia.

63 For evidence suggesting that no Urartian material reached the West and a rejection of conclusions to the contrary, see Hans-Volkmar Herrmann, "Urartu und Griechenland," *JdI* 81 (1966), 79–141, and Muscarella, *Near Eastern Bronzes*, 111 f., 122. Recently S. Salvadori, "An Urartian Bronze Strip in a Private Collection," *East and West* 26, 1/2 (1976), 106, ignoring the recent literature and relying on Pallottino, still maintains that Urartian goods reached the West in quantity.

64 This route was championed by Barnett, *Oriental Influences*, 228.

65 For published information on Assyrian and North Syrian contacts with Hasanlu, see Dyson, *Problems of Protohistoric Iran*, 199, and Muscarella, "Hasanlu 1964," *BMMA* 25/3 (1966), 121–35. The subject is more fully explored in my forthcoming *A Catalogue of the Hasanlu Ivories*.

the objects brought to the West by Greek or near eastern merchants, or travellers, or pilgrims as votive objects?[66]

Leaving the question of motifs aside, we may hypothesize that some of the objects discussed above had a votive value while others seem to have been secular in function —although, it must be stressed, these distinction are highly subjective. Of the supposed votive objects we might include the open-work Luristan type pendant from Crete (Figure 1), the bronze Luristan finial (Figure 3), and perhaps the mountain goat'(Figure 4) and the seven goats (Figure 7) from Samos. Of the apparent secular objects there are the spouted vessel (Figure 2), the bronze pendant (Figure 6), and the bell (Figure 5), all from Samos. But even if our tentative distinctions between votive and secular objects are correct—which is by no means certain, as we cannot claim to know how each object was used or whether a given object had different values under different conditions —we are ultimately incapable of reaching conclusions concerning who brought each object. For it could be argued on the one hand that merchants bring secular goods and individuals (not necessarily merchants) bring votive goods; and on the other hand that merchants alone may bring secular objects to sell and votive ones to dedicate in order to secure personal safety and good trade.

Herodotus has informed us of extensive gifts sent as dedications by near eastern kings to various Greek sanctuaries (I:14, 50, 61, 52, 92) beginning in the late 8th century B.C. with King Midas of Phrygia and followed by the Lydian kings Cyges and Croesus. There may have been other kings not mentioned by Herodotus who sent dedications, or the three he does mention may have been the only ones.[67] In any

---

66 Note the views of John Boardman, R. D. Barnett, T. J. Dunbabin, and W. L. Brown that some of the oriental objects were made in the West by near eastern craftsmen; see Muscarella, *Near Eastern Bronzes*, note 9; for Boardman see also "Orientalien auf Kreta," in *Dadalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1970), 14–25, and "The Khaniale Tekke Tombs, II," *BSA* 62 (1967), 63 f. My aim in note 9 was not to deny the recognized value and importance for scholars to know if near eastern craftsmen actually migrated to the West and worked there. Rather it attempts to state that, given the fact that we do not know if migration of craftsmen occurred, in the final analysis we are forced to concern ourselves with what we have, which are the objects themselves. Are they oriental —imports whether made locally or abroad—and are they orientalizing, resulting from an imported idea or motif adapted to local style and needs? At present, I see no need to speculate about travelling Iranian craftsmen.

67 In addition to the throne sent to Delphi by King Midas (Herodotus I:14), other objects of Phrygian origin that reached the West are as follows: from Samos there are three fibulae, five belt buckles, possibly a belt fragment, apparently two bowl handles with spools, and some sherds. Phrygian fibulae have also been excavated at Olympia, Argos, Perachora, Tegea, Sparta, Lindos on Rhodes, and from Lesbos; bronze omphaloi have been excavated at Olympia, Argos, Perachora, Delphi, Lindos, and on Cyprus. For further discussion, see Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion*, 59 f., Appendix C, 80 f.; idem *AJA* 77 (1973), 236; Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 48 f. (Through a misadventure I reversed the numbers five and eight when discussing the Phrygian and East Greek belt buckles published by Jantzen and mentioned in my review in *AJA* 77 (1973), 236; there are in fact five buckles with cast mouldings, eight with added ones, not vice-versa as published. Thus there are, as listed above, apparently eleven Phrygian objects on Samos beside the sherds. Fibula B473 (misprinted in the review as 453), at least three belts (pl. 47), and two plaques

event, it would be premature to suggest that some of the many Iranian monarchs ruling the various states in the pre-Achaemenian period sent royal dedications to Greece. In short, the questions concerning which groups brought the objects to the West, and how and why they came, must at present remain unanswered.

Another question arises, a tantalizing one, and one also not possible to answer: Did the Greeks know that the Iranian objects and motifs came from beyond the Zagros Mountains, or were they considered to be simply more examples of exotic material that arrived from somewhere in the East? If we knew the answers to some of the other questions asked, we would be closer to an answer for this one.

That Iranian objects and motifs passed over land and sea and that they eventually touched Greek soil has been established. And we may claim with some certainty that our historical knowledge of the West is broadened, for we now know that there was a distinguishable Iranian spice in the unique stew of Greek culture.

Addenda

After this paper went to press I came across J. Bouzek, "Macedonian Bronzes:Their Origins, Distribution and Relation to Other Cultural Groups of the Early Iron Age," *Památky archeologiké* 65 (1974), 278–341. Bouzek states, as I do in the text above, that the pomegranate shaped bell and the creatures on a shank attached to a disc have an Iranian background (305, 323, 330); also that the Assyrian horsebits from Samos and Lindos are not Iranian. However, contrary to the position taken by me, he claims that Samos bronzes B1211 and B1130, and the "maceheads/furniture attachments" are Iranian (323).

To Note 2:
An Achaemenid horsebit was excavated at Athens; H. Lechat, *BCH* 14 (1890), 385f., fig. 1.

(pl. 49), are probably East Greek. These six objects plus the eight buckles with added mouldings are local, East Greek; which leaves six objects listed by Jantzen as Phrygian as still of unknown origin.)

Assyrian imports to the West include, from Samos, six statuettes (B1218, B165, B1594, B773, B1214, B779), very probably another (B1217), four horse bits (pl. 61), for a total of ten or eleven objects (*AJA* 77 [1973], 237). There is also a horse bit from Lindos (Herrmann, *Pferdeschmuck*, 22 f., fig. 17), and a cylinder seal from Olympia, E. Unger in Max Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte 4/2* (Berlin, 1926), Taf. 162, c. There is also the stele of Sargon from Cyprus; P. Demargne, *The Birth of Greek Art* (New York, 1964), 277; F. Dunbabin, *Greeks*, 41, refers to a bronze plaque from Olympia as an object that "may be Assyrian." To my mind this plaque is North Syrian; Muscarella, *Near Eastern Bronzes*, 116 f., no. 2. On page 39 and note 5 Dunbabin gives the impression that he considers the distinctly Assyrian seal from Olympia (above) to be north Syrian, but this may be a misunderstanding on my part. Whether the Assyrian objects recovered in the West were sent by Assyrian kings is a question worth considering; certainly the Sargon stele on Cyprus would seem to have resulted from a royal command.

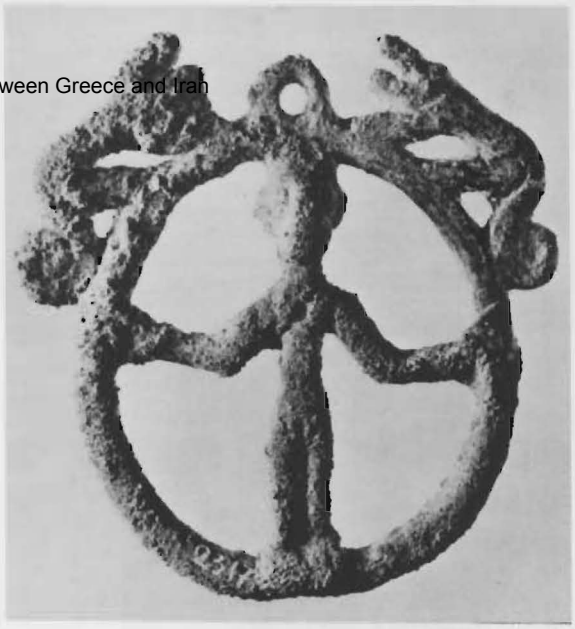


Fig. 1. Open-work Pendant from Fortetsa, Crete.

Fig. 2. Spouted Bronze Vessel from Samos.

Fig. 3. Bronze Finial From Samos.

Fig. 4. Bronze Mountain Goat from Samos.

Fig. 5. Bronze Bell from Samos.

Fig. 6. Bronze Pendant from Samos.

Fig. 7. Bronze Goat from Samos.

Fig. 8. Bronze Horsebits from Delphi.

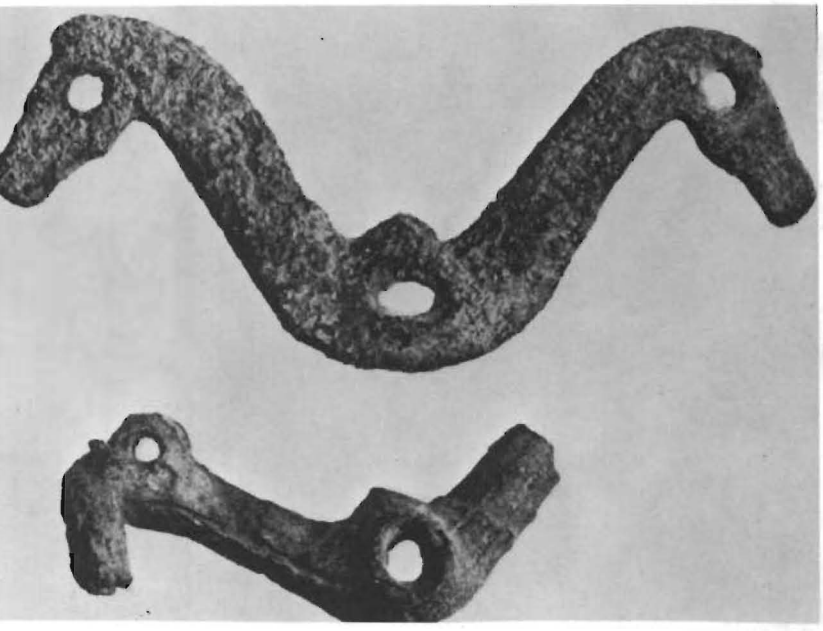


Fig. 9. Bronze Horsebit Attributed to Iran, Purchased, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.42.2.

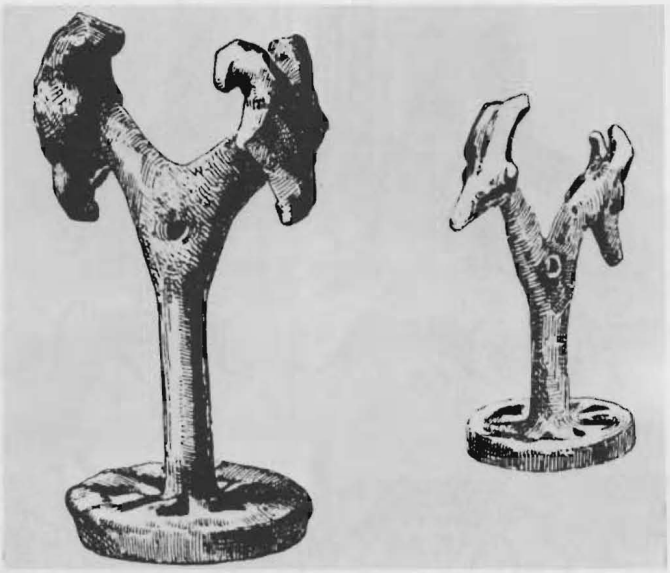


Fig. 10. Bronze Objects from Lindos, Rhodes.

Fig. 11. Bronze Seal Attributed to Iran, Private Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, L61.77.

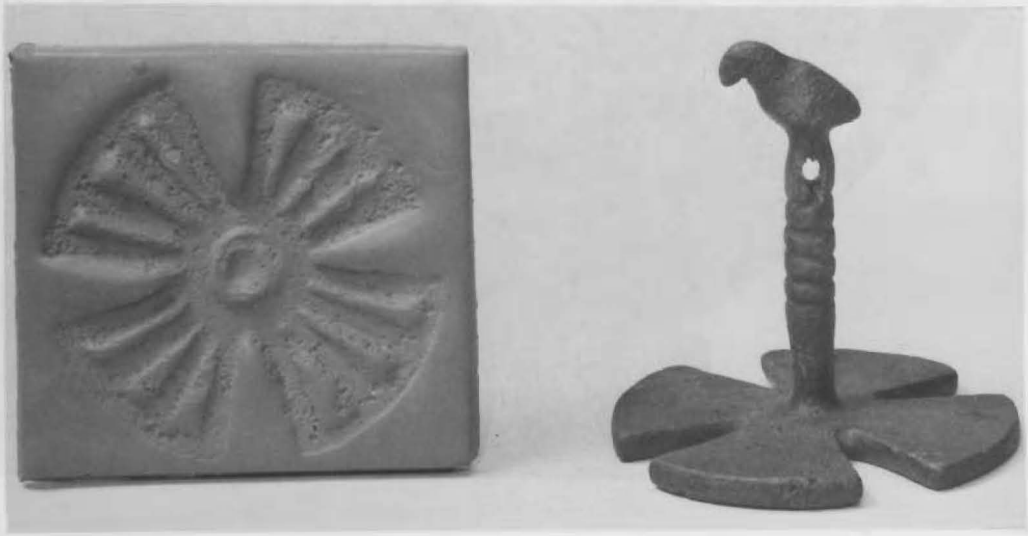
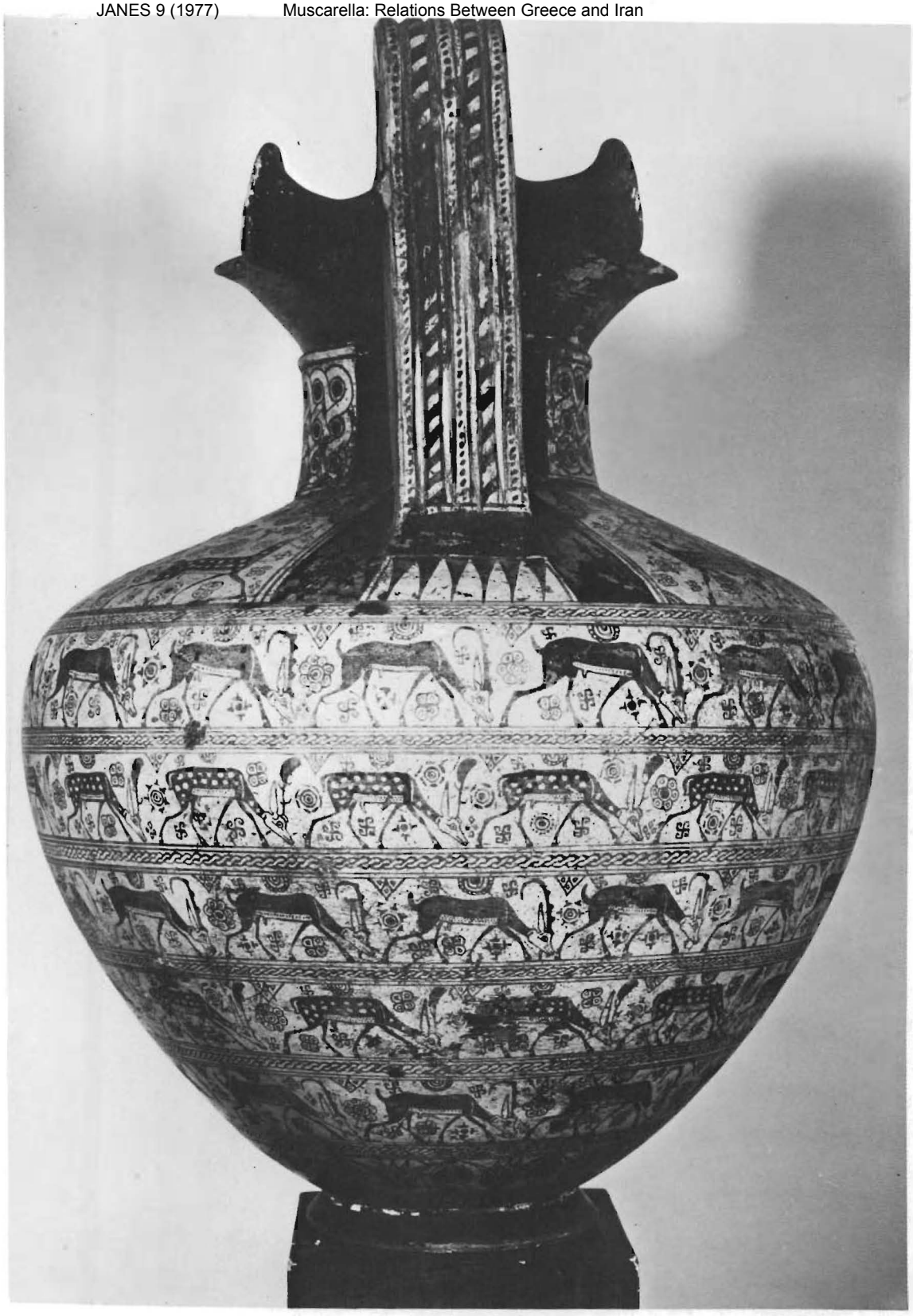


Fig. 12. Terracotta Vase, Louvre.



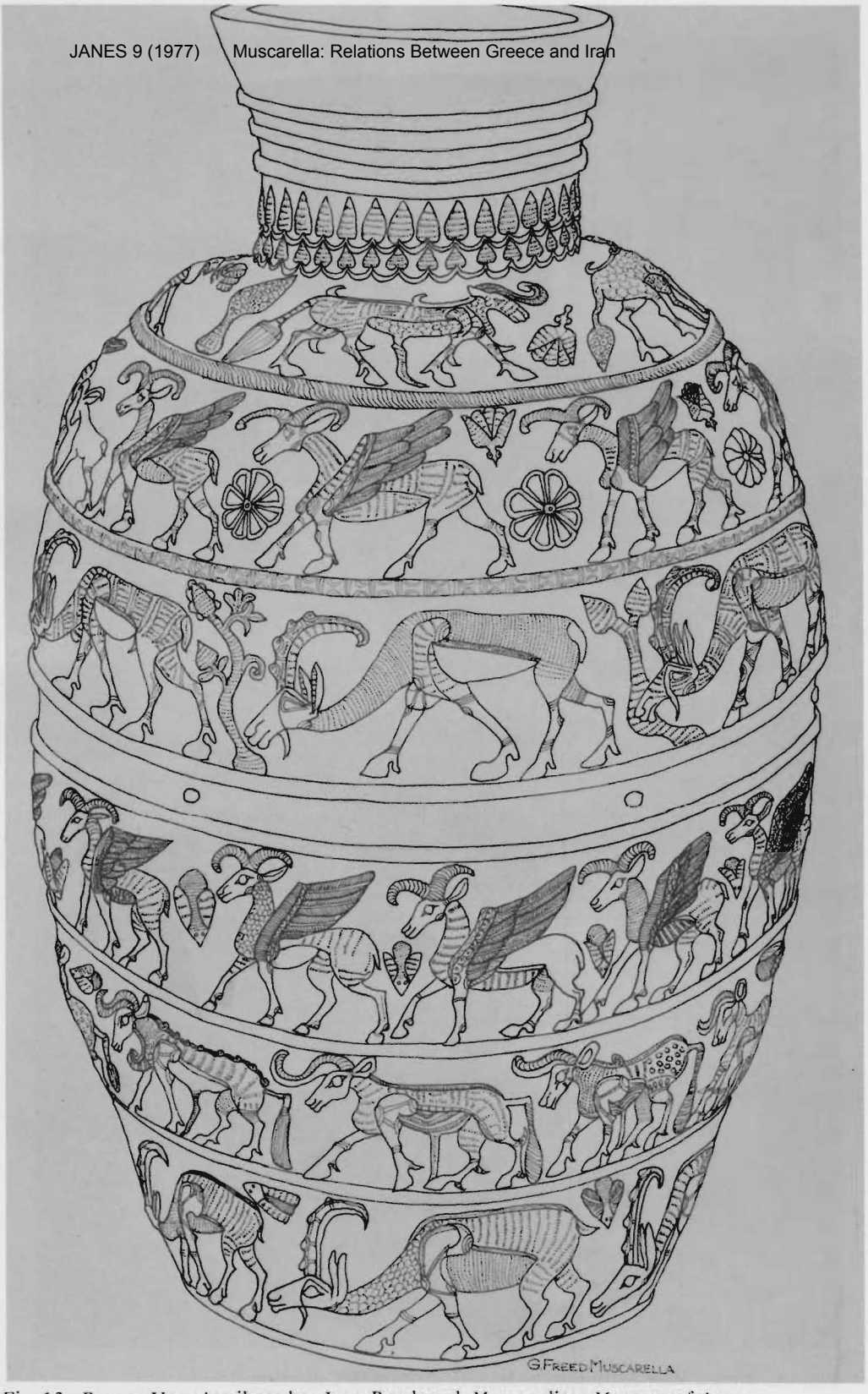


Fig. 13. Bronze Vase Attributed to Iran, Purchased, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 64.257.1.

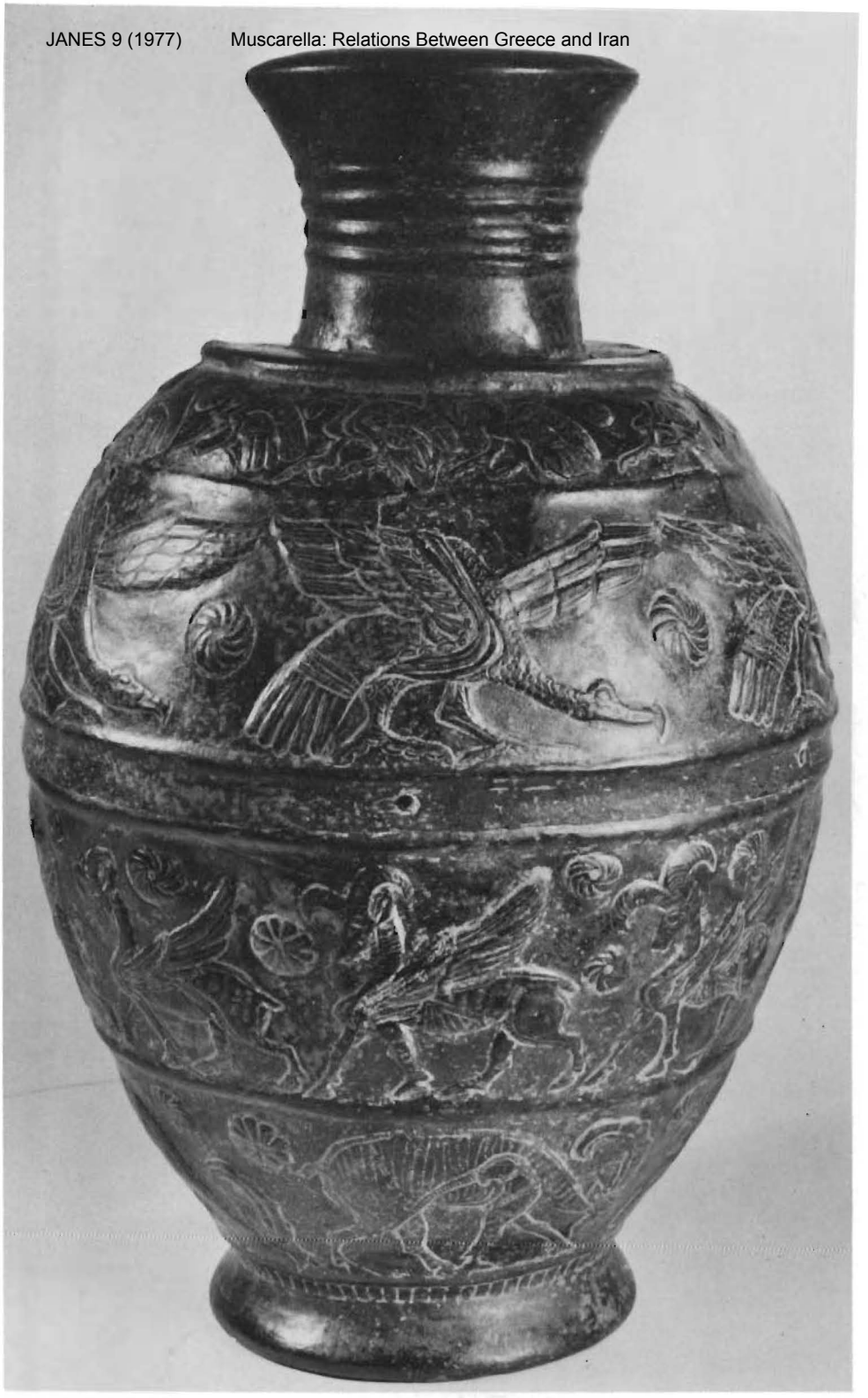


Fig. 14. Bronze Vase Attributed to Iran, Heeramaneck Collection.

Fig. 15. Bronze Spout from Aetos, Ithaca.

Fig. 16. Terracotta vessel from Hasanlu, Iran.

Fig. 17. Bronze Bell Attributed to Iran, Private Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, L59.41.4.

Fig. 18. Bronze Mace/Cosmetic Container from Hasanlu, Iran, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 61.100.18.

Fig. 19. Bronze Bells from Samos.

Fig. 20. Bronze Vessel Attributed to Iran, Purchased, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 53.128.

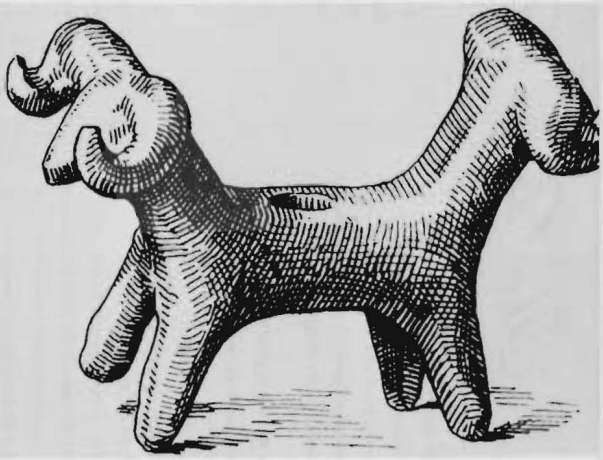


Fig. 21. Double-Headed Animals from Athens and Olympia, Greece.

Fig. 22. Bronze Object Attributed to Iran, Purchased, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 67.154.3.