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

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Chapter 5

The Origins, Geographical Reach and Support Base of the First Two Egyptian Rebellions

5.1 Introduction

The best-known Egyptian rebellion against Persian rule is undoubtedly the rebellion of Inaros. The rebellion has already been discussed in sections 1.2 and 2.2.2 above. In short, Inaros was a Libyan king, who rebelled against Persian rule in the early reign of Artaxerxes I. He began his rebellion in Marea, a town in the western Delta. Soon thereafter, he requested the help of the Athenians in his struggle against the Persians. The latter obliged and sailed to Egypt with several of their Greek allies. Eventually, Inaros, his Egyptian supporters, and the Greek soldiers who had sailed to Egypt occupied Memphis and large parts of the Nile. The battles that were fought between the Persian forces on the one hand and the Libyo-Egyptian and Greek armies on the other were largely located near the Mediterranean coast and in the marshes of the Delta. It took the Persians at least six years to gain the upper hand. In the end, many of Inaros' and Athens' soldiers were killed; and Inaros himself was captured and crucified. As is well known, this reconstruction of Inaros' rebellion is heavily based on Greco-Roman authors (see e.g. Herodotus, *Histories* 3.12, 3.15, 7.7; Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 1.104, 1.109-10; Ctesias, *Persica* F14 §36-39).[660] Their interest in and knowledge of the rebellion was probably due to Athens' military involvement. As a result, Inaros is the first rebel king of Persian Period Egypt whose name is supplied by Greco-Roman texts, whose ethnicity and original base of power is mentioned, whose cooperation with foreign powers is described, and whose fate – i.e. execution – is explicitly noted.[661]

As should be clear from Chapters 2 to 4, the two Egyptian rebellions that preceded Inaros' have received far less attention in Greco-Roman works. The sources are silent, for example, about the names of the rebellions' leaders, their original bases of power, or the extent to which their reigns were recognized throughout Egypt.[662] Consequently, modern scholars have paid relatively little attention to these issues as well. It is often assumed that the first two rebellions were comparable to Inaros',

[660] For further references, see 2.2.2.

[661] Compare 2.2.1.

[662] See 2.2.1, 3.4.1, and 4.2-4.2.2.

and that they came from – or were even confined to – the Delta.[663] If we wish to study the origins, geographical reach and support base of the first (ca. 521 BC) and second (ca. 487/86 BC) Egyptian rebellions, however, the Egyptian sources that can now be attributed to these periods provide us with valuable information. They supply us with the name(s) of the rebel kings in question, and indicate which parts of Egypt fell under their sway. In addition, the demotic texts that were written during their reigns provide us with a glimpse of the individuals who recognized the rebel kings. The present chapter discusses these topics in depth. This is done in two parts: the Egyptian rebellion of the Bisitun crisis is discussed first (5.2.); the rebellion of 487/86 BC is discussed thereafter (5.3). An important conclusion of both parts is that the rebellions clearly gained a foothold in southern Egypt, and that they may not have been as closely connected to the Delta as Inaros' rebellion was.

5.2 The rebellion of Petubastis Seheribre

The first rebellion of Persian-Period Egypt began in the early months of 521 BC. As discussed in Chapter 3, this was a time when the legitimacy of the Persian crown was widely contested: Cambyses died in unknown circumstances in 522 BC; a king called Bardiya ruled the Empire for a short period of time; then Darius I killed Bardiya and claimed the Persian throne for himself. In the months that followed, numerous rebellions broke out against Darius' reign. The rebellion in Egypt was one of them.[664] By April 521 BC, the first regnal year of a pharaoh called Petubastis Seheribre was recognized in (parts of) the Nile Valley. As Darius was preoccupied with rebellions closer to Persia, Seheribre's reign may have lasted several years – perhaps until the summer of 518 BC.[665] At present, ca. thirteen Egyptian artefacts can be attributed to this timespan: two fragments of a wooden shrine, both of unknown provenance; a royal name scarab of unknown provenance; two seal impressions - one of unknown provenance, and one that was found with three demotic papyri in the rubbish of the Meydum pyramid; and five temple blocks from Amheida, a town in the Dakhla Oasis. All of them can be attributed to the reign of Petubastis Seheribre.[666]

[663] See e.g. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67-68, Ray, "Egypt 525 - 404 B.C.," 275-77, Rottpeter, "Initiatoren und Träger," 24-28, Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West*, 23, 27-28, Colburn, *Archaeology of Empire*, 246-47, and Leahy, "Egypt in the Late Period," 727.

[664] See 3.2-3.2.2.3.

[665] See 3.3.2.5.2-3.4.2.

[666] See 3.3.2-3.3.2.4.

For the purposes of the present chapter, only the seal impressions, papyri and temple blocks from Seheribre's reign are relevant. The find spots of this group of sources, as well as several references in the papyri, give us an indication of the geographical reach of the rebellion. In addition, the papyri and seal impressions refer to individuals who worked for the Egyptian rebel king. The following section discusses both topics in depth. This is done in two steps: first, we take a closer look at the location where Seheribre may have begun his rebellion (5.2.1); second, we discuss the areas in Egypt which may eventually have fallen under Seheribre's sway, and the individuals who supported the rebel king's rule, or who – at the very least – fell under his hegemony in the early months of 521 BC (5.2.2).

5.2.1 Petubastis Seheribre's original base of power

The sources from Petubastis Seheribre's reign were first connected to the Bisitun crisis in 1972.[667] At the time, Jean Yoyotte suggested that the king may have stemmed from Bubastis (modern Tell Basta), a city in the southeastern part of the Delta.[668] Later scholars have sometimes adopted this suggestion. In 2012, for example, Stephen Ruzicka wrote that "Delta dynasts wasted no time in challenging Persian authority after Cambyses' death"; and that "[o]ne of them, Petubastis of Bubastis, may have declared himself king."[669] Though not explicitly stated, the reason for connecting Petubastis Seheribre to Bubastis is probably threefold. First, it has long been assumed that all Egyptian rebellions of the sixth to fourth centuries BC were connected to the Delta.[670] Second, Seheribre's birth name – i.e. Petubastis (*Pꜣ-dỉ-Bꜣstt*) – can be translated as "The one whom Bastet has given." Third, his birth name was sometimes accompanied by the epithet "son of Bastet" (*sꜣ-Bꜣstt*).[671] As is well known, Bastet was the tutelary deity of Bubastis. In the early first millennium BC, several kings from Bubastis

[667] See 3.3.2.

[668] See Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 223.

[669] Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West*, 23. See also Quack, "Egypt," 557. Moje, *Herrschaftsräume und Herrschaftswissen*, 19 1.1.5, 28, and Leahy, "Egypt in the Late Period," 727, attribute Seheribre's reign to the Delta as well – though curiously to the western rather than eastern Delta.

[670] See n. 663 above.

[671] Seheribre's birth name is recorded on the shrine fragment from the Louvre, the scarab, and one temple block from Amheida; see Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 216-17 nos. 1-2, and Kaper, "Petubastis IV," 136 fig. 8. The epithet can be read on the shrine and the scarab, on the assumption that *Bꜣstt* has to be read twice (Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 216 n. 2). Whether the *sꜣ*-sign on the temple block is part of the divine name *Bꜣstt*, or should also be read as part of the epithet is less clear (for a comparative example, see Jurman, "Ein bisher unbekannter König," 92-93).

honored their city's deity by attaching the epithet "son of Bastet" to their birth names. This observation applies to Osorkon II, Shoshenq III, Pami and Shoshenq V.[672] One may compare its use with the epithet "son of Neith." The latter was sometimes used by kings of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, who hailed from the western Delta town of Sais, Neith's primary cult center.[673] Bubastis was therefore a plausible location of origins for Petubastis(-son-of-Bastet) Seheribre. According to Yoyotte, Seheribre would have controlled little else: though there were indications that the king had a connection to Memphis and Heracleopolis, Yoyotte emphasized that "Pétoubastis ne dut jouir que d'un pouvoir précaire et territorialement restreint."[674]

In recent years, the discussion on Petubastis Seheribre's origins has taken a significantly different turn. In 2015, Olaf Kaper argued that the king had come from the Dakhla Oasis, a location several hundred kilometers south of the Delta. Kaper's argument was based on five temple blocks that bear Seheribre's names, and that were excavated at Amheida, a town in the Dakhla Oasis, between 2005 and 2014 (Amheida 16362, 16512, 2078, 2076, 16357).[675] One of the relief blocks belonged to a temple scene, which originally showed the figure of the king. The preserved traces of the figure indicate that it would have been slightly smaller than life size (see figure 16).[676] The other four blocks belonged to a temple gateway.[677] The blocks record several lines of hieroglyphic text, which provide us with some of Seheribre's titles (Lord of Rituals, Lord of [Appearances]), royal names (Petubastis Seheribre, the Horus name Sementawy and the Two Ladies name Sehedjerperu), as well as the name of the divine recipient of the temple (Thoth of Amheida). The remains indicate that Petubastis Seheribre had rebuilt – or added a building to – the pre-existing temple of Thoth at Amheida.[678] Consequently, Olaf Kaper argued that "[t]he Dakhla oasis could very well have been a powerbase for Petubastis, from where he organized his rebellion. That would explain the extraordinary building activity there, as an expression of his attachment or even gratitude to the region and its gods."[679]

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[672] See Muhs, "Partisan Royal Epithets," 221.

[673] See ibid., 221.

[674] Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 223. See also Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West*, 23. For Seheribre's connection to Memphis and Heracleopolis, see 5.2.2 below.

[675] See Kaper, "Petubastis IV," 125-49.

[676] See ibid., 135.

[677] See ibid., 129-34. For photographs of the temple blocks, see ibid., 130-32 figs. 2-6, 136 figs. 8-9.

[678] For the temple's history, see below.

[679] See ibid., 139. The argument has been adopted by Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ägypter und Perser*, 18, and Colburn, *Archaeology of Empire*, 99.

Figure 16. A temple block from Amheida (no. 2076), inscribed with the birth name Petubastis (right) and traces of a royal crown (left). (Photograph by B. Bazzani, published in Kaper, "Petubastis IV," 136 fig. 8)

Kaper did not engage with the question of Seheribre's possible connection to Bubastis, however. The following section therefore takes a closer look at Kaper's argument and compares it with the aforementioned references to Bastet. In order to properly contextualize Seheribre's building activity at Amheida, the section starts with a review of Saite to early Persian-Period construction work in the Western Desert.

5.2.1.1 The oases from the Saite Period to the reign of Petubastis Seheribre

As briefly discussed in Chapter 3, a temple complex dedicated to the ibis-headed god Thoth is known to have existed at Amheida before the reign of Petubastis Seheribre. At present, the oldest reference to the temple appears in a stela from the reign of Seti II (ca. 1202-1198 BC). The latter was excavated at Amheida in 2014, and depicts the king, who offers goods to Thoth and Horus. The fragmentary inscription on the stele refers to a "girdle wall" (*sbty*), which we may suppose Seti II had built around a sanctuary.[680] The oldest building block from the temple can be ascribed to the New Kingdom as well: a small relief fragment found at the site of Amheida preserves the traces of a royal figure who has his arms raised in a gesture of offering; it bears the throne name of Ramesses IX (ca. 1129 – 1111 BC). According to Kaper, the relief may have "decorated the jamb or lintel of a temple doorway."[681] In the centuries thereafter, three (fragments of) stelae from the Third Intermediate Period attest to the sanctuary's continued activity. One of the stelae records a donation to the temple by a man called Esdhuti, who is likewise known from a stele found at Mut el-Kharab.[682] However, the most extensive (pre-Roman Period) building works at Amheida can be ascribed to the seventh to sixth centuries BC. During this period, at least three kings of the Saite Dynasty (re)constructed parts of the sanctuary: both Necho II and Psamtik II appear to have built a temple gateway;[683] Amasis, whose royal names appear on numerous temple blocks, seems to have constructed an entire chapel or temple building.[684] The inscriptions on the latter celebrate Thoth, the Twice-Great, Lord of Amheida, in a similar vein as the temple blocks from Seheribre's reign.[685]

[680] See Kaper, "Temple Building," 223-25.

[681] See ibid., 229-30.

[682] See Kaper and Demarée, "A Donation Stela," 19-37, Kaper, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Libyan Period," 149-59, and Kaper, "Textual and Decorative Evidence," 45-46.

[683] See Kaper, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," 169-71, and Kaper, "Temples of the Late Period," 48-49.

[684] See Kaper, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," 169-71, and Kaper, "Temples of the Late Period," 46-50.

[685] See Kaper, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," 170-71, and Kaper, "Temples of the Late Period," 49-50.

The construction works at Amheida carried out by the kings of the Saite Dynasty were part of a larger development of the oases of the Western Desert. This development is indicated by the presence of significant Saite-Period remains at numerous sites in the Dakhla Oasis, many of which were not or barely occupied in the preceding period.[686] One of the most prominent Saite-Period sites is the temple at Mut el-Kharab. The temple was dedicated to Seth and Amun-Re jointly. Like the temple at Amheida, it had a history stretching back to the New Kingdom, but the temple was significantly expanded in the seventh to sixth centuries BC. At least one structure was added by Psamtik I, whose figure and royal names feature on a large relief block. A temple gateway was added by Psamtik II.[687] A comparable rise of pharaonic interest is visible in the oases of Bahariya and Siwa to the far north of Dakhla. In Bahariya Oasis Saite-Period investment is reflected in a temple compound near Qaret el-Toub, where a chapel bears the name of Apries.[688] At 'Ayn el-Mouftella four chapels were constructed under the reign of Amasis.[689] In Siwa Oasis a large temple building at Aghurmi bears the name of Amasis as well. In the latter case, it is the earliest evidence for pharaonic construction works in the region.[690]

The motivations behind the expansion of Saite control in the "islands" of the Western Desert – as the oases were called by Strabo in the first century AD (*Geography* 17.1.5) - were probably multiple. One simple motivation may have been economic in nature. Since at least the New Kingdom, the

[686] See e.g. Hubschmann, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," 265-73, esp. 271 tables 1-2. For general discussions of the expansion of Saite control in the oases, see ibid., 273-74, Klotz, "Administration of the Deserts and Oases," 903-5, and Kaper, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," 172-74. Note that Saite-Period activity in the Kharga Oasis, which lies just to the east of Dakhla, is debated. It is probable that the temples at Hibis and Qasr el-Ghueita were (largely) built in the Persian rather than Saite Period; see Darnell, "Antiquity of Ghueita Temple," 29-40, and Colburn, "Pioneers of the Western Desert," 94-102.

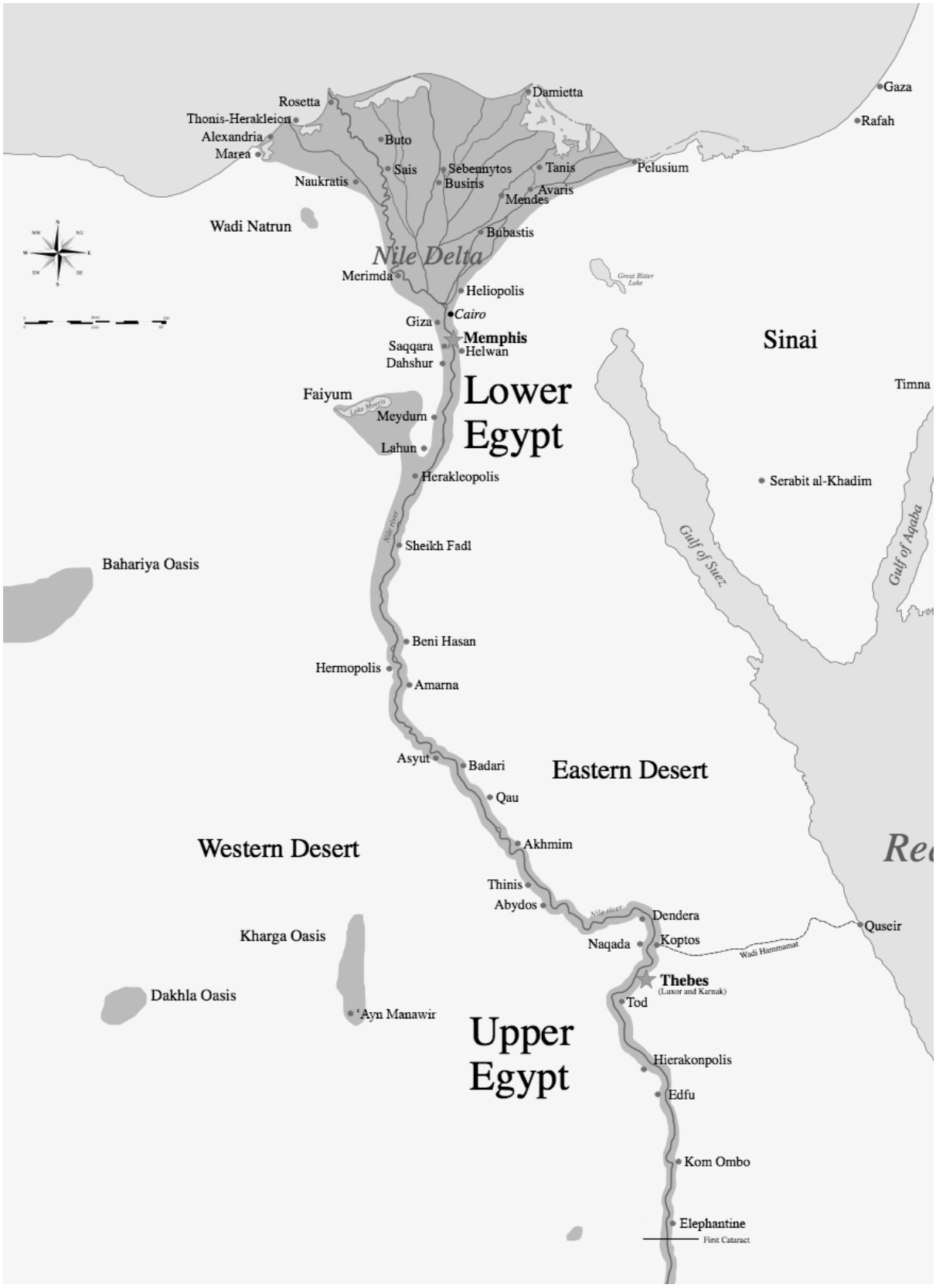
[687] See Kaper, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," 167-69. For New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period activity at the site, see Hope and Kaper, "Egyptian Interest in the Oases," 219-36, Long, "Egypt's Western Oases during the New Kingdom," 225-35, Kaper, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Libyan Period," 149-50, 153-58, and Long, "Egypt's Western Oases during the Third Intermediate Period," 241-53.

[688] See Fakhry, "Die Kapelle aus der Zeit Apries," 97-100, and Fakhry, *Bahriya and Farafra Oases*, 78-80.

[689] See Fakhry, *Bahriya and Farafra Oases*, 80-85, Labrique, "Le catalogue divin," 327-57, and Labrique, "Un culte d'Osiris-arbre," 213-23. For additional Saite remains in Bahariya see e.g. Fakhry, *Bahriya and Farafra Oases*, 125-36, and Colin, "Qasr Allam," 30-33.

[690] See Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, 77-79, 153-61, Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion*, 42-43. For the general development of Siwa Oasis, see Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, 70-92, Colin, "Les fondateurs du sanctuaire d'Amon," and Kuhlmann, "Realm of 'Two Deserts,'" 133-66.

Figure 17. Map of ancient Egypt, including the Dakhla, Kharga and Bahariya oases. (Adapted by the author from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ancient_Egypt_map-en.svg)



Southern Oasis – which included both Dakhla and Kharga – and Bahariya Oasis were well known for their vineyards. The regions produced a steady flow of wine, which was bottled locally and then distributed throughout Egypt. The remains of oasite ceramics have been found at e.g. Memphis, Amarna, Thebes, and Elephantine.[691] In addition, the oases provided access to important caravan routes that would have facilitated interregional trade. These routes connected the oases with one another, with the Nile Valley, and with more distant destinations in the western and southern Sahara. The Abu Ballas trail is a well-known example: since at least the Old Kingdom, this "highway" connected Dakhla with the Gilf Kebir. Ultimately, the route may have led to the Jebel Ouenat, and from there to sub-Saharan regions in modern Chad or Sudan. It probably served to import luxury goods such as incense, ivory and ebony to Egypt.[692] A second motivation for Saite interest in the oases is closely connected to these desert routes. In the centuries preceding the Saite Dynasty, the Western Desert had occasionally played an important role in Egyptian politics. On the one hand, there are indications that the oases were occupied by "Libyan" tribes who dwelt in the Sahara, and who used them as staging grounds for raids in the Nile Valley.[693] On the other hand, the desert routes that connected the oases with the Nile, with one another, and with more distant destinations were of strategic interest to Egyptian rulers: if parts of the Nile Valley were occupied by an opposing political group, the caravan routes could serve as alternative lines of communication and mobility.[694] All of these aspects will have informed the decision of the Saite kings to expand their presence in what were otherwise peripheral outposts in a largely barren landscape.

When Egypt was conquered by Cambyses in 526 BC, it seems that the importance of the oases continued to be recognized. Our main information stems from the *Histories* of Herodotus. According to the historian, Cambyses planned three additional campaigns to consolidate his hold on North Africa after he had captured Memphis. One part of his army would invade Carthage in northern Libya,

[691] See Marchand and Tallet, "Ayn Asil," 322, 338-39, Kaper, "Temple Building," 226-31, and Hubschmann, "Dakhleh Oasis," 273.

[692] See Förster, "Beyond Dakhla," 297-337, and Förster, *Der Abu Ballas-Weg*. For an overview of Egyptian desert routes, see Darnell, *Egypt and the Desert*, 7-15.

[693] See Kaper, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," 173, Hubschmann, "Searching for an Oasis Identity," 64, and Kaper, "Temple Building," 230, 232-36. On "Libyans" in Egypt, see n. 801 below.

[694] A stele from the mid-second millennium BC is a well-known example of a (failed) attempt to bypass the Nile Valley in a time of political fragmentation: it states that a messenger had been sent to Kush by the Hyksos ruler of northern Egypt; the Theban ruler Kamose, however, intercepted the messenger in the oasis region. See Colin, "Kamose et les Hyksos," 35-47, Förster, "Beyond Dakhla," 321-22, and Darnell, *Egypt and the Desert*, 26-27. For other such examples of desert travel see e.g. Darnell, "Opening the Narrow Doors," 140-43, and Förster, "Beyond Dakhla," 312-13.

another part – led by the king himself – would invade Ethiopia, and a third part would try to capture the oasis of "the Ammonians," who were called thus due to their worship of the Egyptian god Amun (*Histories* 3.17-25). The oasis in which the Ammonians lived was probably Dakhla: elsewhere in the *Histories,* the Ammonians are said to have lived at a ten-day's journey from Thebes (*Histories* 4.181). This fits with the distance between Thebes and the Dakhla Oasis (ca. 300 km as the crow flies).[695] In addition, the Persian soldiers who set out from Thebes are said to have reached an oasis city that lay at a seven-day's journey from the Nile Valley, before they pushed on to the Ammonians (*Histories* 3.26). The location of this rest stop fits with that of the Kharga Oasis (ca. 200 km from Thebes as the crow flies).[696] If true, the story suggests that Cambyses recognized the strategic and economic advantages of the Southern Oasis as outlined above. Nevertheless, Herodotus claims that Cambyses never managed to conquer the region: the soldiers disappeared at some point along their march; and the Ammonians themselves allegedly said that the army had vanished in a sandstorm (*Histories* 3.25). It goes without saying that the narrative of this failed campaign should be taken with a grain of salt. It is part of a larger story in which Herodotus portrays Cambyses as an incompetent – and even mad – king.[697] It is no coincidence that the other two campaigns are said to have failed as well: the campaign against Carthage was blown off because the Phoenicians in Cambyses' army refused to fight against a people that they saw as their own kin (*Histories* 3.19); and the campaign against the Ethiopians ended in a disastrous retreat, during which Cambyses' hungry soldiers would have resorted to cannibalism (*Histories* 3.25). Nevertheless, whether Cambyses ever controlled the oases remains unclear. Numerous temple inscriptions show that an extensive building program was carried out in the Southern Oasis during the reign of Darius I, in a similar vein as what the kings of the Saite Dynasty had done;[698] but no inscriptions have been found that can be attributed to the reign of Cambyses. It is therefore conceivable that Cambyses was unable to gain full control of the Western Desert during his four-year reign of Egypt.

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[695] See Kaper, "Petubastis IV," 139-40.

[696] See ibid., 140. It is important to note that there is evidence for a cult of Amun in the Dakhla Oasis (see ibid.). In addition, Herodotus' emphasis on the connection between the oasite inhabitants and Amun may have been colored by later, Persian-Period developments: worship of Amun is abundantly attested during the reign of Darius I, especially in the Kharga Oasis (see e.g. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, 9-10).

[697] See e.g. Brown, "Herodotus' Portrait," 387-403, and Munson, "Madness of Cambyses," 43-65.

[698] See Kaper, "Epigraphic Evidence from Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," 171-72, Kaper, "Temples of the Late Period," 53, Darnell, "Antiquity of Ghueita Temple," 29-40, Wasmuth, *Ägypto-persische Herrscher- und Herrschaftspräsentation*, 224-39, and Colburn, *Archaeology of Empire*, 112-23.

Due to the absence of inscriptions in the Western Desert that refer to Cambyses, the temple blocks from Amheida that refer to Petubastis Seheribre are all the more remarkable. To recap, Cambyses died in the first half of 522 BC. He was eventually succeeded by Darius I, who struggled with several rebellions in 522 – 521 BC. In or shortly after January 521 BC, Petubastis Seheribre had claimed the throne of Egypt. It is possible that Darius I did not defeat the Egyptian rebel king until the middle of 518 BC.[699] During this ca. three-year period, we may assume that Seheribre had to contend with Persian military forces that would have been settled in Egypt under Cambyses, as well as with Darius I's attempts to reintegrate the country as a province of the Empire. Nevertheless, Seheribre apparently enjoyed the liberty to rebuild a monumental sanctuary at the western edge of the Southern Oasis. Moreover, unlike his Saite predecessors and Achaemenid successor, there is no evidence that the king reconstructed any sanctuaries in the Delta or Nile Valley.[700] Taking everything into account, it is plausible that the Dakhla Oasis was an important center of power during Seheribre's reign. It may indeed have been *the* power base of Seheribre's rebellion, as argued by Kaper.[701] We can subsequently ask ourselves how this evidence fits with the references to Bastet in Seheribre's birth name, and with the occasional epithet that was attached to the latter. There are two hypotheses to consider in this regard.

First, it is possible that Petubastis Seheribre had lived in the Delta or Nile Valley when Cambyses conquered Egypt. One of the cities where he may have lived is the Delta city of Bubastis. At a later point in time, Seheribre could travelled to the Southern Oasis – which, as discussed above, might have been beyond Cambyses' grasp. This relatively isolated region could have afforded him the opportunity to build up a rebellion against Persian rule.[702] When Seheribre claimed to be king of Egypt in 521 BC, he may have used the epithet "son of Bastet" as a reference to his original hometown in the Delta. In other words, Yoyotte's suggestion regarding Seheribre's origins is theoretically compatible with the idea that the Dakhla Oasis was an important center of power during Seheribre's reign. Second, it is possible that Seheribre was already connected to the Dakhla Oasis before the Persians conquered Egypt. This hypothesis was implicitly supported by Kaper.[703] Though not

[699] See chapter 3.

[700] Compare Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 63-91, 317-18, and Jansen-Winkeln, *Die 26. Dynastie*, v-vi, xiv-xxviii, xxxii, for building works under the Saite kings, and 2.4.1.1 for building works under Darius I.

[701] See Kaper, "Petubastis IV," 135-39.

[702] That the Southern Oasis may have been used for strategic reasons by Persian-Period rebels has also been considered by Colburn, *Archaeology of Empire*, 99-100.

[703] See Kaper, "Petubastis IV," 125-49, who assumes that Petubastis Seheribre already enjoyed a level of authority in the Dakhla Oasis during the reign of Cambyses. Kaper's assumption is largely based on the "sandstorm story" in the *Histories*

discussed by the latter, neither the name "Petubastis" nor the epithet "son of Bastet" undermine this suggestion. First, names and epithets that referred to Bastet were not used exclusively by people from Bubastis. Exceptions to the rule include Petubastis I from Tanis and Nectanebo II from Mendes, both of whom used the epithet "son of Bastet" on particular occasions.[704] In addition, the Kushite king Piankhy is known to have used it as well: the epithet "son of Bastet" features on several temple blocks from Jebel Barkal, a site in northern Sudan.[705] Second, and more importantly, a cult of Bastet is known to have existed in the oases in the mid-first millennium BC. Individuals whose names refer to Bastet are accordingly attested in the Western Desert.[706] Petubastis-son-of-Bastet Seheribre could have been one of them.

As a final remark, if Petubastis Seheribre had already been connected to the Dakhla Oasis before he claimed the throne of Egypt, we might go one step further and entertain the possibility that the would-be king had occupied a position of authority in the region before the Bisitun crisis began. It is conceivable, for example, that Seheribre had been the governor of Dakhla Oasis during the reign of Amasis and/or Cambyses. This post would have provided him with a considerable degree of power.[707] To illustrate: in the late third millennium BC, some of the governors of Dakhla Oasis "enjoyed an unparalleled prosperity."[708] They lived at 'Ayn Aseel, a site near modern-day Balat, where excavations have uncovered a large palatial complex. The complex included the governor's residence, administrative buildings, and memorial chapels for governors who had passed away.[709] In addition, the governors sponsored "impressive monuments" in the city, and were buried in large mastabas in

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of Herodotus (see above). In short, Kaper argues that the sandstorm story was created by the Persian regime to conceal the fact that Cambyses' army had been defeated by Petubastis Seheribre near Dakhla (see Kaper, "Petubastis IV," 139-42). This is very speculative. Nevertheless, there are other reasons to entertain the possibility that Seheribre had indeed enjoyed a position of authority in the Dakhla Oasis before the Bisitun crisis began (see below).

[704] See Muhs, "Partisan Royal Epithets," 221-22.

[705] See ibid., 222, and Dunham, *Barkal Temples*, 55 fig. 40.

[706] For the cult to Bastet, see Ginsberg, "Felis libyca balatensis," 259-71, and Hubschmann, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," 270, on the Dakhla Oasis, and Labrique, "Le catalogue divin," 336-37, on Bahariya Oasis. For oasite names with the element "Bastet," see e.g. Kaper, "Statue of Penbast," 231-33, and Labrique, "Le catalogue divin," 336 n. 41.

[707] For the almost royal authority of oasite governors, see e.g. Pantalacci, "Forty Years Later," 187-90, on governors of Dakhla in the third millennium BC; Fakhry, "Die Kapelle aus der Zeit Apries," 97-100, Fakhry, *Bahriya and Farafra Oases*, 78-85, Labrique, "Le catalogue divin," 327-57, "The Man Who Would Be King," 16-23, and Labrique, "Un culte d'Osiris-arbre," 213-23, on the Saite-Period governor of the Bahariya Oasis; and Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, 156-61, Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion*, 102-6, and Kuhlmann, "Realm of 'Two Deserts,'" 152, 157, on the rulers of the Siwa Oasis.

[708] See Pantalacci, "Forty Years Later," 190.

[709] See ibid., 187-90.

the necropolis.[710] Closer in time to Seheribre's reign, the Saite governors of Bahariya Oasis seem to have enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy as well. The best-known individual is Djedkhonsuiuefankh, a governor who served under Apries and Amasis. Djedkhonsuiuefankh constructed a monumental tomb for himself, and was involved in the construction of several religious chapels. The latter featured the names of the Saite kings whom he served, as well as his own figure, name, and genealogy.[711] In light of Seheribre's royal aspirations in the 520s BC, it is tempting to ascribe a similar position of authority to him. Unfortunately, it is not possible to verify this suggestion: in contrast with Bahariya Oasis, the identities of those who governed the Dakhla Oasis in the Saite to Persian Period are unknown.[712]

5.2.2 From the Southern Oasis to the Nile Valley

If we accept the hypothesis that the Dakhla Oasis was Petubastis Seheribre's primary base of power, we may assume that he mobilized a military force in the Western Desert in ca. 522/521 BC. The king would have subsequently attempted to expand his rule to the rest of Egypt. In terms of logistics, the desert routes that would have connected Seheribre to the Nile Valley were multiple. One possible route led from the Southern Oasis to the Qena Bend, where one could enter the Nile Valley in the region of Abydos.[713] Another route led to the region of Asyut, either via the Darb et-Tawil or via the

[710] See Pantalacci, "Forty Years Later," 190.

[711] For the tomb, see "The Man Who Would Be King," 16-23. For the chapels, see the references given in n. 670-71 above. A discussion of some of Djedkhonsuiuefankh's inscriptions can be found in Colin and Labrique, "*Semenekh oudjat*," 59-72. Note that the autonomy of local rulers was even more pronounced at Siwa Oasis, where some individuals claimed titles such as "chief of the two deserts," and were depicted in a similar fashion as Egyptian pharaohs (see Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis,* 156-61, Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion,* 102-6, and Kuhlmann, "Realm of 'Two Deserts,'" 152, 157). In light of Siwa's distance from the Nile Valley and much more recent integration in the Egyptian state, however, it is less suited for comparison with the Southern Oasis.

[712] An exception might be an individual called Amunpaden, whose title "governor of the Southern Oasis" features on a faience plaque that probably stems from Kom es-Sultan. The object has been tentatively dated to the Saite Dynasty, though a date in the Twenty-Eighth Dynasty has also been suggested; see Chassinat, "Petits monuments," 161-62, and Limme, "Les oasis de Khargeh et Dakhleh," 49, 57 n. 74. Otherwise, the absence of securely dateable evidence for Saite-Period governors in the Southern Oasis might indicate that the region was administered in a different way than Bahariya (see Kaper, "Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," 174). For the governance of Dakhla and Kharga before the Saite Period, see e.g. Limme, "Les oasis de Khargeh et Dakhleh," 41-49, and Klotz, "Administration of the Deserts," 901-3.

[713] Darnell, "Narrow Doors," 105-6. Alternatively, one could enter the Nile Valley near Thebes by taking the Farshut road in the Qena Bend, or by traveling from Baris, in the south of Kharg Oasis, to Armant. These trips would have taken longer than the aforementioned route, however; see Darnell, "Narrow Doors," 106.

northern part of the Darb el-Arba'in.[714] A third route led from the Southern Oasis to Farafra and Bahariya, and via the Faiyum Oasis to the region of Heracleopolis.[715] Though it is unknown which route(s) Seheribre would have taken, it is clear that he managed to gain a foothold in parts of the Nile Valley within four months of his accession. This is indicated by three demotic letters and two associated seal impressions which were excavated by William Flinders Petrie in the early twentieth century. As discussed in Chapter 3, two of the letters – P. Ashmolean 1984.87 and 1984.89 – are dated to 6 and 17 Choiak of regnal year one. Though the name of the king is not mentioned, "regnal year one" most probably refers to Petubasis Seheribre. A crucial source in this regard is UC13098, the bulla which sealed P. Ashmolean 1984.87. The impression on the bulla shows that the seal with which the letter was sealed was inscribed with a hieroglyphic inscription, which featured the throne name of the rebel king. The dates of the letters can therefore be translated as 5 and 16 April 521 BC.[716]

Unlike the temple blocks from Amheida, the find spot of P. Ashmolean 1984.87, 1984.88 and 1984.89 does not necessarily indicate that Seheribre controlled that part of Egypt. This is because the artefacts were found in the "rubbish" of the Meydum pyramid.[717] The remains of the step pyramid of Meydum lie in the depression of the Faiyum Oasis, ca. 75 km south of Cairo. The monument was probably built by Snefru, a pharaoh of Dynasty Four (ca. 2613 – 2498 BC).[718] In the centuries that followed its construction, a large cemetery grew up around the pyramid's edges. Excavations in the area have revealed that the site continued to be used in the first millennium BC: in the North Cemetery, several Saite-Period graves were built into a mastaba of Old Kingdom date; and in the Far South(-West) Cemetery, several coffins were excavated that have been dated to the Saite to Thirtieth Dynasties.[719] Yet, the remains of first millennium BC burials at the site does not explain how three letters ended up in "the rubbish" of Snefru's monumental grave. It is therefore more likely that the letters were found in a secondary context. Indeed, the letters themselves indicate that the Meydum pyramid was neither the place at which the papyri were written nor the location at which they were meant to be

[714] See Darnell, *Egypt and the Deser*t, 9-10 maps 1-2, 20.

[715] See ibid., 9-11, and Gasperini and Pethen, "Roads From Bahariya," 181-97.

[716] See Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 61 l. 5, 65 l. 6, Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 437 l. 5, 446 l. 6, and the discussions in 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.2.5. The date of P. Ashmolean 1984.88 is not preserved; see Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 64 l. 5.

[717] See Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis*, 43, pl. 37 nos. 43-44, and Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 217 n. 3. The exact circumstances of the find are unknown.

[718] See Wildung, "Meidum," 9-13, and Warden, "Meidum," 4416-17.

[719] See Wildung, "Meidum," 12, and Porter and Moss, *Lower and Middle Egypt*, 95.

kept. The texts point to two different localities. The following section provides an introduction to the contents of the letters, and discusses what they reveal about their original destination and place of writing. In a second step, we take a closer look at what the letters reveal about Seheribre's control of the Nile Valley and, more specifically, about the people who recognized his reign.

5.2.2.1 The origin(s) and destination of the Meydum letters

P. Ashmolean 1984.87, 1984.88 and 1984.89 are only partially preserved. The first letter is largely complete, with the exception of a few small lacunae; the second letter consists of twelve small fragments, some of which are barely legible; while the third letter consists of several larger pieces that can be joined together, save for a few significant gaps that affect the body of the text.[720] It is only in the case of P. Ashmolean 1984.87 that an exterior address can still be read on the verso of the papyrus. As is common in demotic epistolography, this address focuses on the name, title and/or patronymic of the correspondents, rather than the location to which the letter was sent.[721] It reads "(To) Hormaakheru son of Pasheriah by the Overseer of the Seal."[722] We may assume that the addresses of P. Ashmolean 1984.88 and 1984.89 would have been similar. In the absence of explicit geographical data, one has to rely on indirect indicators within the body of the texts to reconstruct both the origin of the letters and their intended destination. These indicators draw our attention to two different locations. The first location is Heracleopolis, which was probably the destination of all three letters. The second location is Memphis, the administrative capital of Achaemenid Egypt. Though tentative, it is plausible that at least one of the letters was sent from the latter locale.

5.2.2.1.1 Destination: Heracleopolis

That P. Ashmolean 1984.87, 1984.88 and 1984.89 have a connection to Heracleopolis has been known since 1910. Shortly after the papyri were found, William Flinders Petrie described two of the letters as follows: "The document, and another, relate to a sale of land by a certain Harmakhri, and they are despatched by the keeper of the seal Psamtik. The land was 104 aruras, in a village in the

[720] See Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 59-66, and Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 433-50.

[721] For a survey of exterior addresses in demotic letters, see Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 113-27.

[722] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 437, verso, who translates "treasurer" rather than the more literal "Overseer of the Seal."

nome of Herakleopolis."[723] A full edition of the letters had to wait until 2004, however.[724] The better preserved letters – i.e. P. Ashmolean 1984.87 and 1984.89 – were republished in 2015.[725] It goes without saying that the latter editions have improved our understanding of the texts. First, we now know that P. Ashmolean 1984.87 was sent by an Overseer of the Seal, who ordered another man to distribute plots of land among a handful of people. The land was indeed located in the nome of Heracleopolis (*pꜣ tš Ḥt-nn-nsw*).[726] P. Ashmolean 1984.88 was likewise sent by an Overseer of the Seal – presumably the same Overseer who sent P. Ashmolean 1984.87 - and appears to have concerned plots of land in the same nome.[727] The contents of P. Ashmolean 1984.89 are slightly different: as far as the fragments allow us to reconstruct, the letter was sent by another Overseer called Pefheriheter, and concerned a man called Peteese. The latter was sent to do something in (the nome of) Heracleopolis. The location is mentioned thrice in the body of the letter.[728] Though the contents of the three papyri differ, it is important to observe that both P. Ashmolean 1984.87 and P. Ashmolean 1984.89 were sent to a man called Hormaakheru. Whereas the former characterizes Hormaakheru as a "son of Pasheriah," the latter describes him as "him of Heracleopolis" (*pa Ḥt-nn-nsw*).[729] We may assume that the two letters refer to one and the same individual. The addressee of the third letter has not been preserved.[730] Be that as it may, the frequency with which Heracleopolis is mentioned in all three letters indicates that P. Ashmolean 1984.87, 1984.88 and 1984.89 were originally sent to the Heracleopolite nome, and that at least two of the letters were addressed to an official in that nome.[731] That all three letters were sent to the same location, and possibly to the same person, fits with the fact that they were found together – albeit in a secondary context.

[723] See Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis*, 43.

[724] See Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 59-66.

[725] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 433-50.

[726] See Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 61-63, and Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 434-43. Note that the letter also mentions the "town of Hut-uben." The location of this settlement remains unknown; see Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 63, and Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 443 y. For the recipients of the plots of land, see 5.2.2.2.4 below.

[727] See Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 64-65, and Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 438 n. 6, 440-41 g m n.

[728] See Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 65-66, and Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 444-48.

[729] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 437, 446-47 c-e. The title "him of Heracleopolis" was not recognized by Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 65, who read "Hormaakheru son of Panakhtpefiab" in P. Ashmolean 1984.89.

[730] See Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 64 l. 1.

[731] For Hormaakheru's social standing, see 5.2.2.2.3 below.

5.2.2.1.2 Place of writing: Memphis(?)

In contrast with the intended destination of the letters, the location from which they were sent is more difficult to reconstruct. In 1972, Jean Yoyotte suggested that the Overseer of the Seal who sent P. Ashmolean 1984.87 and 1984.88 may have been located at Memphis.[732] A connection between Petubastis Seheribre's rebellion and Memphis was subsequently adopted by Stephen Ruzicka and Olaf Kaper.[733] However, Yoyotte did not explain why he located the Overseer of the Seal in that city.[734] When one looks at the 2004 and 2015 editions of the letters, it is clear that the letters which were sent by the Overseer of the Seal reveal nothing about their place of origin. On the other hand, P. Ashmolean 1984.89 – the letter which was sent by another Overseer called Pefheriheter – does provide us with a brief indication of a place of writing. The opening lines of the letter can be quoted in full: "The overseer(?) … Pefheriheter(?) greets Hormaakheru him of Heracleopolis before Ptah that he may give you [praise and] love(?) before Pharaoh […] Oh may [Re] cause [his lifetime to be long!] I sent Peteese son of …(?) […]" (P. Ashmolean 1984.89, l. 1-2).[735] It is important to observe that lines 1 and 2 follow greeting formulae that are widely attested in demotic correspondence. The wish for a long life, reconstructed in line 2, can be summarized as *i dy* DN *ḳy pɜy-f ʿḥʿ*. The most prominent deity in this formula was Re, regardless of the location from which the letter was sent.[736] The formula in line 1 can be summarized as PN1 *smɜʿ r* PN2 *m-bɜḥ* DN. Unlike the formula in line 2, the deity invoked in this formula was usually the most prominent god in the region or settlement where the letter was written. Residents of Thebes would generally refer to Amun, residents of Elephantine to Khnum, and residents of Hermopolis to Thoth.[737] If we take this rule into account, we may assume that P. Ashmolean 1984.89, with its explicit invocation of Ptah, was written in Memphis, the city that housed Ptah's most prominent sanctuary. Incidentally, this assumption is strengthened by the clay bulla which sealed the letter: it, too, referred to Ptah - though in a phrase that remains

[732] See Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 223.

[733] See Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West*, 23, 237 n. 41, and Kaper, "Petubastis IV," 128, 137-38, 142, 144.

[734] Yoyotte's suggestion may have followed from the fact that the Overseer of the Seal could be connected to a grave at Saqqara; see Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 220, and the discussion in 5.2.2.2.1 below.

[735] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 446. According to ibid., 446 a, "[t]he rather faint and unclear traces of writing preceding the name of the sender possibly indicate a title beginning with *mr*, but, for reasons of space, hardly again *mr-ḫtm* as in P. Ashmolean 1984.87." Note that the name "Pefheriheter" was not recognized by Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 65, who translated it as "his great chief."

[736] See Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 191-92.

[737] See ibid., 175-77. For the transliteration *smɜʿ* rather than *smɜ*, see Quack, "Bemerkungen zur Struktur der demotischen Schrift," 234.

difficult to translate.[738] Whether P. Ashmolean 1984.87 and 1984.88 were written in the same city remains an open question.

Table 4. The Meydum letters: summary of contents.

	P. Ashmolean 1984.87	**P. Ashmolean 1984.88**	**P. Ashmolean 1984.89**
Sender	Overseer of the Seal	Overseer of the Seal	Overseer […] Pefheriheter
Addressee	Hormaakheru son of Pasheriah	[…]	Hormaakheru, him of Heracleopolis
Subject	Land in Heracleopolis	Land in Heracleopolis	[…] in Heracleopolis
Date	6 Choiak, year 1	[…]	17 Choiak, year 1
Seal inscription	"Protection of Seheribre; the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik"	-	"Ptahhetepher"
Sent from	-	-	Memphis(?)
Sent to	Heracleopolis	Heracleopolis	Heracleopolis

5.2.2.2 The individuals connected to the Meydum letters

In addition to providing us with two locations in Egypt that may have been connected to Petubastis Seheribre's rebellion (see below), P. Ashmolean 1984.87, 1984.88 and 1984.89 give us our first and only clue regarding the individuals who recognized Petubastis Seheribre's reign. To "recognize" a king's reign is understood here as the practical act of acknowledging a king's authority over a specific region or group of people. In Egyptian sources – and Persian-Period sources in general – , such recognition is most often shown by the fact that people dated their texts to the regnal years of the king in question. As discussed in Chapter 3 and 5.2.2 above, the name of the king is not mentioned in the date formulae of the Meydum letters. This was a common omission in demotic epistolography. Nevertheless, it is highly likely that 6 Choiak of regnal year one in P. Ashmolean 1984.87 and 17 Choiak of regnal year one in P. Ashmolean 1984.89 referred to the reign of Petubasis Seheribre.[739]

[738] A drawing of the seal impression can be found in Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis*, pl. 37 no. 44; a photograph is given in Knobel, Midgley, Milne, and Petrie, *Historical Studies*, pl. 20 no. 269. Petrie transliterated the hieroglyphs on the seal as "Ptah-hotep-her" (Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis*, 43 no. 44), though this disregards the two ankh(?)-signs that stand on either side of the divine figure. See also Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 218 n. 1, who calls the inscription "cryptographique."

[739] See 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.2.5.

We may therefore conclude that the Overseer of the Seal who sent P. Ashmolean 1984.87 – and probably P. Ashmolean 1984.88 -, and the Overseer Pefheriheter who sent P. Ashmolean 1984.89 recognized Seheribre's reign. By extension, we may assume that the official to whom the letters were addressed, a person called Hormaakheru, also recognized Seheribre's reign. If he had recognized the reign of Darius I, after all, officials who recognized Seheribre's reign would not have had the authority to delegate tasks to him – an authority which the Overseer of the Seal of P. Ashmolean 1984.87 clearly did enjoy.[740]

The conclusion that the senders and recipient(s) of the Meydum letters recognized the reign of the Egyptian rebel king is significant for two reasons. First, it allows us to reconstruct the geographical spread of Seheribre's rebellion in more detail. As discussed above, it is clear that Hormaakheru was located in Heracleopolis, and that Pefheriheter may have been located in Memphis. We may therefore conclude that Seheribre had expanded his control from the Dakhla Oasis to these cities in the Nile Valley by the time that the Meydum letters were written, i.e. by 5 and 16 April 521 BC (6 and 17 Choiak of regnal year one). Second, the letters give us a glimpse – however small – of the people that ended up recognizing the reign of Petubastis Seheribre rather than the reign of Darius I during the politically fraught year of 521 BC. It is important to emphasize that "to recognize" a king's reign is not the same as actively supporting that king's political aims. For example, it is possible that Petubastis Seheribre wrested parts of Egypt from the Persians by force, and that the inhabitants of those regions subsequently recognized Seheribre as the *de facto* ruler. This does not imply that those inhabitants had had an active hand in the rebellion.[741] This observation also applies to the senders and recipient(s) of the Meydum letters. Despite this caveat, the information which the Meydum letters provide on the profession and social standing of some of the people who fell under Seheribre's hegemony in 521 BC is valuable in and of itself: it allows us to go beyond generic statements such as "the Egyptians" rebelled, or the occasionally voiced assumption that the rebellions enjoyed little recognition.[742] It is noteworthy, for example, that the senders and one of the recipients of the Meydum letters – who recognized Seheribre's reign within four months of his accession – were high-ranking

[740] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 437, and 5.2.2.1.1 above.

[741] This observation especially applies to several individuals who are mentioned in the Meydum letters, but who had no hand in the creation of the documents (see 5.2.2.2.4 below): the letters indicate that they were subordinate to the men who sent and received the letters, and hence fell under Seheribre's ultimate authority; but on the basis of this fact alone, it is impossible to tell whether they themselves supported Seheribre's reign in any active sense of the word.

[742] See e.g. Ray, "Egypt 525 – 404 B.C.," 276-77, Rottpeter, "Initiatoren und Träger," 27-28, and Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West*, 23.

Egyptian state officials, some of whom may have enjoyed considerable wealth and authority. As this aspect has been little highlighted, the following sections discuss the individuals connected to the letters in more detail.[743] The first three sections focus on the senders and recipient of the texts; the fourth discusses some the people over whom they exercised their authority.

5.2.2.2.1 The Overseer of the Seal Psamtik (P. Ashmolean 1984.87 and 1984.88)

To repeat, two of the Meydum letters – P. Ashmolean 1984.87 and 1984.88 – were sent by an Overseer of the Seal (*mr ḫtm*). Overseers of the Seal, or "treasurers," were generally high court officials who were involved in the management of the state's financial resources.[744] The letters from the Meydum pyramid show that this particular Overseer had the authority to distribute land in the nome of Heracleopolis, and to delegate the task to a local official called Hormaakheru.[745] In Chapter 3, we discussed that the Overseer of the Seal of the Meydum papyri is likely to be identified with the Overseer of the Seal called Psamtik. The latter's name and title feature on the seal impression that was attached to P. Ashmolean 1984.87 (UC13098).[746] In 1972, Jean Yoyotte suggested that another Egyptian source may be connected to this Overseer as well. The source in question is a tomb chamber that was excavated by Auguste Mariette in the mid-nineteenth century.[747] As the latter has the potential to shed more light on one of Petubastis Seheribre's highest officials, the following paragraphs explore the connection in greater depth.

The tomb that was excavated by Mariette was located at Saqqara, the vast necropolis near Memphis. More specifically, it was located several hundred meters southeast of the pyramid of Unas. Though the tomb was never published in its entirety, it seems that it consisted of a large vertical shaft which led to a number of burial chambers. A selection of funerary texts, which included copies of the Pyramid Texts, adorned the walls of the main chamber. A handful of biographical texts were inscribed on the northern, western and southern walls. The latter indicate that the tomb was originally built for

[743] Thus far, the individuals mentioned in the Meydum letters have received only brief comments by Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 218-20, (in the case of the Overseer of the Seal), and by the editors of the papyri (see Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 59-66, and Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 433-50).

[744] See Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 218-19, Vernus, "Observations," 251-60, and Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 32-34.

[745] For Hormaakheru, see 5.2.2.2.1 below.

[746] See Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis*, 43, pl. 37 no. 43, Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 217 no. 3, and the discussion in 3.3.2.3.

[747] See Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 220.

a man called Psamtik, the son of a woman called Meretneith.[748] As was common for Egyptian officials, Psamtik son of Meretneith had occupied several different civil posts during his career. His titles included, for example, Director of the Palace (*ḫrp ʿḥ*), Overseer of the Great House (*mr pr wr*), Overseer of the Armoury (*mr pr-ʿḥꜣ*), and Overseer of the Scribes of the Royal Repast (*mr sšw ʿbw nsw*). He was also a Mayor (*ḥꜣty-ʿ*) and a Sole Friend (*smr wʿty*). Psamtik's most important title, however, was Overseer of the Seal: this title was mentioned first in all three biographical texts, and it was additionally mentioned last on the northern and southern walls.[749]

Though the identification between the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik at Saqqara and the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik of the Meydum papyri is tentative in the absence of information on the latter's parentage, the assumption that they were the same individual is plausible.[750] There are two indications in this regard. The first indication is the date of Psamtik's tomb. Before it was suggested that Psamtik may have recognized Petubastis Seheribre's reign, multiple scholars had already dated his grave to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty – and even to the (late) reign of Amasis. The date was based on the inscriptions in the tomb chamber, as well the style of several artefacts that were found within it.[751] A

[748] Several brief comments on the tomb and the objects that were found within it were published by Mariette, *Notice des principaux monuments*, 157-58 no. 385-87, 179 no. 446, 204 no. 560, 228 no. 711-14, and by ibid., *Monuments divers*, 26, pl. 77i, 29, pl. 95-96. The inscriptions were published by Daressy, "Inscriptions du tombeau de Psametik," 17-24. More recent descriptions of the tomb include Porter and Moss, *Memphis*, 2:670-71, map 62, and Gestermann, *Die Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte*, 95-100. Due to the tomb's incomplete publication, it is unclear whether it was a Saite-Persian shaft tomb, as suggested by Stammers, *Elite Late Period Egyptian Tombs*, 115.

[749] See Daressy, "Inscriptions du tombeau de Psametik," 17 ("Mur nord"), 19 ("Mur est, au nord de la porte"), 20 ("Mur ouest"), 21 ("Mur sud"), 24 ("Mur est, au sud de la porte"). Some of Psamtik's titles are listed in Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 164-67, and Stammers, *Elite Late Period Egyptian Tombs*, 168-69. It is important to note, however, that the latter publications have confused some of Psamtik's titles with those of another Psamtik (as already observed by Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 438 n. 7). The sarcophagus of the latter individual, "Psamtik B," was found in the same tomb, but he was the son of Meramuntabes rather than Meretneith. In addition, Psamtik B's primary title was Overseer of the Scribes of the Royal Repast rather than Overseer of the Seal. The latter title is, in fact, not attested for Psamtik B. For the text on Psamtik B's sarcophagus, see Daressy, "Inscriptions du tombeau de Psametik," 24-25.

[750] Note that it has been suggested that a certain "Psamtik son of Tjahapimu" mentioned in l. 3 of P. Ashmolean 1984.87 could be the Overseer of the Seal; see Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 63, and Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 442 w. If this identification is correct, however, we would still be unable to compare the parentage of both Psamtiks, as Tjahapimu is a patronymic and Meretneith a matronymic.

[751] See e.g. Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients*, 660 no. 435, Meulenaere, "Trois personnages saïtes," 253-55 n. 6, Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 64, and Yoyotte "Pétoubastis III," 220. The artefacts in question are an offering table and three statues; see Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 26, pl. 77i, 29, pl. 95-96. At least one of objects (the Hathor statue) mentions the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik. The others highlight the title "Overseer of the Scribes of the Royal

second indication is the title that the two men shared. At present, ca. eight Overseers of the Seal are attested for the Saite Dynasty. One of them, a certain *Ptḥ-nfr*, can be ascribed to the reign of Psamtik I.[752] Another, a man called *Ḥr*, can be ascribed to the reign of Psamtik II or Apries.[753] Three of them, called *Wꜣḥ-ỉb-rᶜ-m-ꜣḫt*, *Wꜣḥ-ỉb-rᶜ-wn-nfr*, and *Pꜣ-dỉ-n-ꜣst*, probably held office during reign of Amasis.[754] An additional three, by the name of *Wꜣḥ-ỉb-rᶜ-mr-nt*, *Pꜣy=f-ṯꜣw-dỉ-ḫnsw*, and *Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣst*, have been dated approximately to the seventh to sixth centuries BC.[755] That the Overseer of the Seal who was buried at Saqqara and the Overseer of the Seal who sent P. Ashmolean 1984.87 and 1984.88 are the only treasurers from this time period who went by the name of "Psamtik" suggests that we are dealing with one individual.

Repast," which could refer to the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik (as has been assumed by most scholars) or to Psamtik B (see n. 749 above). It should be noted that a Thirtieth Dynasty date for the tomb has been considered as well; see e.g. Daressy, "Inscriptions du tombeau de Psametik," 17. This is largely due to the fact that a statuette inscribed with the name of Nectanebo II – rather than Nectanebo I, as Mariette stated – was found inside the grave; see Mariette, *Notice des principaux monuments*, 204 no. 560, ibid., *Monuments divers*, 29, pl. 95 b, and Vittmann, "Zwei Königinnen," 44-45. It is possible, however, that the grave was used for several generations, as was the case with several other "Saite" tombs; see Bareš, *Shaft Tomb of Udjahorresnet*, 29, and Bareš, "Lesser Burial Chambers," 87-94, esp. 91. The existence of multiple chambers in Psamtik's tomb, the find of "momies en assez grand nombre," and the remains of two sarcophagi – one belonging to Psamtik B, the other to a lady called Khedebnetjerbonit – support this interpretation; see Mariette, *Notice des principaux monuments*, 157-58 no. 385, 204 no. 560, 228 no. 711-14, and Daressy, "Inscriptions du tombeau de Psametik," 24-25.

[752] See Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter, *Catalogues des stèles*, 148-49 no. 194-95, and Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 219 n. 1 A.

[753] See De Meulenaere, *Le surnom égyptien*, 17-18 no. 56, Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 119 n. 1 B, and Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 235-36 E8.

[754] See Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 119 n. 1 D, E, and Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 252-54 F6, 255 F8, 260-61 F12. In light of Amasis' forty-four-year reign, it is probable that these men were successors of one another. It is possible, however, that some Overseers of the Seal held the office at the same time. The second seal impression from Petubastis Seheribre's reign features an Overseer of the Seal called *Ḥr-wḏꜣ*, for example (Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 217 no. 4; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Museum Associates, accessed January 16, 2020, https://collections.lacma.org/node/245442). In light of Seheribre's short reign, it is likely that *Ḥr-wḏꜣ* was the colleague – rather than predecessor or successor – of the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik. Regrettably, nothing else is known about *Ḥr-wḏꜣ*.

[755] See Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 119 n. 1 C, H, I, and Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 285-86 S22, 289 S31, 311 S81. A ninth Overseer of the Seal, possibly called *Sᶜnḫ-wꜣḥ-ỉb-rᶜ*, may have been buried at Heliopolis; see Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 438 n. 11, and Bickel and Tallet, "La nécropole saïte," 79.

If the identification between the Psamtik of the Meydum papyri and the Psamtik of the tomb is accepted, it is possible to go a step further in our interpretation of the sources – though it is important to observe that we enter the realm of speculation here. For example, we might entertain the possibility that the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik was already in office before Petubastis Seheribre came to power. His long list of titles is suggestive in this regard. In addition, monumental tombs such as his took considerable resources, and were generally built years in advance of someone's expected demise. The tomb of the well-known Saite-Persian-Period official Udjahorresnet is illustrative in this regard. When Udjahorresnet's grave at Abusir was discovered in the 1990s, numerous demotic inscriptions were found within the tomb, some of which dated to year forty-one and forty-two of Amasis (529/28 – 528/27 BC). They were probably left behind while the grave was being constructed.[756] The inscriptions on Udjahorresnet's well-known statue in the Vatican, however, show that he held office during the reign of Amasis, as well as during the reigns of Psamtik III, Cambyses, and Darius I.[757] In other words, his grave must have been built years before his death. In a similar vein, it is conceivable that Psamtik's tomb would have been constructed at the end of the Saite Period or very beginning of the Persian Period as well. If so, it would be a small but important indication that the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik was a member of the "ancien régime," rather than a homo novus who owed his position to Petubastis Seheribre alone.

5.2.2.2.2 The Overseer(?) Pefheriheter (P. Ashmolean 1984.89)

The third letter from the Meydum pyramid, P. Ashmolean 1984.89, was sent by another Overseer (*mr*), whose exact title is regrettably illegible.[758] The Overseer's name was Pefheriheter. Aside from the enigmatic seal impression that sealed P. Ashmolean 1984.89, no additional sources can be attributed to this official.[759] This makes it difficult to evaluate his standing. What we do know is that Pefheriheter must have had some degree of authority, as he had the ability to send someone to Heracleopolis (P. Ashmolean 1984.89, l. 2). In addition, it can be suggested that he was of lower rank than Hormaakheru, the person to whom he sent the letter. Suggestive in this regard is the introductory formula of P. Ashmolean 1984.89: as discussed above, the letter greeted Hormaakheru "before Ptah

[756] See Bareš, "Demotic Sources," 35-38. The foundation deposits in the tomb likewise refer to Amasis, though without indication of regnal years; see Bareš, "Foundation Deposits," 1-3.

[757] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 1-26 no. 1, and Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 117-22 4.11.

[758] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 446 a.

[759] For the seal, see 5.2.2.1.2 above.

that he may give you [praise and] love(?) before Pharaoh" (l. 1).[760] According to Mark Depauw, to greet someone before a deity was common in "polite formal letters and friendly informal ones," yet absent "in letters from superiors to their subordinates."[761] In addition, to wish praise and love to someone was restricted to "polite formal letters from subordinates to superiors."[762] By extension, we may assume that Pefheriheter was of lower standing than the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik, as the latter was of sufficiently high rank to give orders to Hormaakheru.

5.2.2.2.3 Hormaakheru of Heracleopolis (P. Ashmolean 1984.87 and 1984.89)

At least two of the Meydum letters – namely P. Ashmolean 1984.87, which was sent by the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik, and P. Ashmolean 1984.89, which was sent by Pefheriheter – were sent to a man called Hormaakheru. P. Ashmolean 1984.87 calls Hormaakheru a "son of Pasheriah," while P. Ashmolean 1984.89 calls him "him of Heracleopolis."[763] As mentioned above, both letters concern affairs regarding the nome of Heracleopolis, which Hormaakheru was expected to arrange. It is therefore safe to assume that we are dealing with one individual, who happened to be addressed in two different ways.[764] This individual, Hormaakheru son of Pasheriah, an official of Heracleopolis, is not known from other sources. If we wish to understand his position, however, the appellation "him of Heracleopolis" (*pa Ḥt-nn-nsw*) is important.

In the Saite to Persian Period, the formula "him of GN" (*pa* GN) is attested as a paraphrase for a title. It may originally have stood for "Mayor of GN" (*ḥꜣty-ꜥ n* GN), or "Chief of GN" (*ḥry n* GN).[765] The specific variant *pa Ḥt-nn-nsw* is attested as well. The title occurs several times in P. Rylands 9, a long demotic text written in the reign of Darius I. In short, P. Rylands 9 records a petition – perhaps literary rather than legal – that was written by a certain Peteese (III). The petition claims that Peteese's family had held priestly rights in the temple of Amun at Teudjoi – a town ca. 45 kilometers south of Heracleopolis – since the early Saite period. However, their rights had been infringed upon for years

[760] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 446.

[761] See Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 179. See also ibid., 136-37. 190

[762] See ibid., 190.

[763] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 437, 446.

[764] See ibid., 446 c. It is possible that P. Ashmolean 1984.88 was sent to Hormaakheru as well, but the addressee of the letter falls in a lacuna; see Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 64.

[765] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 446 d, Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2:507-8, 551-52, and Vittmann, "Eine demotische Erwähnung," 126-27.

by a variety of individuals, and both Peteese and his ancestors had tried (and failed) to receive justice with the help of high-standing officials.[766] Within this story, the rulers of Heracleopolis play a prominent role: some had appropriated the rights in the temple to themselves, while others were called upon to mediate in the conflict at Teudjoi. The earliest such rulers were Peteese and his son Somtutefnakht. Both held the title Master of Shipping (*ꜥ3 n mryt*) during the reign of Psamtik I. Other Egyptian sources have shown that Somtutefnakht was a historical figure, and that he also held the title Overseer of Upper Egypt (*mr šmꜥ*).[767] According to P. Rylands 9, Peteese (I) – the ancestor of Peteese (III), and not to be confused with Peteese the Master of Shipping – was chief of Heracleopolis (*ḥry n Ḥt-nn-nsw*) at the time. This post appears to have been second in importance only to the Master of Shipping.[768] In the years that followed, however, the office of Master of Shipping – which may have involved authority over the entirety of southern Egypt – seems to have disappeared.[769] Consequently, the highest official in the Herakleopolite nome was the chief (*ḥry*). P. Rylands 9 suggests that Peteese III's family had lost this office by the reign of Psamtik II, when a certain Horwedja son of Herkheb was the chief of Heracleopolis.[770] In the reign of Amasis, the same office seems to have been held by a certain Herbes son of Paneferiu, who is described as "him of Heracleopolis" (*pa Ḥt-nn-nsw*).[771] It is clear from context that these men held a type of governorship over the entire nome, and that they had the authority to e.g. intervene with local temple affairs, and to command (small) groups of soldiers.[772] Though Hormaakheru son of Pasheriah – the *pa Ḥt-nn-nsw* in April 521 BC – is not mentioned in P. Rylands 9, we may assume that he was the successor of Horwedja son of Herkheb, and that he enjoyed comparable privileges.[773] As is the case with the

[766] For a summary of P. Rylands 9 and its probable date of writing (which lies somewhere after year nine of Darius I), see Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri*, 60-65, and Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 1:204-12, 2:686.

[767] See ibid., 2:708.

[768] See ibid., 2:709.

[769] See ibid., 2:709-12.

[770] See ibid., 2:713.

[771] See Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2:713.

[772] See e.g. ibid., 1:164-67 15.2-7, 180-89 19.8-21.2. The official may not have been the highest "in command," however: when Herbes was chief, a certain Psamtikawyneit was general (*mr mšꜥ*) in the nome of Heracleopolis (see ibid., 1:182-83 19.13). It is not clear from the text whether he was subordinate to Herbes.

[773] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 446 d. The suggestion that Hormaakheru son of Pasheriah was a descendant of a certain Hormaakheru son of Ptahirdites, a man of uncertain rank who, according to P. Rylands 9, 16, lived in the (early) reign of Amasis, is tentative (*pace* ibid., 446 n. 45).

Overseer of the Seal Psamtik, it is possible – though speculative – that Hormaakheru already held this position before Petubastis Seheribre came to power.

5.2.2.2.4 Other individuals (P. Ashmolean 1984.87, 1984.88 and 1984.89)

Aside from the senders and recipient of the letters, P. Ashmolean 1984.87, 1984.88 and 1984.89 mention ca. eight additional individuals. Two of them had an active hand in the letters: Wahibresaptah was the scribe of P. Ashmolean 1984.87, and Horsedjem was the scribe of P. Ashmolean 1984.89.[774] The other six individuals are only briefly referred to. In P. Ashmolean 1984.87, for example, we hear that an anonymous "scribe of accounts" (*sḫ-ỉw=f-ỉp*) had made a document regarding land distribution in the nome of Heracleopolis. The document stated that 140 arouras of land were to be given to five people. Of those five people, the names of Imhotep son of Peteese, Peteese son of Pefheriheter, and a son of Wahibre have been preserved. In addition, a man called Psamtik son of Tjahapimu was not allowed to do something – perhaps he was not allowed to intervene with the distribution.[775] In P. Ashmolean 1984.88, the name Naneferibre is mentioned in a broken context.[776] In P. Ashmolean 1984.89, a man called Peteese – evidently a common name at the time – was sent to Heracleopolis. None of these individuals can be confidently identified with individuals known from other sources.[777] Nevertheless, three of them deserve to be highlighted. The men in question are the aforementioned Imhotep son of Peteese, Peteese son of Pefheriheter, and a son of Wahibre whose name falls in a lacuna.

According to P. Ashmolean 1984.87, Imhotep, Peteese, and the anonymous son of Wahibre were each to receive thirty arouras of arable land in the nome of Heracleopolis. The men are identified as "hermotybians" (*rmṯ-ḏm*). The profession of the hermotybians is probably best known from the *Histories* of Herodotus. In a story about the civil war between Apries and Amasis, the historian from Halicarnassus divided the society of Late Period Egypt into seven classes. One of these classes consisted of warriors, who were further divided into 160.000 hermotybians and 250.000 kalasirians. Neither practiced any common trade, as they were dedicated entirely to the military (*Histories* 2.164-67). At a later point in the *Histories*, it is claimed that the hermotybians and kalasirians served the

[774] See Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 437, 446.

[775] See ibid., 437-443.

[776] See Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 64.

[777] Compare Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts," 60 n. 8, 62, who suggests that two people might be identified with individuals attested in P. Rylands 9, with Vittmann, "Two Administrative Letters," 437 l. 3, 441 o.

Persian Empire, for example during the battle at Plataea in 479 BC (*Histories* 9.32).[778] At first sight, that some Egyptian warriors received land in the Heracleopolite nome in the 520s BC is not particularly noteworthy. It is clear from P. Rylands 9 that hermotybians were present in the nome during the Saite Period, and that they answered to the chief of Heracleopolis on the one hand, and to a general (*mr mšʿ*) on the other.[779] In addition, demotic texts from the late sixth and fifth century BC continue to document the presence of a general and of land-holding hermotybians and kalasirians in the area of Heracleopolis.[780] The significance of P. Ashmolean 1984.87 rather lies in the fact that some of these soldiers were working within Petubastis Seheribre's jurisdiction in April 521 BC. As discussed above, we cannot be certain whether these people would have actively supported the rebellion; but it is safe to assume that the land they received in the Heracleopolite nome was given in exchange for military service. At present, this is the only glimpse that contemporary sources provide us of the army with which Seheribre would have fought the Persian Empire.

5.2.3 Conclusion

The Egyptian sources from Petubastis Seheribre's reign provide us with several clues on both the geographical reach and the "supporters" of the Egyptian rebellion that began in 521 BC. First, the temple blocks from Amheida indicate that Seheribre controlled the Dakhla Oasis – and probably the entire Southern Oasis – in the 520s BC. The fact that he did, and that he chose to rebuild a sanctuary in a remote oasis rather than in the Nile Valley, suggests that his rebellion started in the Western Desert. Seheribre might even have occupied a position of authority there before the Bisitun crisis began. It is important to observe that this suggestion is compatible with the references to Bastet that are included in Seheribre's birth name and epithet: a cult to Bastet is known to have existed in the oases in the mid-first millennium BC, and was certainly not exclusive to the eastern Delta city of Bubastis (5.2.1-5.2.1.1). Second, the papyri from the Meydum pyramid show that Seheribre's reign was eventually recognized in the nome of Heracleopolis. In addition, it might have been recognized at Memphis, the capital of Achaemenid Egypt (5.2.2.1). The individuals who recognized his reign

[778] For a discussion of this "class," and its attestation in Egyptian sources, see Fischer-Bovet, "Egyptian Warriors," 210-19.

[779] See Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 1:183 19.13. See also ibid., 1:151 11.12, for kalasirians in a village near Teudjoi.

[780] See Tuplin, "Military Environment," 307, 309-10, 315, and Smith, Martin and Tuplin, "Egyptian Documents," 296-97 iv.

included three (high-ranking) Egyptian state officials: an Overseer of the Seal called Psamtik, who may be connected to a monumental tomb at Saqqara, an Overseer of uncertain standing called Pefheriheter, and a high official in – and probably the "chief" of – Heracleopolis, called Hormaakheru son of Pasheriah. None are known from sources that can be definitively dated to the reigns of other kings. It is conceivable, however, that they would have occupied high-level government posts before the reign of Seheribre began. In addition, the Meydum letters show that a handful of soldiers, who received land in the Heracleopolis nome on Psamtik's orders, were at Seheribre's disposal. As the papyri are dated to April 521 BC (Choiak of year one), we can conclude that the rebellion must have spread from the Dakhla Oasis to Heracleopolis and (possibly) to Memphis within four months of Seheribre's accession (5.2.2.2-5.2.2.2.4). In light of this, we can no longer state that Petubastis Seheribre merely enjoyed a "pouvoir précaire et territorialement restreint."[781] On the contrary, the rebellion was relatively widespread, enjoyed military support from Egyptian soldiers, and was quickly recognized by high-ranking Egyptian officials.

As a final remark, it is important to emphasize that the aforementioned reconstruction is based on the Egyptian sources that are presently at our disposal. As these sources are not very numerous, our reconstruction of the rebellion is necessarily incomplete. What happened after April 521 BC, and what happened in other parts of the country, remains unknown. It may be useful to highlight these gaps in our knowledge. First, as discussed in Chapter 3, Seheribre's reign may have lasted until 518 BC, when Darius I finally had the time and resources to reconquer Egypt.[782] It is conceivable that Seheribre's rule would have been recognized in other parts of the country before that time. However, as the naos fragments, the scarab, and one of the seal impressions that bear Seheribre's name(s) are of unknown provenance, this cannot be verified.[783] Second, it is likewise unknown whether some parts of Egypt remained under Persian control from 521 to 518 BC, as is known to have happened during the rebellion of 487/86 BC.[784] As discussed in Chapter 3, a papyrus from Edfu refers to year three of Darius I (520/19 BC). If the papyrus was written during that year, it could indicate that some Egyptians in southern Egypt recognized the reign of the Persian king while others may still have recognized Seheribre. However, as it is likely that "year three" was a retroactive date, the papyrus cannot be used to reconstruct the political situation at Edfu in 520/19 BC.[785] Other texts that are dated

[781] Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III," 223.

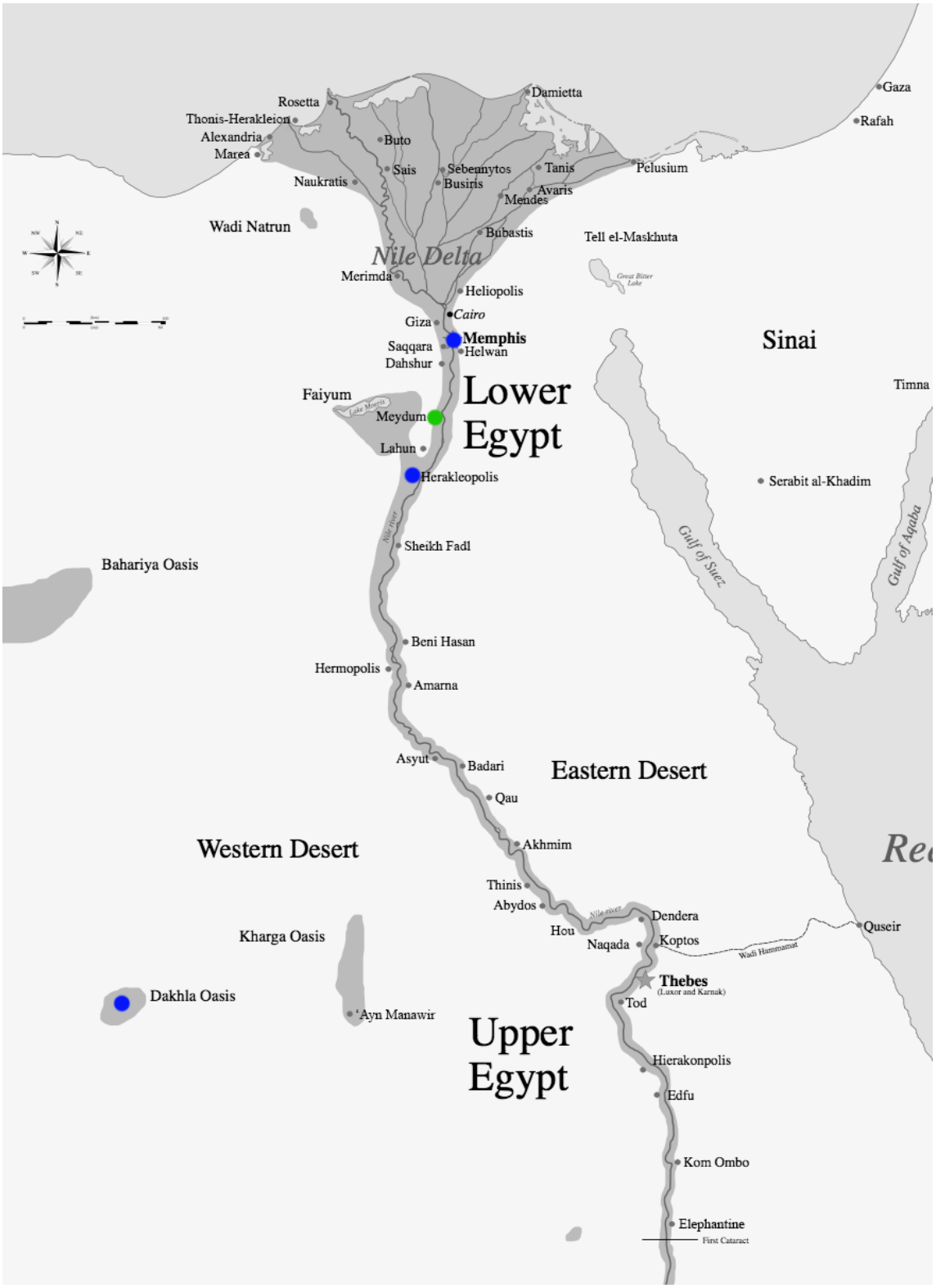
[782] See 3.4.

[783] See 5.2.

[784] See 5.3 below.

[785] See 3.3.1.2.

Figure 18. Map of ancient Egypt, which features the locations where Petubastis Seheribre's reign was recognized (indicated by blue dots), and locations where the rebellion may have had an impact (indicated by green dots) – though the exact form of this impact remains unclear. (Adapted by the author from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ancient_Egypt_map-en.svg)



to Persian kings all pre- or post-date the rebellion.[786] Third and finally, it is unknown what happened with Petubastis Seheribre, and with officials like Psamtik, Pefheriheter and Hormaakheru, when Darius I regained control over the Nile Valley. Darius' Bisitun inscription claims that numerous rebel kings were executed on his orders, so we may assume that Seheribre suffered a similar fate.[787] What would have happened to Seheribre's officials is less certain. All three – and especially Psamtik and Hormaakheru – occupied high positions of authority in Seheribre's government. As such, we might entertain the possibility that they were members of his "foremost followers" – a phrase which is used in the Bisitun inscription to refer to the inner circle of the rebel kings of the 520s BC. These followers numbered between ca. 46 and 80 people, and were often executed with the rebel king in question.[788] However, as we cannot be certain why and in what circumstances these officials began to recognize Seheribre's reign, this remains necessarily hypothetical.[789] Alternatively, we know that some Egyptian officials whose careers had begun during Amasis' reign remained in office under Darius I. Udjahorresnet is the best-known example.[790] Yet, whether these officials had recognized the reign of Petubastis Seheribre between 521 and 518 BC – just like Psamtik, Pefheriheter and Hormaakheru had done – is unknown. It may be significant that the inscriptions on Udjahorresnet's statue do not mention Seheribre, though they explicitly mention Amasis, Psamtik III, Cambyses, and Darius I.[791] Then again, as the statue was created during the later reign of Darius I, Udjahorresnet's "retroactive" autobiography may have omitted Seheribre's reign for political reasons that had little to do with which king he factually recognized during the fraught years that followed the Bisitun crisis.

[786] See 3.3.1.1 and 3.3.1.3.

[787] See 3.2.1.2.

[788] See Bae, "Comparative Studies," 144-46, 172-73, 180-81, 185-88, Hyland, "Casualty Figures," 177, and table 1 in Chapter 3.

[789] See 5.2.2.2.

[790] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 1-26 no. 1, Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 117-22 4.11, and the discussion in 5.2.2.2.1. The other official who is known to have remained in office from Amasis to Darius I's reign is the Overseer of Works Khnemibre; see the discussion in 4.3.2.1.

[791] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 1-26 no. 1, and Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 117-22 4.11. Whether one passage on the statue, which speaks of a great disaster in Egypt, is an oblique reference to the rebellion is debated: see e.g. Posener, *La première domination perse*, 169, Cameron, "Darius, Egypt, and the 'Lands Beyond the Sea,'" 310-11, Lloyd, "Inscription of Udjahorresnet," 176-78, Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 56-57, and Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 120 n. 14.

5.3 The rebellion of Psamtik IV

In Egypt, the years of the Bisitun crisis were followed by a relatively long period of political tranquility. As discussed in Chapter 4, Darius I was recognized as the undisputed ruler of the country for ca. thirty years. During this period, Darius erected numerous Egyptian and Egypto-Persian monuments in the Nile Valley. Among them were the monumental canal stelae in the eastern Delta, which emphasized that the king had conquered Egypt from Persia.[792] Nevertheless, at the end of Darius' reign the Persian king was again faced with the threat of an Egyptian secession. According to Herodotus, Egypt rebelled in ca. 487/86 BC, a few years after the Persians' defeat at Marathon (*Histories* 7.1). Darius passed away before he could the thwart the unrest, so the rebellion was defeated by Xerxes in ca. 485/84 BC (*Histories* 7.4, 7.7).[793] The Egyptian sources that can be dated to this timespan are relatively numerous: they consist of ca. ten papyri, two rock inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat, and four inscribed vases.[794] Of these sources, three demotic contracts from Hou are explicitly dated to the reign of Psamtik IV, a rebel king who ruled at the end of Darius I's reign.[795] The remainder are dated to the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes, though one of them – a demotic letter from Elephantine – mentions "men who rebel" at the country's southern border.[796]

Like the sources from Petubastis Seheribre's reign discussed above, the sources from 487/86 – 485/84 BC – and especially the aforementioned demotic papyri – are significant for two reasons: first, they indicate the geographical extent of the rebellion; second, they provide us with a glimpse of the people who recognized the reign of an Egyptian rebel king rather than a Persian Great King in ca. 486 BC. The following section discusses both topics in depth. Before we get there, however, it is necessary to address a particular claim that is sometimes made regarding the second rebellion. This the claim that the rebellion originated in – and was confined to – the Delta of Egypt.

5.3.1 A Delta rebellion?

The idea that the Egyptian rebellion of 487/86 BC had its focal point in the Delta can be traced back to the nineteenth century. At the time, the idea was influenced by the fact that pharaoh Khababash, a rebel king of the Persian Period, was thought to be connected to the rebellion: the sources from

[792] See 4.1, and the discussion in 2.3.3.1 and 2.4.1.1.

[793] For Herodotus' chronology for the event, see 4.2.

[794] See 4.3-4.4, and figure 15.

[795] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 6*, 10*-11* (P. Hou 4, 7-8), and 4.4.1.3.

[796] See Martin, "Demotic Texts," 296-97 (C4), and 4.3.1.1-4.3.1.3, 4.3.2, 4.4.1.1-4.4.1.2.

Khababash's reign indicated that he had controlled Memphis and the Delta town of Buto.[797] In 1907, however, Wilhelm Spiegelberg re-dated Khababash's reign to the fourth century BC, on the basis of a prosopographical connection between two papyri from Thebes.[798] Subsequently, the only Egyptian evidence for the rebellion of 487/86 BC consisted of several sources that were dated to Persian kings.[799] In the 1980s, this evidence was enlarged by three papyri from the southern Nile Valley, which were dated to Psamtik IV.[800] Though a documented link between the rebellion and sites in northern Egypt had disappeared, the idea of the rebellion's connection to the north persisted. Several scholars in the second half of the twentieth and early twenty-first century have stated that the rebellion began in the Delta, for example, and/or that the (southern) Nile Valley remained under Persian control. In addition, the rebellion has sometimes been connected to Libyans, who are believed to have roamed in the western part of or just to the west of the Delta.[801] Though the reason for connecting the second Egyptian rebellion to the Delta and/or Libyans is not always explained, the hypothesis is essentially based on two elements. Both are discussed below. To anticipate this section's conclusions: it will be argued that neither element is sufficiently convincing; it therefore remains an open question whether the rebellion of 487/86 BC had any connection to the north of Egypt, let alone whether it originated there.

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[797] See e.g. Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 245-48, Maspero, *Les empires*, 713-14, and Petrie, *From the XIXth to the XXXth Dynasties*, 365-66, 368-69.

[798] See Spiegelberg, *Der Papyrus Libbey*, 1-6, and Burstein, "Prelude to Alexander," 150.

[799] Most important among them were P. Loeb 1, Posener 24 and Posener 25; see Martin, "Demotic Texts," 296-97 (C4), Posener, *La première domination perse*, 117-20 nos. 24-25, and 4.3.

[800] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 6*, 10*-11* (P. Hou 4, 7-8), and 4.4.1.3.

[801] See Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67-68, Ray, "Egypt 525 – 404 B.C.," 275-77, Rottpeter, "Initiatoren und Träger," 15-16, Perdu, "Saites and Persians," 152, Yoyotte, "Egyptian Statue of Darius," 257, Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West*, 27-28, and Leahy, "Egypt in the Late Period," 727. Note that "Libyan" is an umbrella-term for various (semi-)nomadic groups who lived to the west of Egypt. They became an increasingly prominent presence within Egypt from the late second millennium BC onwards, so much so that parts of Egypt – including the Delta – were ruled by Libyan kings in the early first millennium BC; see e.g. O'Connor, "Nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) Society," 29-113, Snape, "Emergence of Libya," 93-106, and Naunton, "Libyans and Nubians," 120-39. It is important to observe that there was a lot of acculturation between "Libyans" on the one hand and "Egyptians" on the other, which makes it difficult to identify the former in texts or material culture from Egypt; see e.g. Naunton, "Libyans and Nubians," 133-34. A rare piece of Persian Period evidence on the Libyan population of Egypt is Herodotus, *Histories* 2.18, who notes that the inhabitants of Marea in the western Delta, a town from which the Libyan king Inaros would later launch his rebellion, thought of themselves as "Libyans'" and not "Egyptians."

5.3.1.1 The Delta, Libyans, and "Psamtik"

As is the case with the rebellion of Petubastis Seheribre, the idea that the second Egyptian rebellion began in and may have been confined to the Delta is partly the result of what we know of later Egyptian rebellions. Especially important in this regard is the rebellion of Inaros in the mid-fifth century BC. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Inaros was a Libyan king, who rebelled against Persian rule from Marea, a town in the western Delta. Greco-Roman authors largely localize the rebellion near the Mediterranean coast and in the marshes of northern Egypt (see Herodotus, *Histories* 3.12, 3.15, 7.7; Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 1.104, 1.109-10; Ctesias, *Persica* F14 §36-39). In 1953, Friedrich Kienitz voiced the assumption that the rebellion of 487/86 BC would have been a broadly comparable episode. In Kienitz's words: "Im Jahre 486 brach in Ägypten ein Aufstand aus. (…) Vermutlich haben sich die Dinge genau so wie 25 Jahre später abgespielt. Nicht die eigentlichen Ägypter, sondern die Libyer des Westdeltas haben den Aufstand unternommen und Unterägypten den Persern entrissen. Der persische Hauptstützpunkt, Memphis, wird sich aber gehalten und dadurch den Aufständischen das seinerseits völlig passive Oberägypten solange verschlossen haben, bis das Entsatzheer aus Persien eingetroffen war."[802] In the 1950s, Kienitz's hypothesis lacked explicit support.[803] However, it received new attention in the 1980s. Key in this regard were the three papyri from Hou.

As discussed in Chapter 4, three papyri from Hou, a site at the western edge of the Qena Bend, are dated to the second regnal year of a king called Psamtik. For a large part of the twentieth century, the papyri were attributed to the reign of Psamtik II or to the reign of Psamtik III. In the 1980s, however, Eugene Cruz-Uribe and Pieter Pestman argued that the papyri should be attributed to Psamtik "IV." The latter was a previously unidentified rebel king who ruled at the end of Darius I's reign.[804] Since the sources from Khababash's reign had been separated from the second Egyptian rebellion in the early twentieth century (see above), the papyri from Hou provided scholars with a first glimpse of the identity of the man who may have led the revolt of the 480s BC. The date formulae of the Hou papyri revealed little more than that the man had adopted the title "pharaoh," and that his birth name was

[802] Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67-68.

[803] The idea was partially supported by the hypothesis that southern Egypt had remained under Persian control, which could indicate that the rebellion was confined to the Delta – but this hypothesis can no longer be upheld; see 5.3.1.2 below.

[804] See Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 36-39, and Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 145-48.

"Psamtik."[805] Nevertheless, the latter element was thought to be significant. First, "Psamtik" may originally have been a Libyan name.[806] Second, Libyan rulers from the fifth century BC were sometimes called Psamtik. The best-known example is the father of Inaros, whom both Herodotus and Thucydides call "Psammetichos" (Herodotus, *Histories* 7.7; Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* 1.104).[807] Some scholars therefore suggested that Psamtik IV was a Libyan man, and even that he might be identified with Inaros' father.[808]

Today, the papyri from Hou are still important sources for the reconstruction of the 487/86 BC rebellion. As such, they have been elaborately discussed in Chapter 4, and they will be discussed in more detail below. Whether the papyri can be used to argue that the rebellion was connected to the Delta and/or Libyans is questionable, however. One can make two important counterarguments in this regard. First, although Psamtik may have been a Libyan name, the name cannot be connected to a particular region in Egypt or to the ethnicity of its bearer. As discussed in Chapter 3, "Psamtik" became a popular name in Egypt from the seventh century BC onwards. This popularity was probably the result of its connection to royalty: it was the birth name of Psamtik I Wahibre, Psamtik II Neferibre, and Psamtik III Ankhkaenre. Men who were called "Psamtik," or variants thereof, are subsequently attested throughout the Saite to Persian Period, and in different parts of the country. One example from the Persian Period is the Overseer of the Seal Psamtik, who served Petubastis Seheribre in 521 BC.[809] Second, "Psamtik" seems to have become an especially popular name among rebel kings of the fifth century BC. The name was born by an obscure ruler who may have had authority in Egypt in the 440s BC (Philochorus, *Atthis* 328 F 119; Plutarch, *Pericles* 37). It was also born by a pharaoh in ca. 400 BC, whose reign is attested in demotic ostraca from the Kharga Oasis, and by a pharaoh called "Psamtik Amasis," whose reign is attested by sistrum handle and by a private

[805] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 6*, 10*-11* (P. Hou 4, 7-8).

[806] See e.g. Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Fremdherrschaften in Ägypten," 16. The Libyan etymology of the name is not undisputed, however; see e.g. Ray, "The Names Psammetichus and Takheta," 196-97, and Colin, "Les Libyens en Égypte," 121.

[807] That the name of Inaros' father was Psamtik – or that he claimed it to be so (see below) – is supported by a Greek inscription from Samos; see Dunst, "Archaische Inschriften," 153-55 XXIV, pl. 60 no. 1-2, and 2.5.1.

[808] See e.g. Huss, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit*, 36, and Yoyotte, "Egyptian Statue of Darius," 257. The possibility that Psamtik IV was Inaros' father was first entertained by Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 38-39, though he stressed its uncertainty. Confusingly, Inaros' father is sometimes called "Psamtik IV," even when no explicit connection is made between him and the Psamtik from the Hou papyri; see e.g. Spalinger, "Psammetichus IV," 1173-75, and Moje, *Herrschaftsräume und Herrschaftswissen*, 269.

[809] See 3.3.2.3.1.

statue that was excavated at Mit Rahina.[810] Scholars have rightfully wondered whether all of these kings were originally called Psamtik, or whether they had adopted the name in order to connect themselves to the kings of the Saite Dynasty.[811] When one considers these phenomena, it should be clear that we cannot assume that Psamtik IV was necessarily a Libyan man from the (western) Delta. In fact, it is equally plausible that Psamtik IV was a man from the southern Nile Valley, who had either been called "Psamtik" by his parents – just like many of his countrymen – , or who had adopted the name for propagandistic purposes.

5.3.1.2 Persian control of southern Egypt

Aside from the alleged connection between the Psamtik of the Hou papyri and the Libyans of the Delta, the idea that the rebellion of 487/86 BC was closely connected to northern Egypt has also been supported with reference to several Egyptian texts that are dated to Persian kings. Especially important in this regard are P. Loeb 1, a letter from Elephantine that was written on 17 Payni of year thirty-six of Darius I (5 October 486 BC).[812] Equally important is Posener 25, a rock inscription from the Wadi Hammamat, which was inscribed on 19 Akhet of year two of Xerxes (9 January 484 BC).[813] As discussed in Chapter 4, both sources have been used as *termini post* and *ante quem* for the 487/86 BC rebellion. Specifically, some scholars have argued that the revolt would have begun after P. Loeb 1 was written (5 October 486 BC), and that it would have ended before Posener 25 was inscribed on the rocks of the Wadi Hammamat (9 January 484 BC).[814] However, an alternative approach to the sources has been in circulation as well: some scholars have assumed that P. Loeb 1 and Posener 25 were contemporary with the rebellion. In addition, they have pointed out that the sources were written

[810] See Spalinger, "Psammetichus V," 1175, Chauveau, "Les archives d'un temple," 44-47, Gauthier, "Un roi Amasis-Psammétique," 187-90, and Jansen-Winkeln, *Die 26. Dynastie*, 583 no. 4, 584 no. 9. The latter attributes the sources from Psamtik Amasis to Psamtik III. As Psamtik III's throne name was Ankhkaenra, it is more likely that Psamtik Amasis was a different Egyptian king. He might have been identical with one of the fifth century BC rebel kings called Psamtik.

[811] See e.g. Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 39, Spalinger, "Spammetichus IV," 1174, and Chauveau, "Les archives d'un temple," 44-47. Similar doubts have been expressed about Inaros' lineage: was his father actually called Psamtik, or did Inaros favor such a patronymic in light of the name's connection to the Saites? See e.g. Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 322 n. 2, and Waters, *Ancient Persia*, 159.

[812] See Martin, "Demotic Texts," 296-97 (C4).

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

[814] See e.g. Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 147, and the discussion in 4.3. Note that Pestman dated to P. Loeb 1 to 7 June 486 BC; the date has since been amended (see Martin, "Demotic Texts," 296).

in southern Egypt: Elephantine was an island at Egypt's southern border, just north of the first cataract, and the Wadi Hammamat was located near the Qena Bend of the Nile, in Egypt's Eastern Desert. As the texts are dated to Persian kings, their southern origin might be used to argue that Upper Egypt remained under Persian control during 487/86 – 485/84 BC. The rebellion would thus have been confined to northern Egypt. P. Loeb 1 and Posener 25 were used as such by Friedrich Kienitz in 1953, and more recently by John Ray in 1988, Marc Rottpeter in 2007, and Tony Leahy in 2020.[815]

As discussed in Chapter 4, the present study accepts the hypothesis that P. Loeb 1 and – with less certainty – Posener 25 may have been contemporary with the 480s BC rebellion. Chapter 4 has shown that both sources were written by people who were closely connected to the imperial government. This observation also applies to other Egyptian sources from year thirty-six of Darius I and year two of Xerxes. It is therefore plausible that their authors would have continued to date their texts to Persian kings, even if the rebellion already affected other parts of the country.[816] However, the present study does not accept the conclusion that the entirety of southern Egypt would have remained under Persian control. The fact that the aforementioned sources were written by a specific group of people who were closely connected to the imperial administration of Egypt render such generalizations suspect.[817] More importantly, P. Loeb 1 itself speaks of "rebels" at Egypt's southern border; and when the papyri from Hou were connected to the rebellion in the 1980s, it became clear that it must have extended to Upper Egypt (on which more below). Whether the rebellion was recognized in the Delta, on the other hand, remains unknown.[818] The possibility that the rebellion had originated in southern Egypt is therefore just as plausible – if not more so – than that it had originated in the Egyptian Delta.

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[815] See Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67, Ray, "Egypt 525 – 404 B.C.," 276-77, Rottpeter, "Initiatoren und Träger," 15-16, and Leahy, "Egypt in the Late Period," 727. Inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat and papyri from Elephantine are often used in a similar vein in discussions of Inaros' revolt in the mid-fifth century BC; see e.g. Ray, "Egypt 525 – 404 B.C.," 276-77, Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 575, and Leahy, "Egypt in the Late Period," 727.

[816] See 4.3.3.

[817] The same observation applies to Inaros' rebellion (see n. 815 above). Indeed, a demotic ostracon from Ayn Manawir, published in 2004, shows that Inaros' reign was recognized by some inhabitants of the Southern Oasis; see Chauveau, "Inarôs, prince des rebelles," 39-46.

[818] At present, the only evidence for the rebellion's impact in the Delta stems from Tell el-Maskhuta, a border site in northeastern Egypt. Its remains indicate that the site may have been partly destroyed in the early fifth century BC. This might have been the result of the Persian invasion of the country in 485/84 BC. If so, the destruction suggests that the site was a locus of conflict, and hence that the rebellion had reached the eastern Delta; see Holladay, *Tell el-Maskhuta*, 25-26, and the discussion in 2.4.3.1.

5.3.2 The rebellion in the (southern) Nile Valley

Though it is unknown where the rebellion of 487/86 BC began, it is clear that it eventually had an impact in southern Egypt. As mentioned above, this impact is borne out by P. Loeb 1, which mentions "rebels" at Egypt's southern border, and by three papyri from Hou, which are dated to the reign of Psamtik IV. Chapter 4 has argued that the rebellion had probably begun in (the last months of) 487 BC. As the papyri from Hou were written in Hathyr, Choiak and Tybi of Psamtik IV's second regnal year, they can be dated to the spring of 486 BC. Posener 25, a rock inscription from the Wadi Hammamat dated to year thirty-six of Darius I, and P. Loeb 1 itself, dated to 5 October 486 BC (17 Payni of year thirty-six of Darius I), will therefore have been contemporary with the revolt.[819] To be specific: the "rebels" mentioned in P. Loeb 1 will have been spotted near Egypt's southern border ca. seven months after the inhabitants of Hou first recognized the reign of Psamtik IV. In keeping with this chronology, the following section discusses the Hou papyri first, and P. Loeb 1 second. Its purpose is as follows: by taking an in-depth look at the relevant texts, the section aims to identify the social profile of the people who recognized the reign of a rebel king rather than that of a Persian Great King in 486 BC. In addition, it aims to throw new light on the geographical spread of the rebellion. The latter element is especially relevant in the case of the Hou papyri: the latter suggest that the rebellion may have been connected to Thebes as well as Hou; and they nuance our understanding of the inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat.

5.3.2.1 The rebellion at Hou and (possibly) Thebes

The archive from Hou was first introduced in Chapter 4 in relation to the chronology of the rebellion. In short, the archive consists of thirteen texts, which were bought by Wilhelm Spiegelberg in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[820] Three of the papyri have lost the entirety or part of their date formulae (P. Hou 6, 9, and 11); seven of the papyri are dated to the late reign of Darius I (P. Hou 1-3, 5, 10, and 12-13); and the remaining three are dated to the second regnal year of Psamtik IV (P. Hou 4, 7, and 8). In chronological order, the latter consist of a contract involving a female donkey (P. Hou 8), a contract about the collective ownership of a cow (P. Hou 7), and a receipt for delivered geese (P. Hou 4).[821] Though the group of thirteen texts does not form a coherent family or business archive, it is clear that there are interconnections. Several of the individuals mentioned in the

[819] See figure 15 in 4.4, and the discussion in 4.4.2.

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

[821] See ibid., 3*-16*, esp. 6* (P. Hou 4), 10* (P. Hou 7) and 11* (P. Hou 8).

documents recur multiple times as e.g. scribes, witnesses, and contracting parties, and the terms "geese" and "gooseherd" can be found in nine of the thirteen texts (see table 5). In addition, the settlements of Hou and Nasimserkhy, a village in the vicinity of Hou, are mentioned in three of the thirteen papyri (P. Hou 1-3).[822] The texts are therefore known as the "gooseherd" archive from Hou.

Table 5. The gooseherds archive from Hou: prosopographical interconnections.[823]

No.	Mention of Gooseherds	*ʿnḫ-pɜ-ḫrd/ Pɜ-dì-ỉs.t*[824]	*Wn-nfr/ Ḏd-ḏḥwt-ỉw.f-ʿnḫ*	*Pɜ-whr/ Ḥr*	*Pɜ-ḫr-ḫnsw/ Ns-ỉn-ḥr*	*Pɜ-dì-ỉmn/ Ḏd-ḥr*	*Pɜ-dì-ỉmn-nsw-tɜwy/ Pɜ-whr*
P. Hou 9				Witness (?)			
P. Hou 11	x						
P. Hou 6	x	Witness		Witness			
P. Hou 5				Witness			
P. Hou 10	x						
P. Hou 1	x				Scribe (?)		
P. Hou 3	x				Witness		Party A
P. Hou 13	x	Witness	Scribe				
P. Hou 2	x				Scribe (?)		
P. Hou 12	x	Witness (?)	Scribe				
P. Hou 8						Witness	
P. Hou 7			Scribe	Witness			
P. Hou 4	x			Witness		Witness	Party A

As mentioned above, the papyri from Hou are significant for the study of the second Egyptian rebellion because they give us a glimpse of the individuals who recognized a rebel king in 486 BC. They are similar in this regard to the letters from the Meydum pyramid, which throw light on some of Petubastis Seheribre's "supporters" in 521 BC. In connection to the latter, it was observed that "to

[822] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 3*-5* (P. Hou 1-3).

[823] The table is adapted from Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 150 table I (see also Wijnsma, "'And in the Fourth Year,'" 52 table 2). Pestman's table includes individuals who may have been father and son. However, these identifications are often uncertain, so they have been excluded from the present table. Also excluded is *Ḥr* son of *Pɜ-dì-bɜst.t*, who appears as a witness in P. Hou 5 and who possibly appears as a witness in P. Hou 9 (where the patronymic is broken: *Ḥr sɜ Pɜ-dì-*[*bɜst.t*]). Uncertain attestations of individuals who appear more than twice in the archive are marked by "(?)" in the present table.

[824] The relationship "PN1 son of PN2" is shortened to "PN1/PN2."

recognize" a king's reign is not the same as actively supporting that king's political aims. For example, it is possible that Psamtik IV had seized the region of Hou from the Persians, after which the inhabitants of Hou may have had little choice but to recognize the reign of the rebel king.[825] Nevertheless, it is interesting to compare these individuals with the people who continued to recognize Persian rulers in 487/86 – 485/84 BC. As discussed in Chapter 4, the latter group mainly consisted of Egyptians and foreign residents who were closely connected to the imperial government.[826] The people who appear in the Hou papyri, by contrast, show a different social profile: all of them bear Egyptian names and Egyptian patronymics; the possessions and/or professional titles of some individuals indicate that they belonged to the "middle class" of Egyptian society; and there is no evidence that they were connected to the imperial administration or to foreign residents in any way. The following pages discuss this in further depth. For simplicity's sake, the discussion is structured per papyrus and in chronological order, i.e. from P. Hou 8 (February/March 486 BC) to P. Hou 7 (March/April 486 BC) and finally to P. Hou 4 (April/May 486 BC). In the latter case, we also explore the possibility that the rebellion may have been connected to Thebes.

5.3.2.1.1 P. Hou 8 (xx-03-02 Psk IV)

P. Hou 8 is the earliest document at our disposal that is dated to the reign of Psamtik IV. It was written in Hathyr of the king's second regnal year, i.e. between the end of February and the end of March of 486 BC.[827] The text is separated by a period of several months from the last text of the archive dated to Darius I (P. Hou 12, dated to September/October 487 BC).[828] Though politically significant, the contents of P. Hou 8 do not provide us with much information about the individuals who feature in the document. In short, the document states that a certain *ʾIr-ḥɜt=w-n-ḥr*, son of *Wɜḥ-ỉb-rˁ* and *Ta-ḫbs*,

[825] Compare 5.2.2.2. Strictly speaking, one could claim that only the scribes of the Hou papyri "recognized" Psamtik IV, as they – and not the parties to the contracts or the witnesses – drafted the documents, and wrote down the relevant date formulae. However, the present study assumes that the scribes would have dated the contracts that they drafted only to a king whose authority was recognized in the area in which they lived or by the community for whom they performed their work. The following pages therefore speak of "recognition" not only in the case of the scribes, but also in the case of the other individuals who appear in the Hou papyri.

[826] See 4.3-4.3.3.

[827] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 126-41, 11*. Note that the reading of the regnal year is uncertain; it may also have been "one" or "three." However, as the other documents from Psamtik IV's reign both date to year two, "two" seems the most likely reading (Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 128 a).

[828] See ibid., 14*-15*.

was "far from" the rights of a black female donkey, which was branded in his name. The donkey was presumably sold by him at an earlier date to the second party of P. Hou 8. The latter's name has not been preserved, but his father's name was *ʾIr.t-ḥr-r=w*. The raison d'être of the text appears to be the fact that *ʾIr-ḥɜt=w-n-ḥr* had claimed ownership of the donkey after it had already come into the possession of the son of *ʾIr.t-ḥr-r=w*. This was a breach of the latter's ownership rights. Thus, "A [= *ʾIr-ḥɜt=w-n-ḥr*] was forced to renounce his claim formally, and to acknowledge B [= son of *ʾIr.t-ḥr-r=w*] as the rightful owner of the donkey and its young."[829] The scribe of the resulting cession was a certain *Pɜ-dỉ-ḥr-pɜ-ẖrd* son of *Ḏd-ḥr*. The text was witnessed by four different men. It is important to note that none of the individuals mentioned in P. Hou 8 are identified by a professional title. It is therefore difficult to say much about their background. As it stands, the second of P. Hou 8's witnesses, *Pɜ-dỉ-ʾImn* son of *Ḏd-ḥr,* is the only individual who may be identified in another papyrus: the third witness of P. Hou 4, which was written ca. two months later in Tybi of Psamtik IV's second regnal year (April/May 486 BC), bears the same name and patronymic.[830]

5.3.2.1.2 P. Hou 7 (xx-04-02 Psk IV)

P. Hou 7 was written in the month after P. Hou 8. More specifically, it was written in Choiak of the second regnal year of Psamtik IV, i.e. in March/April of 486 BC.[831] Like its predecessor, P. Hou 7 is a legal document concerning livestock that was concluded between two individuals. In this case, the document stipulates that a certain *Sṯɜ-ỉmn-gwy*, son of *Ns-pɜ-ẖrd* and *Rwrw,* and *Ḏd-ỉmn-ỉw=f-ʿnḫ*, son of *Pɜ-dỉ-ḥr-n-py* and *Tɜ-šr-mḥy*, shared the ownership of a red female cow. Half of the cow, and any young that it might bear, belonged to one party; the other half belonged to the second party. The text was signed by *Sṯɜ-ỉmn-gwy* himself, witnessed by four different men, and written by a certain *Wn-nfr* son of *Ḏd-ḏḥwt-ỉw=f-ʿnḫ*. Unlike P. Hou 8, some of the individuals mentioned in P. Hou 7 form a solid connection with other papyri in the archive. The scribe *Wn-nfr*, for example, also wrote P. Hou 12 (September/October 487 BC) and P. Hou 13 (July/August 487 BC).[832] The first witness of P. Hou 7, *Pɜ-whr* son of *Ḥr,* also witnessed P. Hou 4 (April/May 486 BC), 5 (October/November 497 BC) and 6 (reign of Darius I; regnal year not preserved), and possibly P. Hou 9 (date not preserved).[833]

[829] Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou,* 127.

[830] See Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 150 f, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou,* 141 rr.

[831] See ibid., 109-25, 10*.

[832] See Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 150 c, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou,* 111-12, 123 mm.

[833] See Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 150 b, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou,* 69 nn, 125 oo.

Having said that, the most significant element of P. Hou 7 is undoubtedly the professional title which the principal parties of the document bear: in the first lines of the contract both *Sṯ-ỉmn-gwy* and *Ḏd-ỉmn-ỉw=f-ʿnḫ* are identified as a "kalasirian of the nome" (*gr-šr tš*).

As discussed in connection to the Meydum papyri, a kalasirian was an Egyptian soldier. The profession is best known from the *Histories* of Herodotus, where the warrior class of Egypt is said to have consisted of 250.000 kalasirians and 160.000 hermotybians. Both "may practice no trade but only war, which is their hereditary calling" (*Histories* 2.166).[834] In this case, the title "kalasirian of the nome" indicates that *Sṯ-ỉmn-gwy* and *Ḏd-ỉmn-ỉw=f-ʿnḫ* were specifically connected to the region of Hou. It is possible that they were members of the nome's standard police force.[835] Though neither of them appears in documents from the reign of Darius I, it is important to note that some of their colleagues do. P. Hou 6, for example, shows the presence of a hermotybian in an unrecorded year of Darius' reign. The text states that the soldier bought a donkey foal from a gooseherd of the Domain of Amun.[836] A second hermotybian features in P. Hou 9. Though fragmentary, the text appears to record the sale of a bovine.[837] Presumably, all of these men possessed livestock as well as land in the region of Hou. The political importance of P. Hou 7 lies in the fact that at least some of these soldiers fell under the jurisdiction of Psamtik IV in 486 BC. Unfortunately, it is unknown how large their original contingent would have been.[838]

[834] See Godley, *Herodotus*, 1:480-81. For studies of these warriors, and of kalasirians in particular, see Winnicki, "Die Kalasirier," 257-68, Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 114-15, Winnicki, "Zur Bedeutung," 1503-7, and Fischer-Bovet, "Egyptian Warriors," 210-19.

[835] Kalasirians could be connected to specific nomes, settlements, or temples. See e.g. Winnicki, "Die Kalasirier," 261 (three additional attestations of nome kalasirians), Kaplony-Heckel, "Ein neuer demotischer Papyrus," 5-20 (a kalasirian of the Domain of Amun), and Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 1:151 XI.12, 2:471-72 (a kalasirian of the settlement of Ta-Qehy).

[836] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 8*-9*. Note that Vleeming did not recognize the title "*rmṯ-ḏm*" as a reference to a hermotybian (ibid., 97 cc); the two phrases were only equated by Thissen, "Varia Onomastica," 89-91, in 1994.

[837] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 145 ee, 12*.

[838] A papyrus from the fifth to fourth century BC shows that no less than 2.200 kalasirians were registered for food in an anonymous nome of Egypt (Vleeming, "P. Meermanno - Westreenianum 44," 257-69, esp. 263-65). It is unknown whether this was standard procedure, however.

5.3.2.1.3 P. Hou 4 (xx-05-02 Psk IV)

P. Hou 4 is the third and final text that is dated to the reign of Psamtik IV. The text was written in the month after P. Hou 7, i.e. in Tybi of Psamtik's second regnal year (April/May of 486 BC).[839] In short, the text is a receipt, which records that a certain *Pɜ-dỉ-ʾImn-nsw-tɜwy* son of *Pɜ-whr* delivered twenty-one geese to three other men. The document was written by *ʾIr.t-ḥr-r=w* son of *Pɜ-šr-n-ỉʿḥ*. It was witnessed by four different individuals. As mentioned above, several of the individuals who feature in P. Hou 4 can be connected to other papyri in the archive. The third witness, *Pɜ-dỉ-ʾImn* son of *Ḏd-ḥr,* also witnessed P. Hou 8 (March/April 486 BC).[840] The fourth witness, *Pɜ-whr* son of *Ḥr*, previously witnessed P. Hou 5 (October/November 497 BC), 6 (reign of Darius I; regnal year not preserved), 7 (February/March 486 BC), and possibly P. Hou 9 (date not preserved).[841] Having said that, the most important person in P. Hou 4 is undoubtedly *Pɜ-dỉ-ʾImn-nsw-tɜwy* son of *Pɜ-whr*. Aside from the present text, *Pɜ-dỉ-ʾImn-nsw-tɜwy* also appears as the first party in P. Hou 3 (June/July 487 BC).[842] In addition, both he and the three men to whom he gave the geese in P. Hou 4 are identified as gooseherds of the domain of Amun (*mnỉ ɜpd pr ʾImn*).[843] The latter element brings us to that part of the archive which has lent it its modern name, i.e. to the gooseherds of Hou. To understand the significance of P. Hou 4, the present section gives a brief overview of what we know of these gooseherds, and of their possible connection to a larger institution in Upper Egypt.

Men who are identified as "gooseherd of the Domain of Amun" appear in nine of the thirteen texts from Hou (P. Hou 1-4, 6, 10-13). They include perhaps fifteen different individuals.[844] From what we can gather from their texts, the gooseherds belonged to the so-called "middle class" of Egyptian society. That is to say, they were of lower standing than the Overseer of the Seal and the chief of Heracleopolis who appear in the Meydum papyri, but they were sufficiently wealthy to possess land, to trade in livestock, and to loan silver to their fellow colleagues (P. Hou 3, 6, 10, and 12).[845] In addition, it seems that the gooseherds of Hou were divided into two distinct groups: one group consisted of men who tended to the geese ("caretakers"); another group consisted of men who may

[839] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 60-69, 6*.

[840] See Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 150 f, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 141 rr.

[841] See Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 150 b, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 69 nn, 125 oo.

[842] See Pestman, "Diospolis Parva Documents," 150 a, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 5, 63 bb.

[843] The same title is attributed to *Pɜ-dỉ-ʾImn-nsw-tɜwy* in P. Hou 3; see Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 5*.

[844] In several cases, the title or name of the individual is (partly) illegible, which precludes a certain identification with other gooseherds in the archive. See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 35 dd, 154, 159 bb-cc.

[845] See ibid., 9-10, 5*, 8*-9*, 13*-14*.

not have been physically involved in the animals' care but who did bear responsibility for them, who transferred them to the right caretakers, and who paid the taxes that were levied on the flocks ("managers").[846] *Pɜ-dỉ-ʾImn-nsw-tɜwy* son of *Pɜ-whr*, the first party of P. Hou 4, belonged to the second category. As noted above, he transferred a flock of geese to three gooseherds who would tend to them in the spring of Psamtik IV's second regnal year.[847] On his turn, *Pɜ-dỉ-ʾImn-nsw-tɜwy* had to answer to a higher authority, to whom he a paid a tax on a flock of geese in P. Hou 3 (June/July 487 BC).[848] This higher authority brings us to the wider institution with which the gooseherds of Hou were involved.

As their titles suggest, the institution with which the gooseherds were involved was called "the Domain of Amun" (*pr ʾImn*). The word "domain" (*pr*) is generally understood to refer to a temple, as well as to a temple's estate.[849] Temple estates could include, among other things, agricultural fields, herds of cattle, and flocks of birds. From what we can gather from the Hou papyri, the gooseherds of Hou specifically took care of flocks of greylag geese that belonged to a temple estate of Amun.[850] The revenue that accrued from these geese – as well as from other parts of the temple's estate – was called the "God's Offering of Amun" (*ḥtp-nṯr n ʾImn*).[851] Though the administration of the God's Offering is only partially visible in the Hou papyri, P. Hou 1 to 4 give us a glimpse of its inner workings. In P. Hou 2, 3 and 4, for example, geese are said to have been delivered to the God's Offering of Amun.[852] In P. Hou 1, ten greylag geese are said to have belonged to "the God's Offering of Amun which are established in the village of [Nasi]mserkhy" (*ḥtp-nṯr n ʾImn nty grg dmy* **[***Nɜ-s***]***m-srḫỉ*).[853] From P. Hou 2 we learn that the God's Offering of Amun in the village of Nasimserkhy was administered by a son of a certain [*Pɜ-dỉ*]*-ʾImn-nsw-tɜwy*.[854] On its part, the division in Nasimserkhy

[846] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 8, 25 ll-mm.

[847] See ibid., 63 bb, 65 gg.

[848] See ibid., 55 hh, 5*.

[849] See Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, 1:69 III, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 21 cc.

[850] See ibid., 23 gg.

[851] See Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases*, 21 j, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 21 cc, 25 ii.

[852] See ibid., 4* l. 2, 5* l. 7, 6* l. 2-3.

[853] See ibid., 3* l. 3, 25 kk.

[854] See ibid., 40-41 hh, 4* l. 3-4. Whether this man was the son of *Pɜ-dỉ-ỉmn-nsw-tɜwy* son of *Pɜ-whr* is unknown; see ibid., 5-6, 35 ee.

Figure 19. Reconstruction of the administration of the God's Offering of Amun at Hou as reflected by the Hou papyri.[855]

The Domain of Amun

Head of the God's Offering of Amun	
-	
Head of the God's Offering of Amun in the district of Hou	
Ḏd-ḥr/Pɜ-ḫr-ḫnsw (P. Hou 3)	
Head of (the geese of) the God's Offering of Amun in the village of Nasimserkhy	
[xxx/*Pɜ-dì-*]*ỉmn-nsw-tɜwy* (P. Hou 2)	
Gooseherds of the Domain of Amun ("managers")	**Gooseherds of the Domain of Amun (unclassified)**
Pɜ-dì-ỉmn-nsw-tɜwy/Pɜ-whr (P. Hou 3-4)	*Ptḥ-ỉ*(*.ỉr-dì.t*)*-s/Pɜ-dì-ỉmn-nsw-tɜwy* and *Nḥm-s-ỉs.t* (P. Hou 13)
[…]/*ʾỉr.t-ḥr-r=w* (P. Hou 2)	[*Pɜ-dì-ʿš*]*-sḏm.f/ỉr.t-ḥr-r=w* and *Tɜ-*[*dì*]*-tḥì* (P. Hou 12)
ʾỉr.t-ḥr-r=w/Ḏd-ḥr and *Nb-ḥw.t-tḥy* (P. Hou 1)	[…*ʾỉr.t*]*-ḥr-r=w* and *Bst.t-ì.ỉr-ỉr* (P. Hou 12)
Ḫnsw-ỉ(*.ỉr-dì.t*)*-s/ʾỉr.t-ḥr-r=w* (P. Hou 1)	[…] (P. Hou 11)
Gooseherds of the Domain of Amun ("caretakers")	[*Ḏd-*]*ḥr/ỉr.t-ḥr-*[*r=w*] (P. Hou 10)
Wsỉr-ỉ(*.ỉr-dì.t*)*-s/Pɜ-dì-ỉmn* (P. Hou 4)	*Ḫnsw-ỉ*(*.ỉr-dì.t*)*-s/Ḫr* and *Tɜ-dì-ʿš-sḏm.f* (P. Hou 6)
Pɜ-dì-ỉs.t/Wḏɜ-ḥr (P. Hou 4)	
Pɜ-dì-šmʿ-rs/Ḏd-ḥr (P. Hou 4)	
Pɜ-dì-ʿš-sḏm.f/ʾỉr.t-ḥr-r=w (P. Hou 1)	
Ḫnsw-tɜy.f-nht/ʾỉr.t.w-r=w (P. Hou 1)	

[855] See also *Vleeming, Gooseherds of Hou*, 10-11. The reconstruction is necessarily hypothetical. It is not clear whether all gooseherds that appear in the Hou papyri were connected to Nasimserkhy, for example.

was part of a wider administration called the "Localities of the God's Offering of Amun that are in the district of Hou" (*nꜣ ꜥ.wy.w* (*n*) *pꜣ ḥtp-nṯr* (*n*) *ỉmn nty* (*n*) *tꜣ ḳḥỉ* (*n*) *Ḥw*(*.t*)) (P. Hou 2-3).[856] The latter was headed by a God's Father called *Ḏd-ḥr* son of *Pꜣ-ḫr-ḫnsw* (P. Hou 3).[857] Ultimately, we may assume that Dd-Hr transferred (part of) the God's Offering of Amun in the region Hou – of which the greylag geese in the area of Nasimserkhy would have been a small part – to the relevant temple of Amun. This latter step, however, is undocumented in the papyri at our disposal.

Though the temple of Amun which the gooseherds of Hou worked for is not directly visible in the archive, the question of its identification is important for the present discussion. One possibility is that the temple was located in Hou or in its immediate surroundings. This hypothesis is difficult to verify, however, as pharaonic temple remains have not been excavated in the area.[858] Another possibility is that the Domain of Amun of the Hou papyri was identical with the best-known Domain of Amun in Egypt, i.e. that of the Amun temple at Thebes. This is the hypothesis that Sven Vleeming supported in 1991.[859] Indeed, there are three arguments that could support the latter position. First, it is well known that the Theban temple of Amun held possessions outside of its own nome. In the late Ramesside period the temple owned large tracts of land as far north as Heracleopolis.[860] In the early Saite period the temple still owned cattle and flocks of geese as far north as Oxyrhynchus, and it seems to have sent Theban officials to the north to administer its revenue.[861] Second, it is clear that Thebes and Hou specifically were closely connected to one another. The two settlements lay on opposite sides of the Qena Bend. They were connected by the Nile, as well as by the Wadi el-Hol (see figure 20). In the New Kingdom officials who were connected to the Domain of Amun are known to have travelled through the Wadi el-Hol, possibly to inspect and transfer the revenues from Amun's estate at Hou to Amun's temple at Thebes.[862] This connection likely lies behind the Greco-Roman name for Hou as well: the town was called "Diospolis Mikra" or "Diospolis Parva," i.e. Little Zeus-

[856] See ibid., 36-37 ff, 4* l. 4-5, 5* l. 8.

[857] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 53 gg, 5* l. 7-9.

[858] See Bednarski, "Diospolis Parva," 2143.

[859] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 8, 21 cc.

[860] See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, 2:11, and Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 22 cc.

[861] See Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri*, 82 n. 7-9, Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 10-11, 21 cc, and Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2:427-28. In the eighth to seventh centuries BC, the Theban temple of Amun appears to have had a foothold in the Bahariya Oasis as well; see Colin, "Le 'Domaine d'Amon' à Bahariya," 47-84.

[862] See Darnell, *Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions*, 89–162, esp. 92 no. 1, 154-55 no. 39-40, 159-60 no. 44. For officials from Hou in the Wadi el-Hol, see ibid., 136-37 no. 19.

City, a variant of "Diospolis Magna," i.e. Thebes.[863] Third and finally, the papyri from Hou refer to the "Localities of the God's Offering of Amun that are in the district of Hou."[864] As observed by Vleeming, the clause "that are in the district of Hou" suggests that the "Localities of the God's Offering of Amun" were part of supra-regional institution, a small part of which is documented by the Hou papyri.[865] The phrase is perhaps comparable to one found in the choachyte papyri from Thebes. Many of the sixth to fifth century BC choachyte texts are concerned with land and officials of the Domain of Amun (*pr ỉmn*) and the God's Offering of Amun (*ḥtp-nṯr* (*n*) *ỉmn*). This was evidently the domain that belonged to Karnak.[866] However, a handful refers to land and officials of the "Domain of Amun in the district of Coptos" (*pr ỉmn n tȝ ḳḥỉ gbṯ*).[867] One may safely assume that the latter refers to a subdivision of the domain of Karnak. It is not much of a leap to assume that the same applied to the Domain of Amun in the district of Hou, which bordered on the Coptite nome.

When we return to P. Hou 4, it should be observed that the possible connection between Karnak on the one hand and the gooseherds of Hou on the other is an important element in our reconstruction of Psamtik IV's rebellion. After all, the text shows that gooseherd *Pȝ-dỉ-ỉmn-nsw-tȝwy* and some of his colleagues recognized the reign of the rebel king in 486 BC, rather than that of Darius I. In addition, the text is directly related to their work for the Domain of Amun. Though unexplored by Vleeming, the connection should prompt us to consider two different hypotheses. On the one hand, it is possible that Psamtik IV had occupied the region of Hou before the spring of 486 BC. The inhabitants of Hou would have subsequently recognized Psamtik IV's reign, including those people who worked for the Hou-branch of the Domain of Amun. On the other hand, it is possible that Psamtik IV had occupied Thebes in 486 BC. The inhabitants of Thebes, including the administration of Karnak, would then have recognized Psamtik IV's reign. By extension, this recognition may have trickled down to Karnak's subdivision at Hou, e.g. via God's Father *Ḏd-ḥr*, whom *Pȝ-dỉ-ỉmn-nsw-tȝwy* had direct

[863] See Sauneron, *Villes et légendes*. 87-88, and Bednarski, "Diospolis Parva," 2143.

[864] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 36-37 ff, 4* l. 4-5 (P. Hou 2), 5* l. 8 (P. Hou 3).

[865] See Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 8, 36-37 ff.

[866] For explicit references to the Domain and the God's Offering of Amun, see Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts," 101-15 (P. Eisenlohr 5-6), 169-75 (P. Eisenlohr 12), 183-96 (P. Eisenlohr 14-17), 200-209 (P. Eisenlohr 19), 216-25 (P. Eisenlohr 21-22), and Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, 1:71-73 (P. Tsenhor 10). See also the discussion by Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts," 37-47.

[867] See Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts," 169-75 (P. Eisenlohr 12), 183-91 (P. Eisenlohr 14-16), 200-215 (P. Eisenlohr 19-20), and Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, 1:36-42 (P. Tsenhor 1).

Figure 20. Map of a section of southern Egypt, featuring Hou, Thebes and Coptos. (Adapted by the author from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ancient_Egypt_map-en.svg)

dealings with in P. Hou 3. The latter hypothesis is admittedly speculative. However, that the rebellion had reached Thebes as well as Hou is plausible in light of the close geographical connection between the two cities (see above). In addition, the hypothesis aligns with the aforementioned papyri from Thebes. As discussed in Chapter 4, the archive of the Saite-Persian choachytes from Thebes ended in year thirty-five of Darius I. The archive from Hou ended a year later, after P. Hou 8, 7 and 4 were written. By comparing these archives with contemporary evidence from Babylonia, it was argued that their end may have been connected to the impact of the rebellion in the relevant territories.[868] Taking

[868] See 4.4.2.

this into account, it is plausible that the region of Thebes – as well as its most powerful religious institution – fell under the jurisdiction of Psamtik IV in the spring of 486 BC.[869]

As a final remark, it should be observed that the rebellion's documented impact at Hou, as well as its possible connection to Thebes, can change our understanding of two other Egyptian sources from 487/86 – 485/84 BC. The sources in question are Posener 24 and Posener 25, two rock inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat. The former was inscribed in year thirty-six of Darius I (487/86 BC), the latter on 19 Thoth of year two of Xerxes (9 January 484 BC).[870] As discussed in Chapter 4, the author of the inscriptions was Athiyawahya, a royal official from Persia. Other inscriptions from his hand identify Athiyawahya as the "governor of Coptos" (*ỉry-pʿt Gbtyw*).[871] The city of Coptos was often the starting point for expeditions to the Eastern Desert. These expeditions were either aimed at the quarries and mines of the Wadi Hammamat, or at the harbors on the Red Sea coast, which could be quickly reached via the wadi.[872] As discussed above, because Athiyawahya's inscriptions are dated to the reigns of Persian kings, they have sometimes been used as evidence that the population of southern Egypt remained politically "passive" in the 480s BC.[873] The papyri from Hou indicate, however, that Athiyawahya's seat of governance was located in close proximity to a region that had fallen into the hands of rebel forces. If the connection between Hou and Thebes is accepted, Coptos may even have been "sandwiched" between two rebel-controlled territories (see figure 20). This reconstruction reinforces the idea that Athiyawahya was travelling through the Wadi Hammamat during the period of rebellion – rather than overseeing a mining or quarrying expedition in the Eastern Desert.[874] Unfortunately, whether Athiyawahya was travelling with a small group or with a larger number of (armed?) people, and whether he was travelling from Coptos to the Red Sea or the other way around is unknown.

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[869] It should be mentioned that Cruz-Uribe, "On the Existence of Psammetichus IV," 38, already suggested that the rebellion had an impact at Thebes. However, his suggestion was based on the mistaken assumption that P. Hou 4 (formerly P. Strassburg 2) came from Thebes; see Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 2.

[870] See Posener, *La première domination perse*, 117-20 nos. 24-25, and Obsomer, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques," 249 nos. 12-13.

[871] See Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres*, 118-20 no. 109, and Posener, *La première domination perse*, 120-21 no. 26, 124 no. 30.

[872] See 4.3.1.2.

[873] See Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67, Ray, "Egypt 525 – 404 B.C.," 276-77, Rottpeter, "Initiatoren und Träger," 15-16, and Leahy, "Egypt in the Late Period," 727.

[874] See 4.3.1.2.

5.3.2.2 The "rebels" near Elephantine

Several months after Psamtik IV's reign was recognized in the Qena Bend of the Nile, an Egyptian man called Khnumemakhet wrote a letter to Farnava. The latter was a high-ranking Persian official in southern Egypt, who was connected to the military community at Elephantine/Syene. The letter is known today as P. Loeb 1 (written on 17 Payni of year thirty-six of Darius I, i.e. 5 October 486 BC).[875] Its contents can be summarized as follows: at an unspecified date, Khnumemakhet had been sent on a journey to fetch a load of grain. He was accompanied by a certain Atarpana. Together, the men were supposed to deliver the grain to Egypt, in particular to the house of Usirwer – an Egyptian who probably lived at Elephantine/Syene. However, they ran into problems, as there were "men who rebel" (*rmtw nty bks*) on a mountain close to the location where the grain was deposited. Khnumemakhet and Atarpana could see them from a distance. Consequently, Khnumemakhet feared that if they tried to move the grain without the protection of armed guards, the rebels would "come for it by night (and) they will take it away."[876] He therefore asked Farnava to intervene, and to convince Atarpana – who apparently did not listen to Khnumemakhet – that the grain required strict protection.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the exact location of the "mountain" (*ḏw*) where the rebels resided is not specified by the letter. Nevertheless, the events probably took place in (northern) Nubia, south of the first cataract. The fact that the grain was to be transported "to Egypt," and that the letter was sent to Farnava, who may have resided at Elephantine/Syene – just north of the first cataract – , point in that direction.[877] Unfortunately, sources that throw light on Persian Period Nubia are scarce. What scholars call "Nubia" included the land between the first cataract of the Nile and the confluence of the Blue and White branches of the Nile near modern-day Khartoum.[878] In the first millennium BC, large parts of this area were ruled by "Kush," a political entity whose centers of power lay at Napata and Meroe in the northern half of Sudan.[879] According to Herodotus, Cambyses had tried to conquer Ethiopia – generally understood as the Greek name for Kush – shortly after his conquest of Egypt. His campaign is said to have failed miserably, however (*Histories* 3.17-25). Nevertheless, the historian included Ethiopia in the list of countries that paid "gifts" to Persia during the reign of Darius I (*Histories* 3.97). In addition, Kushites feature in Achaemenid inscriptions and reliefs from the reign

[875] See Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb*, 1-7 no. 1, Martin, "Demotic Texts," 296-97 (C4), and 4.3.1.1.

[876] Martin, "Demotic Texts," 297.

[877] See 4.3.1.1.

[878] See Morkot, "Nubia and Achaemenid Persia," 321, and Lohwasser, "Nubia," 567.

[879] See ibid., 569.

of Darius I onwards, e.g. in lists of the Empire's provinces;[880] and a handful of Persian Period remains have been found at fortified sites between the first and second cataract.[881] It is therefore plausible that parts of Nubia, especially the area directly south of the first cataract, fell under Achaemenid control in the early fifth century BC. Though speculative, the men whom Khnumemakhet spotted may have been locals of the area, who may have had ties to both Egypt in the north and Kush in the south.

P. Loeb 1 reveals little else about the identity of these "rebels." As discussed in Chapter 4, some scholars have suggested that the rebels in question were little more than brigands. The present study has argued that a political understanding of the phrase *rmtw nty bks* cannot be so easily dismissed: both the first millennium BC use of the word *bks*, and the appearance of these men at a time when parts of Egypt were ruled by Psamtik IV, suggests that they were more than common thieves.[882] However, this does not imply that the "rebels" in Nubia were directly connected to the rebellion of Psamtik IV. They were separated from one another by the first cataract of the Nile, which was strictly guarded by the Achaemenid garrison at Elephantine/Syene. It is probable that the latter community continued to recognize Darius I's reign in 486 BC, as Khnumemakhet's letter indicates.[883] Nevertheless, the connection may have been indirect: if news of a rebellion in Egypt – especially one that affected southern Egypt – had reached Nubia, some of the latter's inhabitants may have been tempted to try their own luck, and to attempt to upend Persian rule south of the first cataract. Ambushing a transport of grain, which may have been meant for soldiers in the Empire's employ, fits with such political aims. Indeed, Persian control of Nubia appears to have waned in the fifth century BC, until, by the fourth century BC, Kushite kings again controlled the area up to the first cataract of the Nile.[884]

5.3.3 Conclusion

The rebellion of Psamtik IV (ca. 487/86 – 485/84 BC) has often been connected to the Delta of Egypt. Contemporary evidence that could confirm either its origins or its affect in northern Egypt is lacking, however (5.3.1). By contrast, three demotic papyri that are dated to Psamtik's second regnal year

[880] See Morkot, "Nubia and Achaemenid Persia," 324-25.

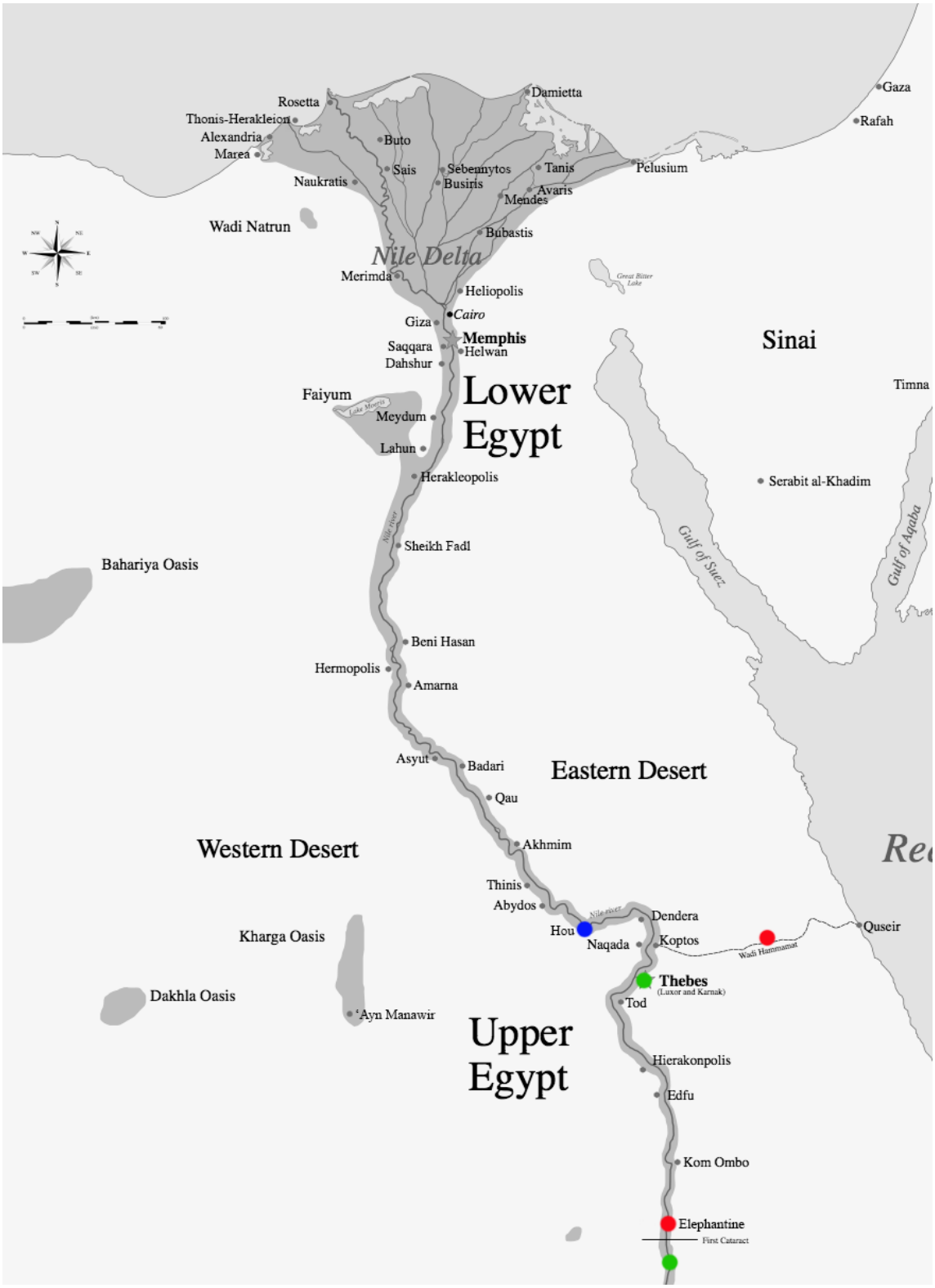
[881] See Colburn, "Spear of the Persian Man," 306.

[882] See 4.3.1.1.

[883] See also the discussions in 4.3.3.

[884] See Lohwasser, "Nubia," 569-70. That inhabitants of Nubia may have taken advantage of the rebellion in Egypt was already suggested by Kienitz, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67-68 n. 8, and Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 365-66.

Figure 21. Map of ancient Egypt, which features the locations where Psamtik IV's reign was recognized (indicated by blue dots), where Persian kings continued to be recognized (red dots), and locations where the rebellion may have had an impact (indicated by green dots) – though the exact form of this impact remains unclear. (Adapted by the author from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ancient_Egypt_map-en.svg)



show that the rebellion did affect the south of the country: some inhabitants of Hou, a town in the Qena Bend, recognized Psamtik's reign in the date formulae of their contracts in February/March – April/May 486 BC (Hathyr - Tybi of year two of Psamtik IV). The people in question were Egyptians who belonged to the so-called "middle class" of Egyptian society. Two of them were soldiers and a handful worked as gooseherds for the Domain of Amun (see 5.3.2.1). The present chapter has argued that the gooseherds of the Domain of Amun can be connected to the Domain of Amun at Thebes. It has also suggested that the administration of Karnak – like its employees at Hou – may have recognized Psamtik IV's reign. Though speculative, the connection between the rebellion at Hou on the one hand and Thebes on the other could explain the end of the Theban choachyte archive in year thirty-five of Darius I (488/87 BC).[885] If this reconstruction is accepted, it changes our understanding of two rock inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat. The latter were left behind by the Persian governor of Coptos, Athiyawahya, who appears to have travelled through the Eastern Desert in 487/86 BC (year thirty-six of Darius I) and in January 484 BC (Thoth of year two of Xerxes). Around that time, Hou (directly north of Coptos) and possibly Thebes (directly south of Coptos) were in the hands of rebel forces. Athiyawahya's journeys through the Wadi Hammamat might therefore have been prompted by the rebellion in the Qena Bend (5.3.2.1.3). Whether the rebellion was recognized in the area south of Elephantine, where "men who rebel" threatened a transport of grain in October 486 BC (Payni of year thirty-six of Darius I), is less certain; it is possible, however, that inhabitants of northern Nubia used the rebellion in Egypt as an opportunity to rid the area of Achaemenid control (5.3.2.2).

As is the case with the rebellion of 521 BC, we know little about what happened in the months after Xerxes defeated the Egyptian uprising in 485/84 BC. According to Herodotus, Xerxes installed Achaemenes, a brother of his, as satrap in Egypt.[886] In addition, Xerxes would have "laid Egypt under a much harder slavery than in the time of Darius" (*Histories* 7.7).[887] Even if there is some truth to this statement, it remains difficult to quantify. The least that can be said is that Xerxes did not continue his father's construction works in Egypt: though an Old Persian inscription on a bronze object refers to the king, hieroglyphic inscriptions on e.g. royal stelae, statues or temple blocks are absent.[888] We are equally badly informed about the fate of Psamtik IV and the inhabitants of Hou. References to both disappear when the last document dated to Psamtik IV was written, and when the archive at Hou

[885] See 4.4.1.2, and 4.4.2.

[886] Achaemenes presumably replaced Pherendates, who was satrap of Egypt at the end of Darius I's reign; see 3.4.1.

[887] Godley, *Herodotus*, 3:309.

[888] See Michaélidis, "Quelques objets inédits," 95-96, and the discussion in 2.4.1.1.

– like the archive at Thebes – ended. The end of the archives suggests that their archive holders were killed, fled, captured as war booty, or were put out of office when the rebellion was put down – though this remains necessarily speculative.[889] What we do know is that Athiyawahya remained in office for at least another ten years.[890] In addition, the military community at Elephantine continued to thrive in the fifth century BC.[891] One may assume that this was the result of their continued loyalty to the Persian regime during 487/86 – 485/84 BC.

5.4. Conclusion

The present chapter began with a description of Inaros' rebellion in the mid-fifth century BC. The latter is primarily known from Greco-Roman texts, which provide us with information on Inaros' name, patronymic, ethnicity, royal claims, and the extent of his rule in (northern) Egypt. Greco-Roman texts that can be connected to the rebellions of ca. 521 BC and 487/86 BC are much less detailed. They merely note that "the Egyptians" had revolted. Nevertheless, by comparing them with later rebellions – especially Inaros' revolt – , modern scholars have often claimed that the first two Egyptian rebellions against Persian rule were "Delta rebellions." They would have originated in the marshes of northern Egypt, led by Delta dynasts and/or Libyan warlords, and they would have had little to no effect in regions south of Memphis (5.1). A handful of Egyptian sources has sometimes been used to support these claims. For example, the sources from the reign of Petubastis Seheribre – the rebel king of 521 BC – showed that his birth name and epithet referred to Bastet, which might point to a connection with the eastern Delta city of Bubastis (5.2.1). The demotic papyri from the reign of Psamtik IV – the rebel king of 487/86 BC – showed that he bore a birth name that was of possibly Libyan origin (5.3.1.1). The present chapter has argued, however, that if one takes an in-depth look at all the Egyptian sources that can now be dated to the first two rebellions, a different picture emerges. This picture draws our attention very explicitly to southern Egypt. In addition, the sources provide us with a glimpse of the people who either did or did not recognize the reign of a rebel king during the periods of rebellion. The latter allows us to go beyond general statements such

[889] See e.g. Stolper, "Inscribed in Egyptian," 138-43, for an enslaved Egyptian woman who was sold in Sippar on 27 January 484 BC; if the rebellion was put down in 485 BC – which is uncertain, see 4.4.2 – she may have been captured as war booty in Egypt. Note that no other archive can be connected to Hou or Thebes in the decades that followed the revolt: the earliest papyri after 487/86 BC date to the fourth to third centuries BC (see e.g. Clarysse, Martin, and Thompson, "A Demotic Tax List," 25-56, and Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, esp. 28).

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

[891] See e.g. Porten, "Aramaic Texts," 110-254 B9-46, 259-67 B49-51, and Martin, "Demotic Texts," 351-55 C29.

as “the Egyptians” rebelled, and to reconstruct a more nuanced picture of how each rebellion affected different layers in society. The conclusions can be summarized as follows.

First, the remains of a temple building at Amheida that was constructed during the reign of Petubastis Seheribre indicate that the latter’s primary base of power was the Dakhla Oasis in the Western Desert. It is possible that Seheribre had come from this region originally, as the oasis is known to have had a cult to Bastet. He later extended his reign to Heracleopolis, and possibly to Memphis. Whether Seheribre ruled the Delta of Egypt remains unknown (5.3.1-5.2.2.1.2). Second, the well-known statue of Udjahorresnet is often used as an example of the smooth transition from Saite to Persian rule, whereby high-ranking Egyptian officials were allowed to maintain their posts from the reign of Amasis to the reign of Darius I. However, the sources from Petubastis Seheribre’s reign complicate this reconstruction: not only was the first decade of Persian rule in Egypt interrupted by a rebellion that may have lasted more than three years, the letters from the Meydum pyramid, dated to Seheribre’s first regnal year, also show that high-ranking Egyptian officials recognized the reign of the rebel king within four months of his accession. Among them were a treasurer called Psamtik, and a chief of Heracleopolis called Hormaakheru. Whether these officials maintained their posts under Darius I, like Udjahorresnet did, is unknown. If they belonged to Petubastis Seheribre’s “foremost followers,” they may have been executed together with their ruler (5.2.2.2-5.2.3). Third, as is the case with Petubastis Seheribre, it is unknown whether Psamtik IV – whose birth name, Libyan or not, was very common in Late Period Egypt – had any connection to the Delta and/or Libyans (5.3.1-5.3.1.2). He clearly gained a foothold in southern Egypt, however. Three demotic papyri that are dated to Psamtik IV’s second regnal year show that his reign was recognized at Hou, a town at the western edge of the Qena Bend. The rebellion may also have reached Thebes, which was closely connected to Hou via the Wadi el-Hol. In addition, it is possible that the rebellion had repercussions in northern Nubia, where “rebels” were spotted in 486 BC (5.3.2-5.3.2.2). Fourth and finally, the rebellion of Psamtik IV shows that not all inhabitants of Egypt would have necessarily rallied behind a rebel king. While Psamtik IV’s reign was recognized by “middle-class” Egyptians in the Qena Bend, including soldiers and gooseherds who worked for the Domain of Amun, an Egyptian who worked at Egypt’s southern border continued to recognize the reign of Darius I. The man in question, called Khnumemakhet, worked for Farnava, a high-ranking Persian official who may have resided at the military community of Elephantine/Syene. Less surprisingly, the reigns of Persian kings also continued to be recognized by Persian officials themselves, including the governor of Coptos Athiyawahya. The latter may have travelled through the Wadi Hammamat of the Eastern Desert when Psamtik IV’s rebellion had

reached the Qena Bend, and when it affected regions that bordered on the Coptite nome (5.3.2.2).[892] These sources are a pointed reminder that the rebellions were politically complicated affairs, which affected people in Egypt in different ways – even when they lived in the same parts of the Nile Valley.

[892] See also the discussions in 4.3.1-4.3.3.