

Citation style

Ehrhardt, Christopher T. H. R.: Rezension über: Maria Brosius / Amélie Kuhr (eds.), *Studies in Persian History. Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1998, in: *Journal of Ancient Civilizations*, 14 (1999), S. 164-166, DOI: 10.21245/rec.ant.65653820



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Maria Brosius and Amélie Kuhr (edd.), *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (*Achaemenid History XI*), 1998. ISBN 90-6258-411-X. xi + 306 pages. Hfl. 129 (\$US68.00).

The premature death of David Lewis was a blow to all his friends, and especially to all his present and former pupils, and left an irreparable gap in the study of Greek history, and notably the study of Greco-Persian relations in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. It is hard to visualise anyone else with his knowledge of epigraphy, and understanding of how even the most unpromising inscriptions can be used to give new insights into history, and his readiness to explore new fields, regardless of their difficulty, if only they seemed likely to yield reliable new information to help understand the past.

So it is fitting that a group fourteen scholars - almost all former colleagues, or pupils, or both - have combined to create a memorial volume; even though (like so many *Festschriften*) it is a disparate agglomeration, I think David would have enjoyed it and been pleased with it.

It is impossible for a reviewer to discuss each paper in detail (Amélie Kuhrt, in her introduction, gives a very useful and accurate summary of their contents). What follows is simply a listing of authors' names, with short comments:

Josef Wieshöfer discusses a description of Pasargadai and Persepolis by a German traveler in the 1630s, and its posthumous re-writing and publication by the polymath Adam Olearius.

Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg gives good reasons, from Persian evidence, for questioning Herodotus' statement (III 97) that the Persians did not pay tribute to the King - or if not tribute, then at least they made regular and predictable gifts to him.

Gerassimos Aperghis proposes a new, and *prima facie* convincing, translation for the Elamite word 'kurmin' in a series of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, taking it to mean 'supplied by' rather than 'entrusted to', and shows the quite significant changes which result for understanding the system whereby the royal storehouses were supplied, if his proposal is correct.

Christopher Tuplin, in the longest and perhaps most interesting paper, discusses the 'Seasonal migration of Achaemenid kings', from both the well known Greek evidence, and the much less accessible and intelligible evidence provided by Persian records, especially the Persepolis tablets. He concludes that royal migration certainly occurred annually, but that the Greek sources give two inconsistent accounts, neither of which is wholly correct, and that the system was

not as regular and stereotyped as the Greeks supposed. This difficult article would have been easier to follow had the author provided a map, and the graphs to which in various places he refers.

Mark Garrison describes the two seals of a Persian nobleman, Aspathines whose impressions survive on documents from Persepolis; both bear the same design, and the latter is obviously a replacement for the former. Since their use is closely dated to the end of the sixth and first years of the fifth century B.C., they provide firm evidence for the stylistic development of the Persian 'Court Style'.

Matthew Stolper relates the strange case of a woman slave, sold in Sippar in Babylonia in 484 B.C., whose distinguishing mark was that her 'wrist was inscribed in Egyptian', discusses other cases of slaves permanently marked by tattooing or branding, and points out that the slave woman's presence in Mesopotamia in Xerxes' first year is confirmation of Herodotus' references (VII 1 and 7) to a revolt in Egypt in Darius' last years, suppressed by Xerxes.

Hugh Williamson restores the orthodox view of the relations between the Jewish community in Judah after the Babylonian exile and the imperial and provincial authorities, in opposition to the stimulating speculations of J.P. Weinberg.

Elizabeth Tucker sets out verb forms and their development in Elamite - the 'dead' language used for official records - under the Achaemenid kings. This is a difficult article, but fascinating for any readers interested in languages and their development, even if (like the reviewer) they are totally ignorant of Elamite.

Morrison Handley-Schachter, using the Persepolis evidence for payments for the performance of religious rituals, draws a strong distinction between the Median religion of the Magi, and the 'normal' religion in the Persepolis area, and in particular seeks to prove that the monthly 'lan' ritual, though subsidised by the imperial treasury, was a peculiarly Median ceremony, 'of no interest to the king' (p. 204).

Pierre Briant enters into controversy with the late Louis Robert about the interpretation of texts inscribed at Sardis in the first or second century A.D., whose originals allegedly date back to the fourth (or even fifth) century B.C. and which seem to show a Persian governor, Droaphernes, establishing a statue and sanctuary of Zeus (identified by Robert as the Greek translation of Ahuramazda), and forbidding those who entered the sanctuary to partake of the mysteries of Sabazius, Agdistis and Ma. This seemed to be surprising but impressive evidence both of Persian religious foundations in the west, and of their persistence through the centuries. If Briant is right, nothing of this is left - but what a pity we cannot know Robert's reaction!

Maria Brosius disputes the identification of 'Artemis Persike' and 'Artemis Anaitis' with the Persian goddess Anahita; she has some good arguments, but misses the point that 'identification' of different deities is basically a matter of word use, and she does not explain why some votaries of Artemis gave her the epithets 'Anaitis' and 'Persike' and what they meant by them.

R.J. van der Spek finds, in Babylonian astronomical diaries, four new and firm dates for events in fourth century Persian history: 1. the capitulation of Evagoras, king of Salamis to the King's forces (381B.C.); 2. the invasion of Egypt under the command of Pharnabazus and Iphicrates (373); 3. the war against the Cadusians (369); and 4. Datames' invasion of Mesopotamia, soon after he began his rebellion against the King (367). These dates are not only useful in themselves, but give reason to hope that more can be established, and our knowledge of Achaemenid (and Seleucid?) history increased - if only Near Eastern specialists would deign to pay attention to the 'late period', which they normally look upon with scorn.

Finally, Margaret Cool Root takes issue with John Boardman on the location and chronology of artistic developments in Persian seals, and shows that the importance Boardman gave to Lydia is exaggerated, and that the most significant developments took place in Persian court circles.

The volume is excellently produced (though there is no index). Misprints are few and trivial, except in Brosius' article, where they abound, especially in the Greek. This book is not of general interest, and the only students likely to profit from it are ones specialising in Persian history or Greco-Persian relations; but no one who teaches or researches in this area can afford to ignore it.

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