Resistance against the Achaemenid Empire: the Egyptian Rebellions of 521 and 487/86 BC

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Chapter 4

The Egyptian Rebellion at the End of Darius I's Reign (ca. 487/86 BC)[501]

4.1 Introduction

After the tumultuous years of Darius I's early reign (see Chapter 3), the new Achaemenid king began to consolidate his rule in the territories that made up the Persian Empire. Among other things, Darius ordered temples to be renovated and (re)built, monumental inscriptions to be composed, and ambitious construction projects to be initiated. In Egypt, the most visible manifestation of the king's activity was probably the Suez Canal, a large waterway that connected the Delta with the Red Sea. The cuneiform inscriptions on the canal stelae highlighted that Darius had conquered Egypt, and that the canal was intended to connect the Nile Valley more closely to Iran.[502] In addition, it was during Darius' reign that large parts of the Achaemenid palaces in southwestern Iran were erected. The latter resulted in a considerable migration of labor forces, by which thousands of imperial subjects – among which hundreds of Egyptians – were moved to and put to work on Iranian construction sites.[503] Though speculative, it is conceivable that such policies were ill received by some inhabitants of the Nile Valley. They may have played a role in the eruption of a second Egyptian rebellion in the early fifth century BC, which is mentioned in the *Histories* of Herodotus. The historian states that it began at the end of Darius' reign, that Darius passed away before he could defeat the unrest, and that it was his son, Xerxes, who sent an army to Egypt and defeated the uprising (*Histories* 7.1, 7.4, 7.7). The so-called Daiva inscription from Xerxes' reign might refer to the same event: it claims that one of the Empire's satrapies was in "turmoil" (*yaud-*) when Xerxes acceded to the throne, and that the king "defeated that country and put it in its proper place."[504]

[501] A short version of the present chapter was published in article format in 2019; see Wijnsma, "'And in the Fourth Year,'" 32-61.

[502] See 2.3.3.1. For other Egyptian royal inscriptions from Darius I's reign, see 2.4.1.1.

[503] See Boucharlat, "Persia (Including Khūzestān)," 194-206, Henkelman, "Anhang," 273-363, and the discussion in 2.5.3.

[504] See Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 304-5 7.88. Whether the text refers to a (specific) rebellion is contested; see the discussion in 2.3.3.2. Due to the lack of the historical detail in the inscription, it is not further discussed in the present chapter. Note that a probable third reference to the rebellion can be found in Aristotle's *On Rhetoric* 2.20.3, 1393a32-b4, which briefly mentions that Xerxes conquered Egypt before he invaded Greece.

Unlike the Egyptian rebellion of the Bisitun crisis, the rebellion that began at the end of Darius I's reign has long been accepted as a historical fact. The event features consistently in modern histories of Achaemenid Egypt, and it is frequently mentioned in histories of the Achaemenid Empire.[505] As is the case with the Egyptian rebellion of the Bisitun crisis, however, the chronology of the second Egyptian rebellion is debated. At present, one can divide the different chronologies into two hypotheses. The first hypothesis states that the revolt should be dated to 487 – 485 or 487/86 – 485/84 BC. This is largely based on the *Histories* of Herodotus and predominates in studies by Classicists.[506] The second hypothesis states that the rebellion should be dated to 486 – 485 BC or 486/85 – 485/84 BC. This is partly based on Egyptian sources and predominates among Egyptologists and historians of the Achaemenid Empire.[507] Though the difference between the dates is relatively small, it has important consequences for one's understanding of the revolt. The purpose of the present chapter is therefore threefold. First, it aims to clarify the chronology of the revolt as given by Herodotus' *Histories.* It shows that this chronology places the rebellion in 487/86 – 485/84 BC. Second, the chapter compares Herodotus' chronology with Egyptian texts that are dated to the last regnal year of Darius on the one hand, and the first two regnal years of Xerxes on the other. It argues that the texts cannot be used to delimit the chronology of the rebellion to e.g. 486 – 485 BC, contrary to what has sometimes been assumed. Third, it aims to show that when one compares Herodotus' chronology with Egyptian texts from 487/86 – 485/84 BC, it is clear that a larger number of sources can be connected to the event. These sources provide us with important information on the rebellion's geographical extent, as well as on the division of political loyalties in Egypt at the end of Darius' reign.

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[505] See e.g. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 228, 235, Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67, Cook, *Persian Empire*, 99-100, Ray, "Egypt 525 – 404 B.C.," 275-76, Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 161, 525, Perdu, "Saites and Persians," 152, Waters, *Ancient Persia*, 115-16, Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West*, 27-28, and Leahy, "Egypt in the Late Period," 727.

[506] See e.g. How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, 2:133, Hammond, "Studies in Greek Chronology," 385, Miller, "Earlier Persian Dates," 40, Strasburger, "Herodots Zeitrechnung," 725, and Rhodes, "Herodotean Chronology Revisited," 71–72, Krentz, *Battle of Marathon*, 180.

[507] See e.g. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67, Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 147, Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 161, 525, Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 236 no. 6.59 n. 4, 248, no. 7.6 n. 2, and Rottpeter, "Initiatoren und Träger," 14–17. Note that Kahn, "Inaros' Rebellion," 424, and Klotz, "Persian Period," 7, have suggested that the revolt began after Darius' death; this erroneous date is probably the result of studies which have dated the start of the revolt to the very end of 486 BC on the basis of P. Loeb 1 (see 4.3 below).

4.2 The rebellion in the *Histories* of Herodotus

The Egyptian rebellion that began at the end of Darius I's reign is mentioned at the start of Book 7 of the *Histories*. The historian notes that the rebellion began a few years after Darius' attempts to invade Greece (*Histories* 7.1). The king's first attempt had occurred in 492 BC, when he sent an expedition to the Greek mainland via Thrace and Macedonia (*Histories* 6.43-44). The goal of the campaign was to punish Athens and Eretria for the role they had played in the Ionian revolt (ca. 499 – 493 BC): both city-states had sent military support to the Greek rebels in western Anatolia, and had played a role in the (partial) capture and destruction of the satrapal capital at Sardis (*Histories* 5.97, 5.99-101). Darius' first campaign was abandoned, however, when his army suffered heavy losses in a storm off the coast of mount Athos, and in an ambush in Macedonia (*Histories* 6.44-45). Undeterred, Darius organized a second expedition to Greece in 490 BC. This one took a different route: after sailing from island to island in the Aegean Sea, the Persian fleet landed at Eretria. The city was besieged, looted, and (partly) burned (*Histories* 6.94-101). Though this second campaign was partially successful, the Persians were eventually defeated by the Athenians on the beach at Marathon (*Histories* 6.102-116).[508] The first paragraphs of Book 7 record what happened next. Section 4.2.1 below provides a summary of Herodotus' account, with particular focus on the Egyptian rebellion that is said to have followed the defeat at Marathon. In a second step, section 4.2.2 will discuss the chronology that Herodotus provides for the event. As the exact words which the historian uses are important for the latter discussion, the summary of 4.2.1 includes several paragraphs of the *Histories* that are quoted in full.

4.2.1 The Egyptian rebellion according to Book 7

According to Herodotus, when Darius I heard that his second attempt to invade Greece had been thwarted by the Athenians at Marathon, he became even angrier with Athens (*Histories* 7.1.1). The king immediately began preparations for a third campaign:

Herodotus, *Histories* 7.1.2-3

[508] For an introduction to Darius I's Greek campaigns, see Waters, *Ancient Persia*, 87-91, and Rollinger and Degen, "Establishment of the Achaemenid Empire," 432-33.

καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλις ἑτοιμάζειν στρατιήν, πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἑκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὅρμητο καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

"Forthwith he [=Darius] sent messengers to all cities commanding the equipment of an army, charging each to provide much more than they had before provided of ships and horses and provision and vessels of transport. By these messages Asia was shaken for three years, the best men being enrolled for service against Hellas and making preparation therefor. In the fourth year the Egyptians, whom Cambyses had enslaved, revolted from the Persians; thereupon Darius was but the more desirous of sending expeditions even against both." (Godley, *Herodotus*, 3:300-301)

While Darius was preparing for a campaign against Egypt and Athens, however, a quarrel arose among his sons: both Artobazanes, Darius' eldest son by his first wife, and Xerxes, Darius' eldest son by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, wished to be their father's successor. They maintained that Darius should declare an heir before he went on campaign. After hearing arguments from both sides, Darius chose Xerxes as his heir (*Histories* 7.2-7.3).[509] Herodotus then writes as follows:

Herodotus, *Histories* 7.4

Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Ξέρξεα Δαρεῖος ὁρμᾶτο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτεϊ παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.

"Having declared Xerxes king, Darius was intent on his expedition. But in the year after this, and the revolt of Egypt, death came upon him in the midst of his preparation, after a reign of six and thirty years in all; nor was it granted to him to punish either the revolted Egyptians, or the Athenians." (Godley, *Herodotus*, 3:304-5)

[509] The so-called Harem inscription from Xerxes' reign likewise states that Darius chose Xerxes as his heir, even though Darius had other sons; see Schmitt, *Die altpersische Inschriften*, 160-63 (XPf), and Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 244 7.1.

With the death of Darius, Xerxes officially became king of the Achaemenid Empire. According to the historian from Halicarnassus, he had no particular interest in invading Greece. His cousin Mardonius had to persuade him to carry out Darius' plans, emphasizing that the Athenians should not go unpunished for their past deeds. In addition, messengers from Thessaly invited the king into Greece, and an oracle monger highlighted that the prophecies for such an invasion were favorable (*Histories* 7.5-7.6). Then:

Herodotus, *Histories* 7.7

Ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτεϊ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρῶτα στρατηίην ποιέεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τούτους μέν νυν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτράπει Ἀχαιμένεϊ ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένεα μέν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμητίχου ἀνὴρ Λίβυς.

"Having been over-persuaded to send an expedition against Hellas, Xerxes first marched against the rebels, in the year after Darius' death. These he subdued, and laid Egypt under a much harder slavery than in the time of Darius; and he committed the governance of it to Achaemenes, his own brother, Darius' son. This Achaemenes, being then viceroy of Egypt, was at a later day slain by a Libyan, Inaros son of Psammetichus." (Godley, *Herodotus*, 3:306-9)[510]

After having successfully conquered Egypt, Xerxes turned to the plans for an expedition against Athens. After much deliberation (*Histories* 7.8-7.19), the preparations for a large-scale assault began:

Herodotus, *Histories* 7.20.1

Ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἁλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατιήν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτεε χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος.

"For full four years from the conquest of Egypt he was equipping his host and preparing all that was needful therefor; and ere the fifth year was completed he set forth on his march with the might of a great multitude." (Godley, *Herodotus*, 3:334-35)

[510] For Inaros' rebellion, see 2.2.2.

Thus began Xerxes' invasion of Greece.

4.2.2 The dates of the rebellion according to Herodotus

As should be clear from the preceding summary, the Egyptian rebellion that began at the end of Darius I's reign is embedded within Herodotus' narrative of the Greco-Persian Wars. In fact, the rebellion is little more than a side-story. The focus of Book 7 falls heavily on the start of Xerxes' invasion of Greece, while Books 8 and 9 focus on the deadly battles that were fought on the Greek mainland, Xerxes' capture of Athens, and the Persians' eventual – and infamous – defeat.[511] That the Egyptian rebellion is a minor episode in this grander scheme of events has downsides as well as benefits for modern historians. On the one hand, Herodotus does not provide his readers with detailed information on the Egyptian rebellion (assuming that he had any to give): the leaders of the rebellion are not identified, nor is information given on the rebellion's geographical reach. On the other hand, the rebellion can be dated with relative precision, as it is embedded within a larger – and quite well-known – chronological web. Two events are fundamental in this respect. The first is the battle of Marathon, which can be dated to ca. August/September 490 BC.[512] The second is Xerxes' conquest of Athens, which can be dated to ca. August/September of 480 BC.[513] Classicists have long used these extremities to date the events in between. The goal of the following section is to illuminate their findings, and to show how different interpretations of Herodotus' chronological scheme influence our understanding of the dates of the Egyptian revolt.

4.2.2.1 Counting Herodotus' years

Dating the events that Herodotus places between Darius' defeat at Marathon and Xerxes' invasion of Greece can be done in two steps. The first step is straightforward. As should be evident from the paragraphs quoted above, Herodotus places some of the events that he describes in Book 7 in an explicit chronological sequence. One can follow this sequence, and simply count the years that the historian mentions. This creates the following picture. First, *Histories* 7.1 states that the Persian defeat at Marathon was followed by three years (τρία ἔτεα) of military preparations for a new assault against

[511] For an introduction to these events, see e.g. Waters, *Ancient Persia*, 120-33, and Rollinger and Degen, "Establishment of the Achaemenid Empire," 433-34.

[512] See Olson, Doescher, and Olson, "The Moon and the Marathon," 34-41, and Krentz, *Battle of Marathon*, 180-82.

[513] See Macan, *Herodotus*, 398-412, esp. 411, and Stoneman, *Xerxes: A Persian Life*, 226-28.

Greece. The Egyptian revolt started in the fourth year (τετάρτῳ ... ἔτεϊ). As the battle of Marathon can be dated to ca. August/September 490 BC, the fourth year of preparations must have begun in 487 BC.[514] Second, *Histories* 7.4 states that Darius died in the year after (ὑστέρῳ ἔτεϊ) he had declared Xerxes his heir, and after the Egyptian revolt had begun. This year must have been a year that began in 486 BC (*Histories* 7.4). Third, *Histories* 7.7 states that Xerxes sent an army to Egypt in the second or next year (δευτέρῳ ... ἔτεϊ) after Darius' death. It is important to observe that both "second" and "next" are possible translations of the Greek word δεύτερος: the word literally means "second," but as Herodotus counted inclusively the English word "next" often bears the same meaning.[515] In other words, if the year in which Darius died began in 486 BC, and would be identified as a virtual year one, the second – or next – year would have begun in 485 BC. Fourth, *Histories* 7.20 states that Egypt's defeat was followed by four full years (τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα) of military preparations for an assault against Athens, and that Xerxes' march against Greece began in the course of the fifth year (πέμπτῳ ... ἔτεϊ). This fifth year must have begun in either 481 or 480 BC. The choice depends on whether one places the start of the preparations directly after Egypt's defeat, which might have happened as early as 485 BC, or in the year that followed the year of Egypt's defeat, which would have begun in 484 BC.[516] Finally, within several months of the start of the invasion, Xerxes occupied Athens in the summer of 480 BC (*Histories* 8.51).[517] Following this chronology, the approximate dates of the Egyptian revolt would be 487 – 485 BC, or – more accurately – 487/86 – 485/84 BC.

4.2.2.2 Defining Herodotus' years

If one wishes to specify the duration of the Egyptian revolt more precisely than what has been done above, a second step is required. It is important to observe that this second step is significantly more complicated than the first. It requires one to define the limits of the years in which the events took place. Scholars continue to debate what a "year" (ἔτος) was for Herodotus, however. There are roughly four options to consider. Option one is that Herodotus referred to "year periods" in his

[514] For the date of the battle at Marathon, see n. 512 above.

[515] See Powell, *Lexicon to Herodotus*, 82, and Hammond, "Studies in Greek Chronology," 383. The practice of inclusive counting becomes more important when one tries to identify Herodotus' years with exact periods of time (see below).

[516] Compare e.g. Miller, "Earlier Persian Dates," 40, and Rhodes, "Herodotean Chronology Revisited," 72, who place the start of the four years of military preparations in the same year as the defeat of Egypt, i.e. in 485/484, and Strasburger, "Herodots Zeitrechnung," 724–725 and How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, 2:133, who place it in the year following Egypt's defeat, i.e. in 484/483.

[517] For the date of Xerxes' capture of Athens, see n. 513 above.

narrative. A year period can be defined as a random period of about twelve months.[518] Option two is that Herodotus referred to calendar years in his narrative. A simple example of a calendar year would be the modern Gregorian year, which runs from 1 January to 31 December. In Herodotus' case, scholars have argued that he may have been using Athenian archon years, which began at the start of summer, or Persian regnal years, which began at the end of March or beginning of April.[519] Option three is that Herodotus referred to campaign years in his narrative.[520] In fifth century BC Greece, campaign years began in the spring, when the passing of winter allowed the renewal of military campaigns in the Mediterranean. The fourth and final option is that Herodotus referred to all or several of these years within his narrative, choosing one or the other when it suited his purposes.[521] As one's acceptance of a particular Herodotean year influences the chronological reconstruction of the Egyptian rebellion, it is important to explore these options in more detail.

Let us begin with the start date of the rebellion. To repeat: Herodotus writes that three years of military preparations began after the battle of Marathon. Egypt rebelled in the fourth year. It is possible to interpret these years as year periods, for example, but also as calendar years. In the first case, the fourth year after the battle of Marathon would have started about thirty-six months after August/September 490 BC. The year in which the Egyptian revolt began would then have run from ca. August/September 487 BC to August/September 486 BC. In the second case, however, the possible start date of the revolt would be pushed back by several months. It is possible, for example, that the first year of military preparations was the Athenian archon year in which the battle of Marathon took place (following Herodotus' inclusive counting). This year ended in ca. June 489 BC. The third (archon) year would thus have ended in ca. June 487 BC. And the fourth (archon) year would have run from ca. June 487 to June 486 BC. If one applies the same logic to Persian regnal years, the start date moves even further back in time: the fourth (Persian) year would have begun on 30 March, i.e. the first day of the Persian New Year in 487 BC. The year ended on 17 April 486 BC.

[518] See e.g. Macan, *Herodotus*, 1:2, 29.

[519] See Hammond, "Studies in Greek Chronology," 371-411 (archon years), and Miller, "Earlier Persian Dates," 29-52 (Persian regnal years).

[520] See Busolt, *Die ältere attische Geschichte*, 537–538 n. 3, How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, 2:79, 128, 133, Strasburger, "Herodots Zeitrechnung," 698 n. 31, Scott, *Historical Commentary*, 457 n. 1, and Stadter, "Thucydides as 'Reader,'" 44–45.

[521] See e.g. Macan, who thinks that Herodotus's years generally reflect campaign years (ibid., *Herodotus*, 2:403-404), but that the years of military preparation under Darius and Xerxes are year periods (ibid, 1:2, 29). As for the second/next year after Darius's death: Macan considers that both an interpretation of the passage as the next (calendar) year and as the second year (period) are possible (ibid., 1:8–9).

Similar complications affect our understanding of the end-date of the Egyptian revolt. This can be illustrated with reference to year periods on the one hand and campaign years on the other. To repeat: Herodotus writes that Darius died in the year that followed the start of the Egyptian revolt. In the second or next year after Darius' death, Xerxes sent an army to Egypt and defeated the uprising. If Herodotus referred to year periods in his narrative there are two options to consider. The first is that Darius died between ca. August/September 486 BC and August/September 485 BC, i.e. in the fifth year period after the battle of Marathon. The second or next year after Darius' death would then have begun in ca. August/September 485 BC – the year of Darius' death being counted as the "first" year (see above). The second option is that Herodotus knew of Darius' exact date of death. According to contemporary cuneiform tablets, Darius probably passed away at the end of November 486 BC.[522] The second or next year after Darius' death might then have begun in ca. November 485 BC, i.e. one year period after Darius' date of death. If, on the other hand, Herodotus used campaign years rather than year periods in his narrative, the date of Xerxes' campaign against Egypt would be pushed back by several months. In this case, Darius would have died after the spring of 486 BC, i.e. in the fifth campaign year after the battle of Marathon (following Herodotus' inclusive counting); and the second or next (campaign) year after his death would have begun in the spring of 485 BC.

At present, none of the hypotheses regarding Herodotus' use of "years" in this part of the *Histories* can be proven beyond reasonable doubt. In the case of the chronology of the Egyptian rebellion, one therefore has to consider that there is a margin of error of several months. Simply put, this means that the start of the rebellion – according to Herodotus, at least – may be placed in 487 BC or in 486 BC, and that its end date may be placed in 485 BC or in 484 BC. Having said that, it is important to emphasize that the chronological reconstructions which the *Histories* allows for are not endless. For example, one can safely conclude that Herodotus dated the rebellion to the period between March 487 BC and June 484 BC. These are the outer-limits of all the possible Herodotean years combined (see table 2). In addition, one can qualify the outermost parameters of the beginning and end of the revolt as well. According to the *Histories*, its beginning fell somewhere between March 487 and August/September 486 BC. Its end fell between March 485 and June 484 BC. This leaves us with a period of at least seven months (August/September 486 – March 485 BC), and at most three years and four months (March 487 – June 484 BC), somewhere in which Herodotus placed an Egyptian revolt.

[522] See Zawadzki, "Date of the Death of Darius I," 39.

Table 2. All possible timespans for the beginning and end of the Egyptian revolt, relative to which "year" Herodotus may have used.[523]

	Beginning of the revolt (= fourth year after the battle at Marathon in August/September 490 BC)	**End of the revolt** (= second/next year after Darius's death in November 486 BC)
Campaign years (start in spring)	Mar 487 – Mar 486 BC	Mar 485 – Mar 484 BC
Persian regnal years (start in March or April)	30 Mar 487 – 17 Apr 486 BC	6 Apr 485 – 25 Mar 484 BC
Athenian archon years (start in ca. June)	June 487 – June 486 BC	June 485 – June 484 BC
Year periods (periods of twelve months)	Aug/Sept 487 – Aug/Sept 486 BC	Nov 485 – June 484 BC[524]
Outer extremities of all possibilities	**Mar 487 – Aug/Sept 486 BC**	**Mar 485 – June 484 BC**

4.3 The Egyptian sources: year thirty-six of Darius I and year two of Xerxes

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Classicists have long dated the Egyptian rebellion to ca. 487/86 – 485/84 BC.[525] Egyptologists and historians of the Achaemenid Empire, however, have generally dated the revolt to ca. 486 – 485 or 486/85 – 485/84 BC.[526] The reason for this difference is twofold. One reason is that Egyptologists and historians of the Achaemenid Empire have sometimes misread and/or followed a simplified reading of the *Histories*. The beginning of the revolt is often

[523] This table was first published in Wijnsma, "'And in the Fourth Year,'" 38.

[524] Strictly speaking, the second year period after Darius's date of death would run from November 485 BC to November 484 BC. This means that Xerxes could have subdued Egypt as late as November 484 BC. However, such a late date for the rebellion's end would interfere with the rest of Herodotus's chronology. Namely: the end of Egypt's revolt is followed by four full years of military preparations, with Xerxes's expedition of Greece starting in the fifth year. This fifth year could not have started in November 480 BC, because it is commonly accepted that Xerxes occupied Athens in the summer of 480 BC (a problem which is noted by Depuydt, "Regnal Years," 199 n. 34). Therefore, if one wants to maintain Herodotus's four full years of preparation (understood as either year periods or calendar years), the latest date for the end of the Egyptian rebellion would be June 484 BC. The fifth year could then have started in June 480 BC, which coincides with Xerxes's crossing of the Hellespont (for the latter's date see Hammond, "Studies in Greek Chronology," 383-384).

[525] See n. 506 above.

[526] See n. 507 above.

placed in 486 BC, for example, because it is thought to have begun four years after the battle of Marathon, rather than "in the fourth year."[527] In addition, the end of the revolt has been variously placed in 485 BC, on the assumption that it ended in the year following Darius' exact date of death in November 486 BC; after November 485 BC, on the assumption that it ended in the second year period after Darius' death; and in 484 BC, on the assumption that the revolt ended two years after it had begun in 486 BC.[528] It should be clear from the previous section that such conclusions lack sufficient support from the *Histories*. If one wishes to use Herodotus to date the Egyptian revolt, the chronological framework should be 487/86 – 485/84 BC, and more specifically March 487 to June 484 BC.

The second – and more important – reason that the dates given by Egyptologists and historians of the Achaemenid Empire often differ from those by Classicists is connected to the date formulae of Egyptian texts. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, a handful of Egyptian sources were published that were dated to year thirty-six of Darius I (487/86 BC) – i.e. Darius' last regnal year – and year two of Xerxes (485/84 BC). In particular, it became clear that the last text dated to Darius' reign was P. Loeb 1, a demotic letter that may have been excavated at Elephantine. It was written on 17 Payni, year thirty-six (of Darius I), i.e. 5 October 486 BC.[529] The first text dated to Xerxes' reign was a rock inscription from the Wadi Hammamat (Posener 25). It was inscribed on 19 Thoth of year two of Xerxes, i.e. 9 January 484 BC.[530] Some scholars assumed that these texts were (partly) contemporary with the rebellion mentioned by Herodotus.[531] Others, however, used the Egyptian date formulae to delimit the chronology of the rebellion, arguing that the revolt would have begun after P. Loeb 1 was written, and that it would have ended before Posener 25 was inscribed.[532] The following section takes a critical look at the latter argument. This is done in two steps. First, a detailed introduction is given to all Egyptian texts that can be dated to year thirty-six of Darius I and year two of Xerxes. This includes – but is not limited to – P. Loeb 1 and Posener 25. Second, the suitability of the texts as

[527] See Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67, Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 518, Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 236 no. 59 n. 4, and Rottpeter, "Initiaroren und Träger," 11, 14.

[528] See respectively Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 248 no. 7.6, Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 147, and Rottpeter, "Initiaroren und Träger," 15.

[529] See Spiegelberg, "Drei demotische Schreiben," 614-22, and 4.3.1.1 below.

[530] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 3:283 n, Posener, *La première domination perse*, 120 no. 25, and 4.3.2 below.

[531] See Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67, Rottpeter, "Initiaroren und Träger," 15-16, and Leahy, "Egypt in the Late Period," 727

[532] See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 227-28, 235, Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 37-38, and Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 147.

termini post and *ante quem* for the Egyptian rebellion is discussed. The social background of the people who produced the texts is particularly important in this regard.

4.3.1 Egyptian sources from year 36 of Darius

4.3.1.1 A letter about a transport of grain (P. Loeb 1)

P. Loeb 1 is a demotic letter, which was written on 17 Payni of year thirty-six of a king whose name is not mentioned.[533] The letter was written by a man with the Egyptian name Khnumemakhet, son of Horwennefer, and was addressed to Khnumemakhet's superior, who bore the name Farnava (Old Iranian *Farna(h)vā).[534] The text has come down to us on a ca. 27 x 22.5 cm demotic papyrus. The papyrus was bought from an antiquities dealer in Cairo in January 1927, and currently belongs to the Institut für Ägyptologie und Koptologie in Munich.[535] Though the provenance of the text is uncertain, it is plausible that it was found in the region of Elephantine. Key in this regard is Farnava, to whom P. Loeb 1 was addressed. A man with the same name occurs in P. Berlin 13582, a demotic papyrus dated to Pharmouthi of year thirty-five of Darius I (July/August 487 BC). The latter was excavated at Elephantine by Otto Rubensohn in 1906/07. It preserves a receipt for silver, which was paid to inaugurate a certain Djedhor son of Paibes as *wab*-priest of Khnum. The silver was deposited in the treasury of Farnava, who is described as "he of Tshetres, to whom the fortress of Syene is entrusted."[536] As is well known, the fortress of Syene was located opposite Elephantine, on the eastern bank of the Nile. Like its neighboring settlement, Syene housed a community of soldiers, who were

[533] See Martin, "Demotic Texts," 296-97 (C4). For earlier editions, see Spiegelberg, "Drei demotische Schreiben," 614-22 C, pl. 6, Spiegelberg, "Die demotischen Papyri Loeb," 97-98, pls. 13-14, and Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb*, 1-7 no. 1, pls. 1-2. For a discussion of the date, see below.

[534] The addressee of the letter has sometimes been identified with Pherendates, satrap of Egypt during Darius I's reign; see e.g. Spiegelberg, "Die demotischen Papyri Loeb," 97-98, Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 227, Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67-68 n. 8, and – more recently – Rottpeter, "Initiaroren und Träger," 16, and Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ägypter und Perser*, 57. The reading of the name has been amended from *prnt(w)* to *prnw*, however; see Hughes, "So-called Pherendates Correspondence," 75-86, and Martin, "Demotic Texts," 296-97. For the Iranian form of the name, see Schmitt and Vittmann, *Iranische Namen*, 76-77 no. 45.

[535] See Spiegelberg, "Die demotischen Papyri Loeb," 95-96, and Martin, "Demotic Texts," 277 n. 2.

[536] See Martin, "Demotic Texts," 374-75 (C35). For an earlier edition, see Zauzich, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine*, 1-2.

charged with the protection of Egypt's southern border.[537] In addition, Tshetres (*tȝ-šṯ-rsy*, literally "the southern district") was an administrative region in the south of Egypt. Its boundaries remain difficult to define, but it seems to have comprised the area between Hermonthis – just south of Thebes – and Elephantine/Syene.[538] Farnava therefore appears to have been a high-ranking (military) official in Upper Egypt, whose seat of residence may have been located near the first cataract of the Nile. We may assume, as previous scholars have done, that this Farnava was the same man who was addressed in P. Loeb 1: the identification is supported both by the date of the papyri (year thirty-five to thirty-six of Darius I; see below), and by the authority which Farnava is suggested to have enjoyed in both texts.[539]

The contents of P. Loeb 1 can be summarized as follows: the text states that Khnumemakhet, the author of the letter, had been sent to a mountain in the accompaniment of a certain Atarpana (Old Iranian *Ātṛ-pāna-).[540] Their task was to fetch a load of grain, which would be deposited on a nearby quay. The men were to bring the grain to Egypt, in particular to the house of a certain Usirwer. According to Khnumemakhet, Atarpana wished to deposit the grain from the quay "on the ground" (*r pȝ ỉtn*).[541] But Khnumemakhet disagreed:

P. Loeb 1, l. 6-12

"I said to him, 'The grain, if it is deposited on this ground, without the men who will carry it to Egypt being present, (then) the brigands who are on the mountain will come for it by night (and) they will

[537] The settlement at Syene is mostly known from the hundreds of texts that were found at Elephantine; see e.g. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 28-61, and 2.4.2.2.

[538] See Schütze, "Local Administration," 492.

[539] That P. Loeb 1 should be connected to Elephantine/Syene has been widely accepted since Spiegelberg's publication of the papyrus; see e.g. Spiegelberg, "Drei demotische Schreiben," 614-22, Hughes, "So-called Pherendates Correspondence," 85-86, Martin, "Demotic Texts," 296-97, and Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 448. It should nevertheless be noted that Spiegelberg's edition has been improved upon over the years, and that the arguments for a connection to Elephantine/Syene given here differ from his. For example, neither Elephantine nor Syene are mentioned in P. Loeb 1: the reading "Hafen von Syene" in l. 14 of P. Loeb 1 has been amended to "einer Schiffsladung" (compare Spiegelberg, "Drei demotische Schreiben," 616, 620 xxv, with Zauzich, "Zwei vermeintliche Ortsnamen," 145). In addition, Spiegelberg connected P. Loeb 1 to several demotic letters from Elephantine, which were addressed to Pherendates, the satrap of Egypt under Darius I (Spiegelberg, "Drei demotische Schreiben," 604-622). This connection can no longer be upheld, as the reading of the addressee's name has been amended to Farnava (see n. 534 above).

[540] See Schmitt and Vittmann, *Iranische Namen*, 52-53 no. 18.

[541] Possibly to be translated as "inland"; see Martin, "Demotic Texts," 297 n. 7.

steal it.' We are used to seeing the brigands when they are on the mountain on the southern side opposite us. Atarpana is used to seeing them as well. It usually happens that they sit opposite us by day, but there is (a) long distance between us (and) between them. The grain, if it is brought down without armed men to guard this grain (being present), (then) the brigands will come for it by night (and) they will take it away." (Martin, "Demotic Texts," 297)[542]

Khnumemakhet therefore asked his superior Farnava to intervene, and to send word to Atarpana that the grain required strict protection. It is important to observe that the exact location of the mountain (*ḏw*) is unclear. It is plausible, however, that Khnumemakhet and Atarpana had been sent to (northern) Nubia, south of the first cataract: as the grain was to be transported to Egypt, the mountain evidently lay outside of Egypt proper. In addition, as the men answered to Farnava, they may have been sent from Elephantine/Syene, which was located just north of the first cataract.[543]

In the context of the Egyptian rebellion mentioned by Herodotus, the contents of P. Loeb 1 are noteworthy for two reasons. The first reason is that the letter was written on 17 Payni of year thirty-six. The only Persian kings of Egypt who enjoyed such a high regnal year were Darius I and Artaxerxes I. The paleography of the text supports a date under the earlier king.[544] That the letter was written during Darius I's reign also fits with what we know of Farnava: as mentioned above, a person with the same name and a similar level of authority is mentioned in a demotic receipt from Elephantine, which is explicitly dated to year thirty-five of Darius I.[545] It is therefore likely that the Julian date of P. Loeb 1 is 5 October 486 BC.[546] At present, this is the last preserved Egyptian date

[542] Martin, "Demotic Texts," 297, gives Atrbanu rather than Atarpana; compare Schmitt and Vittmann, *Iranische Namen*, 52-53 no. 18.

[543] Spiegelberg translated Dw with "Nubien" on similar grounds; see ibid., "Drei demotische Schreiben,"617 vii. That the events were located in Nubia has also been accepted by Hughes, "So-called Pherendates Correspondence," 85-86, and Martin, "Demotic Texts," 296. For other transports of grain to Elephantine/Syene, see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 448.

[544] See Spiegelberg, "Die demotischen Papyri Loeb," 98-99.

[545] See Martin, "Demotic Texts," 374-75 (C35).

[546] That P. Loeb 1 should be dated to the reign of Darius I has never been questioned. Note, however, that the month in which the letter was written used to be read as Mecheir, which would date the papyrus to 7 June 486 BC; see e.g. Spiegelberg, "Drei demotische Schreiben," 616 l. 16, Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 37, and Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 147. The months can look quite similar in demotic (see Vleeming, Review of

Figure 12. Map of a section of southern Egypt, featuring the sites where the majority of sources from year thirty-five of Darius I to year two of Xerxes were found. (Adapted by the author from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ancient_Egypt_map-en.svg)

for Darius' reign. It is important to observe that the date falls shortly after Herodotus' outermost limit for the start of the Egyptian rebellion (i.e. August/September 486 BC; see table 2 above). We may therefore conclude one of two things: either Herodotus' chronology for the rebellion was erroneous and Egypt was still under Persian control in the early autumn of 486 BC, or P. Loeb 1 was written when the Egyptian rebellion had already begun.

The second reason that P. Loeb 1 is noteworthy is that Khnumemakhet mentions the presence of "brigands" (*rmtw nty bks*). The brigands were located on the mountain near the quay, and threatened to steal the grain if it was not properly protected. The episode is sometimes considered to be an

Tax Receipts, 155), but Payni – i.e. the second month of Shemou - appears to be the more likely reading (personal communication with Cary Martin and Joachim Quack, June 2018; see also Martin, "Demotic Texts," 297 n. 5).

example of common thievery.[547] It is important to observe, however, that Khnumemakhet's phrase can also be translated as "rebels," or more literally as "the men who rebel."[548] The key word is *bks*. In the Middle Kingdom, *bks* – or *bgs* – had a general connotation of "wrongdoing."[549] In wisdom texts from the New Kingdom, the word was contrasted with loyalty to the king, and may have meant insubordination.[550] In demotic texts from the first millennium BC, *bks* is more specifically associated with armed strife, and even with outright rebellion: several texts use the word in connection to Chaonnophris and Haronnophris, the leaders of the southern Egyptian revolt in the late third to early second century BC.[551] That some scholars have nevertheless translated *rmtw nty bks* with "brigands" in P. Loeb 1 is informed less by the historical use of the verb *bks* than by the idea that "[t]here is nothing in the letter to suggest a civil uprising."[552] A similar discussion exists in connection to a group of letters that were written in the second half of the fifth century BC. As discussed in 2.4.2.2, several Aramaic letters from Elephantine and from the dossier of the satrap Arsames refer to rebellion (*mrd*) and unrest (*ywz'*, from Old Persian *yaud-*) in Egypt. Yet, the contents of the letters appear to concern local trouble in specific parts of the country rather than politically motivated uprisings. For example, one of the letters to Arsames mentions that an Egyptian called Petosiri had lost his father and the latter's entire household during *ywz'*; he therefore asked Arsames to be recognized as heir of his father's possessions.[553] It has been suggested that such letters reflect "localised chronic problems, not major revolts."[554] What is missing from this discussion is an appreciation of what rebellions looked like – or could look like – on the ground, and how contemporary witnesses, especially those who belonged to the opposing "imperial" side, may have described them.

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the Egyptian rebellions of the sixth to fourth centuries BC were episodes of armed resistance that were aimed at the overthrow of Persian rule. They generally resulted in the installation of local rulers as kings of Egypt, and they included clashes between armies that were loyal to the Achaemenid Empire on the one hand and armies that supported rebel kings on the

[547] See e.g. Hughes, "So-Called Pherendates Correspondence," 85, Briant, "Ethno-classe dominante," 142-43, and Martin, "Demotic Texts," 297 n. 8.

[548] See Spiegelberg, "Drei demotische Schreiben," 619-20 xvi, and Martin, "Demotic Texts," 297 n. 8.

[549] See Vittmann, "'Feinde' in den ptolemäischen Synodaldekreten," 217.

[550] See ibid., and Fecht, "Der Totenbrief," 126-28.

[551] See Spiegelberg "Eine neue Erwähnung," 53-57, Veïsse, *Les "révoltes égyptiennes",* 116, and Vittmann, "'Feinde' in den ptolemäischen Synodaldekreten," 218-19.

[552] Hughes, "So-Called Pherendates Correspondence," 85.

[553] See Taylor, "Bodleian Letters," 38-39, and Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, 1:118-19 A6.11.

[554] Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 722 n. 4.

other (see 2.6). As with any rebellion in history, however, the line between organized political resistance and more local, disorganized episodes of "trouble" and "brigandry" can be a blurry one.[555] For example, it is possible that some groups in society used periods of political disarray as an opportunity to ambush estates and transports of foodstuffs in the knowledge that they might get away with it more easily than during periods of uncontested imperial control. On the other hand, similar attacks could be part of organized resistance against Persian rule, whereby imperial sites and goods that held symbolic and/or practical value were consciously targeted. An example of the latter is the Sidonian revolt of the fourth century BC. According to Diodorus of Sicily, the first hostile acts of the rebels against the imperial regime consisted of the destruction of a *paradeisos*, which the Persian kings had sometimes visited. In addition, they burned fodder for horses, which had been stored by the satraps and which was to be used in case of war (*Universal Library* 16.41).[556] It is also important to consider that those who continued to recognize the authority of the Achaemenid regime during periods of rebellion may have referred to groups of rebels as brigands or thieves, in an attempt to undermine the political claims that these groups may have harbored.[557] At the same time, outlaws and criminals may have been referred to as rebels to emphasize that their acts were contrary to the law of the king or to the will of the gods.[558] It is important to appreciate this inherent ambiguity in both the acts and the vocabulary relating to crime and rebellion. In relation to P. Loeb 1, it means that the *rmtw nty bks* who were threatening the transport of grain may indeed have been brigands who had little to no connection to organized political resistance in Egypt. We should not exclude the possibility, however, that they did have some affiliation – either practical or ideological – to the rebellion mentioned by Herodotus: the grain transport in northern Nubia may have been targeted because it was organized by the imperial regime, and because it may have been destined for the military communities at Elephantine/Syene.

[555] See Brice, "Insurgency and Terrorism," 21-22.

[556] See Wiesehöfer, "Fourth Century Revolts," 101, 104. See also Henkelman, "Precarious Gifts," 14-17, on the role of satrapal estates in times war (including Arsames'), and Johstono, "Insurgency in Ptolemaic Egypt," 188-201, on the possible connection between various instances of "local" trouble in Ptolemaic Egypt and the Great Revolt of the late third to early second century BC.

[557] See e.g. Richardson, "Insurgency and Terror," 35-36, Melville, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency," 68-69, and Johstono, "Insurgency in Ptolemaic Egypt," 186-87.

[558] This ambiguity is recognized explicitly by Vittmann, "'Feinde' in den ptolemäischen Synodaldekreten," 218, in relation to P. Loeb 1.

4.3.1.2 A rock inscription from the Wadi Hammamat (Posener 24)

In the same year that Khnumemakhet and Atarpana travelled to northern Nubia for a transport of grain, a Persian official from Upper Egypt made a trip to the Wadi Hammamat. The Wadi Hammamat is a dry riverbed that cuts through the mountain chains of the Eastern Desert, and that connected Coptos – a city on the eastern edge of the Qena Bend of the Nile – with the Red Sea. Today, the Wadi is primarily known as the locus of hundreds of ancient inscriptions, which have been cut into the rocks since prehistoric times. They attest to the thousands of people who have traveled to or through the Eastern Desert, sometimes as part of large-scale expeditions, sometimes as part of smaller groups. Though some of the inscriptions are elaborate and were made on behalf of the crown, most of the inscriptions are short and were the products of individuals. They mainly consist of a name, a title, and the occasional date.[559] The inscription that was created in year thirty-six of Darius I is illustrative in this regard. It reads "Year 36 of the lord of the Two Lands, the beautiful god, Darius, who is given life like Re, beloved of Min the great, who resides in Coptos. (This was) made (by) the royal official of Persia, Athiyawahya (Old Iranian *Āϑiyāvahyah-), son of Artamisa (Old Iranian *Ṛta-miϑra-), born of the lady of the house Qandju (possibly Old Iranian *Ganǰavā-)."[560] As the date of the inscription is nonspecific, it may have been created at any point between 23 December 487 BC and 22 December 486 BC.

Like P. Loeb 1 discussed above, the rock inscription by Athiyawahya provides us with important evidence that some people in Egypt continued to recognize the reign of Darius I in 487/86 BC. In addition, some scholars have assumed that the inscription would have predated the rebellion that began around the same time.[561] An important element in this hypothesis is the purpose of

[559] For introductions to the corpus and editions of many of the inscription, see Couyat and Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres*, Bernand, *De Koptos à Kosseir*, Thissen, "Demotische Graffiti," 63-92, Fanfoni and Israel, "Documenti achemenidi," 75-92, and Cruz-Uribe, "Demotic Graffiti," 26-54. The majority of the hieroglyphic inscriptions from the Achaemenid Period was first translated by Posener, *La première domination perse*, 88-130 nos. 11-35. Some have been recently republished by Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques," 227-62.

[560] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 117-19 no. 24, and Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques," 249 no. 12. The English translation is my own. For the etymology of the names, see Schmitt and Vittmann, *Iranische Namen*, 50-51 no. 17, 47-48 no. 13, 81-82 no. 50.

[561] See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 227-28. In addition, multiple scholars have assumed that a later inscription by Athiyawahya from year two of Xerxes (see below) should be interpreted as the *terminus ante quem* for the end of the rebellion; see Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 235, Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 38-39, and Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 147.

Athiyawahya's visit to the Wadi Hammamat. There are two options to consider. First, some scholars have suggested that Athiyawahya was leading an expedition to the quarries and/or mines of the Eastern Desert: the area around the Wadi Hammamat was an important source for greywacke stone, and for heavy metals such as gold and copper.[562] Indeed, there is sufficient evidence for the material exploitation of the Wadi in the late sixth to early fifth century BC. The best-known example is a monumental statue from the reign of Darius I, which was excavated from the Achaemenid palace at Susa in 1973: analysis of the material has shown that it was made from greywacke stone.[563] In addition, we know that an Egyptian official called Khnemibre, son of Amasissaneith, made multiple visits to the Wadi during the reign of Darius I. Khnemibre's primary title was "overseer of works" (*mr kȝt*), sometimes specified as the "overseer of works of Upper and Lower Egypt," the "overseer of works of the king," and "chief of works in the entire land."[564] The title is generally associated with construction works.[565] In fact, in a particularly long genealogical inscription, Khnemibre seems to claim that that the renown of his ancestor Rahotep – likewise an overseer of works – was greater than that of Imhotep, the legendary architect from the reign of Djoser.[566] It is therefore probable that stone

[562] See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 90, 227, 235, Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 400, 481, and Rottpeter, "Initiatoren und Träger," 15-16. On the extraction of greywacke from the Wadi Hammamat, see Klemm and Klemm, *Stones and Quarries*, 297-311. There is no evidence for gold mining during the Persian Period (see Klemm, Klemm, and Murr, "Ancient Gold Mining," 218), but evidence for a Persian Period copper mine has been recently identified (see Bloxam, "'A Place Full of Whispers,'" 799, and Bloxam, "Mineral World," 178 n. 54, with reference to a forthcoming publication).

[563] See Yoyotte, "Egyptian Statue of Darius," 243-71, and Klemm and Klemm, *Stones and Quarries*, 302.

[564] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 88-116 nos. 11-23, and Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques," 246-49 nos. 1-10.

[565] See Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 49-50.

[566] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 98-105 no. 14, and Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques," 246-47 no. 3.

Figure 13. A Wadi Hammamat inscription by Athiyawahya from year thirty-six of Darius I (487/86 BC). (Photograph by the author)

and perhaps metal were extracted from the region around the Wadi Hammamat under Khnemibre's supervision. At present, ca. fifteen inscriptions are known that mention his name.[567] Those that include a regnal year can be dated to 527 BC (year 44 of Amasis), 496 BC (the autumn of year 26 of Darius I), 495 BC (the end of winter and the summer of year 27 of Darius I), 494 (the autumn of year 28 of Darius I), and 492 BC (the spring and summer of year 30 of Darius I).[568] As the last inscriptions date to 492 BC, it is possible that Athiyawahya took over Khnemibre's responsibilities at the end of Darius I's reign. If so, it is indeed questionable whether the Egyptian rebellion had already begun when Athiyawahya visited the Wadi in 487/86 BC: one may assume that the imperial regime would not have organized a quarrying or mining expedition to the desert when some parts of the country were in political turmoil.

The second option that needs to be considered, however, is that Athiyawahya was not traveling to but through the Wadi Hammamat in 487/86 BC.[569] This hypothesis is based on two observations. First, like Khnemibre, Athiyawahya is known from several different rock inscriptions. The earliest inscription dates to 497/96 BC (year twenty-six of Darius I).[570] It may have overlapped with one of Khnemibre's visits during the same year. The second inscription is the one from 487/86 BC (year thirty-six of Darius I; see above). The remaining six are dated to 484 BC, 481/80 BC, 477/76 BC, 475/74 BC, and 474/73 BC (winter of year 2, and years 6, 10, 12 and 13 of Xerxes).[571] Though the dates of the inscriptions suggest that Athiyawahya carried on Khnemibre's work, he did not bear

[567] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 88-92 nos. 11-12, 98-116 nos. 14-23, Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres*, 117 no. 108, and Fanfoni and Israel, "Documenti achemenidi," 77-78. Note that Goyon attributed the hieroglyphic inscription identified by him to king Amasis, but it is clearly another inscription left behind by Khnemibre (whose name was synonymous with Amasis' throne name). Yoyotte, "Egyptian Statue of Darius," 270 n. 35, has suggested that the inscription might be the bottom part of Posener, *La première domination perse*, 113 no. 20 (which is followed by Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques," 231), though the traces of the inscriptions do not quite fit together. The single inscription written in Aramaic, briefly mentioned by Posener, *La première domination perse*, 116 n. 2, will be republished by Vincent Morel (personal communication).

[568] See by Posener, *La première domination perse*, 88-92 nos. 11-12, 105-13 nos. 15-19, 113-15 nos. 21-22, and Fanfoni and Israel, "Documenti achemenidi," 77-78, pl. xiv. Note that the inscription from year 44 of Amasis was made jointly by Khnemibre and his father; see Posener, *La première domination perse*, 88-91 no. 11.

[569] A hypothesis considered by Posener, *La première domination perse*, 179-80, Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 65-66, Klotz, "Darius I and the Sabaeans," 276, and Klotz, "Persian Period," 5.

[570] See Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres*, 118-20 no. 109. It is possible that Athiyawahya had already visited the wadi in 524 BC (year 6 of Cambyses): an inscription from 475/74 BC (year 12 of Xerxes) refers back to that year – though without comment (see Posener, *La première domination perse*, 122-23 no. 28).

[571] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 120-24 nos. 25-30.

Khnemibre's titles. Instead, Athiyawahya's titles were "royal official of Persia" (*srs n Prs*), and "governor of Coptos" (*iry-pʿt Gbtyw*).[572] As mentioned above, the latter was a city on the eastern edge of the Qena Bend. Expeditions to the Wadi Hammamat were traditionally organized from there. Second, though expeditions to the Wadi Hammamat were often connected to the quarries and mines in the region, the Wadi also served as the shortest route from the Nile to the Red Sea: caravans could set out from Coptos, travel through the mountains of the Eastern Desert via the Wadi, and carry on their journey from a harbor on the Red Sea coast. At present, remains of a harbor that was in use from the Old to the New Kingdom have been found at Mersa Gawasis, ca. 60 km north of Quseir (the latter being the modern end-point of the Wadi Hammamat).[573] Remains of a Ptolemaic to Roman Period port have been found at Quseir el-Qadim, ca. 8 km north of Quseir.[574] Though neither site has yielded Persian Period remains, there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that the Red Sea was an important locus of traffic during the Achaemenid Period as well. As discussed in Chapter 2, a large canal that connected the Nile Valley with the Red Sea was dug during the reign of Darius I (see 2.3.3.1). The cuneiform inscriptions on the accompanying canal stelae stated that its purpose was to connect Egypt with Persia.[575] The hieroglyphic inscriptions on the stelae are fragmentary, but they appear to have described a naval journey that set out from the Nile in northern Egypt, sailed through the Red Sea, went around the Arabian Peninsula, and ended in the Persian Gulf.[576] During the Achaemenid Period, an important site on the Persian Gulf was Tamukkan (Greek Taoke). According to the tablets from the Persepolis Fortification Archive, hundreds of Egyptians worked at Tamukkan during the reign of

[572] The title *srs* presumably goes back to Akkadian *ša reši* (see Posener, *La première domination perse*, 118-19 d, and Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques,"237); it is mentioned in all of Athiyawahya's inscriptions. The additional title governor of Coptos is mentioned thrice; see Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres*, 118-20 no. 109, and Posener, *La première domination perse*, 120-21 no. 26, 124 no. 30.

[573] See e.g. Sayed, "Discovery of the Site," 139-78, Bard and Fattovich, "Mersa/Wadi Gawasis," 81-86, and Mahfouz, "Maritime Expeditions," 51-67.

[574] See Cuvigny, "Introduction," 1-35, and Peacock and Blue, *Myos Hormos*. Though the evidence is predominantly Roman, a few sources suggest that the harbor was in use from the Ptolemaic Period onwards; see Brun, "Chronologie," 188-91.

[575] See Schmitt, *Die altpersische Inschriften*, 148-51, and Wasmuth, *Ägypto-persische Herrscher- und Herrschaftspräsentation*, 151-55.

[576] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 48-87 nos. 8-10, Klotz, "Darius I and the Sabaeans," 272-74, and Wasmuth, *Ägypto-persische Herrscher- und Herrschaftspräsentation*, 134-48. It is probable that a similar naval route – with connections to Myos Hormos, a port near the Wadi Hammamat – was in use during the Roman Period; see Tomber, "Beyond the Boundaries of the *Periplus*," 394-407.

Darius I, probably for the construction of a royal palace.[577] Though neither the Egyptians at Tamukkan nor the canal in northern Egypt that connected the Nile to the Red Sea can be directly linked to the Wadi Hammamat, the sources should prompt us to consider that Athiyawahya and his contemporaries made trips to the Red Sea via the Eastern Desert, and possibly from there to regions as far as Persia. Within this framework, it is conceivable that the Egyptian rebellion of 487/86 BC had already begun when Athiyawahya traveled through the Wadi in year thirty-six of Darius I. As suggested by Friedrich Kienitz, the Red Sea may have become an especially important naval route during periods of rebellion, when parts of the Nile could have fallen in the hands of rebel forces, thereby cutting off the state's regular communications between the north and south of the country.[578]

4.3.1.3 A vase of unknown provenance (BLMJ 1979)

The third and final Egyptian source that dates to year thirty-six of Darius I is a small vase (37 x 30 cm) which is currently in the Bible Lands Museum of Jerusalem (BLMJ 1979). Its original provenance is unknown. The vase is made of a fine-grained white calcite, with a rounded bottom and a thick everted rim. It is sometimes called an "alabastron" in modern scholarship, on the assumption that it – as well as many similar vases – were made of Egyptian alabaster.[579] Though so-called alabastra are known from many periods in Egypt's history, this particular specimen was inscribed with a Persian Period inscription. On one side, three horizontal bands of cuneiform text – in Old Persian, Babylonian, and Elamite – record the phrase "Darius, great king." On the other side, a vertical band of hieroglyphs reads "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Darius, living forever, year 36."[580] The object was first mentioned in publications from the 1990s.[581] As its date is nonspecific, it has not featured in discussions of the Egyptian rebellion of 487/86 BC.[582] For the

[577] See Henkelman, "From Gabae to Taoce," 303-16, Henkelman, "Anhang," 278-83, 291, and the discussion in 2.3.5.

[578] See Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 65-66.

[579] See Westenholz and Stolper, "A Stone Jar with Inscriptions," 1-4, 6.

[580] Ibid., 2, 5.

[581] Ibid., 1 n. 1.

[582] The vase is not mentioned by Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ägypter und Perser*, 57-58, or Rottpeter, "Initiatoren und Träger," 14-17, for example, who only discuss P. Loeb 1 and the inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat. The same observation applies to the vases from Xerxes' reign (see below), which have rarely been mentioned in relation to the Egyptian rebellion; though see the brief comments by Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 545-47, and the discussion by Westenholz and Stolper, "A Stone Jar with Inscriptions," 7-11, who discuss the quadrilingual nature of the vase inscriptions from Xerxes' reign in relation to the Egyptian revolt.

purposes of the present discussion, however, it is useful to discuss the possible origins and function of the vase in more detail.

First, BLMJ 1979 is part of a larger corpus of alabastra that bear the names of Persian kings. More than one hundred specimens are currently known.[583] The earliest among them date to the reign of Darius I, in particular from the second half of his reign. They are generally inscribed with monolingual hieroglyphic inscriptions.[584] Two larger groups of alabastra date to the reign of Xerxes and to the reign of Artaxerxes (probably Artaxerxes I). These are generally inscribed with quadrilingual inscriptions.[585] Like the text of BLMJ 1979, the inscriptions are short: they consist of the name of the king, a specific set of royal titles, and sometimes a regnal year. The text of BLMJ 1979 appears to have been the first quadrilingual inscription on vases of this type.[586] Second, the majority of the vases were unearthed during excavations in the early twentieth century at Susa.[587] A handful were found at other sites. An inscribed vase from the reign of Xerxes was found in the Treasury building at Persepolis, for example, while another was found in the tomb of Mausolus, the fourth century BC satrap of Caria.[588] Third and finally, a few of the alabastra were inscribed with an additional inscription, which indicated the volume or holding capacity of the vase.[589] On the basis of these elements, scholars have argued that the alabastra were part of the tribute or taxes that Egypt owed to Persia: the vases would have been made in Egypt from Egyptian materials, filled with a precious substance of some kind, and then transported to southwestern Iran.[590] More specifically, they may

[583] The exact number is difficult to ascertain, as many are known only from fragments. The majority have been published by Posener, *La première domination perse*, 137-51 nos. 37-99, and Qahéri, *Objets égyptiens*, 104-140 C 1.1-1.46. See also ibid., 141-65 C 2.1-4.4, for a related group of Egyptian "tableware" vessels, some of which are inscribed with similar inscriptions.

[584] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 137-40 nos. 37-42, Westenholz and Stolper, "A Stone Jar with Inscriptions," 7, and Qahéri, *Objets égyptiens*, 115 C 1.11.

[585] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 140-47 nos. 43-82, Westenholz and Stolper, "A Stone Jar with Inscriptions," 7, and Qahéri, *Objets égyptiens*, 104-7 C 1.1-1.3, 109-12 C 1.5-1.8, 114 C 1.10, 116-18 C 1.12-1.13.

[586] See Westenholz and Stolper, "A Stone Jar with Inscriptions," 7-11.

[587] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 36, and Qahéri, *Objets égyptiens*, 101.

[588] See Qahéri, *Objets égyptiens*, 116-17 C 1.12, and Posener, *La première domination perse*, 143 no. 51.

[589] See Qahéri and Trehuedic, "Premier alabastron," 4.

[590] See Westenhold and Stolper, "A Stone Jar with Inscriptions," 11-12, and Qahéri, *Objets égyptiens*, 101-2. In the absence of petrographic analysis of the vases, Qahéri allows for the possibility that some of the vessels were produced in Persia itself.

have been gifted to the king each spring, around the time of the Persian New Year.[591] In a second step, the king may have redistributed some of the vases to e.g. satraps and other members of the imperial elite, as a symbol of the royal favor that they enjoyed. The latter would explain their presence at non-royal sites outside of Iran, such as in the tomb of the satrap Mausolus.[592]

It is important to observe that the hypothesis that the Egyptian alabastra served as tribute or taxes to the Persian king is supported by a second group of objects: in the early twentieth century, Erich Schmidt unearthed a group of 269 objects made of green chert from the Treasury building at Persepolis.[593] Most of the objects were found in hall 38, which also contained a sizeable group of inscribed Egyptian "tableware."[594] The majority of the green chert objects consisted of mortars, pestles, and plates; a small handful consisted of trays.[595] Many of them bore Aramaic inscriptions, though of a slightly different type than the hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions of the Egyptian alabastra. The texts can be summarized as follows: "In GN, the fortress, under the authority of PN1, the prefect, PN2 made this vessel under the authority of PN3, the treasurer (who is in Arachosia), before PN4, the subtreasurer, tribute, year X."[596] For the present discussion, the key words are Arachosia, tribute or tax (*'škr*, sometimes *bz*), and the regnal year, which ranges from regnal year one to year twenty-nine.[597] The texts leave little doubt that the green chert vessels were brought from Arachosia to Persia as a "gift" or payment to the king on an annual basis. Aside from corroborating the tribute hypothesis of the Egyptian alabastra – a corpus that is plausibly comparable – , it should be noted that the Aramaic inscriptions on the green chert vessels also provide us with a glimpse of the administration that was charged with their production. First, it seems that the production of the vessels fell under the authority of the treasurer (*gnzbr*) of Arachosia. The Aramaic inscriptions

[591] During the reign of Darius I, groups of Babylonians are known to have travelled to Susa around the New Year season; the trips can be connected to taxation and the transportation of foodstuffs. See Waerzeggers, "Babylonians in Susa," 777-813.

[592] See Westenhold and Stolper, "A Stone Jar with Inscriptions," 12-13, and Qahéri, *Objets égyptiens*, 101-2.

[593] See Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 1:156-200, Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 2:53-56, and Schütze, "Aramaic Texts," 405.

[594] Compare Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 2:53-54, with ibid., 2:81-93. The inscribed vase from the reign of Xerxes mentioned above was found in corridor 31 (see ibid., 1:177, and Qahéri, *Objets égyptiens*, 116-17 C 1.12). The exact find spot of an alabaster sherd and a handful of anepigraphic alabastra that were found at Persepolis is unknown; see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 2:87, pl. 52 5, and Qahéri, *Objets égyptiens*, 108 C 1.4, 120 C 1.15, 122-24 C 1.17-1.19.

[595] See Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 2:55.

[596] Based on Schütze, "Aramaic Texts," 407 table 2.

[597] For the meaning of *'škr* and *bz*, see King, "Taxing Achaemenid Arachosia," 195-97, and Schütze, "Aramaic Texts," 418-19; for the regnal years – which have been attributed to Xerxes and Artaxerxes I – see ibid., 408-9.

mention three different men who held the office.[598] Second, the direct supervision of the production process of the vessels appears to have been the responsibility of local officials, such as the prefect (*sgn*) and in particular the subtreasurer (*'pgnzbr*). The inscriptions mention at least five prefects, and nine subtreasurers, most of whom were associated with a specific fortress or fortified town (*byrt*) within the satrapy.[599] Third, the actual creation of the objects was tasked to "agents" – presumably craftsmen, though a title is never mentioned – who were connected to the same fortresses. 142 agents are mentioned.[600] The majority of these men – from the treasurers to the agents – bore west Iranian names.[601] Whether the production process would have been similar in Egypt is unknown. At present, the Persian title *ganzabara* (Aramaic *gnzbr*) is not attested in Egyptian texts.[602] It might have been identical with the Egyptian titles *mr ḫtm* (overseer of the seal) or *mr pr-ḥḏ* (overseer of the house of silver), which are attested for officials with Egyptian names during the Persian Period.[603] It is clear, however, that the vases would have been the responsibility of the imperial administration. We may therefore conclude that BLMJ 1979 was made by one or multiple craftsmen – who had both hieroglyphic and cuneiform texts at their disposal – , under the supervision of Egyptian or Iranian (sub)treasurers. Though its date of creation cannot be specified, it might have been made in the last months of year thirty-five of Darius I (487 BC), and transported to southwestern Iran in the early months of year thirty-six (487/86 BC). It could then have been presented to the king around the Persian New Year of 18 April 486 BC, when Darius I's thirty-sixth Persian regnal year would have begun.

[598] See Schütze, "Aramaic Texts," 412-13.

[599] See Schütze, "Aramaic Texts," 409-11, 413-18, and Naveh and Shaked, "Ritual Texts," 448-50.

[600] See Schütze, "Aramaic Texts," 411-12. Compare King, "Taxing Achaemenid Arachosia," 189-90, 197, who prefers to identify the agents with members of the local elite, who paid anonymous craftsmen for the production of the vessels.

[601] See King, "Taxing Achaemenid Arachosia," 197, and compare the names of the (sub)treasurers and prefects with the entries in Tavernier, *Iranica*.

[602] Several texts do mention *ganza*, "treasure"; see Folmer, "Taxation of Ships," 292, and especially Taylor, "Bodleian Letters," 42-43, and Tuplin, "Bodleian Letters," 236-41, on an order by Arsames to transport *ganza* to Babylon.

[603] See Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 31-34, on the titles, and Vittmann, "Ägypten zur Zeit der Perserherrschaft," 390-92, Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 438, and Lemaire and Chauveau, "Nouveaux textes," 146-48, for Persian Period attestations. Compare Stolper, "Ganzabara," C, who mentions that a certain Bagasāru in Babylonia was referred to by the title *ganzabaru* as well as its Babylonian counterpart *rab kāṣiri*.

4.3.2 Egyptian sources from year two of Xerxes

At present, ca. five Egyptian sources can be attributed to regnal year two of Xerxes. Because the sources are similar to those of year thirty-six of Darius I, the information provided here is brief. First, among the papyri found at Elephantine by Otto Rubensohn in 1907 is a small fragment written in Aramaic. The fragment appears to have belonged to a contract. Due to the bad state of preservation, only traces of the first two lines are visible. The text can be reconstructed in comparison with other contracts found on the island: "[On day x of month y, year] 2 of Xerxes the king, said [PN son of PN, … a Judean/an Aramean of Elephantine/Syene] of [the detachment of PN …]" (P. Berlin 23107).[604] More has not been preserved. Second, over a year after Athiyawahya inscribed his name on the rocks of the Wadi Hammamat in year thirty-six of Darius (Posener 24), the official left another inscription behind. The text can be translated as follows: "Year 2, first month of Akhet, day 19, of the beautiful god, lord of crowns, lord who accomplishes the rites, Xerxes [=9 January 484 BC]. (This was) made by the royal official of Persia, Athiyawahya" (Posener 25).[605] The inscription is the only text from year two of Xerxes that preserves the month and day of writing; it has therefore been used as a *terminus ante quem* for the end of the Egyptian rebellion (see above). Third and last, among the group of inscribed alabastra that were found at Susa, three (fragmentary) specimens refer to the early reign of Xerxes (Posener 43-44 and MNI 218/13). The hieroglyphic inscriptions can be reconstructed as follows: "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Xerxes, living forever, year 2."[606] At least one of the specimens featured a trilingual cuneiform inscription as well, which read "Xerxes, great king."[607]

[604] The reconstruction given here is a slightly adapted version of Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, 4:56 D2.1. Note that P. Berlin 13493, an Aramaic contract for the delivery of food products to Elephantine, was once attributed to year two of Xerxes as well (Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, 3-7 no. 2; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 448-49). The date has since been amended to year three, though the reading remains tentative; see Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, 2: 109-11 B4.4.

[605] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 120 no. 25, and Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques," 249 no. 13. The English translation is my own.

[606] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 140, 141 nos. 43-44 (Louvre AS 561 and AS 578), and Qahéri, *Objets égyptiens*, 101-2, 114 C 1.10 (MNI 218/13). Note that the latter was erroneously attributed to Persepolis by Qahéri, "Fragments de vaisselle inscrite," 343 I.1 (corrected by ibid., *Objets égyptiens*, 114).

[607] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 141 no. 43, and Amiet, "Decorative Arts at Susa," 335 fig. 366.

Figure 14. A Wadi Hammamat inscription by Athiyawahya from 19 Thoth of year two of Xerxes (9 January 484 BC). (Photograph by the author)

4.3.3 The texts as termini post *and* ante quem

As should be clear from the preceding discussion, the texts from Elephantine, the inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat, and the inscribed vases are not a homogenous group of texts. Each cluster reflects a distinct aspect of Achaemenid Egyptian society: the first group can be connected to the military protection of the country's borders (P. Loeb 1, P. Berlin 23107), the second to the exploitation of quarries and mines and/or traffic to the harbors on the Red Sea coast (Posener 24-25), and the third to the payment of tribute to the royal court in southwestern Iran (BLMJ 1979, Posener 43-44, and MNI 218/13). Having said that, it is equally clear that a common thread binds the sources together. First, Posener 24 and 25 were inscribed on the rocks of the Wadi Hammamat by a man with an Iranian name, and of ostensibly Iranian lineage. His titles identified him as a royal official of Persia, and secondarily as a governor of Coptos. Second, P. Loeb 1 and presumably P. Berlin 23107 were written by people who worked under the close supervision of military officials. In the case of P. Loeb 1, the official to whom the letter was addressed bore an Iranian name, and he appears to have had authority over a large part of southern Egypt. Third, we may assume that the craftsmen who created BLMJ 1979, Posener 43-44, and MNI 218/13 would have answered to officials who held the title of treasurer. The latter would have been responsible for the transport of the vases to the palaces in southwestern Iran. In other words, all Egyptian sources that date to year thirty-six of Darius I (487/86 BC) and year two of Xerxes (485/84 BC) stem from a layer in society that was closely connected to the imperial administration of Egypt.

Thus far, the fact that that the sources from year thirty-six of Darius I and year two of Xerxes were closely connected to Egypt's imperial administration has had little impact on the discussion of the 487/86 BC rebellion. Yet, it should prompt us to reconsider the suitability of these texts as *termini post* and *ante quem* for the revolt. It is useful to compare the 487/86 BC rebellion with the revolt led by Inaros in this regard. Greco-Roman histories indicate that Inaros' rebellion lasted from ca. 463/62 BC until 454/53 BC.[608] Yet, several texts from Elephantine/Syene indicate that its population continued to recognize Artaxerxes I's reign during the period of rebellion. On 1 December 459 BC (21 Mesore of year 6 of Artaxerxes I), for example, a Judean from Elephantine ensured that his daughter and his grandchildren would receive his house by recording their rights in two contracts; and in May/June 458 BC (Mecheir of year 7 of Artaxerxes I) a troop commander from Syene

[608] See Lloyd, *Herodotus: Book II*, 1:38-43; though note that Kahn, "Inaros' Rebellion," 424-40, has argued that the rebellion ended in 458/57 BC.

dedicated a shrine to a deity.[609] In addition, an inscription from the Wadi Hammamat shows that Ariyawrata (possibly Old Iranian *Ariya-vraϑa-), a brother of Athiyawahya, traveled through the Eastern Desert in 461/60 BC (year 5 of Artaxerxes I). He likewise recognized Artaxerxes I's reign.[610] As the sources from year thirty-six of Darius I and year two of Xerxes were written in a similar context, we should consider the possibility that some or all of them were contemporary with the rebellion mentioned by Herodotus.[611] This observation especially applies to P. Loeb 1. As mentioned above, the letter was written by Khnumemakhet on 5 October 486 BC (17 Payni of year 36 (Darius I)), which means that it was written after Herodotus' outermost limit for the start of the rebellion (August/September 486 BC; see above). In addition, the letter referred to "men who rebel," who threatened to steal a load of grain if it was not properly protected. It is therefore plausible that Khnumemakhet recognized Darius' reign in his letter to Farnava, even though some of his countrymen had already declared their independence from the Persian king. Whether the other sources from year thirty-six of Darius and year two of Xerxes were contemporary with the rebellion as well is less certain, but the possibility is sufficiently feasible to undermine their credibility as *termini post* and *ante quem*.[612]

4.4. The Egyptian sources: year thirty-five of Darius I

The previous section has argued that the Egyptian sources from year thirty-six of Darius I and year two of Xerxes cannot be used as reliable *termini post* and *ante quem* for the Egyptian rebellion. The result is that Herodotus' approximate dates for the event remain our basic chronological framework. To repeat: the historian appears to have dated the beginning of the revolt somewhere between March

[609] See Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, 2:22-28 B2.3-2.4, 4:236 D17.1. For additional sources that may be dated to the period of rebellion, see ibid., 2:54-57 B3.1, and Martin, "Demotic Texts," 351-55 C29 (though cf. Lüddeckens, *P. Wien D 10151*, 113 n. 76).

[610] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 125-26 no. 31, and Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques," 250 no. 19. For the etymology of the name, see Schmitt and Vittmann, *Iranische Namen*, 38-39 no. 3.

[611] This hypothesis was already entertained by Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67, and followed by Rottpeter, "Initiaroren und Träger," 15-16 – though both scholars gave erroneous dates for the rebellion due to a misreading of the *Histories*.

[612] It is important to note in this regard that Athiyawahya appears to have attached special significance to year thirty-six of Darius: two of his later inscriptions refer back to year thirty-six (see Posener, *La première domination perse*, 122-24 nos. 28, 30, and Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques," 249 no. 16, 250 no. 18). The only other year which is thus referred to is year six of Cambyses (see ibid., 249 no. 16). Did something happen during those years to which Athiyawahya attached particular value?

487 and August/September 486 BC. He dates the end of the revolt somewhere between March 485 and June 484 BC. The difference between this chronology and one based on the aforementioned Egyptian date formulae is significant: the revolt may have started ca. one-and-a-half years earlier than what was previously assumed (March 487 BC at the earliest vs 5 October 486 BC at the earliest), and it may have ended a ca. six months later (June 484 BC at the latest vs 9 January 484 BC at the latest). In other words, our chronological scope widens once we follow the historian from Halicarnassus to the letter. Taking this into account, it is useful to make a new comparison between Herodotus' dates on the one hand and dated Egyptian sources on the other. The comparison is visualized in figure 15.

When one looks at figure 15, it should be clear that there are several Egyptian sources that fall within Herodotus' timespan which have not yet been discussed in the present chapter.[613] All of these sources date to year thirty-five of Darius I (488/87 BC). The aim of the following section is to incorporate these sources into our chronological reconstruction of the revolt. This is done in two steps. First, we take a closer look at the contents and archival context of the texts from year thirty-five of Darius I. The texts can be divided into three archives: one archive stems from Hermopolis, a second stems from Thebes, and a third stems from Hou. The archive from Hou is especially significant, as it includes texts that can be plausibly dated to a rebel king. Second, an updated comparison is made between Herodotus' chronology on the one hand and the Egyptian sources that fall within Herodotus' timespan on the other. In particular, it will be argued that year thirty-five of Darius I appears to have been marked by an archival break, and that this break may have been connected to the start of the rebellion in 487 BC.

4.4.1 Egyptian archives connected to year thirty-five of Darius I

4.4.1.1 The archive from Hermopolis

The first archive that preserves documents from year thirty-five of Darius I may have been found near the animal necropolis at Hermopolis, a sizeable town in Middle Egypt. The exact history of

[613] The exception is P. Berlin 13582, a demotic papyrus from Elephantine, which was discussed in relation to Farnava (see 4.3.1.1 above). As Elephantine and Farnava have already been discussed above, the papyrus is excluded from the discussion in 4.4.1 below.

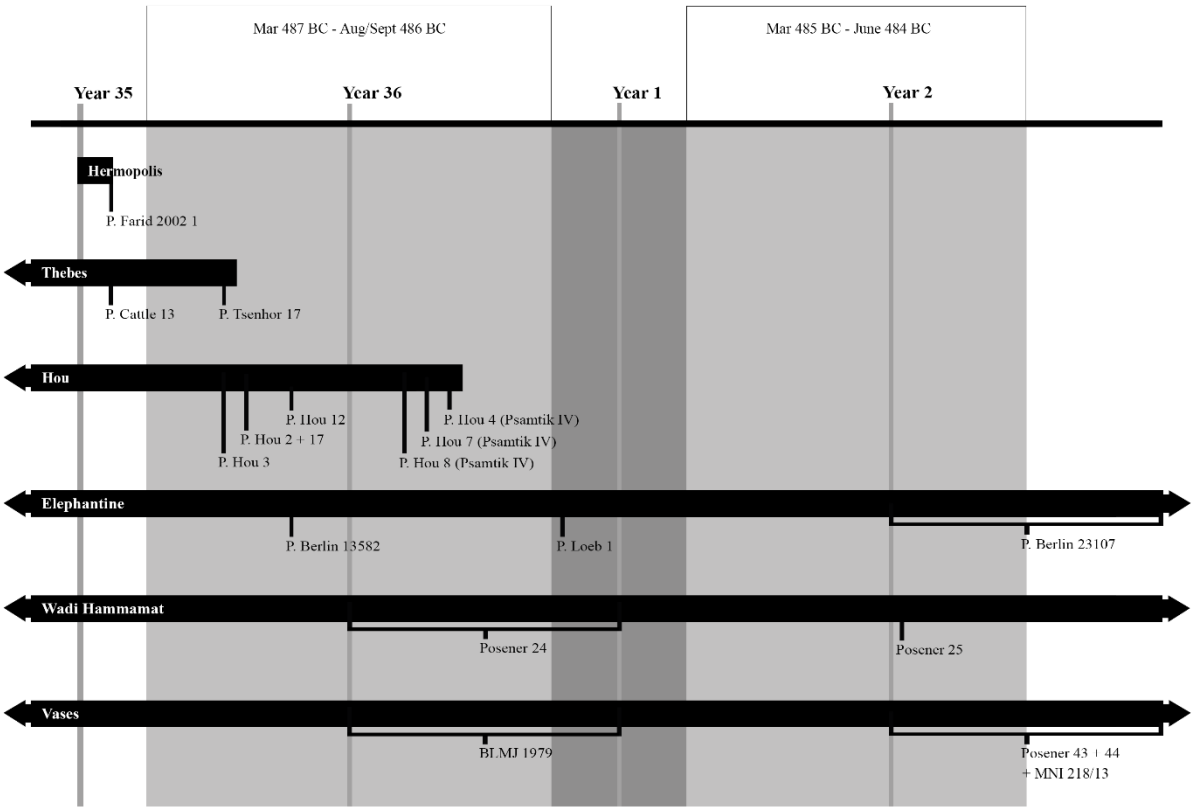

Figure 15. A comparison between Egyptian sources from year thirty-five of Darius I to year two of Xerxes, and Herodotus' approximate timespan for the beginning (March 487 – August/September 486 BC) and end (March 485 – June 484 BC) of the rebellion. The light grey areas indicate the periods in which the revolt may have begun and ended; the dark grey area indicates the minimal period in which the revolt must have been in progress.[614]

excavation and/or acquisition of the archive is unfortunately obscure. It is currently kept by the Penn Museum in Philadelphia, USA.[615] It is important to observe that "archive" – or "family archive," as the editor Adel Farid has called it – is an optimistic term: only a handful of demotic papyrus fragments have been preserved. According to Farid, the fragments may have belonged to one papyrus on which ca. six separate texts were written, or to three papyri, each of which recorded ca. two separate texts.[616]

[614] The figure has been adapted from Wijnsma, "'And in the Fourth Year,'" 45 fig. 1. Note that one source from Thebes has been omitted, as the reading of the regnal year is disputed (see 4.4.1.2 below). The attribution of P. Hou 4, 7 and 8 to year thirty-six of Darius I is hypothetical; see the discussion in 4.4.2 below.

[615] See Farid, "Unpublished Early Demotic Family Archive," 187, and compare Ebeid, "Two Early Demotic Letters," 123-24.

[616] See Farid, "Unpublished Early Demotic Family Archive," 185-86, 189.

The texts in question relate to the division of a father's inheritance among two of his sons. The younger son, *Pɜ-tj-pɜ-ḥb-ʿɜ*, a ship's rower, appears to have inherited the smaller share. He received a house in the southern district of Hermopolis, some plots of land, as well as three servants and their dwellings. The older son, *Ḏḥwtj-ỉr-tj=s*, likewise a ship's rower, appears to have received the rest.[617] The original inheritance contract is dated to Phaophi of year thirty-five of Darius, i.e. January/February 487 BC.[618] The other texts appear to be near-duplicates of the original.[619] According to Joachim Quack, it is likely that the latter were witness copies, all of which would have been written on one papyrus.[620] Additional documents which may have belonged to the same family archive have not been identified.

4.4.1.2 The archive from Thebes

Unlike the "archive" from Hermopolis, the second archive that preserves documents from year thirty-five of Darius I is relatively large: it consists of ca. twenty-six Saite to Persian Period papyri, all of them written in demotic. The texts were bought at different times and by different individuals in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. They are accordingly kept in a variety of museum collections today.[621] Though the original find spot of the papyri is unknown, it is clear that they share a distinct social and professional setting with one another: the protagonists of the documents are so-called "choachytes" (Egyptian *wɜḥ-mw*) from Thebes. In other words, they were "libationers" who provided libations and food-offerings for the mummies who lay in the tombs of the Theban necropolis.[622] Though the present chapter refers to these documents as a collective, i.e. "the archive from Thebes," it is important to observe that the documents may originally have been kept by different members of the same community. As such, they may have been part of multiple family archives, which are

[617] Ibid., 188-96.

[618] Ibid., 190-91.

[619] Ibid., 191-92.

[620] Personal communication, April 2022. It is consequently unlikely that "contract four" refers to a different date than the original contract; *pace* Farid, "Unpublished Early Demotic Family Archive," 191, who restores the fourth date formula as *ḥɜt-sp* 35 *ỉbt* 3 [*ɜḫt*], i.e. Hathyr of year thirty-five (February/March 487 BC). On witness copies, see e.g. Lippert, "Egyptian Law."

[621] See Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 4-6, Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 10-12, and Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, 1:3-4.

[622] See Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 6-8, and Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, 1:3, 10-20.

difficult to delineate today.[623] The largest and best known among them is the archive from Tsenhor. The earliest document of the Tsenhor papyri dates to Hathyr of year 15 of Amasis (March/April 555 BC), while the last dates to Phamenoth of year 35 of Darius I (June/July 487 BC).[624] As for the non-Tsenhor group: the earliest document may likewise date to the reign of Amasis, while the last texts date to Phaophi of year thirty-five of Darius I (January/February 487 BC), and possibly to Pharmouthi of the same year (July/August 487 BC).[625] The documents give us a glimpse of e.g. the marriages, divorces, inheritance divisions, donations of land, and sales of property – from building plots to slaves – that the choachytes were involved in.

4.4.1.3 The archive from Hou

In terms of size, the third and final archive that preserves documents from year thirty-five of Darius I occupies an intermediate position between the archives described above: it consists of thirteen demotic texts. The texts are currently in the University and State Library of Strasbourg, and in the Egyptological Institute of Munich.[626] Wilhelm Spiegelberg acquired the papyri in different lots in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. During one of those acquisitions, the antiquities dealer Haggi Muhammad Muhasseb told Spiegelberg that the papyri had been found at Gebelein. Later scholars have argued that they were found at a different site, however: several of the texts mention a village called Nasimserkhy, as well as the town of Hou. The latter was situated on the western bank of the Nile, at the western edge of the Qena Bend. It is therefore plausible that the texts were found

[623] See Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 4-6, and Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, 1:3 n. 2. Note that additional groups of texts that document the activities of choachytes in Thebes stem from the Kushite, Saite and Ptolemaic Periods. They appear to concern different families than those documented by the late Saite to early Persian Period papyri discussed here; see Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 6-7, Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, 1:3, Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts," Donker van Heel, "P. Louvre E 7858," 45, and Donker van Heel, *Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste*.

[624] See Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, 1:35-92. For a more recent study of Tsenhor's life, see Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Tsenhor*.

[625] Compare Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 5-6, who attributes P. Louvre 7846 to the "archive" of Tahay, with Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts," 125-33 no. 9, who treats it as part of the Saite Period archive of Djekhy. For the text from Phaophi of year thirty-five of Darius I, see Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian Demotic Cattle Documents*, 25-30 1.13. The text from Pharmouthi may likewise date to year thirty-five of Darius I, but the reading of the regnal year is disputed; compare Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus*, 5, with Thissen, "Chronologie der frühdemotischen Papyri," 116 n. 19.

[626] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 1, 3*-16* nos. 1-13.

in that area.[627] In contrast with the aforementioned papyri from Thebes, the papyri from Hou do not constitute a clear-cut family or business archive. The texts record cattle and land sales, loans of money and grain, and professional agreements related to the rearing geese. Many of the papyri feature different individuals, some with different professional backgrounds. Only a few of them can be connected to one another through tentative familial ties. Its most recent editor therefore preferred the term "dossier."[628] Nevertheless, there are sufficient interrelations between the papyri to believe that they were originally kept and disposed of together (see below).[629]

In relation to the rebellion of 487/86 BC, the archive from Hou is noteworthy because the date formulae of the texts mention two different kings. First, at least eight of the texts were dated to the reign of Darius I, in particular to regnal year twenty-five (P. Hou 5), thirty-three (P. Hou 10), thirty-four (P. Hou 1) and thirty-five (P. Hou 2-3, 12-13).[630] Second, at least three texts were dated to the second regnal year of a pharaoh called Psamtik (P. Hou 4, 7-8).[631] Early scholars suggested that these papyri should be dated to Psamtik III, who may have enjoyed a second regnal year before Cambyses conquered Egypt.[632] In 1980 and 1984, however, Eugene Cruz-Uribe and Pieter Pestman argued that the Psamtik of the Hou papyri had probably ruled at the end of Darius I's reign. Their arguments were based on paleography on the one hand, and on several prosopographical connections that linked the papyri from Psamtik's reign to those of Darius' on the other. Consequently, the king was dubbed "Psamtik IV," and he was connected to the Egyptian rebellion that was mentioned by Herodotus.[633] Like the sources from the reign of Petubastis Seheribre (see 3.3.2), the sources from Psamtik IV's reign have the potential to provide us with a local perspective on Egyptian resistance. As the papyri have received little attention in modern scholarship, it is useful to repeat the Cruz-Uribe's and

[627] See the discussions by Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 145-46, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 1-2.

[628] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 5-7.

[629] A hypothesis likewise accepted by ibid., 6-7.

[630] See ibid., 3*-5*, 7*-8*, 13*-16*. P. Hou 6 was likewise dated to Darius I, but its regnal year has not been preserved; see ibid., 8*-9*.

[631] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 6*, 10*-11*. The date formulae of two additional texts have not been preserved; see ibid., 12* (P. Hou 9), and 13* (P. Hou 11).

[632] See Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Strassburger Bibliothek*, 15-16, Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, 24, Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb*, 70-75, and Erichsen, *Auswahl frühdemotischer Texte*, 1:29-30. For the date of Psamtik III's (hypothetical) second regnal year, see Quack, "Zum Datum der persischen Eroberung," 238-39.

[633] See Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus," 35-39, and Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 145-55.

Pestman's arguments.[634] Especially important in this regard are the arguments related to prosopography.[635] To facilitate the following overview, the most significant prosopographical connections between the papyri from Hou are listed in table 3.

As should be clear from table 3, the papyri from Psamtik's reign are connected to those of Darius I's reign by three different men. First, a man called Pouhor son of Hor acted as a witness for P. Hou 7 (year two of Psamtik) and P. Hou 4 (year two of Psamtik). A man with the same name and patronymic acted as a witness for P. Hou 6 (reign of Darius I) and P. Hou 5 (year twenty-five of Darius I). Second, the scribe of P. Hou 7 (year two of Psamtik) was a man called Onnofri son of Tethotefonch. A man with the same name and patronymic was the scribe of P. Hou 13 (year thirty-five of Darius I) and P. Hou 12 (year thirty-five (of Darius I). Third, a certain Petemestou son of Pouhor – who was possibly the son of the aforementioned Pouhor son of Hor – appears as Party A in P. Hou 4 (year two of Psamtik). He is identified as a "gooseherd of the Domain of Amun." A man with the same name, patronymic and title appears as Party A in P. Hou 3 (year thirty-five of Darius I). We may plausibly assume that all seven papyri relate to the same three individuals. This especially applies to Onnofri son of Tethotefonch and Petemestou son of Pouhor, who bear the same titles in all documents. We can therefore conclude the following: if the Psamtik papyri from Hou were written during the reign of Psamtik III, both Onnofri and Petemestou would have acted in the same professional capacity for nearly forty years (from year two of Psamtik III to year thirty-five of Darius I, i.e. from 526 to 488/87 BC). In addition, the archive would have been characterized by a documentary gap of at least twenty-eight years, as the earliest papyrus from Darius' reign was only written in year twenty-five (498/97 BC).[636] Neither phenomenon is inconceivable. Yet, the hypothesis that Psamtik ruled at the end of Darius' reign – rather than several years prior to its beginning – fits the evidence better. In this

[634] The papyri from Hou are omitted in the studies by Briant, "Ethno-classe dominante," 140-43, Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West*, 27-28, and Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ägypter und Perser*, 56-57; they are mentioned skeptically by Spalinger, "Psammetichus IV," 1174-75 (on the basis of Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 35-39), and Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 248 7.6 n. 2; and they are mentioned only briefly by Rottpeter, "Initiatoren und Träger," 24-25 n. 37, who doubts the significance of Psamtik's reign because Herodotus did not mention his name.

[635] Though Cruz-Uribe used prosopography to date one of Psamtik's papyri to the end of Darius I's reign (see ibid., "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 37), he dated the others to Psamtik I or II and Psamtik III on the basis of paleography and an erroneous assumption regarding Egyptian regnal years (see ibid., 35-36). Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 145-55, built on Cruz-Uribe's suggestion, and dated all three documents to Psamtik III on the basis of an in-depth study of the entire group of Hou papyri. The present discussion largely follows Pestman's study.

[636] As observed by Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 146.

Table 3. The archive from Hou: prosopographical connections between texts dated to Darius I and texts dated to Psamtik.[637]

No.	Date	Pouhor son of Hor	Onnofri son of Tethotefonch	Petemestou son of Pouhor
P. Hou 9	[xx-xx-xx]	Witness (?)		
P. Hou 11	[xx-xx-xx]			
P. Hou 6	[xx-xx-xx] Dar I	Witness		
P. Hou 5	xx-11-25 Dar I	Witness		
P. Hou 10	xx-11-33 Dar I			
P. Hou 1	xx-11-34 Dar I			
P. Hou 3	xx-07-35 Dar I			Party A
P. Hou 13	xx-08-35 Dar I		Scribe	
P. Hou 2	17-08-35 Dar I			
P. Hou 12	xx-10-35 Dar I		Scribe	
P. Hou 8	xx-03-˹02˺ Psk IV			
P. Hou 7	xx-˹04˺-02 Psk IV	Witness	Scribe	
P. Hou 4	xx-05-02 Psk IV	Witness		Party A

scenario, both Onnofri and Petemestou would have served as scribe and as gooseherd of the Domain of Amun in the region of Hou from year thirty-five of Darius I (488/87 BC) to year two of Psamtik, whereby the latter would be dated to 487/86 or 486/85 BC.[638] In addition, the documentary gap that characterizes the archive would be reduced with twenty years (from twenty-eight years between 526 to 498/97 BC to eight years between 498/97 and 490/89 BC). Last but not least, that an Egyptian pharaoh ruled parts of Egypt at the end of Darius I's reign aligns, of course, with Herodotus' statement that the Egyptians rebelled in 487/86 BC. That Psamtik ruled in 487/86 – 486/85 BC is therefore more likely than that he ruled between 498/97 and 490/89 BC (the eight-year documentary gap).[639] On the basis of these elements, the present study accepts the connection between the Psamtik of the Hou papyri and the rebellion mentioned by Herodotus. Incidentally, the papyri from Hou indicate that Psamtik IV's reign lasted at least four months: he would have acceded to the throne at unknown date

[637] For other prosopographical connections see Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 150 table I, Wijnsma, "'And in the Fourth Year,'" 52 table 2, and table 5 in Chapter 5.

[638] Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 147-48, dated Psamtik's second regnal year to 485 BC. See 4.4.2 below for a more elaborate discussion of the chronology.

[639] See ibid., 147.

in his first regnal year (undocumented), and he would have ruled parts of Egypt until at least Tybi (April/May) of his second regnal year.

4.4.2 A new chronological reconstruction

When Cruz-Uribe and Pestman published their studies of the Hou papyri in the 1980s, they proposed to date Psamtik IV's reign to ca. 486 – 485 BC. More specifically, they argued that Psamtik's first (undocumented) regnal year would have begun in 486 BC. His second regnal year – which was attested in the Hou papyri - would have covered 485 BC, i.e. Xerxes' first regnal year.[640] This chronological reconstruction of the Egyptian rebellion remains a possibility today. It is important to observe, however, that its foundations can be questioned: the reconstruction was based on the assumption that Herodotus dated the start of the rebellion to 486 BC, and on the adoption of P. Loeb 1 (5 October 486 BC) and Posener 25 (9 January 484 BC) as *termini post* and *ante quem*.[641] The present chapter has argued for a different approach. First, it has shown that Herodotus dated the rebellion to an aspecific period between ca. 487/86 – 485/84 BC, and in particular between March 487 to June 484 BC (see 4.2.2-4.2.2.2). In addition, it has argued that the Egyptian sources from year thirty-six of Darius I and year two of Xerxes cannot be used as reliable *termini post* and *ante quem* (see 4.3.3). The following section therefore provides an updated comparison between Herodotus' timespan for the rebellion on the one hand and all Egyptian texts that fall within this timespan on the other. The latter include the sources from year thirty-five of Darius I.

To facilitate comparison with Herodotus' chronology, let us first return to the sources displayed in figure 15. It should be clear from figure 15 that the majority of Egyptian sources that are dated between year thirty-five of Darius I and year two of Xerxes fall within Herodotus' approximate timespan for the rebellion (March 487 – June 484 BC). The exceptions are the inheritance contract from Hermopolis and the penultimate papyrus from the archive from Thebes: both of them are dated to Phaophi of year thirty-five of Darius I (January/February 487 BC).[642] In other words, the texts predate the possible start of the rebellion by less than two months. In addition, it is clear from figure

[640] See Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 37-39, and Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 146. The statement that P. Strassburg 2 (=P. Hou 4) should be dated to 487 BC (see Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 39), is – in light of the discussion that precedes it – clearly a typo for 485 BC.

[641] Note that both Cruz-Uribe and Pestman dated P. Loeb 1 to June rather than October 486 BC; see n. 546 above.

[642] See Farid, "Unpublished Early Demotic Family Archive," 190-91, and Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian Demotic Cattle Documents*, 25-30 1.13.

15 that of the sources that fall within Herodotus' timespan, P. Loeb 1 (17 Payni of year thirty-six of Darius I, i.e. 5 October 486 BC) is the only text that falls squarely within the period in which the revolt is supposed to have taken place (i.e. between September 486 BC and March 485 BC). We have seen above that this is compatible with the context in which P. Loeb 1 was written. Its author, Khnumemakhet, was connected to a military community at the southern border of the Nile Valley, which stood under the close supervision of Persian officials. It is therefore conceivable that Khnumemakhet would have recognized Darius' reign even if other people in the country had already begun to resist Persian rule (see 4.3.1.1, 4.3.3). The remaining sources that fall within Herodotus' timespan – i.e. all other sources from year thirty-five of Darius I to year two of Xerxes - can be interpreted in two different ways: either they pre- or post-dated the rebellion, or, like P. Loeb 1, they were contemporary with it. Which is the more likely option depends on a number of different factors.

Let us first take a look at the Egyptian sources from year thirty-five of Darius I. One source (P. Berlin 13582) was written at Elephantine, and mentions that silver was deposited in the treasury of Farnava. The document is dated to Pharmouthi of year thirty-five of Darius I (July/August 487 BC).[643] We may therefore conclude that the inhabitants of Elephantine still recognized the Persian king at this point, as is to be expected on the basis of their connection to the imperial administration. All other sources from year thirty-five of Darius I stem from Hermopolis, Thebes and Hou. It is important to observe that these texts belonged to groups of Egyptians, whose main relationships appear to have been with other Egyptians. In addition, the texts have been identified as the remnants of the so-called Egyptian "middle class": its members did not occupy the highest or most prestigious posts in Egyptian society, but they were sufficiently wealthy to possess land and cattle, and to hire servants or maintain slaves in their households.[644] As the papyri from Hermopolis, Thebes and Hou reflect a social environment that was distinctly different from that of the Elephantine papyri, Wadi Hammamat inscriptions, and inscribed vases – all of which were more intimately tied to non-Egyptian communities on the one hand, and to the imperial administration of the country on the other – their texts provide us with important additional evidence that Darius I's reign was recognized during a large part of 487 BC. To be specific: Darius' reign was recognized until at least Phaophi in Hermopolis (January/February 487 BC), until Phamenoth in Thebes (June/July 487 BC), and until Payni in Hou (September/October 487 BC).[645] The texts do not exclude the possibility that the

[643] See Martin, "Demotic Texts," 374-75 (C35), and the discussion in 4.3.1.1.

[644] See e.g. Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 10.

[645] See Farid, "Unpublished Early Demotic Family Archive," 190-91, Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, 1:90-92 no. 17, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 14*-15* (P. Hou 12).

rebellion had already begun; but if it had, it apparently did not yet affect these communities in southern Egypt.

Second, the sources from the following year – i.e. year thirty-six of Darius I – can all be linked to Elephantine, the rock inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat, and the corpus of inscribed vases. As mentioned above, these sources indicate that Darius' reign continued to be recognized in the region around the first cataract until at least 17 Payni of year thirty-six (5 October 486 BC). In addition, Athiyawahya as well as the anonymous craftsmen of BLMJ 1979 identified Darius as king of Egypt at some point between Thoth and Mesore of the same year (23 December 487 BC to 22 December 486 BC).[646] It is important to observe that this stands in contrast with the archives from Thebes and Hou: both lack documents that are dated to Darius' last regnal year.[647] The omission of year thirty-six of Darius is especially noteworthy in the archive from Hou. As mentioned above, the community at Hou recognized Darius' reign until at least Payni of year thirty-five (September/October 487 BC). The earliest document thereafter dates to Hathyr (February/March) of year two of Psamtik IV.[648] Pestman assumed that the latter document should be dated to 485 BC (year one of Xerxes); and that 486 BC (year thirty-six of Darius I / year one of Psamtik IV) was simply undocumented at Hou.[649] However, it is equally possible that Psamtik IV had rebelled in 487 BC (year one of Psamtik IV), and was recognized at Hou in the spring of 486 BC (year two of Psamtik IV). In the latter case, the last document from Darius I's reign and the first from Psamtik IV's would be separated by only five months (September/October 487 BC – February/March 486 BC). If we adopt the latter hypothesis, we must also conclude that Posener 24 and BLMJ 1979 were contemporary with the rebellion, just like P. Loeb 1 was. The sources would thus reflect a division of political loyalties in Egypt at the end of Darius' reign: while e.g. Khnumemakhet and Athiyawahya recognized the reign of the Persian king during 486 BC, the scribe Onnofri son of Tethotefonch – and his fellows at Hou – recognized the reign of Psamtik.

At present, the hypothesis that Psamtik IV rebelled in 487 BC rather than 486 BC cannot be proven beyond reasonable doubt. Herodotus' timespan for the rebellion and the papyri from Hou allow for both possibilities. Nevertheless, it is important to observe that a 487 BC date for the rebellion finds some support in the end-date of the archives from Thebes and Hou. As shown by figure 15, the archive

[646] See 4.3.1.1-4.3.1.3.

[647] The same observation applies to the "archive" from Hermopolis, but as the latter appears to consist of only one papyrus (see 4.4.1.1 above) little significance can be attributed to it.

[648] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 11* (P. Hou 8).

[649] See Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 147-48.

from Thebes ended in year thirty-five of Darius I, specifically in Phamenoth (June/July 487 BC).[650] The archive from Hou ended after the three documents from Psamtik IV's reign were written. The situation invites comparison with contemporary Babylonia. In July of 484 BC some communities in Babylonia rebelled against the Persian Empire. The rebellion is primarily known from the date formulae of cuneiform tablets, which show that two men with Babylonian names were recognized in northern Babylonian cities during the course of several months: Bēl-šimânni was recognized in the region of Borsippa and Dilbat from 5 August to 24 August 484 BC; and Šamaš-erība was recognized in Sippar, Borsippa, Kish, and Babylon from 26 July to 27 November 484 BC. The south of the country appears to have remained unaffected.[651] Significantly, around the time that the rebellions took place, thirty-three Babylonian archives came to an end. Seven of these archives included tablets that were dated to a rebel king. In addition, the archives that came to an end all belonged to a distinct layer of society, namely that of the urban elites of northern Babylonia who were intimately connected with the Babylonian temples.[652] By contrast, the handful of Babylonian archives that continued after year two of Xerxes – seven in total – belonged either to temple elites in the south, or to a social class that was more intimately tied to the Persian administration of the country.[653] An example of the latter is the archive of Zababa-šar-uṣur, the majordomo of a Babylonian estate that belonged to the Persian crown prince. The ca. fifty tablets that belong to the archive cover the period from year six of Darius I (516/15 BC) to at least year four of Xerxes (482/81 BC).[654] The similarity with the sources from Egypt should be evident. Though on a much smaller scale, the Egyptian archives show a comparable break along social lines around the time of the Egyptian rebellion: two archives of the Egyptian middle class ended (Thebes and Hou) – one of which included documents dated to a rebel king (Hou) – , while an archive of Persian-dependents continued (Elephantine).[655] In Babylonia, it is plausible that the archival break was the result of punitive actions and/or far-reaching administrative measures

[650] On the "archive" from Hermopolis, see n. 647 above.

[651] See Waerzeggers, "Babylonian Revolts against Xerxes," 150-56, and Spar and Jursa, *Ebabbar Temple Archive*, 191-92.

[652] See Waerzeggers, "Babylonian Revolts against Xerxes," 156-59, and Waerzeggers, "Network of Resistance," 105-6, 122-25.

[653] See Waerzeggers, "Babylonian Revolts against Xerxes," 156-60, and Waerzeggers, "Network of Resistance," 129.

[654] See Joannès and Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens," 41-60, Waerzeggers, "Babylonian Revolts against Xerxes," 157 n. 38, 160, Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents*, 151, and Zilberg, Pearce, and Jursa, "Zababa-šar-uṣur," 165-69.

[655] See e.g. Porten, "Aramaic Texts," 110-254 B9-46, 259-67 B49-52, Martin, "Demotic Texts," 351-55 C29, and 4.3.2 above for Persian Period Elephantine documents that postdate Darius I's reign.

that were intended to reshape Babylonian society in the wake of the revolts.[656] In Egypt, the evidence is insufficient to draw a similar conclusion. Yet, the break does suggest that the rebellion which was recognized at Hou had an impact at Thebes, and that this impact might be dated to (the end of) year thirty-five of Darius I.[657]

Finally, a comment should be made on the end date of the Egyptian rebellion. To some extent, our understanding of the rebellion's end is impeded by the termination of the archives from Thebes, and Hou: the absence of documents from these communities robs us of a more socially – as well as geographically – diverse perspective on the event. The only sources that remain stem from Elephantine, the Wadi Hammamat, and the corpus of inscribed vases. For reasons that need not be repeated, the latter sources cannot be used as strict *termini ante quem*. We are therefore dependent on Herodotus' chronology for the rebellion's defeat: the historian dates the end of the revolt between March 485 and June 484 BC, i.e. from early in Xerxes' first regnal year to the middle of his second. Last but not least, it is possible – though speculative – that a cuneiform tablet from Babylonia is connected to the rebellion's end. The tablet records the sale of an enslaved woman, who bore an Egyptian name and whose wrist was "inscribed in Egyptian." She was sold in Sippar on 27 January 484 BC.[658] This was eighteen days after Athiyawahya inscribed his name and titles on the rocks of the Wadi Hammamat on 19 Thoth of year two of Xerxes (9 January 484 BC).[659] If the woman had been enslaved and/or taken captive during the Empire's reconquest of Egypt, the end of the rebellion may be placed in 485 BC. It is interesting to observe that this did not deter the Babylonians from waging their own rebellions in the summer of 484 BC.

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[656] See Waerzeggers, "Babylonian Revolts against Xerxes," 160-63, and Waerzeggers, "Network of Resistance," 89-91. Positive evidence for far-reaching changes stems from Uruk, where northern Babylonian families who had occupied positions of power were replaced with local Urukeans after 484 BC; see Kessler, "Urukäische Familien versus babylonische Familien," 237-62, and Beaulieu, "Uruk before and after Xerxes," 189-206. Note that the extent to which the suppression of the revolt was accompanied by material destruction in Babylonia is debated: compare e.g. Baker, "Babylon in 484 BC," 100-116, George, "Tower of Babel," 75-95, and George, "Xerxes and the Tower of Babel," 471-80, with Kuhrt, "Xerxes and the Babylonian Temples," 491-94, and Henkelman, Kuhrt, Rollinger, and Wiesehöfer, "Herodotus and Babylon Reconsidered," 449-70. An overview of the discussion's development can be found in Waerzeggers, "Introduction," 1-7.

[657] The possible impact of the rebellion at Thebes is further explored in Chapter 5.

[658] See Stolper, "Inscribed in Egyptian," 138-43, and the discussion in 2.5.2.

[659] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 120 no. 25, and Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques," 249 no. 13.

4.5 Conclusion

According to Herodotus, Egypt rebelled against Darius I in the fourth year after the battle of Marathon. Xerxes defeated the uprising in the second or next year after Darius I's death. Though our understanding of Herodotus' chronology remains incomplete, the present chapter has shown that Herodotus probably dated the revolt to ca. 487/86 – 485/84 BC, and more specifically between March 487 and June 484 BC (see 4.2-4.2.2.2). At times, scholars have tried to refine this chronology with reference to Egyptian date formulae. They have argued that the rebellion must have begun after the last Egyptian text dated to Darius I's reign, and before the first text dated to Xerxes. The former is P. Loeb 1, a demotic letter dated to 5 October 486 BC (17 Payni of year thirty-six). The latter is Posener 25, a rock inscription from the Wadi Hammamat dated to 9 January 484 BC (19 Thoth of year two of Xerxes). The present chapter has argued, however, that these sources were written by people who were intimately connected to the imperial administration of the country, or even by Persian officials themselves. The same observation applies to all other Egyptian texts from year thirty-six of Darius I and year two of Xerxes. Consequently, they cannot be used as reliable *termini post* and *ante quem* for the revolt, as one would expect the individuals in question to have remained loyal to the imperial regime during periods of political conflict. The dates for the rebellion therefore remain 487/86 – 485/84 BC (see 4.3-4.3.3). When one compares these dates to Egyptian texts, it becomes apparent that year thirty-five of Darius I (488/87 BC) may have been a significant year. On the one hand, texts from four different Egyptian archives show that Darius I's reign continued to be recognized during a large part of 487 BC; on the other hand, at least one demotic archive ended during that year, while another – an archive from Hou - shows that its archive holders began to recognize the reign of a rebel king called Psamtik IV before it, too, came to an end. The only archive that continued after year thirty-five of Darius I, and which includes texts dated to year thirty-six of that king, is connected to the military community at Elephantine. The present chapter has compared this to the "end of archives" in contemporary Babylonia. Building on this comparison, it has argued that the Egyptian rebellion may have begun during 487 BC (year thirty-five of Darius I), and that the second regnal year of Psamtik IV – which is the only regnal-year attested for this king – may be dated to 486 BC (year thirty-six of Darius I). If accepted, then all sources dated to year thirty-six of Darius I were contemporary with the rebellion. This means that the Egyptian sources reflect a division of political loyalties in Egypt at the end of Darius I's reign, with some Egyptians – especially in the area of Hou – who recognized a rebel king, and others – especially those connected to the imperial administration – who continued to support the reign of the Persian kings. When the rebellion would have been

defeated exactly remains unknown, but it might have been accomplished during 485 BC (year one of Xerxes; 4.4-4.4.2).