

Scientific Report

ESF Exploratory Workshop on

Concepts Of Kingship In Antiquity

Padova, Italy, 28 November - 1 December 2007

Convened by
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Dipartimento di Scienze del mondo antico, Università degli Studi di Padova

Co-Sponsored by



Università degli Studi di Padova

Dipartimento di Scienze del mondo antico
Università degli Studi di Padova

1. Executive Summary

The Workshop was held in Padova (Italy), at the *Università degli Studi di Padova* (Faculty of Letters and Philosophy; Rectorate). It lasted two full days and a half (Thursday, November 29th, 2007; Friday, November 30th; Saturday December 1st, morning). Participants numbered 18 individuals plus the convenor, from 9 countries; health reasons forced two additional invited participants to renounce at the last moment.

The Workshop was held in reserved rooms in the historical, ancient University buildings where public was not admitted, except for selected scholars from the Padova University with the permission of the ESF Committed representative. All participants were lodged in the same hotel and had all meals together, both facts enhancing a confidential attitude which helped in making the scientific discussion most *agréable*; moreover, many participants had already met in the past, and some of them had been strictly cooperating in scientific projects, so that informal and confidential discussions were enabled since the arrival in Padova. The general atmosphere was very good and relaxed, and the discussions both at the end of the communications and at the end of the Workshop days were aimed at developing the understanding of each one's specialization methods. Further, the broad chronological and geographical spectrum of the disciplines involved in the Workshop, extending from the Mesopotamian Protohistory to the Late Roman Age, enhanced and solicited an intense interdisciplinary dialogue, in which approaches and interpretive models were confronted and discussed with the mutual advantage of an increasing methodological self-consciousness.

The scientific objective of the Workshop was a full discussion on the ideological, religious and cultural apparatus associated with the concept of divine kingship in the Ancient Near East and in the Classical world; and a deep study on its central function in channelling influences from East to West in the background of an uninterrupted institutional and cultural continuity in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean from the third millennium BC to the end of the Roman empire. More generally, the Workshop main interest was to demonstrate that the background of the transformations which took place in the Central and Western Mediterranean from the IXth century BC onwards and of the spreading of cultural influences from the East to the West was the confrontation with, and the adoption of, the Ancient Near Eastern political and social model of kingship.

The agenda of the Workshop consisted in the critical comparison between the royal ideologies prevailing in the various historical periods under scrutiny. Both overall conceptions and specific ideological, behavioural and communicational elements were discussed in the communications, especially as regards the modern development of scientific discussion on kingship, the meaning and function of specific symbolic constellations and/or elements. The expected advantages of such an apparently fragmented discussion were clearly the singling out of themes and elements otherwise not clearly perceivable as regards to their importance in the cultural diffusion, inspired by the continuous interaction between the various specialists.

The overall conclusion of the Workshop was the general agreement that Near Eastern influences were channelled to the West mainly through the conceptual constellations and symbolisms surrounding kingship, although it was possible to single out specific cultural characteristics which were original to some cultural periods and areas, especially as regards the most archaic age of the Greek culture. In this background, the conception of divine kingship was determined as a basic device for the spreading of specific traits of political dominion, aimed at unifying and melting originally different cultural milieus in a higher political and cultural structure. The motivations of the numerous and obstinate resistances to such a special conception, easily detectable in various cultures and areas, were analyzed as elements apt for establishing specific "points of rupture" in the intercultural dialogue, which hit deeply rooted, irremissible cultural identity markers.

2. Scientific content of the event

The Workshop was devoted to the discussion on the ideological, religious and cultural apparatus associated with the concept of divine kingship in the Ancient Near East and in the Classical world, and on its central function in channelling influences from East to West in the background of an uninterrupted institutional and cultural continuity in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean from the third millennium BC to the end of the Roman empire. The various communications held in the Workshop centred on different aspects of kingship, either discussing the history of modern scholarship as regards its attitudes in understanding and classifying kingship, or debating various specific aspects such as historical conceptions, religious attitudes or royal iconography.

All communications were designed so as to be mutually understandable to all scholars from the interdisciplinary point of view, and in fact the strong effort made by all scholars in this direction had the positive effect of soliciting intense discussions between scholars of different fields. In particular, the discussion singled out the main differences between the documentation available, such as sources emanated directly from kingship in the Near Eastern culture and historiographic sources describing kingship from milieus other than kingship itself in the majority of the Classical cultures; the bridging of such differences was effected by studying and discussing, when possible, the iconographic material available.

The Workshop was methodologically introduced by the Convenor, G.B. Lanfranchi, who pointed out the main objectives and subjects of the meeting.

M. Liverani (*Sumerian and Akkadian kingship*) discussed the various theories about the origins of rulership and kingship in the archaic periods of Mesopotamian history, stressing the differences between the Sumerian and the Akkadian models, the first with the king as a manager and the second with the king as a conquering hero, but also noting similarities and inheritances, such as the central role of the Palace and the concept of the king as a delegate of the gods.

S. de Martino (*Hittite kingship*) discussed the textual and iconographic motifs which tended to stress the link of the Hittite king with the supernatural world from the reign of Muwatalli II onwards, in the background of the full development of the imperial and universalistic pretensions of the Hittite kingdom, and duly noting the important role of the Mesopotamian models of ancient, semi divine kingship in the Hittite cultural development.

J.F. Quack (*Kingship in ancient Egypt*) analyzed in depth the image of the Egyptian Pharaoh as detached from the common human sphere in a way similar to that of the gods, commenting the ways in which the Egyptians used the name of the Pharaoh, shaped the access of the public to him, treated his person in art and in literature, and depicted the process of his decision-making.

B. Faist (*Kingship in the Middle Assyrian empire*) discussed the various aspects of Middle Assyrian kingship through a detailed analysis of the institutional role of the highest officials who cooperated with the king, stressing both the development from the city-shaped kingship of the Old Assyrian period and the continuity with the imperial Neo-Assyrian kingship.

K. Radner (*Assyrian and non-Assyrian kingship in the first millennium BC*) commented the development of the presentation of the Assyrian kingship in relation to the other kingships in Neo-Assyrian texts and iconography, as regards both the basic institutional characteristics and the growing imperialistic tension culminating in an universalistic pretension of superiority in rank.

S. Parpola (*Neo-Assyrian concepts of kingship and their heritage in Mediterranean antiquity*) depicted the various aspects of the Neo-Assyrian royal ideology, and especially the conceptual constellation surrounding the basic idea that the Assyrian king was intimately connected with the divine world, and analyzed the various way of diffusion and transmission through which the Assyrian ideology was transmitted to the contemporary Near East and to the following periods.

M. Da Riva Muñoz (*Kingship in the Neo-Babylonian empire*) presented a complete list of the titles and epithets of the Neo-Babylonian kings mentioned in the Babylonian sources, which she found to stress mainly their human nature, their intellectual capacity, their piety, and their political and military rulership, tracing a critical parallel with the Neo-Assyrian kingship.

R. Rollinger (*Kingship in the Median dominion*) illustrated the difficult problem of determining the structure and the qualities of the Median kingship as depicted in the Near Eastern texts and in the Classical historians, stressing the opposition between the images they offer, and the impossibility of attributing to the Median kingship the quality of a true empire like that of the Assyrians.

Amélie Kuhrt (*Kingship in the Persian Achaemenid empire*) discussed the Achaemenid kingship commenting the Persian documents only, and described the development of its basic concepts,

from the creation of a normative royal code to the central role of the national god in legitimizing kingship to the main binary opposition qualifying kingship (truth/order vs. falsehood/chaos), aptly stressing similarities and differences with the Egyptian and Assyrian kinships.

B. Jacobs (*Representations of Ancient Near Eastern kingship in art*) commented the iconography of the Achaemenid kingship in comparison with that of the Neo-Assyrian empire, describing the central position of the Achaemenid king between the national god and his people, and stressing their similarity in the distance between the displayed ideological image and the factual reality of their rulership.

P. Carlier (*Concepts of kingship in Classical Greece*) commented upon the various types of kinship which appear in the historiographic, philosophical and juristic discussion of the Classical Age, stressing the co-existence of models of limited kingship and of absolute kingship, often depicted as an universal rule legitimated though religious arguments.

R. Bichler (*Kingship in Greek historiography*) discussed the various ways in which Greek historians depicted the kingships of India, Arabia and Ethiopia, stressing the fact that all were presented not only as exotic institutions, but mainly as despotic kingships, though limited in some ways by various kinds of institutions, as a projection of the aspirations of the Greek democratic world.

Ch. Ulf (*Kingship in Early Greece*) centred his discussion on the problem of defining the institutional function of the *basileus* in archaic Greece, stressing the difficulty of stating a continuity from Mycenaean times and the role of "Chieftdom" attributable to the structures detected in archaeological context, and suggested the possibility of an Oriental influence in developing the familiar Homeric image of the "leader-king".

A. Coppola (*The kingship of Alexander the Great and of the Seleucids*) commented the various aspects of kingship elaborated in the elevation of Alexander to heroic and universal kingship against the establishment of a dynastic kingship by his successors, and the importance of Alexander's royal image in the self-presentation of kingship to the Greek and Asian audiences.

E. Dąbrowa (*Kingship in the Parthian empire*) discussed the evolution of the ideology of the Parthian kingship, from instability due to the impossibility of invoking historical legitimization to an universalistic tension based on a pretended link with the Achaemenid kingship. He discusses also the evolution of the forms of the main symbol of the Parthian kingship, the headgear.

B. Linke (*Kingship in Early Rome*) described three main phases in the development of the early Roman kingship as accepted in modern research as a model contrasting to the ancient historiographic models: from traditional society to community dynamics to centralised government under foreign, Etruscan influence, in the constant absence of the concept of divine kingship.

K. Ruffing (*Kingship in the Late Roman Empire*) discussed the complicated relations between the emperor, the Senate and the army in the Late Roman period, and analyzed the development of the emperor's image from that of a proud military commander to that of the universalistic leadership in the Tetrarchy and with Constantine, as a true "second Roman revolution".

J. Wiesehöfer (*King and Kingship in Sasanian empire*) dealt in depth with the characteristics of the Sasanian kingship, stressing its strong linking with the divine realm (the kings were presented as images, descendants and instruments of the gods), and the divine legitimization of their power, in a continuum with the previous Mesopotamian and Achaemenid traditions.

In the discussions at the end of the communications and at the close of each day, the debate was centred on the one hand on the specific issues put forward by each speaker, and on the other hand on the general problems raised by a methodologically correct interdisciplinary approach to the various issues which presented common traits, such as royal legitimization through human or divine tools, divine or human origin of the king and of the royal institution, accessibility of the royal person, characteristics of the royal rule in relation to the other institutions and to the divine sanction, and especially the possibility that single concepts or constellations of concepts about kingship or divine kingship may have been transmitted from culture to culture and from period to period.

In the final discussion coordinated by the Representative of the Scientific Committee the participants discussed thoroughly the publication of the proceedings of the Workshop, the methodological approach to be followed in preparing the final printed version of the communications, the main problems to be dealt with in depth, and the preparation of a joint research project on the general subject of kingship in the Mediterranean in the 1st millennium BC.

3. Assessment of the results, contribution to the future direction of the field

All participants, solicited also by the ESF Committee Representative, agreed in deciding that a comprehensive study in the matters discussed should be published in definite scientific format. It was unanimously decided that the format should be that of a Proceedings volume, in which all oral communications at the Workshop should be published in the form of scientific articles, provided that all the elements of the critical discussions are duly added and elaborated. It was also unanimously acknowledged that, due to the restricted number of participants allowed by the time at disposal and by the available funds, it would be extremely useful and scientifically correct to ask to individual scholars specialized in the historical periods and/or geographical areas not discussed in the Workshop to provide a contribution dealing with the period of their own interest, to be produced according to the main rules put forward in the Workshop itself. The volume should appear as soon as possible in an internationally established series, in order to solicit further debate and discussion in the various fields involved. A provisional list of ca. 15 European and American additional scholars was prepared at the end of the Workshop.

It was also established that a restricted group among the participants, in cooperation with the convenor, would prepare the draft of a common research program mainly centred on the topic of the Workshop, but to be extended to a wider extent to include all problems involved with intercultural contacts and cultural influences in first millennium BC Mediterranean. This research program would be based on the already long since established cooperation between the Universities of Padova, Innsbruck, Kiel, and Basel, and would establish a stable research network enhancing scientific discussion and researchers' mobility. As suggested by the ESF Representative, this program would be developed in the framework of an European funding program, possibly an EUROCORES program.

The Workshop and the research project to be developed has proved to offer interesting possibilities for contributing to the future direction of the field involved. It is evident that the individuation of a privileged conceptual constellation for channelling cultural influences (such as that surrounding kingship, and especially divine kingship) will be a crucial element in further studies in the matter, since it should be definitively admitted that intercultural relations and influences are not transmitted indifferently at all levels and aspects of the social and cultural milieu. On the contrary, only selected and often elitarian conceptual constellations operate in this function, excluding low level cultural interactions which are generally devoid of important consequences in cultural change and development.

4. Final programme

Wednesday 28 November 2007

Afternoon and evening: Arrival

Thursday 29 November 2007

- 09.00-09.10 Opening of the Workshop; institutional welcome.
- 09.10-09.30 Presentation of the *European Science Foundation* (ESF): Prof. Peter Funke (*Standing Committee for the Humanities*).
- 09.30-10.00 Introduction to the Workshop by Giovanni B. Lanfranchi, *Convenor*.
- 10.00-10.30 Prof. Dr. Mario Liverani (Università di Roma "La Sapienza"): *Sumerian and Akkadian kingship*.
- 10.30-11.00 Coffee break
- 11.00-11.30 Prof. Dr. Hans Neumann (Westfälische Wilhelmsuniversität Münster): *Kingship in second millennium BC Mesopotamia*.
- 11.30-12.00 Prof. Dr. Joachim Friedrich Quack (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg): *Kingship in ancient Egypt*.
- 12.00-12.30 Prof. Dr. Stefano de Martino (Università degli Studi di Trieste): *Hittite kingship*.
- 12.30-15.00 Lunch
- 15.00-15.30 Dr. Betina Faist (Freie Universität Berlin): *Kingship in the Middle Assyrian empire (XVI-XI centuries BC)*.
- 15.30-16.00 Dr. Karen Radner (University College London): *Assyrian and non-Assyrian kingship in the first millennium BC*.
- 16.00-16.30 Coffee break
- 16.30-17.00 Prof. Dr. Simo Parpola (University of Helsinki): *Neo-Assyrian concepts of kingship and their heritage in Mediterranean antiquity*.
- 17.00-17.30 Prof. Dr. Maria del Rocio Da Riva Muñoz (Universitat de Barcelona): *Kingship in the Neo-Babylonian empire (VI century BC)*.
- 17.30-18.30 General discussion
- 20.00 Dinner

Friday 30 November 2007

- 09.00-09.30 Prof. Dr. Robert Rollinger (Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck): *Kingship in the Median dominion (VI century BC)*.
- 09.30-10.00 Prof. Dr. Amélie Kuhrt (University College London): *Kingship in the Persian Achaemenid empire (VI-IV centuries BC)*.
- 10.00-10.30 Prof. Dr. Bruno Jacobs (Universität Basel): *Representations of Ancient Near Eastern kingship in art*.
- 10.30-11.00 Coffee break
- 11.00-11.30 Prof. Dr. Peter Haider (Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck): *Phoenician and Carthaginian kingship*.
- 11.30-12.00 Prof. Dr. Pierre Carlier (Université Paris X Nanterre): *Concepts of kingship in Classical Greece*.
- 12.00-12.30 Prof. Dr. Reinhold Bichler (Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck): *Kingship in Greek historiography*.
- 12.30-15.00 Lunch
- 15.00-15.30 Prof. Dr. Cristoph Ulf (Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck): *Kingship in Early Greece*.
- 15.30-16.00 Prof. Dr. Alessandra Coppola (Università degli Studi di Padova): *The kingship of Alexander the Great and of the Seleucids*.
- 16.00-16.30 Coffee break
- 16.30-17.00 Prof. Dr. Edward Dąbrowa (Jagellonian University Krakow): *Kingship in the Parthian empire (III century BC - I century AD)*.
- 17.00-17.30 Prof. Dr. Bernhard Linke (Technische Universität Chemnitz): *Kingship in Early Rome*.
- 17.30-18.30 General discussion
- 20.00 Dinner

Saturday 1 December 2007

- 09.00-09.30 Prof. Dr. Kai Ruffing (Philipps-Universität Marburg): *The kingship in the Late Roman Empire.*
- 09.30-10.00 Prof. Dr. Josef Wiesehöfer (Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel): *King and Kingship in Sasanian empire.*
- 10.00-10.30 Coffee break
- 10.30-13.00 Final discussion and suggestions for developing a research network (with the participation of the ESF representative)
- 13.00 Lunch
Departure

5. Statistical information on participants

STATISTICAL RESUME		
	#	%
<i>Age</i>		
31-40	3	15,79
41-50	5	26,32
51-60	8	42,10
61-70	3	15,79
<i>Gender</i>		
FEM	5	26,30
MALE	14	73,70
<i>Country</i>		
Deutschland	5	26,31
Italia	4	21,05
Österreich	3	15,78
Great Britain	2	10,52
France	1	5,26
España	1	5,26
Poland	1	5,26
Finland	1	5,26
Switzerland	1	5,26

N.B.: Only participants who really attended the Workshop are listed in the table.

6. Final list of participants

Participants

Prof. Dr. Giovanni-Battista Lanfranchi, Università degli Studi di Padova, *convenor*.
Prof. Dr. Reinhold Bichler, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck
Prof. Dr. Pierre Carlier, Université Paris X Nanterre
Prof. Dr. Alessandra Coppola, Università degli Studi di Padova
Prof. Dr. Edward Dąbrowa, Uniwersytet Jagielloński Kraków
Prof. Dr. Maria del Rocio Da Riva Muñoz, Universitat de Barcelona
Prof. Dr. Stefano de Martino, Università degli Studi di Trieste
Dr. Betina Faist, Freie Universität Berlin
Prof. Dr. Bruno Jacobs, Universität Basel
Prof. Dr. Amélie Kuhrt, University College London
Prof. Dr. Bernhard Linke, Technische Universität Chemnitz
Prof. Dr. Mario Liverani, Università di Roma "La Sapienza"
Prof. Dr. Simo Parpola, University of Helsinki
Prof. Dr. Joachim Friedrich Quack, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg
Dr. Karen Radner, University College London
Prof. Dr. Robert Rollinger, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck
Prof. Dr. Kai Ruffing, Philipps-Universität Marburg
Prof. Dr. Cristoph Ulf, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck
Prof. Dr. Josef Wiesehöfer, Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel

Invited scholars who could not participate:

Prof. Dr. Peter Haider, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck
Prof. Dr. Hans Neumann, Westfälische Wilhelmsuniversität Münster