MA Thesis

# Revolt and Response

## The Achaemenid policy towards the Egyptian revolts of the First Persian Period

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## Introduction

In terms of loyalty and submission to the Achaemenid empire, Egypt was one of the most unstable satrapies. The country witnessed at least four revolts after Cambyses first conquered it in 525, of which the last one finally managed to free Egypt from Persian rule in ca. 400. The country remained independent for several decades, until the Persians briefly returned in 343. When they were ousted by Alexander the Great a new era began.

The four revolts that scarred the First Persian Period in Egypt form the subject of the present thesis. They have been discussed before, mostly in relation to the possible causes of the rebellions, or, more recently, in an attempt to identify the dominant groups behind the disturbances.[1] The idea of simple Egyptian nationalism as a driving force against the Persian rulers has been replaced with a search for social and economic factors that may have led to discontent, e.g. the restrictions on temple power or the raising of tribute that started under Cambyses, while the role of Greek mercenaries and Libyan leaders in the unrests has come increasingly to the fore. To my knowledge, however, the Achaemenid response that followed each revolt has not yet been investigated in any detail: how did the empire respond to the disturbances in their Egyptian satrapy, e.g. preventive or punitive? What influence did the revolts have on Persian policy towards the country? Can we discern any specific long-term post-revolt policies in our sources?

We would expect the Achaemenids to be local in their policies towards the rebellions. After all, not every revolt affected the entirety of Egypt, and to punish regions that had remained loyal to the empire in a like manner as the actual centers of rebellion would have been nothing but counterproductive. In an attempt to ascertain whether such local post-revolt policies indeed existed, and what they would have contained exactly, the identification of the relevant localities should take prime place. The first chapter, 'Revolt', shall therefore treat each known revolt in Egypt and review all sources available for them, both Greco-Roman authors as well as native and contemporary sources. It will attempt to identify the rebellions' origins and spread. The second chapter, 'Response', will build on the foundation laid in the first; it will search for specific post-revolt policies by the Achaemenids in the regions that can be most securely tied to the rebellions. Distinctions will be made between short-term and long-term policies, and reference will be made to other revolts in the empire in order to enhance our understanding of those in Egypt.

In the end, we shall see that each Achaemenid king, in our case Darius I, Xerxes I, and Artaxerxes I, reacted differently to each rebellion - until they finally lost their power to respond.

[1] E.g. Briant 1988 and Rottpeter 2007.

# I. Revolt

**The conquest of Egypt**

According to Herodotus, the last king of the Saite dynasty, Psamtik III, son of Amasis, reigned for only six months (Hdt III 14). Cambyses invaded Egypt somewhere between 527-525, and the short reign of Psamtik came to a bloody end.[2] All that has remained of his time are some fragmentary references and a story by Herodotus. The latter claims that Psamtik was taken to Cambyses alive, and that he continued to live with the Achaemenid king. However, Psamtik 'conspired against the Persians and reaped the reward: he was caught inciting the Egyptians to rebellion, and when this was made known to Cambyses, he drank bull's blood and died on the spot. And that was the end of him' (Hdt III 15).[3] Whether this should be taken as a historical reference to an early revolt is uncertain; probably, we should not think too much of it. Egypt had only just been conquered, and any continued resistance to the new rulers of the land is conceivable, but perhaps better interpreted as the last hiccups of a war than an actual independent rebellion movement. In any case, Herodotus has the 'rebel' commit suicide before Cambyses could even get the chance to thwart the unrest himself. There is no real reason to believe that Psamtik ruled longer than a meagre year. He has left us nothing more than a possible mention on a papyrus lease from Gebelein and an appearance as 'Ankhare', his prenomen, on the statue of the Egyptian priest Udjahorresnet.[4]

**The unrests of 522**

What exactly happened around and after the death of Cambyses in 522 is still the object of discussion. After his conquest of Egypt, a struggle for the throne apparently burst forth in Iran and Cambyses died before he could return to thwart it. The drama-ridden story that followed and culminated in the victory of Darius I, a man who does not seem to have been a direct blood relative of the Persian royal family, is well known.[5] The exact nature of Darius' rise to power is, however, not directly relevant here. What is relevant is that the Bisitun inscription describes the provinces of the empire as bursting forth in revolt upon Darius' accession, with Egypt among them.

The text at Bisitun is a vast trilingual inscription on rock, written in Elamite, Old Persian, and Babylonian, overlooking the main road from Babylonia to Media (see Appendix 2). The text first describes Darius' lineage and his victory over an alleged impostor, after which it details the many battles Darius had to fight against the rebelling peoples of his empire. Apparently, Elam and Babylonia were the first to rebel, but soon another series of revolts broke out in Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, and Scythia. The inscription ends with a short note on rebellions by Elamites and Scythians in Darius' second and third regnal years, which was probably added later. Copies of the text

[2] For Cambyses' invasion of Egypt, see Cruz-Uribe 2003. For a chronological list of kings and rebels from the Twenty-Sixth (Saite) Dynasty to the end of the Second Persian Period, see Appendix 1.

[3] Waterfield 1998, 175.

[4] Kuhrt 2007, 117-122. The lease from Gebelein, P. Loeb 43, may be dated on paleographic grounds to the time between Amasis and Darius I. It contains a damaged regnal year of a Psamtik, which Cruz-Uribe is inclined to interpret as year one of Psamtik III. Two other papyri have been dated to Psamtik III, namely P. Loeb 41 (from Gebelein) and P. Strassburg 2 (from Thebes), but Cruz-Uribe has argued that they must be dated to other Psamtiks (Cruz-Uribe 1980).

[5] Kuhrt 2007, 135-157.

have been found on a stone relief set up in the city of Babylon, and on a fragmentary papyrus found at Elephantine (see p. 20 below).

The problem facing Egyptologists with the unrests of 522 is that, although a rebellion in Egypt is mentioned, it is one of the few which is not taken up again in the later narrative. Of the nine revolts mentioned, Assyria, Sattagydia, Scythia and Egypt remain undiscussed, while the others are all elaborated upon and end with the death of the rebel leaders. One could even argue that the rebellion in Egypt is the *only* one not elaborated upon, as the other three might be related to the discussed episodes of Armenia, Arachosia and Skunkha respectively.[6] This singularity of the mention of an Egyptian rebellion in 522 has prompted some scholars to reject the rebellion's historicity altogether.[7] However, the picture is a bit more complicated.

Both Herodotus and Polyaenus make reference to a revolt in Egypt in the early reign of Darius, connected to a satrap called Aryandes. Herodotus, writing in the fifth century, claims that it was Aryandes who attempted to equal the might of Darius, after which Darius had him executed on charges of rebellion (Hdt IV 166). He does not, then, claim that an actual rebellion had taken place, let alone that the Egyptians were the ones who had instigated it. However, Polyaenus, a writer stemming from the second century CE, claims that it were the Egyptians who revolted, sparked by the cruelties which Aryandes had inflicted upon them. Darius would have subsequently marched towards Egypt himself, have shown piety towards the holy Apis bull, and thus have regained the loyalty of the Egyptians (Polyaenus *Strategemata* VII 11). The primary problem with Polyaenus is that he wrote centuries after the events he claims to describe, and we have no way of knowing the reliability of his account or of the sources he may have used. Yet, these classical sources obviously show some sense of a rebellion in Egypt in Darius' early reign, as similarly claimed by Darius' own Bisitun inscription.

That a rebellion did in fact take place may be corroborated by several fragmentary Egyptian sources that reference a somewhat elusive king called Petubastis IV. Previously, this king was only known from two fragments of a wooden naos, a scarab, and two seals. All contain the prenomen *shr-ỉb-rˁ*, while the scarab also contains the name Petubastis. None contain a specific date, and most are without provenance, but one of the seals may illuminate the situation. It was found in 1910 'in the rubbish of the Meydum pyramid' by Petrie and sealed one of three papyri found there.[8] All of the papyri seem to deal with 'issues of land in and around Heracleopolis' and probably belong to the same archive. Two of them date to a year one, month four, but none mention the king under which it was written. However, the fact that one of these papyri contained a seal with the prenomen of Petubastis may indicate that they were written precisely in his reign. That this reign will have taken place somewhere at the beginning of the Persian period in Egypt is suggested on the one hand by the style of the seal, which closely follows that of Twenty-Sixth Dynasty seals, and on the other hand by the paleography of the papyri, which resembles the writing of the early Persian period.[9]

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[6] Tuplin 1991, 264.

[7] E.g. Kienitz 1953, 60 n.4, and Cruz-Uribe 2003, 52; cf. Rottpeter 2007, 13 n.16.

[8] Yoyotte 1972, 217. Note that the prenomen on the naos is written as *sh-ỉb-rˁ*, probably an error in writing (Yoyotte 1972, 216).

[9] Yoyotte 1972; Cruz-Uribe 2004, 59-60. P. Ashmolean 1984.89 (P. Oxford 5 III) dates to regnal year one, fourth month of the inundation, day 17, while P. Ashmolean 1984.87 (P. Oxford 5 I) dates to regnal year one,

Recently, the extent of the power of this elusive king has been illuminated by finds in the Dakhla Oasis (see Appendix 3): tucked away in the sands of Amheida, six fragments of a temple have been found that can be dated to this same Petubastis *shr-ỉb-rˁ*. One of the blocks mentions a *pɜ-dỉ-bɜstt*, i.e. Petubastis. The block was first interpreted as belonging to Petubastis I of the Twenty-Third Dynasty; however, two other blocks belonging to the same building phase give the prenomen of the king as *spr-ỉb-rˁ*, an understandable misspelling for *shr-ỉb-rˁ*, which can then only be connected with Petubastis IV. That this king should indeed be placed somewhere between the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty and the early Persian period is corroborated on the one hand by the other first millennium kings who put their name on the temple, namely Necho II, Psamtek II, Amasis, and Darius I, and on the other hand by some similarities of Petubastis' inscription to the inscriptions of the Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Seventh Dynasties. For example, Petubastis' titulary resembles those of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty kings, while the small size of the cartouches and the confusion of the signs *pr* and *h* likewise occur in some inscriptions of Darius I at Hibis. To sum up, Petubastis IV seems to have been an Egyptian king whose power extended from at least the Dakhla Oasis to Heracleopolis Magna in the early Persian period - a true rival to Achaemenid domination.[10] What remains to be discussed is where this Petubastis came from, how long he may have ruled parts of Egypt, and why he was not explicitly mentioned in either Darius' Bisitun inscription or the Herodotean tradition.

The origins of Petubastis *shr-ỉb-rˁ* remain unknown. On the basis of a Herodotean claim that the Achaemenids were used to returning power to the sons of kings, Eugene Cruz-Uribe has suggested that he may have been a 'puppet' king and one of Amasis' other sons: beside Psamtik III, Amasis also fathered a namesake and a certain Pasenkhonsu.[11] However, without any other evidence for his family origins, this must remain a mere hypothesis. The fact that the inscriptions of Petubastis that we have, however few, do not contain any references to such a family link, incline me to doubt the connection. As an alternative, Olaf Kaper has suggested that Petubastis may have come from the Dakhla Oasis itself. This could be suggested by the fact that, within his short period of rule, he decided to build a temple exactly there, something that was generally 'only done for a king's hometown or for an important administrative center'.[12] Whether Petubastis originally came from the oasis or not, the construction of this temple does provide a testament to the significance the oasis must have had during his rule; since no other constructions of his have been found elsewhere, it is tempting to label the Dakhla Oasis as Petubastis' main base of power. Kaper even argues that the Egyptian rebel will already have been active there at the time of Cambyses' conquest of Egypt;[13] however, since that argument rests on a problematic Herodotean story, it must remain a mere hypothesis.

Whether Petubastis had already been a problem under Cambyses or not, his rebellion must at least have been in progress around 522, the year the Bisitun inscription describes.

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fourth month of the inundation, day 6 and contains the mentioned seal. The date of the third papyrus, P. Ashmolean 1984.88 (P. Oxford 5 II), has been lost (Cruz-Uribe 2004, 59-60).

[10] I owe the findings and analysis of the blocks at Amheida to Kaper 2015.

[11] Cruz-Uribe 2003, 55-56.

[12] Kaper 2015, 135.

[13] Kaper 2015, 139-142.

That this rebellion is not further elaborated upon in the Bisitun text, that Petubastis is not similarly described as defeated and killed just like the other rebel leaders of the provinces, may point to the possibility that Egypt was still in full-on revolt by the time Darius had his inscription written. The temple blocks found at Amheida are testament to this: Petubastis must have reigned long and powerfully enough to initiate such a building project. Kaper argues that the temple will have been built after he had taken control of a large part of Egypt, possibly including Memphis: Petubastis' Amheida inscriptions mention the title "Beloved of Ptah, South of his Wall', a clear reference to the administrative capital of the time. If we can rely on the Meydum papyri and the relevant seal, then Petubastis must have found such northern legitimation in the first year of his reign, at least in Heracleopolis Magna. The papyri illustrate that the situation must have been peaceful enough for the return of regular administration there.[14] Since no records have been found in Egypt that are dated to Darius' first three regnal years,[15] and since the Bisitun inscription does not mention a defeated Egypt even in Darius' additions about the campaigns of his second and third years, it seems likely that Petubastis was not defeated until Darius' fourth regnal year. This may be further corroborated by an Apis bull epitaph which is the first to record Darius' fourth regnal year in Egypt: the cartouche which is supposed to hold Darius' Egyptian throne-name is left empty, suggesting that his Egyptian coronation had not effectively taken place yet before 518.[16] The concomitance of Darius' treatment of an Apis bull and the end of an Egyptian rebellion finds a striking parallel in Polyaenus' account mentioned above. So, if all of this is correct, then Petubastis would have ruled a large part of Egypt for nearly half a decade. Why this rebel was not known to the Herodotean tradition is unclear, but we should not elevate Herodotus' presumed knowledge or ignorance over the contemporary sources at hand.[17] In any case, the Achaemenids had their Egyptian province back by ca. 518.

**The revolt of the 480s**

In the fourth year after the Battle of Marathon, so Herodotus tells us, the Egyptians decided to revolt again. However, after having reigned for thirty-six years, Darius died before he was able to thwart the unrests. The situation was left to his son, Xerxes, who ascended the throne and defeated the Egyptian rebels a year after his father's death. He subsequently made Egypt's hardship harder than it had been before and installed his brother Achaemenes as satrap over the province (Hdt VII 1, 4-5, 7).

The chronology that emerges from Herodotus' picture is that a revolt occurred in Egypt between 486, Darius' last year, and 484, Xerxes' second year.[18] Who it was that led this rebellion, where it came from, which parts of Egypt it may have affected etc., is left unspecified. The Egyptian sources themselves do not help us a whole lot in trying to recover the specifics. There are about five texts, clustered around and seemingly within these two

[14] Kaper 2015, 138.

[15] Devauchelle 1998, 15. There is one fragmentary Demotic document, P. Golénischeff, which is dated to the third year of a Darius; Cruz-Uribe favors a date to Darius I (Cruz-Uribe 2003, 54-55), but Devauchelle suggests it to be Darius II.

[16] Tuplin 1991, 265.

[17] *Pace* Tuplin 1991, 264-265.

[18] Kuhrt 2007, 236.

years, that are often used as either witnesses to the revolt or as evidence for the rebellion's limitations.

To start with, one of the most referenced sources for the 480s revolt is a demotic letter from Elephantine, dated to June 486, the last dated Egyptian document from Darius' reign. The letter requests the guarding of a transport of grain, which would otherwise be in danger of being stolen by certain men at night. It is the phrase used to describe these men, namely *rmt*(*w*) *nty bks*, that has sparked discussion: one could translate it as 'the men who rebel'. Would this be a reference to rebels at Egypt's southern frontier in the last regnal year of Darius? Or is it simply a reference to outlaws, 'brigands', a supposedly common nuisance? The latter interpretation is more common nowadays. The demotic phrase used and the letter's contents are too vague to allow for a simple interpretation of rebels as meant in Herodotus. Whether the rebellion would have reached as far south as Elephantine, or whether it originated therefrom, must remain a question mark.[19]

Three other texts may bear on the rebellion's reach in Egypt, but are as difficult to use as the previous letter. For example, the burial of a mother of Apis at Saqqara has been dated to 'Year 1 (?), month 3 of Inundation, day 24 of Pharaoh (Xe)rxes'.[20] If this is truly to be dated to the first regnal year of Xerxes, one would have to conclude that the people around Memphis, or at least some, recognized the Persian king in the midst of the rebellion. However, the editor of the text 'is now uncertain whether the passage refers to Xerxes or to Artaxerxes',[21] on top of the doubts about the regnal year's number; hence we cannot put too much weight upon the reference. The other two texts are hieroglyphic inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat in Upper Egypt (see Appendix 3): one is dated to the thirty-sixth year of Darius and the other to the second year of Xerxes, while both mention a certain Atiyawahy, the Persian governor of Coptos. While some have seen this as evidence that Upper Egypt, or at least the area around the Wadi Hammamat, must have remained loyal to the Achaemenid regime, arguing that the two inscriptions testify to a continuance of Persian-managed activity in the area, others have emphasized the gap between the two dates, arguing that a break occurred in the activities because of the revolt.[22] Since one could argue both ways, the inscriptions do not illuminate much for us.

However, there is one text that may contain an explicit reference to a rebel king at the end of Darius' reign. From Thebes, it concerns the record of a payment of taxes which is dated to the second year of a king named Psamtik. It has sometimes been attributed to Psamtik III, but Cruz-Uribe has argued for a date in the 480s. Several paleographic features in the text closely resemble those of two other papyri dated to the thirty-fifth year of Darius. On top of that, one of those Darius papyri makes reference to two men who appear with the same name and in similar positions as in the Psamtik document. In both of these documents, the one who receives the payment is a certain *ḏ-ḥr*, while the other is 'the Goose Herder of the Estate of Amun, *Pɜ-tỉ-ʾImn-smɜ-tɜwy*, son of *Pɜ-whr*'. These phenomena favor a date of the Psamtik

[19] The letter concerned is P. Loeb I; see Porten 1996, 296-297 (C4), where the phrase is seen as a reference to simple outlaws. For other opinions see, e.g., Porten 1968, 25 and n.99.
[20] Smith 1992, 205-206.
[21] Kuhrt 2007, 243 n.8, referencing personal communication with Smith.
[22] For the inscriptions, see Posener 1936, 117-120, nos. 24-25; for the different opinions, see Kienitz 1953, 67, and Cruz-Uribe 1980, 38, respectively.

document at the end of Darius' reign, rather than forty years earlier under the short-lived Psamtik III, who - as should be recalled - does not seem to have reached a second regnal year.[23] If this is correct, then we can conclude that the revolt of 486-484 was led by a man called Psamtik who was at the very least recognized in Thebes, Upper Egypt.

Whether this Psamtik IV should be connected to the later rebel Inaros, who is said to have had a father called Psamtik and who is associated with the Libyans, is doubtful. The fact that the classical sources describe both the Egyptian revolt at Darius' death and claim to know who Inaros' father was, yet do not connect these two pieces together, inclines me to think that they were dealing with two different men. Moreover, 'Psamtik' seems to have been a rather common throne name to assume at the time, so there is no real reason to put the two together. Not only will we encounter the name twice more in our classical sources, both connected to two different rebel kings, but we also posses two obscure Egyptian sources referencing otherwise unknown kings called Psamtik. One of these is found on a sistrum handle and connected to the prenomen Amasis, while the other can be found on a scarab bearing the prenomen *Nb-kȝ-n-Rʿ*. Whether either one of these should be connected to our Psamtik IV is unknown.[24] All we can say is that a rebel king called Psamtik caused a stir in the years 486-484 and was recognized in Thebes in his second regnal year.

**The rebellion of Inaros and Amyrtaios**

Having reached his twenty-first regnal year, Xerxes was murdered in 465.[25] Soon after the accession of Xerxes' son, Artaxerxes I, a revolt occurred in Egypt, which was not successfully put down until after ca. 450. The rebellion, then, must have lasted well over a decade.

As with most of the rebellions, we are largely dependent on Graeco-Roman descriptions of events, with only some contemporary Egyptian sources complementing the picture. However, this revolt seems to have had a particularly large impact - which is perhaps not surprising judging by its duration. The main characters of the revolt, two men called Inaros and Amyrtaios, are described in Herodotus as having done more evil to the Persians than any man had done before (Hdt III 15), while Thucydides and Diodorus sketch a detailed picture of the way the revolt would have progressed.[26] If we can rely on the pictures sketched by them, then Inaros, 'son of Psamtik', a Libyan, led Egypt into revolt some time after Xerxes' death and called in the help of the Athenians in his war against the Persians. After initial victory, Inaros and his Greek allies won over parts of Memphis and ended up besieging the 'White Castle' within the city, where those loyal to the Achaemenids continued to defend themselves. Finally, the Persians sent in extra forces and relieved the siege of Memphis, defeated the Egyptians and drove the Greeks to the island of Prosopitis in ca. 455. Most perished there, although some managed to escape to the Greek colony of Cyrene in Libya. Inaros was killed, but Thucydides claims that a man called Amyrtaios continued to rebel in the Delta of Egypt.

[23] Cruz-Uribe 1980, 36-39; the texts concerned are P. Strassburg 2 and 5, and P. Berlin 3110/2.
[24] Kienitz 1953, 233.
[25] Kuhrt 2007, 306-307.
[26] The more detailed Greco-Roman interest in this revolt will undoubtedly have been linked to the involvement of the Athenians in it as well.

He apparently received military help from the Greeks as late as ca. 450 (Diod Sic XI 71, 74, 77; Thuc I 104, 109-10, 112).[27]

Despite the obvious impact the revolt must have had, the contemporary sources are again frustratingly fragmentary. Amyrtaios is solely known through the Greco-Roman historians, and has left us no other source for his actions. Inaros is mentioned in an inscription from Samos, apparently as a king of Egypt, but the context is broken and cannot reveal much more than his name and that he indeed was the son of a Psamtik.[28] Other than that, the military endeavors of the Greeks in this Egyptian revolt are partly evidenced by a list of Athenian war dead, 'dating to 459, which enumerates men who died in Egypt',[29] but many questions remain besides. There are, however, a handful of Egyptian sources which may illuminate a bit of the revolt's chronological progression and geographical extent. I will first discuss these before moving on to the origins of the two rebelling men.

Whether the revolt started directly upon Xerxes' death, as Diodorus suggests (Diod Sic XI 71), is unsure. A papyrus document from Elephantine seems to show a smooth transition of the throne: while the dispute within the document is still dated by Xerxes, the document itself was drawn up at the very beginning of Artaxerxes' first regnal year, showing no disruption between the two.[30] However, it is very conceivable that while the Elephantine garrison at Egypt's most southern frontier remained loyal to its Achaemenid overlords, Inaros and/or Amyrtaios will already have started to rebel in the north. In fact, Elephantine seems to have remained loyal throughout the period of rebellion: two contracts from 460/459, a sandstone stele erected at Aswan in 458, and a loan document of 456 are all continuously dated to the regnal years of Artaxerxes I.[31] Probably, then, the rebellion had not come that far south.

To what extent the revolt affected southern Egypt at all has been a matter of dispute. It is important to emphasize that not all Egyptians necessarily rallied behind the rebels: contrary to what Diodorus suggests, Thucydides writes that 'most of Egypt', and not all of it, was led in revolt by Inaros. A little later, Thucydides explicitly mentions the presence of 'Egyptians who had not joined the revolt' in the White Castle of Memphis (Thuc I 104).[32] Accordingly, some scholars have argued that the revolt was confined to the Delta from which it had started, or that without control of Memphis the rebellion could not have reached farther south.[33] Apart from the Elephantine documents mentioned above, such an hypothesis could be backed by an inscription from the Wadi Hammamat, which is dated to Artaxerxes' fifth regnal year.[34] This would indicate that both Elephantine as well as the area around Thebes - and possibly, then, the entire stretch of land in between - were still under Achaemenid control in 461/460. However, although it is important to keep in mind that not all of Egypt will have rebelled, there are two sources which indicate that the rebellion did spread southward.

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[27] For a discussion of the chronology of the revolt, see Lloyd 1975, 38-49.
[28] Holm 2007, 207 n.61.
[29] Kuhrt 2007, 322 n.1.
[30] Kuhrt 2007, 307.
[31] Porten 1968, 26-27.
[32] Kuhrt 2007, 321-322.
[33] Briant 2002, 575.
[34] Kuhrt 2007, 323.

The first source is an Aramaic inscription found at Sheikh Fadl, 185 km south of Cairo (see Appendix 3). The text, written in now badly faded red ink, covers the walls of a re-used Middle Kingdom tomb. Due to its deteriorated nature the panels are extremely difficult to read, but what seems clear is that it concerns several different stories, possibly written by people with a military connection. It has been dated paleographically to the first half of the fifth century, with some scholars arguing for the second quarter. On top of that, a colophon at the end of the text mentions that someone 'completed it in year 5', which could then only be Xerxes I or, if indeed written in the second quarter, Artaxerxes I, yet again in the middle of Inaros' rebellion. If the latter dating is correct, then the contents of the text become especially interesting. Although the stories themselves cannot be intelligibly reconstructed, the text mentions several historical characters from the seventh century, among which Taharqa, Necho and Esarhaddon, and it seems to deal with the Egyptian struggle against Assyrian overlordship. We know that tales of this historical struggle were extremely popular in later Greco-Roman Egypt; the largest story cycle from ancient Egypt known today features exactly those battles and characters. More importantly, the main character of the cycle is an Egyptian rebel king from the Delta called Inaros. Although previously read differently, 'Inaros' now seems to feature thrice in the text at Sheikh Fadl. This, together with other elements in the text, suggests that the inscription is the first attestation of the later Greco-Roman story cycle. As this cycle featured (successful) Egyptian rebellion under the leadership of an Inaros against foreign invaders from the east, it bears remarkable similarities to the situation of the 460s-450s. If the text can indeed be dated to Artaxerxes I, then we may have a witness here to pro-Inaros sympathies among Aramaic-writing soldiers in Middle Egypt - a small but important clue to the rebellion's influence outside of the confines of the Delta.[35]

The second and much more explicit reference to the rebellion's influence in the south comes from the southern oasis of Kharga. There, at the oasis' southern extremity of 'Ayn Manawir, demotic ostraca were found dating from the forty-third year of Amasis (527) to the twelfth year of Nectanebo I (368). A variety of kings appear in the dating formulae of the potsherds and they succeed each other quite continuously. However, one interesting gap appears between the sixth year of Xerxes and the twenty-first year of Artaxerxes I. It is in this gap that Michel Chauveau, responsible for the publication of the ostraca, would like to place an ostracon dated to the second year of an Inaros,[36] 'chief of the Bacales'.[37] Since no other rebel king called Inaros is known within the time period concerned, it is extremely likely that we are dealing with the same Inaros who started his rebellion in the Delta. It is unfortunately unknown from which year he will have started to count his regnal years, so the ostracon

[35] For an extensive discussion of the text, see Holm 2007. If the text indeed contains pro-Inaros sympathies, we may even consider the possibility that the mentioned 'year 5' refers to a fifth regnal year of Inaros. We have no other evidence that he would have reached such high regnal years, but the duration of the rebellion would certainly make it a possibility.

[36] Chauveau 2003, 39.

[37] On this title, see below. One may wonder why Inaros was called 'chief' and not 'pharaoh' in the document. Perhaps Inaros preferred to stay a 'chief' within his own Libyan tradition rather than an Egyptian king. Perhaps he chose to remain a *wr* instead of a pharaoh because of Amyrtaios' authority in the Delta, although it is unclear to what extent his overlapped with Inaros'. Another possibility may be that, without a hold on Memphis, Inaros could not be officially enthroned. Whatever the case, his reign was apparently recognized well enough to be dated to.

cannot be dated exactly. If it should be dated after 460, so after the dated inscription of the Wadi Hammamat mentioned above, then it might be possible that the Theban region on the opposite end of the desert had likewise fallen to the rebels. So even if the rebellious forces never got a firm hold on Memphis, and even though they do not seem to have come as far as Elephantine, Inaros at least found legitimation as far south as the oasis of Kharga - a testament to the revolt's enormous extent.

Some additional references to unrest in Egypt may be found in Aramaic documents from the archive of Arsames, who was satrap of Egypt in the late fifth century. Two letters from Arsames to an officer of his in Egypt refer to 'disturbances' and 'when Egypt revolted' or 'when the rebellion occurred in Egypt'. The letters deal with concerns for Arsames' property and staff, as well as the rights of a man whose father and other female relatives had perished.[38] Another letter mentions a 'son of Yinharu', i.e. Inaros, 'that [...], was removed from the territory of [my] lor[d...]', but is too fragmentary to properly understand.[39] Yet another one concerns men of Arsames who were consigned to estates in Upper and Lower Egypt but who were not able 'to enter the fortress' when 'Egypt revolted and the garrison was besieged'; they were subsequently seized by 'the no-good [..]n[.]r/dw', from whom Arsames was attempting to get them back. The fragmentary name has sometimes been reconstructed as Anudaru, and subsequently interpreted by some as a reference to Inaros. However, the reading is far from certain.[40] Even if the documents mention an Inaros or the son of an Inaros, one should be warned that this was a common name at the time; without proper context, not every Inaros can be interpreted as the grand rebel leader. Moreover, beside the vague content of the letters, another issue concerns their dating. The corpus is commonly dated between 411 and 408, long after the revolt of the 460s/450s.[41] They might, of course, refer to some unrests in the later fifth century, possibly to some later Delta rebels or even Thannyras (see below), if we take the reference to a son of Inaros seriously. However, it remains uncertain to what extent actual 'revolts' were meant, or merely some local disturbances.[42]

What the exact relationship was between Inaros and Amyrtaios is unclear. Herodotus mentions the two in one breath, as if of like power, but Thucydides talks shortly about Amyrtaios only after Inaros' defeat. Diodorus and Ctesias solely treat the rebellion and end of Inaros, although Ctesias does state that Egypt rebelled 'as a result of Inaros a Libyan and another man, an Egyptian' (Ctesias *Persica* FGrH 688 F14 (36)),[43] with whom he probably meant Amyrtaios. Judging by the weight Inaros is given in the Greco-Roman accounts and by the fact that contemporary sources have been found to mention him, and not Amyrtaios, we can assume that Inaros was the main power behind the revolt. We will first discuss him before moving on to Amyrtaios.

[38] Driver 1957, 27, 31.
[39] Holm 2007, 212-213 n.81.
[40] Kuhrt 2007, 344 n.7.
[41] Driver 1957, 8-10.
[42] For elaborate criticism of turning fragmentary references to unrest into evidence of revolts in Egypt, see Briant 1988.
[43] Kuhrt 2007, 323.

Diodorus mentions that Egypt revolted and 'put in as king a man called Inaros' (Diod Sic XI 71);[44] he does not mention where the man came from, although he later adds that the Egyptians gathered their army from Egypt as well as Libya (Diod Sic XI 74). The link to Libya is found again in Ctesias and Herodotus, who add that Inaros was a Libyan, while Herodotus describes him on top of that as a son of Psamtik, agreeing with the inscription of Samos mentioned above. It is Thucydides who describes the man most elaborately as 'Inaros, the son of Psammetichus, a Libyan and king of the Libyans bordering on Egypt', and that he started his campaign from Marea in the western Delta (Thuc I 104).[45] An interesting detail about his origins may be preserved on the ostracon from 'Ayn Manawir discussed above: while Chauveau read the name in the dating formula as *ʾIr.t-ḥr-r=w pɜ wr n nɜ bk*[*s*].*w*, i.e. 'Inaros, the chief of the rebels',[46] Jan Winnicki has now argued for a different reading. Although the title 'chief of the rebels' speaks to the imagination, it would be the very first of its kind; however, the phrase 'chief of the people-X' does occur frequently in Egyptian and the determinative behind the ostracon's phrase, the same as the one found for the Nubian tribe of the Blemmyes, suggests a reading to that nature. According to Winnicki, Chauveau's tentatively read '*s*' should be an '*n*', and the phrase could then be interpreted as a reference to a Libyan tribe known from Ramesside times as the *bḳnw*, with *ḳ* and *k* interchangeable in Demotic. This tribe may be the same as the Bacales known from Herodotus,[47] who are described as 'a tribe with a small population, whose land comes down to the sea at Taucheira, a town in Barcaean country' (Hdt IV 171) – i.e. around the Greek colony of Barca (see Appendix 2).[48] Nothing more is known about them. Whether Inaros specifically came from that tribe or not, it seems clear enough that he rose to a certain standing in eastern Libya - cf. Thucydides' claim that he was king of the Libyans bordering on Egypt (Thuc I 104) - before he decided to invade Egypt from the western Delta. Whether he should be regarded as an Egyptian rebel or as another foreign invader is a kind of moot point; after all, the culture of the Libyans close to Egypt was strongly Egyptianized, and it is obvious that Inaros found support in Egypt against the Persians.[49]

With Inaros' death, our knowledge ends. All we know of his legacy is contained in a short mention in Herodotus: the historian claims that the Persians were used to honoring the sons of kings, even if those kings had revolted against them, and that they would return those kings' powers into the hands of their sons. He then mentions Thannyras, son of Inaros, and Pausiris, son of Amyrtaios, as examples (Hdt III 15). If we can rely on this short reference, then Inaros' son apparently succeeded him, presumably by the grace of and not in spite of the Persians. It is, however, unsure to what extent Herodotus will have had full knowledge of the

[44] Kuhrt 2007, 319.
[45] Kuhrt 2007, 321.
[46] Chauveau 2004, 40.
[47] Winnicki argues that the *n* and the *l* could be interchangeable in certain dialects (Winnicki 2006, 136).
[48] Waterfield 1998, 293.
[49] Diodorus says that the Egyptians put him in as king themselves (Diod Sic XI 71), while Thucydides describes him as a rebel leader of the Egyptians and not as an invader (Thuc I 104). See also p. 29 below and Herodotus' description of Libyan tribes in book IV 168-197; he describes those closest to Egypt as 'basically Egyptian' (Hdt IV 168; Waterfield 1998, 292). *Pace* Rottpeter 2007 who views the revolts as caused and born by outsiders, namely Greeks and Libyans. This overemphasizes any assumed leading - instead of serving - role of the Greek mercenaries in Egypt, while it under-appreciates the Egyptian roots and support of the various rebels.

rebellion's end: his visit to Egypt seems to have been very close to, if not during, Inaros' revolt, as shown by a brief note that he had seen the remains of one of the revolt's battlefields (Hdt III 12).[50] This chronological proximity to the unrests may explain the absence in *The Histories* of a comprehensive story about the revolt, which is only referred to in dispersed and fragmentary references, so unlike the elaborate passages found in Thucydides and Diodorus; perhaps the exact outcome or consequences of the rebellion were still unclear when Herodotus wrote his book on Egypt. In any case, if there is some historicity to the rule of Inaros' son, we should not rule out the possibility that the Persians simply did not have the might to eliminate Libyan power, especially if the Delta continued to be difficult (see below). A reference to continued Libyan power can even be found in Philochorus, who claims that another Psamtik ('V') sent grain to Athens in 445/4; he describes this as a 'king of Libya' (Philochorus *Atthis* FGrH 328 F119). If the reference is historical, then perhaps he was a contemporary or a successor of Inaros' son Thannyras. It might even be possible that Thannyras assumed the name 'Psamtik' upon accession, as similarly suggested for other rebel kings.[51] However, nothing else is known about him, hence the extent of his supposed power or rebellious tendencies remains unknown.

All we know of Amyrtaios is that he was an Egyptian, not a Libyan, and that he was 'the king in the marshes', i.e. the Delta of Egypt. Thucydides claims that it was impossible to capture him because of the extent of the marshes as well as the warlike nature of the Egyptians in that region. All the historian says about him after that is that sixty Athenian ships sailed off to Egypt at Amyrtaios' request, somewhere around 450 (Thuc I 112). The rebel's defeat or end is not mentioned. That he will have been defeated is suggested by Herodotus' claim of Pausiris receiving back the power of his father.[52] If we take this literally, then the Persians must have defeated Amyrtaios as well as Inaros, or otherwise there would have been no power to give. However, as in Thannyras' case, Herodotus' picture of powerful Persians voluntarily returning power to the rebels' sons should be taken with a grain of salt. The fact that Thucydides explicitly notes Amyrtaios' continued rebellion and the impossibility of his capture suggests that the Delta remained in turmoil. If Pausiris simply continued to exercise the powers his father used to have, then the Persians may not have regained strict control over the area at all. Nothing else is known about Pausiris' alleged authority in the Delta, or its end, but that the Delta remained a nuisance in the late fifth century is similarly suggested by the region's later history: Egypt's freedom from Achaemenid rule in ca. 400 and the native dynasties this freedom produced all stemmed from the Delta marshes.

**The triumph of the native dynasties**

Several decades after the revolt of the 460s/450s another Amyrtaios wreaked havoc in the Delta. Not much is known about him, yet he was the one who finally managed to free Egypt from Persian rule somewhere between 404 and 399.

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[50] The visit may have occurred somewhere between 449, the likely date of the battle, and ca. 430 (Lloyd 1975, 61-68).

[51] A similar suggestion has been made for Amyrtaios II (see n.55 below).

[52] The only other time Herodotus mentions Amyrtaios is at II 140, where it is said that he found a mysterious island. Herodotus calls him 'King Amyrtaios'.

Amyrtaios II's exact origins are unknown, but Manetho qualifies him as 'of Sais', the old Delta capital of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. One may be inclined to think of a connection to Amyrtaios I, but whether Amyrtaios II really was a relative of his (perhaps he was a grandson of Amyrtaios I, a son of Pausiris?) or whether he was merely called the same or adopted the name of a previous Delta rebel we do not know. His name has not been found on any Egyptian monument. Outside of Greco-Roman sources, his existence is only referred to by an Aramaic letter from Elephantine, and the Demotic Chronicle from Ptolemaic times.[53] What seems clear is that he managed to reconquer Egypt only gradually: although he is described as having freed Egypt on Darius II's death in 404, an Elephantine document still dates to Artaxerxes II's fourth regnal year (401). Similarly, an ostracon from 'Ayn Manawir seems to date to Artaxerxes' third year.[54] Amyrtaios' revolt, then, starting from the Delta, will only have reached Upper Egypt several years after Darius II's death; in between, the southern regions remained loyal - or subjugated - to the Achaemenid regime.[55]

That there was no such thing as a united 'nationalist' uprising in Egypt against the Persians is exemplified by the struggles of the native dynasties that followed. Amyrtaios of Sais was deposed by Nepherites, who founded the Twenty-Ninth Dynasty (399), and who came from another Delta town called Mendes. This dynasty lasted for only about twenty years and was scarred by dynastic struggles; its second king, Akoris, seems to have had difficulties with a rival king called Psammuthis, whose power-base may have been in Upper Egypt. Akoris' successor, Nepherites II, lasted for a mere four months before he was deposed by a general from Sebennytos, yet another town in the Delta (380). This Thirtieth Dynasty was relatively stable until it was overthrown by the Persians some four decades later. Even in those last years of Persian rule, Egypt did not remain quiet; the Achaemenids had to deal with an elusive rebel king called Khababash until Alexander made an end to the empire.[56]

As the last native dynasties and the Second Persian Period are not the objects of the present thesis, they will not be elaborately discussed. However, it is important to emphasize both the role of the Delta in this period as well as the local rivalries therein. The succession of dynasties originating from different Delta towns is a testament to the localized nature of the unrests: there was no whole of Egypt rebelling under the leadership of one native king. Rather, there will have existed a variety of powerful groups, some of whom managed to fuel support within certain layers of the population and capture the throne. We should probably not imagine a different situation for the rebel leaders of the earlier fifth and sixth centuries; we have already seen that Amyrtaios I, 'king of the marshes', existed next to the Libyan Inaros and that he was likely confined to the Delta. The obscure nature of and fragmentary evidence for the other rebel kings suggest a similarly localized nature, no matter how far their authority may have eventually - and briefly - reached. Petubastis of the Southern Oasis, the Theban-recognized Psamtik IV, the Libyans Inaros, Thannyras, and Psamtik V, the Delta-based Amyrtaios I, Pausiris, Amyrtaios II, a possible southern-recognized Psamtik VI... With

[53] Kuhrt 2007, 390-394.

[54] Chauveau 1996, 43-44.

[55] It is unclear whether a certain Psamtik mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (Diod Sic XIV 35) and, if connected, found on an ostracon from 'Ayn Manawir, was a rival of Amyrtaios II or whether the latter had simply assumed 'Psamtik' as a throne-name; see Kuhrt 2007, 392 n.5, and Chauveau 1996, 44-47.

[56] Kuhrt 2007, 351-352. See also Appendix 1.

the loss of the common Persian enemy around 400, Egypt obtained the freedom to play out its own native rivalries.

# II. Response

**Introduction**

The Achaemenid policies upon the Egyptian revolts did not exist in a void: on the one hand, we have to deal with the general policy towards Egypt each time, weighing what we know of the situation in the rebellious regions of Egypt against that of the country at large, while on the other hand it may be fruitful to compare the policy on Egypt with that on other revolts in the empire. On top of that, a distinction has to be made between short-term and long-term policies: rows of war-dead are not the same as the specific slaughter of prominent citizens, while damage to sanctuaries gains a different significance when inflicted in times of peace than during the actual battles. Obviously, a detailed description of all of these issues lies beyond the scope of the present thesis, but the broad similarities and distinctions between them are imperative to keep in mind when trying to interpret the Achaemenid response in Egypt. To make the latter more intelligible, I will link what is known of Achaemenid short-term policies in the empire at large to the little we know of Egypt. I will then move on to a brief survey of long-term policies upon two prominent revolts outside of Egypt, before ending with an elaborate search for long-term post-revolt policies within Egypt. The latter will be treated according to the rebellious localities that could be most confidently identified in the previous chapter: the Southern Oasis under Petubastis, Libya and some scattered sites in Egypt under Inaros, and the Delta under Amyrtaios I and later kinglets. Because Psamtik IV's revolt is too obscure to localize exactly, his will be only briefly discussed.

**Short-term policies**

Egypt was not the only region that suffered revolts; as shown early by Bisitun, rebellions occurred all over the empire. Unfortunately, of most revolts we only know their existence, not their specific origins, developments or consequences; e.g. a Bactrian revolt against Artaxerxes I is preserved in only two short sentences in Ctesias (Ctesias *Persica* FGrH 688 F14 (35)), while a Median revolt against Darius II is mentioned in only one by Xenophon (Xenophon *Hellenica* I 2). There are but two revolts that are better known, namely the Ionian revolt against Darius I in the years 499-493, and the Babylonian one against Xerxes I in 484. Because of their importance for interpreting the long-term policies in Egypt, they will be treated below. Presently, sources bearing on Achaemenid short-term policies will be discussed.

That death is a major theme when considering the direct aftermath of the revolts will not come as a surprise: rebellions against the empire had to be put down forcefully, and death and destruction will inevitably have come in its wake. Rather, the question is to what extent the kills and plunder will have followed a conscious pattern, as well as the extent to which the local population as opposed to the rebellious inner circle will have been affected. Multiple sources can be used to answer this, among which several classical authors, but by far the most important one is Darius' Bisitun inscription. Although the inscription records punitive measures taken in the late sixth century, we shall see that Darius' successors probably kept true to its basic policy. I will first discuss the punishment of the actual rebels before moving on to the alleged punishment of the wider population.

We are not that well informed about the end of the Egyptian rebels; Herodotus only mentions Psamtik III's death (Hdt III 15), while Thucydides and Ctesias record something about Inaros' end (Thuc I 110; Ctesias *Persica* FGrH 688 F14 (39)). The recorded

punishments vary: while Psamtik apparently died by drinking bull's blood as soon as Cambyses found out about his plans of rebellion, Inaros was either crucified or impaled. Because Herodotus' Psamtik died before he could well execute his plans, and because it seems his death was by his own hands, the story does not figure well as an example of Achaemenid punitive measures against a defeated rebel; probably, we should just leave it as a story. Death on stakes, however, as is recorded for Inaros, seems to have been the typical punishment. Although Herodotus does not describe Inaros' end, he does describe a Babylonian and the Ionian revolt which both ended in impalement (Hdt III 159; Hdt VI 30). Significantly, impalement is also highly represented in Darius' Bisitun inscription: while five rebel-kings are simply described as 'killed', the death of four is explicitly elaborated upon as death on stakes (§32-33, §43, §50).

That there was an element of display to the punishments is clear from the text at Bisitun: the rebel-kings Fravartish and Cicantakhma, for example, were first physically disfigured and put in fetters at Darius' palace entrance, before they were eventually impaled (§32-33). The location of impalement seems to have been chosen simply on the basis of geographical proximity: e.g. Fravartish rebelled in Media and was thus impaled at Ecbatana, while the Babylonian-based rebel Arakha was impaled at Babylon and the Persian Vahyazdata at 'a place called Huvadaicaya, in Persia' (§32, §50, §43).[57] Similarly, Herodotus has Histiaeus of the Ionian revolt impaled at Sardis (Hdt VI 30; see Appendix 2). Such display of corpses will undoubtedly have served to frighten the rebellious regions into obedience.

Death was not only reserved for the rebellions' leaders; their 'foremost followers', i.e. the rebellion's elite, were likewise punished. Of how many followers we should be thinking exactly is unknown, but the amount may have been along the lines of the fifty Greeks in Ctesias that accompanied Inaros to his death (Ctesias *Persica* FGrH 688 F14 (39)). Unfortunately, Bisitun does not record any numbers for corroboration. We do know that of the nine rebel kings from Bisitun, five were killed together with their foremost followers (§13, §32, §43, §47, §50). In two of those cases, the men were impaled with their leader (§43, §50), but once we hear of a different punishment: while Fravartish' men were displayed with him at Ecbatana, they were not impaled but hanged (§32). This difference in treatment also emerges from Ctesias: although Inaros was put on stakes, the Greeks with him were punished with beheading. Apparently, impalement was something specifically meant for the leaders.

To what extent the local population was affected remains somewhat of a question-mark. That it was not only the rebellion's inner circle which suffered punishment seems clear from a story in Herodotus: upon defeating a Babylonian revolt, 'Darius demolished the city wall and tore down all its gates (...) and he also had about three thousand of the most prominent men impaled on stakes' (Hdt III 159).[58] In the case of the Ionian revolt, Herodotus claims such things as the enslavement of women and children, the castration of the best-looking boys, and the dispatch of the most beautiful girls to the Persian king (Hdt VI 19, 32). None of such things can of course be traced in the archaeological record, leaving the veracity of the stories

[57] Kuhrt 2007, 147. The Sagartian rebel Cicantakhma was impaled at Arbela, but the location of Sagartia is unknown; see Kuhrt 2007, 155 n.70.

[58] Waterfield 1998, 233-234. The only Babylonian revolts known under Darius are those described at Bisitun, from which this story is possibly derived; see Kuhrt 2007, 194 n.1.

up for discussion. However, if the claims about the destruction of buildings in those same stories are any indicator, then we should take them with a large grain of salt.

There is little evidence for coordinated destruction, even though Greco-Roman authors are filled with stories of the practice. The destruction of buildings in Babylon, for example, is variously attributed to Cyrus (Berossus *Babyloniaca* FGrH F680 F10a), Darius (Hdt III 159), and Xerxes (Strabo *Geography* XVI 1; Arrian *Anabasis* III 16, VII 17);[59] there is no agreement on which king did what and which buildings were supposedly destroyed. More significantly, the archaeological record does not support the claims. This is particularly important to emphasize in the case of Xerxes; contrary to previous consensus, there is no real evidence that he significantly damaged Babylon upon its revolt in 484.[60] The same can be said of the Ionian revolt under Darius: although Herodotus describes the plundering and burning of cities and shrines, this is clearly contradicted by the archaeological record.[61] There may be some archaeological evidence for demolition in Egypt, but the damage as described in the classical sources - principally in Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus, and referring only to Heliopolis, Diospolis/Thebes, and Memphis - is entirely linked to Cambyses' conquest of the country, not to any of the rebellions.[62] It is perhaps important to note here that the text at Bisitun describes only the defeat of the rebellious armies and the execution of the rebel-kings, sometimes with their foremost followers, and that it makes no mention of the demolition of buildings or punitive measures against the local inhabitants. Of course, this does not mean that it could not have happened, but it was apparently no significant part of Bisitun's ideology. Local inhabitants will have experienced the horrors of war during the battles between the rebels and the imperial forces, but we should not imagine the common man or his town being extravagantly punished. This, again, was reserved for the rebellion's leaders.

Most of the punitive measures discussed so far can be connected to Darius I. The only other Achaemenid kings of whose policy something is known in this regard are Xerxes I, who should be freed of allegations that he destroyed Babylonian buildings, and Artaxerxes I, under whom Inaros was put on stakes. That the basic policy of impalement, execution of the inner circle, and otherwise limited destruction will have been followed after Darius is not only suggested by Xerxes' and Artaxerxes' similar measures, but also by the spread of Darius' ideology as expressed at Bisitun. The inscription itself claims that it was also written on clay tablets and on parchment and subsequently sent 'everywhere into the countries' (§70). A version of it in stone has been found along the processional way in Babylon and is one testament to the text's geographical spread.[63] That the text was still read and used in later reigns is clear from a version found in Egypt: a fragmentary papyrus from Elephantine, written in imperial Aramaic, preserves parts of the Bisitun text as well as a paragraph of Darius I's tomb inscription. The text can be dated to the late fifth century, probably to the early reign of Darius II, as the papyrus was re-used and preserves several columns of accounts

[59] Kuhrt 2014, 167.

[60] For an extensive review of Xerxes' image in this regard, see Kuhrt 2014.

[61] E.g. In the case of Miletus, Herodotus writes that 'the sanctuary at Dydima, both temple and oracle, [were] plundered and burned' (Hdt VI 19), a claim for which there is no archaeological evidence. For references to further literature, see Kuhrt 2007, 227 n.4.

[62] Tuplin 1991, 260.

[63] Kuhrt 2007, 149, 151 n.1.

of which the earliest is dated to 418/417. It has been suggested that Darius II re-issued the text as part of a celebratory commemoration of Darius I's victories about a century earlier.[64] Whether this is true or not, the papyrus testifies to the continued relevance of Bisitun's text and its proclamation of aptly defeated rebellions. If Amyrtaios I, Pausiris, Thannyras or one of the obscure Psamtiks were captured in the late fifth century, we may thus imagine them impaled, perhaps at Memphis or the old Delta capital of Sais,[65] just like Inaros and earlier rebels before them.

**The Ionian and Babylonian revolts**

Both the Ionian and the Babylonian revolt may help us understand or tentatively reconstruct the Achaemenid long-term policies in Egypt. For matters of space, both will be discussed only briefly.

Ionia had largely been conquered under Cyrus (see Appendix 2). Unlike Egypt, the coastal region of Asia Minor had never been a unified kingdom but consisted of a patchwork of city-states administered by varying sorts of governments, mostly headed by tyrants. The Persians decided to keep these 'puppet-rulers' in place, granting them a certain local autonomy in exchange for tribute and loyalty to the Achaemenid empire. The situation remained stable, even during the Bisitun crisis, until ca. 500. It was then that a tyrant from Miletus, Aristagoras, decided to revolt. The rebellion is almost solely known through Herodotus. His elaborate treatment of the events makes the Ionian revolt one of the best - if not *the* best - known revolts of the entire Achaemenid period.[66]

According to Herodotus, Aristagoras managed to persuade several other tyrants to join him in open rebellion. He pretended to abdicate in favor of a democratic government in order to fuel support among wider layers of the Ionian population, obtained military support from Athens and Eretria, and marched straight to the satrapal capital of Sardis to burn the city down. Several battles followed, while the revolt spread wider through the region. It was not until 493 that the Achaemenids managed to quench the rebellion (Hdt V 35-VI 31).[67] Upon the revolt's defeat, Herodotus describes a series of gruesome punitive measures taken by the Achaemenids against the rebellious leaders and their peoples, from enslavement to castration (Hdt VI 9, 18-20, 28-33); although some of such punishments may have occurred, their historicity is difficult to asses (see above).

Beside this direct aftermath, Herodotus describes measures that touch upon Darius' long-term policies in post-revolt Ionia. Instead of vengeful punishment, these measures are described by Herodotus as 'peaceful' and even 'extremely beneficial for the Ionians' (Hdt VI 42-43).[68] First off, the Achaemenids forced the Ionian states to settle any future differences by arbitration, thereby avoiding infamous frontier wars; secondly, the traditional payment of tribute was not raised but was reorganized according to what every territory could properly

[64] Greenfield and Porten 1982, 2-3.

[65] Thucydides does not mention the location of Inaros' execution, while Ctesias' version is difficult to use (Kuhrt 2007, 325). On the basis of Bisitun and Herodotus, it is safe to assume that the common place of execution will have been a nearby city in Egypt itself.

[66] Briant 2002, 36-38, 146-152.

[67] Briant 2002, 146-148.

[68] Waterfield 1998, 366.

pay; and last but not least, the Achaemenids may have condoned democratic governments in some of the Ionian states, rather than having reimposed old tyrants.[69] Darius' policy in post-revolt Ionia was thus aimed at positive investment; the region remained under tight Achaemenid control, but in such a way that the region would be too content to revolt again. As we shall see, Darius may have implemented a similar policy in Egypt upon Petubastis' revolt, about two decades before the Ionians rebelled. But in Egypt it would prove to be less effective.

As for Babylonia, it was one of the first regions to be conquered by the Persians. Like Egypt, it had had a long history of unity and kings, and was fully incorporated as a satrapy into the Persian empire. It rebelled against Darius during the Bisitun crisis, and anew against Xerxes in 484, right upon Psamtik's revolt in Egypt. In sharp contrast with the Ionian revolt, the rebellion in Babylonia is almost solely known through contemporary cuneiform sources. One reference in Herodotus about Xerxes murdering a Babylonian priest and taking away a temple-statue (Hdt I 183) may be an indicator of religious disturbances in the region, but whether this was cause or effect of the revolt, if at all, and whether the details of the story are historical, is unknown.[70] Other than that, the Greco-Roman sources are silent, even more so than on Petubastis' revolt in Egypt.

Cuneiform tablets of a variety of archives in the region can be used to reconstruct events. Based on such things as dating formulae and prosopography, a picture emerges of a Babylonian revolt in the summer months of Xerxes' second year. Two rebel-kings, Bel-shimanni and Shamash-eriba, seem to have operated independently from one another, but roughly within the same time-span and geographical spread. As with Inaros and Amyrtaios I, their exact overlap and any extent of mutual cooperation or competition is obscure. What is clear is that the revolt mainly affected the towns of northern Babylonia; it does not seem to have spread south. By the end of Xerxes' second regnal year, so only months after he stroke down Psamtik in Egypt, Babylonia was back under Achaemenid control.[71]

The direct aftermath of the rebellion is unclear. In any case, the once traditional image of Xerxes destroying Babylonian buildings has by now been refuted and put to rest (see above). Xerxes' long-term policies, however, emerge interestingly from the cuneiform tablets: a string of northern Babylonian archives ended in the year of the rebellion, while several others were allowed to continue. The archives that ended belonged to the traditional northern aristocracy, i.e. the prestigious families that were linked to the temples and to such high offices as of the provincial governor, while those that continued belonged to a 'lower' stratum of society, i.e. entrepreneurs who did business with or served Persians in Babylonia and were thus dependent on Persians for their livelihood. The archives of the south, including those of the aristocracy, remained unscathed.[72] Since the timing of this 'end of archives', a link to the revolt and to punitive measures taken against the northern aristocracy seems inevitable. In

[69] For a discussion of the measures mentioned by Herodotus and how we can interpret them in comparison with other sources, see Briant 2002, 493-497.

[70] Waerzeggers 2003/2004, 161.

[71] The present summary is based on a thorough re-analysis of the revolt(s) by Waerzeggers 2003/2004.

[72] Waerzeggers 2003/2004, 156-163. Whether the abolishment of the provincial governor's post and the division of the satrapy of Babylon and Across-The-River had something to do with the revolts as well, either as cause or effect, is unclear; the measures cannot be dated exactly (Waerzeggers 2003/2004 161).

short, Xerxes seems to have implemented a very conscious, localized policy, meant to strike exactly those power-groups that were most likely to have been loyal to the northern rebellion; pro-Persians within and all outside of the rebellious region were left alone. These characteristics are important to keep in mind when analyzing the Egyptian revolts - especially, but certainly not only, the nearly contemporary Psamtik rebellion.

**The Southern Oasis**

As we have seen, the Southern Oasis[73] was an important region - if not the very center - of an Egyptian revolt against Darius I around the year 522. The rebel-king Petubastis IV, whose power eventually reached as far north as Heracleopolis Magna, took the time and resources to build the only monument known of his name in Amheida, Dakhla Oasis, suggesting a particular connection with this locality. Petubastis was eventually defeated, and we may imagine him publicly impaled, just like his contemporaries in other parts of the empire. However, the attention Darius granted to Amheida did not stop at simple subjugation; in fact, it seems that the Southern Oasis was more invested in than any other region of Egypt. I will describe what is known of the Achaemenid activity in the area, as well as its significance when put into context. In the end, I will raise the question of the investment's specific objective.

One of the ways in which the Achaemenids invested in the Southern Oasis was by significantly altering the irrigation system of the region. Under their aegis, a network of underground channels, called *qanat*s, were created, ensuring an easier and cheaper form of water management. They were found at three different localities in Kharga: 'Ayn Manawir, Umm el-Dabadib, and 'Ayn el-Labakha. The same system is also known to have been introduced in the more northern oases of Farafra and Bahariya, and at Mersa Matrouh.[74] It is unclear which king(s) introduced the system, but Darius I is the likely candidate for the Southern Oasis. The system is reflected in a series of Demotic contracts found on ostraca at 'Ayn Manawir, and besides an obscure Psamtik and three Twenty-Ninth Dynasty kings, the dated ostraca mention Artaxerxes I, II and a Darius.

Although Chauveau has argued for an identification of this Darius with Darius II, Darius I remains a possibility. According to Chauveau, the dates mentioning a Darius range from a second to an eighteenth regnal year; if the king were to be identified with Darius I, then the absence of the second part of Darius I's reign, the entire reign of Xerxes, and the first part of Artaxerxes' reign, which is only attested in the ostraca from regnal year twenty-one onwards, would be difficult to legitimate.[75] Moreover, the ostraca dated from this Darius' fourteenth regnal year onwards mention the Athenian stater as a means of money instead of the ingots weighed against the official standard of the temple of Ptah at Memphis; as a similar shift is visible in an Aramaic document from Elephantine dated to the sixteenth year of Darius II, it seems likely that the dates of the 'Ayn Manawir ostraca refer to the same king.[76]

[73] The oases of Dakhla and Kharga were traditionally subsumed under one name: 'Southern Oasis or *Knmt* in Egyptian' (Kaper 2012, 718).

[74] Schacht 2003, 412. The *qanat*s are usually associated with the Persians, but some seem to have been created, or were at least continued to be used, in Roman times (Schacht 2003, 420-421).

[75] Chauveau 1996, 35-37.

[76] Chauveau 1996, 38.

However, Chauveau made this argument in 1996, while several years later three documents dated to the very beginning of Xerxes I's reign were found. Although Chauveau does not give the regnal years of each document, the latest of them is dated to Xerxes' sixth regnal year.[77] Based on the mention of the Athenian stater, it is likely that several of the Darius documents should indeed be dated to Darius II; however, now that the 'hiatus' between the early regnal years of the Darius documents and the twenty-first regnal year of Artaxerxes I is broken with documents of Xerxes I, I see no reason why some of them could not be dated to the early reign of Darius I.[78] In any case, the *qanat*s must already have been in use in the early years of Xerxes. That this investment in the irrigation system of the Southern Oasis is likely to be attributed to Xerxes' father is further supported by Darius I's monumental building in the area.

In his reign, Darius erected and fully decorated an entirely new temple at Hibis, Kharga Oasis, built a smaller temple at Qasr el-Ghueita in the same oasis, and probably constructed a new chapel for Thoth at Amheida, Dakhla Oasis,[79] the same site where Petubastis had built. While Darius' activities at the first two sites are in ample evidence through the blocks of reliefs and texts with his name on it that have been preserved, his presence at the latter is more conjectural, but nonetheless arguable. What has remained at Amheida is a single relief block with the last sign in a cartouche preserved, a sign 'which is distinctive for the names of Darius, Xerxes or Artaxerxes'.[80] The attribution of the block to Darius I rests on the find of a potsherd with the cartouche of a 'Darius' on it at the same site, on the close similarity between the relief style of the Amheida block and that of Darius' works at Hibis, and, perhaps most significantly, on the fact that there is no building activity known in the entirety of Egypt under the rest of the Achaemenid kings.[81] It was likely under Darius I, then, that the previously built temple of Petubastis at Amheida was taken apart and its blocks re-used; while later structures at the site are not known until the Roman period, Petubastis' reliefs 'do not show evidence of several centuries of exposure'.[82]

Because of the absence of known building activities after Darius I, and because of Darius' already known activities in the oases, suggestions have been made to attribute two other constructions to this same king as well: both the temenos wall at Mut el-Kharab in the Dakhla Oasis, which may already have been in existence under the Achaemenids, and the small Twenty-Seventh Dynasty temple at 'Ayn Manawir are of otherwise unknown benefaction. What we do know of the latter is that it must have been built before 443, i.e. during or before the reign of Artaxerxes I, which is the first time one of the dated 'Ayn Manawir documents explicitly mentions it.[83] Other than that, a bronze door hinge was found

[77] Chauveau 2004, 39, 45.

[78] In his article of 2004 Chauveau maintains that the ostraca 'au nom de Darius ne peuvent être attribués qu'au second d'entre eux', even though, as he himself continues, 'l'absence, dans l'état présent des fouilles, de tout document daté de Darius I$^{er}$ ne laisse pas d'étonner' (Chauveau 2004, 40 n.5). Whether he maintains an exclusive attribution to Darius II on the basis of paleography or specific information within the contracts is not elaborated upon.

[79] Kaper 2013, 174. Their exact dates of building are unknown; see Tuplin 1991, 253-254.

[80] Kaper 2013, 171.

[81] Kaper 2013, 171-172.

[82] Kaper 2015, 144.

[83] Chauveau 1996, 39.

'inscribed with the name of Darius in cuneiform [which] is said to be from Kharga'.[84] The hinge may have come from such a sanctuary as at 'Ayn Manawir, or perhaps from one of the greater temples at Qasr el-Ghueita or Hibis.

To understand the significance of Darius' building activities in the Southern Oasis, it is imperative to understand its context. Petubastis and Darius were not the first to have built in the region. In fact, in the decades preceding the Achaemenid conquest the oases had been enjoying an increased attention under Egypt's Saite kings. At the site of Mut el-Kharab Psamtik I and II had continued an attention that had already started in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. At Amheida, which had likewise been favored in the Third Intermediate Period, the names of the Saite kings Necho II, Psamtik II and Amasis are present beside those of Petubastis and Darius.[85] The increased attention paid to the Egyptian oases at the end of the sixth century can also be seen in the more northern oases of Bahariya and Siwa (see Appendix 2 and 3): while Apries' presence is evident at El-Qasr, Bahariya Oasis, Amasis has been attested in 'Ayn el-Muftella and El-Bawiti in the same region, as well as at Aghurmi in Siwa.[86] Darius' activity in the Southern Oasis does not particularly stand out in this context.

The reasons for the attention paid to the oases in the seventh and sixth centuries were probably multiple. One obvious cause must have been the general interest in building sported by the Saite kings; their monuments have been found all over Egypt.[87] But there may have been other, more practical reasons. For example, the high interest in the oases coincided with important developments in the Libyan regions to the west of Egypt, such as the Greek colonization of Cyrenaica (see p. 29 below). Increasing trade with these regions - or the objective thereof - may have been one incentive to develop the oases more systematically; after all, the oases in the Western Desert were important stations along the caravan routes connecting the Libyan regions to the Egyptian Nile Valley.[88] Explicit evidence for such trade is hard to find, but there are some indications for an intensified use of Thebes-Kharga caravan routes in the Saite and Persian periods.[89] Moreover, the inscriptions of Darius' temples at Hibis and Qasr el-Ghueita explicitly boast of the constructional use of wood from the Western Desert, rather than traditional Levantine wood, and thus form one attestation to the new attention Libyan products were given.[90]

The close connection between the western oases and the Libyan regions did not only entail possibilities of trade but also security threats. Because of the oases' relative distance from the Nile Valley, Egypt could not always manage to remain in tight control of them. Incursions into the Nile Valley by Libyan tribes have been recorded in late Ramesside texts from Deir el-Medina, signifying the dangers of this part of the Western Desert.[91] After the

[84] Kaper 2013, 174.
[85] Kaper 2013, 167-169, 172-173.
[86] Darnell, Klotz and Manassa 2013, 17-18. For a chronological list of the Saite kings, see Appendix 1.
[87] For an overview of monumental building activity in the Saite period, see Arnold 1999, 63-92.
[88] In fact, Herodotus' description of the southern Libyan tribes follows that of a caravan itinerary, starting from Thebes in the Nile Valley; see Liverani 2000.
[89] Darnell, Klotz and Manassa 2013, 13, n.63.
[90] Darnell, Klotz and Manassa 2013, 14-17.
[91] Kaper 2009, 158.

Libyan and Kushite periods of sovereignty in Egypt, the oases were brought back under centralized Egyptian control; Psamtik I managed to reconquer the Southern Oasis probably after his eleventh regnal year.[92] When in the seventh and sixth centuries the Libyan regions started to show a new level of activity, Egypt may have thought it a wise idea to strengthen its presence at its most western frontier, i.e. the oases, as evident by Saite buildings there. The Achaemenids may have simply continued this policy; although Libya is said to have voluntarily surrendered to the Achaemenids upon Cambyses' conquest of Egypt (Hdt III 13), the region was not a unified one and there will have been plenty of tribes who, as Herodotus notes, 'were not concerned in the slightest about Darius' (Hdt IV 167).[93]

However, what stands out with regard to the Achaemenid presence in the Southern Oasis is the disproportionate amount of attention it received by Darius I when compared to the rest of Egypt. Outside of the oases, Darius' name has been found only on part of a granite gateway at Busiris,[94] on the remains of a column at Karnak,[95] and on a portico at the temple of Nekhbet at El-Kab.[96] Other than that, we know that Darius paid attention to the temple at Edfu and to the old capital at Sais, but it is uncertain whether this included any actual architectural work.[97] This handful of sites scattered across the country stands in remarkable contrast with the concentrated activity in the Southern Oasis: if we can count Hibis, Qasr el-Ghueita, Amheida, 'Ayn Manawir, and possibly even Mut el-Kharab among the sites of Darius' interest, then the Southern Oasis made up half or even more of the king's building activity in the entirety of Egypt. The comparison remains significant even if one would exclude 'Ayn Manawir and Mut el-Kharab from the list. In fact, if the small Achaemenid temple at 'Ayn Manawir would have been built by Xerxes I or Artaxerxes I, this would be even more remarkable; the temple would then be the only evidence for Achaemenid building in Egypt after Darius I.

To conclude, the Achaemenid policy that emerges from the descriptions above is one of focused investment. When Petubastis' rebellion from the Southern Oasis was defeated, some Egyptians will undoubtedly have been killed, but there is no evidence that the area at large was punished in any significant way, either through destruction or neglect. On the contrary, the area received a new irrigation system and extensive attention to its sanctuaries under the aegis of Darius I, the king who defeated the oasis' rebel. As noted, part of this attention could have been based on issues of trade and security linked to the Libyan regions of the Western Desert. Likewise, the new irrigation system may have been introduced purely for better economic prospects, as the oases of Farafra and Bahariya received it as well. But one cannot fail to notice the contrast of this investment with the attention paid to the Egyptian Nile Valley at large. Darius must have wanted to make sure that the specific region of the Southern

[92] Kaper 2013, 173.
[93] Waterfield 1998, 292.
[94] Arnold 1999, 92; Kaper 2009, 156.
[95] Traunecker 1980, 211.
[96] Clarke 1922, 27.
[97] The Ptolemaic donation text at Edfu mentions Darius as one of the kings who expanded the temple's lands (Dümichen 1871, 96). For the attention Darius paid to Sais, see p. 34 below.

Oasis, which was possibly the hardest of all rebellious regions in 522 to subdue, would not revolt again.[98]

A picture of positive investment strokes well with what we know of Darius' policy towards the Ionian revolt a few years later; of course, the details differed according to the differences of each region, but the general idea of a preventive and not a punitive long-term policy remained the same. However, I would like to opt the possibility that Darius did not simply invest in the entire region, but that regional differences may be visible among the Dakhla and Kharga oases: while the Dakhla Oasis received quite continuous attention in the Saite period with works at Amheida and Mut el-Kharab,[99] the same cannot be said of Kharga. There is no evidence for a Saite temple at 'Ayn Manawir, while evidence for Saite work at Hibis and Qasr el-Ghueita is little.[100] This stands in contrast with what we know of Darius' attention: we know little of Darius' work at Amheida and the *temenos* wall at Mut el-Kharab with its shady dating, while Darius' extensive building and decoration at Hibis and Qasr el-Ghueita in Kharga are well known, not to mention the Achaemenid temple at 'Ayn Manawir and the new irrigation system found at three different Kharga localities. Possibly, then, Darius decided to shift the attention traditionally paid to the Dakhla Oasis, the very center of Petubastis' revolt, to the Kharga Oasis. In Dakhla, Darius may have simply demolished Petubastis' temple at Amheida and put his own mark on it, while further investment became concentrated solely on Kharga, a policy as localized as Xerxes' later policy in Babylonia. This, of course, remains hypothetical, but it is important to stay mindful of subtleties in policy that we may not see explicitly reflected in the stones.

**Psamtik IV**

Not much is known about the revolt against Darius in 486. As described above, the rebel-king was probably a certain Psamtik, whose second regnal year was recognized in Thebes. It was Xerxes who eventually defeated the rebellion in 484. There are, to my knowledge, no extant sources of which a specifically localized post-revolt policy may be gathered, nor in Thebes nor where-ever else the rebellion may have come from or spread to. What we do have are sources that may bear on a general change of policy towards Egypt.

Upon the revolt's defeat, Herodotus claims that Xerxes 'reduced the whole population of Egypt to a state of even worse slavery than they had experienced under Darius' (Hdt VII 7).[101] This grand statement is not further elaborated upon. Since Egypt's state does not seem to have been as bad under Darius as Herodotus suggests here, we must likewise be careful with his claim about Xerxes. That Xerxes continued to present himself in the traditional pharaonic way, just like his father, may be inferred from his pharaonic titles found in

[98] The idea of 'investment', although certainly significant when compared to neglect or destruction, is of course problematic when applied to economical measures: would such investment have meant anything positive to the local inhabitants if the surplus would have gone straight to the Achaemenid coffers? In that way, the erection of traditional Egyptian temples in the area is a better testament to ideological investment in local loyalties.

[99] Kaper 2013; Darnell, Klotz and Manassa 2013, 18.

[100] The sanctuary room at Hibis seems to be of Saite date (Kaper 2013, 174) and the Achaemenid temple at Qasr el-Ghueita modified and incorporated 'an earlier free-standing naos' (Darnell, Klotz and Manassa 2013, 12), but this does not compare with what we know of the extensive building and decoration at these two sites under the reign of Darius I.

[101] Waterfield 1998, 406.

Egyptian inscriptions, and from possible evidence for the burial of a mother of Apis in his reign (see p. 9 above).[102] Nonetheless, it is true that monumental building ceased in Egypt from his reign onwards. Whether this signified simple neglect of Egypt's temples, or whether this went hand in hand with active measures to restrict or close the sanctuaries is unknown, but temple building did not come into evidence again until the Twenty-Ninth Dynasty. Perhaps this was the phenomenon that Herodotus was, at least partly, referring to.

One may wonder whether the ceasing of temple beneficence was an active response to Psamtik's rebellion, or whether Xerxes would have implemented such a policy regardless of unrests in the region; Herodotus' note would suggest the former. But the general, large-scale nature of the policy seems odd when compared to Xerxes' nearly contemporary policy in post-revolt Babylonia. Why would he have targeted very specific groups in Babylonia, only those tied to the rebellious region in the north, while in Egypt the entire country seems to have been punished? The idea that the whole of Egypt must have rebelled under Psamtik to deserve such a policy is untenable; one would expect to have more sources in such a case. Besides, even much longer-lasting revolts such as Inaros' did not spread through the entire country. Another possibility may be that Egypt was deemed less stable than Babylonia in general: although Babylonia's rebels during the Bisitun crisis had been defeated in 522, Petubastis had managed to rebel several years longer, and while Babylonia's revolt in 484 lasted for only several months, Psamtik's had been on-going for two years by then. Perhaps putting a stop to monumental building, in such stark contrast with Darius' building projects in Egypt, was a response to that.

The obscurity of the sources do not allow for a better picture of Psamtik's influence nor for how Xerxes will have reacted to him specifically. In any case, the example of the Babylonian revolt should warn us that Xerxes' post-revolt policy may have been more subtle than what we see reflected in the sources.

**Libya and 'Ayn Manawir**

The revolt upon Xerxes' death, instigated by the Libyan Inaros, was one of the worst of the Egyptian rebellions. It may therefore be surprising that Artaxerxes I, who eventually managed to restore Achaemenid authority in the Two Lands, is nowhere portrayed as taking particular vengeance upon Egypt - in stark contrast with the image of Xerxes' retaliation above. Artaxerxes' general policy towards Egypt has been described as 'mild' (Diod Sic XI 71), but this may have been part of the conventional virtues attributed to Achaemenid kings, among which Xerxes.[103] Artaxerxes did continue the temple-policy set by his father: as far as we know, he nor his successors built, added to or repaired any monument in Egypt.

This absence of evidence, simultaneously evidence of absence, is difficult to add to: as with Psamtik, there seem to be nearly no sources that could show any traces of a specific post-revolt policy. However, unlike Psamtik's rebellion, this absence after the 450s may have been connected to a loss of Achaemenid power in the central regions of the revolt: Libya and the Egyptian Delta. In the following passages I will describe what is known of the regions that can be linked to Inaros and the Achaemenid activity there, starting with Libya and moving on

[102] Briant 2002, 545-547.
[103] Kuhrt 2007, 314-315, 247.

to Egypt itself. The roughly contemporary Delta rebellion under and after Amyrtaios I will be more elaborately treated in the next chapter.

By the time the Libyan Inaros revolted against the Achaemenid empire together with a large group of Egyptians, Egypt and Libya had had a long history of interaction.[104] In the tenth to eighth centuries Libyans had been the sovereign leaders of (parts of) Egypt and had thus settled in the land. At the same time, a large amount of Libyans continued to live in the regions to the west of Egypt. The latter were joined in the seventh to sixth centuries by the Greek colonies of Barca and Cyrene, settlements that struggled with each other as well as with the region's natives (Hdt IV 160-164; see Appendix 2). As discussed above, this is probably where Inaros came from, more specifically from the region around Barca. As the Libyan tribes were primarily nomadic, archaeological traces are hard to find, and any existing ones can unfortunately not be used for our purposes.[105] It is especially here that we have to rely on classical sources.

When Cambyses conquered Egypt, Herodotus claims that Libya, Cyrene and Barca voluntarily surrendered to the Achaemenids and accepted tributary status (Hdt III 13). The Achaemenids do not seem to have actually entered these regions until they were explicitly requested to do so in the reign of Darius I: as described by Herodotus, the Cyrenean royal Arcesilaus was murdered in Barca, upon which his mother Pheretime went to Egypt to ask the satrap Aryandes for military help, 'claiming that her son had been killed because he was pro-Persian' (Hdt IV 165).[106] The Achaemenids promised to help her, although Herodotus notes that he thought the real reason for the Achaemenid campaign was to conquer Libya (Hdt IV 167). The campaign against Barca, dateable to ca. 514,[107] resulted in a long siege and the eventual overthrow of the city. According to Herodotus, most of the population was reduced to slavery, while those most involved in Arcesilaus' murder were impaled by Pheretime. When the Achaemenid army began their return to Egypt, a garbled story in Herodotus tells of its intentions and eventual change of mind to capture Cyrene as well. While the Cyreneans let the Achaemenid army leave in peace, so Herodotus says, Libyans in the region killed any soldier lagging behind (Hdt IV 200-203).[108]

The next big thing we hear of Libya is Inaros' revolt under Artaxerxes I, over fifty years after the Achaemenid campaign just described. What Libya's status in the Achaemenid empire was during and after this half a century is somewhat difficult to grasp; the absence of archaeology and the rather summary nature in which the Libyans are treated in the classical sources do not provide us with a very detailed picture. What can be said, though, is that the region's acceptance of tributary status in ca. 525 may not have entailed much change yet, but that the region was probably more thoroughly integrated into the Achaemenid empire upon the campaign against Barca in ca. 514. The Achaemenid lists of subject-peoples seem to

[104] 'Libya' at that time was the entire North-African region stretching from Egypt in the east to the streets of Gibraltar in the west; it was home to a large amount of different and primarily nomadic tribes (Ruprechtsberger 1997, 12).

[105] Although archaeological missions starting from the nineteenth century have identified some structures and rock engravings, their exact location, significance or date are mostly unclear (Colin 2000, 47-48).

[106] Waterfield 1998, 292.

[107] Herodotus synchronizes the campaign with Megabazos' operations in the Hellespont (Mitchell 1966, 101).

[108] Note that if the localization of Inaros in Barcaean country is correct, then this campaign may have played an important role in his or his father's lifetime.

mention Libya only after this date: nor Darius' inscription at Bisitun nor his inscriptions on the terrace wall and foundation-stone of Persepolis mention the region, while later lists, among which a hieroglyphic list on one of Darius' Egyptian canal stelae, do include it.[109] As Tuplin notes, Achaemenid rule of Nubia/Kush seems to have followed a similar pattern and 'is not claimed until after the first appearance of India and therefore some half-decade into Darius' reign'. Since Graeco-Roman traditions do speak of Libyan submission to and Nubian conquests by Cambyses, he continues that it is possible 'that Darius made extra gains in both areas and that this is why they begin to appear separately from Egypt in his lists'.[110] This indeed seems to have been more or less the case in 514.[111]

The region remained under Achaemenid control under Xerxes; the latest of the lists of subject-peoples, written in his early reign and set up at Persepolis, still mentions Libya. If we can believe Herodotus, control of Libya was thorough enough under Xerxes that the Persian king could count on their provision of troops for his Greek campaign in 480: Libyans are mentioned as part of Xerxes' contingents at Hdt VII 71 and 86.[112] Yet, the region revolted about twenty years later, even with Greek support.

What seems clear is that, no matter the veneer of Achaemenid control upon the region, the Libyan tribes do not seem to have ever been fully subdued. Although Herodotus says that 'the Libyans' voluntarily surrendered to the Achaemenids out of fear, an example which Barca and Cyrene followed, and that the gifts they sent pleased Cambyses (Hdt III 13), one may wonder which 'Libyans' surrendered exactly. All tribes, some tribes, one tribe? Even if all or nearly all tribes would have officially accepted tributary status upon Cambyses' Egyptian campaign, Herodotus makes it perfectly clear that there were Libyans who did not care about the Persians. In connection with the campaign against Barca in ca. 514 Herodotus notes that 'a great many different tribes lived in Libya, and hardly any of them were subjects of the Persian king; in fact most of them were not concerned in the slightest about Darius' (Hdt IV 167).[113] The historian subsequently begins a large treatise on all of the different tribes of Libya (Hdt IV 168-196), which he ends with repeating the previous claim: 'These are all the Libyan tribes I can put a name to. Most of them are not now and were not then concerned in the slightest about the Persian king' (Hdt IV 197).[114] Since Herodotus seems to have visited Egypt during or even after Inaros' revolt (see p. 14-15 above), it is significant that he connects

[109] Several large stelae were set up along Darius' Egyptian canal, linking the Nile to the Red Sea. One of the fragments of a stela from Kabret clearly reads *t3-tmḥw*, i.e. Libya, in the subject-list (Posener 1936, 70). Although the stelae cannot be securely dated, *pace* Mitchell who placed the reference around 513 (Mitchell 1966, 107), a date of at least after 514 is to be preferred; it seems highly unlikely that such a project will have been begun as well as finished within the mere four years of Darius' uncontested sovereignty in Egypt. For an elaborate discussion of the stelae's date and the project in general, see Tuplin 1991.

[110] Tuplin 1991, 261.

[111] One may wonder whether all of this means that Darius' temples at Hibis and Qasr el-Ghueita, which explicitly boast of the use of Libyan wood (see p. 25 above), will then have been constructed - or at least finished - *after* the Barca campaign, several years after the defeat of Petubastis.

[112] Mitchell 1966, 107.

[113] Waterfield 1998, 292.

[114] Waterfield 1998, 301.

Libyan indifference to his own present: there is no hint that the Libyans will have had to fear a significant retaliation in his time by Artaxerxes I.[115]

It has been suggested that the Achaemenids may have primarily relied on Cyrenaica's Greek colonies to keep the region and its Libyan tribes in check.[116] That this did not work out is perhaps unsurprising. The Libyans had a decades-long history of animosity with the Greek colonies in 'their' region, and they will not have been likely to obey them after Cambyses. Besides, the Greek colonies themselves were not the most reliable as far as loyalty to the Achaemenids was concerned. If we can believe Polyaenus, Barca refused to provide troops for Xerxes' Greek campaign in 482 (Polyaenus *Strategemata* VII 28). Years later, Cyrene provided safe passage to the fleeing Greek mercenaries who had supported Inaros' cause in Egypt (Thuc I 110). At the end of the fifth century, Cyrene had even defected from the empire, a fact which may have resulted from native resistance 'against the Persian-backed monarchy in Cyrene'.[117] The exact date of its defection is unknown, but it likely happened between the 480s and 440s, i.e. not too far removed from Inaros' havoc.[118]

The colonies and the tribes west of Egypt seem to have been quite lost to the Achaemenids after Inaros. We know of no grand conquest or punitive campaign against the region after the 450s, yet we know of Cyrene's defection and the authority of some Libyan rulers. As noted before, Philochorus claims that a certain Psamtik, 'king of Libya', sent grain to Athens in 445/4 (Philochorus *Atthis* FGrH 328 F119). On top of that, Herodotus claims that Thannyras, son of Inaros, 'regained his father's kingdom' (Hdt III 15).[119] The historian uses this as an example of the Achaemenids' supposed benevolent policy towards the sons of kings, even if those kings had rebelled against them. However, in the light of the long instability of Achaemenid rule in the area as sketched above, it seems that Artaxerxes had no choice but to let Thannyras rule. Part of the Achaemenid inability to reinstate control of Cyrenaica may have been due to continued resistance in the Egyptian Delta under Amyrtaios and his successors. As far as Libya is concerned, then, the Achaemenids either did not have a grand policy on the region after Inaros' revolt, or, more likely, they did not have the power to implement one.

Within Egypt proper, the only site that seems to cast a tiny light on Artaxerxes' policy after Inaros is 'Ayn Manawir. Sheikh Fadl and its environs cannot show us much more than a vague clue to an Inaros story, and Marea, the Delta town from which the rebellion was launched, remains too obscure. Nor Greco-Roman references to or archaeology of the town enlighten its fate for us in the later fifth century[120] - a phenomenon parallel with our knowledge of the Delta as a whole (see below). The only relevant piece of information may come from Herodotus when he claims that in his day there still existed Persian guard-posts in the same places as in Psamtik I's time, i.e. at Marea, Daphnae, and Elephantine - although he

[115] One needs to keep in mind that 'Libya' for Herodotus stretched to the streets of Gibraltar and thus comprised of regions that were never under any Achaemenid control. However, due to Inaros' revolt and the description of the eastern Libyans' unruly nature before and around 514, I am inclined to think that Herodotus' claims of indifference are just as much about the Libyans of the Cyrenaica-region as they are about those of the far west.
[116] Mitchell 1966, 107; Kuhrt 2007, 193 n.6.
[117] Mitchell 1966, 112.
[118] Mitchel 1966, 107-112.
[119] Waterfield 1998, 175.
[120] Marea is likely to be identified with the present site of Kom el-Idris (Vittmann 2003, 14).

subsequently refers to Daphnae and Elephantine only (Hdt II 30). Could we argue for a picture of continuity from this, or is the absence of the mention of Marea in the line on Herodotus' present a significant indicator of a change? We probably should not argue either way: the information is simply too little to use.

'Ayn Manawir has already been discussed in connection with Petubastis' revolt in the Southern Oasis, ca. sixty years before Inaros' time. The site was probably one of the beneficiaries after Petubastis' revolt under Darius I; it received a new irrigation system under the Achaemenids as well as a temple to Osiris. Despite these early efforts of investment the site must have recognized the Libyan rebel Inaros in the middle of the fifth century, as one of the ostraca the site produced is dated to his second regnal year. This time around, the region does not seem to have enjoyed any investment upon the rebellion's defeat. Although David Klotz claims that the site's Achaemenid temple was built under Artaxerxes I,[121] which would be astonishing evidence for both Achaemenid building after Darius I as well as a similarity in policy towards the rebellious oasis, the temple's date of building is unknown; as discussed above, Darius I seems to have been the more likely benefactor. Nothing else is known from the site after Inaros other than that life continued: the first ostraca after the revolt are dated to the twenty-first year of Artaxerxes I and continue steadily into the native dynasties of the fourth century. The temple is likewise referred to in an ostracon dated to 443, signaling its continued functioning.[122] That we have no ostraca dated to the earlier reign of Artaxerxes I could be due simply to the hazards of archaeology; none of the regnal years of the ostraca's kings are covered fully. The picture that emerges is that of a region whose daily business resumed as usual despite its support for a rebellion which had shaken the country: its working population with its Achaemenid given *qanat* system continued to function and its temple was far from destroyed, a punishment which, as we have seen, classical authors have sometimes claimed as an Achaemenid policy upon revolts. Although Artaxerxes did not spoil the region with new monumental building, he certainly did not ravage it either.

To conclude, Inaros' revolt seems to have been the heaviest in the history of Achaemenid Egypt, yet Artaxerxes I did not pay the country back with destruction. If he had had the chance and the resources he may have been harsher towards Libya, but he seems to have lost his power in the region to respond. Artaxerxes' policy towards Egypt, which he certainly did regain, seems to have continued along the lines established by Xerxes. This policy was already not the most benevolent one, but if even harsher measures were taken upon Inaros' revolt, twenty to thirty years after Psamtik's, then these have not come down to us through either archaeology or references in classical sources. Inaros was impaled, Greek allies of his were killed, but rebellious regions such as 'Ayn Manawir apparently escaped any significant punishment. Egypt remained neglected, but was left to function as usual.[123]

[121] Klotz 2013, 906.

[122] Chauveau 1996, 39.

[123] By 'neglect' I mean monumental and royal religious neglect, not administrative neglect. That the Achaemenids kept administering Egypt thoroughly all the way to the end of the fifth century is clear from, e.g., the Elephantine affair; see Kuhrt 2007, 852-859.

**The Delta**

Although the exact extent of their overlap is unknown, it is clear that an Egyptian man called Amyrtaios was rebelling in the Delta about the same time as Inaros was leading his revolt in Egypt. As said before, Inaros was killed but Amyrtaios seems to have escaped capture and retained his authority in the Delta marshes. If we believe Herodotus, then Amyrtaios' son Pausiris succeeded his father just as Thannyras had succeeded his (Hdt III 15), a probable sign of the loss of power within the region by the Achaemenids even though the rest of Egypt was back under their control. Years later, Amyrtaios II, a man characterized as from the old Delta capital of Sais (see Appendix 3), freed the whole of Egypt.

It is difficult to get an idea of how the Achaemenids approached the Delta in those last decades of the First Persian Period. It is unfortunate that we do not know where Amyrtaios I and his son came from or where they were subsequently based. Since Amyrtaios II bears the same name as his Delta predecessor and since naming a kid after one's grandfather was a common practice in Egypt, it has been suggested that they were related.[124] In that case, Amyrtaios I and Pausiris may be linked to Sais, just like Amyrtaios II, but we cannot be certain. Archaeology does not get us much further either; many Delta towns have not been properly surveyed or have significantly deteriorated due to social and environmental factors. Sais, for example, has been described as 'completely leveled'.[125] If Amyrtaios I, his son, or the Achaemenids after them ever left a monument there, then we will probably never know. Last but not least, the uncertainty of Achaemenid power in the region begs us to question whether an Achaemenid post-revolt policy can be found there at all: if the Achaemenids did not have the power to eliminate the local Delta kinglets in the decades before Amyrtaios II, then we cannot expect to find traces of Achaemenid long-term policies in our sources. As in Libya, they simply would not have had the power to implement them.

Many of the uncertainties cannot be clarified properly. The town of Sais may be our only chance of understanding the Achaemenid policy towards the Delta a bit better. As the old capital of the Saite Dynasty that Cambyses overthrew, it retained a special importance. It is one of the few Egyptian sites that was paid any monumental attention to in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, and it reoccupied an important place for the native kings of the fourth century, not least for Amyrtaios II, who came from the town itself. Although we cannot be sure, we should not be surprised if Amyrtaios I and Pausiris bore a similar connection to Sais, either because they came from it or simply because of its connection to Egypt's glorious pre-Achaemenid past. I will first describe what is known of the Achaemenid policy towards the town before Amyrtaios I's revolt. Then, sources bearing on Sais' tidings after the revolt will be discussed, related to the question of Achaemenid vs. native authority in the region.

In the Saite dynasty, Sais had been Egypt's capital. Its main temple, dedicated to Neith, flourished; the Saite kings may even have been buried within its courtyard.[126] The prominence of the city and its temple does not seem have to have escaped the attention of the Achaemenid conquerors. Although the present state of the site leaves us without the actual remains of possible Achaemenid monuments, a naophorous statue of one of the city's priests of Neith

[124] Kuhrt 2007, 391 n.5.

[125] Arnold 1999, 70. For a bibliographical introduction to several Delta sites in Achaemenid times, see Wuttmann and Marchand 2005, 104-108.

[126] El-Sayed 1982, 34-35; Hdt II 169.

tells the story of Egypt's conquest and the subsequent actions taken by Cambyses and Darius towards the temple. Udjahorresnet, the priest to which the statue belonged, claims to have shown Cambyses the greatness of Sais and Neith. According to the inscription, Cambyses visited the temple, installed offerings, and organized a great feast 'as every excellent king had done'.[127] Although it may be questioned whether Cambyses truly visited the sanctuary and bowed down in front of its goddess - a detail that could be easily ascribed to Udjahorresnet's self-aggrandizing hyperbole in having guided the foreign king so magnificently - the fact remains that, beside one Apis bull burial,[128] this is the only source we have left for Cambyses' religious activity in Egypt. During his short rule of the Two Lands, he at least engaged with the main cult of Egypt's former center of power.

Darius' building activities were, of course, much broader. But no matter the wider range of attention, the king seems to have continued Cambyses' sensibility to Sais and Neith. Udjahorresnet's autobiography describes how Darius had commanded him to restore 'the office of the House of Life' of the temple and had ordered that the priests 'be given all good things'.[129] This sensibility may even be found in Darius' titulary: the king is characterized as 'born of Neith, mistress of Sais' on the Suez canal stelae, while his Susa statue describes him as Re, son of Neith, who acts on behalf of him.[130] Although titulary resembling Saite precedents is of course not evidence for material beneficence to Sais, it does show how the old dynasty with its capital and cult continued to play an important role in the public image of the new kings. One may expect that this translated to a certain mindfulness of the city's continuing prosperity.

That Sais and its temple functioned normally - and perhaps even flourished - under Cambyses and Darius is also suggested by what we know of Neith's priesthood. The Achaemenid conquest of Egypt was accompanied by a break in many priestly genealogies across Egypt,[131] likely part of a policy by Cambyses against traditional temple power, but this does not seem to have happened at Sais. When one analyzes the one-hundred-and-seven priests of Neith in evidence for the Saite Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, as published by Ramadan El-Sayed, one notices a concentration of priests under Amasis and under Cambyses/Darius. After that a break occurs lasting until the Thirtieth Dynasty.[132] The reconstructed family tree of one such priest, called Henat, who must have lived in the reign of Amasis, suggests a certain continuation under Xerxes: we know that both a grandson and the husband of a granddaughter of Henat lived to see the thirty-fourth year of Darius I (488); we also know that both of those men had sons who consequently must have served as priests under Darius and/or Xerxes.[133] With them our knowledge ends.

As we know by now, monumental building in Egypt ceased from the reign of Xerxes. That Sais may have lost its special status under Xerxes' 'harsher' reign would not be too much of a surprise. However, the sources are too inconclusive to base such a theory on: upon

[127] Kuhrt 2007, 118.
[128] Kuhrt 2007, 122-124.
[129] Kuhrt 2007, 119.
[130] Fried 2004, 66; Kuhrt 2007, 478.
[131] Fried 2004, 71.
[132] El-Sayed 1975, 219-286.
[133] Anthes 1938, 25-29.

further examination of El-Sayed's corpus, fifty-nine of those one-hundred-and-seven priests of Neith, i.e. over fifty percent of the total, cannot be dated. This allows for the possibility that Neith's priesthood continued to function under Xerxes and his successors, even after Amyrtaios I's revolt.

That the power of Sais' temple did not cease upon Amyrtaios' revolt may also be indicated by a story in Herodotus. The historian mentions that one of his Egyptian informants was a scribe of the treasury of Athena, i.e. Neith, at Sais (Hdt II 28). If Herodotus indeed visited Egypt somewhere between 449 and ca. 430 (see p. 14-15 above), then this temple-affiliated scribe must have served under Artaxerxes I after the 450s revolt. In addition, Herodotus describes the temple, which he claims to have visited, with praise (Hdt II 169-70, 175). There is no hint that the sanctuary would have suffered from some punitive campaign. On the face of it, then, the cult and its priesthood were functioning normally. Any restrictive measures on the wealth and power of the sanctuary have not come down to us.

Whether the Achaemenid policy towards Sais changed after Artaxerxes I, for example because of continuing Delta unrests in the later fifth century, is unclear. Because of the absence of monumental building, dated priestly statues and other such objects, or Graeco-Roman descriptions of the town and its environs, all we can rely on is what survived of Sais after the First Persian Period. We know that the Twenty-Eighth Dynasty founded by Amyrtaios II must have come from and have been based there. Although only several years later a dynasty from the Delta town of Mendes took over, it is clear that the Saite dynasty remained an example to imitate and emulate, among other things visible in a revival of the old Saite style of art.[134] One could hardly separate this focus on the old Saites from Sais itself. The best example of this is the 'Decree of Sais': one of the first things the Sebennytos-based Nectanebo I, the founder of the Thirtieth Dynasty, did when he had taken the throne from the Mendesians, was to ensure a flow of donations to Sais' temple of Neith. Decreed in his very first regnal year and immortalized in two separate granite stelae, set up at Naukratis and Thonis-Heracleion (see Appendix 3), the Decree of Sais stipulates the exact portion of products originating from the two towns that should be given to Neith. As the gift was to be given to the temple 'in addition to what was there before',[135] the decree seems to concern additional beneficence and not reinstated beneficence after a period of neglect. The stelae make no reference to any state of decay that pharaoh Nectanebo would have graciously repaired; the later Ptolemaic topic of temples deprived by the Achaemenids but benefitting from the new benevolent rulers is nowhere to be found. This would suggest, then, that Sais had not suffered any harm in the decades preceding the Thirtieth Dynasty.

One may wonder what this signifies exactly: did Nectanebo I simply continue the beneficence which his short-reigned predecessors of the Twenty-Eighth and Twenty-Ninth Dynasty would have reinstated, or was it a continuation of the Achaemenid state of things? And if the latter, were Sais and its cult left untouched by the empire after the 450s by the grace of the Achaemenids, or did the Achaemenids after Amyrtaios I truly lack the power in the Delta to influence its towns any longer, either negatively or positively? The fact that Herodotus visited Sais during or just after the revolt suggests that the town was under Achaemenid authority by then; it is hard to imagine that the historian will have visited a rebel

[134] Bothmer 1960, xxxvvii.
[135] Bomhard 2012, 54.

stronghold. Amyrtaios I's authority, or his son's, may not have reached the old capital. If that were indeed the case, it should not surprise us that Sais' fortunes seem to have continued in the later fifth century and beyond; Artaxerxes I or his successors would have no reason to punish the town if it hadn't been part of the rebels. Such a policy may have been fatal: the old, well-treated town eventually produced the downfall of Achaemenid authority in Egypt in the form of Amyrtaios II.

In the end, our knowledge of Achaemenid authority in the Delta in the last decades of the fifth century is too obscure. Sais seems to have been left alone, but it may not have been part of the rebellion. Which parts of the Delta *were* part of the rebellion are unknown, and the fragmentary sources of surveyed Delta sites do not fill that void. In any case, if the situation of 'Ayn Manawir after Inaros' revolt is any hint at all, and if Artaxerxes I managed to get the control back of some of the rebellious Delta towns, then we should not be too surprised if he largely left them to their own devices after Amyrtaios I: the policy of neglect without abuse that seems to be visible in the oasis, no matter how fragmentary the evidence, may have been applied to the rest of Egypt's areas of revolt as well.

**Conclusion**

As far as the sources allow us to reconstruct events, the Achaemenid short-term policies of death to the rebellious inner circle and otherwise limited destruction seem to have remained the same, while the long-term policies seem to have significantly differed upon each rebellion. A policy of positive investment, possibly combined with an attention-shift from Dakhla to Kharga, was implemented by Darius I in both the Southern Oasis as well as in Ionia several years later, while Xerxes seems to have responded more vehemently when Egypt rebelled for a second time, a punitive stance that can also be seen - although on a more localized scale - after the nearly contemporary rebellion in Babylonia. In contrast, Artaxerxes I does not seem to have taken particular vengeance upon the grand revolt of Inaros and Amyrtaios I, a phenomenon likely due to his loss of power in the centers of rebellion.

The picture of a positively investing Darius, a punishing Xerxes, and a rather silent Artaxerxes, does not really differ from the mainstream image of those kings. Greco-Roman authors have long been used to characterize Darius as a great statesman and Xerxes as a vengeful tyrant. The little we have left of native and contemporary sources, even bordering on absolute silence after Xerxes, makes it difficult to nuance those images, or to flesh them out in any detail. This is most telling in the case of Artaxerxes after the 450s: one would expect the empire to have changed its policy towards Egypt after it had revolted for about a decade, but any significant alterations cannot be seen. Perhaps Xerxes' general policy towards Egypt had already been so stern that his son thought it sufficient to continue along similar lines, but what these lines will have meant on the ground remains unclear. Although a settlement such as 'Ayn Manawir seems to have resumed its business as usual, we do not know whether 'usual' meant a relatively good or a harsh life.

It may be hoped that future research and excavations will complement what we know and fill in some of the larger gaps. The image of a very localized and positive post-revolt policy in the Southern Oasis under Darius could not have existed without the recent excavations at Amheida; if we had not known about Petubastis' connection to the site, the meaning of Darius' focus on it will have largely escaped us. The same goes for what seems to be visible of Xerxes' policy in Babylonian cuneiform archives; without its picture of a policy of localized punishment, we would still be stuck between Xerxes' excessively negative image in Greco-Roman authors on the one hand and the picture of non-destruction stemming from the region's archaeological investigations on the other. Perhaps research into the late-fifth century situation of the Delta would be most helpful in our understanding of Achaemenid post-revolt policies in Egypt: its history of unrest and eventual return to (sectarian) power must have left its traces somewhere in the marshes.

## Appendix

### 1. List of kings and rebels

The following lists of dynasties are based on Lloyd 2010, xxxix. For Khababash see Kuhrt 2007, 414 n.9.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (Sais)* | |
| Psamtik I | 664-610 |
| Necho II | 610-595 |
| Psamtik II | 595-589 |
| Apries | 589-570 |
| Amasis | 570-526 |
| Psamtik III | 526-525 |
| | |
| *Twenty-Seventh Dynasty (First Persian Period)* | |
| Cambyses | 525-522 |
| Darius I | 522-486 |
| Xerxes I | 486-465 |
| Artaxerxes I | 465-424 |
| Darius II | 424-405 |
| Artaxerxes II | 405-404 |
| | |
| *Rebels* | |
| Petubastis IV | ca. 522-518 |
| Psamtik IV | 486-484 |
| Inaros | ca. 465-455 |
| Amyrtaios I | ca. 465-unknown |
| Psamtik V | ca. 445/4 |
| Thannyras | unknown |
| Pausiris | unknown |
| | |
| *Twenty-Eighth Dynasty (Sais)* | |
| Amyrtaios II | 404-399 |
| | |
| *Twenty-Ninth Dynasty (Mendes)* | |
| Nepherites I | 399-393 |
| Psammuthis | 393 |
| Hakoris | 393-380 |
| Nepherites II | ca. 380 |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Thirtieth Dynasty* | |
| *(Sebennytos)* | |
| Nectanebo I | 380-362 |
| Teos | 362-360 |
| Nectanebo II | 360-343 |
| | |
| *Thirty-First Dynasty* | |
| *(Second Persian Period)* | |
| Artaxerxes III | 343-338 |
| Arses | 338-336 |
| Darius III | 336-332 |
| | |
| *Rebels* | |
| Khababash | ca. 338-336 |

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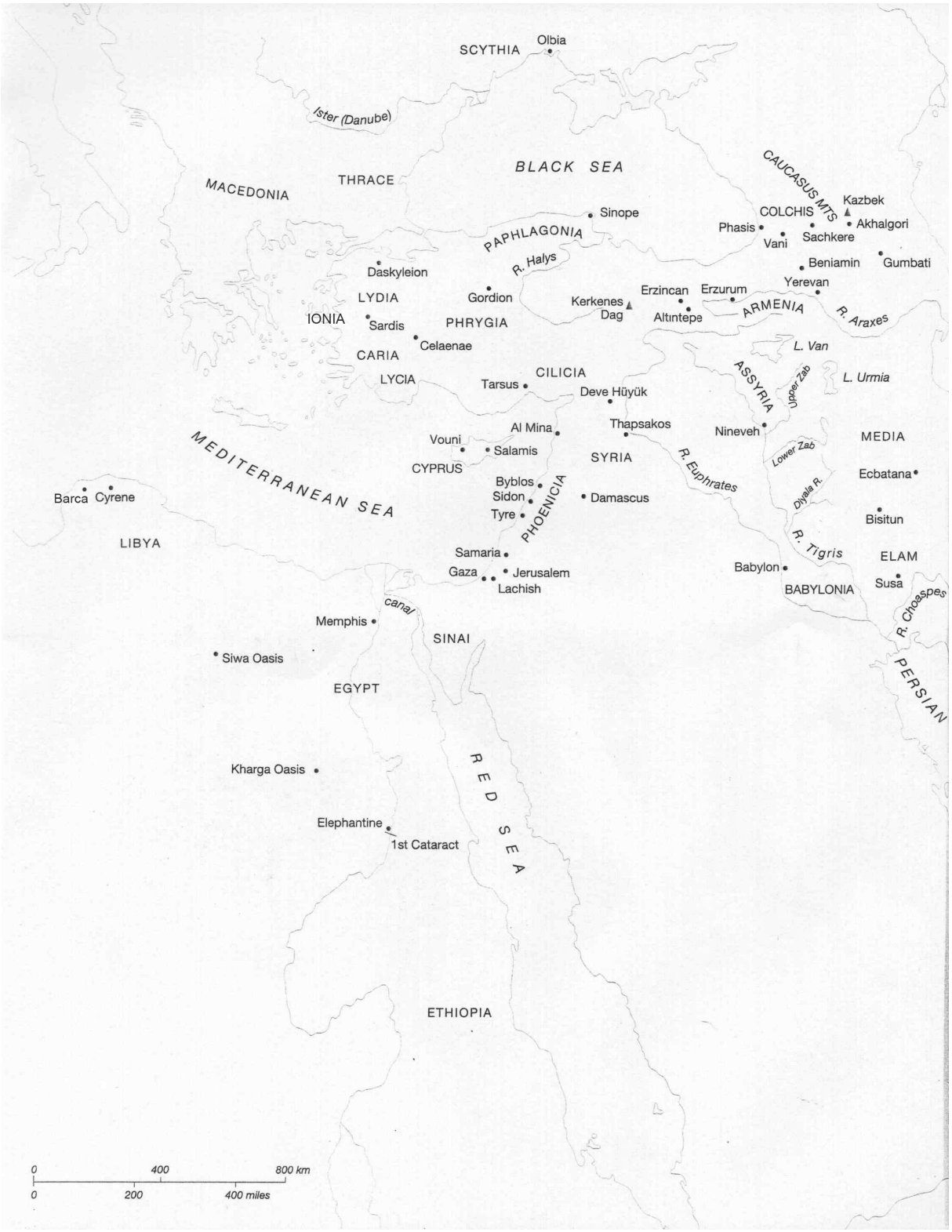
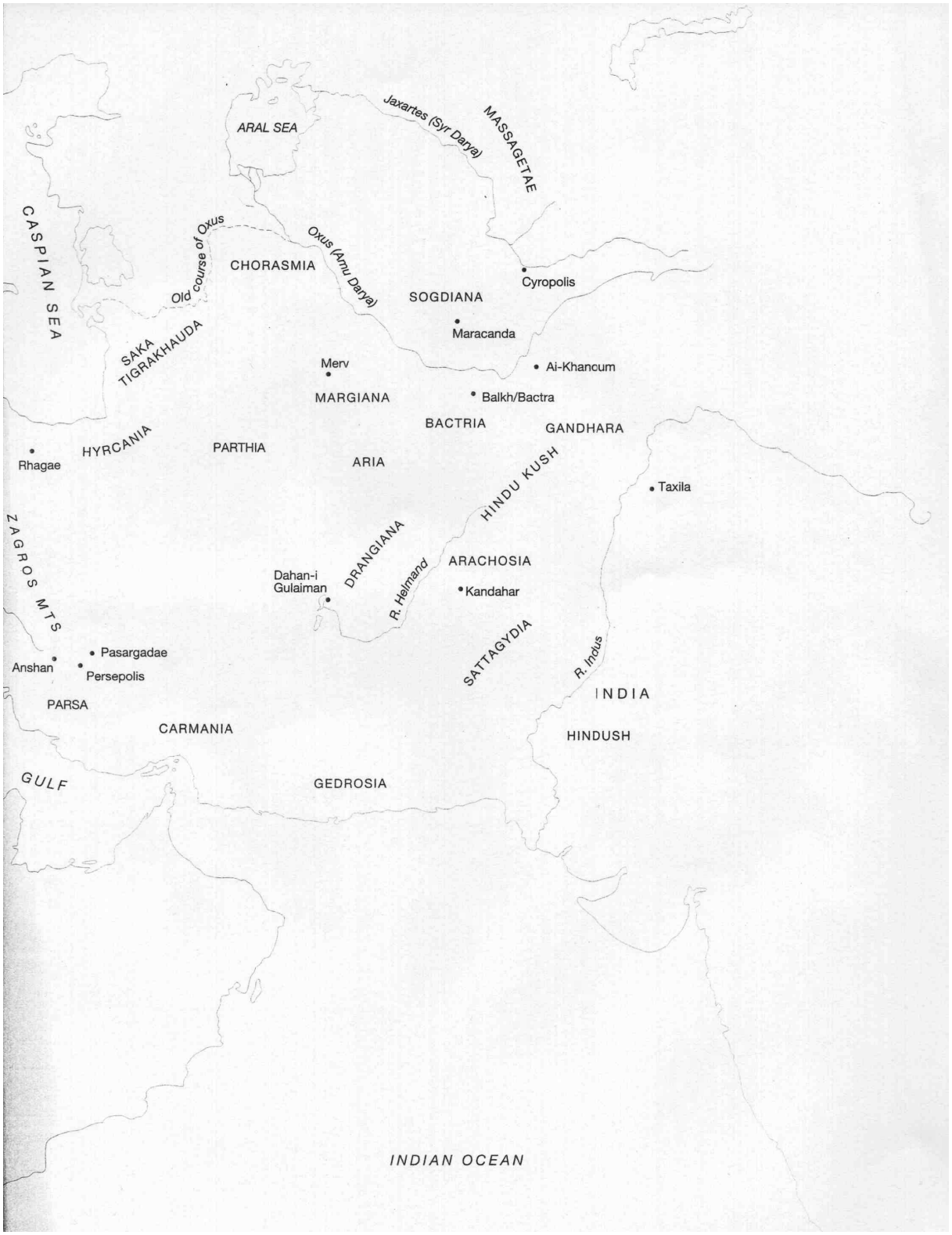
Alexander the Great

## 2. Map of the Persian empire

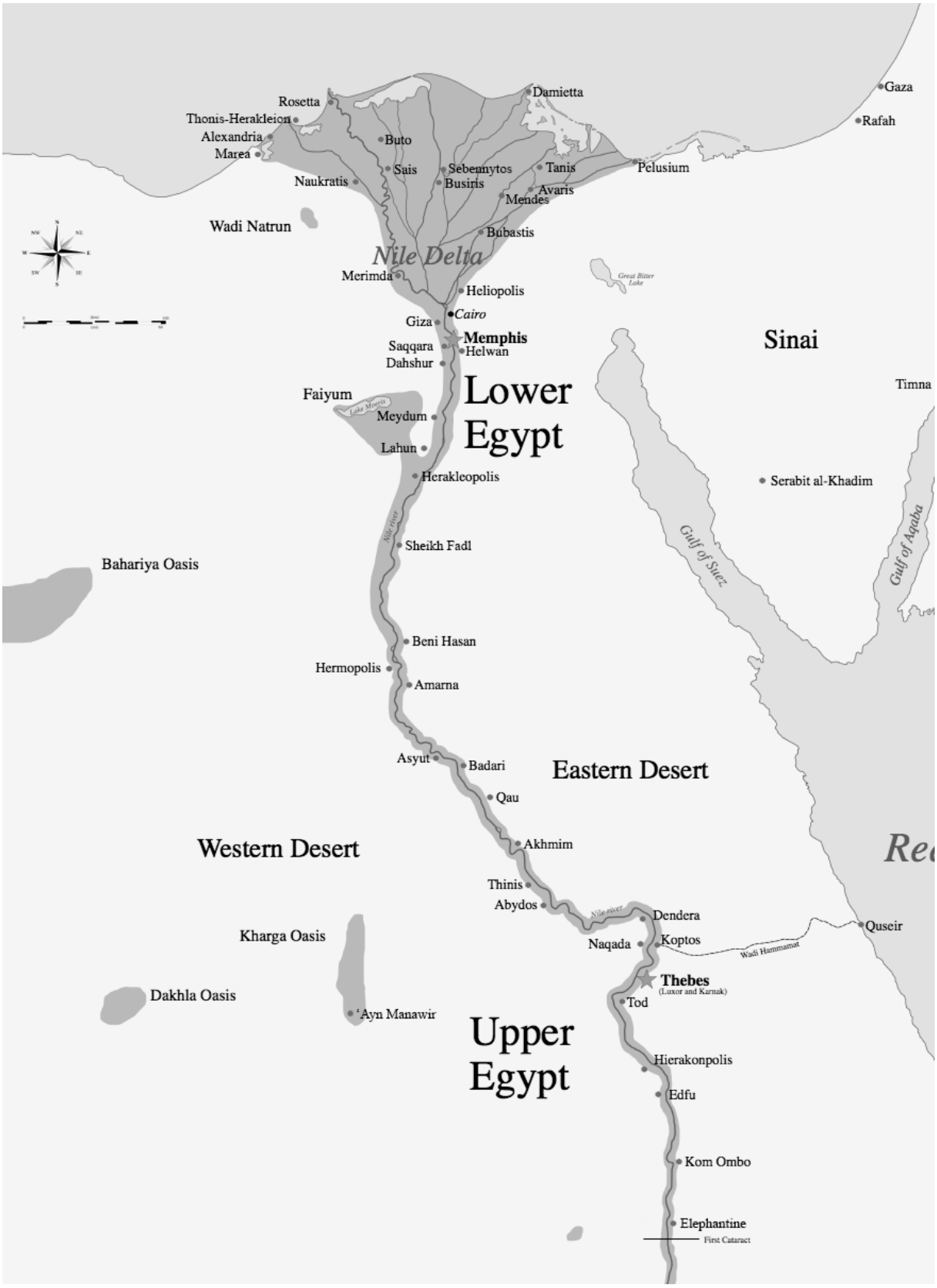
After Allen 2005.




ARAL SEA
Jaxartes (Syr Darya)
MASSAGETAE
CASPIAN SEA
Old course of Oxus
Oxus (Amu Darya)
CHORASMIA
Cyropolis
SOGDIANA
Maracanda
SAKA TIGRAKHAUDA
Merv
Ai-Khancum
MARGIANA
Balkh/Bactra
BACTRIA
GANDHARA
HYRCANIA
PARTHIA
ARIA
Rhagae
HINDU KUSH
Taxila
ZAGROS MTS
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
Dahan-i Gulaiman
R. Helmand
Kandahar
SATTAGYDIA
R. Indus
Pasargadae
Anshan
Persepolis
INDIA
PARSA
CARMANIA
HINDUSH
GULF
GEDROSIA
INDIAN OCEAN

### 3. Map of Egypt

After ‘Ancient Egypt’, Wikimedia Commons.



## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AchHist | Achaemenid History |
| *AfO* | *Archiv für Orientforschung* |
| *AncSoc* | *Ancient Society* |
| *AS* | *Aramaic Studies* |
| *BiEtud* | *Bibliothèque d'Étude* |
| *BSFE* | *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* |
| *CdK* | *Les Cahiers de Karnak: centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak* |
| Diod Sic | Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* |
| *EA* | *Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society* |
| Hdt | Herodotus, *The Histories* |
| *JEA* | *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* |
| *JEOL* | *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, 'Ex Oriente Lux'* |
| *JESHO* | *Journal for the Social and Economic History of the Orient* |
| *JHS* | *Journal of Hellenic Studies* |
| *MDAIK* | *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo* |
| *RdE* | *Revue d'Égyptologie* |
| SAOC | Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization |
| StudDem | Studia Demotica |
| Thuc | Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* |
| *Trans* | *Transeuphratène: recherches pluridisciplinaires sur un province de l'empire achéménide* |
| *ZÄS* | *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* |

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