

POLITICAL MEMORY IN AND  
AFTER THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

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POLITICAL MEMORY IN AND  
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*Edited by*

Jason M. Silverman and Caroline Waerzeggers

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Atlanta

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of the works and names of classical authors, of editions of ancient texts, and of reference works generally follow the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. The standard *siglum* for Old Persian royal inscriptions is by initial letter of the king's name, letter for the location, and lowercase letter for the order of its discovery; thus, DNa stands for Darius (I), Naqš-i Rostam, first inscription.

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AB	Anchor Bible
ABC	A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> . Toronto, 1975
AcIr	Acta Iranica
ADOG	Abhandlungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHB	<i>Ancient History Bulletin</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJN	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
AMI	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan</i>
AMIE	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran Ergänzungs- band
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
APSP	<i>American Philosophical Society Proceedings</i>
ARTA	<i>Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology</i>
ASAE	Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte

ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAI	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCHP	I. L. Finkel and R. J. van der Spek, <i>Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period</i> . <a href="http://www.livius.org/sources/about/mesopotamian-chronicles/">http://www.livius.org/sources/about/mesopotamian-chronicles/</a>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BBSt	L. W. King, <i>Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets</i> . London, 1912
BCSMS	<i>Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies</i>
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Études
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BJSUC	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
BM	<i>siglum</i> of cuneiform tablets in the British Museum
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BNJ	<i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> . Edited by Ian Worthington. Leiden, 2006–
BO	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CA	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CDAFI	<i>Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran</i>
CDOG	Colloquien der deutschen Orientgesellschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
ChrEg	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CIS	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i>
CJ	<i>The Classical Journal</i>
CLeO	Classica et Orientalia
CMG	<i>Corpus Medicorum Graecorum</i>



<i>Corp. paroem. gr.</i>	E. L. von Leutsch and F. G. Scheidewin, <i>Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum</i> . Göttingen, 1839–1859
COS	<i>The Context of Scripture</i> . Edited by W. W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden, 1997–
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i> . London 1896–
CTMMA 2	I. Spar and W. G. Lambert, <i>Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Vol. 2: Literary and Scholastic Texts of the First Millennium B.C.</i> New York, 2005
CW	<i>Classical World</i>
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
EA	<i>Egyptian Archaeology</i>
EPRO	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain</i>
GR	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
HBT	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HThKAT	Herders Theologisches Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IG <sup>3</sup> I	<i>Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores. Fasc. 1. Decreta et tabulae magistratuum. Volumen I. Editio tertia.</i> Edited by David Lewis. Berlin, 1981
IOS	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
<i>IrAnt</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplement Series
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCSMS	<i>Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i>
JHebS	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>

JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period</i>
JSJS	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JSRC	Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
JSSSup	Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement Series
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LBAT	T. G. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier, <i>Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts</i> . Edited by A. J. Sachs. Brown University Studies 18. Providence, RI, 1955
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LGG	<i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> . Edited by Christian Leitz. <i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> 110–116, 129. 8 vols. Leuven, 2002–2003
LGPN	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> . Edited by P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews. Vols. 1–5a. Oxford, 1987–2010
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MDAI	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>

MDP	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse</i>
Nbn.	<i>Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon.</i> J. N. Strassmaier. Babylonische Texte 1–4. Leipzig, 1889
NINO	Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version of the Bible
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OBO SA	Orbis biblicus et orientalis. Series archeologica
OGIS	<i>Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae.</i> Edited by W. Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–1905
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i> (NS)
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
PDÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PF	<i>siglum</i> of tablets of the Persepolis Fortification archive
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RBPH	<i>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</i>
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RÉA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
REg	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
RevPhil	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RIMB	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie.</i> Edited by Erich Ebeling et al. Berlin, 1928–
RT	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie</i>
SAA 8	H. Hunger, <i>Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings.</i> State Archives of Assyria 8. Helsinki, 1992

SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
<i>Sardis, VII, 1</i>	<i>Sardis, VII, 1: Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> . Edited by W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson. Leiden, 1932
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
SCO	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i>
<i>SecCent</i>	<i>Second Century: A Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
SJ	Studia Judaica
<i>SNG Cop.</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum</i> . Copenhagen, 1942–1979
<i>SNG von Aulock</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Sammlung Hans von Aulock</i> . Berlin, 1957–1968
SpTU	Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk
StudDem	Studia Demotica
TAM V 1–2	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris. Volumen V: Tituli. Lydiae, linguis graeca et latina conscripti. Fasc. 1–2</i> . Edited by Peter Herrmann. Vienna, 1981, 1989
TCL 12	G. Contenau, <i>Contrats néo-babyloniens, vol. 1: De Téglath-Pileser III à Nabonide</i> . Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre 12. Paris, 1927
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
Tod II	Marcus N. Tod, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions. Volume II</i> . Oxford, 1948
<i>Transeu</i>	<i>Transeuphratène</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
Wb	<i>Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache</i> . 6 vols. Edited by Adolf Erman and Herrmann Grapow. 4th ed. Berlin, 1982
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
YBC	<i>siglum</i> of cuneiform tablets in Yale Babylonian Collection
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

xiii

ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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# ASSESSING PERSIAN KINGSHIP IN THE NEAR EAST: AN INTRODUCTION

Jason M. Silverman and Caroline Waerzeggers

This volume results from an international symposium of the same name held in Leiden, the Netherlands, on 18–20 June 2014. The symposium grew out of a recognition that the various disciplines which deal with Achaemenid hegemony offer starkly different assessments of Persian kingship. While Assyriologists treat Cyrus's heirs as legitimate successors of the Babylonian kings, biblical scholars often speak of a “kingless era” in which the priesthood took over the function of the Davidic monarch. Egyptologists see their land as uniquely independently minded despite conquests, while Hellenistic scholarship tends to evaluate the interface between Hellenism and native traditions without reference to the previous two centuries of Persian rule. This discrepancy prompted us to seek a broader context for assessing interactions with the experience of Persian kingship, and to discover how much these differing assessments were due to diversity within the empire and how much they were due to disciplinary assumptions.

The issue of Persian kingship in fact highlights how sequestered the various specialists who deal with the Achaemenid Empire often remain. Though the value of comparative perspectives for the Persian Empire and the ancient Near East more broadly is widely recognized,<sup>1</sup> real cross-pollination between the specializations is difficult. The symposium and this volume attempted to bring together in dialogue as broad an array of scholars as possible. A deliberate emphasis on representing the major sub-disciplines as well as more peripheral or less commonly discussed regions

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1. Especially thanks to the active effort at promoting integrative approaches to the Persian Empire by the *Achaemenid History* workshops (Leiden: NINO) and the conferences published in the *Persika* (Paris: de Boccard) and *Classica et Orientalia* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz) series.

and cultures guided the initial invitations and the call for papers. The fields of Assyriology, Egyptology, Iranology, Classics, and Biblical Studies were represented. It is to be regretted that despite our best efforts neither Eastern Iran nor India were able to be included, nor were the Arsacids. The structure of the three days of the conference was by geographical area, and this remains in the volume. We hope the variety here will encourage increased cooperative work within Achaemenid studies.

Kingship is as much cultural and social as it is political. In practical terms this means any interactions between rulers and the ruled must always negotiate historical and cultural legacies as much as expediencies of *realpolitik*. It follows from this that any assessment of the impact of a political system—in this case that of the Persian kings—requires both an understanding of previous systems and the resulting legacy among subsequent systems. While political allegiance or rebellion are of course important elements, the real impact on society is much broader. The questions we hoped to address therefore included such ones as how did recollection of past experiences of kingship inform positions vis-à-vis the reigning (and later the defunct) Persian monarchy? How did the experience of Persian kingship affect discourse on “native” kingship in the Hellenistic successor states? What were responses in terms of memory and the conceptualization of “ideal” kingship as it was informed by cultural expectations?

To provide a framework for these questions around Persian kingship we chose the anthropological concept of political memory. “Memory” carries important contemporary methodological and ethical implications, in terms of historiography and public commemoration.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, a few biblical scholars working in the “Persian Period” have already appealed to “memory” as a concept, mostly spearheaded by Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana V. Edelman. In these studies, the concern has largely been the texts of the Hebrew Bible, often with an eye towards questions of Judaeon identity.<sup>3</sup> Our concern in this book, however, is with “memory” as a concept

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2. See, e.g., Paul Ricœur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (trans. K. Blamey and D. Pellauer; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

3. E.g., Ehud Ben Zvi, “On Social Memory and Identity Formation in Late Persian Yehud: A Historian’s Viewpoint with a Focus on Prophetic Literature, Chronicles, and the Deuteronomistic Historical Collection,” in *Texts, Contexts and Readings in Postexilic Literature: Explorations into Historiography and Identity Negotiation in Hebrew Bible and Related Texts* (ed. L. Jonker; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 95–148; Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, eds., *Remembering and Forgetting in Early Second*



useful for social history. The idea of collective memory as a sociological concept is often credited to Halbwachs,<sup>4</sup> who closely linked group identity and collective memory. Memory is an important element in cultural identity, but its social implications cannot be restricted to identity per se.<sup>5</sup> More modern approaches to collective memory, which Barbara A. Misztal has called “dynamics of memory” approaches, rather emphasize the complex interactions between historical events, power ideologies, and social values represented in memory.<sup>6</sup> This means the past is indeed shaped by the needs of the present, but within the constraints of historical givens and a variety of social realities. For investigations into the Achaemenid Empire, therefore, social memory provides an angle to view long-term, dynamic interactions between the ancient cultures of the ancient Near East and their Persian overlords. These are not restricted merely to issues of “ethnicity” or instrumental politics—both of course important—but to the shaping of social values and worldviews as well, both present politics and the sort of politics deemed possible. Moreover, Paul Ricœur’s distinction between memories which are of singular events and those which are “paradigmatic” is particularly useful for this volume’s theme.<sup>7</sup> The import of political memory is not restricted to the recollection of particular events remembered for changing what is deemed normal, but also the memory of the very concept of what is typical or normative. The issue is, in this context, not merely one of historical reconstructions of single events, but how the past was used socially to shape society and its understanding of its past, in the past.

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*Temple Judah* (FAT 85; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012); Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi, eds., *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi, eds., *The City in Biblical Memory* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming).

4. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (trans. L. A. Coser; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992); Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125; Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead: Open University, 2003), 51; Ricœur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 120; Anne Whitehead, *Memory: the New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 2009), 123.

5. Though it is still closely linked in some scholarship, e.g., Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity.”

6. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, 67–74.

7. Ricœur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 23.

This volume comprises revised presentations from the 2014 symposium plus an additional contribution by Melanie Wasmuth, this introduction, and an overall critical assessment by R. J. van der Spek, who was also present at the symposium. We regret that not all of the participants of the symposium were able to contribute to this publication, especially with the resulting loss of discussion of certain areas of the empire (sadly even the heartland itself), but we trust the ones collected here profitably explore the issues from a variety of perspectives.

The collection begins with a discussion of the Kingdom-cum-Satrapy of Lydia. Eduard Rung considers the notable lack of Lydian independence efforts through two topics; two early appointments by Cyrus the Great (Tabalus and Pactyes) and the early (and only attested) Lydian revolt by Pactyes. In his analysis, native elites were totally replaced from the Lydian administration following the revolt leading to the memory of Croesus's kingdom losing any local political effectiveness.

Björn Anderson discusses the problematic issue of Persian Arabia. Noting the difficulties in assessing Arabia as it existed under the Achaemenids, Anderson instead turns towards later memory of the Persians among the Nabatean elite. He sees the imperial artistic program of the Achaemenids recalled in several motifs and designs in Petra. Even in this much later era, he sees the Achaemenids as providing some of the tools whereby the new rulers could assert their claims to legitimacy.

Three contributors discuss memory within Babylonia. John P. Nielsen surveys how the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I played a role in elite Babylonia's engagement with the Persian rulers, in particular, his campaign against Elam. This memory was flexible enough to reflect their changing fortunes and perspectives, even as the role of Marduk grew through time. Geert de Breucker reads the Babylonian tradition of historiography as part of an elitist Babylonian attempt to define their identity in the wake of the loss of political independence. In a similar vein, Caroline Waerzeggers uses memory as a framework to offer a new interpretation of the *Nabonidus Chronicle* as a literary text about the past addressing concerns in a post-Persian, Hellenistic present.

The two periods of domination in Egypt are addressed by four scholars. Olaf E. Kaper presents new evidence for Petubasis III from the Dakhla Oasis, analyzing it as the background for Cambyses's "lost" army from Herodotus and as the reason for Darius I's intense interest in the Oasis. Květa Smoláriková discusses Udjahorresnet as a key mediator between the Egyptian past and the Persian present, with reference to the necropolis in

which he was buried. Melanie Wasmuth argues that the use of iconography evinces differing strategies of political representation between Egypt and the heartland under Darius I, and finds echoes of his strategy under Artaxerxes III. Colburn takes up the period of the second Persian domination, noting that much of the received memory of this period has been filtered through Ptolemaic eyes. He thus seeks to nuance the negative portrayal through discussion of the tomb of Petosiris.

Seth Bledsoe deals with the Aramaic literature found at Elephantine. He reads both the story and the proverbs in *Ahiqar*, which discuss the Assyrian king and kingship, in the context of a Persian military colony. He argues this provides evidence for some of these mercenaries' complex views on the Persian king.

Two contributors deal with the use of the Achaemenids in Hellenistic and Roman discourse. Benedikt Eckhardt analyzes four post-Achaemenid dynasties: the Fratarakā of Fars, Antiochus of Commagene, the Mithridatids of Pontus, and the Hasmoneans. He argues that while all four used constructions of Achaemenid policy as self-justifications, they were fabricated for their immediate usage rather than being surviving memories. Alesandr V. Makhelaiuk narrates the Roman inheritance of Greek Orientalizing perspectives on the Persians, and their myriad uses within Roman attempts at justification and self-definition.

Yehud's interaction with the Persians is the focus of five contributions. Ian Douglas Wilson reads the competing visions of kingship within the Hebrew Bible within an Achaemenid context: seeing at least three strands of thought vis-à-vis foreign (Persian) kings, amongst other debated perspectives. For him, this is not a matter of schools, but of debates within a narrow set of Yehud elites. Christine Mitchell reads Chronicles' depiction of kingship in the context of Darius I's model of kingship. Positing a connection with Aramaic scribal training, Mitchell finds thematic and terminological affinities between the visions of kingship found in both, though the two visions are not identical. Lisbeth Fried compares the intermarriage ban in Ezra-Nehemiah with the Law of Pericles in Athens to argue the reasons were primarily fiscal, and were imposed by the Persians to maintain monetary control. Kiyān Foroutan objects to recent attempts to read Neh 2 as evidence concerning Zoroastrianism, and instead focuses on what it says about Judaeon views on the Achaemenid kings. Jason M. Silverman argues that the development of Messianic expectations in later Second Temple Judaism reflects the influence of Persian ideas of kingship, rather than the ideology of the Iron Age monarchy.

The volume closes with a synthesis and evaluation of the symposium and this collection by van der Spek. He is particularly struck by the varied uses of memory, ones which defy a broad pattern due to the contingent nature of their deployment. The Persian Empire nevertheless has had a powerful impact on the course of history, and will continue to challenge scholarship.

Though this volume focuses on a seemingly narrow topic—the memory of Persian kingship—it traverses a rich terrain of material, and it highlights the benefits to more regional specializations of taking the broader imperial context seriously. We hope this volume will help spur on even more collaborative work on the Persian Empire.

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