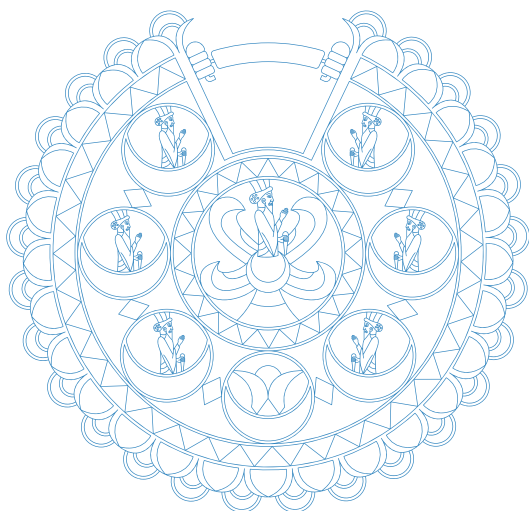




Pourdavoud Center
for the Study of the Iranian World

*Identity, Alterity, and the Imperial
Impress in the Achaemenid World*



AchWorks

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Identity, Alterity, and the Imperial Impress in the Achaemenid World

Lindsay Allen

King's College London

Lindsay Allen is Senior Lecturer in Greek and Near Eastern History at King's College London. Interested primarily in the Achaemenid Persian empire and pre-Islamic Iran, her work explores the texts and material culture of Achaemenid kingship and the history of scholarship and reception, particularly in relation to Persian history, the ancient Near East, and Alexander of Macedon. Her most recent publication explores the reception of pre-Islamic culture, specifically Persepolitan reliefs, in seventeenth-century Iran. She is currently working on a catalogue of stone fragments from Persepolis that were removed from the site in the eighteenth century.

Embedded Alterity: Material Hybridity As an Achaemenid Strategy

This paper reflects upon both historic and recent discussions of Achaemenid material culture as a constellation of objects and practices implicated in the propagation of imperial networks. Regional case studies have illuminated the impact of aspects of Achaemenid court culture on elites who were incorporated into networks of mutual interest

or control, as well as systems of wealth generation or extraction. Such analysis depends on distinguishing a material repertoire associated with the regions traditionally perceived as the Achaemenid imperial heartland and their close hinterland. This material culture itself derived from diverse sources. This paper then explores the intentionality of “embedded alterity” as a phenomenon of Achaemenid self-definition in material and textual formats.

Hong Yu Chen

University of California, Los Angeles

Hong Yu Chen is a fourth year Iranian Studies and Egyptology graduate student at the University of California, Los Angeles. Their research foci include Persian-Egyptian relations in antiquity, language change and development in the context of empire, and sociocultural history of the Egyptian Late Period. They received their BA in History and Near Eastern Studies from The Johns Hopkins University in 2019, with a specialization in near eastern languages, particularly Egyptian.

The *ba*-spirits of Amun-Re: Theology and Egyptian Exegesis in the Persian Period

The imprint of the Achaemenid empire is scant in the monumental records of Egypt, and this lack of evidence has presented a significant hurdle in our understanding of the relationship between formal Egyptian religious institutions and the religious policies of the Achaemenid empire. An exception to this is the Temple of Hibis, one of the best-preserved temples of the Late Period, in the Western Desert. The temple wall inscriptions of Hibis feature dedications to the Egyptian supreme deity and sun god, Amun-Re, whose manifestations and forms at Hibis find remarkable parallel with the theology of Amun and Amun-Re elsewhere in Egypt, including the former royal site of Thebes and the city of Hermopolis. As the only site with significant evidence of formal

Egyptian religious thought from the Persian Period, Hibis offers an opportunity to understand the potential interactions between the empire and Egyptian theology. The present lecture shall focus primarily on the manifestations of Amun and his eight *ba* manifestations in the hymns of the first hypostyle hall and examine the complex genealogies and theologies of this specific religious aspect of Amun theology presented at the Temple of Hibis.

Henry P. Colburn

New York University

Henry Colburn is adjunct faculty at New York University, Hofstra University, and The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art. He also serves as a research associate of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan. He is the author of *Archaeology of Empire in Achaemenid Egypt* (Edinburgh University Press 2020) and co-editor of *In Search of Cultural Identities in Western and Central Asia: A Festschrift in Honor of Prudence Oliver Harper* (Brepols 2023).

How (Not) to Find Persians in Egypt

It is rather difficult to find Persians in Egypt. Surely there were some; for instance, six or seven satraps are known by name. But the longest serving of these, Arshama, although doubtless a Persian by any definition, may also have been related to the former Egyptian royal family. Thus, even at the highest level, distinguishing Persians from Egyptians in Achaemenid Egypt is no simple matter. And this difficulty persists across all classes of people; for example, the Persian names attested in documentary sources often appear in families with Egyptian or Aramaic names as well, illustrating the well-known principle that names do not always denote ethnic or national origin. The archaeological evidence for Persians in Egypt, though no less equivocal, offers better possibilities.

One notable pattern discernible in this admittedly sparse material is that publicly facing markers of Persian identity, such as the garment and bracelet worn by Udjahorresnet on his well-known naophorous statue, tend to be embedded within Egyptian material culture traditions. Private markers, by contrast, such as seals, drinking vessels, or other minor arts, tend to be more overt in their references to Achaemenid iconography and material culture. As with names, these markers cannot prove ethnic or geographical origin, but the pattern noted above does suggest that Persians in Egypt felt no need to put their “Persianness” on public display; instead, they focused such displays inwards, towards family and close acquaintances. This in turn accounts for their near invisibility in the textual and archaeological records.

Touraj Daryaee

University of California, Irvine

Touraj Daryaee holds the Maseeh Chair in Persian Studies and is the Director of the Dr. Samuel M. Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture at the University of California, Irvine. He is the author of several works, including *Sasanian Persia: The Rise and Fall of an Empire* (IB Tauris 2012). He serves as editor of the *Oxford Handbook of Iranian History* (Oxford UP 2014), and *Iran and its Histories* (Otto Harrassowitz 2021). He is also the series editor for the *Ancient Iran Series* (Brill) and as a co-editor of *Sasanian Studies* (Harrassowitz Verlag).

Persepolis: The Persistence of Achaemenid Memory?

The lecture explores the importance of Persepolis/Pārsa as a lieu de mémoire. While written documentation memorializing the Achaemenids by subsequent dynasties on the Iranian Plateau is scant, the significance of Persepolis as a “sacred” place, whose edifices and (unknown) creators were praised and honored by the post-Achaemenid dynasts and rulers, such as the Fratarakā, the Sasanians, and the later Buyids cannot be

underestimated. The proximity of the Frataraka temple and the possible location of the Anahita Sanctuary, as well as the attention paid to Persepolis and Istakhr by the later Sasanians, are all signs of the centrality of this monument for the Iranian collective memory in the pre-Islamic period. Lastly, the Buyids and other rulers in the region also continued to draw on Persepolis as a repository of “historical” memory, albeit in different contexts.

Julian Degen

University of Trier

Julian Degen received his PhD in Ancient History and Ancient Near Eastern Studies from the University of Innsbruck. Before his tenure at the University of Trier, he served as a research fellow and academic instructor at the universities of Innsbruck, Hildesheim, and Kiel. His research interests and publications pertain to Greek historiography, the history of Alexander the Great, the Achaemenids, ancient geography, and the economy of the Roman empire. At the present, he is working on his habilitation project, which focuses on the maritime economies in the Mediterranean world of Strabo’s *Geographica*.

The Achaemenids and the Desert

Alexander’s march through the Gedrosian Desert, i.e., the Makran Desert, is commonly considered to be one of the major failures of his reign. The image that the Greek and Roman sources paint of this enterprise is that of an overambitious military maneuver that caused heavy losses among the troops. Modern historians focus only on historiographical traditions pertaining to Alexander’s rule, when analyzing his motivation for the dangerous desert crossing. By doing so, they neglect the importance of the Achaemenid imperial representation as the discursive framework of the Macedonian ruler’s decision-making. Exploring Alexander’s crossing against the backdrop of the Achaemenid imperial ideology can afford us

a more nuanced interpretation. From the Achaemenid to the Sassanian periods, the claim of controlling the deserts – and the Gadrosian Desert in particular – served as an important tool of creating and affirming royal authority. It thus appears that Alexander sought to outperform the achievements of the Achaemenids when crossing the Gadrosian Desert. Viewing the episode in the Iranian *longue durée* reveals Alexander's more nuanced aim to gain legitimacy in his new empire by surpassing what had been previously achieved by the Great Kings.

Elspeth Dusinberre

University of Colorado Boulder

Elspeth Dusinberre is Professor of Distinction in the Classics Department at the University of Colorado Boulder. She is interested in cultural interactions in Anatolia, particularly in the ways in which the Achaemenid empire affected local social structures and in the give-and-take between Achaemenid and other cultures. She is the author of *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge 2003), *Gordion Seals and Sealings: Individuals and Society* (Philadelphia 2005), *Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia* (Cambridge 2013, recognized by the James R. Wiseman Award from the Archaeological Institute of America in 2015), and *The Gordion Excavations, 1950-1973: Final Reports Volume II The Lesser Phrygian Tumuli Part II: The Cremations* (Philadelphia 2023, co-authored with Ellen Kohler[†]). Most of her recent work focuses on pre-Achaemenid Gordion. Her articles have appeared in various venues, including the *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Ars Orientalis*, the *Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, and *Anatolian Studies*. She is currently finalizing publication of the seal impressions on the Aramaic tablets of the Persepolis Fortification Archive (ca. 500 BCE) and beginning study of the Early Phrygian destruction level at Gordion (ca. 800 BCE). She has worked at Sardis, Gordion, and Kerkenes Dağ in Türkiye, as well as at sites elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean.

Professor Dusinger teaches primarily Greek and Near Eastern archaeology at CU-Boulder. She is a President's Teaching Scholar and has been awarded twelve University of Colorado teaching awards.

Current Trends in Scholarship Regarding Achaemenid Material and Visual Culture

The past two decades have seen an explosion of work on Achaemenid material and visual culture. New excavations and surveys at sites across the empire provide exciting new information, even as ongoing study of material discovered earlier offers fresh insights and ideas. Recent synthesizing studies have considered larger geographical areas as well as broader human interest issues. Among other subjects, scholarship has investigated landscapes and movement, power structures, gender, religion, imperial domination and resistance, and the knotty question(s) of identity. Communication of ideas and behaviors both within the empire and with peoples not under imperial hegemony has been of ongoing scholarly interest. The agency of non-elite individuals and groups, as well as the variety of their responses and actions in the context of imperial reality, have taken on a greater role in scholarship. With so many trends moving concurrently, this is a particularly rewarding time to engage with Achaemenid material and visual culture studies.

Charles Howley

University of California, Los Angeles

Charles Howley is a first year PhD student in the Iranian Studies program at UCLA. He completed his BA in Literae Humaniores at the University of Oxford, where he first gained an interest in Achaemenid Persia, writing an Optional Thesis on the Elephantine papyri, and learning both Old Persian and Imperial Aramaic over Zoom alongside his studies. He then completed an MSt in Oriental Studies, also at Oxford, where he continued with Aramaic and learned both Young and

Old Avestan. His interests center on gender, sexuality, and religion at the Achaemenid court, links between Mesopotamian and Achaemenid religious and courtly traditions, and the religious and social roles of eunuchs in Achaemenid courtly culture. At UCLA, he seeks to develop his knowledge of the broader pre-Islamic Iranian world and improve his knowledge of Old and Middle Iranian languages, along with his understanding of Mesopotamia and the ancient Near East.

“The Foreigners Value Eunuchs More Than Perfect Men”: Gender Alterity and Its Political, Social, and Religious Implications in Achaemenid Court Culture

Eunuchs, (Greek εὐνοῦχοι) are a central feature in Classical depictions of the Achaemenid court. They control access to the royal family and guard royal children in Herodotos (3.77; 130; 8.104) both make and plot to unseat kings in Ktesias (*Persika* F15.50, 54); lead armies and poison kings at will in Diodoros (16.47.3-4; 49.4; 50.1-6; 8; 16.50.8; 17.5.3-6); and have relations with kings in Aelian (*Varia Historia* 12.1) and Curtius (6.5.22–23; 6.6.8; 10.1.25; 27; 37). However, detailed discussions of these seemingly-ubiquitous figures in modern scholarship have been limited. The different terms postulated as referring to them in various source traditions (*ša rēši šarri*, *vaçabara*, *ustarbaru*, *lipte kuktira*, *sārīs*) do not always seem to match up, and the identification of any of them with the modern conception of eunuchs as male castrates is difficult to prove. Moreover, associations between eunuchs and orientalist conceptions of the “Harem” have led most debates to revolve around their existence, rather than the political, social, or religious roles. However, I contend that comparison between the Classical and Near Eastern sources, and especially Ilan Peled’s work on “third gender” categories in the ancient Near East, indicates that Achaemenid εὐνοῦχοι operated as a kind of “ultimate other” within the court. Their inter-sexed bodies informed a liminal gender identity, allowing them to serve the King of Kings in a variety of roles, whilst in no way threatening his hegemonically-masculine power, and in fact serving to reinforce the strict gender separation and hierarchy which characterized the Achaemenid court.

John O. Hyland

Christopher Newport University

John O. Hyland earned his PhD from the Committee on the Ancient Mediterranean World at the University of Chicago in 2005. He has taught since 2006 at Christopher Newport University in Newport News, Virginia, where he holds the rank of Professor in the Department of History. His first book, *Persian Interventions: the Achaemenid Empire, Athens, and Sparta 450-386 BCE*, was published by Johns Hopkins University Press in 2018. He is currently writing a new monograph on Persia's Greek campaigns and their Near Eastern imperial contexts, under contract with Oxford University Press, as well as a companion volume for Brill on war in ancient Iran.

Remembering Croesus, Serving Darius: Local Elites and Imperial Administration in Early Achaemenid Sardis

The conquest of Sardis and the Lydian kingdom was a formative moment in Cyrus' initial expansion, but the region's subsequent place in the evolution of the Achaemenid imperial system remains obscure. Herodotus rarely returns to Lydian matters in the later books of the *Histories*, and the lack of a surviving Lydian documentary record has so far prevented the sort of synchronic regional study of political transition that is possible in the case of late sixth-century Babylonia. Fortunately, the evidentiary situation is beginning to improve, not only with archaeological discoveries of changing settlement patterns at Sardis and across Greater Lydia, but with recent readings of Lydian inscriptions hinting at a funerary cult in honor of Croesus as part of a pragmatic alliance between Persian authorities and Lydian social elites. Travel ration records from the Persepolis Fortification Archives are also revealing the multifaceted traffic that connected the administrative hub of Sardis, overseen by the royal sibling Artaphernes, with the Iranian imperial centers in the reign of Darius I. Several of these texts reveal the satrap's employment of officials with western Anatolian personal names, broadening our evidence for Lydian and neighboring elites in Persian bureaucratic and military

service beyond Herodotus' occasional references to men such as Myrsos and Pythios. A synthesis of these disparate pieces of evidence offers new insights into the processes of political transition and integration in a vital part of the expanding Achaemenid world.

Hilmar Klinkott

University of Kiel

Hilmar Klinkott is Professor of Ancient History and History of the Near East at the Institute for Classical Studies/Department of Ancient History at the University of Kiel. He studied Ancient History, Classical Archaeology, and Latin at the Ruprecht Carls University Heidelberg, earning his MA in 1997. He continued his studies at the University of Tübingen, earning his PhD in 2002. His thesis, *Der Satrap: Ein achaimenidischer Amtsträger und seine Handlungsspielräume* (Verlag Antike), was published in 2005. After his habilitation in Ancient History at the University of Tübingen, he became Akademischer Rat in the Seminar für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik at the Ruprecht Karls-Universität Heidelberg in 2012 and a member of the Heidelberg excellence cluster “Asia and Europe in a Global Context” in 2013. In the same year, he changed his habilitation to the University of Heidelberg (“Umhabilitierung”). After Deputy Professorships in Hamburg (for Professor Christoph Schäfer, 2009–2010), Mannheim (for Professor Christian Mann, 2014/15) and Mainz (Professor Marietta Horster, 2016), he was appointed Full Professor at the Institut für Klassische Altertumskunde of the Christian Albrechts University. Now at the University of Kiel, Professor Klinkott continues to focus on the history of the ancient Near East and the Achaemenid empire.

The Development of Local Identity as Imperial Integration Process in Achaemenid Asia Minor: The Examples of Caria and Lycia

In Achaemenid royal representations, the concept of empire is visualized

by the plurality of its regions and/or peoples. The identifiability of these artistic depictions is of great import: the identity of unique peoples or countries seems to be a core element in defining the Great King's rule over the whole of the Achaemenid empire. Based on this specific ideological concept, the embracing of a pluricultural policy by the Great Kings resulted in the protection and support of the development and maintenance of local identities. In particular, Caria and Lycia illustrate in a paradigmatic way how local identity in Asia Minor was shaped on a cultural level by art, architecture, and literature. This process of local identity development and preservation, accompanied by simultaneous political and administrative changes, occasioned the emergence of political identities, which eventually culminated in the tendency to seek local administrative autonomy and political particularism. Beyond this identity renegotiation, the examples of Caria and Lycia reflect a specific policy of imperial integration based on, and justified by, Achaemenid support of local identities.

Florian Knauß

Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München

Florian S. Knauß is Director of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek Muenchen. In addition, he is an elected member of the Commission for the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Between 1984 and 1992, he studied Classical Archaeology, Ancient History, Near Eastern Archaeology and Prehistory at the universities of Saarbruecken, Wuerzburg, and Berlin. After receiving his PhD at Saarbruecken with a dissertation on *Der Lineare Inselstil (The Linear Island Style)*, he became a scientific employee at the Institute for Near Eastern Archaeology at the University of Saarbruecken (1993–1994). From 1994 until 2001, he was Assistant Professor at the Archaeologisches Seminar, University of Muenster. Since April 2001, Dr. Knauß has been Curator at the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek in Munich. In May 2011, he became Director of these museums. Since 1994, Dr. Knauß has conducted archaeological

excavations in Georgia and Azerbaijan together with colleagues from Tbilisi and Baku.

Persian Strongholds in the North

The Achaemenid empire was the first world empire in history and one of the largest ever to exist. But visible archaeological traces of Achaemenid rule seemed for the longest time to have been limited mainly to its ancient capital cities within the current borders of modern-day Iran. This narrow archaeological landscape, however, has changed fundamentally in recent decades. Surprisingly, the most impressive buildings and small finds that can be linked to the Persian rulers have not come to light in prominent parts of the empire such as Babylonia, Egypt, or Asia Minor, but in the Caucasus, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. Until the uncovering of buildings modelled on the residences of the Great Kings in the heartland, some scholars had even harbored serious doubts about the affiliation of this region with the Achaemenid empire. Since these discoveries have come to light, their importance as part of a dense network of impressive complexes throughout the empire has been recognized. There are many indications that these structures were built during the reign of Xerxes. They may therefore have been part of a large-scale consolidation program launched by this perhaps unjustly ill-famed ruler in response to crushing defeats in the Persian Wars. Impressive architecture in eastern Georgia and western Azerbaijan also reveals a profound form of *imitatio regis*, which had, through studies of the small finds, been apparent for some time on the northern border of the empire.

John W. I. Lee

University of California, Santa Barbara

John W.I. Lee is Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara, where he teaches courses on Achaemenid Persia and ancient Greece. He grew up in Asia and Hawai'i, studied history at the

University of Washington (Seattle), and received his PhD in History from Cornell University. His publications include *A Greek Army on the March: Soldiers and Survival in Xenophon's Anabasis* (Cambridge University Press 2008), *The Persian Empire* (The Great Courses 2012), and *The First Black Archaeologist: A Life of John Wesley Gilbert* (Oxford University Press 2022). He is a member of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Intimate Relationships, Family, and Identity in the Achaemenid Empire

Scholars today generally continue to accept Pierre Briant's influential description of a dominant Persian ethno-class as the topmost stratum of the Achaemenid empire. At the same time, a diverse corpus of textual and archaeological material – from Anatolia, Babylonia, Egypt, and elsewhere in the empire – reveals that Persians and non-Persians from a variety of socio-economic classes entered into intimate relationships, including marriage and “concubinage.” How did such inter-ethnic relationships, and especially the children (and successive generations) who were born from some of these unions, influence the construction and development of personal identity in the Achaemenid empire? Using evidence from Greek literature, Babylonian documents, Egyptian artistic representations, and other sources, along with theoretical perspectives drawn from historical studies of intermarriage and identity in other cultures ranging from Hawai'i to the Soviet Union, this paper explores some of the social, cultural, and political aspects of intimate relationships, family, and identity in the Achaemenid empire.

Elena Mahlich

University of Leipzig

Elena Mahlich studied Egyptology, Ethnology, and Ancient Near Eastern Studies at the Ruprecht-Karls-University Heidelberg from

2013 to 2018. Thereafter, she worked as research assistant in the project “Egyptian Loanwords in Ancient Oriental Languages” funded by the Fritz Thyssen foundation. In this context, she developed her PhD thesis, which she completed in 2021.

Royal Ideology and Imperialism in Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform Inscriptions from Achaemenid Egypt

Various monumental royal inscriptions have survived from the First Achaemenid Period in Egypt (525–404 BCE), in which the Persian rulers are legitimized as Egyptian pharaohs. In addition to the texts passed down in hieroglyphs, there are also cuneiform royal inscriptions from Egypt, which can be compared to one another in terms of content and form. This talk aims to address the following questions that arise from examining this textual corpus: what similarities and differences do these texts have? What do these similarities and differences say about the underlying ruling ideology? To what extent are imperialistic ideas and aspirations of the Persian Empire reflected in inscriptions in Egypt? Which groups were addressed? By treating these questions, the representation and legitimacy of the rule of the Persian kings over Egypt are examined.

Ali Mousavi

University of California, Los Angeles

Ali Mousavi is a Senior Pourdavoud Research Scholar and Adjunct Assistant Professor of Iranian Archaeology in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures at the University of California, Los Angeles. He completed his BA in Art History and his MA in Archaeology from the University of Lyon, France. He obtained his PhD in Near Eastern Archaeology from the University of California, Berkeley. He has excavated in France, Turkey, and Iran, and contributed to the inclusion of a number of archaeological sites and monuments on

the World Heritage List of the UNESCO. He is the author of *Persepolis: Discovery and Afterlife of a World Wonder* (de Gruyter 2012), and co-editor of *Ancient Iran from the Air* (Philippe von Zabern 2012) and *Excavating an Empire* (Mazda Publishers 2014). He holds a particular interest in the archaeology of Iranian empires, from the Achaemenids to the Sasanians, as well as the history of archaeology in Iran and the Near East. He worked as a curator of Ancient Near Eastern Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art from 2006 to 2013. He teaches Iranian art and archaeology at UCLA and serves as the director of the UCLA Archaeological Gazetteer of Iran at the Pourdavoud Center.

The Archaeology of Achaemenid Iran: A Glance at Recent Developments and Studies

A glance at the considerable number of studies focused on the Achaemenid empire in the past decades reveals the everlasting popularity of this period in the history of Iranian archaeology. Increasing archaeological field activities conducted in Iran in recent years have contributed to the enrichment of the archaeological record for this period. Published (as well as unpublished) results of excavations and surveys denote a wide array of evidence, including revisions and re-excavations of major sites such as Pasargadae, the discovery of new sites and structures, regional surveys, and the study of artifacts and ecofacts. Recent academic forays that combine a wider scope of archaeological methods and tools with broader and more interconnected research questions have revealed a complex and resourceful spatial organization adopted under the Achaemenid kings in the central regions of the empire. This paper will provide a reassessment of the major recent archaeological fieldwork and discoveries in Iran over the past twenty years.

Jake Nabel

Pennsylvania State University

Jake Nabel is the Tombros Early Career Professor of Classical Studies

and an Assistant Professor of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies at Pennsylvania State University. He is a historian of ancient Rome, pre-Islamic Iran, and the points of contact between the two. Professor Nabel's research interests include Roman-Parthian relations, the reception of Alexander the Great in Persian literature, early imperial Latin poetry, and late antique Armenia. He is currently writing a book on a group of Arsacid princes who lived at the court of the Roman emperor in the first century CE.

Fake Bowing, From the Achaemenids to the Sasanians

Two stories of fallacious prostration bookend the encounters between the Greek and Persian worlds at either end of antiquity. In the fourth century BCE, the Theban Ismenias faked a bow to escape disgrace before the Achaemenid ruler Artaxerxes II. Many centuries later, the Sasanian king Peroz I used the same trick as he faced defeat by the Hephthalite Huns – at least according to the Roman author Procopius, who has clearly reworked the earlier story. Scholars have noticed the intertext, but they have not explained it. Why did Procopius redeploy a tale of Achaemenid-Greek relations in his narrative of Sasanian central Asia? Drawing on a variety of sources from Greco-Roman historiography to Zoroastrian religious texts, I put forward a reading of the passage as a challenge to Procopius' literary predecessors and as a destabilization of the received fault lines, first inscribed in the Achaemenid period, between the Greek and Persian worlds.

Daniel Potts

New York University

Daniel T. Potts is Professor of Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology and History at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University. A member of the Harvard team that excavated Tepe Yahya in the 1970s, and co-director of the Iranian-Australian team at Tol-e

Nurabad, Tol-e Spid, and Qaleh Kali (2003–2010), he has worked on many aspects of Iranian archaeology and history, from prehistory to the Qajar era.

Elam and Persis

The distinction between Elam and Anšan was already apparent to nineteenth-century scholars such as Billerbeck, Sayce, and Halévy. Similarly, it was readily apparent to Scheil, Vallat, and Amiet. Nevertheless, it is all too easy, when considering the late Elamite precursor of Teispid and Achaemenid Persis, to think of Elam as a monolithic entity and to ignore the regional diversity indicated in the archaeological and epigraphic record. This paper will explore that diversity in order to see whether it was of potential significance for the Elamite inheritance in Teispid and Achaemenid Persis.

Alexander Schütze

Maximilian University of Munich

Alexander Schütze is a scholar trained in the field of Egyptology and specializing in Saite and Persian Period Egypt. Since 2015, he has held the position of Akademischer Rat auf Zeit at the Institute for Egyptology and Coptic Studies at LMU Munich. Prior to this, he was a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Graduate School “Archaeology of Pre-modern Economies” at the universities of Cologne and Bonn, and a Lecturer for Coptic Studies and Study Course Coordinator at the Institute for Egyptology of LMU Munich. Dr. Schütze is an active member of the excavation project of the universities of Munich and Cairo at the animal necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel (Middle Egypt); he also collaborated with the online database project Trismegistos (Leuven/Cologne) as well as the Altägyptisches Wörterbuch project (Berlin/Leipzig). He received his PhD in Egyptology at the University of Leipzig with a dissertation on the provincial administration of Egypt under Achaemenid rule. His research

interests include the administration of Late Period Egypt, Aramaic texts from Persian Period Egypt, Herodotus' Egyptian logos, and funerary culture in Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt.

Caro-Memphites and Aramaeo-Syeniens: What the Case of the Carians Tells Us about Religious Practices and Burial Customs of Foreign Groups in Persian Egypt

Identity and religiosity are central themes in the study of the Judeo-Aramaicans of Elephantine, as evidenced by a large number of relevant publications in recent years. However, the institutional context of the Persian empire, which structured the everyday life of foreign groups in Achaemenid Egypt, has not been sufficiently considered. This is also true for the material culture, as well as the burial customs of the Judeans and Arameans at Elephantine/Syene and elsewhere. Here, a comparison with other groups defined by their (perceived) ethnicity may be useful. The case of the Carians in particular lends itself to comparative study, for not only is this group extraordinarily well documented by dozens of monuments, Herodotus devotes much attention to the religious practices of the Carians in his Egyptian Logos. In this paper, the case of the Carians will be compared with other foreign groups that dwelled in Egypt in the service of the Persian crown. In particular, their involvement in Egyptian cults will be subject to reconsideration. This paper thus brings together current research on the Judeo-Aramaic community at Elephantine in Persian Period Egypt and on the second book of Herodotus' *Histories*, combining them in a new perspective.

Jeffrey Spier

J. Paul Getty Museum

After completing a DPhil at Merton College, Oxford, Jeffrey Spier taught classical archaeology at University College London and the University of Arizona before joining the J. Paul Getty Museum as Anissa and Paul John Balson II Senior Curator of Antiquities in 2014. Before

coming to the Getty, he curated exhibitions at the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne (*San Marco and Venice*) and the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth (*Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*). He has published on many aspects of Greek art and iconography, gems and jewelry, numismatics, early Christian and Byzantine art, ancient magic, and the history of collecting. At the Getty, he has curated and contributed to the catalogues for the exhibitions *Beyond the Nile: Egypt and the Classical World* (Getty Publishers 2018), *Rubens: Picturing Antiquity* (Getty Publishers 2021), and *Persia: Ancient Iran and the Classical World* (Getty Publishers 2022).

Identity and Pictorial Representation in Achaemenid Lycia

The history of Lycia in the Achaemenid period can be reconstructed only through brief mentions in Greek literature, stone inscriptions mostly in Lycian, large numbers of coins, and the remarkable sculptural reliefs on the tombs of the ruling dynasts. The rulers of the various Lycian cities both competed with each other and navigated the difficult political path between the rival Persian and Greek states. What historical information can be learned from their self-representation on coins and monuments?

Rolf Strootman

University of Utrecht

Rolf Strootman is Associate Professor of History at Utrecht University, where he teaches Ancient History and World History. His research focuses on empire, court culture, and religion in the Mediterranean, Middle East, and Central Asia during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. His research interests also include east-west interactions and the image of the “Orient” in Western culture, as well as the reception of the ancient worlds in modern popular culture (especially cinema and fantasy fiction). He is the author of *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires* (Edinburgh University Press 2014) and *The Birdcage of the Muses: Patronage of the Arts and Sciences at the Ptolemaic Imperial Court* (Peeters 2016), as well

as a number of edited volumes, including *Persianism in Antiquity* (Franz Steiner Verlag 2016, co-edited with M. J. Versluys) and *Empires of the Sea: Maritime Power Networks in World History* (Brill 2019, co-edited with F. van den Eijnde en R. van Wijk). He is currently writing a book on the relationship between war and identity in European history (from the Battle of Marathon to the war in Ukraine) and preparing two new volumes on the Seleukid empire.

Globalization and the Iranian *Longue Durée*: Empire and Warfare under the Achaemenids, Argeads, and Seleukids, c. 550–150 BCE

The 400-year period of Persian and then Macedonian domination of the Iranian world (c. 550–150 BCE) coincided with the first great age of “globalization,” as interconnectivity in Afro-Eurasia increased exponentially in conjunction with a growing interest in the world as a whole (as expressed, for example, by the idea of a universal empire or the “Hellenistic” interest in the geography and ethnography of the world). A number of consequences of empire, such as the spread of an “international” *lingua franca* (Aramaic, later in addition also Greek), or the empire-wide standardization of weights and currency, enabled the establishment in this period of the long-distance system of cultural and economic exchange popularly known as the Silk Road. Refocusing ancient history’s traditional emphasis on the Mediterranean to the central areas of the Ancient Worlds – India, Central Asia, Iran, and Mesopotamia – this lecture discusses one of the most conspicuous forms of connectivity that world empires instigated: the globalization of warfare. To fight their wars and expand their rule, Persian and Macedonian rulers recruited troops and appropriated resources from areas as far removed from each other as Baktria, Nubia, Arabia, and Greece.

Lâtife Summerer

Arkin University of Creative Arts and Design

Lâtife Summerer is Professor of Archaeology and History of Art at the Arkin University of Creative Arts and Design in Kyrenia, Cyprus.

She studied Classical Archaeology at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich, Germany, received her PhD in 1996, and completed her habilitation thesis in 2005 at the same university. She conducted excavations at the Roman city Pompeiopolis in Northern Anatolia (2006–2016) and archaeological surveys in Kelainai/Apameia Kibotos, Afyonkarahisar Province (2008–2011) in Turkey. She carried out a repatriation and restoration project on the looted, painted wooden tomb chamber Tatarlı in Phrygia (fifth century BCE), and curated the temporary exhibition “Tatarlı. The Return of Colours” in Istanbul in 2010. She co-edited the catalogue of the exhibition “Tatarlı” and two volumes about Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos, the royal residence of Achaemenid kings in Anatolia. She also published several articles on ancient Anatolia and Cyprus. Currently, she is carrying out a project on the final reconstruction of the Tatarlı tomb chamber in the New Museum of Afyonhisar.

Tomb Paintings of Achaemenid Anatolia between East and West

The diverse array of funerary traditions in Achaemenid Anatolia includes tombs with polychrome painted walls. With the exceptions of a few examples, however, most painted monuments in Lydia, Lycia, and Phrygia have succumbed to deterioration and destruction from a combination of natural and human causes. Only in exceptional cases, the fragmentary preservation allows the reconstruction of original paintings. This paper focuses on two digitally reconstructed painted tomb chambers in Tatarlı and Karaburun, dating to the first half of the fifth century BCE based on criteria such as the image program, iconography, and style. It aims to illuminate the ways in which artistic conventions that originated in both classical and non-classical cultural spheres were combined on memorial architecture to represent the local elite that emerged in Anatolia under the Achaemenid rule.

Matt Waters

University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire

Matt Waters (PhD, University of Pennsylvania) is Professor of Ancient

Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, whereat he also recently served as Department Chair of Languages for six years. Waters is the author of four books, most recently *King of the World: The Life of Cyrus the Great* (Oxford 2022), and several dozen articles and related publications. He has held fellowships from the Institute of Advanced Study, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Center for Hellenic Studies, and the Loeb Classical Library Foundation.

Still Sorting the Mail: The Assyrian Imperial Impress in Elam and Parsumaš

Collated transliterations and updated translations of the Assyrian correspondence from Ashurbanipal's reign relating to the south and southeast, primarily Elam and Babylonia, are among the latest and last State Archives of Assyria volumes to be published (S. Parpola, SAA XXI, 2018, and G. Frame, SAA XXII, forthcoming). There remains still much to be learned from this correspondence, not only about the dissolution of Elam in the 640s BCE but also, and not coincidentally, the geopolitical situation in southwestern Iran and the Elamite borderlands that impacted the rise of the kingdom of Parsa (Assyrian *Parsumaš*) under Cyrus the Great's forebears, the so-called Teispid Dynasty. This paper will explore the state-of-the-question based on observations from these Assyrian and other sources: additional pieces of the puzzle may be added to help contextualize the rise of this new power. As one example, Ashurbanipal's obsession with the Chaldean rebel, Nabû-bêl-šumāti – and the latter's own evasiveness buoyed by Elamite aid – brought increased Assyrian involvement into Elamite affairs. As a consequence, Assyrian geopolitical concerns reached deeper into Fars, squeezing Elam between the Assyrian imperial impress and a nascent Persian power.

Josef Wiesehöfer

University of Kiel

Josef Wiesehöfer, born in 1951 in Wickede/Ruhr (Westphalia),

retired Full Professor of Ancient History, Institute of Classics, Christian-Albrechts-University Kiel (1989–2016). He is a Member of the Academia Europaea, Corresponding Member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities. He specializes in the study of Pre-Islamic Iran, the connections between the cultures of the Mediterranean and those of the ancient Near East and Central Asia as well as the history of scholarship. He is the author of *Ancient Persia* (Tauris 2001) and main editor of the series *Oriens et Occidens*.

The State of Achaemenid Studies

This conference is intended to be the first in a series of conferences which – in the tradition of the Groningen “Achaemenid History Workshops” of the 1980s/1990s – like its predecessor, aims to highlight new perspectives in Achaemenid studies. As one of the first participants in the AHWs, I will give a brief overview of the state of research at the present time. Based on the AHWs – with their thematically bound, but at the same time also newly determining approaches to the hierarchies of tradition/sources and the expressiveness and intent of the testimonies – this paper will present and evaluate the state of research in the following fields of investigation: (a) on the situation of tradition in light of new finds and the reassessment of source material; (b) on recent tendencies in the formation of theory, the questioning and methodology of Achaemenid research, and on recent forms of scholarly organization; (c) on old and new fields of research, including the most important new findings pertaining to the position of the Persian empire in global-historical and Near Eastern, as well as in epoch-spanning, imperial and reception-historical contexts; (d) on the diversity of representations of the empire in later political and cultural, as well as transmission, contexts. This last part draws heavily on the approach of Strootman/Versluys (2017:9;16-17), in particular their distinction between *Persianism* (“ideas and associations revolving around Persia and appropriated in specific contexts for specific (socio-cultural or political) reasons”) and *Persianization* as a term for political and cultural influence of the Persian empire on contemporaries and posterity.

Jonathan Winnerman

University of California, Los Angeles

Jonathan Winnerman is Academic Administrator for Ancient Studies at UCLA, where he assists with the research and operations of the new Institute for the Study of Global Antiquity. He earned his PhD from the University of Chicago in 2018. Specializing in the ancient Egyptian language and Egyptian religion, his academic work focuses on the creation and expression of authoritarian power in ancient Egypt and beyond. He worked in Egypt for many years, most notably as a team member of the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

The Hidden and the Revealed: Parallel Conceptions of the Divine at Hibis and in Context

Ancient Egyptian theology often juxtaposed multiple conceptions of the divine in attempts to encapsulate the true totality of divine power. These different conceptions, which were usually outright contradictory, could be expressed in terms of number, geography, or even form and appearance. Yet, perhaps the most common but also complex of all these juxtapositions was that of the hidden and the revealed manifestations of god. This was the duality that informed the identity of Amun-Re, king of the gods, who was hidden in his name of Amun, literally “he who is hidden,” and revealed in his form of Re, the visible sun. As the king was also a tangible form of the divine, he could be inserted into this scheme as well, an ability of which Darius I and the priests, theologians, and artisans who supported him were able to take advantage at the temple of Hibis. On the northern and southern outer walls, Darius commissioned parallel inscriptions. One, in standard hieroglyphs, focuses on the king, while the other, written intentionally in cryptographic or enigmatic hieroglyphs, focuses on Amun. Such inscriptions were not without precedent, and similar examples can be found as early as the reign of Ramses II in the New Kingdom. The precise position and significance of the Hibis texts in this tradition, however, have never been properly understood, as a

complete and accurate translation of these enigmatic hieroglyphs has never been published. This paper aims to fill this lacuna by presenting a new, preliminary translation and offering a detailed examination of Darius' position in relation to hidden and revealed conceptions of god. This may in turn permit a new discussion of the interactions between Egyptian and Achaemenid religious traditions in the context of the larger imperial project.



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