THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ACHAEMENID RULE IN EGYPT

by

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For my family:
Allison and Dick,
Sam and Gabe,
and Abbie

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and love has meant to me in our years together. This dissertation is as much her

achievement as it is mine.

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NOTE ON CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED

The overall practice employed in this dissertation for the writing of ancient names and the use of abbreviations has been guided mainly by concerns for accessibility and familiarity. For names and toponyms the most familiar version is generally used (hence 'Cambyses' instead of 'Kambuojie,' and 'Kharga Oasis' instead of '*wḥ3.t rsy.t*'). This practice inevitably leads to a degree of inconsistency, but hopefully it will make the narrative easier to follow.

Abbreviations of periodicals and other books mostly have been avoided. The abbreviations listed below are used in accordance with normal disciplinary practice.

CH   *Coin Hoards* (London, 1975-; cited by volume and hoard number)

IGCH   M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, and C. M. Kraay (eds.), *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York, 1973; cited by hoard number)

PM   B. Porter, R. B. L. Moss, et al., *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings* (Oxford, 1927-; cited by volume [Roman numerals], edition [superscript] and page number [Arabic numerals])

TADAE   B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1986-99; cited by volume [letters] and text)

Names of classical authors are not abbreviated, with the exception of Herodotus (Hdt.).

Texts in Near Eastern languages are generally referred to by a conventional name (e.g.,

'the Petition of Petiese'), and reference is also made to a translation or published edition. Papyri and ostraca are cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html, last updated June 2011). Old Persian texts are referred to by the abbreviation system developed by R. G. Kent (followed by Kuhrt 2007), but references to translations are also provided for ease of use. Objects in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo are referred to by either a *Catalogue générale* (CG) number or a *Journal d'entrée* (JE) number, if it has no CG number (see Bothmer 1974).

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an archaeological examination of the period of Achaemenid Persian rule of Egypt, Manetho's 27th Dynasty, c. 525-404 BCE. As an Achaemenid satrapy, Egypt in the 27th Dynasty presents an invaluable opportunity to study both Egyptian experiences with foreign imperialism and the nature of Achaemenid rule. Egypt is especially interesting as a case study because of its profound cultural and political importance in the greater Mediterranean and the Near East, and in the Achaemenid Empire in particular. The dissertation has three major goals:

1.) To examine the intellectual foundations of our knowledge of the archaeology of the 27th Dynasty, with a view towards distinguishing between the products of ancient agency and those of modern scholarship.

2.) To assemble a corpus of material culture pertinent to the 27th Dynasty.

3.) To use that corpus to characterize the nature and impact of Achaemenid rule on both institutions (cultural, economic, religious and political) and individuals (natives and foreigners) living in Egypt.

After an introduction (Chapter One), Chapter Two focuses on the venerable city of Memphis, together with its necropoleis. As the seat of the satrap and the administrative center of Egypt, Memphis was a major locus of interaction between native Egyptians, newcomers, and the mandates of empire. Thus it provides a rich body of evidence set

within a dynamic urban and mortuary landscape at the apex of the Nile Delta. As a rural and more remote counterpoint to the ancient city of Memphis, Chapter Three considers the Kharga Oasis in the western desert. The oasis was another site of significant activity during Achaemenid rule, as evidenced by the construction of temples and the introduction of *qanat* irrigation there. Chapter Four concerns representations of individuals, in the form of statues, reliefs, inscriptions, and seals. The manner in which individuals conceived of themselves and their broader places in society informed how they chose to represent themselves in statues and seals; thus examination of these sorts of personal monuments reveals how certain individuals in Egypt conceived of themselves in the context of Achaemenid rule. Chapter Five examines changes in ceramics corpora from the 26th to the 27th Dynasty. The procurement and use of ceramic vessels was also informed by broader social and economic conditions, including culturally charged dining practices, so these changes represent potentially momentous shifts in the social environments of certain Egyptian communities. Finally, Chapter Six addresses the role played by coins in the Egyptian economy. As a satrapy Egypt had to pay tribute to the empire, and to do this it was necessary for the Egyptians to convert grain to silver, which they did by importing coins from the Greeks in exchange for grain and other products. The most prevalent silver coin in the eastern Mediterranean at this time was the Athenian tetradrachm. By the end of the fifth century it was not only the most common coin in Egypt, but it was also being used alongside Egyptian weight standards for silver. Imitations of it were even being struck there, and it is clear that this was a significant period in the monetary history of Egypt.

In each of these five areas my main findings are 1.) that contrary to conventional wisdom, the Persian Period was one of significant presence in Egypt, having important impacts on a wide range of institutions, individuals, and localities; and 2.) that during the 27th Dynasty people living in Egypt (Egyptians and others) had a wide variety of experiences with Achaemenid rule. For some the empire presented opportunities and options which were advantageous or attractive; for others its impact ranged from the negligible, invisible, or restricting, to one worthy of resistance. This variability is reflected in the spectrum of material culture from Egypt belonging to this period assembled and analyzed in this dissertation.

CHAPTER ONE

THE STUDY OF ACHAEMENID EGYPT

This is the statue of stone, which Darius the king ordered to be made in Egypt, so that whoever sees it in time to come will know that the Persian man holds Egypt.

- Darius I[1]

The Paradox of Achaemenid Egypt

When the historian, ethnographer and raconteur Herodotus of Halicarnassus came to Egypt, probably sometime in the 440s or 430s BCE, it had been a satrapy of the Achaemenid Persian Empire for nearly a century.[2] Artaxerxes I was on the throne, and his cousin Arshama was well into his long tenure as satrap. Of course Herodotus, interested as he was in the causes and origins of the Persian Wars, was primarily concerned with an earlier period of Egyptian history, one that culminated in Cambyses' invasion c. 525 BCE and the subsequent events that ultimately led to the accession of Darius to the throne in 522/1. So despite his fascination with Egypt, we have very little sense or understanding of the Egypt Herodotus actually would have seen. The Egypt of

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[1] DSab §2-3; Kuhrt 2007, 497.

[2] There are various arguments for and against Herodotus ever having been to Egypt. The *communis opinio* remains for the most part that he did go; what is really subject to debate is how much of what he reports is autopsy and how much is hearsay. See Lloyd 2007a, 226-7 for further details and references.

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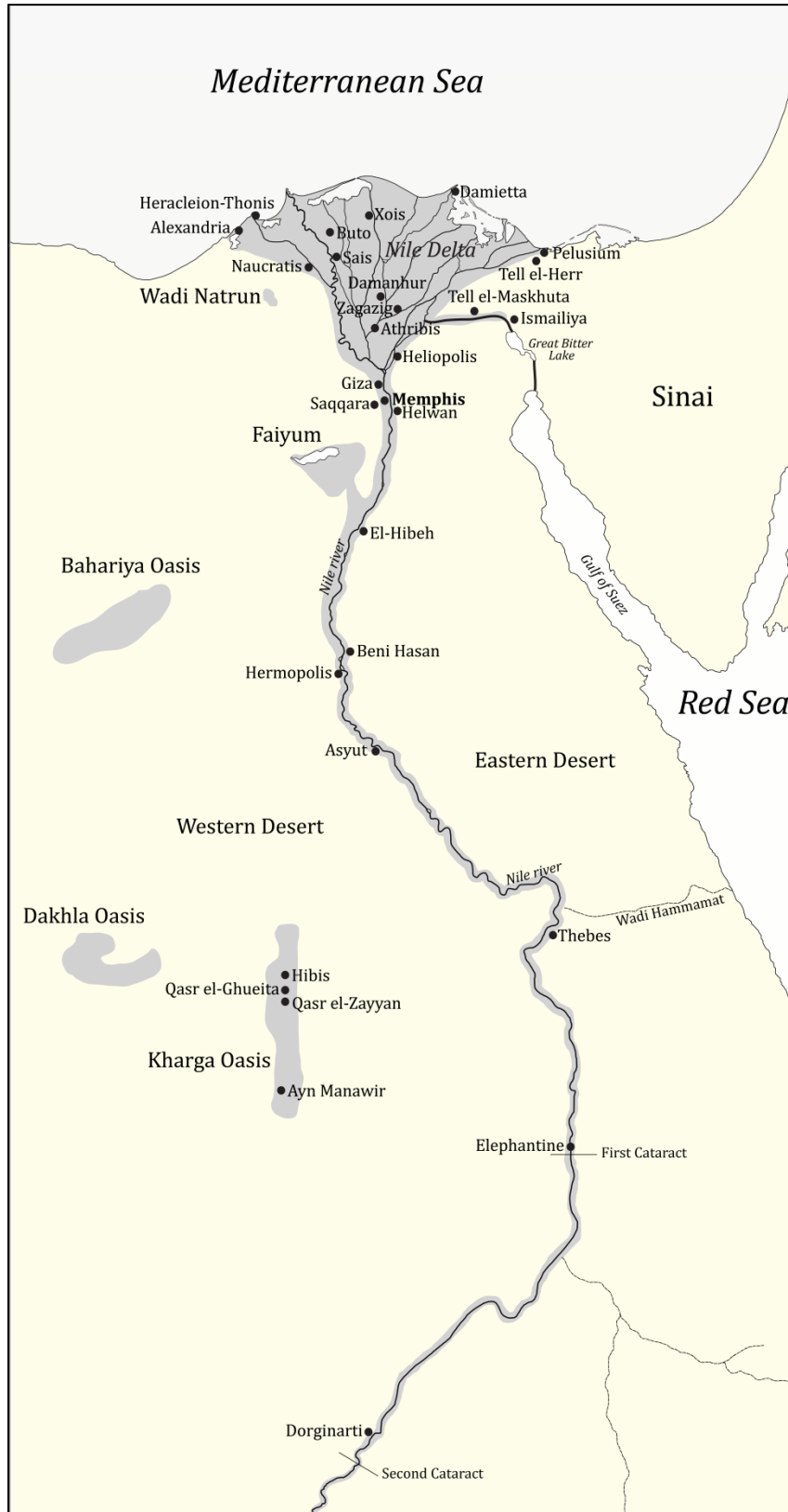
Figure 1.1. Map of Egypt, featuring places named in the text.

Herodotus' day excited considerable interest – political, economic, and cultural – on the part of the ancient Greeks.[3] But it has generated comparatively little interest on the part of modern scholars working on this critical period.

This is but one of the many paradoxes that characterizes the study of Egypt during the period of Achaemenid rule, beginning with the invasion of Cambyses in 525 BCE, and ending with the success of the revolt of Amyrtaeus in 404 (i.e., Manetho's 27th Dynasty), with the addition of a brief resumption from 343 to 332.[4] For Egyptologists the 27th Dynasty belongs to the so-called 'Late Period,' the part of Egyptian history following the zenith of Egyptian power in the New Kingdom and the period of political disunity and competing dynasties known as the Third Intermediate Period (the 21st through 25th Dynasties). During the Late Period, by contrast, the Two Lands of Upper and Lower Egypt were again politically unified: first under the 26th or Saite Dynasty, then as an Achaemenid satrapy (the 27th Dynasty), with the Great King as pharaoh, then under Egyptian rulers (the 28th through 30th Dynasties), and finally once again under Achaemenid rule for a brief period (the 31st Dynasty or 'Second Persian Period'). According to the conventional terminology for the periodization of Egyptian history this unity would constitute another 'kingdom,' yet the term 'period' is retained, implying that

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[3] For Greek interest in Egypt in this period see e.g. Vasunia 2001 and Ruzicka 2012, passim.

[4] See the overviews by Vittmann 2011 and 2003, 120-54, Sternberg-el Hotabi 2002, Myśliwiec 2000, 135-77, Ray 1988, and Bresciani 1985a; see also the general accounts of the Late Period by Perdu 2010, Lloyd 2000 and 1983, Seidl 1968, Gyles 1959 and Kienitz 1953. The study by Ruzicka (2012), though promising much in its subtitle ("Egypt and the Persian Empire 525-332 BC"), focuses primarily on the Achaemenid attempts to re-conquer Egypt in the fourth century and relies almost exclusively on Greek sources. The date of 525 BCE for Cambyses' invasion has been challenged by Quack 2011 (and others before him), who favors an earlier date of 526. This argument is based on P. Louvre 7848, which provides a double (i.e., civil and lunar calendar) date in Year 12 of Amasis. The civil date is approximately equivalent to October 19, and the lunar date indicates the presence of a near full moon, for which the best match is in 559 BCE. This puts the beginning of Amasis' reign in 570. His latest attested regnal year is his 44th, i.e., 526, and there is no need to assign him an unattested 45th year, as has been done in the past. Accordingly, given the very brief reign of Psammetichus III, Cambyses' invasion took place in 526 rather than 525. For the purposes of this dissertation the traditional date is retained, but the alternative possibility of the earlier date does not affect the conclusions drawn here.

the years between 664 and 332 BCE were somehow less significant to the history of Egypt than those of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms.[5] Narratives of decline are certainly at play here for some Egyptologists. For example, a recent book covering Egyptian history and archaeology in the first millennium BCE is entitled *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt*, leaving little room for doubt as to the author's view on the comparative importance of this period.[6] As J. G. Manning has observed, the French term for this period, *la basse époque*, captures this attitude succinctly; it is "low in terms of both date *and* culture."[7]

For many Classicists, it is the other way around, with this period preceding the time when things become interesting: that all-important historical moment of c. 332 BCE. With the establishment of the Ptolemaic kingdom Greek entered wider use as an administrative language in Egypt, making Egypt the province of Greek papyrologists and historians. The main exceptions to this are Naucratis, a Greek port of trade in the western Nile Delta founded on the site of an existing Egyptian town during the reign of Psammetichus I (whose long reign spanned the years 664 to 610), and the graffiti on the leg of the southern colossus of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel left by Greek soldiers in the service of Psammetichus II on their way back from Kush in 591 BCE.[8] In the newest edition of Sir John Boardman's venerable handbook *The Greeks Overseas* the fifth and

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[5] At the very least this term ought to be changed to 'Late Kingdom,' if not to something altogether more neutral, such as 'Fourth Kingdom.' Nevertheless, for the sake of comprehension and *sophrosyne* the term 'Late Period' is retained in this dissertation.

[6] Myśliwiec 2000.

[7] Manning 2010, 11 (original emphasis).

[8] The graffiti are reedited and republished by Haider 2001. This earlier dating for the foundation of Naucratis contradicts Herodotus' assertion (2.78-9) that it was founded under Amasis; see discussion in Sullivan 1996.

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fourth centuries in Egypt are given only a single page.[9] Of course the book is not about

the Persians, but the near total omission of this period implies that nothing of importance

happened in Egypt the between 525 and Alexander's arrival there in 332, at least not as

far as many Classicists are concerned. And this is despite contemporary Greek

fascination with the place, evident in the literary and material records alike.

Despite this dismissal in much Egyptological and Classical scholarship, the period

of Achaemenid rule in Egypt is one of paramount importance, for a variety of reasons.

First, as a period of sustained foreign rule, it provides an excellent opportunity to

examine assumptions about the conservatism and the impermeability of Egyptian social,

cultural and economic institutions to external forces of change. Such institutions have

been widely studied, at least with respect to the preceding pharaonic periods. Thus the

identification of shifts in how people interacted with and conceived of them in the context

of the Achaemenid Empire offers grounds upon which to challenge these assumptions.

Egypt also has enormous potential as a case study for assessing the nature and impact of

Achaemenid rule in any individual satrapy, an undertaking for which few comparable

studies exist.[10] Egypt is all the more inviting as the topic for such an investigation on

account of the extensive tradition of research into the cultural history of its earlier

periods. Additionally, given the continuities between the empire and modes of rule in

subsequent periods that are often observed, Achaemenid Egypt may prefigure Ptolemaic

Egypt in a number of important ways.[11] The research presented here has the potential to

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[9] Boardman 1999, 141 (originally published in 1964, but still reprinted and assigned in classrooms to this day).

[10] Dusinberre's (2013) new book on Achaemenid Anatolia is an important new regional study on the same scale as that attempted here, albeit for a region consisting of several satrapies where the data is much richer than in Egypt. The material collected in Stern 2001, 351-582, and the papers in Briant and Boucharlat 2005 both illustrate the enormous potential for comparable studies of other satrapies.

[11] A position already taken by Manning 2010, though focused primarily on the Ptolemaic side.

provide fresh perspectives on the Ptolemaic period. Thirdly, Achaemenid Egypt was a major feature of the intellectual, cultural, economic and political landscape of the Mediterranean and wider Near East. This was the Egypt known to Herodotus and other Greek writers of the fifth century, the Egypt which Athens invaded unsuccessfully. It was the source of the papyrus on which Aeschylus and Thucydides wrote, and also the grain that permitted Athens to become a naval empire. And it was the Egypt which the Achaemenids themselves valued so highly that they spent much of the fourth century attempting to recover it. Egypt looms large in the eastern Mediterranean during the Classical period of the Greeks, and yet this same Egypt is itself still poorly understood.

The difficulty of understanding this period, for Classicists and Egyptologists alike, is perhaps best expressed by another paradox, that of the divergent approaches typically taken to the 27th Dynasty. On the one hand, there is the common view that Egypt was largely unaffected by Achaemenid rule; on the other, there is the view that Achaemenid rule was necessarily oppressive and harsh, resulting in frequent revolts. Though these views are not entirely mutually exclusive, it is not so straightforward a matter to reconcile them, especially as both are ultimately derived from the perceived lack of material culture dating to the 27th Dynasty. In the former case, this absence is construed as being a result of the weak and ephemeral nature of Achaemenid rule, a rule that consequently had little or no lasting impact on the Egyptians.[12] For example, in the realm of statuary the apparent absence of any Achaemenid influence on Egyptian art demonstrates the weakness of Achaemenid rule, as well as the general imperviousness of Egyptian culture to foreign intrusions. In the latter case absence indicates oppression, such as the suppression and destruction of temples and the imposition of crippling tribute

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[12] As exemplified by Johnson 1994.

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obligations.[13] Once again, statuary is illustrative, since the lack of individual pieces dated to this period is often considered evidence for artistic stagnation resulting from economic decline and a general sense of malaise on the part of the Egyptians.

That there are two mostly contrary interpretations for the same body of evidence demonstrates clearly the difficulties of studying this period. The main challenge is the perceived shortage of material, specifically archaeologically documented remains, dating to the 27th Dynasty, which, as we have already seen, informs both of the prevailing views of the period. This shortage is problematic not only because limited data make interpretation more difficult, but also because this shortage results not from the lack of recovered archaeological and textual evidence but from disciplinary biases. In an important essay David Aston has shown that, with respect to funerary assemblages anyway, the absence of material of 27th Dynasty date must be a consequence of research practices, specifically the practice of only assigning a tomb or object a 27th Dynasty date if compelled to do so by epigraphic evidence; everything else, Aston argues, is assigned by default either to the 26th or the 30th Dynasty, i.e., to the periods of native Egyptian rule.[14] In other words, there are more specific chronological criteria demanded for dating something to the 27th Dynasty than to any other period, and if an object does not meet any of these criteria it is given an earlier or later date without comment. Aston does not speculate as to the origin of this practice, but it is not hard to see how implicit notions about Achaemenid imperialism have permeated the study of the Late Period to such an extent that it affects even object chronologies. It is inadequate merely to assemble a

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[13] As exemplified by Sternberg-el Hotabi 2000.
[14] Aston 1999b. As a corrective Aston advocates for greater refinement and further study of Late Period ceramic typologies in the hopes they can provide an independent means of dating other material, a proposition with which this author is in complete agreement.

corpus of material dating to the period of Achaemenid rule; it is also necessary to examine the historiographical and epistemological foundations of the archaeology of the Late Period as a whole and of the Achaemenid Empire in particular, since these also can dramatically affect the creation of such a corpus, as well as its interpretation.

This dissertation seeks to resolve the paradox of Achaemenid Egypt by means of a study of the material culture of this period. The focus on material culture is not meant as a critique of the value of textual sources. Indeed such sources abound in Egypt, and some have already been the subject of major studies. In 1936 Georges Posener collected 117 hieroglyphic inscriptions datable to the 27th Dynasty, and this collection has remained fundamental to the study of this period.[15] More recently, the entire corpus of Aramaic papyri from Egypt, much of which comes from the Jewish garrison at Elephantine, has been published in full; similarly, work on demotic literary and documentary papyri and ostraca has also advanced considerably.[16] Archaeology, however, has not been so fortunate, no doubt in part because of the difficulties of dating individual objects and types, and also of using different kinds of material to address a single question. But archaeology is equally critical to our understanding of this important period.

Archaeological remains are not limited to Upper Egypt the way most demotic and Aramaic papyri are, and they are produced by people from all walks of life, not just those of sufficiently high status so as to appear in the documentary record. Also, archaeology provides a means of accessing the decisions made by individuals and groups about the

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[15] Posener 1936.
[16] The Aramaic papyri are published by Porten and Yardeni in the *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (1986-99); for recent developments in the study of demotic see Depauw 1997, with Ryholt 2010 and Agut-Labordère and Chauveau 2011 especially for literary texts.

objects they chose to use in the course of their lives and in preparation for their deaths. Because these choices were made within a broader social context, what Pierre Bourdieu would call the *habitus*, they can be usefully parsed and analyzed with a view towards reconstructing some part of that context.[17] Finally, an archaeological approach facilitates comparison both with those other satrapies of the empire that have now themselves been subject to some degree of archaeological investigation, and to other premodern empires known by their material culture remains. It is necessarily an interdisciplinary endeavor. Owing to the liminal position of the 27th Dynasty between the respective spheres of Egyptology and Classics, both of these fields have contributed significantly to the corpus of material that is examined here. Archaeological and art historical methods, as well as concepts drawn from anthropology and numismatics, are vital for understanding the processes that lead to the formation of that corpus, and for using it to reconstruct social and economic conditions. And the enormous progress made in the field of Achaemenid studies over the last few decades provides essential contextualization for this material.

The goals of the dissertation are threefold:

1.) To examine the intellectual foundations of our knowledge of the archaeology of the 27th Dynasty. This is an essential precursor to any study of Achaemenid rule in Egypt, since modern preconceptions about the nature of Achaemenid imperialism have clearly played a role in both the formation of the corpus of material culture dating to this period and the interpretation of it. By examining these preconceptions it becomes possible to distinguish between the products of ancient agency and those of modern scholarship.

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[17] For the *habitus* see Bourdieu 1990, 52-65.

2.) To assemble a corpus of visual, material and textual records emanating from Egypt whose dates can be plausibly or definitely placed in the 27th Dynasty, on the reasonable assumption that it is broadly illustrative of further material which cannot be dated so securely.[18]

3.) To use that corpus to characterize the nature and impact of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. The goal is to test the widely held assumptions of the ephemerality or harshness of Achaemenid rule. This is not a straightforward proposition, for the simple reason that narratives of this period of Egyptian history are permeated by the prejudices of ancient authors and modern scholars alike. These prejudices have not only colored the formation of the corpus of evidence conventionally used to study this period, but they have also influenced the methods and approaches used to interpret the same evidence. Furthermore, the tendency to view Persians and Egyptians as discrete and physically separated groups whose identities, tastes and attitudes were always homogenous oversimplifies a much more complex reality. Imperialism creates winners and losers, but an individual's ethnic or cultural origin does not necessarily predict the nature of his experiences with the empire. Rather, in assessing the evidence for Achaemenid rule in Egypt it is essential to recognize the full range of potential responses and experiences that could be had there.

Ancient and Modern Prejudices

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[18] The gazetteer of sites featuring material of 27th Dynasty date published in Wuttmann and Marchand 2005 is an invaluable first step towards such a corpus. The challenge is to integrate this gazetteer with the large body of material that is already published, much of which comes from unclear contexts.

The historiographic origins of the paradoxical approaches to Achaemenid rule in Egypt lie in the combination of modern and ancient views of Achaemenid imperialism, views in which that imperialism was seen through an orientalist lens. In the words of Edward Said, whose formulation of the concept remains central to modern postcolonial thought, orientalism is:

> The corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.[19]

In other words, orientalism refers to the practice of highlighting the differences between East and West in a manner that casts the latter as dynamic and civilized and the former as savage and immutable. Its advent, according to Said, coincided with European overseas colonialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This historical link has been challenged, as have other specific aspects of his argument. Yet the basic notion of a direct relationship between orientalism and colonialism remains unassailable. To wit, the civilized nature of the West justified its domination of the East. The present study accepts as an important premise that orientalist prejudices continue to play a role in modern historiographic thought, not to mention public perceptions.[20]

To be sure this orientalism is a modern social construct, resulting, as noted above, from the specific circumstances surrounding European colonialism. But Said also identified a sort of proto-orientalism that existed in antiquity, beginning in the decades

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[19] Said 1978, 3.
[20] See Goody 2006.

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immediately after the Persian Wars.[21] The earliest clear incidence of this is in Aeschylus'

Persians, first produced in 472 BCE and staged often thereafter, in which the Persians are

portrayed as slavish, decadent, emotional, and effeminate in contrast to the free, rational

and manly Greeks.[22] It also occurs in many subsequent Greek texts, most notably the

Persica of Ctesias of Cnidus, but also in such works as the epilogue to Xenophon's

Cyropaedia (8.8), Aristotle's *Politics* (7.1327b 18-34), and the Hippocratic treatise *On

Airs, Waters, and Places* (16), in which the 'mental flabbiness' and 'cowardice' of the

Persians are attributed to climate and despotism respectively. Moreover, the proto-

orientalism of these texts is paralleled by depictions of Persians in Greek art.[23] Along

with the contrast between Greek and barbarian there is also an idea, already present in

Herodotus, that following the heydays of Cyrus and Darius, the empire went into an

irreversible decline brought on by the innate wantonness and decadence of the Persians.

These prejudices became a part of panhellenic self-identity. As a result they persisted in

Greek thought, informing such subsequent authors as Plutarch. Thus they permeated the

Greek sources for Achaemenid history.

The biases espoused in the Greek sources have informed modern scholarship on

the empire because, until comparatively recently, they were the main source of evidence

for Achaemenid history.[24] Early scholars of the empire, themselves operating in an

orientalist milieu, found the prejudices in the Greek sources to be very much in line with

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[21] Said 1978, 56-8; see further discussions in Colburn 2011, 95-8 and Isaac 2004, 257-303.

[22] Aeschylus' depiction of the Persians is complex, and consists of more than just proto-orientalist stereotyping. But the stereotype is nevertheless present, even prominent, in this play. It is worth noting here as well that like other Greek playwrights Aeschylus competed for prizes, and it is reasonable to assume that he attempted to create an impression of the Persians that would resonate with his Athenian audience. See discussion in Hall 2006, 184-224, with Colburn 2011, 95 n. 46.

[23] Miller 2011a. To be sure this proto-orientalism existed alongside a range of other Greek views about the Persians (see discussions in Miller 1997; Root 2011a). But the existence of these others view does not mitigate the influence or severity of proto-orientalist perspectives.

[24] McCaskie 2012; Colburn 2011, 96-7.

their own views on the contrast between East and West; as Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg put it, "it is rather a case where two tendencies, the undefined but implicit 'Orientalism' of the fourth century Greek literature and the prevalent mental attitudes of Europe-centrism in the 19th century mutually reinforce each other."[25] In this same period the Classics also played a role in the formation and validation of European colonialism by privileging the study of Greece and Rome, both of which engaged in colonization and imperialism of various kinds, making them exemplars for contemporary states and individual actors.[26] Nineteenth century colonizers saw themselves as the cultural, political and even linguistic successors to the Greeks and Romans, and thus looked favorably on their imperialism as well as that of their ancient antecedents. Early Egyptologists, also with strong roots in European colonialism, saw themselves similarly.[27] Although there was less of a sense of *translatio imperii* between ancient Egypt and the nineteenth century empires, pioneering Egyptologists, who were invariably trained in the Classics, also internalized the Greek biases against the Persians. This created a double standard in which Egyptian imperialism, such as that of the New Kingdom, was looked upon favorably, whereas Achaemenid imperialism in Egypt was not.[28]

This combination of ancient and modern orientalist prejudices has important ramifications for the understanding of Achaemenid Egypt. In particular the presuppositions that ensue from it have affected the manner in which the evidence for Achaemenid rule has been interpreted. Modern readings of Herodotus' account of

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[25] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987, 130.
[26] Vasunia 2003; see also Colburn 2011, 97-8.
[27] Reid 2002.
[28] That said, Egyptologists such as James Henry Breasted identified Egypt as a source of civilization, of which the Greeks and Romans were its inevitable and more developed successors (Ambridge 2012).

Cambyses' activities in Egypt provide an illuminating instance of this. In brief, following his defeat of the forces of Psammetichus III Herodotus reports that Cambyses committed a number of grievous acts of sacrilege including the mutilation of the corpse of Pharaoh Amasis (3.16), the slaying of an Apis bull along with several priests (3.27-9), and the murder of his own sister, whom he had also married (3.31-2). The first and third of these incidents cannot be independently verified, but the killing of the Apis bull and its subsequent secret burial by the surviving priests is challenged by the Egyptian evidence. A stela and an inscribed sarcophagus from the Serapeum at Saqqara record Cambyses' pious interment of an Apis bull with all due ceremony in 524 BCE.[29] Recently, John Dillery has provided some explanation for the dramatic divergence of the Greek literary testimony and the Egyptian epigraphic evidence. He points out that the Greek narrative has many features in common with an Egyptian literary motif, known to modern scholars by the German term *Chaosbeschreibung* ('chaos description').[30] He argues that in the century between Cambyses' invasion and Herodotus' visit the events of that invasion were assimilated to Egyptian myth in order to preserve the "integrity of Egyptian civilization as a coherent system of meaning" from "disintegration and cultural amnesia," a process identified by Jan Assmann as characteristic of periods of foreign rule in Egypt.[31]

 This was the version of Cambyses' tenure in Egypt to which Herodotus apparently had access, and he incorporated it into his broader narrative of the Persian Wars. This does not mean that Herodotus necessarily espoused proto-orientalist prejudices; his views were considerably more nuanced than that. According to Dillery's

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[29] Posener 1936, nos. 3-4; Kuhrt 2007, 122-4.
[30] Dillery 2005.
[31] Assmann 2002, 367-420 (the quote is from 411).

reading of the beginning of Book 3, there are Egyptian voices alongside Herodotus' in this passage. But Herodotus chose quite deliberately to include these events in his account of Cambyses because they served the purposes of his narrative agenda, purposes which modern scholars perhaps have yet to comprehend fully.[32] More importantly Herodotus' work was an instant classic, read widely in antiquity as well as by modern students and scholars. These readers had no frame of reference for contextualizing what they had read other than their own ideas about the Orient, and certainly they were not familiar with the *Chaosbeschreibung* motif.[33] Thus Herodotus' description of the madness and impiety of Cambyses became a part of the general narrative of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. He appears in the Coptic Cambyses Romance and the Chronicle of John of Nikiu, both composed about a thousand years later, assimilated to the Biblical bogeyman Nebuchadnezzar as an archetypal villain.[34] Modern scholars too, though not nearly so naive, are nevertheless susceptible to the temptation to portray Cambyses as a monster. For example, various scholars have attempted to prove that Cambyses did in fact kill an Apis bull, usually by means of calendrical gymnastics that allow for the existence of a second bull whom Cambyses killed, or adjustments to the regnal dating of stela that would put the burial of this bull after Cambyses' death.[35] Such attempts to 'confirm' Herodotus are symptomatic of the continuing difficulty of mitigating orientalist prejudices.

Another example of how ancient and modern prejudices have affected the interpretation of the evidence for Achaemenid rule is provided by the so-called Satrap

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[32] See e.g., Lateiner 1989, 163-84; Selden 1999.
[33] For the reception of Herodotus in antiquity see Hornblower 2006.
[34] Venticinque 2006; Lloyd 1994.
[35] Kienitz 1953, 55-9; Depuydt 1995; Devauchelle 1995a, 68-70; 1998.

Stela. Discovered reused in a Cairo mosque, and first published in 1871, the hieroglyphic inscription on this monument refers to the renewal of a land donation to the temple of Pe and Dep in the city of Buto in Lower Egypt.[36] It dates to 311 BCE, when Ptolemy I Soter still ruled Egypt as satrap in the name of Alexander IV, which is why it has been dubbed the 'Satrap Stela.' It is, however, clear from his epithets and self-presentation that Ptolemy was already aiming for royal power, which he finally achieved in 304 BCE when he crowned himself king of Egypt. The stela's text gives lip service to King Alexander and then launches into an account of Ptolemy's exploits as a war hero. One of these feats was that he "brought back the sacred images of the gods which were found within Asia, together with all the ritual implements and all the sacred scrolls of the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt."[37] This is often taken to mean that Ptolemy recovered statues of Egyptian gods looted from Egypt by the Persians, especially during the course of Artaxerxes III's re-conquest in 343.[38] Such an interpretation exemplifies the negative assumptions embedded in scholarship on Achaemenid Egypt.

Ptolemy's royal piety is then contrasted with that of his Achaemenid predecessors. After his military feats Ptolemy comes to Buto, where the priests of Pe and Dep tell him that Pharaoh Khababash, while making preparations to repel the forces of Asia, gave a marshland called the 'Land of Edjo' to the temple.[39] This donation was revoked, however, by someone referred to as 'enemy Ḫšryš,' usually identified with

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[36] Cairo CG 22182; see now Schäfer 2011; translation in Simpson 2003, 392-7.
[37] Trans. R. Ritner, in Simpson 2003, 393.
[38] Winnicki 1994; Devauchelle 1995a, 71-2. The Satrap Stela does not mention the Persians by name, but they are mentioned explicitly in the same context in later Ptolemaic decrees (Briant 2003a; Schäfer 2009, 144-5), making this association extremely probable.
[39] The enigmatic Pharaoh Khababash is little known and much debated. According to the recent, thorough treatment by Burstein (2000) he was an Egyptian rebel and pretender during the Second Persian Period, whose reign may have lasted as long as two years (c. 338-336), but likely less, and whose control of Egypt was probably limited.

Xerxes. As with Ptolemy's wartime exploits, the actions of this 'Xerxes' are usually interpreted literally and thus taken for evidence that the Persians curtailed temple revenues, if not pillaged them outright, a view no doubt informed by assumptions about the insidious nature of Achaemenid rule (informed in turn by early modern readings of Herodotus' account of Cambyses in Egypt).[40]

There are serious impediments to interpreting the content of the stela's text in so straightforward a manner. First, Ptolemy's recovery of the statues of the gods is difficult to reconcile with the events of the Diadoch Wars following Alexander's death, as Ptolemy's campaigns did not take him further east than Syria. Second, there is the enormous chronological disjuncture between the reigns of Xerxes and those of Khababash and Ptolemy. It is possible that the 'Xerxes' identified in the text was actually meant to be Artaxerxes III, though these names are not as similar in Egyptian as they are in Greek, making simple confusion unlikely.[41] And it remains difficult to slot Khababash (who is not mentioned in Manetho) into the existing historical narratives for this period.

All told, the Satrap Stela is not a straightforward historical account. Rather, it is Ptolemaic propaganda, informed by Ptolemy's presentation of himself as the successor to Alexander. Though there is no evidence that Alexander was welcomed as a liberator in Egypt, as is often stated in modern scholarship, it seems he had read enough Herodotus to know not to behave as Herodotus had described Cambyses having behaved. This contrast

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[40] Ladynin 2005; Klinkott 2007a; Schäfer 2009, 146-8. Diodorus Siculus' description (16.51.2) of the pillaging of temples during Artaxerxes' invasion has clearly influenced the interpretation of the Satrap Stela (e.g., Lloyd 2011, 84). However, Diodorus, writing in the first century BCE, presumably relies on the same traditions that informed the creation of the Satrap Stela, if not those ensuing from it. Because of this he does not represent an independent source. Another text that may well have contributed to this interpretation is preserved on the recto of the Demotic Chronicle (Speigelberg 1914, 32-3; translation in Kuhrt 2007, 125-7), recording a decree of Cambyses that apparently restricted temple revenues. Damien Agut-Labordère (2005a; 2005b) has recently suggested instead that the purpose of the decree was to develop temple productivity.
[41] See discussion in Ladynin 2005.

between Greek and Achaemenid modes of rule, however contrived, played a distinctive role in Ptolemy's legitimation of his rule.[42] Compounding the layering of bias here, modern scholars have brought their own ideas about the insidiousness of eastern despotism to their interpretation of this text, enshrining it in the modern narratives of the history of this period.

It is critically important not to downplay the violence and trauma of the invasions of Cambyses and Artaxerxes III. Every invasion is violent and traumatic in one way or another, and there is no reason to believe these were exceptional. But we also cannot simply repeat the prejudices of previous scholarship, which depict Achaemenid imperialism as extraordinarily despotic and cruel, on the pretense that this addresses postcolonial concerns about the potentially harmful aspects of imperialism, as some scholars have recently done.[43] It is also important to recognize that imperialism was not necessary for oppression to take place. In the *Petition of Petiese*, a lengthy demotic narrative found at El-Hibeh in Middle Egypt, an elderly priest recounts the abuses he suffered at the hands of his fellow priests and the failure of the royal court at Memphis to intercede on his behalf.[44] The putative date of the document's composition is year nine of Darius, i.e., 513 BCE, a mere decade after the invasion of Cambyses, with the events it purports to describe taking place much earlier than this, i.e., during the Saite period of native Egyptian rule.

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[42] Briant 2003a; Gozzoli 2006, 133-6; Lianou 2010. For Alexander's reading of Herodotus, see Bowersock 1989. It is also worth noting that Alexander (and perhaps also Ptolemy) was taught by Aristotle, in whose *Politics* (7.1327b 18-34) we find a distinctive example of Greek proto-orientalism. For Alexander in Egypt see especially Burstein 1994.
[43] For an example of this sort of approach see Harrison 2011.
[44] P. Ryl. Dem. 9; see Vittmann 1998.

It is not all clear that this document was intended to be a factual account. It has some anomalous features, such as the inclusion of hymns; but at the same time some of the individuals mentioned in the text are also referred to in the non-literary papyri found at El-Hibeh. Thus the *Petition of Petiese* at least refers to real people, if not to real events.[45] The ostensible purpose of the document's composition was to allow Petiese to once again petition the court at Memphis to redress his grievances, and by 513 this was a satrapal court with an Achaemenid governor in charge. It is unknown whether or not Petiese's petition was successful, or even whether or not it was ever made, but the implication here is that it was plausible for him to hope that the Achaemenid rulers of Egypt would help him where the native rulers had failed to do so. The *Petition of Petiese* demonstrates very effectively that foreign imperialism was not at all necessary to oppression or violence. As Edwyn Bevan put it almost a century (albeit referring to Ptolemaic rather than Achaemenid rule):

> In so far as Egypt is governed by *foreigners* of Hellenistic culture,
> Ptolemaic rule is the first chapter of a new epoch, an epoch in which the
> old Egyptian people has finally lost its freedom – if freedom means that
> men are governed despotically by rulers of their own race.[46]

Approaches to Achaemenid Rule in Egypt

The effects of these prejudices on the study of Achaemenid imperialism are numerous and sundry, and they vary from one region of the empire to another. In the case

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[45] See most recently Traunecker 2008.
[46] Bevan 1927, 132 (original emphasis).

of Egypt, two of these effects are especially worthy of mention because of the role they have played in the historiography of the 27th Dynasty. The first of these is what Margaret Root has referred to as the 'politics of meagerness,' namely the practice of highlighting and continually reinforcing the ostensible absence of the empire in the material record.[47] The second is the assumption that the vast territorial extent of the empire inhibited trans-regional social, political and cultural interaction, and in the specific case of Egypt facilitated its cultural isolation and impermeability. As is shown in the following discussions, neither of these ideas stands up to critical scrutiny. Thus the role of each in the formation of our understanding of this period necessitates reassessment.

The Politics of Meagerness

Perhaps the more palpable consequence of the prejudices outlined above is the tendency on the part of many scholars to emphasize the limited amount of evidence, both in physical objects and in intangibles such as names or titles, that can potentially inform studies of Achaemenid rule or presence in a given region of the empire. This tendency is itself informed by notions of the weakness and ephemerality of the empire's rule, which in turn affect the classification of material culture from various satrapies, usually by emphasizing formal features that make reference to non-Achaemenid material culture traditions. For example, designating an object as 'Greco-Persian' prioritizes its apparently Greek characteristics, with the result that the object becomes evidence for unidirectional Greek cultural influence over rather than complex engagement with the Achaemenid

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[47] Root 1991.

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Empire.[48] Such classifications result in a paucity of evidence for Achaemenid imperialism that then reifies the starting assumptions.

At the outset there is the simple problem of what is construed as evidence for Achaemenid presence or activity in a given region. As Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg has pointed out:

> In looking for traces of the Persian empire, the search has so far been mostly confined to phenomena that betray an Iranian influence, to artefacts of a typical or a hybrid Iranian provenience, to changes in the titulary and in the onomastica derived from the Iranian vocabulary.[49]

Such an approach, however, presupposes a direct relationship between imperialism and material culture, and though such relationships undoubtedly exist they are not so simplistic as 'Persian looking objects' equaling 'Persians.' Rather, there is an enormous multitude of potential relationships between the individuals in a given area and an empire of which they are subjects, and some of these relationships affect decisions made about the acquisition, use, and discard of objects. Thus, in order to assess properly the impact of Achaemenid imperialism, or to gauge how certain individuals experienced or interacted with that imperialism, we must consider all of the material produced or recovered from regions subject to Achaemenid rule, regardless of how 'Persian' they might appear to be.[50] By examining changes and shifts in corpora of material during the 27th Dynasty it is possible to see how Achaemenid rule may have impacted Egypt and the Egyptians, even

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[48] Gates 2002.

[49] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1990, 264.

[50] This point is usefully understood in terms of Hermerén's (1975, 42-9) conceptualization of 'negative influence:' an individual may make decisions about objects he uses with the explicit *not* to replicate or quote a specific material culture prototype. In this case it may be impossible to discern any visual connection between these objects and the prototype in question, but the prototype has nevertheless influenced the individual's decisions.

if this impact did not necessarily result in objects (or names and titles) taking on an overtly Achaemenid aspect or tone.[51]

There is actually a great deal of evidence available for studying Achaemenid rule in Egypt. Michel Wuttmann and Sylvie Marchand have compiled a gazetteer of some sixty sites that feature material of potential 27th Dynasty date.[52] Moreover, the quantity of evidence further increases when the material that has been uncritically dated to earlier or later periods, but in fact could just as likely belong to the 27th Dynasty, is included. That much of this material does not exhibit any overt references to the Achaemenid Empire is a separate matter entirely. In some instances these references have simply not yet been identified or fully understood. Many objects have been reattributed to earlier or later periods on the basis of isolated examples or unproven assumptions. In other instances we must acknowledge (as explained above) that lack of explicit allusion to the imperial presence is itself a form of evidence on experiences of empire in the period. There is no scarcity of evidence after all; the challenges are to identify it, and to develop a methodology that permits synthesis and comparison of highly disparate lines of evidence.

The Obstacle of Distance

The second consequence of ancient and modern biases against the Achaemenids relates to the understanding of the geographic dynamics of the empire. Specifically, the empire's huge area, often remarked upon by modern scholars, is seen as an impediment to its operation and interconnectivity. Egypt, on the western fringes of the empire, is

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[51] Colburn 2014; see examples collected in Khatchadourian 2012.
[52] Wuttmann and Marchand 2005.

considered especially remote from the centers of imperial power and activity at

Persepolis, Susa and Ecbatana. Some 2800 km of roads separated Persepolis from

Memphis, and it is commonly assumed that this distance was inimical to cultural and

political interaction and influence. While it is undoubtedly true that travel in antiquity

was slow by the standards of the present day, the Achaemenid Empire created an

infrastructure of movement that served to mitigate the problems posed by its vast

territorial extent. This infrastructure included both a network of roads that connected

Persepolis and Susa with other cities of the empire, such as Bactra, Sardis and Memphis

and an administrative apparatus of caravanserais, watchmen and road maintenance that

facilitated the movement of people, goods and ideas throughout the empire with a

minimum of danger and inconvenience.[53] Of particular importance for Egypt was the

road through the Sinai peninsula connecting the eastern Delta with the Trans-Euphrates

region, which was presumably supplied with water by cisterns or other forms of storage

along the way, as was the case during Cambyses' invasion.[54]

In addition to this there was also a system of mounted couriers, known in the

documents of the Persepolis Fortification Archive by the Elamite term *pirradazish*, who

provided high speed communication for the Great King and other imperial officials in a

manner akin to that of the Pony Express of recent American history. These couriers

changed horses at way stations, permitting them to travel with the utmost possible haste,

with the result that a message could reach Memphis from Persepolis in approximately

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[53] Colburn 2013; Briant 2012.
[54] Graf 1994, 184-5; see also Cruz-Uribe 2003a, 17-24.

twelve days.[55] This means that the Great King could in fact exercise a degree of direct

control over affairs in Egypt without being physically present there. Furthermore, the

communication systems enabled the king's immediate proxy, his satrap, to be absent

from Egypt without losing oversight of activities there. Indeed the fifth-century satrap

Arshama seems to have traveled back and forth between Egypt and Persia during his

tenure, since some of the letters he wrote to his subordinates from the center of the

empire have survived.[56] The geographical distance separating Egypt from other parts of

the empire was vast, but there were strong connections between them nevertheless. As

the assiduous attempts to re-conquer Egypt during the fourth century indicate, the Nile

valley was never far from the Great King's attention.

Egypt was also connected to the Achaemenid heartland by way of the sea route

around the Arabian peninsula and into the Persian Gulf. This route was facilitated by the

construction of canal through the Wadi Tumilat in the eastern Nile Delta during the reign

of Darius I, connecting the Nile to the Red Sea. It is often suggested for various reasons

that this canal could not have served a practical purpose.[57] The wind regime in the Red

Sea was such that in the northern third of the sea the prevailing winds were almost always

northerly, making it difficult to sail southward. Likewise, the canal was only open for a

few months in the winter, but ships sailing for India had to leave the Red Sea by late

spring or summer in order to make use of the monsoon winds.[58] These same ships would

depart India late in the calendar year, and by the time they returned to the Gulf of Suez

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[55] Colburn 2013. It is perhaps worth noting that this system seems to have been adopted by the Ptolemies as well, suggesting its implementation within Egypt by the Persians. See Llewelyn 1993 for a reexamination of P. Hibeh 1.110, the main evidence for the Ptolemaic system.

[56] TADAE A6.3-13, D6.3-14; Tuplin and Ma 2013.

[57] Most strenuously by Tuplin 1991. I am currently preparing a full treatment of this canal and its implications for Achaemenid rule in Egypt.

[58] Cooper 2009, 205.

the canal would be closed for the year. Finally, there is perhaps also an implicit notion that the Persians, being an Asiatic people, were landlubbers. Herodotus (1.143.1), for example, states explicitly that the Persians were not ναυβάται (literally 'boat-goers'); this idea is furthered by the fact that Achaemenid naval operations in the Mediterranean were typically carried out by Greek or Phoenician fleets.

Despite these frequent statements to the contrary, there is a long history of movement by sea between the Arabian peninsula and neighboring regions, namely east Africa across the Red Sea to the west, and Mesopotamia and Iran across the Persian Gulf to the east, beginning at least as early as the sixth millennium BCE.[59] Much of this seaborne movement was probably carried out on a small scale by *caboteurs*, moving small distances along the coast and thereby creating a chain of linked connections. But there was also a capacity for long range movement. This was demonstrated effectively by the *Tigris*, the reed boat built by Thor Heyerdahl in 1978. He sailed it from Iraq to Pakistan, and then to the Red Sea, where he burned it off the coast of Djibouti.[60] Though the *Tigris*, which was at sea for five months, does not prove that such journeys were undertaken, it demonstrates at least that they were possible with the technology available in antiquity. This movement continued in later periods as well. Roman sea trade with India, as attested in the early first century CE Greek sailing manual known as the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, is well known; later still in the Middle Ages Arabs plied the waters of the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.[61]

Thus the objection that the canal could not have created a functional maritime link between Egypt and Persia is specious. Certainly its intent seems to have been to create

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[59] Boivin and Fuller 2009.
[60] Heyerdahl 1981; see further Moorey 1998.
[61] Sidebotham 2010; Agius 2008.

such a link. This much is stated bluntly in the trilingual cuneiform inscriptions on the stelae set up along the course of the canal, of which three now survive. The accompanying hieroglyphic inscriptions are less well preserved, but seem to contain the same meaning, albeit presented in a distinctly Egyptian idiom.[62] Herodotus (4.44) also refers to a voyage undertaken by Scylax of Caryanda at the behest of Darius to explore the sea route between the mouth of the Indus and the Red Sea coast of Egypt.[63] There is evidence as well for Achaemenid interest in the eastern terminus of this sea route in the Persian Gulf. Tablets from the Persepolis Fortification Archive refer to the movement of labor crews to and from the site of Taoce on the Bushehr peninsula, where an Achaemenid royal residence was located; there are also references in Neo-Babylonian documents to the movement of workers, cattle, and wooden beams to Taoce from Mesopotamia.[64] Likewise, archaeological surveys have identified an expansion in the number of settlements on the Bushehr peninsula during the Achaemenid period, possibly on account of the construction of a major irrigation canal.[65] There is also scattered textual and archaeological evidence for Achaemenid presence in and around the Persian Gulf, including on the island Bahrain, suggesting perhaps the sea route was part of a larger southern maritime region of the empire.[66] Also, Herodotus (3.93) includes the 'islands of the Ἐρυθρά θάλασσα' in the fourteenth satrapy; in later usage this term refers to the sea route from the Red Sea to India, i.e., to the northwestern portion of the Indian Ocean. The implication is that Herodotus considered this sea route a part of the empire.

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[62] Lloyd 2007b, 99-107. The canal stelae are discussed further in Chapter Four.
[63] Discussion in Corcella 2007, 611-12.
[64] Henkelman 2008b.
[65] Whitcomb 1987; Carter et al. 2006.
[66] Potts 2010.

Egypt was linked to the rest of the empire by means of roads and sea routes and the infrastructure to exploit them effectively for the purposes of communication and transport. This means that what happened in Persepolis, Susa or even Bactra could potentially impact Egypt, and vice versa. The satrapy was an integral part of the empire, and the potential for cultural exchange and interaction must have existed there as much as in any other region.

The Ethno-Classe Dominante

One of the main cumulative effects of the prejudices and preconceptions discussed above has been to confine the study of Achaemenid imperialism, in Egypt and throughout the empire, to certain models of limited or indirect interaction between the Persians and their subjects. It is of course entirely possible that the empire operated in a manner that deliberately curtailed direct intervention in local affairs or institutions, but such an assessment cannot be made based solely on the products of biased scholarship. Moreover, as Sancisi-Weerdenburg has rightly pointed out, it is difficult to envision how an empire that did not interfere at all with the territories under its control could actually cohere and function.[67] These preconceptions are embedded in historical and archaeological narratives of the empire, so that scholars studying Achaemenid rule see approaches that favor local autonomy and non-interference as the best fit for the evidence. Even a recent study that argues for the direct oversight of temples throughout the empire by the Great King and his court still emphasizes the absence of any great

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[67] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1990.

number of individual Persians out in the satrapies.[68] Studies of cultural interaction are

similarly hamstrung by the effects of these old prejudices, leading one prominent scholar

to propose that the empire was characterized by 'cultural adjacency' rather than

interaction or exchange.[69] This proposition is a credible attempt to make sense of the

apparent scarcity of evidence for Achaemenid presence or influence in various parts of

the empire. But it still relies on a body of evidence whose creation was informed by the

politics of meagerness.

Perhaps the most influential approach to Achaemenid rule in Egypt has been

Pierre Briant's model of a satrapy governed by what he termed an *ethno-classe*

dominante.[70] According to this model, the empire was ruled by a group of ethnic Persian

aristocrats (i.e., Persian by birth and descent rather than acculturation or self-

identification) centered on the person of the Great King and the royal court. These

Persians jealously maintained their own separate group identity, politically, culturally and

linguistically, from the subjects of the empire. They restricted access to visual markers of

their Persian identity, as well as to their bloodlines by refraining from intermarriage with

locals. Egyptians were excluded from holding posts with any political power, being

limited instead to religious ones. This separate and decidedly foreign governing class

gave the Egyptians a target for feelings of disgruntlement and hatred, with the result that

they revolted frequently against the empire.

The exclusivity and seclusion of the *ethno-classe dominante* as posited by Briant

back in 1988 usefully accommodated and explained the apparent general absence of the

Achaemenids in various historical and archaeological records, which was the prevailing

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[68] Fried 2004; for a restatement of the argument for local autonomy see Dandamayev 1999.
[69] Tuplin 2009, 427; see further Tuplin 2011.
[70] Briant 1988.

impression of Achaemenid Egypt at that time. But when the trope of scarcity is undermined by the assembling and interpreting of a significant corpus of material of 27th Dynasty date, the basis for the model is removed, and it loses much of its explanatory force. In essence it is no longer needed as a means of explaining the nature of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. A brief reconsideration of two of the central premises of the *ethno-class dominante* model demonstrates how our thinking has changed since its original formulation.

First, intermarriage does not seem to have been as unusual as Briant originally suggested in 1988.[71] Several counterexamples can be adduced. The stela of Djedherbes discovered at Saqqara in 1994 is perhaps the best known instance.[72] The mother of Djedherbes, Tanofrether, has an Egyptian name, and his father is called Artam, which would be a good Persian name. Of course names do not equal ethnic or geographic origin. There are various ways in which names can operate as social constructs, not least in an imperial setting. But even if this stela is dismissed as direct evidence for literal interbreeding, it still challenges the thesis of cultural exclusivity, since it clearly represents an attempt to bridge two different cultural entities. There are other examples of this as well. One of the parties in a demotic legal document from Saqqara is a 'Hyrcanian cavalryman' with the Egyptian name Wennefer, whose parents, Merega and Taweret, have Persian and Egyptian names respectively.[73] Again, it is not entirely clear if these names are aspirational or if they reflect actual ethnic origins or affiliations. A third example of a mixed family (at least as far as their names are concerned) is provided by a bronze statuette of an Apis bull in a private collection in Vienna dating to 469 BCE.

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[71] As he himself acknowledges (Briant 2002, 949).
[72] Cairo JE 98807. See further discussion in Chapters Two and Four.
[73] EES S.72/3-DP 35; Smith and Martin 2009, no. 17.

According to its inscription it was dedicated by one Padihorakhbity, son of Isetreskhty (his mother) and Pshrs (his father).[74] There are also numerous cases in the Aramaic papyri from Egypt of individuals with either Persian names and non-Persian (usually Egyptian or Aramaic) patronyms, or vice versa; this is also attested by the case Bagaya and his mother Tahesis, in a demotic papyrus, and by Bagadata, son of Hori in an Aramaic graffito, both from Saqqara.[75]

Second, there are several examples of people with Egyptian names holding important imperial administrative offices during the 27th Dynasty. Most famously, Udjahorresnet was variously chief physician, administrator of the palace, sealbearer of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and 'sole companion' of Cambyses and Darius, but there were others highly placed Egyptians as well.[76] Horwedja had many of the same titles as Udjahorresnet, as well as *senti*, usually translated as 'finance minister' or 'planner' and apparently answerable to the satrap or the Great King himself. Ptahhotep was both overseer of treasury and *ḳppš*, a Persian title that was reserved for the most eminent officials and administrators. There was also Ahmose, a general, and Khnemibre, the director of works responsible for the procurement of stone in the Wadi Hammamat. Additionally, all of the officials of the satrapal court at Memphis referred to in the *Petition of Petiese* seem to be Egyptians rather than Persians. Egyptian titles do tend towards hyperbole, and it can be difficult to disentangle honors from professional functions, but the *ethno-classe dominante* model requires that all of these examples be explained away as exceptions or instances of empty self-aggrandizement. Furthermore,

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[74] Schott 1967; see further the comments of Vittmann 2011, 396.
[75] See the list in Porten 2003, 178; the papyrus is EES S.H5-DP 174 (= Smith and Martin 2009, no. 13), and the graffito is published by Lozachmeur 1996.
[76] See the list in Huss 1997, 135-9. Udjahorresnet, Horwedja and Ptahhotep are discussed further in Chapter Four.

there are cases from elsewhere in the empire of non-Persians serving as governors, local

rulers and imperial agents, comprising what has been called the 'international elite of the

Achaemenid Empire.'[77] These include Ezra, Nehemiah, Themistocles, Datames, and

Belshunu, as well as many of the tyrants of the cities of western Asia Minor. Often in the

secondary literature these individuals are called 'collaborators,' which is an anachronistic

and pejorative term, and it implies without basis that such instances were the exception

rather than the rule.[78]

These are two examples of weaknesses of the *ethno-classe dominante* as a model

for the structure of Achaemenid rule in Egypt and an explanation for the seemingly

limited evidence for that rule. They do not invalidate Briant's approach altogether, but

they call into question its rigid separation of the Persians from the subjects of their

empire and generalizations about culture contact and exchange extrapolated from it. We

are now in a position, based on an assiduous interrogation of visual and material evidence

along with textual, to suggest a more flexible approach for understanding the possible

range of experiences with the empire that could be had by its rulers and subjects, Persians

and Egyptians alike.

Beyond Persians and Egyptians: Experiencing the Achaemenid Empire

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[77] Weinberg 1999. Note for example the interesting case of Bagazushta, son of Marharpu, who is attested in a Babylonian Akkadian contract with the title of 'royal chamberlain' (Joannès and Lemaire 1996, no. 6). His name and patronym are both Persian, yet he is explicitly called 'Egyptian' in the first line of the document.

[78] The issue of 'collaboration' is addressed in Chapter Four.

If we are to measure the impact of the empire's rule of Egypt, we need to do so in a manner that can accommodate that impact's full gamut. In this respect, the field of Roman archaeology, especially the study of the processes of cultural contact and interaction in the provinces of that empire (often called 'Romanization'), provides an illuminating methodological parallel. Older models in which a monolithic and superior Roman culture is either forced upon or willingly accepted by a subject population in place of its native, inferior one have long since given way to a range of more nuanced approaches that attempt to accommodate local variation and grant agency to individuals. In particular David Mattingly, building on the postcolonial critiques of Edward Said, has argued that the impact of Roman rule is best understood in terms of 'discrepant experiences.'[79] In other words, empire was experienced differently by everyone. For some, it led to disenfranchisement, loss of life or property, or oppression by economic or cultural institutions. For others, it created new opportunities by setting aside existing power structures and creating new connections to distant peoples and places which contributed to the flow of goods and ideas over longer distances than had been possible before. And this was true not only for those subject to empire, but also those actively participating in it. As Mattingly puts it, "we need to break free from the tendency to see the colonial world as one of rulers and ruled (Romans and natives) and explore the full spectrum of discrepancy between these binary oppositions."[80]

This approach provides a promising means of assessing the nature and impact of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. The focus on discrepant experiences recognizes the trauma inherent in any colonial situation while at the same time it rejects the categorization of

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[79] Most recently Mattingly 2011, 213-18.
[80] Mattingly 2011, 29.

local subject peoples as undifferentiated blocks characterized by certain essentialized traits. In this respect it obviates the problem of orientalist prejudices coloring the interpretation of Achaemenid rule. The emphasis on experience also helps to move beyond the impasse created by the politics of meagerness, because it is necessary to consider all of the available evidence pertaining to an individual's experience in a given colonial setting, regardless of whether or not it betrays some explicit hint of Achaemenid presence or influence. So long as the date is reasonably certain, a context in which there is no discernible effect or impact of Achaemenid rule is as important and interesting as one in which the evidence for change is overwhelming.[81] Indeed, given that it is necessary to deconstruct much of what is already known about the object typologies and chronologies of Late Period Egypt, an approach that treats individual cases rather than entire categories permits us to focus on what material can be firmly dated rather than getting stuck in circular arguments with material that cannot.

Of course identifying ancient individuals is not always possible. In Egypt there are certain forms of evidence that permit this readily, including statues, funerary monuments, and papyri naming specific people. Funerary materials are especially useful because many Egyptians took great care to plan for their own afterlives by furnishing their own tombs and commissioning monuments well in advance. This means that such materials directly reflect the agency of the individuals they commemorate. In other instances the evidence permits investigation only at the level of institutions, communities and other groups of individuals. Yet this is still useful for studying experience. The priests of Apis in Memphis or the inhabitants of the fortress at Tell el-Herr in the eastern Nile Delta are much more specific groups than 'Egyptians' or 'Persians,' and by taking

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[81] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1990, 272-3; Colburn 2014.

each as its own unit of analysis still provides an important level of detail and avoids the use of misleading overarching categories.

There are two ways of studying experience in Achaemenid Egypt employed in this dissertation. One is to look for structural continuities and discontinuities in social, economic and institutional fabric of Egypt. The other main approach is focused on the construction of identity by individuals and communities, and the decisions about visual and material culture that result from it.

Structures of History

In a justifiably famous study of Mediterranean history, Fernand Braudel identified three registers of historical inquiry.[82] One of these registers, in Braudel's words, consists of "history, one might say, on the scale not of man, but of individual men…*l'histoire événementielle*, that is, the history of events." There has been a great deal of scholarship, both on Egypt and on the Achaemenid Empire, focused on this register of historical inquiry. This scholarship has done the invaluable service of creating the framework of facts, events and chronologies that constitutes the current state of knowledge about Achaemenid Egypt. At the same time its focus on specific events limits its utility for studying experience on any broad scale. Accordingly, this study focuses primarily on Braudel's two other historical registers as a means of supplementing existing data, and of putting disparate bodies of evidence in dialogue with each other.

The second of Braudel's registers concerns "another history, this time with slow but perceptible rhythms…One could call it social history, the history of groups and

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[82] Braudel 1972, 20-1.

groupings." This register consists of the institutions and communities that comprised

Egypt's social and economic structures. Foremost among these was the office of pharaoh,

the living incarnation of the god Horus and the primary conduit between the earthly and

divine realms.[83] The pharaoh was in essence the chief priest of every cult in every temple

in Egypt, though for practical purposes many of his duties were devolved onto various

priesthoods. One of his main responsibilities was the maintenance of *ma'at*, or cosmic

balance, which was achieved through piety and good governance.[84] The temples

themselves, many of which endured for centuries, were also crucial institutions. They

controlled a variety of important resources, ranging from farmland to access (indirectly

for most people) to the gods. The priests of these temples were an important segment of

Egypt's social elite, and they served as living links to the past, with some tracing their

ancestries back twenty-six, or sixty, or 345 generations, to give three known examples.[85]

And there were other groups as well, such as the nomes, the forty plus districts into which

Egypt was divided, the army or warrior class (Herodotus' *machimoi*), and the various

villages and communities that dotted the Egyptian landscape. These groups and

institutions, and the interactions between them, determined much of the fabric of

everyday life in Egypt. An imperial power such as the Achaemenid Empire certainly had

the capacity to modify these groups, through changes to administration or the movement

of people, and these changes could profoundly affect an individual's experience of

Persian rule.

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[83] Morris 2010b.
[84] Assmann 2001.
[85] The first two examples are from hieroglyphic inscriptions, both of Third Intermediate Period date; they are translated in Ritner 2009, 21-31. Herodotus (2.143) is the source of the third. While the sheer size of this last genealogy may prompt skepticism, it nevertheless represents an Egyptian presentation of the past. See Moyer 2011a, 63-8.

The last of Braudel's registers, often called 'the *longue durée*,' is "a history whose passage is almost imperceptible, that of man in his relationship to the environment, a history in which all change is slow, a history of constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles." In Egypt this definition immediately evokes the Nile flood, which, though neither consistent nor predictable, could always be relied upon to take place. Every year its waters were redirected into irrigation canals, and the combination of water and the silt left behind by it was largely responsible for Egypt's enormous agricultural fertility. To either side of the Nile was the low desert, where temples and tombs were built, away from precious cultivable land where they could, at least in theory, stand unmolested for all eternity. Beyond that was the high desert, then as now mostly uninhabited, and not even considered part of Egypt proper by the Egyptians themselves. The ability of the Persians, or indeed anyone, to effect changes on this register was limited, but not impossible. The canal dug by Darius connecting the Nile to the Red Sea has already been mentioned. Also, the introduction of the *qanat* to the Kharga Oasis, as discussed further in Chapter Three, altered significantly the nature of agriculture there.

Moreover, in a country as ancient as Egypt, even at the time of Cambyses' invasion, the built landscape also figured into this register of history. The pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara, for example, had stood for over two thousand years when nearby Memphis became the capital of Achaemenid Egypt, and was an important and highly visible focal point for the Saqqara necropolis and the greater Memphis area as a whole. Such conceptual landscapes, comprising both physical features and longstanding edifices, played a crucial role in the formation and maintenance of Egyptian cultural memory.[86] The alteration, neglect, or enhancement of these conceptual landscapes by the imperial

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[86] Richards 1999. The concept of 'cultural memory' is discussed further below.

power could have had a significant impact on an individual's experience of Achaemenid rule, ranging from almost total ignorance of it to the destruction of his or her worldview.

The social, economic and environmental structures that comprise both of these latter two historical registers essentially defined and constrained the parameters in which individual actors operated and made decisions. Changes to these structures resulting from Achaemenid rule in turn changed the range of options available to an individual and thus affected the possible experiences that individual could have in a given context. Indeed, in many cases it is difficult or impossible to perceive the impact of Achaemenid rule on an individual, whereas changes, or the absence of change, to these structures are generally easier to detect, since their imprints on the material and textual records are more substantial. Thus they serve as a valuable instrument for examining discrepant experiences in Achaemenid Egypt.

Individual Identities

Identity refers to how one conceives of one's self in relation to certain groups of people. Thus identities are typically either associative or differential, i.e., they serve to define an individual as part of a group, or as separate from it. These groups are oriented along certain parameters such as ethnicity, socioeconomic standing, geographic origin, political or religious affiliation, etc., and are broadly and theoretically construed rather than formalized, i.e., they exist as part the structure of a society but do not necessarily have formally defined memberships.[87] Moreover, the identity of a given individual is

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[87] Meskell 2001; Sen 2006, 18-39; Mac Sweeney 2009. Of course some groups, such as craft guilds, clergies and army units, did have formal memberships.

typically defined in relation to a wide array of such groups; for example, someone could simultaneously be a woman, a resident of Naucratis, of Samian parentage, Greek in terms of her native language and religious practice, Ionian in terms of her dialect and *ethne*, a merchant's daughter, a sailor's wife, a mother, an Egyptian by birth and residence, and not the sort of person who would make offerings to Hephaestus. This list could continue *ad infinitum*, but the point is that identity is multifaceted. Most of these facets are impossible to disentangle from each other, equally so for our hypothetical Naucratite herself as for the modern scholar studying her. In a colonial or imperial setting identity often includes prominently one's affiliation with or distance from the foreign group responsible for that imperialism. In this respect it is important to recognize as well that identity is sometimes actively constructed to achieve to a certain purpose or effect, and sometimes it exists passively as the aggregate of one's notions of oneself at any given time.[88]

Archaeologists can study identity because it is materialized through the decisions made by an individual about the objects he or she acquires and uses.[89] Put simply, the creation and selection of an object consists of a series or set of decisions.[90] These decisions pertain to a wide variety of the object's physical traits, including material, design, composition, size, etc. Some of these choices relate directly to an object's material properties or physical function. A bowl, for example, requires one of a certain range of shapes in order to be successful as a bowl, and the artisan makes choices in the course of making the bowl in order to achieve a successful bowl shape. Other choices, however, are between functionally equivalent alternatives, and the artisan chooses

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[88] Jones 1997; Sen 2006, 18-39; Knapp and van Dommelen 2008.
[89] See further Colburn 2014, 781-2.
[90] Bleed 2001.

between them on much less tangible grounds, such as tradition, habit, expectations as to

how a certain sort of object should look, appropriateness to a given context or

individual's identity, ideological goals and the like.[91] The specific reasons informing

these decisions are not always clear to those making them. The artisan or consumer is not

always be able to say exactly why he selects one alternative over another, and indeed he

may not always be aware he is making a choice at all. But all of these decisions,

conscious or otherwise, are made in order to achieve what is perceived to be a desirable

result. Sometimes a desirable result means only that the object is appropriate to the

identity of the consumer, however he or she conceives of it. But, assuming reasonable

expectations, what leads to a desirable outcome is determined in large part by the broader

circumstances and conditions current at the time and place of production.[92] This means

that the examination of the identities of individuals can further our understanding of the

social worlds in which they lived.

In the process of creation Egyptian artisans and consumers drew on visual

repertoires that included not only the established Egyptian canon but also foreign material

culture traditions.[93] As per the model outlined above, they elected to quote these various

traditions when they believed it advantageous. Sometimes these quotations were explicit

and deliberate, and sometimes they were made more unconsciously because the visual

effect they produced was appropriate to the identity of the patron. In both cases, however,

the advantage provided by these quotations was the reference they made to what we

might call 'superordinate centers' of charismatic authority. The term is drawn from the

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[91] Carr 1995; Schiffer and Skibo 1997.
[92] This point is demonstrated especially well by Baxandall 1985.
[93] Though Egyptian art is usually regarded as being exclusively self-referential, there are numerous instances of artistic interaction and exchange with the wider Near Eastern world, especially during the height of Egypt's foreign activities during the New Kingdom. See e.g., Smith 1965.

work of Mary Helms, who has argued that in many early and traditional societies, individuals and political entities derived their charismatic authority (both political and social) from connections (both real and imagined) to centers of social order.[94] These centers were distinguished by their remoteness. Sometimes this remoteness was geographic; sometimes it was chronological or cosmological, and no distinction is made between these types of remoteness.

Many individuals in Achaemenid Egypt constructed their identities in reference to two major superordinate centers. One of these was the Great King as his court, and by extension the built and ideological environment of Persepolis itself. The other was what Jan Assmann refers to as 'cultural memory' (i.e., collective notions of the structure of social order based on bygone eras) of Egypt in the periods prior to Achaemenid rule.[95] The inhabitants of the Egyptian satrapy defined themselves by association or disassociation with these centers, depending on how they conceived of themselves and their worlds. These aspects of their identities were in turn reflected in their choices about material culture, including both representational art and utilitarian objects. Indeed, the practice in Egypt of creating representations of oneself, such as votive statues or tomb painting, to serve as eternal proxies meant that many individuals actually had occasion to consider what aspects of their identity were most important.[96] By parsing the references to these superordinate centers it is possible to reconstruct how certain individuals in Egypt constructed their identities during the period of Achaemenid rule. This in turn

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[94] Helms 1993; for social centers and their connection with charismatic authority, see especially Shils 1975, 3-16, 256-75.
[95] Assmann 1995; 2011.
[96] Wendrich 2010.

provides a sense of the broader social, cultural, political and religious environment in which these identities were constructed.

The Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation seeks to examine the nature and impact of Achaemenid rule in Egypt in a holistic manner that eschews rigid divisions between Persian and Egyptian, conqueror and conquered, through the analysis and interpretation of a corpus of archaeological remains assembled here for that purpose. Chapters Two and Three initiate the series of case studies that form the evidentiary core of the dissertation. Each of these chapters focuses on a distinct place: the city of Memphis in Lower Egypt, the political and administrative center of the country, and the Kharga Oasis in the western desert, a remote yet strategic outpost of Egypt and the empire. This pairing of two sites with very different geographical, political and functional aspects provides alternative perspectives on location and experience in Achaemenid Egypt. These places both represent major concentrations of material from which conclusions may be drawn. In turn they provide a point of comparison for analyzing more discrete items that cannot be contextualized so readily in time and space but may yet be important evidence for understanding the Persian period in Egypt.

Chapter Two focuses on Memphis and its associated necropoleis. This city, located at the spot where the Nile splits into the many branches that comprise the Delta, was the burial site of several Old Kingdom pharaohs, whose funerary monuments

dominate the respective landscapes of Saqqara and Abusir nearby. It was also the capital of Egypt many times throughout its history, including during the Saite period. This status was maintained under the Achaemenids, when it served as the seat of the satrap, who appears to have taken up residence (or at least office) in the Palace of Apries. Thus Memphis remained an important place, both in the physical landscape of Egypt (and the empire more broadly), and also in the cultural memory of the Egyptians themselves. At the same time it was also a great cosmopolis, one of the major cities of the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East, and as such it was a multilingual, multiethnic hub, to which many different people came for many different reasons. This variety is reflected in the material remains of the city.

Chapter Three is concerned with a very different locus of imperial activity: the Kharga Oasis. The oasis was an obscure region, considered by the Egyptians to be outside of Egypt proper. It had been mostly uninhabited since the Old Kingdom when the artesian wells there dried up, yet during the 27th Dynasty it was re-occupied with the aid of 'qanats,' an irrigation technology that originated in southwestern Iran at least as early as the second millennium BCE. These qanats permitted the construction of towns, such as at Ayn Manawir, and temples, such as the Hibis temple. The qanat was a technology that required a vast store of accumulated knowledge to implement and maintain, and as such it is difficult to conceive of its introduction in Egypt as anything other than an act of empire. The resettlement of the oasis, then, served an imperial purpose, namely to link this important strategic location more closely to centers of imperial power in the Nile valley. But, as the demotic ostraca from the temple of Osiris at Ayn Manawir indicate, this act also created a thriving local economy with ties to the Mediterranean and the

production of cash crops, notably castor oil, for export. Once again, the empire's impact in the Kharga Oasis produced varied consequences.

While Chapters Two and Three focus on two specific places, Chapters Four through Six address the experience of Achaemenid rule using three different categories of material culture, each of which provides a different perspective on the social and economic structures present in Egyptian society in this period and the decisions made by individuals in light of them. Chapter Four considers the construction of individual identities and their representations in various visual media. The prevailing view has been that the 27th Dynasty was characterized by artistic poverty brought on by Achaemenid rule. This view is perhaps the most obvious iteration of the politics of meagerness. A reexamination of the dating criteria used to create the corpus of Late Period sculpture demonstrates that this 'poverty' is very much a modern scholarly construct. Moreover, these criteria are more frequently used to exclude objects from the 27th Dynasty than to attribute objects to it, thus furthering the notion of poverty. It is important to recognize as well that the statuary and other such objects that survive into the present are not necessarily a representative sample of the artistic output of the Late Period; rather these surviving monuments have been selected by various people in the intervening centuries for various reasons, and this has affected the shape of the corpus as much as the conditions of Achaemenid rule may have.

There is actually a large amount of material that could very well date to the 27th Dynasty, and not so much that needs to be assigned to the 26th Dynasty or to the post-Achaemenid fourth century on epigraphic grounds. The examples of Egyptian art that can unequivocally be assigned to the Achaemenid period are illustrative of a wide range of

approaches to and experiences with the empire. The manner in which people conceived of themselves and their broader places in society informed how they chose to represent themselves in statues and seals, and examination of these sorts of personal monuments reveals how two Egyptians, Horwedja and Ptahhotep for example, in very similar circumstances had seemingly different ideas about the empire, with Ptahhotep identifying with the international elite that served as its administrators and Horwedja identifying more with longstanding Egyptian cultural notions. Ethnicity was not a clear predictor either of one's relationship to the empire or of how one conceived of one's own identity. That said, the material presented in this chapter demonstrates the sheer range of potential reactions and experiences.

In contrast to such individual monuments and items of personal identity, ceramics, the subject of Chapter Five, provide evidence for a much broader social spectrum of people, albeit at the cost of being able to study specific individuals. Instead, ceramics permit us to examine the aggregate of decisions made by individuals over a period of time (so long as those decisions pertain to the acquisition, use and disposal of ceramics). As with the material examined in Chapter Four, the decisions made by individuals and groups about the ceramics they used were informed by broader social and economic conditions, and accordingly changes in ceramic corpora signal changes in these conditions. In this respect we can ascertain how people in certain places in Egypt were potentially affected by and responded to Achaemenid rule by observing changes in these decisions from the 26th to the 27th Dynasty. The study of Late Period ceramics is still somewhat underdeveloped, but there are a few geographically disperse sites for which there are recent relevant ceramics publications, namely Tell el-Herr near Pelusium in the

eastern Nile Delta, Elephantine at the first cataract of the Nile, and the Dakhla Oasis in the western desert. Of course, there are difficulties with comparing ceramic assemblages, mostly on account of variation in methods of quantification. To avoid these issues it is necessary to utilize a novel form of quantification, one that measures diversity within an assemblage rather than its overall size. This method uses the morphological, fabric, and decorative classification made by the individual ceramicists responsible for the publication of each assemblage and structures them into a typological 'tree.' The diversity of each assemblage is then compared over time at single site in terms of both breadth and depth, and then the nature of this change is compared to it at other sites. The results of this comparison show a marked increase in ceramic diversity under Achaemenid rule. Given the relatively poor understanding of the archaeology of the 27th Dynasty, especially in comparison to the more extensive knowledge of the 26th Dynasty, this increase must be a meaningful consequence of Egypt's status as a satrapy. The precise reasons for this increase are uncertain, but it likely results from changes in dining practice and access to foreign products brought about in some way by the imperial condition.

Chapter Six considers economic impact, and changes to economic networks in Egypt. The integration of Egypt into the Achaemenid Empire included both the levying of tribute payments on Egypt and the connection of this land to a vast trade network facilitated by imperial infrastructure. The most palpable consequence of this integration was Egypt's newfound need for silver in order to make tribute payments. In previous periods the political economy of Egypt operated on a system of staple finance, with grain serving as the primary form of money. The Achaemenid Empire, however, had

comparatively modest need for grain, due in part to the close proximity of Mesopotamia, another extremely productive agricultural zone, to the imperial capitals of Persepolis, Susa and Ecbatana. Accordingly, Egypt had to find some way convert staples into a durable and portable form of wealth, and this was achieved by selling grain and other products to the Greeks. As a result Egypt acquired large quantities of Athenian tetradrachms, which became so prominent that by the end of the fifth century it appeared as a unit of account in demotic and Aramaic documents, and was even imitated by the Egyptians. Indeed, the tetradrachm was so prevalent that during the Second Persian Period imitations of it were even issued in the names of the satraps Sabaces and Mazaces, and of Artaxerxes III himself. In this respect Achaemenid rule played an important yet indirect role in setting Egypt on the road to monetization, a process developed further by the Ptolemies.

It becomes abundantly clear that Achaemenid rule had a significant impact on Egypt. In some cases this impact was systemic and had long term effects; in other cases the impact was experienced on an individual level, affecting how certain people conceived of themselves and their worlds, with some identifying with the empire and those who ruled it, and others experiencing no discernible disruption to their daily lives despite the presence of 'foreign' rulers. This new picture subverts the tired tropes of 27th Dynasty Egypt as being mercilessly oppressed by Achaemenid rule or entirely unaffected by it; the actual situation, as we shall see, was much more complex.

CHAPTER TWO

MEMPHIS UNDER THE ACHAEMENIDS

> Behold, my heart has gone forth furtively and hastens to a place that it
> knows; it has gone downstream that it may see Memphis.
>
> - Papyrus Anastasi IV[1]

"The Balance of the Two Lands"

The centrality of Memphis in the Egyptian political and cultural landscape is

indicated by one of the city's many ancient names: *Mekhat tawy*, "the balance of the Two

Lands." Another of its names, *Hikaptah*, "the palace of the spirit of Ptah," is the source of

the Greek name for the entire land of Egypt, indicating that at one point Memphis was

synonymous with Egypt itself, at least as far as the Greeks were concerned.[2] Herodotus

(2.99), citing Egyptian priests, attributes the foundation of the city to King Menes, whom

he identifies as the first king of Egypt. This probably refers to either Narmer or Hor-Aha,

the first two pharaohs of the First Dynasty, or perhaps a conglomerate of the two, putting

the city's foundation at c. 3000 BCE. The earliest archaeological evidence for settlement

at Memphis itself dates to the First Intermediate Period (c. 2160-2055 BCE), but there are

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[1] Trans. Caminos 1954, 150.
[2] The name 'Egypt' occurs already in Homer's *Odyssey*. For the various names of Memphis see Zivie 1982, 24-6, and Smith 1974, 7-8.

numerous tombs of Early Dynastic date (c. 3000-2686 BCE) in the low desert to the west of Memphis, at Saqqara and Abusir, as well as on the eastern side of the Nile at Helwan and Heliopolis, implying that Memphis was already an important site at this early date.[3] The city frequently served as the political and administrative capital of Egypt, especially during the Old and New Kingdoms.[4] When Psammetichus I took control of Egypt in c. 664 BCE Sais became the dynastic capital, but Memphis served once again as the functional center of Egypt. Memphis continued in this role until it was finally supplanted by Alexandria in the late fourth century. This centrality is also apparent in geopolitical terms: during the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period Memphis was invariably the target of all foreign invasions of Egypt. When Memphis was captured, so was Egypt.[5]

The centrality of Memphis makes it an important and useful starting point for the study of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. During the 27th Dynasty it served as the seat of the satrap, the Great King's representative and proxy. Thus it was connected to a network of other imperial centers, Persepolis and Susa included, by means of roads, waterways and the messengers that traveled them. It was the site of an imperial garrison, and of a bureaucratic apparatus that served the needs of the empire as well as those of the satrapy. It had been besieged by Cambyses and attacked several times by Persian and Egyptian armies in the course of the fifth and fourth centuries. More than any other place in Egypt the period of Achaemenid rule is best represented by its material remains at Memphis. Indeed, the centrality of Memphis made it and its nearby mortuary landscapes the subject

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[3] Jeffreys and Tavares 1994. For Menes, and the Herodotus passage, see Dreyer 2007 and Jeffreys 2010, 7.
[4] Raven 2009 and Martin 2000 have both argued recently that even when the New Kingdom pharaohs had their official residences (as given by Manetho) elsewhere, such as at Thebes, Amarna or Qantir, Memphis remained the administrative center of Egypt. Their argument is based on the tombs of New Kingdom date at Saqqara, which belonged to officials of national (rather than local) importance, such as the generalissimo (and later pharaoh) Horemheb. As is discussed further below, this pattern also persists during the Late Period as well.
[5] Kahn and Tammuz 2009, passim.

of archaeological investigation from the earliest days of modern Egyptology, including by such formative figures as Mariette, Lepsius and Petrie. Much of this fieldwork has been focused on the necropoleis, especially Saqqara, and much of it has been concerned primarily with earlier periods of Egyptian history. But the long history of research there has nevertheless turned up a significant quantity of material potentially relevant to the reconstruction of the Achaemenid-period landscape (as has the long history of looting and unregulated excavation there), and more recent work has begun to redress this imbalance more explicitly.

The combination of Memphis' importance to Egyptian cultural memory, its prominence as a locus of imperial activity, and its relative abundance of evidence make it an invaluable case study for assessing the nature and impact of Achaemenid rule. To that end this chapter has three main purposes:

1.) To present an overview of Late Period Memphis. Although the city and its environs have been the subject of much scholarship and fieldwork, the results of these efforts are scattered across different publications and typically separated by dynasty. Given the comparatively modest portion of the city's remains that can be dated specifically to the Late Period, let alone to the 27th Dynasty, this has created a false impression of scarcity or meagerness during this period. By taking a *longue durée* perspective it becomes possible to correct this misconception by considering what buildings and monuments, some of which were constructed in earlier periods, and some of which are only attested later, may have been standing and in active use during the Late Period. This reconstructed physical and conceptual landscape creates a backdrop for

understanding the nature and impact of Achaemenid rule at Memphis and provides

essential context for the material specifically of 27th Dynasty date.

2.) To characterize the nature of the Achaemenid imperial presence in the city.

This provides a basis for studying how the empire was experienced in Memphis, since

that experience could vary considerably depending on the nature and extent of the

empire's presence there. For example, this presence could be military or administrative,

and it could be distributed across the city or confined to a single quarter, such as at

Karum Kanesh in Anatolia during the Old Assyrian Period, or the Shanghai International

Settlement (established in 1843). All of these factors affect the degree of contact an

individual could have with the empire, and thereby influence that individual's experience

of it.

3.) To examine the experience of Achaemenid rule at Memphis, based on how it

affected larger social structures (such as cultic institutions) and individuals. As we shall

see the empire strove to maintain existing structures of religious, political, and

administrative authority. At the same time Achaemenid rule meant different things to

different people. The monuments, objects and papyri discussed in this chapter illustrate

the range and variety of experiences had there.

This chapter, then, is a demonstration of the richness of the archaeological record

for the study of Memphis in the 27th Dynasty, and of the range of experiences

encountered by its inhabitants under Achaemenid rule. The evidence points to

continuities with earlier periods, as well as to certain changes that must have resulted

from Egypt's inclusion in the empire. Achaemenid rule was a prominent feature of life in

fifth century Memphis, but its overall effect was to add another dimension to the already complex web of social relations and cultural memory that existed there.

Memphis in the *Longue durée*

By the time of Cambyses' invasion Memphis was an ancient city, and doubtless it was well aware of its antiquity, since the physical remnants of its past greatness were visible all around, both in the city proper and especially in its necropoleis at Saqqara and Abusir. This antiquity had already played a significant role in how the Kushite and Saite pharaohs represented themselves, and individual Egyptians, in the course of creating their own personal monuments, quoted ancient ones because of the strong attraction to the past. For example, the reliefs of the pyramid temple of the 5th Dynasty pharaoh Sahure (c. 2487-2475 BCE) at Abusir were extensively copied and reinterpreted by Late Period artisans.[6] The Egyptian past, or more specifically collective notions of that past was an important source of charismatic authority in Memphis. At the same time, Memphis was the capital of a major kingdom with diplomatic and military relationships with various cities and empires throughout the Near East, the Mediterranean basin, and the African continent. As such it had connections to many places outside of Egypt, connections that people in Egypt could draw upon as sources of charismatic authority. The people of Late Period Memphis, even before the arrival of the Persians, had a wide array of cultural ideas and practices to make use of in the formation of their identities.

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[6] Baines 1973; see further Morkot 2003; 2007.

Despite its importance in all periods of ancient Egyptian history Memphis remains poorly understood archaeologically. Little of the ancient city remains today, and much of the large scale excavation there has been at nearby desert sites, notably Saqqara. The main exception to this trend is the Egypt Exploration Society's survey of Memphis (begun in 1982), though its focus has been more on the reconstruction of the ancient environment than on the city's urban character.[7] The excavations which have taken place in the city proper have been concerned mainly with earlier periods, and the practice of dating standing or excavated remains on the basis of epigraphic evidence, necessary because of the limitations of stratigraphy in the loose sand of the Egyptian desert, creates a decidedly erratic and incomplete picture. Thus to present a fuller reconstruction of Late Period Memphis it is useful to consider the city, and its neighboring necropoleis, in the context of the *longue durée*, by identifying the stable features, both environmental and manmade, of its ancient landscape. The purpose of this exercise is to suggest what structures and institutions were likely to have been active during the late sixth and fifth centuries BCE, even though frailties in preservation and lacunae in recording preclude precision in many features.

Memphis

The remains of Memphis lie some 20 km south of Cairo near the modern town of Mit Rahina on the western side of the Nile. During the Old Kingdom the city was located on a riverine island between two branches of the Nile.[8] Over time sand blown in the from

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[7] Jeffreys 2012.
[8] Bunbury and Jeffreys 2011.

the western desert caused the western branch, which separated Memphis from Saqqara

and Abusir, to diminish gradually in size until it became a stream. It was later turned into

a canal known in the Ptolemaic period as Phchêt and today as the Bahr Libeini. During

the inundation the canal became a lake, and the city proper was protected from flooding

by a series of dykes. That these dykes required at least occasional heightening is

indicated by a Greek papyrus from the Zenon archive dating to 257 BCE (PSI 488),

which lists the dykes and makes references to the ongoing efforts to raise them two cubits

higher.[9] By the Late Period the eastern branch of the Nile would have been the major

one, serving to connect Upper Egypt with the Delta. Today it is approximately 1.5 km

east of Mit Rahina, but in antiquity it ran right along the eastern edge of the city. A quay

wall and Nilometer, seemingly of Roman date, were discovered on this side of the city in

the nineteenth century, and recent coring work undertaken as part of the Survey of

Memphis indicates that the harbor was located to the north of the city.[10] This, then, was

the Memphis waterfront.

The east side of the city was also protected by walls, serving as both dykes and

fortifications; both functions are attested in the Victory Stela of Piye, dating to c. 735

BCE, which refers to the Kushite pharaoh's seizure of Memphis by boat at the height of

the inundation.[11] According to this text, Piye's soldiers surmounted the city walls by

boats and successfully fought the defenders on the rooftops of houses. Another text, an

autobiographical stela from Heliopolis, refers to a fortification wall built in 529 BCE by

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[9] Thompson 2012, 10-11; the papyrus is republished as Hunt and Edgar 1934, no. 346. See also the discussion of dykes and fortification walls in Jeffreys 1985, 53-5.

[10] Jeffreys 2010, 163-6; Bunbury and Jeffreys 2011, 72-3. The Nilometer is referred to by Diodorus Siculus 1.36.11 has having been made by 'the kings.' Since Diodorus wrote in the mid first century BCE, this indicates he considered it to be of Ptolemaic date, if not earlier.

[11] Cairo JE 48862+47086-9; translation in Simpson 2003, 367-85.

one Djedatumiufankh, the stela's dedicator, on the orders of Amasis; the inscription also makes reference to the 'fortification of Psammetichus' and the 'fortification of Khufu' in the northeastern part of the city.[12] Presumably these fortifications were built to protect the city against incursions from the north. Memphis was surrounded on three sides by water (to the east, west and south), and protected on all four by fortification walls doubling as dykes.

The remains of the city proper are located on and around a series of artificially raised mounds, known in Arabic as *akwâm* (singular *kôm*), clustered around the modern Egyptian village of Mit Rahina (**Fig. 2.1**). During the Late Period the major buildings were the Palace of Apries at Kom Tuman just northeast of Mit Rahina, and, nestled among several mounds to the southeast, the Temple of Ptah. In addition to these there was a wealth of other buildings, structures and neighborhoods, some discernible through archaeological remains and other attested only in textual sources. These include houses, smaller temples, foreign quarters, and harbors, in short everything one would expect of an ancient port city.

The Palace of Apries. The palace (**Fig. 2.2**) was attributed to the Saite pharaoh Apries by Sir Flinders Petrie on account of a cartouche naming him on a limestone column discovered at Kom Tuman, and the label has stuck.[13] Other than this cartouche, however, there is no evidence that the palace was built specifically by Apries, but it is quite probable it was constructed by one of the Saite pharaohs. This is because by the Late Period the palace of Merneptah (located at Kom el-Qala to the southeast), which had served as the royal palace in Memphis during the New Kingdom, had become a

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[12] Corteggiani 1979; see further Cruz-Uribe 2003a, 24-5, who justifies the translation of *inb* ('wall') as 'fortification.'
[13] Petrie 1909a, 4.
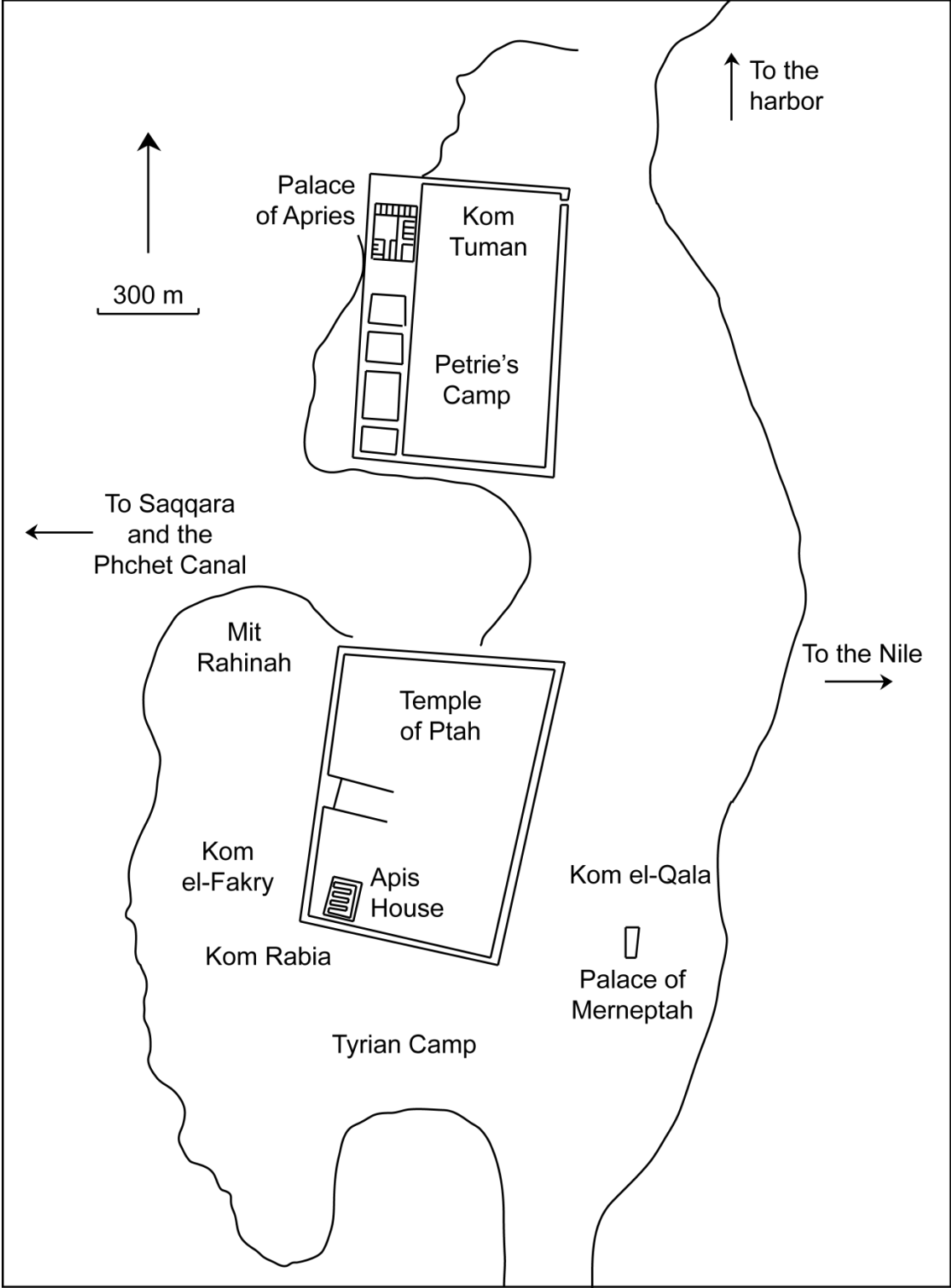
Figure 2.1. Sketch map of ancient Memphis. After Petrie 1909a, pl. 1.

MANDARA.

XII

WORK-SHOP.

F

XIII

ARMOUR.

GREAT

CISTS.

COURT.

XI

B

D

E

C

KITCHEN

OLD BROADWAY.

GUARD ROOM.

NEW BROADWAY.

XIII

PYLON STONES

BERM.

FOSSE

X

BERM.

F.P.
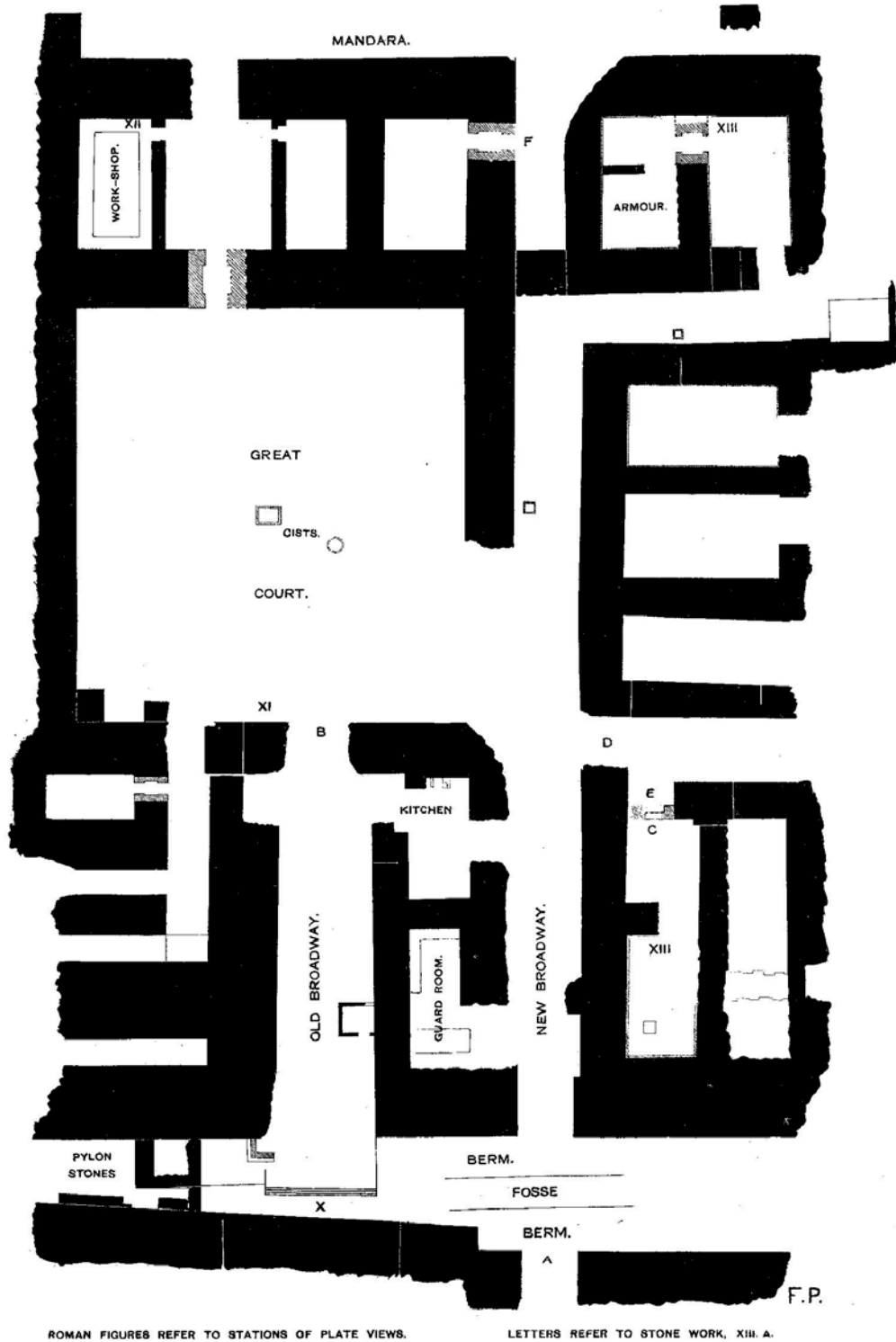
ROMAN FIGURES REFER TO STATIONS OF PLATE VIEWS.   LETTERS REFER TO STONE WORK, XIII. A.

Figure 2.2. Plan of the Palace of Apries, Memphis. From Petrie 1909b, pl. 1.

residential neighborhood.[14] The Palace of Apries sits in the northwestern corner of a large

enclosure identified by Petrie as a military camp, mostly on the grounds of its proximity

to the palace and its seemingly imposing nature. Recent excavations carried out there by

a Portuguese mission supports a Late Period date for this structure, as many of the datable

finds belong to this general period. This includes a few sherds of at least one Athenian

red figure ceramic vessel, which must have been made sometime between about 530 BCE

and the end of the fifth century (though this is no indication of the date of its deposition at

Memphis).[15] A series of smaller enclosures immediately to the south of the palace has

been interpreted as the remains of a monumental ramp or causeway leading up to the

main entrance from the south, i.e., from the center of the city.[16]

The palace was the political and military center of Memphis throughout the entire

Late Period, including during the 27th Dynasty.[17] Its remains have degraded badly since

Petrie's excavations between 1907 and 1914, so the description given here, based

primarily on Petrie's reports, also attempts to reconstruct this important, and now

essentially nonexistent, building.[18] It was roughly rectangular in shape, with its long

sides, approximately 120 meters in length, on the east and west; the shorter sides, on the

north and south, were approximately 100 meters across.[19] The palace was built of

mudbrick with stone facing on the walls and stone lintels, columns and flooring. The

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[14] This neighborhood is discussed further below. For the Palace of Merneptah, see O'Connor 1991; Leclère 2008, 50-2.

[15] Trindade Lopes and Fonseca Braga 2011; for the camp see generally Leclère 2008, 65-6 and Jeffreys 1985, 41-3.

[16] Kemp 1977, 107.

[17] Smoláriková 2008, 55-65. In Petrie's (1909b, 11) assessment, the palace was no longer in use under the Ptolemies. He bases this on the apparent absence of Ptolemaic period material from the palace, and the movement of the royal court to Alexandria. The palace's function during the 27th Dynasty is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

[18] See Kemp 1977 for a discussion of the heavy erosion of the palace since Petrie's day.

[19] General descriptions in Petrie 1909b, 1-5; Kemp 1977; Kaiser 1987, 132-7; Nielsen 1999, 27-31, 244-6; Leclère 2008, 66-9; Smoláriková 2008, 55-65.

main entrance was at the south side of the building, where it met the monumental

causeway leading from the center of town. The southern wall of the palace was protected

by a fosse or moat, presumably crossed by a bridge, or even a drawbridge.

The entrance opened onto a wide hallway, some eight meters across, dubbed 'Old

Broadway' by Petrie. This hallway led into the 'Great Court' (also Petrie's term), after

passing on the right a small room (called a kitchen by Petrie and a guardroom by Kaiser,

the latter being more likely). The Great Court was a large, square room, about 30 meters

on a side, which must have featured columns, through the exact arrangement (peristyle or

hypostyle) is unclear from the few dislocated remnants found by Petrie. A rectangular

monolithic stone cist was sunk into the floor of the room almost exactly in its center;

Petrie suggested (without much conviction) that it may have served as a secure storage

place for a throne, though it may simply be intrusive. The room's size and centrality

suggests that it may have served as an audience chamber or reception room where the

pharaoh or the satrap, in lieu of the Great King himself, held court.

Two small suites of rooms were also accessible from the Great Court, one from

the south side of the room (i.e., towards the front of the palace), and one from the north.

The southern suite consisted of a single room and several corridors with thick walls,

interpreted as the base of a tower, and perhaps also as a stairwell leading to the upper

floor of the palace. To the rear of the Great Court were three smaller rooms. One of them,

called the 'workshop,' contained bronze scrap in the form of the broken off points of

nails; the other two apparently yielded no finds. Beyond these rooms the rear of the

palace had already ceased to exist in Petrie's day. He recovered two column capitals there

and identified two north-south oriented walls to either side; accordingly he identified this area as a peristyle reception hall, perhaps an open air one.

The other main section of the palace consisted of another wide hallway running roughly parallel to Old Broadway, about 10 meters to the east of it. Petrie dubbed this 'New Broadway,' in the belief that it represented a renovation supplanting Old Broadway as the main ingress into the palace. It is not at all clear, however, whether or not it provided access to the Great Court, since by his own admission Petrie was sick the day the southeastern corner of the Great Court was cleared and was unable to ascertain the precise relationship of these two features. It may just as well be the case that this was a second entrance providing access to administrative or private area (as per Kaiser's reconstruction). Indeed, the eastern side of the palace consisted of several suites of smaller rooms suggestive of such purposes. One of these rooms at the back of the palace contained scale armor, discussed further below. There may well have been more such rooms on the western side of the palace, as coring in this area carried out in 1989 has indicated that the palace's foundations extended further west than Petrie initially believed.[20]

A small amount of the palace's decorative program has survived in the form of several disjointed monumental relief blocks discovered by Petrie at the front of the building in a secondary context.[21] These blocks, which are now dispersed in museums throughout the world, were once part of a doorway or freestanding pylon. They seem to represent the pharaoh performing in various religious capacities, including the *Sed*

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[20] Giddy et al. 1990, 12.
[21] Petrie 1909b, 5-11; Kaiser 1987.

festival, as well as in other rites that are more obscure (**Fig. 2.3**).[22] Their depiction

follows similar such representations from monuments of the Old and Middle Kingdoms

at Saqqara and Abusir, to such an extent that Petrie originally attributed the reliefs to the

12th Dynasty. However, their proximity to the palace and the smooth facial features of the

pharaoh are consistent with a Late Period date.[23] It is especially interesting to note that

among the hieroglyphic inscriptions on these blocks the cartouches are empty. Empty

cartouches also occur in temple reliefs in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, where they

are understood to refer to kingship generally rather than to a specific pharaoh.[24] Thus this

façade should not be regarded as being unfinished; rather it seems that the empty

cartouches mark the royal function of the building.

The Palace of Apries was clearly a major feature of the landscape of Late Period

Memphis. At least from the reign of Apries onwards it was the primary locus of political

power in the city. Furthermore, according to Herodotus (2.154.3) Amasis moved Greek

mercenaries from their camps in the Delta to Memphis as a safeguard against his

Egyptian rivals. Indeed, the Palace of Apries is also easily construed as a fortress as well

as a palace.[25] As we shall see below, it continued to serve these political and military

functions under Achaemenid rule as well.

The Temple of Ptah. The other major feature of Late Period Memphis was the

temple of Ptah, whose remains lie just east of the modern village of Mit Rahina in a large

depression known as the 'Birka' (Arabic for 'lake').[26] Ptah was the demiurge and chief

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[22] The *Sed* celebrated the continuing rule of the pharaoh. It normally took place during his 30th jubilee, and then every three years thereafter. See most recently Hornung and Staehelin 2006.
[23] Morkot 2003, 85.
[24] Spieser 2010, 6.
[25] See disussion in Smoláriková 2003.
[26] Jeffreys 1985, 33-8; Kitchen 1991, 87-92.
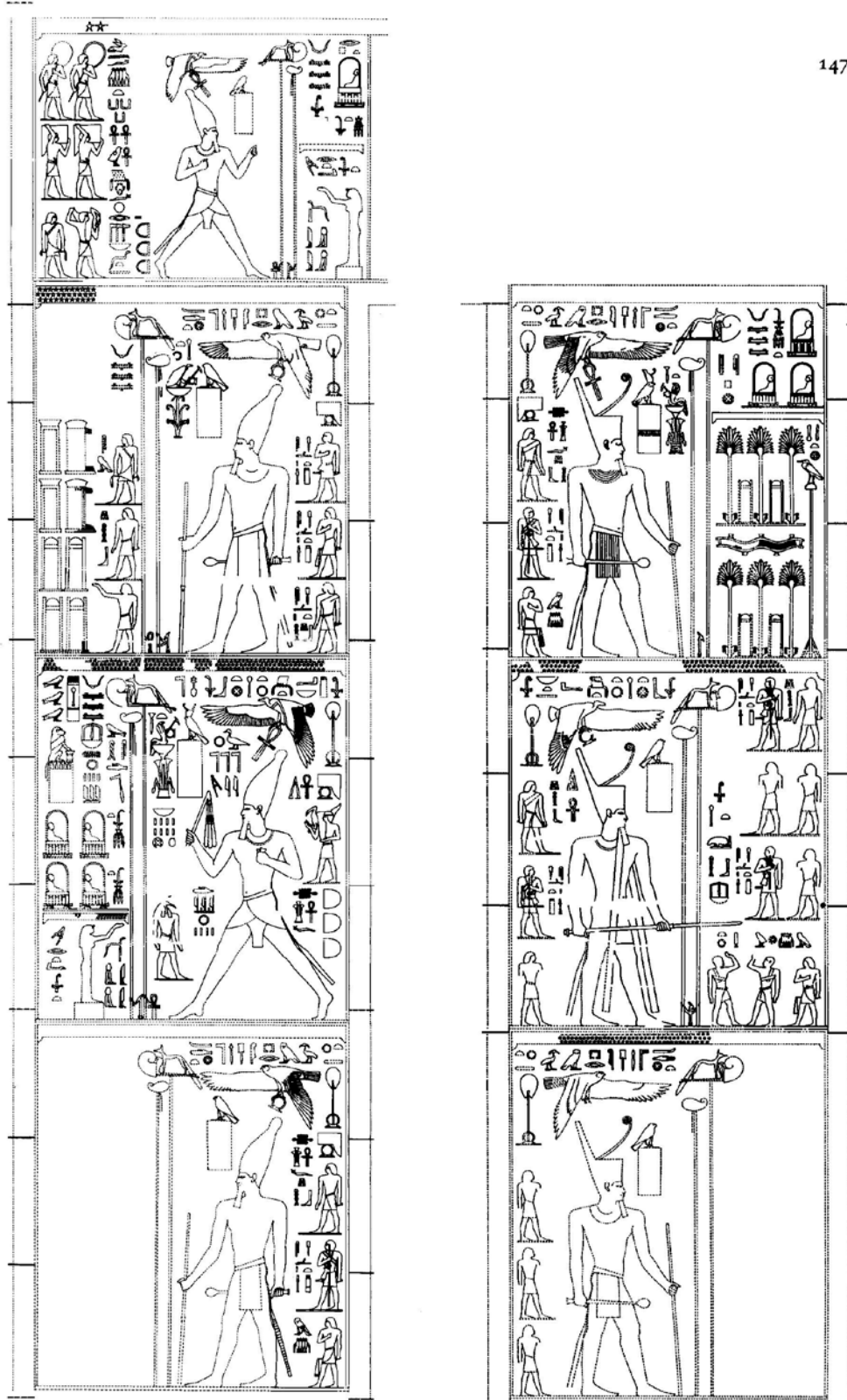
Figure 2.3. Reconstruction drawing of the scenes from the pylon, Palace of Apries, Memphis. From Kaiser 1987, fig. 4.

god of Memphis and was undoubtedly worshipped there since the city's foundation; however, none of this temple's sparse remains unequivocally date earlier than the 19th Dynasty. The earliest securely dated structure is the small hypostyle hall of Ramesses II on the western side of the temple precinct, which may have served as a gateway to the temple itself, though the surviving enclosure wall dates to the first century BCE, if not later.[27] The other blocks found on the site bearing royal cartouches are clearly not in situ and could well have been reused from other structures. Much of the later history of the temple is uncertain. Herodotus makes some tantalizing remarks about additions to the temple, which he calls the temple of Hephaestus, and some of the pharaohs he mentions in this regard can be identified positively. He attributes the construction of an eastern gateway to Asychis (2.136), who is probably the 25th Dynasty pharaoh Shoshenq, and he attributes the construction of the southern gateway and the forecourt of the Apis house to Psammetichus I (2.153), an attribution supported by the statues of 26th Dynasty date recorded by Alice Lieder in 1853 as coming from the southern gate of the temple enclosure.[28]

The only part of the temple that is at all well understood is the House of Apis, located in the southwest corner of the enclosure.[29] This temple was where the Apis bull, the living incarnation of Ptah, was kept during his lifetime and where he was embalmed after his death, before being transported across the Bar Libeini to the Serapeum at Saqqara for burial. Hieroglyphic stelae from Saqqara make reference to 'Windows of

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[27] Anthes 1965, 31-2; for the hypostyle hall see Petrie 1909a, 5-6 and Leclère 2008, 53-5.
[28] Kitchen 1988; Malek 1986; for the other references to the temple in Herodotus, which cannot be so easily matched with its remains, see Leclère 2008, 61-3 and Goossens 1945.
[29] Leclère 2008, 63-5; Jones 1990; 1999a; Anthes 1959, 75-9; Dimick 1958.

Appearances' used by the Apis bull and his mother to make public appearances, and according to Strabo (17.31), writing in the late first century BCE:

> They set Apis loose at a certain hour, particularly that he may be shown to foreigners; for although people can see him through the window in the sanctuary, they wish to see him outside also; but when he has finished a short bout of skipping in the court they take him back again to his familiar stall.[30]

The temple, which seems to have been an open air structure, consisted of at least four long narrow enclosures running parallel to each other along an east-west axis and connected by small openings, all atop a large mudbrick platform. The Late Period date of the Apis house is suggested by the stone lion beds featuring cartouches of Amasis and Necho II, as well as by a hoard of thirteen imitation Athenian tetradrachms found mixed in with the bricks of the platform along its northern side.[31]

The temple of Ptah, including the Apis house, was a venerable Memphite institution, going back to at least the New Kingdom. Herodotus was clearly impressed enough by the cult of Apis to give it a prominent role in his narrative of the madness of Cambyses. As is discussed further below, the Achaemenids were in fact supportive of the cult of Apis, and sought to uphold the longstanding religious and cultural traditions represented by Ptah and his animal incarnation.

Other Urban Features. In addition to the Palace of Apries and the temple of Ptah there were many other important buildings and neighborhoods, of which our knowledge

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[30] Trans H. L. Jones; see Smith 1974, 10. See further Jurman 2010 and Thompson 2012, 178-92 (focusing on the Ptolemaic period).

[31] Jones and Jones 1988, 105-10. These coins are discussed further in Chapter Six; broadly speaking they indicate a fourth century date, though the chronology of this building is discussed further later in this chapter.

is more limited. South of the temple of Ptah was the small temple of Hathor, Lady of the Sycamore, built in the New Kingdom and likely still in operation in the Late Period.[32] No doubt there were many others similar examples as well. The verso of Papyrus Sallier 4 contains a model letter of New Kingdom date listing thirty-seven deities worshipped at Memphis, and there is no particular reason to expect this number to have contracted in the Late Period.[33] Many of these temples would have been linked to each other and to other parts of the city by way of processional routes, such as the 'way of Anubis' connecting the temple of Ptah with the temple of Anubis at Saqqara, and these routes would have doubled as the city's main thoroughfares. Another important area was the Memphis dockyards. Memphis' location, where all the branches of the Delta came together, made it an essential waypoint for river traffic, and any goods or people heading from Upper Egypt to the rest of the Near East or out to the Mediterranean (or vice versa) had to pass through it. Its importance as a port since at least the New Kingdom is suggested by a Hieratic papyrus preserving the records of the Memphis shipyard, while an Aramaic document (TADAE C3.8) of fifth century date illustrates the continuity of maritime activity.[34] The actual location of the harbor (called 'Peru-nefer,' meaning 'bon voyage'), to the north of the city center and east of Kom Tuman, has recently been ascertained by coring carried out as part of the Survey of Memphis.[35]

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[32] Kitchen 1991, 92. Mahmud 1978, 12 notes the presence of Ptolemaic period ceramics among the finds from the temple, though without further details it is impossible to determine whether this results from continued use of the temple or its conversion into a residential zone; certainly the latter seems to have occurred by the Roman period.

[33] Smith 1974, 11; cf. Kitchen 1991, 92-4; the relevant portion of P. Sallier 4 is translated with notes in Caminos 1954, 333-49.

[34] The Hieratic papyrus is BM 10056; see Glanville 1931; 1933. For TADAE C3.8 see Bowman 1941. Memphis remained an important port under the Ptolemies as well (Thompson 2012, 54-60).

[35] Bunbury and Jeffreys 2011, 72-3; Smith and Jeffreys 1986, 91-4. The reference to the 'wharf of the charioteer Herynefer, which is on the South of Memphis' (Kitchen 1991, 94) is of New Kingdom date. It

Among all of these temples, palaces and docks were the houses and workshops of the denizens of Memphis. Little is known about these, as the early excavator often did not take much interest in later domestic structures in their zeal to uncover earlier majestic ones. Petrie, in the course of clearing a temple built by Merneptah at Kom el-Qala to the east of the temple of Ptah, excavated a number of houses which he suggested were "probably built during a few centuries before the Ptolemies" (**Fig. 2.4**).[36] In the same area Clarence Fisher identified five separate residential strata atop the palace of Merneptah; the third of these he dated to the Late Period on the basis of an inscription naming Amasis, but unfortunately he never published a plan of them.[37] The houses excavated by Petrie vary in size and layout, and most did not survive well enough to provide a complete ground plan. The largest preserved rooms are about eight meters on their longest side; many of the smaller rooms are only four meters. The houses are roughly oriented to the temple of Merneptah, and though they do not form a regular grid at least one east-west street is visible on the plan that probably ran from the waterfront through the residential neighborhood formerly dominated by the temple and palace of Merneptah, to the temple of Ptah in the center of town. Presumably neighborhoods like this were typical of Memphis in all periods.

During the New Kingdom, and perhaps later as well, these neighborhoods were grouped in administrative districts, called the 'South District,' the 'District of Pharaoh,

may reflect either the presence of a second, southern harbor, or a shift in the locus of maritime activity from the south to the north side of the city.

[36] Petrie 1909a, 11. Aston and Jeffreys (2007, 69), citing architectural parallels with houses at Medinet Habu and Amarna, suggest these houses date to the Third Intermediate Period; however there is no need to assume perfect consistency of house design throughout Egypt. Moreover, Petrie notes that these houses reused the foundations of earlier ones, which may account for the resemblance that informs this dating.

[37] Fisher 1917, 277; see also Schulman 1988, 88, who notes that the inscribed objects from the palace of post-New Kingdom date are much more in keeping with the practice of household religion than with organized cult activity.
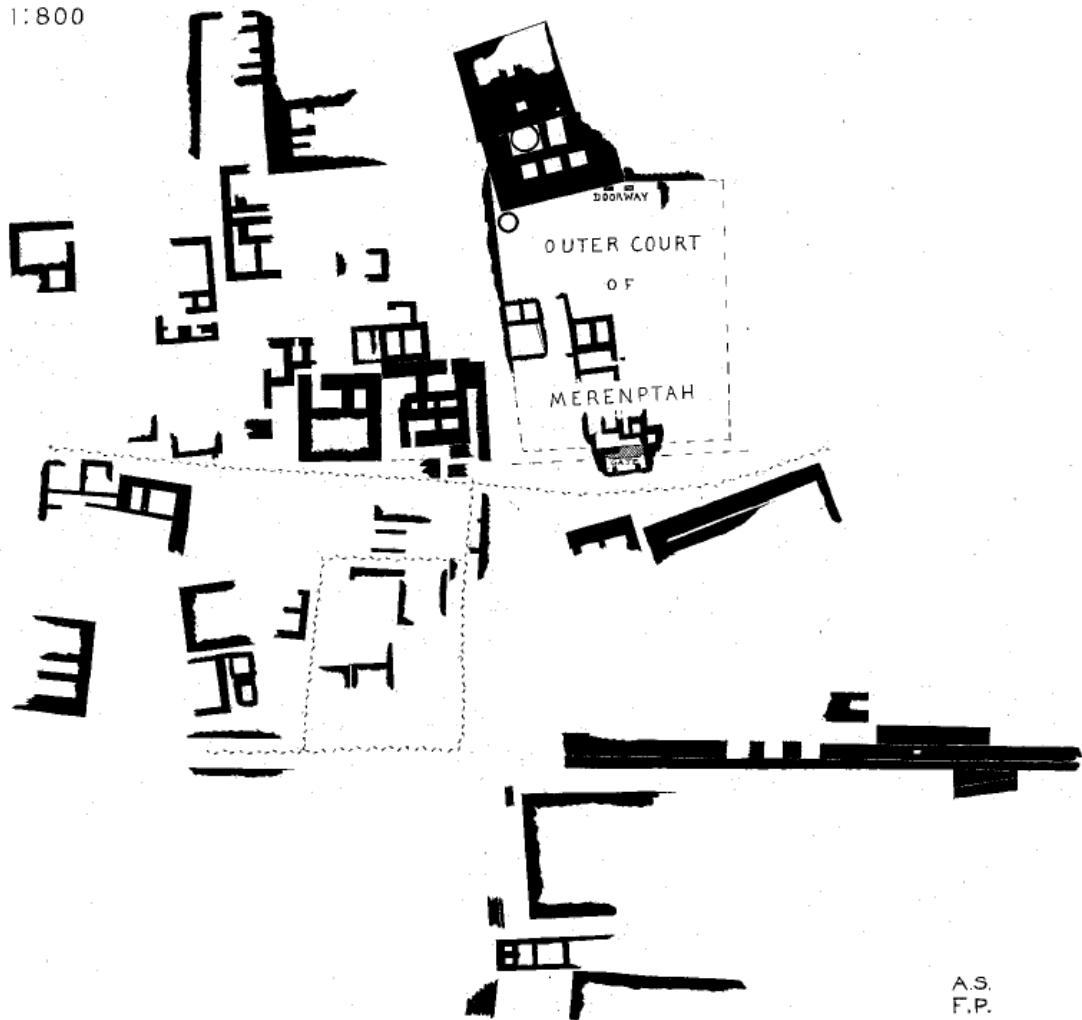
Figure 2.4. Plan of the houses in the vicinity of the Palace of Merneptah. From Petrie 1909a, pl. 27.

which is Called the Fine District,' the 'District of Ptah,' and the 'North District.'[38] It is

not at all clear what sections of the city comprised these districts, though some good

guesses can be made. By the Late Period some of these districts would have overlapped

with or been supplanted by the various foreign quarters. PSI 488, the Greek papyrus

referring to the renovation of the Memphis dykes in 257 BCE, lists several such quarters

including the 'Syro-Persian,' the Carian, and even the Greek quarter. Although these

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[38] Kitchen 1991, 95-7.

groups are best attested in the Ptolemaic period, all of them were certainly present in

Memphis during the Late Period as well.[39] The implication is that there were discrete

foreign populations settled in different parts of Memphis. Unfortunately, there are not

enough published plans of Late Period houses to attempt to identify where each of these

populations resided and under what conditions. There was also the 'Tyrian camp'

referred to by Herodotus (2.112), which Petrie places south of the temple of Ptah.[40] This

was probably the site of a garrison or mercenary colony, since the word used by

Herodotus, στρᾱτόπεδον, normally refers to an armed encampment. Indeed, as a political

center Memphis must have had soldiers stationed there throughout its history, as well as

an army of bureaucrats and administrators, not to mention the large population of

craftsmen, slaves and farmers necessary to support such a capital. The city's population

in the Late Period has recently been put at 20,000-40,000, on the basis of the total

population of Egypt as determined by its available arable land in antiquity.[41] This

estimate is a deliberately conservative one, and even so Memphis was one of the larger

cities in the Achaemenid Empire.[42]

Saqqara and Abusir

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[39] Smolárikova 2003; see also Thompson 2012, 81-92.

[40] Petrie 1909a, 3-4; see further Castagna 1981; Lloyd 2007a, 322. The camp may also be referenced in a demotic stela dedicated at Saqqara in the late third century BCE (Louvre C 119; Spiegelberg 1929; Munro 1973, 341 for the date); however the reading is uncertain (Thompson 2012, 10 n. 27). Herodotus also states that a temple of Aphrodite Xenia, who should probably be identified as the Phoenician goddess Astarte, stood nearby.

[41] Hassan 1993, 563.

[42] Boiy (2004, 229-34) puts the population of late Achaemenid Babylon at c. 50,000, and Colburn (forthcoming b) puts the population of Persepolis in c. 493 at nearly 30,000. Some of the other major cities of the empire, such as Susa, Ecbatana or Sardis, may also have been inhabited on this scale.

Memphis, however, was not just a city of the living; across the Bahr Libeini to the west in the low desert lay the necropoleis at Saqqara and Abusir (**Fig. 2.5**). While these were not residential areas in the same manner as at Memphis itself, they were very much an important part of the conceptual landscape of ancient Memphis. Moreover, the various sacred animal catacombs and royal and private monuments employed large numbers of priests, workers, and other specialists. In other words, Saqqara and Abusir were cities of the dead, but they were also inhabited and frequented by many living people. As such they must play a role here in the reconstruction of Late Period Memphis.

Saqqara. Beginning in the Early Dynastic period (c. 3000-2686 BCE) Saqqara was already a major locus for burial for private individuals.[43] Beginning in the 3rd Dynasty (c. 2686-2125 BCE) the pharaohs began to erect their tombs at Saqqara, starting with the monument that dominates the landscape there today, the step pyramid of Djoser. This practice continued through the 6th Dynasty (2345-2181 BCE).[44] One of these pyramids even gave its name to the city: the Egyptian name of the pyramid town of Pepi I was Mennefer, hence the Greek 'Memphis.' During the New Kingdom, when the pharaohs were entombed in the south at the Valley of the Kings in the Theban necropolis, many high ranking private individuals built their tombs at Saqqara. Among these was Horemheb, generalissimo under the New Kingdom pharaohs Tutankhamun and Ay, and the latter's eventual successor as king circa 1323 BCE.[45] These tombs ranged from simple single room chapels to miniature temples, imitating the great mortuary temples

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[43] Jeffreys and Tavares 1994, 147-51; Tavares 1999.

[44] Lauer 1976. Of course the pharaohs of the 4th Dynasty built their tombs at Giza, but this does not really represent a break in tradition as Giza was less than 10 km further downriver from Abusir and still a part of the greater Memphis area.

[45] Martin 1991. Horemheb's tomb at Saqqara dates to before his accession; he was ultimately buried in Tomb KV57 in the Valley of the Kings.
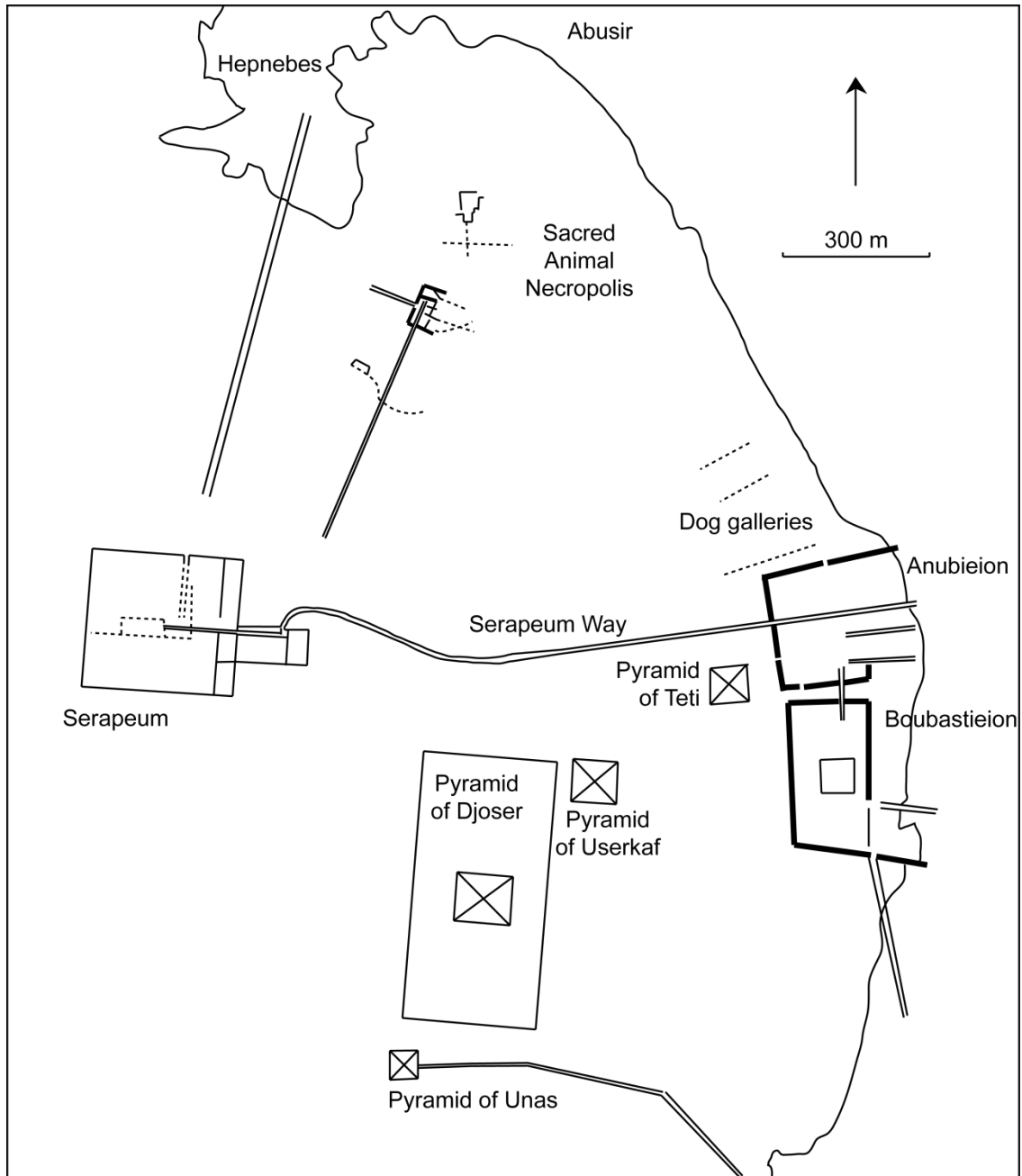
Figure 2.5. Map of Saqqara. After Thompson 2012, fig. 4.

built by the kings at Thebes. Also in the New Kingdom, if not earlier, began the burial

and subsequent veneration of various sacred animals at Saqqara, starting with the Apis

bull, the incarnation of Ptah, god of Memphis. By the Late Period Saqqara had become a

'mummified zoo,' including ibises and baboons (both associated with Thoth), hawks (associated with Horus), dogs (associated with Anubis), cats (associated with Bastet), rams, lions and snakes.[46] The mummified corpses of most of these sacred animals were housed in vast catacombs attached to temple complexes, clustered around the Step Pyramid of Djoser. Most of these temples are best known in their Ptolemaic iterations, but these still provide a sense of the general character of the necropolis during the Late Period.

The main route to Saqqara from the east was the 'Serapeum Way,' a sphinx lined avenue leading from the edge of the Phchêt canal to the Serapeum itself.[47] At the eastern end of this avenue, on the edge of the desert escarpment, was the sacred precinct of Anubis, a square enclosure about 250 meters on a side that at one point accommodated three different temples built on terraces.[48] In the Ptolemaic period the Anubieion (as it was known in Greek) also served as the administrative center for the necropolis and the primary work area for embalmers. In the escarpment to the north were the entrances to the catacombs where the mummified dogs were buried; dogs were also buried within the enclosure itself. Immediately to the south of the Anubieion was the precinct of Bastet (or Bubasteion), another large enclosure containing a temple and a small residential area, presumably home to priests and embalmers. The temple was built over a group of rock cut tombs of New Kingdom date, and during the Late Period these were reused as burial chambers for cats.[49]

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[46] Nicholson 2005; Jones 1999b; Davies and Smith 1997; Ray 1978 (the quote is at 151); Smith 1974, 21-63.
[47] Smith 1981.
[48] Jeffreys and Smith 1988.
[49] Zivie and Lichtenberg 2005.

From the Anubieion the Serapeum Way led west across the low desert in the shadow of the Step Pyramid to the Serapeum, the burial place of the Apis bulls and therefore the necropolitan equivalent of the temple of Ptah in Memphis. The Serapeum featured a massive enclosure wall that housed cult places for a number of different gods in various guises (of which nothing now remains), but its best known feature is the catacombs containing the corpses of the Apis bulls.[50] The bulls were entombed in sarcophagi within the vaulted chambers of the catacombs; many of these burials were commemorated by stelae set up by pharaohs or noted in personal votives dedicated by individual pilgrims and worshippers seeking to consult the god.[51] Above ground, both within the enclosure walls and outside of them, the Serapeum, like the other sacred animal temples at Saqqara, was also a town of sorts, housing the administration of the Apis cult and including residences for the priests and shops and inns catering to pilgrims. In the Ptolemaic period butchers, bakers, inn-keepers, launderers, porters, and water-carriers are attested there. To these must be added the masons, sculptors, scribes and other craftsmen needed for the creation and maintenance of the physical structures and objects used in the cult.[52] Saqqara was as much a living town as a city of the dead.

To the north of the Serapeum, and connected to it by another processional route, was a district known as 'Hepnebes,' where the ibis, baboon, hawk and Mother of Apis catacombs, and their associated temples, were located. These are collectively known as the Sacred Animal Necropolis.[53] The temples were built on a terrace abutting the cliffs into which the catacombs were dug. It was accessible from the south, i.e., from the

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[50] Mariette 1882; Lauer 1976, 21-8; Dodson 2001; 2005; Jurman 2010; for the many cults dating to the Ptolemaic period see Guilmot 1962.
[51] Vercoutter 1962; Malinine et al. 1968; Devauchelle 1994a; 1994b; 2000.
[52] Thompson 2012, 144-76; Ray 1972.
[53] Martin 1981; Davies and Smith 1997, 116-20; 2005; Davies 2006; Smith et al. 2006; Nicholson 2005.

Serapeum, and from the west, where a roughly north-south road connected the Serapeum

to a low area, possibly a lake, near the modern village of Abusir. In the center was the

temple of Osiris-Apis and Isis, the Mother of Apis, which included two pylons separated

by a courtyard, and a sanctuary at the rear. To the north of it was a separate courtyard

providing access to the Mother of Apis catacombs. On the south of the temple was a

dromos leading to the baboon catacombs, as well as a small chapel, and beyond that was

a courtyard and chapel dedicated to Horus and providing access to the falcon catacombs,

which extended to the south and east. All told there were as many as eight temples on this

terrace. As with the Bubasteion, and probably all of the temples at Saqqara, there was

also a residential area on the site, in this case off the terrace to the southwest, where the

many professionals necessary to maintaining these animals cults resided.[54] Much of the

datable material recovered from these temples and catacombs is of Ptolemaic date, but

there are cornice blocks bearing cartouches naming Nectanebo II that probably belong to

the precinct of Osiris the Baboon. There is also epigraphic evidence that the cult of the

Mother of Apis was in operation by the late sixth century BCE. It is likely that the Sacred

Animal Necropolis was already in use in the Late Period.[55] The demotic and Aramaic

papyri found there further support this dating.[56]

The structures discussed here are simply the best known temples of Late Period

Saqqara; it is certain there many more than just these. For example, the Saqqara

Geophysical Survey Project has identified two temple structures, one to the west of the

Sacred Animal Necropolis, and one just to the south of the Serapeum. Little can be said

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[54] Davies and Smith 1997, 117.
[55] The cornice blocks of Nectanebo II are published by Emery 1969, 34. For the date of the beginning of the Mother of Apis cult see Smith 1972 and Davies 2009.
[56] Smith and Tait 1983; Segal 1983; Smith and Martin 2009.

about either as yet, save that their mudbrick construction closely parallels that of the Sacred Animal Necropolis, and that the ceramic material recovered from both runs from the fifth century BCE to the mid-Ptolemaic period.[57] Further fieldwork will no doubt elucidate more such structures.

As it had been in the New Kingdom and before, Saqqara remained an important funerary landscape. Memphis was the most prominent city in Egypt during the Late Period, so Saqqara was the most prominent necropolis, at least for private individuals, since the Saite pharaohs were buried at Sais and the Achaemenid Great Kings at Naqsh-i Rustam near Persepolis. However, these burials have been little studied and are poorly known. A cemetery of Late Period date was found near the Anubieion, consisting of modest burials with few grave goods.[58] Several more substantial Late Period shaft tombs are clustered around the Step Pyramid and the pyramid of Unas, some of which were on top of and dug into an Old Kingdom mastaba.[59] These tombs each contained multiple wooden coffins, and the presence of Aramaic papyri is strongly suggestive of a fifth century date for these burials. There are several more such shaft tombs to the south of the Unas causeway.

The reuse of older tomb structures, such as Old Kingdom mastabas, belies the widespread use of the Saqqara necropolis during the Late Period. The so-called 'embalmers' caches' of ceramic vessels may be further evidence of such reuse. These caches contain vessels of Late Period date, but most of them were discovered in the

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[57] Lines 2007; Gallorini 2007.
[58] Giddy 1992.
[59] Ziegler 2005; 2011a; 2011b; forthcoming; Ziegler and Lecuyot 2007; Stammers 2009, 103-9, 115, 118-25, 128.

course of excavating New Kingdom tombs.[60] Their exact purpose remains obscure, but

they provide indisputable evidence for activity in the necropolis during the Late Period.

Lastly, the funerary stelae inscribed in Carian discovered in a secondary context at the

Sacred Animal Necropolis were presumably originally also part of the funerary landscape

of Saqqara.[61] It is, however, impossible to say whether they were from a discrete

cemetery, or if they were interspersed among the other monuments of the necropolis.

Abusir. It is also worth considering the necropolis adjoining the nearby modern village of

Abusir, whose name is an Arabic rendering of *Per-Wesir*, Egyptian for 'house of Osiris'

(**Fig. 2.6**), since it was essentially a continuation of the funerary landscape of Saqqara.

Abusir was a necropolis as early as the Third Dynasty, and several Fifth Dynasty

pharaohs built their pyramids there.[62] During the Middle Kingdom the priests responsible

for maintaining the cults of these earlier pharaohs were themselves buried nearby, and in

the New Kingdom Abusir once again became a major site for the inhumation of private

individuals, both because of the cosmological attraction of the ancient monuments there

and because these monuments provided a ready source of building materials.

This burial activity continued in the Late Period. A handful of shaft tombs have

been found in the area immediately to the south of the pyramids of Raneferef and

Neferikara, including the tomb of Udjahorresnet, best known from his naophorous statue

in the Vatican as a ranking official during the 27th Dynasty who even served at the court

of Darius.[63] Persian Period activity is also confirmed by the presence of Aramaic and

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[60] Aston and Aston 2010.
[61] Masson 1978.
[62] Verner 1994.
[63] Verner 1994, 195-210; Bareš 1999; Bareš and Smoláriková 2008; 2011; Stammers 2009, 111-14; Coppens and Smoláriková 2009. The tomb of Udjahorresnet is discussed further below, and his statue is discussed in Chapter Four.
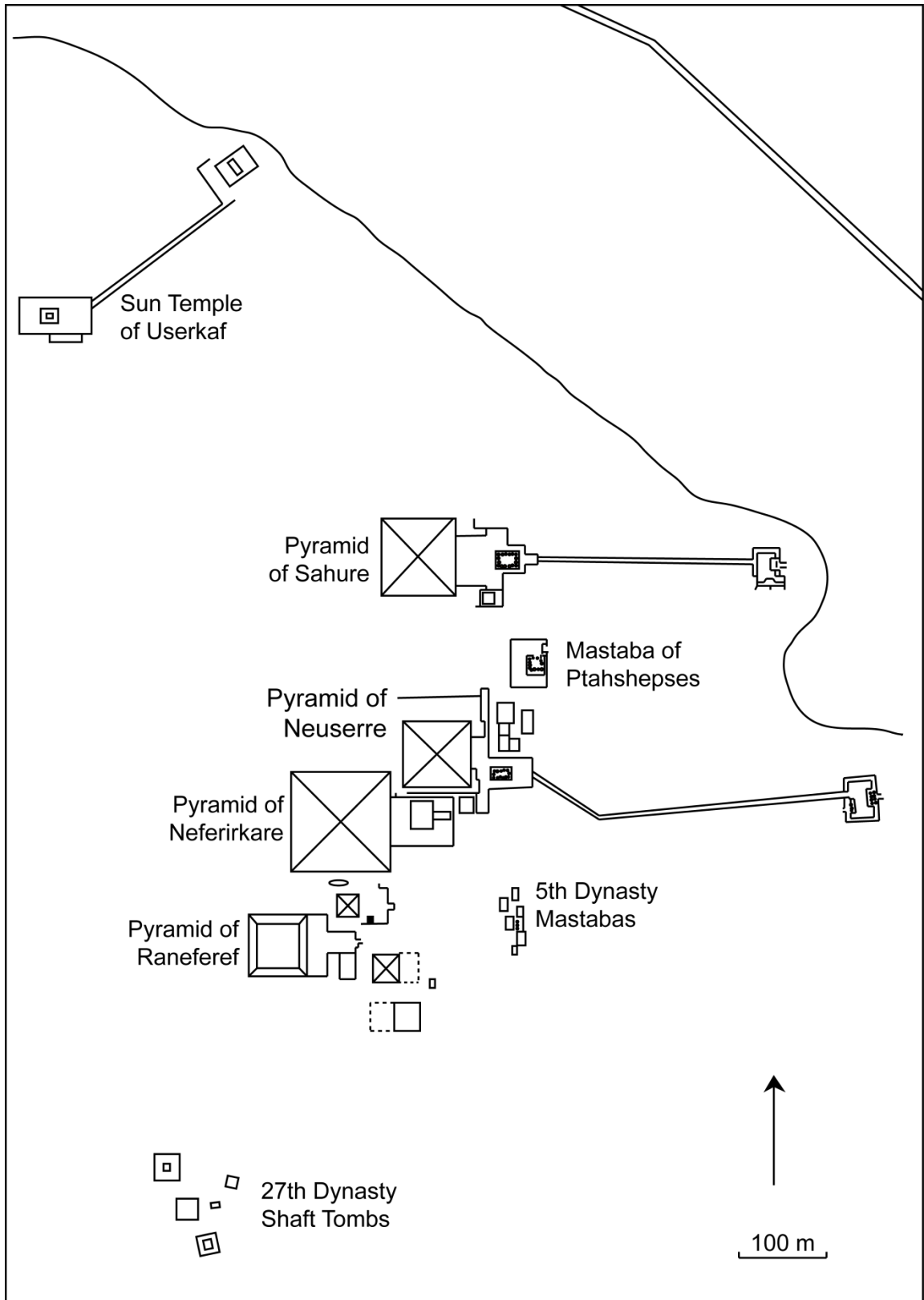
Figure 2.6. Map of Abusir. After Bareš 1999, fig. 1.

Phoenician graffiti on the tombs there, in both the Late Period shafts and in the Old

Kingdom pyramids. These graffiti probably made either by people involved in the

construction and provisioning of the shaft tombs, or by visitors to the necropolis seeking

inspiration and building materials for their own tombs.[64]

There is also a cemetery of purported fourth century date (if not earlier) near the

mortuary temple of Pharaoh Niuserre which has been interpreted as the burial ground of

the Greek community in Memphis, the so-called 'Hellenomemphites,' in large part

because the bodies there were naturally mummified rather than embalmed.[65] A papyrus

containing several columns of Timotheus' *Persians* was also found in one of the burials,

increasing the plausibility that Greek-speakers were interred there.[66] If the interpretation

of this cemetery is correct, it suggests that the foreign communities of Memphis had their

own burial grounds, which should not be surprising if they had their own residential

quarters in the city as well. That said, it is interesting that this Greek cemetery was

located in the immediate vicinity of these Old Kingdom pyramids, suggesting that

whatever distinctiveness from the Egyptians that the Hellenomemphites may have felt,

they were nevertheless drawn to some of the same sources of charismatic authority as the

Egyptians were.[67]

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[64] Dušek and Mynářová 2013. There is also a single abnormal hieratic graffito in the pyramid temple of Sahure, dating to the fifth year of Amasis (Möller 1936, 8, pl. 2).
[65] Watzinger 1905; Smoláriková 2000.
[66] P. Berlin 9865; van Minnen 1997. The papyrus has been assigned a fourth century date on paleographic grounds.
[67] In reference to this it is interesting to note that a handful of funerary stelae without known provenance have been attributed to the Hellenomemphite community on the basis of their Greek inscriptions (Gallo and Masson 1993). If this attribution is correct, it is likely they were originally erected at this cemetery at Abusir. These stelae exhibit a combination of Greek and Egyptian visual references in their relief decorations, including representation of the Greek practice of laying out the body (*prothesis*), and scenes of making offerings before Osiris.

The Landscape of Late Period Memphis

The reconstruction of the greater Memphis area presented here indicates the extent and character of the city and its necropoleis during the Late Period. For the purposes of studying the period of Achaemenid rule more particularly, it is important for two reasons especially. First, it demonstrates the potential range of structures and institutions that potentially were part of the 27th Dynasty urban landscape. Those features definitely known from either earlier or later periods, such as the temple of Ptah, very probably existed in the 27th Dynasty as well. Other features, such as the graves found near the Anubieion or near the pyramids of Djoser and Unas, cannot be dated precisely, and thus could as likely belong to the Persian period as to the Saite period or the fourth century. The tendency of scholars to fixate on the era in which a given building or residential quarter was first constructed or attested obscures the real likelihood that many of them endured across multiple time periods.

Second, even before the advent of Achaemenid rule Memphis was clearly a large and important city, home to some major political and cultural institutions, such as the Palace of Apries and the Serapeum. It was in essence a repository of Egyptian cultural memory. But it was also already a cosmopolis, home to many foreign populations and connected to many places outside of Egypt through social, military and economic ties of various kinds. The integration of Egypt into the Achaemenid Empire created new connections. Some, such as the garrisoning of soldiers in Memphis, directly served imperial purposes; others were created as responses to or results of that imperialism. In both cases the creation and maintenance of these connections had material consequences,

some of which remain visible today in the archaeological and textual records derived from Memphis. The rest of this chapter attempts to identify those connections based on the available evidence. This provides a means of gauging both the nature of Achaemenid rule in Egypt, namely by considering how the Persians engaged with the Egyptians and their various institutions, and the impact of that imperialism, namely by showing how certain Egyptians (including residents of foreign extraction) engaged with the empire.

The Palace of Apries

In seeking an imperial presence at Memphis, the first place to look is the so-called Palace of Apries (**Fig. 2.2**). It is widely believed that the palace served as the seat of the satrap of Egypt, and there is indeed some archaeological evidence to support this view. Petrie reported finding several objects indicating 27th Dynasty usage. These include a sculptural fragment of a cartouche, which (although bearing no carved text) preserves the beginning of Cambyses' name in paint, a fragment of limestone with an Aramaic graffito reading "on the first of Ab, year 2 of Artaxerxes," fourteen bilingual wooden tags with Aramaic notations on one side and demotic on the other, forty-seven bullae bearing impressions of seals (a good number of which clearly resonate with Achaemenid glyptic) and military equipment in the form of bronze and iron scale armor, and some arrowheads.[68] All this material bespeaks an Achaemenid imperial presence in the palace and raises interesting issues.

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[68] Petrie 1909b, 11-12; Petrie et al. 1910, 41-2. The graffito is republished as TADAE D12.2; see also Lemaire 1987, 52-5; Petrie 1909b, 12-13 and pl. 13.

The cartouche, which Petrie identifies as having once been part of a statue, might just as well have been a fragment of the palace's furnishings. Either way, it is notable given the relative rarity of occurrences of Cambyses' name in Egypt. It may be that despite Cambyses' only brief tenure in Egypt the palace underwent some redecoration in order to properly recognize the current pharaoh during his reign. The Aramaic graffito consists of two identical texts, one roughly incised and the other written in ink.[69] According to Petrie the incised text is a copy of the ink one, though he provides no explanation for this judgment.[70] It might have been made by a craftsman during repair work or renovation done to the palace during the course of the fifth century. However, it is also possible that it represents some form of scribal practice. A. E. Cowley remarks that "the inked writing does not seem to have been done by a person who was really familiar with the character. It looks as if he had tried to imitate the writing of a document dated in the reign of Artaxerxes II."[71] This date (August 19, 403 BCE) is supported by the graffito's paleography.[72] The implication of Cowley's assessment is that someone unfamiliar with Aramaic was attempting to learn how to reproduce date formulas. If so we may have evidence for an Egyptian scribe (or indeed any non-native Aramaic speaker) receiving training as part of working for the satrapal administration in the Palace of Apries. The limestone fragment also features incised doodles of an ibis and a boat, further suggesting the idea that it was a practice writing surface of some kind.[73]

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[69] Petrie provides no description of its physical character, making it difficult to speculate as its original context.

[70] Petrie 1909b, 12.

[71] In Petrie 1909b, 12-13.

[72] Lemaire 1987, 54.

[73] See photograph in Lemaire 1987, pl. 3.

The other objects found in the palace attest to two important aspects of Achaemenid rule at Memphis, namely the empire's military presence in the city, and the nature of the imperial administration there. These aspects are both examined in detail below.

Military Presence

The scale armor was discovered in a back room of the palace (on the east side of New Broadway), and the metal arrowheads by the moat at the front of the palace. Petrie attributed the scale armor (**Fig. 2.7**) to the Achaemenids on the basis of a passage in Herodotus (7.61.1) describing the Persians in Xerxes' army as wearing armor 'looking like the scales of a fish.' This description cannot, however, be taken at face value. Elsewhere Herodotus seems to contradict himself, stating in one passage that Persian infantry wore no armor (9.62.3, 9.63.2), and in another that they wore the 'Egyptian cuirass' (1.135.1), probably made of linen, in battle.[74] Despite the inconsistencies of his testimony on this matter, Herodotus' characterization of Persian scale armor at 7.61.1 does find reinforcement from the Achaemenid heartland. Similar scale armor to that recovered from Memphis (specifically the metal scales themselves) has been found at Pasargadae and Persepolis. Although this armor is somewhat generic, it definitely does not reflect the traditional Egyptian or Greek panoplies.[75] Thus its appearance at the Palace of Apries most likely reflects the presence of soldiers equipped with gear linked to Achaemenid imperial usage. The arrowheads (**Fig. 2.8**) are typologically more varied, but

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[74] See discussion in Charles 2012.
[75] Published in Stronach 1978, 181; Muscarella 1988, 212; Schmidt 1957, 100; see further De Backer 2012.
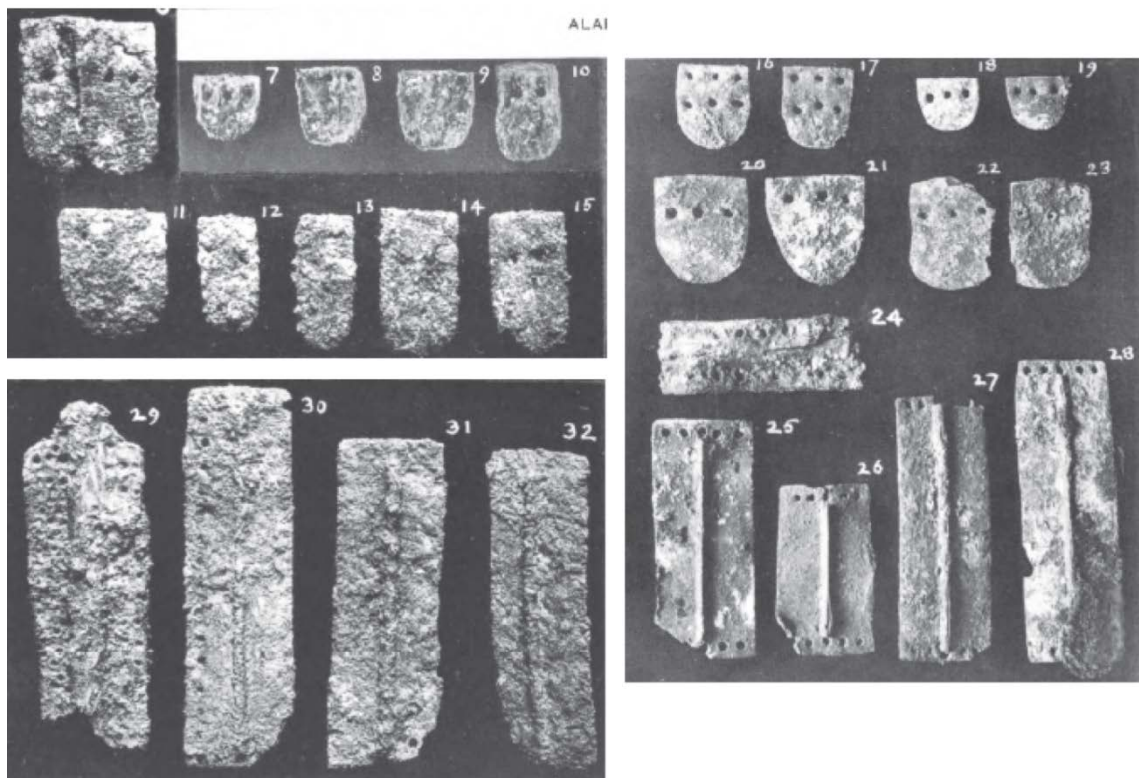
Figure 2.7. Bronze and iron armor scales from the Palace of Apries, Memphis. From Petrie 1909b, pl. 16.

among them are several trilobate examples which again have close parallels in finds from

Pasargadae and Persepolis, as well as from the Persian period cemetery at Deve Hüyük in

Syria.[76] This evidence suggests that trilobate arrowheads were the standard equipment for

bowmen in the Achaemenid imperial forces.

We cannot be certain of the ethnic origins of those who wore this armor or used

these arrows found in Memphis. But Herodotus' description of Xerxes' army suggests

that there was considerable variation in equipment among the contingents from different

parts of the empire. The representations of gift-bearers from the subject lands of the

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[76] Petrie et al. 1910, 41; picture in Knobel et al. 1911, pl. 20. For the arrowheads from Pasargadae, Persepolis and Deve Hüyük see Stronach 1978, 180-1; Muscarella 1988, 212-13; Schmidt 1957, 99; Moorey 1980, 64-6.
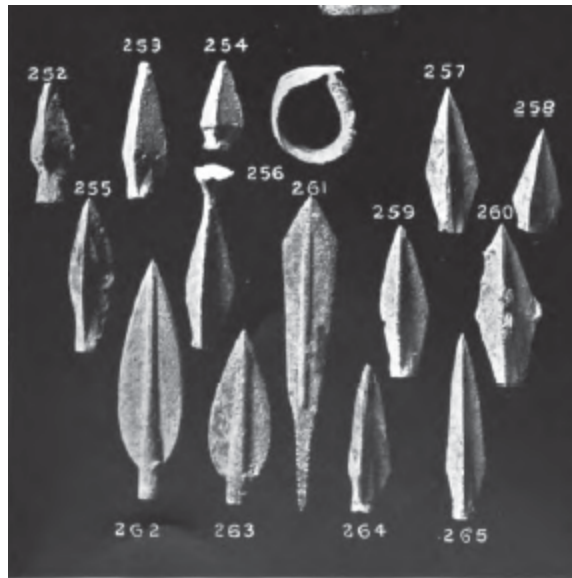
Figure 2.8. Arrowheads from the Palace of Apries, Memphis. From Knobel et al. 1911, pl. 20.

empire depicted on the facades of the Apadana at Persepolis show men dressed in

distinctive garments and bearing a variety of weapons (shields, swords, daggers, spears,

bows, and battle-axes). To the extent that they reflect actual military accoutrements of

distinct peoples of the empire, these reliefs reaffirm Herodotus.[77] As discussed above

Petrie identified the large enclosure to the southeast of the palace as a military camp

(admittedly on textual rather than archaeological grounds). If this identification is correct

it stands to reason this was where the garrison was stationed.

The palace itself may have doubled as a fortress. Its architecture resembles that of

Achaemenid period forts from other parts of the empire, such as at Ashdod in Palestine.[78]

This is not to suggest that the palace was actually constructed as a fort by the Persians,

though it is possible there were renovations to that effect made in the fifth century. But

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[77] Schmidt 1953, 85-90; 1970, 145-58. None of the delegate groups is shown wearing (or carrying) scale armor. These reliefs are metaphorical rather than literal representations of subject peoples, but their metaphorical meaning derives in part from highlighting the distinctiveness of each delegation. The different weapons carried by the delegations seem to serve this purpose. See discussion in Root 2011b, 433-40.
[78] Tal 2005, 80-1.

according to Herodotus (2.154), Amasis had brought Greek mercenaries from the Nile

Delta to Memphis in order to protect him from his Egyptian enemies, and the palace

became a fortified garrison as a result, before the arrival of the Persians.[79] The evidence

presented here suggests that the palace continued to function as such under Achaemenid

rule, though the 'Tyrian camp' to the south of the temple of Ptah was potentially another

locus of military activity in Memphis.[80]

It may even be possible to gauge the size of this garrison. Herodotus (3.91.1), in

his list of the satrapies of the empire and the tribute paid by each, adds the detail that the

Egyptians provided 120,000 measures of grain for the support of the Memphis garrison.

In theory this should be a useful basis for a population estimate. Unfortunately, it is not

actually clear what unit of dry measure he is referring to in this passage. Previous

estimates of the size of this garrison have been suggested based on Herodotus' figure

using the Attic *medimnos*.[81] Another possibility, which has not been considered before, is

the *artaba*, a Persian measure introduced to Egypt in the 27th Dynasty (and retained in the

Ptolemaic and Roman periods).[82] This is an attractive alternative, because the Memphis

garrison's rations were most likely measured in *artabai*, and Herodotus' source for this

information probably reflected the use of this measure.

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[79] Smoláriková 2003.
[80] The name of the 'Tyrian camp' is probably a vestige of a Phoenician mercenary community originating in the Saite period (Kaplan 2003, 8-9). In Herodotus' day it may still have retained its military character, or it may have become an ordinary neighborhood (analogous to the present day Fort Greene neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York, which retains the name of a fort built during the American Revolution).
[81] Ray 1988, 269; Hignett 1963, 41 n. 5. Ray is not explicit about whether or not his calculations are based on the *medimnos*, but I can find no other logical basis for his estimate. Herodotus simply uses the word σῖτος in the genitive.
[82] Vleeming 1981a.

Two sizes of *artaba* are known from the Ptolemaic period: one consisting of 40

choinikes (hereinafter χ), and one consisting of 30 χ.[83] The 40 χ *artaba* is a modified,

half-sized version of the *ẖȝr*, an older Egyptian unit of dry measure, whereas the 30 χ

artaba derives from a Persian measure attested in both the Persepolis Fortification

Archive (Elamite *irtiba*) and in the Aramaic documents from Egypt (*’rdb*).[84] Presumably

the Persian administration in Memphis would have used this 30 χ *artaba*. The Attic

choinix is equal to 1.1-1.2 liters, making this *artaba* approximately 30 l. This amount is

supported by both the known quantities of the constituent parts of the *artaba* as specified

in the Persepolis Fortification Archive, and by two inscribed cosmetic jars from

Persepolis and Egypt respectively that are labeled with the amounts they hold.[85] Thus, if

the 120,000 measures of grain Herodotus refers to are in fact *artabai*, and if they are

artabai of 30 χ, the Memphis garrison received 3.6 million liters of grain per annum.

This figure can be used to determine the size of the garrison. According to

Herodotus (7.187.1) soldiers in Xerxes' army received 1 χ per day in grain, which is very

similar to the grain issued to workers in the Fortification Archive.[86] Based on this ration

the Memphis garrison consisted of no more than 9863 men, but this number should be

lowered to accommodate the higher amounts typically received by ranking officials as

wages. Assuming that one third of the garrison received on average double wages, the

entire troop presence would not have exceeded 7397 men.[87] The fodder necessary for

animals would also lower this calculation of the garrison's total human population, if

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[83] Depauw 1997, 166-7.
[84] Vittmann 2004, 137-8; Tavernier 2007, 449-50.
[85] Vleeming 1981a, 542-3; Schmidt 1957, 108-9; Ritner 1996.
[86] Tuplin 1997, 369; Koch 1983.
[87] See Kemp 2006, 176-9 for a useful discussion of Egyptian ration calculations. The assumption that one third of the garrison received double wages is a simplification based on a wage calculation problem in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus; in reality the wages would have scaled sharply, with the garrison commander drawing much more than anyone else.

their fodder was included in Herodotus' figure. Families, if present, were, however, probably not supported by official rations, and therefore do not affect the population estimate. Taking all of these factors into consideration, an estimate of some 7000 men in the garrison is reasonable.

A reference in the Aramaic papyri from Saqqara to the 'fields of the garrison' suggests that these soldiers might have been assigned plots of land through the yield of which they would have been expected to enhance their official food allocation, as was the case at Elephantine.[88] If so, it might be possible to suggest a higher figure. This, however, is unnecessary. Based on the model provided by the Persepolis Fortification Archive, the grain supplied to the members of the garrison at Memphis should be regarded as wages rather than rations; in essence they were paid only while on active duty. Otherwise they had usufruct of these fields, and presumably rented them out, using the proceeds to support their families and to improve their own social and economic standings within their communities.[89] This interpretation is supported by another Aramaic papyrus from Saqqara which indicates that the fields were taxed.[90] And, as is discussed further in Chapter Six, one of the primary means for the pharaoh to exploit the agricultural wealth of Egypt was to assign farmland to soldiers in lieu of issuing rations. The Great King utilized a similar such system in Babylonia, where land was categorized as 'bow land,' 'horse land' or 'chariot land' depending on what type of soldiers were farming it.[91]

The actual composition of this garrison was no doubt quite varied. Herodotus notes that the garrison was comprised of the Persians and their allies or auxiliaries

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[88] Segal 1983, no. 31; Wesselius 1984.
[89] See further discussion in Dusinberre 2013, 85-93.
[90] TADAE B8.10; Segal 1983, no. 16.
[91] Hdt. 2.168; see Fischer-Bovet 2013; Lloyd 1983, 309-10. For land tenure and taxation in Achaemenid Babylonia see Jursa 2009; 2011.

(ἐπίκουροι in Greek). A demotic letter found at Saqqara, dated on grounds of paleography and the addressee's seemingly Persian name to the fifth or fourth century BCE, is addressed to the 'chief of the army.'[92] This is probably a reference to the garrison commander rather than the overall commander of Persian military forces in Egypt, since this latter role was generally assumed by the satrap himself. Of course, the commander's Persian name does not mean the commander was Persian by birth, though it does suggest an affinity with the Persians. Another demotic papyrus from Saqqara (EES S.H5-DP 419), refers to a 'garrison commander' whose name, '*Ṯ̱ḥmtrpm*,' may be Persian.[93] Many of the soldiers stationed in Egypt were likely drawn from throughout the empire. Some may have been Phoenicians, as suggested by the name of the 'Tyrian camp' mentioned by Herodotus (2.112). And it is well known that the empire employed Jews as soldiers in Egypt, most notably in Elephantine but also in the Delta.[94] Foreign communities in Egypt had provided soldiers to the Saite pharaohs already before the Persian conquest, and it is clear that they continued to do so under Achaemenid rule.

One final object worth considering in the context of the military function of the Palace of Apries is the sling bullet discovered by Petrie inscribed with the name of Khababash in demotic.[95] Khababash is now generally understood to have led a partially successful revolt against Achaemenid rule during the Second Persian Period.[96] Sling bullets inscribed in Greek, which are more common and better known than Egyptian examples, usually feature an exclamation such as 'victory' or 'take that,' or the name of

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[92] EES S.H5-DP 269 + 284; Smith and Kuhrt 1982; see Schmitt 1985 and Tavernier 2007, 253 for the name: 'Šytrḫ3.'
[93] Smith and Martin 2009, 49-51.
[94] Overview in Kaplan 2003, 7-8.
[95] Petrie 1909b, 11.
[96] Burstein 2000.

the ruler or city who provided the bullet.[97] So while very little is known about the circumstances, events, or extent of his revolt, this bullet raises the intriguing possibility that the palace was assaulted by Khababash's forces. If the palace served the same functions during the Second Persian Period as it had in the fifth century, it is not surprising that Khababash attacked this locus of pharaonic authority and military might. It is worth noting as well that there were several coups and deposition of rulers during the tumultuous years of the fourth century in Egypt, and Khababash's revolt, though aimed at Achaemenid rule, fits this pattern of political instability. So his attack on the Palace of Apries would have been inspired at least as much by its association with generic pharaonic power as with any manifestation of Achaemenid imperial authority.

Administration

The evidence from the Palace of Apries for the imperial administration in Memphis consists of clay sealings and wooden tags. According to Petrie all fourteen of the tags and thirty-nine of the sealings constituted "the sweepings of an office that had existed in the upper part of the building," implying that they had all been found together in a secondary context.[98] Both the tags and the sealings were transported to the Ashmolean Museum and subsequently lost during the Second World War, with the result that they now only exist in the form of Petrie's initial publication of them.[99]

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[97] Guarducci 1969, 516-24.
[98] Petrie et al. 1910, 41.
[99] In Petrie et al. 1910, 41-4. Two of the tags, Petrie's C and H, remained in Cairo, but their whereabouts are currently unknown. One sealing from the palace, MPS 46, is currently in the collection of the Petrie Museum at University College, London (with the accession number UC 58385).

The tags (**Fig. 2.9**) consist of thin strips of wood that taper at one end and have holes for tying them to other things. The largest of them are approximately 7 cm in length and 3 cm across, but there is little uniformity among them in terms of size and shape. Each has an inscription written in black ink, with demotic on one side and Aramaic on the other. The inscriptions are very poorly preserved, to the point that most of them are illegible in the published photographs, but on the basis of their lengths it seems that each contains the same information in both languages. They appear to contain dates (some names of months can be read), and on the Aramaic sides of tags A and C there appears to be the word for 'beans.' In the demotic on C and F Vittmann reads the Egyptian names 'Tremenese' and 'Tefnakhte.'[100]

Given their poor preservation it is difficult to make much of these tags. They bear some physical resemblance to mummy labels, the small wooden dockets containing the name and parentage of a deceased individual, and in some cases information about where the body was to be shipped or a religious formula.[101] Demotic (and Greek) mummy labels are well known in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and a few Aramaic ones, both wooden and ceramic, have been found at Elephantine and Saqqara respectively.[102] The use of wooden tags, however, was not limited exclusively to mummies. They were also used to label other items and as a medium for writing accounts and receipts, especially

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[100] Vittmann 2009, 106.

[101] For mummy labels see Quaegebeur 1978.

[102] Elephantine: Lozachmeur 2006, nos. E1-5; Saqqara: TADAE D17.1-5; Porten and Gee 2001, 270-1. Three more wooden Aramaic labels, all ostensibly from Saqqara, were published in Bresciani (1958). Their authenticity was called into question by Naveh (1968), who noted that the handwriting on these labels was the same as that on several other inscribed objects which show certain linguistic and calendrical peculiarities. Thus he argued that all of them were the work of a single forger. Though the possibility that these objects are modern forgeries should not be ruled out, in order for the peculiarities singled out by Naveh to be proof of this it is necessary to assume that Aramaic scribal practices were uniform and consistent, an assumption which cannot be made uncritically. One other wooden label with an Aramaic text, TADAE D17.6 (Cairo JE 63379), is known, but it is without provenance and contains only the Egyptian patronym 'son of Ṣeḥa.'

Figure 2.9. Wooden tags from the Palace of Apries, Memphis, with Aramaic and demotic inscriptions. From Petrie et al. 1910, pl. 34.

during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.[103] Though it is possible the tags from the

Palace of Apries are mummy labels, it is far more likely that they were administrative

documents instead, especially if the reading of the Aramaic word for 'beans' is correct.[104]

The clay Aramaic tablets in the Persepolis Fortification Archive (similarly written in ink)

exhibit a comparable terseness, often featuring only a date or a single word.[105]

In the Achaemenid Empire Aramaic served as a means of communication

between regions where different languages were in use, including Egypt. This is usefully

illustrated by the letters of Arshama, the satrap of Egypt in the second half of the fifth

century.[106] These parchment letters, now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, are

unprovenanced, but they were purchased as a lot along with the leather sack holding them

and sealed clay bullae clearly part of the assemblage. It can be deduced from their content

that the letters were written at a time when Arshama was absent from Egypt. In them he

communicates with his subordinates in Egypt on a variety of topics, including the

management of his own estates in Egypt, the restoration of land grants following an

insurrection, and troop discipline. One of them, TADAE A6.9, is a document authorizing

his subordinate Nehtihor to draw rations on a trip from somewhere in Mesopotamia or

Iran to Egypt. All of these letters are written in Aramaic, and the implication is that in

Egypt, as well as along the road through northern Mesopotamia and the Levant, there

were individuals capable of reading this language.

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[103] Worp 2012.
[104] Vittmann 2003, 145 suggests a link with the office of the *senti*, a ranking economic official. It is difficult to conceive of a reason why mummy labels would be purposefully kept at the palace.
[105] Azzoni and Dusinberre, forthcoming.
[106] The Arshama correspondence was first published by Driver 1957; they have subsequently been republished in new editions as TADAE A6.3-13, D6.3-14 and in Tuplin and Ma 2013. See also the papers in Ma and Tuplin, forthcoming, and the important discussion of their physical characteristics by Allen 2013.

The use of Aramaic on the wooden tags suggests this was also true of the Palace of Apries. Furthermore, the combination of Aramaic and demotic shows that these tags were meant to be intelligible in both local Egyptian and in larger Achaemenid imperial contexts. This reinforces the impression that Achaemenid administration in Egypt was bilingual in nature, a view supported by parallel cases from elsewhere in the empire. For example, both Aramaic and Elamite were used at Persepolis on the tablets of the Fortification Archive; indeed, many of the Elamite tablets (inscribed in cuneiform with a stylus) feature Aramaic glosses written in ink.

This bilingual character is evident in the sealings as well. Petrie found thirty-nine of these sealings (MPS 1-39) in the same context as the wooden tags discussed above, and five more (MPS 42, 46, 47, 50 and A1) in other contexts in the course of excavating the palace (**Figs. 2.10-12**).[107] According to his report the backs of MPS 1-39 indicated they were from 'parcels' rather than papyri. Presumably this means that the reverses bore impressions of strings, but not the crosshatching characteristic of papyri. Unfortunately, Petrie published no photographs of their reverses to enable reassessment of his determination. It is important to note that here that MPS 46 (the sole surviving bulla, now in the Petrie Museum at University College, London) clearly was once affixed to a papyrus. Whether the entire assemblage of Memphis sealings were once attached to parcels or documents, or a mix of both, they are remnants of an administrative operation.

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[107] For the sake of clarity and ease of reference I retain Petrie's numbering, designated with the siglum 'MPS' (for 'Memphis palace seal'). Technically these numbers refer not to the sealings themselves but to the seals that made the impressions, since in the case of MPS 39 Petrie published multiple impressions under a single number. The numbering is discontinuous because Petrie included other sealings not explicitly from the palace in his publication, and MPS A1 is so labeled because it was published separately from the others, in Petrie 1909b, pl. 15.
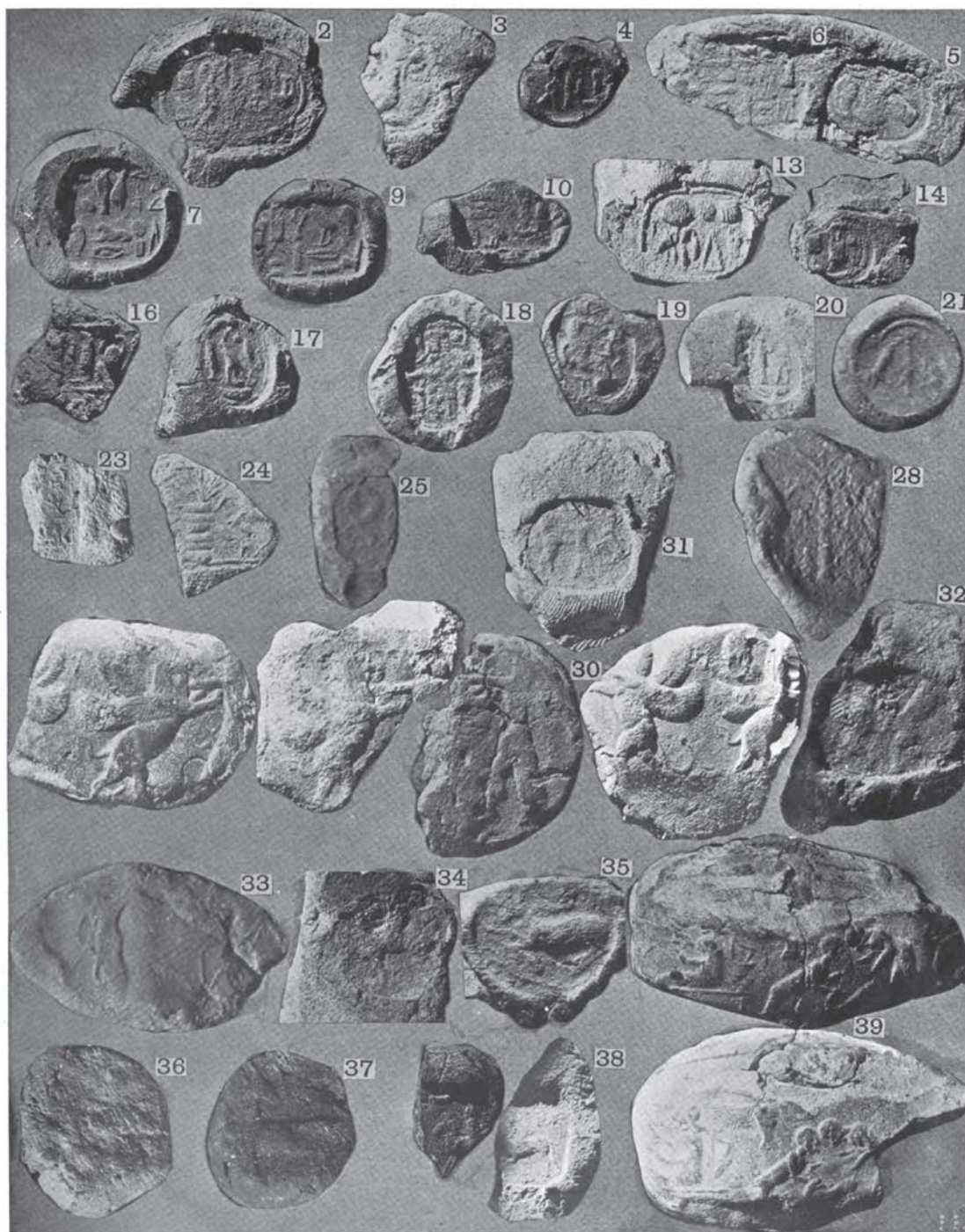
Figure 2.10. Bullae from the Palace of Apries, Memphis, featuring seal impressions. From Petrie et al. 1910, pl. 35.

Figure 2.11. Drawings of seal impressions as preserved on the bullae from the Palace of Apries, Memphis. From Petrie et al. 1910, pl. 36.

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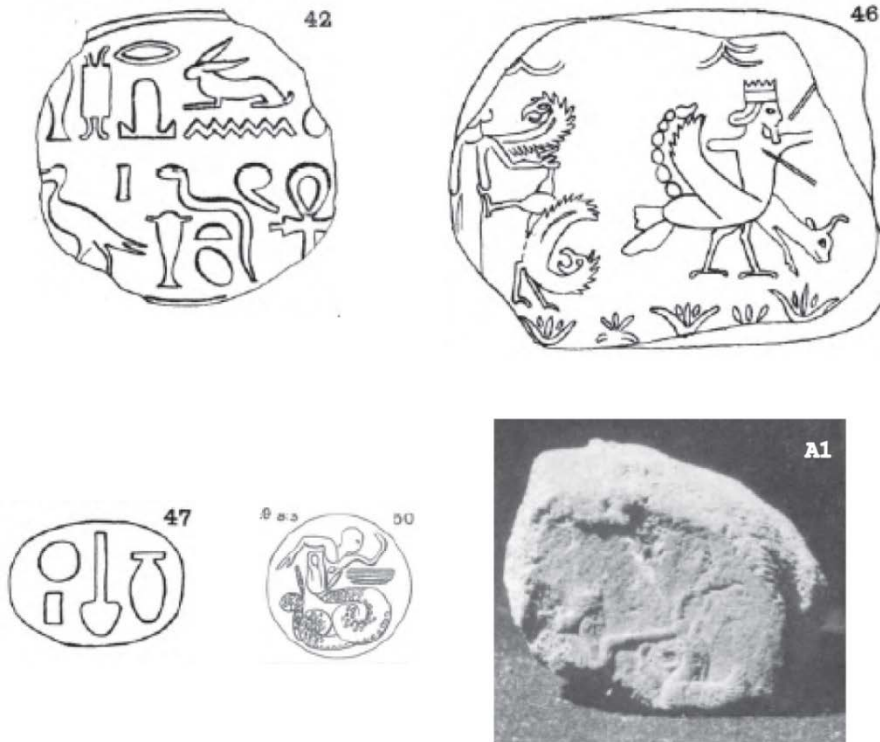
Figure 2.12. Further sealings from the Palace of Apries, Memphis. MPS 50 and MPS A1 are both shown at 200% of their original size. From Petrie et al. 1910, pl. 37, and Petrie 1909b, pl. 15.

To assess what role these sealings played in the administration of the satrapy it is important to characterize how sealed bullae within the social and administrative traditions of Egypt broadly. In Egypt sealings were normally attached to five different categories of object: bags, boxes, papyri, pegs (i.e., as part of a door), and jars; they were also sometimes not attached to anything (these are sometimes called 'noduli').[108] Papyrus documents of all kinds were normally folded, trussed with string upon which clay was superimposed to form the bullae, which was then impressed with a seal.[109] These sealings served two general purposes. First, as with sealing on clay tablets, they certified that

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[108] Foster 2001.

[109] See Porten 1980 for Aramaic papyri, and the comprehensive study by Vandorpe 1996 for sealing practices in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, which are much better understood than those of earlier times.

those people who sealed the document were present for the transaction or agreement it recorded; this especially applies to contracts and receipts.[110] Second, as with the clay 'envelopes' sometimes used to encase Mesopotamian cuneiform tablets, the act of sealing prevented tampering with documents by ensuring that no one accessed the text directly once it had been written. The reason for sealing of bags, boxes, jars and pegs is much less straightforward, and there is significant disagreement amongst Egyptologists on this matter. It is frequently argued that such sealings controlled access to the contents of specific rooms and containers.[111] In other words, only individuals of certain ranks had the authority to break certain sealings. It has also been suggested that sealings served an accounting function. For instance, when they were removed from a container or door they may have been stored and then counted in order to keep track of how much of a given commodity was used in a given period and by whom.[112] These approaches are not mutually exclusive, and in either case it is likely that sealings were retained after their removal for the purposes of record keeping. Finally, noduli may have served as tokens of some kind, which permitted the bearer access to certain places or which were redeemable for certain goods.

When the Persians entered Egypt, they thus encountered a longstanding legacy of seal usage. At the same time, they brought with them their own traditions of sealing, built upon millennia of development within greater Mesopotamia and Elam. Seals and sealing were clearly of great importance in the administration of the entire Achaemenid Empire. This is best seen at Persepolis in the tablets from the Fortification Archive, as well as in

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[110] The impression of a seal on a document does not guarantee its owner's physical presence in every instance, but it is at minimum symbolic of that presence. See discussion in Root 2008 (with specific reference to the Persepolis Fortification Archive).

[111] E.g., Wegner 2001; von Pilgrim 2001.

[112] Weingarten 1990, 77-83; Smith 2001.

other archives and corpora of sealings from elsewhere in the empire.[113] In the

Fortification Archive approximately 86% of the Elamite tablets are sealed, as are nearly

all of the Aramaic and uninscribed documents. The purpose of sealing varied depending

on the administrative context. In the case of 'Q texts,' for example, which recorded the

issuance of travel rations, the seals of the supplier and the recipient of the goods were

normally impressed on the tablet, certifying that both were present for the transaction. In

'T texts,' which are letters containing instructions to subordinates, the person issuing the

orders sealed the document to authenticate the instructions being given. Given the

eschewal of fingernails and other seal surrogates, it seems that most participants in the

administration apparatus from which the Fortification Archive resulted needed to have

seals. A similar pattern of sealing is discernible in the bullae from Dascylium in

Hellespontine Phrygia, the site of a satrapal court.[114] Most of the over 400 bullae were

attached to papyri, though some appear to have been affixed to parchment instead,

indicating in both cases their use for sealing documents rather than containers or doors. In

this respect their function was likely comparable to that of sealing tablets at Persepolis.

It is worth mentioning as well that the parchment letters in the Arshama

correspondence were contained in a leather bag along with eight bullae, of which seven

bear an impression of the inscribed cylinder seal of Arshama himself.[115] This seal is now

known to have been an heirloom when Arshama the satrap used it in the fifth century. It

was originally commissioned and used by his eponymous grandfather, the son of Darius

the Great and his royal wife Irtashduna (Artystone in Herodotus), and it appears on

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[113] For sealing protocols at Persepolis see Root 2008; Garrison, forthcoming a.

[114] Kaptan 2002.

[115] Driver 1957, 3-4; Allen 2013. A photograph of the impression of the seal of Arshama is published in Boardman 2000, pl. 5.21; the seal will be published in full by Garrison, forthcoming b.

Persepolis Fortification tablets, which date to between 509 and 493 BCE.[116] Memphis is not explicitly mentioned in the extant Arshama letters. But during his long tenure as satrap Arshama must have sent similar letters on parchment to his subordinates in Memphis, and he would have sealed them to certify his authority. It is only a matter of chance that Petrie did not recover a bulla preserving an impression of Arshama's seal from the palace. The other bulla in the bag bears the impression of a stamp seal with a linear design that is poorly preserved and thus difficult to interpret.[117] Further study is required to understand how the combination of bullae and parchment letters (some of which appear not to have opened in antiquity) in this bag requires further study fit into the larger administrative apparatus of Achaemenid Egypt.[118] But it may be that this bag and its contents, including the bullae, were being archived as part of the normal course of imperial business. The sealings from the Palace of Apries were likely retained for filing in a similar manner.

Petrie's characterization of most of the sealings as being from parcels suggests that they were once attached to bags or boxes. Jars or pegs or would have resulted in more distinctive and unusual shapes, on which Petrie would have likely commented. One would also like to think that he would have recognized the imprint of papyrus (though he apparently missed it on MPS 46). If we accept Petrie's assessment at face value, we need to consider what these sealings of parcels were doing in the palace. One distinct possibility is that these sealings, especially MPS 1-39, all from a single context, were associated with the movement of commodities into the palace, or access to them within

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[116] Garrison, forthcoming b.
[117] Kaptan, forthcoming.
[118] Allen 2013.

the palace. The sealings were then retained in order to be tallied or otherwise documented.

Another possibility, and a more likely one, is that some, if not all, of the sealings were indeed attached to documents. But they were attached to parchment documents like the Arshama correspondence, not to papyri. Bullae affixed to parchment would retain a similar imprint as a leather bag or 'parcel' as Petrie put it. This very plausible option would attest to imperial communication at the highest level between authorities in Egypt and those elsewhere in the empire, including the royal courts in the Achaemenid heartland. Hides for production of parchment are referenced on Persepolis texts (PF 58-77), and it is clear that some of the tablets in the Fortification archive must have been attached by string to longer documents written in Aramaic on parchment rolls. The mix of parchment and papyrus documents attested at Dascylium through the evidence of the reverses of the bullae in that archive demonstrates, moreover, that the co-existence of parchment documents, endemic to western Asia, and papyrus ones, as per Egyptian scribal traditions, is to be expected in Achaemenid Memphis.

Whether from containers or letters (or a mix of both), the sealed bullae from the Palace of Apries are the product of an imperial bureaucracy. That the Great King remained in regular contact with officials throughout is made abundantly clear by the frequent references in the Persepolis Fortification Archive to people going to and coming from the king, often bearing sealed documents, and the empire's road infrastructure was undoubtedly designed to facilitate this communication.[119] The provisioning of the satrapal headquarters was necessarily another important imperial activity. In this connection it is interesting to note that the sealed bullae found in the Persepolis Treasury

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[119] Colburn 2013.

also appear to have been originally affixed to parchment or papyrus documents.[120] Many of the clay tablets from the Treasury refer to the disbursement of rations and wages, and it is not difficult to conceive of the Memphis bullae operating in some comparable manner. In this imperial bureaucracy seals served as proxies for individuals who were personally responsible for overseeing and directing operations at all levels, from provisioning up to making policy. In many instances they also served as proxies for individuals who were witnesses to and participants in the recorded transactions and agreements.

What information can be gleaned from the Memphis bullae is summarized below in **Table 2.1**. It must be emphasized at the outset that Petrie published only extremely poor photos of some of them, and only sketchy line drawings of others. These images are now the only means of studying the seals that produced these impressions. The meager documentation makes commentary on the visual content of these sealings very difficult, and commentary on their styles of carving next to impossible. Nevertheless, they provide an invaluable window onto the social environment of the satrapal administration based at the palace. This environment was one in which traditional Egyptian glyptic types coexisted alongside the broader complement of western Asiatic glyptic types that blossomed under the aegis of Achaemenid rule, creating an expansive array of motifs and styles carved on both stamp and cylinder seals.

The numbering, which is retained from Petrie, refers to seals rather than individual impressions, since Petrie gave MPS 39 a single number but noted it was

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[120] Cameron 1948, 26-9. The bullae are published in Schmidt 1957, 5-7, with pls. 2, 4-14 (where they are called 'labels'). The tablets recovered from the Treasury date to the period 492-458 BCE. The bullae must date to this period as well, since many of the seals impressed on the tablets appear were used on the bullae too.

impressed multiple times on a single bulla. In many cases the edges of an image are not

preserved in the impression, meaning it is sometimes impossible to be sure what type of

seal (stamp or cylinder) created the impression. Scarabs, although technically a type of

stamp seal, are identified separately here because of their distinctive shape and special

significance in Egyptian thought. The translations of the inscriptions are taken from

Petrie's publication, except where noted.

Table 2.1 – Sealings from Memphis			
MPS No.	*Type*	*Description of Image*	*Inscription*
1	Scarab	Cartouche	'Sety' (= Sety I)
2[121]	Scarab	Hieroglyphic inscription	'Ptah protect Heremheb'
3	Scarab	kneeling figure (?)[122]	'Men-kheper-ra' (= Necho I?)
4	Uncertain	Hieroglyphic inscription	'the health of Apries'
5	Scarab	Cartouche	'Apries'
6[123]	Uncertain	Hieroglyphic inscription	'Pedu-neit-nebt-Senu,' plus a reference to Thoth
7	Uncertain	Hieroglyphic inscription	'the servant of Bast, Hezer-suten-apt,' son of Tahuti ar maat
8	Uncertain	Hieroglyphic inscription	'prophet of Hapi, Thoth, and Khnumu, Pen-Amen'
9	Uncertain	Hieroglyphic inscription	'Neit protect Uza-ran-her-desher'
10	Uncertain	Hieroglyphic inscription	'Zed-bast-auf'
11	Scarab	Hieroglyphic inscription	'Ptah protect Pedu'
12	Uncertain	Hieroglyphic inscription	'Neith protect Hor-kkebt'
13	Scarab	Hieroglyphic inscription	'Ra-mes son of Pedu'
14	Scarab	Hieroglyphic inscription	'Pedu-neit'
15	Uncertain	Aramaic inscription (?)	Too poorly preserved for a reading
16	Uncertain	Hieroglyphic inscription	'Maat-kheper' (probably part of a throne name of Ramesses X)[124]

[121] The impressions of MPS 1 and 2 are on the same bulla.
[122] This is Petrie's description, but no such figure is visible in his images of the sealing.
[123] The impressions of MPS 5 and 6 are on the same bulla.
[124] Von Beckerath 1999, 174-5.

17	Scarab	Hieroglyphic inscription	'servant of Horus'
18	Scarab	Hieroglyphic inscription	Too poorly preserved for a reading
19	Scarab	Thoth seated with another figure, possibly an ape	None
20	Scarab	King before Ptah	None
21	Stamp	Figural hieroglyphic inscription	'Aahmes' (i.e. Amasis)
22	Cylinder	Creature, Old Persian cuneiform inscription in panel[125]	'Darius' (SD^{2}a)
23	Cylinder	Old Persian (?) cuneiform inscription in panel[126]	Too poorly preserved for a reading
24	Cylinder	Palm tree, rampant creature	None
25	Stamp	Rampant human headed winged creature grasped by the tail by another figure	None
26	Uncertain	Rampant griffin	None
27	Uncertain	Hero grasps two rampant griffins by the neck	None
28	Uncertain	Palm tree; two rampant bird headed creatures	None
29	Uncertain	Hero grasps two creatures (lions?) by the tail; cuneiform in right terminal field	Too poorly preserved for a reading
30	Uncertain	Hero grasps two winged lion creatures by the neck	None
31	Stamp	Hero grasps two creatures (lions) by the neck	None
32	Stamp	Combat between two winged lion creatures	None
33	Uncertain	Hero and a bird (or two) perched on a lotus	None
34	Stamp	Griffin moves to left but looks back to right	None
35	Stamp	Stag	None
36	Uncertain	Bull with rider (?)	None
37	Uncertain	Goat moves to left but looks back to right (?)	None
38	Stamp	Rider with crescent moon and star in upper terminal fields	None
39[127]	Cylinder	Two male figures stand over	None

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[125] For the inscription see Schmitt 1981, 33-4, who dates it to the reign of Darius II.

[126] According to Petrie, the inscription is the same as on MPS 22, and it may be that MPS 23 is the same seal as 22. It is also possible that two different seals had similar (or even identical) inscriptions. Duplicate seals do occur in the Persepolis Fortification Archive (e.g., PFS 66*a-b-c; Root 2008, 110).

		goat; in right terminal field is seated male figure holding whip (or stemmed cup) and flail with bow and quiver of arrows behind him; winged disc (?) in upper terminal field	
42[128]	Stamp	Hieroglyphic inscription	'servant of Neit, Er-shenu-un-nofer son of Zed-bast-u-ankh'
46[129]	Cylinder	Human headed bird creature with scorpion's tail and additional bull head and foreleg drawing a bow; winged hero (?) grasps a griffin by the hind leg; lotus border	None
47	Uncertain	Hieroglyphic inscription	'Ra-nefer-ab' (Psammetichus II)
50[130]	Stamp	Man emerging from a snake or dragon	None
A1[131]	Stamp (?)	Hero grasps winged bird headed creature	None

These seals exhibit a variety of formal features, some of which are clearly intelligible in an Egyptian cultural context. At least eleven of them appear to be scarabs (or scaraboids), on the basis of the ovoid shapes of the contours of their impressions. The scarab, specifically a stamp seal in the shape of a scarab beetle, had a long history of use in Egypt, in large part because of the symbolic importance of the scarab beetle within an Egyptian religious context.[132] Two of these scarabs also feature images of Egyptian gods: Ptah, the chief god of Memphis (MPS 20), and Thoth, god of wisdom to whom the ibis and the baboon, two of the animals entombed at Saqqara, were sacred. Twenty of the

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[127] This seal was impressed four times on three different bullae; Petrie published a single photograph of one of these impressions, and a line drawing that appears to include features from all four impressions.
[128] The impression of this seal was "found loose in the palace;" a photo is published in Knobel et al. 1911, pl. 20 no. 268.
[129] The impression of this seal was "found about the palace."
[130] This seal was impressed four times on the back of a pottery stamp bearing a cartouche of Amasis.
[131] Published in Petrie 1909b, 12 and pl. 15; the publication implies (but does not state explicitly) that it was found on the east side of the palace in one of the three rectangular chambers separated from the Great Court by New Broadway.
[132] Ward 1994.

seals feature hieroglyphic inscriptions, many of which are personal names (sometimes as part of an invocation of a god, such as MPS 11: "Ptah protect Pedu"). Five of these inscriptions name pharaohs: MPS 1 (Sety I), MPS 4 and MPS 5 (Apries), MPS 16 (Ramesses X), MPS 21 (Amasis), MPS 47 (Psammetichus II). Additionally, MPS 3 names Necho I, who, while not pharaoh, was the father of Psammetichus I and the local ruler of Sais. It is quite probable that these seals were antiques, manufactured during the reigns of the rulers they name. They may have been handed down over generations as heirlooms, though this is less likely for MPS 1 and MPS 16, which name New Kingdom pharaohs and are therefore removed from the 27th Dynasty by at least six centuries; probably these two were plundered from tombs and subsequently used as seals.[133] It is also worth considering that when a pharaoh died he became a god, and thus objects, including scarabs, naming pharaohs could continue to be made long after that pharaohs's death in connection with his mortuary cult. This is especially notable in the case of Amenhotep I, whose worship remained particularly active in the Theban necropolis for hundreds of years after his death c. 1504 BCE.[134]

Others seals attested in the Memphis corpus are certainly products of Achaemenid glyptic workshops. At least two seals feature cuneiform inscriptions. MPS 22 and MPS 23 both appear to have an Old Persian inscription. According to Petrie both have the same inscription, which has been read as 'Darius,' and it may be that these impressions were made by a single seal.[135] At minimum, then, the bullae attest to at least one royal name seal used in connection with the Memphis administration. This important category

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[133] This phenomenon is somewhat clearly document for Avaris, where seals naming kings of the 12th and 13th Dynasties were used during the Hyksos period (i.e., the 15th Dynasty), at least one century later (Bietak 2004). For heirlooms in ancient Egypt see Jeffreys 2003.
[134] Hollender 2009; for scarabs in particular see Ward 1994, 189.
[135] Schmitt 1981, 33-4.

of seal occurs at Persepolis the Fortification and Treasury Archives, as well as at Dascylium. Based upon the contextual information provided by the Persepolis tablets regarding the use of these seals by specific personages, Mark Garrison has recently argued that these seals were given by Darius I as gifts to ranking, non-royal bureaucrats and administrators as a means of integrating them into his still fresh regime.[136] Another seal, MPS 15, features a fragmentary Aramaic inscription. Unfortunately, it is not preserved well enough to read. Aramaic was frequently the language of choice for elite Persians whose seals are known from the Fortification Archive. The seal of Arshama is one example; the seals of Parnakka (PFS 9* and 16*), the chief administrator at Persepolis and the uncle (or cousin) of Darius, also both feature Aramaic inscriptions.[137]

Several of the Memphis seals, both stamps and cylinders, draw on a comparable iconographic repertoire to those in the Fortification Archive. Four (MPS 27, 29-31; possibly also MPS 25) feature the heroic encounter motif, a motif that experienced a distinctive upsurge in prominence around 500 BCE, especially in the context of Persepolitan glyptic.[138] Indeed, the resonance of this imagery was widespread, extending, for example, to Sardis and Dascylium in the western reaches of the empire.[139] Three of these heroic encounter seals from Memphis (MPS 27, MPS 29, MPS 30) have heroes with long hair and beards, which are uncommon in Egyptian representations (save for depictions of foreigners). Three seals (MPS 27, MPS 30, MPS 31) feature the 'Assyrian garment,' a robe worn wrapped around the body over a short undergarment often with the front leg exposed; again, these are frequent attributes of the heroes that appear on the

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[136] Garrison, forthcoming c. The London Darius Cylinder is discussed further in Chapter Four.
[137] Garrison and Root 2001, cat. nos. 22, 288; Colburn 2014, 788-91.
[138] Garrison and Root 2001; Garrison 2010.
[139] Sardis: Dusinberre 1997; 2003, 158-71; Dascylium: Kaptan 2002, 55-73.

Persepolis seals.[140] Also, the winged creatures that appear on MPS 25-30, 32, 34 and 46 have numerous close parallels at Persepolis. One of these seals, MPS 25, is a heroic encounter seal that exhibits the telltale octagonal contour characteristic of the class of seals known as pyramidal stamp seals, a significant number of which are attested in the Fortification Archive.[141] Emerging out of Late Babylonian glyptic tradition, this stamp seal shape gains new life in the Achaemenid empire, deployed not only for images of Babylonian-type worship scenes (where it originates) but also for images of very diverse types, styles, and representational motifs including the heroic encounter.[142] It also occurs at Sardis, Gordion, Dascylium and here at Memphis, among other places throughout the empire.

The seals attested at the Palace of Apries thus broadly make reference to at least two different glyptic traditions: the Egyptian tradition of hieroglyphic inscriptions and scarabs, and the broad corpus of Achaemenid visual and inscriptional motifs, especially the heroic encounter. In his initial publication of the sealings Petrie also identified several of the seals (MPS 33-9 and MPS 50) as Greek.[143] This uncritical identification reflects a deeper methodological issue, namely the assumption that the ethnic context of an object can be read from cultural referents made by its motif, iconography, or style.[144] In other words, that these seals looked Greek to Petrie says more about the intellectual climate of Petrie's day than it does about where or by whom these seals were made, or who owned and used them. In this case it is entirely possible that these seals were made or used by Greeks (as Petrie would have it). There was, after all, a permanent community of Greeks

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[140] Garrison and Root 2001, 505, 514-16.
[141] Root 1998.
[142] E.g., PFS 1463s; Garrison and Root 2001, cat. no. 231.
[143] Petrie et al. 1910, 42-3.
[144] Gates 2002.

residing in Memphis by the late sixth century BCE. The seals preserved in the Persepolis

Fortification and Treasury Archives demonstrate the wide range of motifs and styles that

the seal carvers of Persepolis were capable of creating, and it is at least equally plausible

that some of seals identified by Petrie as being Greek were produced at Persepolis.

Likewise, the context of a seal's production does not assure the ethnic identity or

geographic origin of its owner. For example, the seals inscribed with names of Egyptian

pharaohs (MPS 1, MPS 3-5 MPS 16, MPS 21, MPS 47) make obvious reference to

Egyptian cultural memory and have special importance in Egyptian religious and

historical contexts. But the names Psammetichus, Necho and Amasis all also occur in

various capacities at Persepolis. Fragments of eight stone objects (probably tableware)

bearing cartouches naming these pharaohs were found in the Treasury, as was part of a

statue base inscribed with a cartouche of Necho.[145] Nicholas Cahill has argued that gifts

to the royal court from throughout the empire were stored in the Treasury.[146] The stone

vessels (and the statue fragment as well) should be included among these gifts, either as

diplomatic gifts dating to before Cambyses' invasion, or ceremonial gifts given by the

Egyptians as an act of imperial participation. In either case these cartouches may have

made these vessels suitable gifts to a king, and they also attest to a familiarity with or

interest in the Saite pharaohs at Persepolis.[147]

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[145] Schmidt 1957, 68, 83.

[146] Cahill 1985.

[147] Fifty-three stone vessels bearing the inscription "Xerxes, the Great King" in Old Persian, Babylonian Akkadian, Elamite and Egyptian hieroglyphics were also found in the Treasury, many of them with similar shapes to the vessels with the names of Saite pharaohs on them (Schmidt 1957, 87-8). These latter vessels may also have been produced in Egypt and come to Persepolis as gifts as well, pointing to a broader pattern in which at first, perhaps in the time of Cambyses or Darius, the Egyptians gave as gifts to the royal court vessels with the names of deceased Saite pharaohs on them, and then began producing vessels bearing the name of the Great King. Posener (1936, 157-71; see also Schmidt 1957, 84-7) lists another six stone vessels bearing the name of Darius, thirty-five with the name of Xerxes, and four with the name of Artaxerxes I, all in hieroglyphics. These vessels are largely without provenance, but they provide evidence for the

This interest also occurs in the form of a cylinder seal, PFUTS 0136*, known from nine impressions on uninscribed tablets from the Fortification Archive, which features a cartouche of Amasis topped with ostrich feathers.[148] The imagery of the seal draws on motifs well-known in the Fortification Archive, especially the heroic encounter and the use of the Assyrian garment, albeit with some deviations; nonetheless, it does seem to be a product of a Persepolitan glyptic workshop. Since it is known only from impressions on uninscribed tablets it is impossible to date it precisely, but it is unnecessary to assume this seal was carved while Amasis was still alive; the stone vessels from the Treasury attest to interest in the Saite pharaohs at a time when they were all long dead.

Three other seals of Achaemenid date also feature hieroglyphic inscriptions naming Saite pharaohs. One of these, a cylinder seal with the name of Amasis, is now in the British Museum.[149] It has no known provenance, but its motif (the heroic encounter) and its formal features (especially the hero wearing the Achaemenid court robe) make it a likely product of a Persepolitan workshop. The inscription on this seal is not enclosed by a cartouche, and the implication is that it refers to the seal owner's name, rather than the pharaoh.[150] If the seal was indeed produced at Persepolis, it may be that Egyptian name-writing conventions were ignored or not understood. There is also a cylinder seal with a cartouche naming Apries that was once in the collection of the Comte de Caylus but is

chronological range of this phenomenon, comprising at minimum the first half of the fifth century BCE. A full study of the social purposes of these vessels is clearly warranted; for now see the summary remarks by Westenholz and Stolper 2002.

[148] Garrison and Ritner 2010, 28-33, 47-9.

[149] BM ANE 89585; Merrillees 2005, no. 56; Giovino 2006, 105-7.

[150] Amasis (or 'Ahmose') is a common enough name in Egypt between the Middle Kingdom and the end of the Ptolemaic Period; see Ranke 1935, 12. It also occurs at Athens in the sixth century as the name of the well-known potter of Attic black figure ceramic vessels.

now lost.[151] The seal is known from a drawing published by de Caylus in 1761, and features a heroic encounter involving an apparently clean shaven hero wearing the Achaemenid court garb. The cartouche is part of a larger inscription giving a basiliphoric name meaning "Apries is one protected by Ptah;" this may be the name of the seal's original owner.[152]

The third seal, MPS 21, is known only from its impression preserved on one of the Memphis bullae. It is a circular stamp seal featuring a lunette (the sign *i'ḥ*) over two foxes flanking a splayed fox pelt (*ms*), spelling *i'ḥ-ms*, or 'Amasis' in Greek. The presence or absence of a cartouche is unclear in this case, since the edge of the seal essentially encloses the image. The normal hieroglyph for *ms* consists of three stylized fox pelts tied together at the top; the full bodied foxes depicted on this seal are unknown in Egyptian art. They are, however, paralleled by seals attested at Persepolis and Dascylium. The Aramaic tablets from the Persepolis Fortification Archive preserve impressions of a seal, PFATS 184s, that features a full bodied fox running to the left (**Fig. 2.13**). Similarly, a seal impressed on the bullae from Dascylium, DS 79, shows a horseman riding to the left with a hand upraised, and a fox running to the right.[153]

This seal was produced by an artisan working outside of normal Egyptian epigraphic and glyptic conventions for a patron adequately familiar with hieroglyphics to specify and appreciate this inscription. This familiarity could result equally from a knowledge of Egyptian or from exposure to this name at Persepolis through the objects discussed above. This patron could have been an Egyptian, perhaps one named Amasis,

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[151] Giovino 2006, 110-12.
[152] For the inscription see Garrison and Ritner 2010, 48-9.
[153] Kaptan 2002, 101-2. To this example we can add two others, both unprovenanced Greek gems now in the Ashmolean Museum (1896.1494 and 1925.134), to which Boardman (2001, pls. 497 and 934) assigns fifth or fourth century dates.
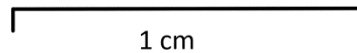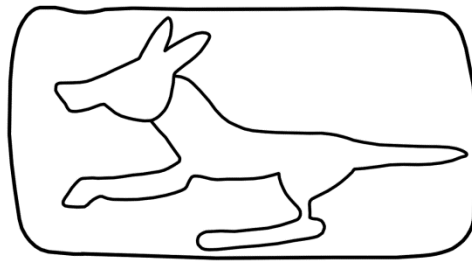
Figure 2.13. Collated line drawing of PFATS 184s. Drawn by E. R. M. Dusinberre, and included here by her kind permission.

who commissioned this foreign-looking seal because he did not construct his personal

identity solely in Egyptian terms and desired to invoke the prestige of his affiliation with

court circles. Or he could instead have been a non-Egyptian familiar with the hieroglyphs

for Amasis who wished to demonstrate a knowledge of or connection to this important

satrapy. The fact that an impression of this seal ended up in the Palace of Apries in

Memphis leaves either possibility open and illustrates further the kind of interaction that

took place in the visual culture of the empire.

Indeed, there is more than just the coexistence of different visual repertoires

among the seals revealed by the Memphis bullae. There is also clear evidence for the

combination of elements drawn from these repertoires on the part of certain individuals.

This is best illustrated by MPS 46. The single impression of this seal preserves two

scenes. One is of a composite figure drawing a bow. This creature has the body of a bird, the tail of a scorpion, the head and torso of a man, and the head and foreleg of a bull, extending from the front of the bird's body; the creature also wears a dentate crown. This combination is paralleled rather closely in the seals of the Persepolis Fortification Archive, especially by PFS 78 and PFS 118, though there are other examples as well of composite archers.[154] Likewise, the composition of the other figure, a winged human holding a griffin upside down by its hind leg, also occurs at Persepolis, e.g., on PFS 1* and PFS 684.[155] This figure wears the Persian court robe, represented by vertical bands on either side of the torso, another feature frequently attested in the Fortification Archive, especially in connection with the 'Court Style,' which is more properly a suite of iconographic and stylistic features than it is a style of carving in the strictest formal sense.[156] In this respect the seal is very much at home at Persepolis, where it would likely have been owned and used by an elite member of the local bureaucracy and royal court.

At the same time MPS 46 also features a very particular motif going back ultimately to an Egyptian origin: the lotus and bud border preserved at both the top and bottom of the image. Individual lotus flowers held by court personages including the king are a significant iconographical element in the relief sculptures of Persepolis. But repeating bands of lotuses and buds occur on no seals from the Persepolis Fortification or Treasury corpora (amounting altogether to several thousand discrete seals). The only representation of it known from Persepolis is on a fragment of a glass vessel found in the Treasury.[157] It does, however, occur on one glazed tile pattern of Achaemenid date from

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[154] Garrison 2000, 136-40; cf. British Museum ANE 129565 (Merrillees 2005, no. 61).
[155] Garrison and Root 2001, nos. 182-3.
[156] Garrison 1991, 13-20; Garrison and Root 2001, 18-19, 515-16.
[157] Schmidt 1957, 92, pl. 66.2.

Susa, although here the lotus alternates with a palmette rather than a bud (**Fig. 2.14**).[158]

Despite the abundant reworking of Egyptian architectural decorations on the architecture of Persepolis we do not so far have any vestige of the motif deployed there in a monumental capacity.

The lotus-and-bud motif has a long history in Egypt and thence to northern Mesopotamia. In Egypt, where it must have originated, it first occurs during the New Kingdom. At Amarna it is found as a border on some of the wall paintings in the Great Palace, as well as in the North Riverside Palace (there with some variations).[159] It also appears as such in private tombs of the New Kingdom, continuing down into the Late Period.[160] During the Third Intermediate Period it occurs on various items found in the royal necropolis of Tanis, such as the gold burial mask of Psusennes I, and on pectorals of Shoshenq II.[161] In the Third Intermediate and Late Periods it appears on anthropoid sarcophagi as a decorative element, usually as one of several bands of designs framing the face.[162]

At some point during the New Kingdom the motif was adopted in Phoenicia, where it is best attested on the sarcophagus of Ahiram, king of Byblos.[163] It then appears on a number of the carved ivories excavated at the Assyrian capital of Nimrud. These prestige ivories, which were inlays for royal furniture and accoutrements, span the ninth

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[158] Louvre Sb 3336; Harper et al. 1992, no. 158.

[159] Weatherhead 2007, 46-7, 49, 224-7, 231, 237, 239.

[160] Vandier 1964a, 43; e.g., in the tombs of Huy (TT 14; Vandier 1964a, pl. 29 fig. 328), Mentuemhat (TT 34; Russmann 1994, fig. 10); Userhat (TT 56; Hodel-Hoenes 2000, fig. 48), Menna (TT 69; Hodel-Hoenes 2000, figs. 62-3), Kenamun (TT 93; Davies 1936, pl. 29), Sennefer (TT 96; Hodel-Hoenes 2000, fig. 90), and the anonymous tomb TT 354 (Cherpion 1999, pls. 26-7, 29, 31-2, 34-6, 38-9, 42-3), all at Thebes. Numerous other examples from both tombs and sarcophagi can be found in Fořtová-Šámalová and Vilímková 1963, nos. 295-334.

[161] Müller and Thiem 1999, nos. 429-30, 454-5, 462.

[162] Gasse 1996, pls. 1.1, 4.1, 8.5, 13.1-2, 23.1, 31.2, 32.2; Wilfong 2013, 56-7; Buhl 1959, 157-9 (with references to more examples).

[163] Rehm 2004, 52. The sarcophagus' date remains subject to debate, ranging from c. 1200 BCE (Rehm 2004, 63-70) to c. 1000 BCE (Porada 1973); the latter date is consistent with the date of the sarcophagus' inscription, which is based on paleography.

FIG. 1. — Brique émaillée. — Fouilles de Suse
(1913-1914).
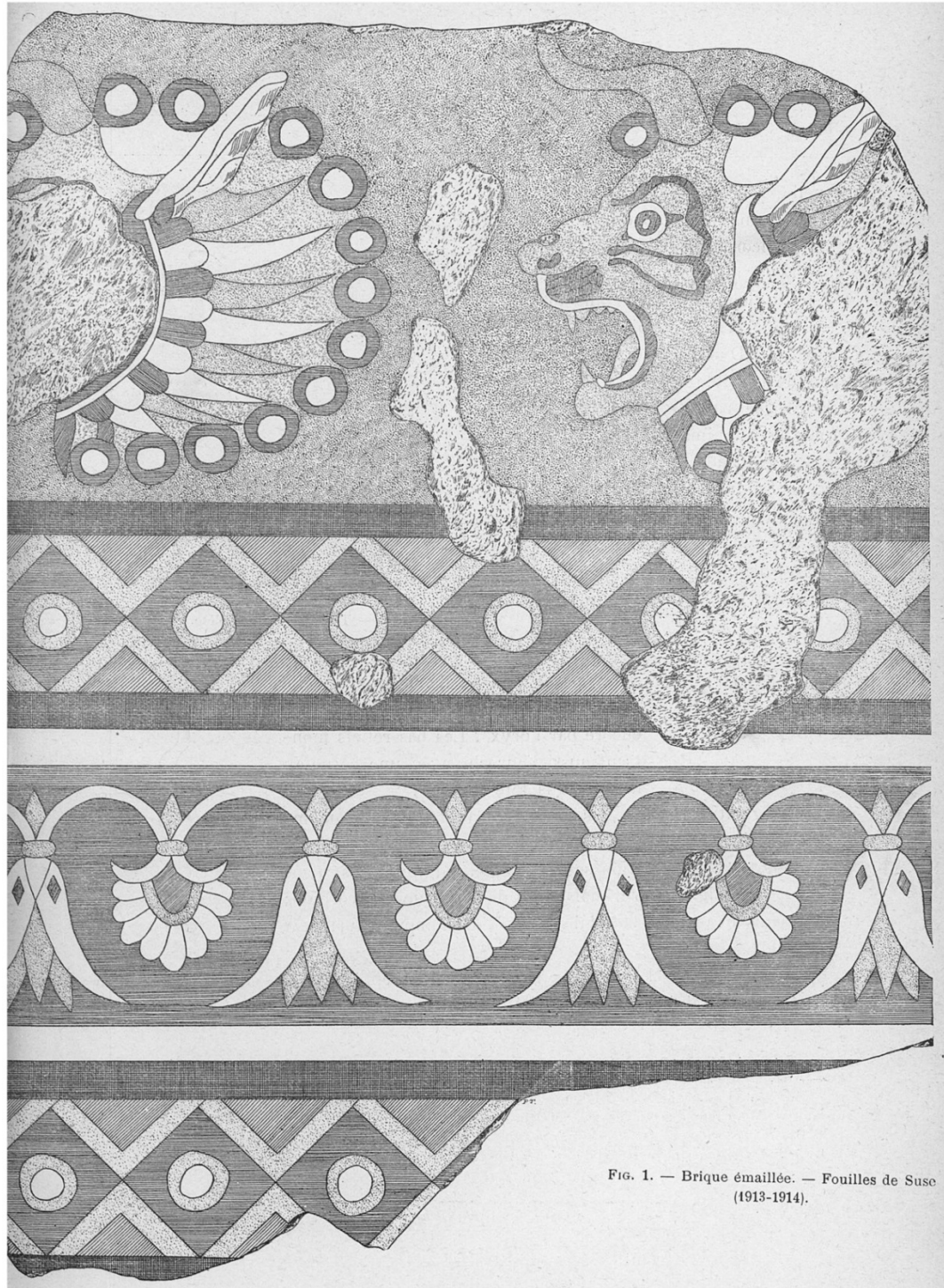
Figure 2.14. Glazed tile from Susa, 6th-5th century BCE; now Louvre Sb 3336. From P. Toscanne, *Revue archéologique* 13 [1916], fig. 1.

to the seventh centuries BCE.[164] It also appears on some of the ivories found at Arslan Tash, Samaria, and Khorsabad, which date to roughly the same period, and on a relief orthostat from the north gate at Karatepe in Cilicia.[165] It even occurs in metalwork, as indicated by the fragments of several bronze *korai* discovered at Olympia which were made of reused bronze repoussé friezes of north Syrian origin, including friezes of alternating lotuses and buds.[166] Finally, it occurs in Neo-Assyrian palaces as a border on both carved stone pavement slabs (at Nimrud and Khorsabad) and painted murals (at Khorsabad, Til Barsip, Nimrud, Nineveh and Dur-Katlimmu).[167] In most of its Levantine and Mesopotamian iterations the lotus buds were represented as cones, reflecting the appearance of the white lotus when its blossom closed at night. A limestone plaque from Susa, dating to the Neo-Elamite period (c. 8th-7th centuries BCE) has a border of closed lotus blossoms that closely resemble the Neo-Assyrian examples; moreover, in the commentary on the plaque Oscar Muscarella observes that while the carving belongs to an Elamite tradition the iconography of the image owes much to Neo-Assyrian art.[168]

On the basis of this brief review it is possible to reconstruct the transmission of the lotus and bud motif from New Kingdom Egypt, where its use in funerary contexts derived from its symbolic rebirth every morning, to northern Mesopotamia, where it had become part of an international visual *koine* by the eighth century BCE. This latter iteration is most likely the context in which it was adopted in the Achaemenid Empire. This is best seen on Seal 100 from Gordion (**Fig. 2.15**), discovered through controlled

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[164] Mallowan and Herrmann 1976, nos. 46, 61, 63, 107; Herrmann 1986, 212, 214-15, 219-22, 228-9, 856-8, 859-66, 1171-2, 1179-81, 1188-9, 1191, 1200-1, 1203-4, 1230-5.

[165] Decamps de Mertzenfeld 1954, pls. 14, 96, 106; Winter 1979, pl. 18a; see Winter 1979 for a discussion of the chronological and historical setting of the reliefs at Karatepe.

[166] Guralnick 2004, figs. 4, 15, 23.

[167] Albenda 1978, 6-7; 2005, 114-18.

[168] Harper et al. 1992, no. 142.

Figure 2.15. Seal 100 from Gordion, and a line drawing of its impression. From Dusinberre 2008, figs. 5-6.

excavations there in 1952. This agate cylinder seal (2.4 cm in height) features a worship scene that draws heavily on Achaemenid imperial and religious iconography to represent symbolically the cosmic balance and harmony maintained by the Great King.[169] The bud and lotus border plays into this representation by echoing the lotus blossoms held by the worshippers; at the same time it makes reference to visual traditions of the early first millennium, implying the seal owner's knowledge of and connections to these important sources of charismatic authority. Put differently, the seal cutter had a wide array of options for the border imagery, and the selection of the bud and lotus was a result of this motif's appropriateness to the identity of the patron who commissioned it.[170]

A similar process likely informed the design and execution of MPS 46, with the added possibility that the appropriateness of the motif was determined by the seal owner's connections to Egypt through his role in the imperial administration. It may even have been selected deliberately as an attempt to engender some solidarity with the owner's Egyptian colleagues, for whom it was still quite familiar. Alternatively, a native

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[169] Dusinberre 2008.

[170] The seal's Aramaic inscription has been reconstructed to read 'seal of Banaya, son of Zatuvahayashna' (Dusinberre 2008, 93).

of Egypt could have commissioned this seal because it was appropriate to his identity as an official of the Achaemenid Empire, and he chose to include this border as a nod to his homeland. Regardless, the currency of the bud and lotus at Gordion and Memphis attests to the international and multicultural social environment that existed in these two geographically disparate cities under Achaemenid rule.

The occurrence of seals operating within both Egyptian and Achaemenid glyptic milieus does not necessarily indicate that this office was staffed by Egyptians and Persians, though this is quite possible. Rather, it is evidence that this office (and indeed the palace as a whole) was part of a larger administrative system whose employees considered either Achaemenid imperial imagery or Egyptian cultural memory, or both, appropriate to their individual identities. In this respect it must have been very much like the administration in the Persepolis region itself. As noted above the seals preserved on the tablets of the Fortification Archive allude to a wide variety of cultural referents, both in their visual quotation of other artistic traditions and in the languages attested in the seal inscriptions and on the tablets themselves, including Elamite, Aramaic, Old Persian, Babylonian Akkadian, Greek, Phrygian and Egyptian hieroglyphics.[171] Indeed, the wooden tags from the Palace of Apries, with their Aramaic and demotic texts, parallel this multilingual and multicultural administrative environment. The administration of Achaemenid Egypt seems, based on the evidence, to have been an open social environment, and not one that required its participants to identify solely with the empire.

Continuity and Change

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[171] Root 1997.

There is, then, distinctive evidence for an Achaemenid imperial presence at the Palace of Apries, consisting of both a military garrison and an administrative apparatus. Both of these were multicultural operations, and thus contributed to the cosmopolitan social environment of Memphis. The garrison of 7000, as estimated above, was certainly a significant presence; for comparison, this was equivalent to just over half of the Roman military strength in all of Egypt during the second and third centuries CE.[172] The Achaemenid forces here and elsewhere in Egypt were drawn from around the empire. But a large military presence comprised primarily of foreign soldiers was nothing new in Memphis. Indeed, according to Herodotus (2.154.3), Pharaoh Amasis (reigned 570-526 BCE) had installed his Greek and Carian mercenaries there as his personal guard, so the presence of non-Egyptian soldiers at the palace during the 27th Dynasty hardly represents a change at all.[173] Likewise, Egyptian bureaucrats will have found themselves working and communicating with Persians and other foreigners in the course of their duties at the palace. The evidence for bilingual protocols at the palace suggests that the empire's administrative apparatus was grafted onto the existing system rather than supplanting it entirely. On the whole, the Achaemenid imperial presence at the palace was unmistakable, but at the same time it was couched in terms already familiar to the residents of Memphis.

The deliberateness of this continuity is further implied by the anonymous royal reliefs associated with the palace (**Fig. 2.3**). These reliefs were originally part of a freestanding pylon or doorway, presumably at the main entrance to the palace, though

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[172] Alston 1995, 31-2. Of course, all 7000 would have been unable to fit within the enclosure at once, and it stands to reason that this force was dispersed throughout the city.
[173] Smoláriková 2003.

they may instead have been located inside.[174] In either case these reliefs, which drew

heavily on earlier royal monuments (many of which were still standing just across the

Phchêt canal at modern Saqqara and Abusir) depicted the pharaoh enacting certain

religious festivals central to his function as king and mediator between the divine and

earthly realms. As noted earlier in this chapter these reliefs have empty cartouches; the

king's name was never actually carved (i.e., the names are not simply erased). This

absence inhibits precise dating of these reliefs; on current evidence they could equally be

a product of the 27th Dynasty or the 26th, especially since a pylon could have been built

subsequent to the palace's construction.

As noted earlier in this chapter, during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods empty

cartouches signified the generalized concept of kingship.[175] Their occurrence on these

reliefs is one of their earliest instances. Most likely their appearance at the Palace of

Apries prefigures their later usage. It is interesting to note that the empty cartouche is

congruent with the Achaemenid practice, evident at Persepolis as well as in imperial coin

types, of representing the Great King generically, as a statement of dynastic stability and

continuity, rather than depicting individual rulers idiosyncratically.[176] The blank

cartouches can be understood as operating along the same lines. This is by no means a

definitive argument in favor of a 27th Dynasty date for the reliefs from the Palace of

Apries, but the parallel with Achaemenid representations of the king does provide an

intriguing (if not compelling) explanation for this otherwise curious phenomenon. And

regardless of the date of the creation of the reliefs, it is probable that the Persians

interpreted the empty cartouches in light of their own representational practices, which is

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[174] Petrie 1909b, 5-11; Kaiser 1987.
[175] Spieser 2010, 6.
[176] Root 1979, 92-3, 99, 117, 171.

perhaps why specific royal names were never added to them. Moreover, the citation of earlier royal monuments, especially those depicting the pharaoh carrying out his religious duties, would have served to reinforce the Great King's assumption of these duties as pharaoh. A visitor to the palace, on seeing these reliefs, would see a king doing his job in the same manner as he had always done it.

It is equally telling that there is no evidence for the erection of monumental images of the Great King at the Palace of Apries, or indeed anywhere in Memphis, in a manner that drew explicitly on Achaemenid imperial iconography as represented at Persepolis. The only putative images of the Great King from Memphis (and their identification remains open to debate) are a handful of small stone and terracotta heads, of which the largest, now in Strasbourg, is a mere 17 cm high; it has been estimated that the complete statue of which it was once a part was no more than one meter in height.[177] These images are far from monumental, and one is even a fragment of a bowl decorated in high relief. They are personal effects rather than official royal representations. It is entirely possible they were owned by administrators or imperial officials posted to the palace, but there is no way of determining this, as the objects themselves are unprovenanced. The only known representations of the king at the palace itself were the reliefs of the generic Late Period pharaoh referred to above.

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[177] Institut d'Égyptologie, Université de Strasbourg, inv. 1604; Traunecker 1995 (actual dimensions in Spiegelberg 1909a, 33). For the four other examples of such images see Traunecker 1995 and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974. All of these objects were purchased and are only said to be from Memphis. Ashton (2003) has argued that the terracotta heads discovered by Petrie at Memphis, including one (now Petrie Museum, University College, London UC 8457; Petrie 1909a, pl. 36 no. 16; Ashton 2003, Fig. 10.3) representing an Achaemenid Great King, are of Ptolemaic date. Though she is likely correct about most of the heads, she also rightly points out the great variety in their forms of manufacture, arguing that they cannot all be treated as a homogenous and undifferentiated corpus; thus there is no need to assume that those heads that seemingly represent the Great King must be of post-Achaemenid date.

Likewise, there was seemingly no attempt made on the part of the Great King or his satrap to replace the Palace of Apries with a structure built along the lines of the palaces at Persepolis, Pasargadae or Susa. The existing palace was presumably adequate to the needs of the imperial administration, and its deliberate reuse by the Achaemenids was a means of tapping into existing power structures and, in the case of Egypt, an important source of charismatic authority that served to legitimize imperial rule there. In this respect the Palace of Apries was comparable to other administrative structures across the empire, such as the columned hall at Altıntepe in the Armenian satrapy, which were similarly taken over intact and integrated into the empire's administrative apparatus.[178]

The seals from the palace, as preserved in the bullae unearthed by Petrie's excavations, indicate an atmosphere of inclusion and participation. The variety of images and motifs, drawing on both Achaemenid imperial imagery and Egyptian cultural memory, that appear on these seals attest to an open social environment characterizing administrative and social life there. There was no compulsion or expectation for the Memphis administrators to construct their identities, as represented in their choice of seals, primarily in Achaemenid terms. Rather, those who wished to use exclusively Egyptian imagery were seemingly welcome to do so. In fact, in the absence of accompanying texts, there is no way of knowing who actually used the Egyptian-type seals. Furthermore, some of the owners of these seals may well have been from other parts of the empire. Likewise, some of the seals that drew mainly on Achaemenid imperial imagery may have been owned by natives of Egypt who identified themselves not just as Egyptians, but also as members of the international elite who governed the empire. The imperial presence at the Palace of Memphis undoubtedly created conditions

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[178] For Altıntepe see Dusinberre 2013, 59-60.

in which cultural interaction was an important factor of daily business. It provided for a wide range of experiences, both for Egyptians living under Achaemenid rule, and for people from throughout the empire who came to Egypt on imperial business.

The Cult of Apis

The cult of Apis during the 27th Dynasty provides a particularly informative case study for examining the impact and nature of Achaemenid rule in Memphis. The Apis bull was the animal incarnation of Ptah, the demiurge of Memphis and one of the most important gods in Egypt. As we have already seen, the Temple of Ptah was one of the largest and most central structures in Memphis during the Late Period. Thus, both physically and cosmologically Ptah loomed large in Memphis. The interaction between the cult of Ptah, a venerable and essential Egyptian religious institution, and the Achaemenid Empire is enormously informative as to how Achaemenid rule operated here.

Unfortunately little can be said about the temple as a physical feature of the Memphite landscape beyond the description provided earlier in this chapter. But it is possible to consider it further in its social context. Several high priests of Ptah from the 27th Dynasty are known from stelae from the Serapeum at Saqqara, indicating that the cult of Ptah was still in operation and supporting priestly functions.[179] This much is also suggested by a curious passage in Herodotus (2.110) recounting an abortive attempt by Darius to dedicate a statue of himself in the temple. After describing the exploits and

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[179] Vittmann 2009, 89-91.

achievements of Sesostris (a semi-legendry amalgamation of two Middle Kingdom

pharaohs) Herodotus says that Darius wished to dedicate a statue of himself but was

refused permission to do so by a priest. The reason given for the refusal was that Darius'

exploits had not surpassed those of Sesostris; specifically, Sesostris had conquered the

Scythians, but Darius had not.[180] The specificity of the achievement gap between these

two rulers suggests that Sesostris' exploits were designed explicitly to exceed Darius'

own, leading to the conclusion that Herodotus' story reflects a fictitious account that was

invented and disseminated as an act of resistance against Achaemenid rule by certain

priests of Ptah.[181] Thus, although the incident likely did not take place as Herodotus

describes, his awareness of the tradition points to an active priesthood in the fifth century

BCE, with whom he was in contact.

We are much better informed about the cult of the Apis bull. As noted above Apis

was the animal incarnation of Ptah, and their cults were certainly intertwined, to the

extent that the House of Apis, where the bull lived during his lifetime and was prepared

for burial following his death, was located within the precinct of the Temple of Ptah. Not

much is known about the workings of the cult itself, save for the interment of the

mummified bulls at the Serapeum and some details about the bulls' distinctive

coloring.[182] But it is of special relevance to the study of Achaemenid imperialism in

Egypt because of Herodotus' account (3.27-9) of the murder of an Apis bull at the hands

of Cambyses. The historiography and intellectual underpinnings of the interpretation of

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[180] Presumably the European Scythians are meant here, since at 2.103 Herodotus describes a successful campaign of Sesostris against them, while at 4.131-42 he narrates Darius' retreat before the same Scythians. Darius also launched an expedition against the Saka Tigraxauda ('the Scythians who wear the pointed hats'), which he presents as a clear success in the Bisitun Inscription (DB §74-5). See Cameron 1943, 311.
[181] Moyer 2011a, 72-4. Indeed, subsequent versions of the exploits of Sesostris include the conquest of Arabia and even India, added no doubt in order to surpass the exploits of Alexander.
[182] Overview in Dodson 2005, 72-91.

this passage have already been discussed in Chapter One. Here it suffices to present the

evidence for Cambyses' participation in, or at least endorsement of, the burial of the Apis

bull (specifically Apis 27.1/XLII).[183]

This evidence consists of a sarcophagus and a stela from the Serapeum, both now

in the Louvre, featuring inscriptions of Cambyses as pharaoh. These hieroglyphic texts

make unequivocal reference to the interment of this bull.[184] The sarcophagus' inscription

is illustrative of their general content:

> The Horus Smatowy, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mesutire, son of
> Re, Cambyses – may he live forever! He has made a fine monument for
> his father Apis-Osiris with a great granite sarcophagus, dedicated by the
> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mesiture, son of Re, Cambyses – may he
> live forever, in perpetuity and prosperity, full of health and joy, appearing
> as King of Upper and Lower Egypt eternally.[185]

This text presents Cambyses entirely in an Egyptian royal context, and it implies that the

burial of the Apis bull took place with Cambyses' full knowledge and participation, not,

as Herodotus says, as a clandestine act performed by the priesthood in opposition to the

will of the new Persian ruler. Moreover, the stela glosses this textual content with a visual

depiction of Cambyses as the pharaoh kneeling before Apis, reinforcing visually the

statements of royal piety and reverence that occur in the inscriptions (**Fig. 2.16**). In short,

from the Egyptian primary sources available there is nothing out of the ordinary about the

burial of this Apis bull, except perhaps that Cambyses may have even attended it in

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[183] The convention for numbering Apis bulls is as follows. The Arabic numerals indicate the dynasty during which the bull was interred, followed by that bull's order within that dynasty; e.g., Apis 27.1 is the first attested bull buried during the 27th Dynasty. The Roman numerals are those assigned by Mariette 1882, 114-202.

[184] Posener 1936, nos. 3-4; translations in Kuhrt 2007, 122-4. The stela is now Louvre IM 4133 (Devauchelle 1994a, 102-3).

[185] Trans. Kuhrt 2007, 122.
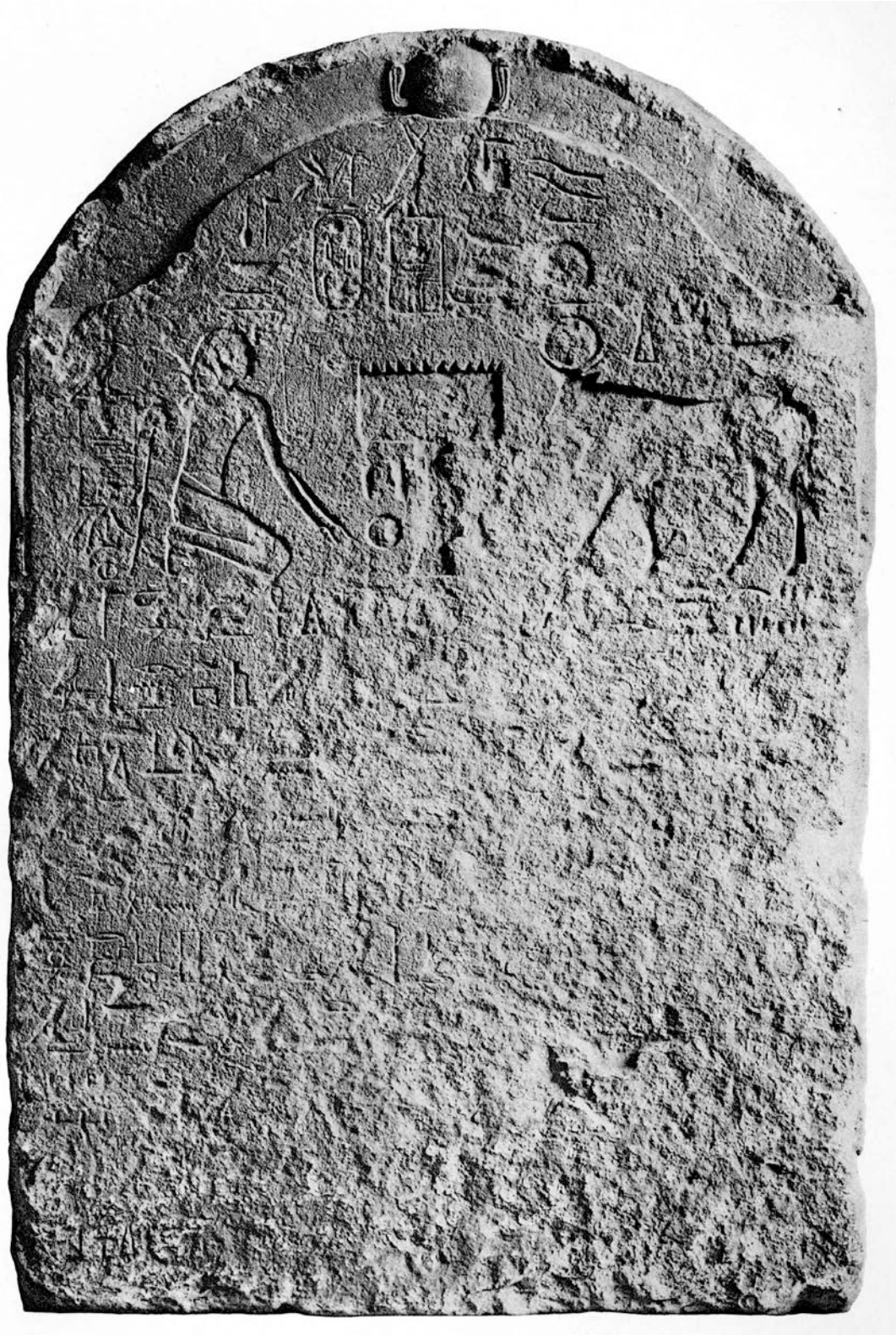
Figure 2.16. Stela from the Serapeum at Saqqara depicting Cambyses before the Apis bull, 524 BCE; now Louvre IM 4133. From Posener 1936, pl. 2.

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person. This honor was not afforded to any subsequent Apis bull during Achaemenid rule, since it was the only such funeral known to have occurred when an Achaemenid Great King was present anywhere in Egypt.

Subsequent Achaemenid kings did, however, maintain support for this cult. Funerals of Apis bulls are attested in the Serapeum during the reigns of Darius I (Apis 27.2/XLIV, 27.3/XLV and 27.4/XLIII) and Darius II, and the pharaoh's ostensible participation in the funeral was always indicated in the appropriate inscriptions, even if he was himself absent from Egypt.[186] The absence of burials dating to the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I is probably due to an accident of preservation rather than to any abrupt shift in royal policy. The Serapeum was an active cult site, and therefore prone to post-depositional processes resulting from a multitude of procedures and rituals, all of which could have contributed to the destruction or dislocation of funerary materials. For example, during the reign of Amasis a number of earlier stelae were buried under the floor in the process of the interment of Apis 26.6/XLI.[187]

There is evidence that further renovations of the tomb galleries in the Serapeum took place under the reign of Darius I. These renovations, particularly the creation of two new entrances to the galleries, are mentioned on a biographic inscription on another Serapeum stela, where they are explicitly identified as resulting from the king's prerogative.[188] One of these entrances was considerably wider than its predecessors and thus facilitated the interment of much larger sarcophagi than had been possible

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[186] Dodson 2001, 31-2; 2005, 84-6; Devauchelle 1994a, 103-6 (with references to the relevant stelae). The burial of an Apis bull under Darius II is implied by a stela of Ptolemaic date (Louvre IM 3355; Devauchelle 1994a, 109-14), which refers to a funeral in year 11 of King Darius; as there are three bulls already attributed to Darius I, and none in his year 11, this presumably refers to Darius II.

[187] Devauchelle 1994a, 102. Dodson (2001, 38; 2005, 91) tentatively attributes one bull (Apis 27.5?) to this period, buried in Tomb E', presumably on account of its proximity to the other burials of 27th Dynasty date.

[188] Louvre IM 4039; Vercoutter 1962, 70-7; Dodson 2001, 31.

previously, and indeed the size of the stone sarcophagi only increased during the fifth century, showing if anything that the cult was not only going strong under Achaemenid rule, but had also attracted special royal attention.

The burials of the Mother of Apis in the catacombs of the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara are also suggestive of the continuity of the cult of Apis throughout the 27th Dynasty. Strictly speaking the Mother of Apis was a bovine incarnation of Isis, and it is unclear what formal relationship existed between her cult and that of Apis proper. But there are at least seven Mother of Apis funerals attested in the stelae excavated at the Sacred Animal Necropolis dating to the fifth century.[189] This epigraphic evidence shows that there was no disruption in cult practices here as a result of Achaemenid rule. Indeed, the evidence we have suggests that the cult flourished along traditional lines.

The endurance, and indeed the prosperity, of the cult of Apis is also discernible from the House of Apis in Memphis (**Fig. 2.17**). During the course of a single excavation season in 1941 a large (54.5 cm in diameter and 31.5 cm tall) stone basin was found there, bearing an incised hieroglyphic inscription reading "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius, beloved of the living Apis," followed by "year 34" and "72 *hnw*."[190] The 34th year of Darius I was 484 BCE, which coincides with the date of the burial of Apis 27.4/XLIII. The likelihood is that this basin was provided on that particular occasion, presumably to be used in the process of embalming the Apis bull. Its addition to the temple's ritual equipment as an item worthy of pharaonic dedication demonstrates active royal engagement with the cult.

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[189] Smith 1972; Smith et al. 2011.
[190] Cairo JE 86754; Lucas 1943; El Amir 1948, 52. Seventy-two *hnw* is just over 30 liters.
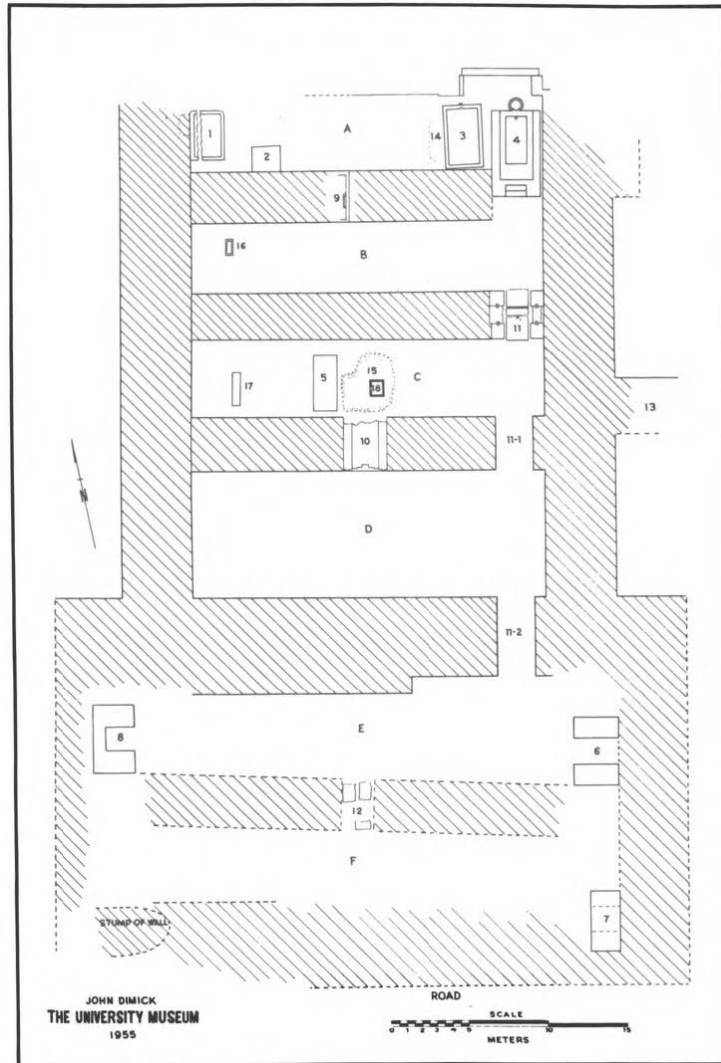
Figure 2.17. Plan of the House of Apis, Memphis. From Anthes 1959, pl. 41.

The Late Period expansion of the House of Apis is potentially even more informative about Achaemenid imperial intersection with the cult. The temple was built on two uneven terraces. Although there is epigraphic evidence for activity at the southern terrace during the 25th and 26th Dynasties, the higher northern terrace seems to be a later

addition. The excavators dated this addition to the reign of Nectanebo II (360-343 BCE) on three grounds:[191]

1.) A stela from Saqqara dating to the second year of Nectanebo (i.e., 358 BCE) makes reference to the inauguration of a new 'place of Apis.'[192]

2.) A hoard of thirteen imitation Athenian tetadrachms was found below floor level, and has been interpreted as a foundation deposit.[193]

3.) The ceramic material in the fill beneath the floor dates primarily to the fifth century, implying the north terrace was built sometime after that.

None of these three lines of evidence provides unequivocal evidence for the date of the construction of the northern terrace. The stela from the Serapeum does refer to the 'building of the Place of Apis' being ordered by Nectanebo, but there are no in situ remains at the site bearing cartouches of this pharaoh, and it is impossible to determine the extent of the building activity to which this stela refers. Likewise, the usefulness of coins for dating purposes is not straightforward by any means, especially when it is unclear as to why the coins in question were deposited.[194] As is discussed further in Chapter Six, these coins from below floor level in the addition to the House of Apis most likely belong to the fourth century BCE, though they could have been minted as early as c. 410 BE. It is also unlikely that these coins constituted a foundation deposit. None of the other foundation deposits datable to the fourth century contain coins, and there are no other examples of coins being used in this manner in Egypt until the reign of Ptolemy X

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[191] Jones 1990.
[192] PM III^2 779; published by Spiegelberg 1909b, 89-93.
[193] Published in Jones and Jones 1988, 107-10.
[194] Lockyear 2012.

(107-88 BCE).[195] This coin hoard was presumably hidden for some reason, making it intrusive in the architectural stratigraphy of the Apis House and therefore indicative only of the temple being in existence prior to its deposition. Certainly the hoard does not compel a fourth century date for the building activity. Lastly, the ceramic evidence is not definitive either, as shown by an excerpt from the brief ceramics report:

> The repertoire is very restricted, consisting almost entirely of red-slip jars of a few related forms probably to be placed in the earlier or middle years of the 5th century B.C., before the appearance of the full range of Persian forms. Thus the foundation compartments could have been filled and sealed by pavements at any time after this date.[196]

The ceramics indicate that the renovations occurred sometime after the mid-fifth century, but not necessarily in the fourth. It is at least a possibility that the Apis House was rebuilt with its northern addition under Achaemenid rule, perhaps in association with the funeral of the Apis bull that took place in year 11 of the reign of Darius II (i.e., 413 BCE). None of the available evidence requires a fourth century date.

The maintenance of the cult of Apis by means of the customary pharaonic involvement in the funerary rites served to maintain the Great King's royal status in Egypt, especially as the satrap's seat and power base was located in the cult's hometown of Memphis. Outside of Herodotus' account of Cambyses' slaughter of an Apis bull there is no indication that this cult was mistreated under Achaemenid rule, or that it suffered any neglect. Indeed, the Egyptian primary evidence directly contradicts Herodotus in certain key aspects, and his version of event needs to be considered in the wider context

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[195] Weinstein 1973, 297-308, 343-50, 391-2.
[196] French and Jones 1993, 21.

of the Egyptian literature of the time.[197] In all, the impression is one of business as usual. The priestly institutions remained operative, the rituals concerning the interments of the Apis bull and the Mother of Apis continued, and the names of the Achaemenid pharaohs were placed on monumental dedications, indicating that the financial and cultural infrastructures of the cults of Ptah and Apis remained intact.

Individual Experiences

In addition to the institutions discussed in the preceding sections, Achaemenid rule at Memphis, as in Egypt more broadly, was also experienced by individuals. These individuals had varying degrees of participation in that rule, with some coming to Egypt explicitly for that purpose, some native Egyptians becoming closely or loosely associated with the new regime in some aspect by necessity or inclination, and others leading lives that were effected only indirectly and perhaps in many cases without any sense of discernible change. This section addresses some cases of individual experience by considering two types of material, tomb monuments from Saqqara and Abusir, and personal names preserved in Aramaic and demotic papyri (primarily from Saqqara). Both of these provide access to major decisions made by individuals in the context of empire, namely decisions about preparations for the afterlife and the names given to their children. As is the case with institutions, the experiences of individuals seem to have varied considerably; and though there are few funerary and onomastic phenomena that

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[197] Dillery 2005.

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belong solely to the 27th Dynasty, certain trends and changes are nevertheless discernible that shed light on social conditions at the satrapal capital.

Tombs and Other Funerary Monuments

The extensive necropolis of Memphis has already been described earlier in this chapter. As noted above it was in use for private burials in the Early Dynastic Period (c. 3000-2686 BCE), and continued to be through the Ptolemaic and Roman periods and beyond. Tombs dating to the Late Period are scattered throughout this mortuary landscape. Identifying them, and especially those that belong specifically to the 27th Dynasty, is difficult, however, in large part because many of the features exhibited by these tombs (in terms of both form and burial practice) occur as early as the Saite period and continue to occur into the fourth century, if not later.[198]

Thus there are few reliable criteria for assigning a given Late Period tomb to any particular dynasty. Prosopography remains one of the best means of dating, especially as the Serapeum stelae preserve a large corpus of names and dates that can be checked against those that appear in tomb inscriptions. Cartouches containing royal names, however, are not necessarily good indicators of a tomb's date. In the tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir, for example, the foundation deposits featured objects bearing cartouches of Amasis, even though it is well established on the basis of his statue in the Vatican that he died during the reign of Darius I.[199] Moreover, as noted earlier in this chapter, many dead kings were worshipped and venerated long after their deaths;

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[198] See especially Aston 1999b.
[199] Bareš 1996.

accordingly, objects inscribed with these names could remain in use until well after the

king they name had died. Another potential criterion is the presence of Aramaic papyri.

The earliest Aramaic papyrus from Egypt, TADAE A1.1 (the so-called 'Adon letter'),

dates to c. 604 BCE. But the next earliest document of secure date, TADAE B1.1, dates

to 515 BCE, and the rest of the Aramaic papyri from Egypt are datable mainly to the fifth

century BCE (with a few to the fourth), on the basis of regnal dates and palaeography.[200]

So the presence of an Aramaic document in a tomb is a reasonable (though not foolproof)

indicator of a 27th Dynasty date.[201] There are also certain grave goods, such as ceramics,

which can potentially help to narrow down a tomb's date, assuming the types are known

well enough to be dated precisely.

In the absence of any of these definitive dating criteria, tombs are frequently

attributed to the 26th or 30th Dynasties by default, creating an appearance of scarcity

which, if accepted uncritically, undermines any attempt to use mortuary evidence to study

Achaemenid Memphis.[202] Perhaps the clearest example of this is Campbell's Tomb, a

large shaft tomb at Giza typically assigned to the 26th Dynasty.[203] The burial in the main

shaft cannot be dated to any specific dynasty. The individual in this burial, Pakap, has the

basilophorous beautiful name 'Wahibreemakhet,' which contains the name of Pharaoh

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[200] Vittmann 2003, 88. For TADAE A1.1 and B1.1 see Porten 1981 and Szubin and Porten 1992 respectively.

[201] The potential hazards of using Aramaic as a dating criterion are illustrated by the shaft tomb F17 near the pyramid of Unas at Saqqara. A papyrus, P. dem.-aram. LSA 03/143 (Lemaire and Chauveau 2008), featuring texts in both Aramaic and demotic (including a demotic annotation of an Aramaic text) was found in the tomb, as was a wooden sarcophagus with a demotic inscription referring to year 2 of Nectanebo II (i.e., 360 BCE). So there is at least a forty year gap between the latest time that the Aramaic texts were likely to have been written and the interment of the coffin. However, there are a number of other possible explanations for this gap, including that a burial of fifth century date was ejected from the tomb and subsequently replaced with another around 360. Without a comprehensive study of the deposition processes for papyri, it remains impossible to determine how much time normally elapsed between the last use of a papyrus sheet as a writing surface and its eventual deposition, either as cartonnage or as material set aside to become cartonnage but never actually used as such.

[202] Aston 1999b.

[203] LG 84; PM III[2] 290-1; Stammers 2009, 28-9, 110, 160-1.

Apries ('Wahibra' in Egyptian). Herman de Meulenaere argues this name only have been granted to Pakap by Apries himself during his reign.[204] But there are many examples of basilophorous names referring to kings who were long dead, so this name does not supply a firm dating criterion by any means.[205] However, one of the secondary burials in the tomb was that of Ptahhotep, a courtier and administrator who rose to prominence in the later reign of Darius I (he is discussed further in Chapter Four). He must have died after 490 BCE, and this is the only ironclad date for the entire tomb structure. Though it is possible that Pakap died prior to Achaemenid rule, or at least that he began building his tomb before 525, there is no actual evidence whatever supporting the attribution of Campbell's Tomb to the 26th Dynasty rather than the 27th.

Saqqara was still an important locus of burial in the 27th Dynasty. Although many installations of the Persian period await discovery or have not been distinguished from the larger category of the Late Period tombs that have been excavated, there are tantalizing glimpses of what may be there. The shaft tomb N1 at Saqqara, for example (recently excavated by the Louvre), contains Aramaic papyri that strongly suggest a fifth century date. The fourteen ceramic coffins with Aramaic inscriptions (as well as five Aramaic mummy tags) found during the course of the excavation of the pyramid of Khendjer (also at Saqqara) also very likely belong to this period.[206] The continued use or reuse of existing tombs during the 27th Dynasty is also attested here. For example, the tomb of Bakenrenef at Saqqara (LG 24), located near the causeway of the pyramid of

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[204] De Meulenaere 1966, 27-30; cf. de Meulenare 1966, 10, where he notes that the main burial cannot be dated. The term 'beautiful name,' a translation of the Egyptian term *rn nfr*, refers to one of the two names most Egyptians had. Often it was an abbreviation of the other, 'major' name, and may have functioned like a first name or nickname. See Vittmann 2013a, 3.

[205] Examples in Vittmann 2009, 96-7; 2013b, 6.

[206] Ziegler 2011, 77; Porten and Gee 2001, 270-3. The tomb is to be published in full in Ziegler, forthcoming.

Unas, was built in the reign of Psammetichus I (c. 664-610 BCE), but a number of

galleries were added to it during the fifth century, and there were repairs and additions

made during the fourth century and into the Ptolemaic period.[207] At least three

individuals, all named Horiraa, were interred in the tomb over the course of the fifth

century. It is not clear what relationship, if any, they had to Bakenrenef, though the

possibility of a family tomb being reused over multiple generations should not be ruled

out. At any rate, this is a useful illustration of how 27th Dynasty burials can be obscured

by their close proximity to material that can be clearly dated to other periods.

Perhaps the best dated and most thoroughly investigated tombs of 27th Dynasty

date are the five 'Saite-Persian' shaft tombs at Abusir excavated by the Czech Institute of

Egyptology (**Fig. 2.18**). One of these tombs is that of Udjahorresnet, the high ranking

courtier during the reigns of Cambyses and Darius I (discussed further in Chapter Four).

It appears that work on the tomb had already begun during the reign of Amasis, but it is

an important monument for the study of the early phases of Achaemenid rule in Egypt.[208]

The other four tombs are seemingly contemporary with Udjahorresnet's, since they all

have consistent orientations and were constructed on a grid plan of sorts.[209] The tombs of

Iufaa and Menekhibnekau, as well as tomb R3, all contained Greek and Egyptian

ceramics of late sixth and early fifth century date.[210] The tomb of Menekhibnekau also

contained a Phoenician storage jar with four inscriptions, three in Phoenician and one in

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[207] El Naggar 1978, 52-5; Bresciani et al. 1983, 32-9; Stammers 2009, 121-5.
[208] This is indicated by demotic graffiti on blocks from the tomb, of which fifteen preserve regnal years between 40 and 42 (Bareš 2002). No king is named, but Amasis is the only Late Period pharaoh who reigned this long. The tomb of Udjahorresnet is published in Bareš 1999; see also Verner 1994, 195-210.
[209] Bareš 2007.
[210] Bareš et al. 2003, 153-4; Bareš and Smoláriková 2008, 165-75; 2011, 314-16; Coppens and Smoláriková 2009, 98-104. The tomb of Menekhibnekau also contained a *menit* inscribed with a cartouche of Amasis (Bareš and Smoláriková 2011, 62), providing a terminus post quem for this tomb.
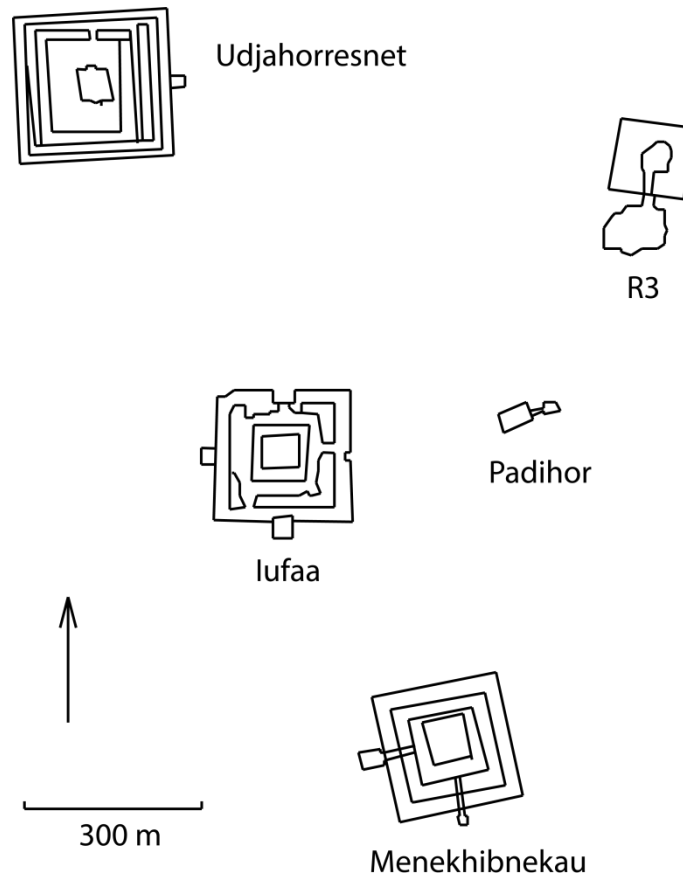
Figure 2.18. Plan of the shaft tombs at Abusir. After Coppens and Smoláriková 2009, fig. 1.

Aramaic, datable on paleographic grounds to the same time period.[211]

It is impossible to say how typical these five tombs were of 27th Dynasty burials more generally, but there is no reason to assume they were the only tombs of their kind and scale dating to this period, and it is likely they are representative of a larger corpus of Memphite tombs. That no other tombs of this date have yet been found at Abusir may well result from the necropolis shifting to more modest burials within a few decades.[212] The tombs of Udjahorresnet and his contemporaries are all shaft tombs, consisting of deep central shafts with burial chambers at the bottom, though among them there is a

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[211] Dušek and Mynářová 2011.
[212] As suggested by Bareš and Smoláriková 2011, 69-71; see also Bareš 2009 for the dating.

degree of variation within this general type. All of the five tombs also feature one or two secondary shafts which presumably provided access to the burial chamber once the main shaft had been filled, though they may also have had symbolic importance. For the most part the superstructures of these tombs have not survived, likely on account of looting in the late Roman period.[213] The shafts were surrounded by enclosure walls, and sometimes also by square trenches. Tomb R3 also had a small, sunken courtyard on its south side, outside of the enclosure wall.[214] The tomb of Iufaa contained five interments other than Iufaa himself, all of whom, on the basis of their skeletal remains, appear to have been related to him.[215] The other tombs contained only single burials.

Shaft tombs of this type are unique to the Late Period in the area around Memphis, appearing at least as early as the reign of Psammetichus II (595-589 BCE), if not before, and disappearing by the end of the fifth century.[216] The five tombs discussed here are architecturally indistinguishable from Saite examples. The orientation of the burials varies somewhat: the burial chamber in the tomb of Menekhibnekau is oriented on a north-south axis, whereas the burial chamber in the tomb of Iufaa is oriented on an east-west axis in accordance with normal practice in Egypt from the New Kingdom onwards. But this variability also occurs in the orientation of some Saite burials at Saqqara as well. The implication is that in the Late Period the orientation could be based on more than just cardinal direction.[217] At Saqqara and Abusir the abundance of much more ancient royal monuments had two important effects on the tombs constructed during the Late Period,

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[213] The presence of late Roman ceramics in these tombs is suggestive of activity at this time. All five of the tombs appear to have been at least partially robbed.

[214] Coppens and Smoláriková 2009, 86-7; Stammers 2009, 114.

[215] Bareš and Smoláriková 2008, 253-81.

[216] Bareš 1999, 21-9; Gestermann 2006; Stammers 2009, 26-39.

[217] Stammers 2009, 31. It is worth noting here as well that a north-south axis was the prevalent orientation of burials beginning in the Predynastic period and continuing through the Middle Kingdom (Raven 2005, 40-1).

including the 27th Dynasty. First, physical space in the necropolis was limited, which occasionally required tombs to have unusual structures in order to fit into small spaces. Second, there were many sources of cultural memory embedded in this landscape that had a great potential to affect how all Late Period burials were oriented.

The tombs that have so far been securely attributed to the Persian era specifically share other features with those of the Late Period generally. This is particularly notable in terms of their inscriptional content. There is a great deal of variety in the actual selection and disposition of the various funerary texts inscribed on the walls of the tombs.[218] These texts include spells from the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts, and the Book of the Dead, as well as formulae addressed to Osiris and Ptah-Sokar. When compared to the inscriptions on tombs of Saite date there is nothing unusual about these choices of funerary texts; indeed, the texts inscribed on the walls of the tomb of Iufaa even closely parallel those in the tombs of Bakenrenef, Amentefnakht, and Padineith.[219]

The titles held by Udjahorresnet, Iufaa, and Menekhibnekau are similarly consonant with those that occur elsewhere in the Memphis necropolis.[220] For example, Udjahorresnet's titles, as given in his tomb, include 'chief physician of Upper and Lower Egypt,' 'overseer of the scribes of the great prison,' 'prince,' 'mayor,' 'chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt,' 'sole companion,' and 'director of the palace,' all of which appear in other Late Period tombs.[221] The same is true of the titles of Iufaa and Menekhibnekau. The fact that the repertoire of titles has not changed significantly from the Saite to the Persian period suggests that there was no major shift in the social standing of the

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[218] Bareš 2006a.
[219] Stammers 2009, 65; see further Stammers 2009, 48-51, 60-8.
[220] R3 and the tomb of Padihor have only a few inscriptions.
[221] Stammers 2009, 152-70.

individuals buried in the more prominent private tombs at Saqqara and Abusir, or indeed that burial forms that had previously been restricted to certain classes of people had now become more widely available. Finally, the location of these five tombs at Abusir, somewhat removed from the loci of burial and cultic activity at Saqqara, conforms to the pre-Persian pattern of clustering tombs around earlier monuments, in this case the pyramids of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Moreover, it has been pointed out that their placement would have made them visible from the Palace of Apries, which, as discussed above, was an important center of administrative and imperial activity during the Late Period.[222]

In large part, then, there is nothing about these 27th Dynasty tombs that distinguishes them from their Saite predecessors. Even Udjahorresnet, whose participation in Achaemenid rule in Egypt is well-known, and who identified himself with the empire's elite in other contexts, does not make any reference to this aspect of his social and professional biography in the form or contents of his tomb. In other words, his distinguished situation within the imperial administration did not necessitate that for his burial he defer either in form or in ritual practice to the cultural practices of the Persian ruler. None of these tombs has any feature that is specific to the 27th Dynasty, and this is significant for our understanding of Achaemenid Memphis for a number of reasons.

First, these tombs, many of which are of significant size, clearly demonstrate that the advent of Achaemenid rule did not necessarily create a social or economic environment in which such tombs could no longer be built. It does appear that the tomb of Udjahorresnet was already under construction in the reign of Amasis, though it was

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[222] Stammers 2009, 19-22.

not used until his death in the 510s BCE, i.e., in the reign of Darius.[223] It may be that one or more of the other four tombs was also already under construction prior to Cambyses' invasion, but in no case did a severe economic downturn (or other major social change that would have affected burial practice on a wide scale) occur to prevent these tombs from being completed, furnished and used.

Second, the tomb of Udjahorresnet suggests that the lack of visual quotations of Achaemenid material culture was due to personal choice. On his statue now in the Vatican Udjahorresnet makes visual reference to his connections with the Achaemenid imperial elite; the absence of such references in the design and decoration of his tomb must be the result of his deliberate decision not to include them. This decision was not the result of a lack of cultural interaction in the context of Achaemenid Memphis. Udjahorresnet especially, whose career brought him to the Great King's court and back, was undoubtedly exposed to a wide variety of cultural, religious and funerary traditions in the course of his career.

Third, these tombs, some of which clearly belonged to individuals of decidedly elite status, illustrate one of the many possible reactions to Achaemenid rule in Egypt.[224] In Egypt people undertook preparations for their own burials well in advance, and accordingly had direct control over the design, construction and decoration of their tombs and funerary monuments.[225] The decisions they made in the process of creating these tombs were informed by variety of factors, including the prevailing social and cultural

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[223] For the date of the death of Udjahorresnet see Spalinger 1986. Based on the unfinished inscriptions and lack of a sarcophagus Verner (1991) suggests that Udjahorresnet was not ultimately interred in this tomb; however, Bareš (1999, 79-86) has convincingly argued that he was, but that the tomb was subsequently (and thoroughly) robbed.
[224] For a discussion of the social statuses of the owners of these tombs see Bareš 2006b.
[225] Baines and Lacovara 2002.

environment of the time. Thus for these individuals Achaemenid rule did not force them to change how they thought of the afterlife, or what they considered appropriate or necessary to include in the design and contents of their tombs.

But this is not, however, the only reaction to Achaemenid rule visible among the funerary monuments of Memphis. For example, there are funerary representations, now spatially removed from the tombs with which they were once associated, that show a different attitude. One of these, now in Berlin, was purchased by Baron von Bissing at Mit Rahina and is said to come from the area of Memphis (**Fig. 4.19**).[226] Though often referred to as such, it is not a stela per se, since it is wider than it is tall and seems to have been cut away from a larger relief of some kind.[227] The scene depicts a male figure laid out on his back on a funeral couch flanked by mourners, some of whom are pulling out their hair while others place dust on their heads. The deceased has a long beard and wears a sleeved garment. The figure's clothes and beard, the attitude of some of the mourners, and even the horse that appears in the upper left corner, all point to non-Egyptian norms. Although the portrayal of the body, laid out on its back on a bier, is a frequent image on Egyptian funerary monuments, normally the body would be mummified rather than shown wearing clothing as it is on this relief. No epigraphic material is preserved from the original monument, so it is impossible to say who it commemorated. But it is significant that within the context of the Memphite necropolis (with its ancient royal

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[226] Ägyptisches Museum 23721; von Bissing 1930; Vittmann 2003, 151. Both this relief and the stela of Djedherbes are examined in further detail in Chapter Four. Muscarella (2003) argues that its shape, its crude carving, its lack of provenance and the seeming eclecticism of its references to non-Egyptian cultural traditions all point to the relief being a modern forgery. Though this remains a possibility, the crude carving and eclecticism can also be interpreted as evidence for its genuineness, since in order to be convincing a forgery would adhere closely to the established canon and should exhibit high standards of craftsmanship in order to appeal to collectors and early Egyptologists who were especially concerned with aesthetics.
[227] The form of the monument to which it originally belonged cannot readily be deduced from the relief as it exists today.

tombs and contemporary monumental ones) this individual elected to make reference to a wider assortment of cultural practices than could be represented by traditional Egyptian norms alone. In particular his beard and the Iranian riding costume he wears reflects Persian culture, as does the inclusion of his horse in the scene. The acts of mourning depicted are more difficult to pin down, but they seem to reflect a combination of Egyptian (i.e., placing dust on one's head) and non-Egyptian (i.e., pulling out one's hair) practices. This individual, regardless of his station in life or place of origin, sought to identify himself in part with the Achaemenid Empire in death, while still being buried and commemorated in an Egyptian setting.

Another example of the integration of foreign elements into an Egyptian funerary monument is the stela of Djedherbes from Saqqara (**Fig. 4.18**).[228] The stela is a distinctly Egyptian form of funerary monument that features a distinctly Egyptian scene, namely the embalming of the deceased in the presence of Anubis. But it also includes in its lower register a seated figure who clearly evokes Achaemenid imperial iconography. The seated figure, who is bearded, wears a long, sleeved garment akin to the Persian 'court garb' depicted in the reliefs from Persepolis.[229] It is not certain who the seated figure is meant to represent (see further discussion in Chapter Four). But the allusions to the cultural norms of the Achaemenid are distinctive. In this instance we know that the stela's owner, Djedherbes, had an Egyptian name, as did his mother, while his father had a Persian name. While these names need not indicate the ethnic origins of his family they do point to the multicultural environment of his upbringing.[230] This multiculturalism in turn

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[228] Cairo JE 98807; Mathieson et al. 1995. It was discovered at Saqqara being reused as part of a later tomb, and thus presumably originates from somewhere within the necropolis there.
[229] For court garb see Root 1979, *passim*; 2011b, 426-33; Stronach 2011.
[230] Names and naming practices are discussed further in the next section.

informed his choice of funerary monument. He could have commissioned a monument

that drew exclusively on one set of cultural practices. Instead he opted for a visual effect

that expressed the complexity both of his relationship to the Achaemenid Empire and of

the larger social environment in Memphis in which he made the decisions about his tomb.

The Saqqara Papyri

Another body of evidence informing our study of how different individuals

experienced the Achaemenid Empire is provided by the papyri from the Sacred Animal

Necropolis at North Saqqara. Most of the papyri probably originated in Memphis proper,

since only a small number pertain to the administration of the animal cults themselves or

to relevant religious matters.[231] Indeed, a great number of the papyri of Late Period date

excavated at Saqqara are similarly decontextualized, probably because they were

intended to be reused as mummy cartonnage, either for human burials or for sacred

animal mummies. But for some reason these papyri were never used for mummification.

At least 520 demotic and 181 Aramaic papyri were discovered in the fill of the northern

enclosure, and an additional fifteen demotic papyri were found in the central temple

enclosure; another 225 demotic and 22 Aramaic papyri were found in surface contexts in

the southern dependencies of the temple complex.[232] The deposition of these papyri has

been dated to the third century BCE based on the architectural stratigraphy of the site.[233]

The composition dates of the demotic documents seem in general, however, to belong to

the fifth and fourth centuries on the basis of the few identifiable regnal dates preserved on

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[231] These are discussed in Davies 2002 and Smith 2002.
[232] Smith and Martin 2009, 23.
[233] Smith et al. 2006, 119-22.

them. The Aramaic ones likely all date even more narrowly to the fifth century, since the use of this language in Egypt was significantly reduced after 400 BCE.[234] Those papyri that are intelligible seem to consist of reports, letters and contracts, i.e., normal business documents generated by individuals and larger administrative apparatuses, including perhaps the Achaemenid imperial administration.

Despite the poor condition of these papyri the efforts of the papyrologists working on them have already yielded important results. A fuller examination of these results and their implications for the understanding of the administration, prosopography and economic life of Late Period Memphis is beyond the scope of this study, and is best left to the appropriate specialists. For the purposes of this discussion the personal names that occur in these documents are, nevertheless, highly suggestive. At least twenty-seven names of possible Persian origin have been identified in the Aramaic texts.[235] Likewise, a number of names that similarly appear to be of Persian origin have also been identified in the demotic papyri.[236] Some of these foreign-named individuals, such the general mentioned above who occurs in the demotic letter EES S.H5-DP 269 + 284, are very likely to be foreigners who have come to Egypt either on imperial business, or on business of their own that required them to travel across the empire. For most of them, however, there is no way of determining ethnic or geographic origin on the basis of the names alone. For example, in the demotic legal document EES S.H5-DP 174 we find one Bagaya, who has a Persian name, and whose mother, Tahesis, has an Egyptian name.[237] From this document alone we cannot tell where Bagaya or his parents were born, what

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[234] Smith and Martin 2009, 23.
[235] Zadok 1986.
[236] Smith 1992; Huyse 1992; Tavernier 2002; Smith and Martin 2009, *passim*.
[237] Smith and Martin 2009, no. 13.

languages they spoke at home, or whether they considered themselves Egyptian or Persian or both. But we can say with certainty that his family made use of both Egyptian and non-Egyptian names. The combination of Egyptian and non-Egyptian names within a single family is also widely attested in the Aramaic papyri from the rest of Egypt, Elephantine especially, with Persian names being distinctly popular.[238]

The occurrence of non-Egyptian names, and Persian names especially, on some of these papyri from Saqqara results from both the introduction of new names by foreign individuals and from parents of various ethnic backgrounds selecting these names for their children; some may also have been assumed by adults for social or political effect. The reasons informing such choices are varied, in Egypt as in all societies, with habit, familial tradition (especially papponymy) and religious concerns all potentially playing a role.[239] But despite this individual variability it is nevertheless a sound assumption that the names chosen for children by their parents were considered suitable and in some cases distinctly advantageous. This assumption is borne out by research into modern name-giving, which finds that "many parents, whether they realize it or not, like the sound of names that sound 'successful,'" even if those names do not necessarily derive from the cultural or linguistic traditions to which the parents themselves belong.[240] In other words, the names parents give their children are aspirational, and this is the case in Egypt as well. An obvious example is provided by the name *Ḏd-Ptḥ-jw.f-ꜥnḫ*, meaning "Ptah said, he will live," which seemingly reflects parental anxiety concerning infant

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[238] Porten 2003.

[239] Vittmann 2013a; 2013b.

[240] Levitt and Dubner 2005, 179-204; the quote is from 202.

mortality.[241] The selection of names was often less explicitly referential than this, and what construed a successful name varied considerably according to the family's circumstances, with a variety of factors affecting the actual choice. But except in rare instances the naming of a child spoke, deliberately or unconsciously, to the parents' hopes for that child.

The presence of non-Egyptian names in these papyri suggests that they had joined repertoire of 'successful' names in Egypt. No doubt many of these were given to the children of foreign individuals, but as we have seen this was not always the case. Some Egyptians found that certain foreigners, Persians included, were worthy of emulation on account of their apparent success, however such success was judged. This represents a distinct change from earlier periods, when foreigners, though tolerated, were treated in ideological terms as agents of chaos and destruction. This perception of success may have to do with the connections these foreigners had to other parts of the empire, which provided economic advantages and access to sources of charismatic authority, and perhaps also with the fact that many of them had come to Egypt on imperial business and were thus taking advantage of certain opportunities provided by Achaemenid rule.

Not all Egyptians reacted in this inclusive manner. For example, throughout the first millennium BCE names referring to the defeat of an enemy by a divine power were popular in Egypt, and it has been suggested that the employment of these names (called *noms imprécatoires* by modern scholars) was an act of resistance against foreign rulers by some Egyptians.[242] Others simply continued traditions of papponymy and using

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[241] Vittmann 2013b, 2; Ranke 1926, 734-5. The name implies that the parents consulted an oracle of Ptah in regard to the birth of their child, but this implication does not necessarily reflect literal action.
[242] Vittmann 2013a, 7-8; Guentch-Ogloeuff 1941. The Persians are not referenced explicitly in these names, as the Egyptians believed that even the components of names could have magical powers.

family names. Some individuals took on second names. This is attested directly in one interesting case of a hieroglyphic graffito of an imperial official from the Wadi Hammamat dating to 461 BCE.[243] The official has a Persian name, Ariyawrata, but the inscription specifies further that Ariyawrata was also called Djeho, which is clearly an Egyptian name. Such double names are much better attested in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in Egypt, where they appear to have been deployed selectively depending on the social or political context in which an individual was operating at a given time.[244] This no doubt applies to some of the names that appear in the Saqqara papyri as well, and it helps us to understand the social implications of the naming practices discernible in these documents.

The onomastic evidence provided by these papyri parallels the archaeological evidence provided by the funerary monuments discussed above. While it is certainly the case that many people in Egypt carried on as before, experiencing little if any effect of Achaemenid rule in terms of how they conceived of themselves and their relationships to the wider world, others experienced it in significant ways, significant enough that it changed how they prepared for the afterlife and how they named their children.

Discrepant Experiences at Achaemenid Memphis

The picture of Achaemenid Memphis presented in this chapter is incomplete, due to the vagaries of archaeological preservation, lack of interest on the part of scholars until

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[243] Posener 1936, no. 33. The official's title is *saris*, which Briant (2002, 276-7) suggests must mean 'courtier,' though it is often rendered inaccurately into the Greek term for 'eunuch.'
[244] E.g., Clarysse 1985.

comparatively recent times, and modern destruction of the site resulting from human activities.[245] Nevertheless, what remains is illustrative of both the imperial presence in the city and the range of experiences had by its inhabitants during the 27th Dynasty. The imperial presence, centered on the Palace of Apries, must have been distinctive, as there was a sizable garrison quartered in the city, and the palace had become part of the larger imperial administrative apparatus. That said, the soldiers that comprised this garrison would have been drawn from throughout the empire, and the administrators would have included Egyptians whose positions in existing institutions made them de facto imperial agents. Indeed, the sealings from the Palace of Apries suggest that this administration, like that attested in the Persepolis Fortification Archive, fostered a social environment in which people could draw on a wide variety of cultural motifs in order to represent themselves.

It is interesting that one of the key features of the imperial presence at Memphis, the satrapal court, is largely invisible archaeologically. The reason for this invisibility was the satrap's seamless insertion into the existing Egyptian bureaucracy and power structure, including his use of the Saite pharaoh's palace. This insertion was no doubt facilitated by individuals like those buried at Abusir, whose titles, such as 'director of the palace,' 'chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt,' 'writer of memoranda,' 'scribe of the royal documents,' and 'director of the palaces of the Red Crown,' imply their involvement in the court.[246] Since the Great King was rarely present in Egypt in person, these individuals were most likely involved principally in the activities and operation of the satrapal court. This example is suggestive of the difficulty in identifying imperial

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[245] See e.g., Kemp 1977, 102; Jeffreys 2012.
[246] Titles listed in Stammers 2009, 156-8.

presence at Memphis when it was expressed primarily in Egyptian terms, and the material taken here should be considered as representing a minimum of the overall imperial presence in this city.

There is also a range of experiences attested at Achaemenid Memphis. For some people and institutions the presence of the empire, as articulated above, ensured continuity rather than change. The cult of the Apis bull provides the best evidence for this sort of experience on the part of a singularly Egyptian institution. The interment of the bulls at the Serapeum continued, using ever larger coffins, and the rebuilding of the House of Apis attributed to the fourth century could just as easily have taken place in the fifth. The imperial support for the cult was part of the Great King's responsibility as pharaoh to maintain *maat*, or cosmic order, and in the Persian Period this responsibility was clearly undertaken with gusto. Similarly, the shaft tombs at Abusir exhibit clear continuities with Sait tombs, even though the titles of these individuals as recorded in their tombs imply their involvement in the satrapal court at high levels. One of them, Udjahorresnet, even claims elsewhere to have personally been summoned to the court of Darius (at Susa or Persepolis, presumably). The implication of this continuity is that service to the empire did not compel one to identify with it. Indeed, as mentioned above this same conclusion can be drawn from the vestiges of the imperial administration in Memphis, namely sealings from the Palace of Apries.

At the same time, Achaemenid rule clearly loomed large for certain other individuals. This is most readily discernibly from the names that occur in demotic and Aramaic papyri alike, which show a marked uptick in the number of names borrowed from Old Persian. It is not any great number to be sure, and some of these people so

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named were definitely transplants from elsewhere in the empire. But especially given the mixtures of names from different languages that occur within single families, it appears that some residents of Memphis saw themselves as denizens of the empire, and named their children accordingly.

The variable, even contradictory, findings presented here emphasize that Achaemenid rule in Memphis did not at all create a uniform experience. Rather, everyone had his or her own experience with the empire, informed by a wide variety of factors. These discrepant experiences occurred against a backdrop of an imperial presence that was simultaneously vigorous and open, and thus permitting the range of responses seen here. In other words, the very nature of Achaemenid imperialism at Memphis facilitated the continued employment of Egyptian cultural memory as a major source of charismatic authority, while at the same time it added another source of that authority, namely connections to the empire, on which people could draw as they saw fit.

The material discussed in this chapter and the conclusions drawn from it provide a useful starting point for understanding objects from elsewhere in Egypt, many of which are of putative or uncertain provenance, and for addressing other bodies of evidence which are less plentiful or consist of specific types of material. The next chapter seeks to contextualize Memphis by considering the empire's presence and impact in the Kharga Oasis in the western desert.

CHAPTER THREE

THE KHARGA OASIS IN THE WESTERN DESERT

There is a certain kind of banishment, as to an island, in the province of Egypt: banishment to the Oasis.

- Ulpian of Tyre, *On the Duties of Proconsul*[1]

Conditions in Upper Egypt

In the previous chapter we saw how Memphis retained its centrality, vibrancy, and cosmopolitan nature under Achaemenid rule. Thebes, its Upper Egyptian counterpart, had a decidedly different experience with the empire, one that fits the city's broader historical pattern of aloofness from pharaonic power since the New Kingdom and resultant measures to co-opt it or bring it to heel. Thebes had been the capital of Egypt at the height of the New Kingdom, and with the political disintegration of the Third Intermediate Period it became essentially an autonomous city-state. Libyan and the Kushite pharaohs both inserted themselves into the city's power structure by having their daughters adopted as heiresses to the God's Wife of Amun, a major priestly office there. But otherwise both seem to have left local Theban administration and authority largely

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[1] Apud *Digest* 48.22.7.5.

intact.[2] This made Thebes an important actor on Egypt's national political scene, and this importance is reflected in the royal monuments built there, by the Kushite pharaohs especially.

When Psammetichus I finally dislodged Thebes from the Kushite sphere of influence, he reintegrated Thebes into the pharaonic apparatus of rule through the installation of his daughter Nitocris as heiress to the God's Wife of Amun.[3] With this act the city lost its previous autonomy and became politically marginalized. There is comparatively little evidence for royal activity at Thebes during the Saite period, or private tomb construction on any major scale. While this is no doubt due in part to lack of interest in the Late Period on the part of excavators, the extensiveness of fieldwork in this part of Egypt means that this impression probably does not derive entirely from modern scholarly bias.[4] Even the standard form of writing in Thebes, known to modern scholars as 'abnormal hieratic,' was replaced by demotic, brought south by Saite administrators from the royal court at Memphis.[5] In essence, the Saite answer to the potential threat posed by Thebes' political, economic and religious power was to favor the city of Memphis at Thebes' expense.

The picture of Thebes under Achaemenid rule suggests that the Persians also adopted this approach. There is little evidence for the construction of new monuments or additions to existing temples.[6] The necropolis on the Theban west bank remained active, but as in the 26th Dynasty there is no clear evidence for the construction of new elite

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[2] Jansen-Winkeln 2001; Naunton 2010, 123-6; Ayad 2009, 10-22.
[3] For these events see de Meulenaere 2003. The details of the adoption of Nitocris are commemorated on a stela found at Karnak (Cairo JE 36327; Ritner 2009, 575-82).
[4] Aston 2003, 138-55.
[5] Vleeming 1981b; see also Ray 1994, 52-4.
[6] Wuttmann and Marchand 2005, 112-13.

tombs comparable to that of Udjahorresnet and his neighbors at Abusir.[7] Of particular

note is that the office of God's Wife of Amun seems to have been permitted (or

encouraged) to die out. The last person known to hold this position was

Ankhnesneferibre, daughter of Psammetichus II. She is attested down into the brief reign

of Psammetichus III (526-525 BCE). Since she had assumed office in c. 586, she likely

died of old age not long after Cambyses' conquest in 525. It is not known if her

designated successor (another princess named Nitocris), ever assumed office. It is

possible that she had a brief tenure, but Mariam Ayad has proposed that the Persians

deliberately allowed the position to disappear by attrition.[8] The reason for this decision,

she argues, was that they had a different strategy for bringing Thebes and the rest of

Upper Egypt securely under Achaemenid control.

Like their Saite predecessors the Achaemenid pharaohs made Memphis the

administrative and political center of Egypt. They also installed a Jewish garrison at

Elephantine at the first cataract of the Nile, the traditional southern border of Egypt.[9] The

date of the foundation of this military colony is usually placed in the 26th Dynasty

because of a reference in an Aramaic letter (TADAE A4.7) to the community's temple

already existing at the time of Cambyses' invasion. But the earliest Aramaic document

from Elephantine dates to 495 BCE (TADAE B5.1), so even if this colony did exist

earlier it became prominent only under Achaemenid rule. Another imperial outpost was

set up at Dorginarti at the second cataract, reoccupying a fort originally of 26th Dynasty

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[7] Aston 2003, 155-62.
[8] Ayad 2001.
[9] The papyri consist mainly of personal papers such as marriage agreements and contracts, that provide brief glimpses into the colony's role as an imperial garrison (see Porten 1968; Porten et al. 1996; Azzoni 2013). The archaeological remains of this Jewish community are limited, but some sense of them may be had from von Pilgrim 1998; 2002; 2003, and Rosenberg 2004. See also further discussion in Chapter Five.

date.[10] There is also ample evidence in the form of graffiti for Achaemenid expeditions into the Wadi Hammamat in the eastern desert in search of building materials.[11]

Despite the importance of these aggregate data from elsewhere in Upper Egypt, the most distinctive example of Achaemenid interest in this area lies in the western desert in the Kharga Oasis. There, in a harsh desert climate which had seen only limited human habitation since the Old Kingdom, no fewer than three temples were constructed during the 27th Dynasty. Additionally, the introduction of the 'qanat,' an irrigation technology originating in Iran, permitted the expansion of agricultural activity and settlement in the oasis in a manner hitherto impossible.

This interest on the part of the empire goes beyond anything attempted previously by the Saite pharaohs, and as such it was a distinctly Achaemenid undertaking, carried out for the purpose of furthering imperial objectives. As a result, the Kharga Oasis provides a significant concentration of material dating to the 27th Dynasty, but one that is very different from that preserved from Memphis and its environs. The difference relates to the contrast between Memphis' status as a longstanding urban center located at the apex of Nile Delta and the oasis' remote desert position on the Egyptian frontier. Thus the Kharga Oasis serves as a counterweight to Memphis, providing an important added perspective on the nature and impact of Achaemenid rule.

Geographic and Historical Setting of the Oasis

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[10] Heidorn 1991; 1992.
[11] Posener 1936, nos. 11-35; Goyon 1957, nos. 108-9; Bongrani Fanfoni and Israel 1994.

The Kharga Oasis is the largest and southernmost oasis in the western desert of Egypt, lying some 200 km west of the Nile Valley. Like the other oases it is a large depression in the high desert, approximately 185 km long north to south, and between 20 and 80 km wide. It has even been suggested that the Egyptian term for oasis, *wḥ3.t*, was related to the word for 'cauldron,' perhaps reflecting this feature of the oasis' geography.[12] The Kharga Oasis itself was probably referred to by the term *wḥ3.t rsy.t*, meaning 'southern oasis,' though this term may also at times have encompassed the nearby Dakhla Oasis as well, since both oases together form a single large depression. The oasis was connected to the Nile Valley by means of several overland routes across the desert that cut through the steep northern and eastern scarp.[13] It is impossible to say precisely when the various routes were in use. Probably they all went in and out of use at different times. In some cases there is definitive evidence for their utilization during the Late Period and more specifically in the Persian Period. Demotic graffiti at Apa Tyrannos west of Armant naming Darius I indicate that the routes to the oasis through the Bulaq and Jaja passes were in use in the 27th Dynasty.[14] Furthermore, ceramic remains along the roads connecting Thebes and Kharga attest to a significant amount of traffic during the Late Period.[15] To the west Kharga had easy access to the Dakhla Oasis and to the other oases, and to the Abu Ballas trail leading westward to Gilf Kebir and ultimately the Kufra Oasis in Libya.[16] To the south it was connected to the Darb al Arbein, the 'Road of Forty Days,' caravan route, which penetrated deep into the Sudan.[17]

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[12] Giddy 1987, 37-9, who expresses reservations about this etymological link.
[13] Giddy 1987, 6-10.
[14] Di Cerbo and Jasnow 1996.
[15] Darnell 2000.
[16] Kuhlmann 2002, 149-58. It is interesting to note that the modern toponym 'Kufra' derives ultimately from the Aramaic word 'kapr-a,' meaning 'village' (Kuhlmann 2002, 158). Since Aramaic was used in

Evidence indicates human occupation of the oasis going back some 40,000 years to the Upper Paleolithic, and continuing down to the Neolithic in the fourth millennium BCE.[18] For much of this time water was available from springs. But the increasing aridification of the eastern Sahara over the course of the fifth millennium compelled these springs to be supplemented by the digging of artesian wells, as at KS043, a Neolithic habitation site 12 km southwest of Dush, occupied between 4800 and 4200 BCE.[19] After about 3500 BCE the already limited rainfall ceased entirely, and settlement in the oasis contracted significantly. For much of the historic period the Kharga Oasis seems to have been only sparsely populated.[20] Textual sources of various kinds from the Nile valley do make reference to the oases, including Kharga, but it can be difficult to determine which oasis is meant in a given context, and on the whole the corpus of such texts is comparatively limited.[21] In general Egyptian activity in the western desert until the Late Period, including in the Kharga Oasis, seems to have been focused more on expeditions, trade, and procurement of raw materials than on settlement.[22]

Thus for much of Egyptian history the Kharga Oasis was a distant and desolate place, far from the reliable waters of the Nile. Like the other oases it was viewed by the Egyptians as a place apart from civilization, dangerous for reasons of both climate and marauders.[23] The word 'oasis' in Egyptian was even spelled using a hieroglyphic

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Egypt primarily in the 27th Dynasty, the implication is that there was a significant amount of traffic between the Egyptian oases and Kufra at this time.

[17] Roe 2005-6 doubts that this route was much in use prior to the first century CE; however, Schneider 2010 argues that the Amduat, a New Kingdom funerary text, reveals a familiarity with the geography and climate of the Chad Basin in central Africa.

[18] Overview in Wiseman 1999.

[19] Briois et al. 2012.

[20] Caton-Thompson 1952, 45-53.

[21] These are enumerated and discussed by Giddy 1987, 50-98.

[22] Kuhlmann 2002.

[23] Morris 2010a.

ideogram meaning 'morbid bodily conditions,' perhaps suggesting an idea of disagreeability.[24] The traditional Egyptian view of the oasis is expressed poignantly in Papyrus Pushkin 127, a hieratic literary letter of late New Kingdom date describing the travails of a priest named Wermai. It paints a grim picture of life in the oasis:

> Mark you, I am sick at heart; for a month I have been kept away from grain. I and those who are with me ache with hunger. The people among whom I am, their well-to-do are few; the Nile is stopped, and their land in darkness. They cannot escape from dire affliction.[25]

Under the Roman Empire the Kharga Oasis was a place of exile for undesirables, including St. Athanasius and Archbishop Nestorius.[26] Several fortresses were also established here in Roman times, increasing the impression that, in the Roman view certainly, the oasis was a dangerous frontier zone.[27] Indeed, papyri of Roman date from the Kharga and Dakhla oases refer to the Nile valley as 'Egypt,' implying that as in the pharaonic period the oases were considered beyond the borders of Egyptian civilization.[28]

Despite traditional Egyptian views of it as a place to be avoided, Kharga and the other oases served as an important alternative route to the Nile itself.[29] As noted in the previous chapter the strategic and commanding siting of Memphis resulted in part from its key position between the Delta and the Nile valley. This location meant that in order to bypass Memphis it was necessary to travel via desert routes and make extensive use of the oases. For example, during the war to expel the Hyksos from Egypt during the

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[24] Giddy 1987, 38. Herodotus (3.26) calls the Kharga Oasis 'the Isles of the Blessed' (Μακάρων νῆσος), though Spiegelberg (1905) shows this is a mistranslation of an Egyptian term.
[25] Trans. Caminos 1977, 71.
[26] Schwartz 1966.
[27] Reddé 1999; Boozer 2013.
[28] Bingen 1998, 290.
[29] Kuhlmann 2002.

Second Intermediate Period the besieged Hyksos king Apepi sent a messenger through the oases (Kharga included) to Kerma to try to convince the Kushites to attack Pharaoh Kamose's forces from the rear. Kamose, however, intercepted the messenger in the Bahariya Oasis, and then secured the oasis to prevent it from happening again.[30]

The initial Achaemenid encounter with the Kharga Oasis, as recounted by Herodotus (3.26), fits the broader pattern of Egyptian experience with the western desert. In the course of his conquest of Egypt Cambyses dispatched a force of 50,000 men from Thebes to subdue the 'Ammonians.' Herodotus reports that they marched five days into the desert and arrived at a city called 'Oasis'(ἐς Ὄασιν πόλιν). Given the allotted time, this must refer to Kharga.[31] From there the Persian army set out into the desert once again, heading for its ultimate objective, usually understood to be the Siwa Oasis. However, Herodotus says, the army never made it to the land of the Ammonians. The Ammonians themselves (according to Herodotus) claimed that the army's disappearance was caused by its burial in a freak sandstorm. It is entirely possible that a sandstorm caused the failure of this expedition, but, as discussed in the introduction, Herodotus' narrative of Cambyses' activities in Egypt may represent an attempt on the part of the Egyptians to preserve the integrity of Egyptian cultural memory, which in Herodotus' interpretation results in the depiction of Cambyses as a madman.

Regardless of the details, this account probably reflects an attempt on the part of Cambyses to subdue the oases by way of military force in order to secure them against their use by enemy agents and armies, like Kamose did a thousand years earlier. Indeed, the strategic importance of the Kharga Oasis was underscored a few decades later during

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[30] This is according to the 'Kamose texts,' collected and translated in Simpson 2003, 345-50.
[31] Osing 1998, 1447-8.

Inarus' revolt following the death of Xerxes.[32] A demotic ostracon from Ayn Manawir names Inarus (without a cartouche) in a dating formula on a contract.[33] Inarus' power base was in the Delta, and the use of his name in this manner in the Kharga Oasis suggests he had utilized the oasis bypass in an attempt to circumvent the imperial stronghold of Memphis. The specifics of this attempt are unknown, but it is interesting that this scribe at Ayn Manawir apparently refused to honor Inarus with a cartouche, even while using his name to date a document. At the risk of reading too much into this one detail, it seems that Inarus' forces were not entirely welcome in the oasis.

The importance of Kharga and the other oases for maintaining control of Egypt is clear. Following Cambyses' expedition, the Achaemenids seemingly adopted a new approach to them, one that emphasized their integration into the Egyptian cultural and political sphere instead of military domination. The Persians introduced an irrigation technology to the Kharga Oasis, the qanat, which facilitated agriculture on a level that was previously impossible, leading even to the cultivation of cash crops. They founded at least three temples, including the major temple of Amun at Hibis. The combination of temples and irrigation suggests the establishment of new settlements or the enhancement and development of existing ones. And all of this was apparently achieved without the construction of fortresses to defend these new installations. Their approach was not to fortify the oasis so much as to populate it. This served the dual purpose of creating an alternate Upper Egyptian cult center of the god Amun, further disenfranchising Thebes, and bringing the Kharga oasis into the imperial fold. It is important not to overstate the

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[32] For the revolt see now Kahn 2008.
[33] The ostracon is published by Chauveau 2004; Winnicki 2006 corrects Chauveau's reading of Inarus' title from 'chief of the rebels' to 'chief of the Bakalu,' a Libyan tribe.

ramifications of this shift, but it nevertheless represents an important departure from earlier approaches to controlling and exploiting the oasis.

Irrigation

The evidence for the development of irrigation in the Kharga Oasis during the 27th Dynasty consists primarily of 'qanats.' 'Qanat' (plural *qanatha* or *qanawat*; often Anglicized as 'qanats') is an Arabic term for an underground gallery connecting a water source with a cistern some distance away from it (**Fig. 3.1**). They are known by different names throughout the Old World (e.g., *karez*, *khettara*, *falaj*, *foggara*), and variations of them have been used from Morocco to Japan, as well as in Mexico and Peru. They have particular utility for supplying water in arid environments for the twin purposes of human consumption and irrigation. Thus they permit habitation of an otherwise inhospitable region, and their value is readily appreciable in a place such as Egypt, especially in the Western Desert far from the life-giving waters of the Nile.
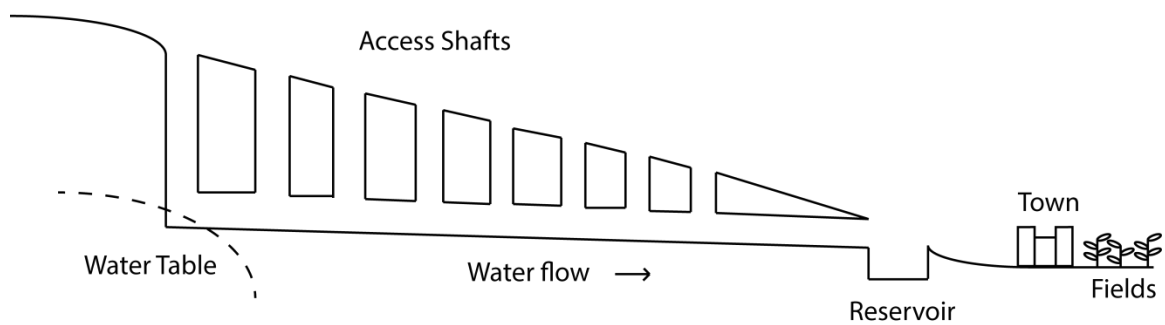
Figure 3.1. Schematic drawing of a qanat. After Wilson 2006, fig. 18.2.

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A qanat is an underground water channel connecting a source of water with a cistern. In the western desert of Egypt the most prevalent source of water is the Nubian Sandstone Aquifer System, the largest known fossil water aquifer in the world.[34] Once the water source and destination were determined, and the qanat's overall course plotted, a series of vertical shafts were dug down from the surface, and then horizontal galleries were dug between them at an incline.[35] In the finished qanat the water flowed from the source to the cistern, from which it was redirected into surface channels or drawn with containers. The actual speed of construction varied, depending on the digging conditions, but one estimate based on conditions in the Kharga Oasis suggests it took at least five years to dig a single qanat.[36]

In addition to this physical construction time it was also necessary, in the absence of modern measuring instruments, for those responsible for the building and upkeep of qanats to have access to an extensive store of geodetic knowledge.[37] This knowledge was either built up over a long period of time through experience and trial and error, or supplied by an outside expert familiar with the technology. This latter point is especially important for understanding the spread of the qanat: while it is quite possible it was invented independently at different times and places, the expertise necessary to create and maintain a qanat is more consistent with a model of transmission from one region to another by means of skilled hydrological engineers.

Qanats in the Kharga Oasis

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[34] Giddy 1987, 29-31.
[35] Grewe 2008, 323-4; Stiros 2006, 1059.
[36] Bousquet and Robin 1999, 32-3.
[37] Stiros 2006.

The qanats of the Kharga Oasis in Egypt have been known for over a century. In 1909 H. J. Llewellyn Beadnell described a number of them in the northern part of the oasis and provided not only discussion of their condition and functionality, but also some interesting ethnographic data about the effort necessary to their cleaning and maintenance.[38] Yet despite this, they have only recently been subject to rigorous study and survey, and then in only two parts of the oasis: Ayn Manawir in the south and in the vicinity of Qasr Gib and Qasr Sumeira in the north. These qanats likely represent only a fraction of those that once existed in the Kharga Oasis; there are anecdotal reports of several others, and they have also now been discovered in the adjoining Dahkleh Oasis.[39] Many more must remain as yet unrecognized, especially as without regular maintenance they are apt to become filled with windblown sand, causing them to become difficult to locate and identify.

Ayn Manawir is one of five hill sites (the best known of which is Dush, ancient Kysis) in the Baris basin at the southern end of the Kharga Oasis. The site, which has been the subject of fieldwork by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale since 1994, includes a mud-brick temple dedicated to Osiris and two groups of houses.[40] Several hundred demotic ostraca were excavated as well, from both a building adjoining the southern wall of the temple and from some of the houses. These ostraca are significant not only for their dates, which range mostly from 445 to 390 BCE, but also for their

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[38] Beadnell 1909, 167-85. He also associated them with the Achaemenids, albeit only with reference to the technology utilized in their construction.
[39] E.g., Beadnell 1909, 167-85; Cruz-Uribe 2003b, 541-2. For the qanats in the Dakhla Oasis see now Youssef 2012.
[40] Wuttmann et al. 1996, 393-402; Grimal 1997, 340-2; Willeitner 2003, 46-8.

content, much of which pertains to the sale and management of water rights.[41] The French team also identified twenty-two qanats dug into the northern and eastern slopes of the hill and feeding agricultural fields below.[42] They are spaced somewhat evenly at intervals of between 150 and 200 m on the north slope, and less regularly on the east. Their overall lengths range between about 200 and 350 m.

In addition to those at Ayn Manawir, qanats have also been discovered nearby at Ayn Boreq, Ayn Ziyada, Dikura, and Dush.[43] With the exception of Dush these sites have not been explored systematically, and thus the qanats associated with them cannot be dated accurately. Extensive Roman period remains have been excavated at Dush, though this of course does not preclude the possibility of earlier occupation levels. In many cases these qanats form parts of water supply systems that include other technologies as well; this could be a result of the upkeep of these systems over successive periods and their adaption to changing needs and technologies. With further fieldwork it may become possible to date these qanats more securely, but as will be discussed further below the association between the qanat and the Achaemenid Empire strongly suggests the possibility these qanats were first built during Achaemenid rule.

Additionally, the North Kharga Oasis Survey, a joint University of Cambridge-American University in Cairo project, dedicated its 2002 season to a survey of the qanats in the northeast of the oasis. Thus far only a brief descriptive report of the qanats has been published, but it is sufficient to consider at least their date and purpose.[44] The survey focused on two forts at Qasr Gib and Qasr Sumeira, near the main route from

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[41] The ostraca have not yet been fully published, but summaries and interpretations are provided by Chauveau 1996; 2001; 2003; 2005; 2008; 2011; Wuttmann et al. 1996, 408-14; 1998, 442-4. I must defer discussion of their content and language to demoticists.
[42] Wuttmann et al. 1996, 440-7; 1998, 398-421; 2000; Wuttmann 2001; Gonon 2005.
[43] Bousquet 1996, 195-202.
[44] Schacht 2003; for the North Kharga Oasis Survey, see Ikram 2007.

Kharga to Asyut in the Nile river valley. Three separate qanat systems were identified, each no less than 400 m from each other and supplying different areas. Qanats Q1 and Q2 are approximately 7 km in length, and Q3 is 11.5 km long. Evidence for additional qanat systems was noted but not pursued. Ilka Schacht dates these qanats to between the second and fourth centuries CE because of their physical proximity to the forts mentioned above, and because the survey recovered surface pottery from the fields supplied by the qanats that dates to this period.[45]

The qanats of Ayn Manawir are clearly datable to the period of Achaemenid rule. As noted above, the demotic ostraca refer to the leasing of water rights for fixed periods of time in exchange for percentages of the harvest; in fact, they explicitly refer to qanats.[46] These ostraca feature regnal years, and are thus clearly datable to the period between 483 and 370 BCE, though the earliest contract for water use dates to 443.[47] The qanats, then, must date to this same period. This dating is further bolstered by house MQ4M, which was built over the spoil heaps resulting from the construction of qanat MQ4, and thus clearly postdating it. The ostraca found in this house date to between 436 and 388 BCE, so the qanat was likely constructed earlier than this.[48] Indeed, the chronological range of these ostraca probably represents the period of utilization of the qanat immediately following its construction. The other qanats in the oasis are less clearly datable to the 27th Dynasty. Their locations in the vicinity of Roman forts may suggest a later date for them, though the placement of these forts may actually result from

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[45] Schacht 2003, 420-1; for the forts see Ikram and Rossi 2004. Schacht (in Ikram and Rossi 2004, 86) does concede that an earlier (specifically Persian) date is possible.
[46] Chauveau 1996, 41-2; 2001; 2005, 160-1.
[47] Chauveau 2008, 521.
[48] Grimal 1999, 486.

the availability of water there, in which case they do no indicate when the qanats were originally dug.[49]

The Spread of Qanat Technology

Qanats are closely associated with both the Achaemenid Empire and modern Iran. According to one estimate there are some 40,000 qanats in Iran at present, of which some 25,000 are still in operation, making Iran one of the most prominent users of this form of hydraulic technology.[50] This prominence, which is unmatched anywhere else in the world, informs the association of qanats with the empire, as does a passage in Polybius describing a qanat system in Media and dating its origin to the time of the Achaemenids.[51] The traditional view of the spread of this technology is that it was first invented in Urartu (which controlled parts of what is now northwestern Iran) during the first half of the first millennium BCE, was inherited subsequently by the Achaemenids, and then spread by them throughout their empire.[52] In recent years the geographic origin of the qanat has become open to debate, and this in turn has undermined the model of its dissemination throughout the Near East by way of the Achaemenid Empire. These are in fact separate (albeit closely related) issues. Therefore it is worth revisiting the subject here because of its importance for understanding the significance the qanats of the Kharga Oasis.

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[49] For the placement of Roman forts in the oasis see Reddé 1999. The forts have not been systematically investigated, and it is possible that they date originally to the Persian Period, or were built on the sites of Persian Period installations.

[50] Kheirabadi 2000, 94; see further de Planhol 2011, 578-83.

[51] Polybius 10.28; Briant 2001.

[52] English 1968; Goblot 1979, 67-71; recently reasserted by Lightfoot 2000 and de Planhol 2011, 573-8.

Several potential origins for the qanat have been proposed or implied. As noted above the traditional view is that they first appeared in the kingdom of Urartu. The basis for this argument is Sargon II's 'Letter to the Gods,' a report of his campaign of 714 BCE against Urartu in which he describes the water system around the city of Ulhu (which he then destroyed).[53] This description includes references to water channels which have been interpreted as tunnels or shafts. This interpretation was furthered by the existence of ancient qanats in eastern Anatolia in an area once subject to Urartian rule. However, this interpretation has been challenged on both lexical and archaeological grounds. The Akkadian word in the Letter to the Gods which had been interpreted as referring to a qanat (*išqillatu*) is now understood to mean 'pebble,' and the entire passage now seems to refer to canals rather than qanats. Likewise, the qanats that have been discovered in eastern Anatolia bear no relation to Urartian patterns of settlement, making it likely they are of later date, and thus not the earliest known qanats.[54]

Qanats of presumably pre-Achaemenid date have been found in both northern Mesopotamia and in the Oman peninsula. Some 7000 vertical shafts have been identified in the plain of Erbil (ancient Arbela) in Iraq using CORONA satellite imagery, and recent fieldwork suggests they were dug following the breakdown of Assyrian state power in the seventh century BCE.[55] Further conclusions as to the significance of this material must await its full publication, but if this interpretation is accurate, it attests to pre-Achaemenid qanat use in northern Mesopotamia, and raises the possibility that the technology originated there. The qanats in Oman occur at several Iron Age sites, including in the al-

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[53] Goblot 1979, 67-9, following Laessøe 1951.
[54] Dalley 2001-2, 446-8; Salvini 2001.
[55] Ur 2013, 27, with personal communication, 2012. I am grateful to Jason Ur for discussing his preliminary research with me.

Ain oasis, and at Bida Bint Saud, al-Thuqaibah, al-Madam, and Maysar.[56] These sites are datable by their ceramic remains to the period 1000-600 BCE (i.e., Iron Age II). These qanats, or *aflaj* as they are known in Oman, predate the formation of the Achaemenid Empire, but given the broad dating of them it is impossible to say by how much.

While these qanats in Mesopotamia and Oman demonstrate their existence outside of Iran prior to the establishment of the Achaemenid Empire there is now newly published evidence for qanats right in Iran as early as the second millennium BCE. A field survey carried out in the Deh Luran plain in western Iran in 1969 has identified a form of qanat associated with sites dating to c. 1600-1300 BCE.[57] Unlike typical qanats, these drew on rivers, specifically the Dawairij River, rather than a subterranean source, and in some cases they fed surface canals. But they still feature the telltale vertical shafts that are a hallmark of the Iranian qanat in its fully-developed form. These qanats located in the Deh Luran plain of Iran predate all other known examples in the Near East, and they also might even illustrate an early phase in the development of this irrigation technology. And given the early date these qanats are likely to be the precursors to those in Mesopotamia and Oman.[58]

It has also been suggested that qanats were dug in Egypt prior to the Persian conquest. Qanats discovered in the Bahariya Oasis have been attributed to the New Kingdom and to the 26th Dynasty. The New Kingdom date is derived from a reference in the Great Harris Papyrus to Ramesses III making 'vineyards without limit' in the oases of

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[56] Magee 2005; al-Tikriti 2002; Boucharlat 2001; 2003. There are qanats at several more sites, but they have not been subject to the same degree of archaeological scrutiny, and therefore cannot be dated with any precision as yet.
[57] Neely 2010.
[58] See Radner 2013 and Potts 2006 for Elamite interactions with Assyria and the Persian Gulf respectively.

the western desert.[59] There is, however, neither any reference to qanats in the passage, nor any allusion to irrigation at all. The 26th Dynasty date derives from a tomb mentioned briefly by Ahmed Fakhry, but never published in any detail.[60] According to Fakhry the tomb was constructed in such a way as to avoid an existing qanat, and therefore postdated it. He attributed the tomb to the Saite period without specifying his reasons for doing so. The likelihood is that this dating was based on implicit stylistic criteria. As is argued in Chapter Four these criteria as they presently exist are not reliable indicators of a Saite rather than a Persian date.[61] Thus the evidence it offers is not at all definitive. Finally, a demotic ostracon from Ayn Manawir has a regnal date of Amasis (specifically 528 BCE). This has been taken to indicate that the settlement there was established prior to the Persian period, and since the settlement relied on qanats for irrigation and drinking water, these two must date to the 26th Dynasty.[62] This ostracon, however, is clearly an outlier. Most of the ostraca from Ayn Manawir date to the second half of the fifth century or early fourth century.[63] So it is hardly evidence of Saite period settlement. Moreover, the text on this earliest ostracon refers to a marriage contract and makes no reference whatsoever to water management. In sum, it is of no use as an indicator of the pre-existence of qanats in Egypt during the 26th Dynasty. Accordingly, there is no evidence for the construction of qanats in Egypt prior to Achaemenid rule there.

Thus the earliest known qanats are indeed found in Iran, in a region neighboring closely what was later to become the Achaemenid heartland. While it is important to recognize the possibility that the qanat was invented independently in different times and

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[59] Gosline 1990, 27-8.
[60] Fakhry 1942, 83.
[61] See also Aston 1999b.
[62] Cruz-Uribe 2003b, 539-40.
[63] Chauveau 2001, 137; 2005, 158. It is not at all certain how this ostracon came to Ayn Manawir. One possibility is that it has been misread.

places, the expertise necessary to construct them makes this scenario rather improbable. It is therefore most likely that the technology did disseminate in large part from Iran. The mechanics of this dissemination are not possible to trace easily or date precisely, but there are some notable cases where they can be. In the Negev, for example, the qanats there can be dated to the Persian period on the basis of ceramics remains found around and within them.[64] The qanats in al-ʿUlā Oasis in northwest Arabia are also clearly datable to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE by means of Dadanitic inscriptions associated with them.[65] Both of these regions were subject to Achaemenid imperial control in some manner, and the occurrence of qanats there is most likely a result of contact with the Achaemenid Empire.[66] To the west of the Kharga Oasis, in Libya, the Garamantes also made use of qanats, beginning at the earliest in the fourth or third century BCE. In this instance the qanat was likely transmitted westward along the Abu Ballas trail or the more northerly caravan route described by Herodotus (4.181-5) that linked Egypt with Libya and points further west.[67] The fifth century date of the qanats of the Kharga Oasis fits this pattern of westward diffusion contemporary with the Achaemenid Empire, and the likelihood is that the empire somehow fostered or facilitated the spread of this irrigation technology.

Irrigation and Empire

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[64] Evenari et al. 1982, 178.
[65] Scagliarini 2001-2.
[66] For the issue of Achaemenid rule in the Arabian peninsula see Graf 1990.
[67] Wilson 2006; the date is provided by radiocarbon dates of seeds recovered from the earliest stratigraphic layers at Old Jarma, ancient Garama, the capital city of the Garamantes (Mattingly et al. 2002, 13-14); since the city must have relied on qanat irrigation it stands to reason that the city's earliest phases coincide roughly with the introduction of qanat technology to the region.

The link between the state (in this case, the Achaemenid Empire) and irrigation in antiquity has been the subject of a significant and distinctive body of scholarship. Of particular note is Karl Wittfogel's *Oriental Despotism*, which advanced the ambitious 'hydraulic hypothesis' linking the need to control irrigation to the creation of state bureaucracies that controlled economic resources.[68] The hypothesis, while impressive, has been much criticized because the causality posited by Wittfogel is not supported in many Near Eastern cases where irrigation infrastructures appear to predate state formation. The most notable refutation of the hydraulic hypothesis in an Egyptian context was by Karl Butzer, who emphasized the small scale and local character of irrigation in the Nile Valley.[69] Much of this local management, where it appears in documentary sources anyway, was carried by temples. For example, in Papyrus Reinhardt, a tenth century BCE hieratic register of the arable land administered by the domain of Amun, there are references to a temple official with the title 'water-chief,' presumably an official responsible for the allocation of water from canals under the temple's control.[70] This sort of control is similarly attested in the demotic ostraca from Ayn Manawir, referred to above, where irrigation is under the administrative remit of the local temple of Osiris. As with farmland, the pharaoh delegated control of irrigation to local institutions such as temples in exchange for the ability to draw on local resources and manpower as needed.[71]

But this is not to say there was no pharaonic involvement in irrigation. Certainly large scale projects such as the development of the Fayum during the Middle Kingdom were royal undertakings. Furthermore, recent research on Near Eastern landscapes using

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[68] Wittfogel 1957.
[69] Butzer 1976.
[70] Vleeming 1993, 56-7.
[71] Manning 2002. A fuller discussion of the pharaoh's devolvement of arable land is presented in Chapter Six.

the results of field surveys and declassified satellite photography supports the converse of Wittfogel's hydraulic hypothesis, that large terrestrial empires promoted the spread of irrigation technologies.[72] This conclusion is based on the apparent coincidence of extensive irrigation works with periods of political centralization in the Near East. In other words, empires deliberately introduced irrigation technologies to existing cultivatable regions in order to intensify agricultural production, and to sparsely populated ones to permit colonization. During the period of Achaemenid rule, for instance, a section of the Tigris river valley west of Samarra (in the area of modern Dujail, Iraq) became densely populated for the first time with the aid of a newly constructed network of canals.[73] Such colonization was undoubtedly a product of imperial impetus (perhaps continuing an effort begun under the Neo-Babylonian kings), but this does not necessarily imply that the canals themselves were managed by a centralized bureaucracy. On the contrary, local management of water resources seems to have been the normal practice in the Achaemenid Empire, where this management was fostered and supported by the Great King, even while no attempt was made at creating centralized control or interfering with existing local systems.[74]

This pattern of imperial involvement and local control fits the material from the Kharga Oasis. The introduction of the qanat to the oasis, and probably also the initial construction of the irrigation systems, was undertaken by imperial officials and paid for out of imperial coffers. Expert engineers were brought in from elsewhere in the empire to plan and supervise the work, and also to train local residents to maintain the qanats. Once this was done the Great King, in his role as pharaoh, assigned the water rights to temples

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[72] Wilkinson and Rayne 2010.
[73] Adams 1972.
[74] Briant 1994.

such as the temple of Osiris in Ayn Manawir, and these temples took over the management of the qanats. It may well be that, as in the case of Dujail mentioned earlier, the empire deliberately sought to repopulate the Kharga Oasis, using the qanat technology precisely to achieve this end.

Temples

While a number of temples of Ptolemaic and Roman date are attested in the Kharga Oasis, it is striking that at least three can be firmly attributed to the 27th Dynasty, and that these represent the earliest known temples built in the oasis. This is quite a high number, given how few temples of any period there are in the oasis. Also, some of the later temples could have originally been built under Achaemenid rule, or have replaced earlier temples.[75] For example, the temple at Qasr el-Zayyan, 27 km south of Hibis, dates to the Ptolemaic period, and was renovated by Antoninus Pius c. 140 CE. However, geophysical survey in the vicinity of the temple has revealed that it was built over an earlier structure, whose architectural plan is certainly consistent with a temple, though without the benefit of excavation is it impossible to say what it was or when it was built.[76] But this does illustrate the possibility that there are other temples of 27th Dynasty date in the oasis that are as yet unrecognized.

Ayn Manawir

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[75] See the overviews in Cruz-Uribe 1999; Willeitner 2003, 22-53; Bagnall 2004, 251-62.
[76] Kamei et al. 2002; Atya et al. 2005. Klotz (2009a, 19-20) points out that even the later structure might be of 27th Dynasty date.

At the southern end of the oasis is Ayn Manawir, whose temple has already

figured in the discussion of qanats in the previous section. The temple is attested by both

its physical remains, and by the demotic ostraca found therein, the texts of which pertain

to its activities. It is a large (60 by 18 m), poorly preserved structure of stone and mud

brick, oriented east to west (**Fig. 3.2**).[77] It consists of a forecourt, a hypostyle hall, the

main sanctuary, a bark chapel, and two other chapels. The sanctuary and bark chapel

were originally paved with stone, and the walls are decorated with red ochre. The

sanctuary walls feature painted images of a large ankh, two squatting falcon-headed gods

identified as Horus or Re-Harakhte and Khonsu, and as many as three more gods who are

too poorly preserved to be identified. The walls of the bark chapel feature images of three

human-headed gods who are also too poorly preserved for identification. The decorations

of both of these rooms are painted in red, black, white and yellow. Four bronze statuettes

of Osiris were recovered from these two rooms as well.[78]

The two other 'chapels' (rooms E and F) are on the north side of the sanctuary

and bark chapel, and neither has any surviving decoration. Seventy-two bronze statuettes

of Osiris were found in E, along with six demotic ostraca, and 173 statuettes of Osiris

were found F, as well as a few of other gods, some more ostraca, and the remains of a

small wooden naos. Chapel F also featured fragments of sarcophagi below floor level,

indicating the possibility of human burials there. The excavators suggest that these

burials may actually predate the temple itself, or that the cavity in which they were found

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[77] Wuttmann et al. 1996, 393-402; Willeitner 2003, 46-8.
[78] The bronze statuettes are discussed by Wuttmann et al. 1996, 431-3; Wuttmann et al. 2007.
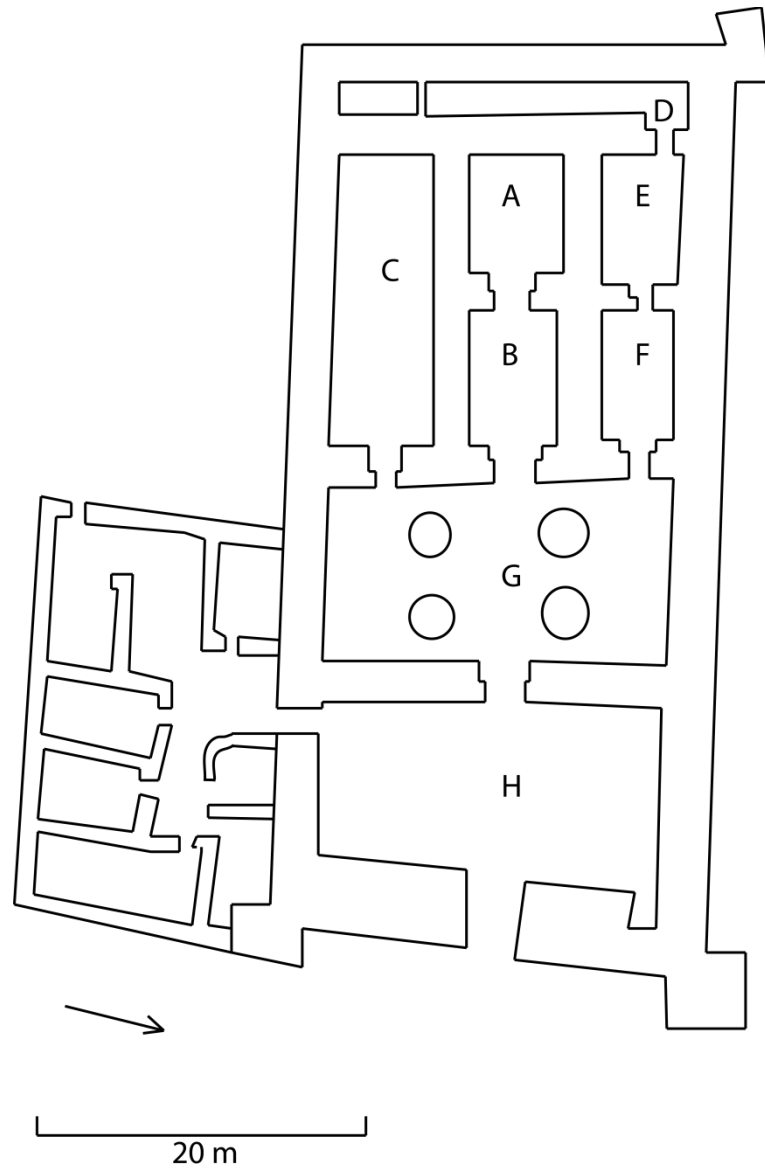
Figure 3.2. Plan of the temple of Osiris at Ayn Manawir, with adjoining building. After Wuttmann et al. 1996, fig. 4.

was a preexisting feature over which the temple was built.[79] A corridor (D), or other narrow room, runs along the back of the temple, in which was found another Osiris figurine and twenty demotic ostraca. On the south side of the main sanctuary and bark chapel is a large room (C), the purpose of which remains unclear. A large amount of pottery was found there, along with yet another Osiris statuette and some more demotic

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[79] Wuttmann et al. 1996, 396-8.

ostraca. Both C and D have some signs of decoration preserved on their walls, mostly red, which and black paint. In front of the hypostyle hall is a forecourt.

Abutting the temple to the south is another, smaller building of uncertain purpose.[80] Approximately one third of the ostraca found at Ayn Manawir were recovered from this building. Given the building's proximity to the temple, and the references to the temple in the texts of these ostraca, it has been suggested this building was the office of the temple scribe.[81] This is certainly plausible. Some of the ostraca bear texts referring to temple business, but the majority of them are contracts that do not explicitly address temple affairs. This does not preclude the interpretation of this building as the temple scribe's office, as he probably also served as the village scribe of Ayn Manawir.

Based on references in the ostraca it is clear that the temple at Ayn Manawir was dedicated to Osiris. There are frequent references to him and the phrase 'domain of Osiris' appears as well.[82] This determination is also reinforced by the large number of Osiris statuettes found throughout the temple. The ostraca provide a glimpse into the temple's activities. For example, there is a reference to a *lesonis* priest named Hor, son of Horteb, and a figure named Unamheb is apparently involved in temple services of some kind.[83] The temple was also involved in the sale and leasing of agricultural fields. Full publication of these ostraca will permit a fuller understanding of the temple's activities. Based on information currently available there is nothing striking or out of the ordinary here for an Egyptian temple at any period.

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[80] Wuttmann et al. 1996, 402-7.
[81] Chauveau 1996, 34-5.
[82] Wuttmann et al. 1996, 401-2.
[83] Chauveau 2008, 521; 2001, 140-1.

Qasr el-Ghueita

Between Ayn Manawir and Hibis, at the site of Qasr el-Ghueita, there is a small temple (approximately 19 by 10 m), surrounded by the remains of a once imposing mud brick fortress **(Fig. 3.3)**.[84] This is the site of ancient Perwesekh, and it has recently been the subject of a Yale University field project. The temple itself is sandstone, and consists of a forecourt (A), a hypostyle hall (B) with four columns, a vestibule (C), and three rooms at the back, oriented east to west (D-F). The middle of these three rooms (E) exhibits signs of painted decoration, on both raised relief (on the west wall) and plaster (on the north and south walls). This room has been interpreted as the temple's main sanctuary. The relief on the west wall depicts the pharaoh facing left and presenting the Goddess Maat to the Theban triad of Amun, Mut and Khonsu. On the north wall the king stands before Amun-Re, Mut, Khonsu, Min and Isis, and on the south the king makes offerings to Amun-Re, Mut, Khonsu, Geb and Nut. No decoration survives from any other part of the temple. The particular gods documented likely reflect the religious needs and geographic origins of the travelers who frequented the temple.[85]

In the past the original construction of this temple was dated to the Saite period (or earlier), with the forecourt considered to have been added by Ptolemy III.[86] There is, however, a well-preserved cartouche of Darius I painted on the north wall of the main sanctuary, and another poorly preserved one in raised relief on the west wall, which can

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[84] Darnell 2007; 2010, 104-7; Darnell et al. 2013; Onishi 2005; Willeitner 2003, 41-4. Morkot (1996, 84-6) dates the fort to the Persian period, but there is at present no firm evidence for the fort's date of construction or periods of use.
[85] Darnell et al. 2013, 12-13.
[86] Arnold 1999, 88-9; Cruz-Uribe 1999, 407; PM VII 291-3.
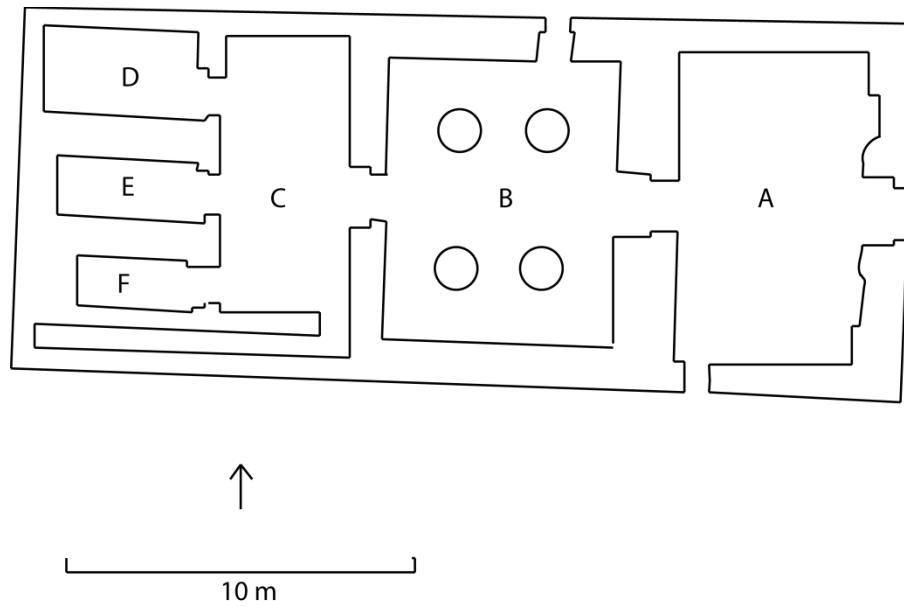
Figure 3.3. Plan of the temple at Qasr el-Ghueita. The western segment of the temple, including the three sanctuaries and the vestibule connecting them (C-F), are the earliest part, believed to date to the reign of Darius I. After Darnell et al. 2013, fig. 2.

nevertheless be positively identified.[87] This latter cartouche accompanies the carved

decorations on this wall, and thus the king before the Theban triad should probably be

identified as Darius himself. There are no references to any earlier pharaohs anywhere in

the temple. John Darnell speculates that the main sanctuary was built first as a

freestanding shrine, prior to the time of Darius, and that the rest of the temple was built

around it later, accounting for the temple's slightly skewed floor plan.[88] This is a

possibility, but it is impossible to determine how much older this original sanctuary was.

It could, for example, date to the reign of Cambyses, or perhaps be the result of a problem

during construction. It is also entirely possible that only the sanctuary was built in the

reign of Darius, and the rest of the temple was added later. Certainly the Saite date for the

temple's original construction is by no means fixed, and the Ghueita Temple can very

much be considered a feature of the Achaemenid period in the Kharga Oasis.

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[87] Darnell 2007, 30.
[88] Darnell 2007, 31-2.

Hibis

The last and best known of the three temples in the oasis that clearly belong to the Achaemenid period is the temple of Amun in Hibis, just north of the modern town of Kharga (**Fig. 3.4**). Studied by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in the early twentieth century the temple is notable for its size, preservation, and relative thoroughness of publication. The ancient town of Hibis (meaning 'town of the plow') itself has not been explored systematically. It was located within a large patch of cultivable land, and on the basis of Herbert Winlock's probable reconstruction may have encompassed an area of nearly a square kilometer.[89] Part of this town was seemingly taken up by a seasonal lake, and the remains of an ancient quay were still extant in Winlock's time. The temple itself occupied a high point in the center of town about 100 m west of the lake, and was directly connected to it by a processional way lined with sphinxes.[90] A monumental entrance gateway and a freestanding pylon were added later, probably in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period. The pylon was certainly built by 49 CE, at which time the Roman governors of the oasis used it to post official notices by having them carved directly into the stone. The role of temples as a civic spaces and administrative centers complementary to their functions in the service of religious institutions was a longstanding one in ancient Egypt.[91] The multifarious functions of Egyptian temples is an important factor for understanding the development of the oasis under Achaemenid rule, as is discussed further below.

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[89] Winlock 1941, 1-4, pl. 29.
[90] Winlock 1941, 34-8.
[91] This is also discussed further in Chapter Six.

Figure 3.4. The Hibis temple, viewed from the east. The pylon is in the foreground. Photograph by T. Landvatter; reproduced by permission.

The date of the Hibis temple's construction has been subject to some debate. Winlock identified four phases of construction, and attributed the earliest of these to Darius I, whose name appears many times on the temple's walls.[92] It is worth noting that Winlock dismissed Darius II as the temple's founder because he believed that conditions in Egypt were too turbulent during his reign for a project of this scale. In fact, this purported turbulence is largely a modern scholarly construct, and the dates of the reign of Darius II (423-405 BCE) are more consistent with the dates on the demotic ostraca from Ayn Manawir than those of Darius I. But Darius I's throne name also appears in the Hibis temple's inscriptions. Thus, while it is possible that Darius II adopted the throne name of his eponymous predecessor, Darius I is still generally believed to be responsible for the temple.

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[92] Winlock 1941, 7-9.

Recently Eugene Cruz-Uribe has proposed that the temple was begun by Psammetichus II.[93] The basis for this argument is a single instance of the Horus name of Psammetichus, *mnḫ-ib*, which occurs in the pronaos (Winlock's room B), and a supposed change in the style of carving in certain parts of temple, which Cruz-Uribe considers to be evidence for an additional building phase. In other words, Cruz-Uribe suggests that Darius I usurped the monument and replaced the cartouches of Psammetichus with his own. But the evidence for this is not conclusive, and it can easily be explained differently. First, while *mnḫ-ib* was indeed Psammetichus' Horus name, it may also have been Darius'. Pharaohs often reused royal names, especially in order to legitimize themselves, and Darius may well have taken Psammetichus'.[94] Also, none of the cartouches of Darius in the temple, including some tiny ones, show any evidence of having been recut or repainted.[95] Second, the change in style observed by Cruz-Uribe does not necessarily result from two distinct building phases. Work on the temple clearly took place over a long period of time, but the western half has a distinctive and coherent visual program, strongly suggesting it was conceived of all at once as a single monument.[96] Finally, if (as argued above) qanats were only introduced into the Kharga Oasis during the 27th Dynasty, human occupation of the oasis will have been limited before that. It seems unlikely that a temple of this size would have been built in a sparsely populated area.[97]

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[93] Cruz-Uribe 1986, 164-5; 1987, 225-30. In this he is followed by various scholars including Arnold 1999, 88-9, and Lloyd 2007a, 107-10, who goes so far as to claim that "the cartouches of Darius are likely to have been no more than a date stamp, and, to judge from the apparent haste with which they were painted on to the monument, they were added very much as an urgent afterthought."
[94] I owe this suggestion to David Klotz. For the reuse of royal names during the Late Period see Kahl 2002.
[95] Ismail 2009, 21-2.
[96] Ismail 2009, 22-4.
[97] Winlock 1941, 4-5 and Cruz-Uribe 2008 both refer to stone blocks which they believe came from an earlier building, over which the Hibis temple was built. It is certainly feasible that the temple was built on

Winlock identified the western half of the temple, a rectangle approximately 19 by 28 m, as the earliest structure (**Fig. 3.5**).[98] This temple was comprised of a forecourt or porch (M) with four columns, a pronaos consisting of a hypostyle hall (B) also with four columns, a small main sanctuary (A) at the rear, and several small rooms off the hypostyle hall, as well as two staircases leading to an upper level. The upper level featured several small decorated chapels (E1-2, H1-3) a larger open air area (E3-4) and a staircase providing access to the roof of the hypostyle hall and forecourt. Additionally, under the southwest corner of the temple there were two crypts, accessible via trapdoor. The east side of the forecourt was walled off with a set of four engaged columns with a doorway in the middle, and this was the main façade of the earliest phase of the temple. Later on a large hypostyle hall (N) containing twelve columns was added to the east side of the temple.[99] Winlock attributed this addition to the period between 391 and 378 BCE, on the reasonable assumption that it predated the later eastward extension of the temple by Nectanebo I, and the unexplained assumption that it must have been built after the end of the Achaemenid rule. In fact there is no reason this hypostyle hall could not have been built sometime in the fifth century rather than in the fourth.

Owing to its comparatively good condition, especially at the time of the Metropolitan Museum's fieldwork there, the temple's decorative and epigraphic programs are reasonably well documented in photographs and drawings. While a full description of the reliefs and inscriptions is beyond the scope of this chapter, an overview is certainly in order because of the temple's prominence and importance in the oasis, and

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the remains of an older structure, but there is no evidence this was a temple, let alone one built during the 26th Dynasty.

[98] Winlock 1941, 7-19. The dating of the temple is discussed further below.

[99] Winlock 1941, 20-6.
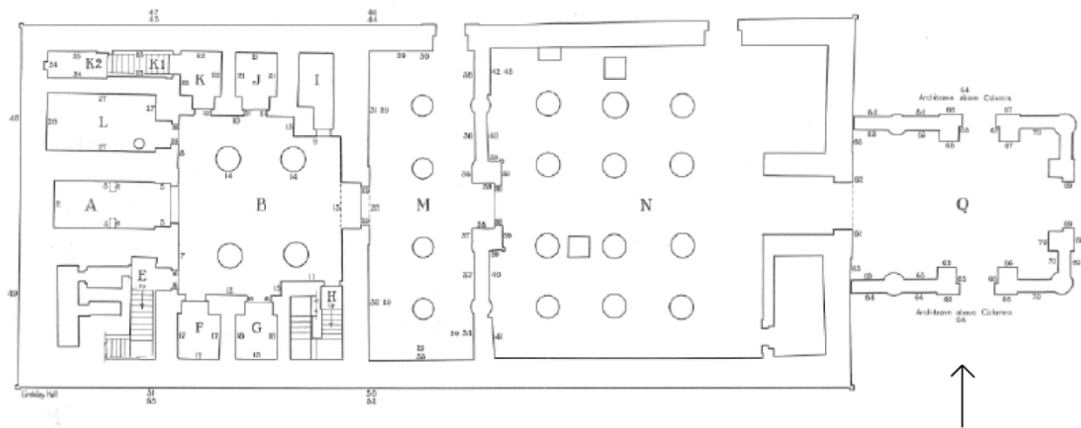
Figure 3.5. Plan of the ground floor of the Hibis temple. From Davies 1953, pl. 1.

its close association with the Great King. The temple is decorated with reliefs on both its exterior and interior walls. Most of these reliefs display images of King Darius as pharaoh making offerings to various gods, among whom Amun (of Hibis and of Karnak), Mut, Khonsu, Osiris and Horus are especially prominent, accompanied by many others deities who are depicted less frequently. The sanctuary of the temple (A) bears some 700 representations of different gods from throughout Egypt executed in high relief (**Fig. 3.6**).[100] Adjacent to the sanctuary room L features a large image of Darius enthroned wearing the double crown; below him is the classic image of the 'binding of the two lands' (**Fig. 3.7**).[101] Most of the rest of the carved decoration is in shallow sunk relief, many of which still preserve traces of paint. Certain of the rooms in the temple, namely K1 and K2, and the second floor chapels E1, E2, H1 and H2, give special attention to Osiris in their reliefs and inscriptions.[102] The forecourt (M) has several images of Darius

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[100] Davies 1953, 3-14, pls. 2-6; Cruz-Uribe 1988, 1-44.

[101] Davies 1953, 22-3, pl. 26; Cruz-Uribe 1988, 109-12. For the 'binding of the two lands' see Goedicke 1985.

[102] Davies 1953, 18-22, pls. 15-16, 19-20, 22-5; Osing 1986; Cruz-Uribe 1988, 74-9, 85-91, 93-104; Ismail 2009, 151-311.
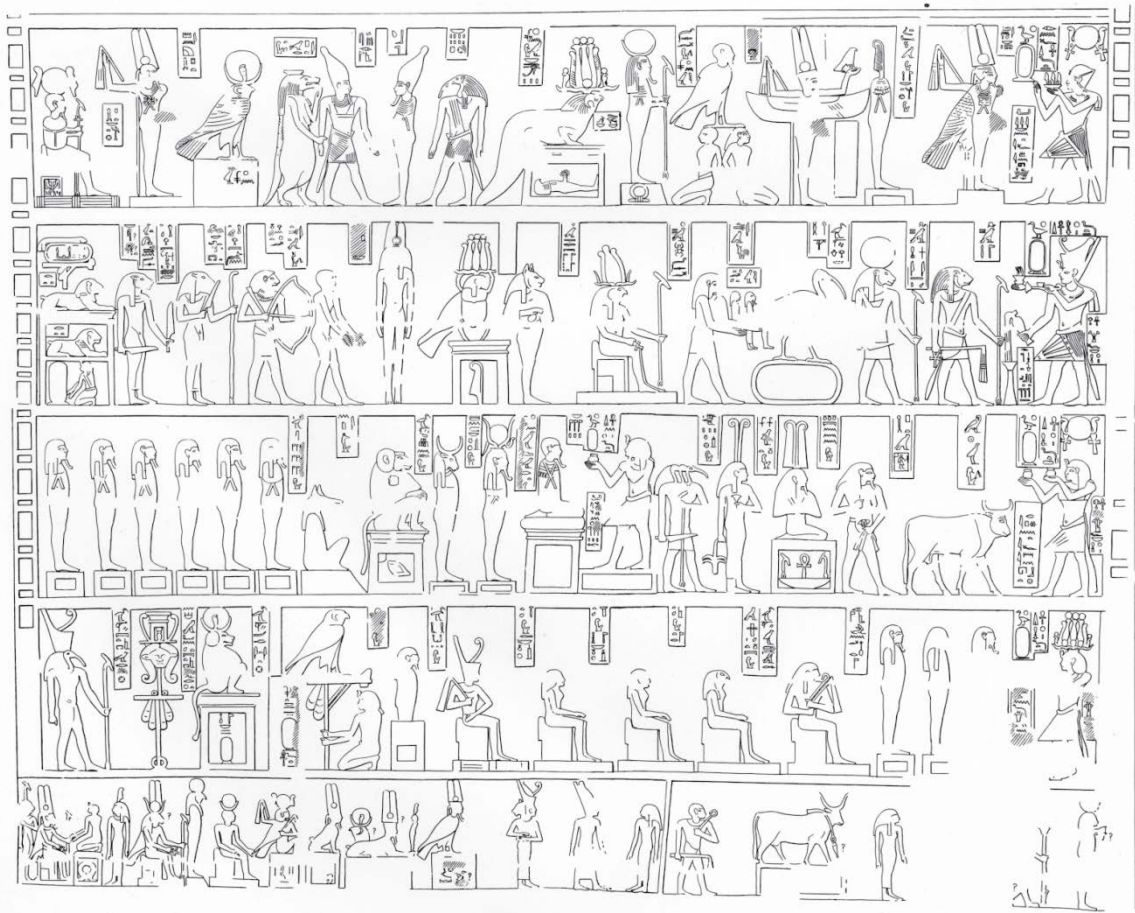
Figure 3.6. Line drawing of reliefs from the west wall of sanctuary (A) in the Hibis temple, depicting Darius as pharaoh making offerings to various Egyptian gods. From Davies 1953, pl. 2.

making offerings to gods, including one where he is in a papyrus stand picking flowers for Amun-Min.[103] This room also includes five hymns to Amun-Re, and an inscription over the door into the pronaos (B) announcing Darius' dedication of the temple to Amun.[104]

There are a number of curious or noteworthy features of this temple that contribute to our understanding of the role it played in the Kharga Oasis under Achaemenid rule. First, Darius is depicted wearing various Egyptian crowns and other

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[103] Davies 1953, 23-7, pls. 28-38; Cruz-Uribe 1988, 112-45; Sternberg-el Hotabi 2006.
[104] Klotz 2006; Drioton 1940, 360-77.
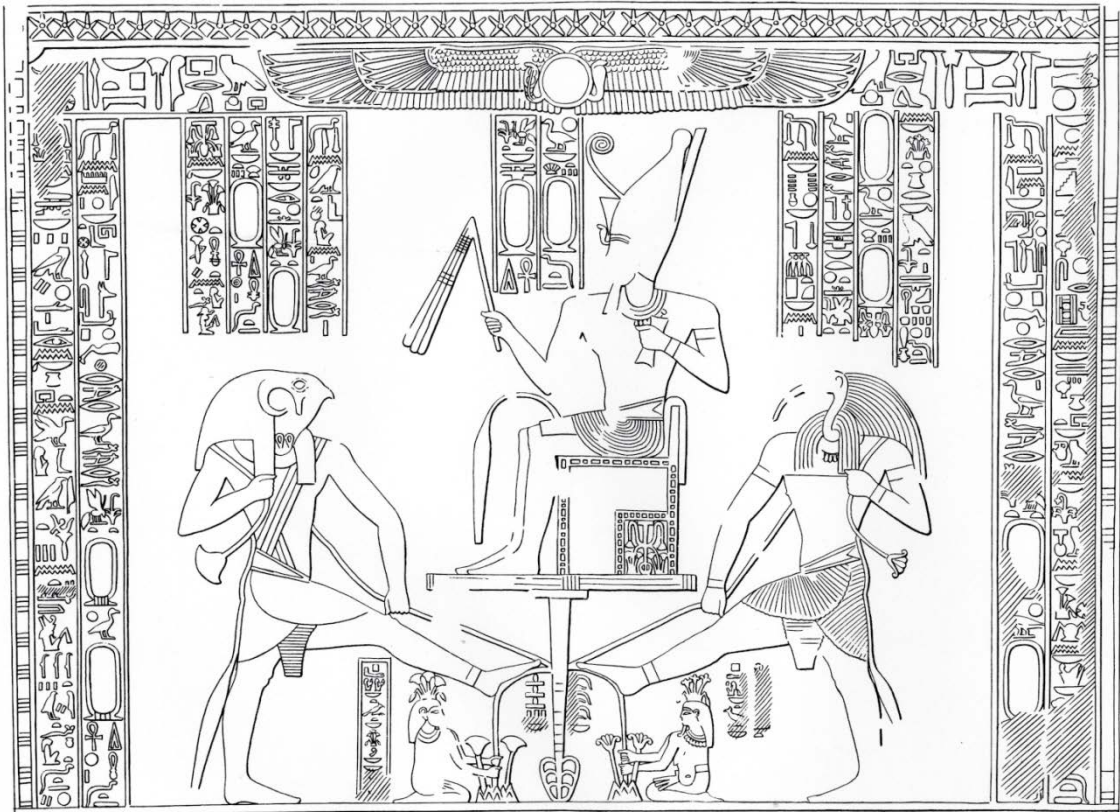
Figure 3.7. Line drawing of reliefs from the west wall of room L in the Hibis temple, depicting Darius as pharaoh enthroned over the 'binding of the two lands.' From Davies 1953, pl. 26.

pharaonic regalia. Unlike the statue of Darius found in Susa but originally made for a temple setting in Egypt, there are no renderings in the Hibis temple that depict him in Persian court garb.[105] There are, in fact, no visual references to his personal status as a foreign ruler, much less a specifically Persian one. Rather, he is represented visually entirely in Egyptian terms (as he is on the Apis stela); his rounded facial features and double chin are reminiscent of Saite royal images (**Fig. 3.8**).[106]

There are only two instances in which aspects of the temple's representational program or its complementary texts make reference to Darius' status as a non-Egyptian

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[105] The statue is discussed in further detail in Chapter Four.

[106] Myśliwiec 1988, 74-5. Gropp (1990) attempts to connect minute variations in Darius' appearance in different scenes with various events in his reign, but his effort completely ignores Egyptian artistic conventions.

Figure 3.8. Relief of Darius as pharaoh from the forecourt of the Hibis temple. From Ancient World Image Bank, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University.

pharaoh. One allusion appears on the northern end of the original front façade of the temple (i.e., the exterior wall of room M that would later became the western interior wall of room N). This wall features an unusual relief of a winged god with a falcon's head and tail wearing the double crown and spearing a serpent representing the demon Apep (**Fig. 3.9**).[107] While the depicted features of this god would suggest Horus, the accompanying inscription identifies him as Seth, the slayer of Osiris on whom Horus took vengeance. While Seth was primarily regarded as a transgressive or disruptive figure, his slaying of

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[107] Davies 1953, 27-8, pls. 42-3; Cruz-Uribe 1988, 147; Myśliwiec 2000, 140-2.

Figure 3.9. Painting by Charles K. Wilkinson restoring the relief from the forecourt of the Hibis temple depicting Seth slaying Apep. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 48.105.5.

Apep, an enemy of Re, was his main positive role in Egyptian religious thought.[108] It is attested variously in visual and textual media. At the same time, since at least the New Kingdom Seth was typically also identified with foreigners such as the Hyksos.[109] This association was usually intended as a negative one. But the prominent inclusion of Seth, the foreigner, in the decorative program of the Hibis temple in his most positive guise may in fact be a reference to the foreign king who commission the temple.[110]

The second allusion makes explicit reference to Darius as a foreign ruler. The end of the cryptographic inscription carved on the north side of the doorway leading into the pronaos reads "there is not another sovereign like Pharaoh, king of Egypt, lord of the two

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[108] Te Velde 1967, 99-108.
[109] Te Velde 1967, 109-51.
[110] Sternberg-el Hotabi and Aigner (2006, 541-5) suggest the opposite, that the inclusion of this image was an act of resistance against the Persians, because it replaced the more traditional image of the pharaoh smiting his enemies, such as was often placed on the exterior walls of temples.

lands, Darius, great ruler of all the rulers and of all foreign lands."[111] The title 'great ruler of all the rulers and of all foreign lands' is not a normal Egyptian royal title, and is paralleled only in the hieroglyphic inscription on the famous statue of Darius from Susa.[112] Yet it closely resembles one of the Great King's more common epithets 'king of kings' in textual rhetoric from Persia. It is important to recognize here that the cryptographic nature of this inscription makes for many uncertainties in the readings of the various hieroglyphs. Cryptographic writing made use of the fact that hieroglyphics could potentially represent images, sounds and words. A scribe could manipulate the appearance of a text by either modifying the hieroglyphics signs to make them more pictorial and visually stimulating, or by using signs to represent sounds instead of words, and thus spell phonetically. The closest parallel for the use of cryptographic writing at Hibis is the practice on the part of certain New Kingdom pharaohs of having their names and titles written cryptographically on temple walls in order to achieve an ornamental visual effect.[113] In this case the inclusion of a foreign title may have been permissible because the inscription was cryptographic. But regardless, this is an interesting example of a pharaonic representational strategy being used to communicate Darius' status as Great King of the Achaemenid Empire.

The ideology of ecumenical world order that is a hallmark of Achaenenid texts and images is alluded to in the Hibis temple in other ways as well. The hieroglyphic bandeau inscription on the exterior wall of the temple is a building inscription indicating the sources of certain construction materials used.[114] A very similar inscription, though

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[111] Trans. Cruz-Uribe 1988, 114.
[112] Translation in Kuhrt 2007, 478-9.
[113] Drioton 1940; Darnell 2004, 17-21.
[114] Davies 1953, pls. 44-5; Cruz-Uribe 1988, 148-51.

less well preserved, occurs inside the sanctuary of the temple at Qasr el-Ghueita.[115] Both inscriptions refer to ''š-wood from the Western Desert' and 'Asiatic copper;' additionally, the inscription from Hibis refers to 'white stone of Meska,' and it is likely that the inscription from Qasr el-Ghueita originally did as well. 'Meska' is probably a local limestone quarry in the Kharga Oasis, and the term ''š-wood from the Western Desert' is understood to mean Libyan juniper.

Thus the inscription makes reference to local stone, copper from a region to the east of Egypt, and wood from a region to the west, one which had only recently been added to the empire.[116] In this respect it alludes to the entire geographic remit of Darius' rule, albeit from a decidedly Egypto-centric perspective. It even resembles the more famous 'Foundation Charter' from Susa (DSf), a trilingual cuneiform inscription that similarly lists all of the various sources of building material from around the empire used to build Darius' palace at Susa, including a local source of stone (in this case a village in Elam).[117] The foundation charter is clearly not a literal record of the process of construction; rather it demonstrates the wide range of peoples and resources on which Darius could draw as Great King. The inscriptions from Hibis and Qasr el-Ghueita should be thought of in the same way. While it is entirely plausible that wood was brought in from Libya, perhaps by way of the caravan route described by Herodotus (4.181-5), Egypt had ample supplies of copper. But the point of the inscription was to place the temple in the broader context of a network of imperial power that crossed Egypt's

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[115] Darnell et al. 2013, 14-16.
[116] Darnell et al. 2013, 16-20.
[117] Translation in Kuhrt 2007, 492-5. For the charter's rhetorical and ideological importance see Root 2010, 178-86.

geographic borders. In terms of its rhetorical intent it follows in a tradition of Achaemenid imperial inscriptions.

Finally, the peculiarities of the temple's sanctuary (A) may provide some key evidence as to the role played by the temple, the town of Hibis, and the Kharga Oasis more generally, during the 27th Dynasty. In this small room, less than 5 m on its longest side, there are approximately 700 representations of gods, cult statues of gods, and perhaps priests as well.[118] These gods are grouped roughly geographically, yet despite the inclusion of some obscure local gods these images are clearly not intended to be a comprehensive register of all of the cults of Egypt at the time.[119] The west wall focuses mainly on the gods of the Theban area, with special emphasis on the Theban triad of Amun, Mut and Khonsu. The south wall features gods of Upper Egypt, including Philae, Kom Ombo, Hierakonpolis and Abydos. It also includes gods from the Hermopolite nome. The north wall has gods from Heracleopolis, Memphis, Heliopolis, Leontopolis, the Fayum and perhaps even Sebennytos. But in general much of the Delta is excluded, and the cult of Neith in Sais is conspicuously absent.

Cruz-Uribe has proposed that the gods shown in the sanctuary represent a list of those cults that were officially supported by the state. He explains the absence of Neith in the decorative program as a political statement on the part of Darius (to whom he attributes a complete reworking the temple's decorations).[120] In support of this view he cites the biographical inscription of Udjahorresnet, as given on his naophorous statue, as evidence for Persian curtailment of the cult of Neith, the favored goddess of the Saite

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[118] Davies 1953, 3-14, pls. 2-6; Cruz-Uribe 1988, 1-44.
[119] Cruz-Uribe 1988, 192-8; Osing 1990, 763-7; Sternberg-el Hotabi 1994; Kessler 2003.
[120] Cruz-Uribe 1988, 196-8.

pharaohs. But according to this inscription, Udjahorresnet "caused his majesty to recognise the greatness of Sais," and,

> [He] asked the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Cambyses, on account of all the foreigners who had set themselves down in the temple of Neith, that they should be expelled therefrom in order to cause that the temple of Neith should be once more in all its splendour as it had been earlier.[121]

He goes on to say how Cambyses acceded to his request and describes all the other acts of piety Cambyses performed for Neith. There is no mention of Cambyses shutting down the temple, nor any indication that its operation was curtailed by Cambyses or Darius.[122] This strictly political explanation of the sanctuary's reliefs does not follow.

These reliefs are better understood as serving a 'cult-topographic' purpose; that this, they catalogue deities and cult practices of certain specific places around Egypt.[123] In this respect the Hibis temple prefigures the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods that are similarly decorated with register after register of scenes enumerating the gods of various towns and nomes. These later temples are usually considered codifications of Egyptian religious knowledge as a means of preserving Egyptian identity and culture against foreign influences. But, as Ragnhild Bjerre Finnestad has noted, "such a role appears to have been ancient, even though its extensive reflection on the walls was a late phenomenon."[124] Finnestad goes on to argue that these temples represented not just the house of a single specific god, but the entirety of the Egyptian world, including gods and the rituals performed by priests in order to maintain the cosmic integrity of that

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[121] Translation in Kuhrt 2007, 117-22. The statue is discussed further in Chapter Four.
[122] See discussion in Serrano Delgado 2004.
[123] Sternberg-el Hotabi 1994; Kessler 2003.
[124] Finnestad 1997, 198.

world. In other words, the function of the temples had not changed, but the scale of their decorative programs had expanded by Ptolemaic times. The Hibis temple indicates that this mode of strategically encyclopedic representations of deities had already been developed in the era of Achaemenid rule.

The Hibis temple, then, is an early example of a pan-Egyptian temple. The decision to decorate the temple in this manner is consistent with the apparent objective of the introduction of qanats to the Kharga Oasis (as discussed above), namely to make the oasis habitable in a manner it had not been previously. The oases were not considered part of Egypt by the Egyptians themselves, and the construction of a temple of this sort in Kharga essentially brought Egypt and its gods to the oasis. Just as the travelers visiting the Ghueita temple found their own gods there, so too did the Egyptians who moved to Kharga to make use of the agricultural potential created by the qanats find their local deities there. There is as yet no clear rhyme or reason as to why certain gods were included in the temple's decorations, and others, such as Neith, were omitted. One intriguing possibility is that at the outset Darius and his advisors (including Udjahorresnet) had a good idea of who would be moving to Hibis because this movement was part of a larger imperial project. Indeed, the empire had a well-documented practice of moving people around in furtherance of imperial goals. This is attested, for example, in the Persepolis Fortification Archive, where there are references to crews of workers identified by ethnonyms.[125] These ethnonyms chiefly served an administrative purpose in Persepolis. Precisely for this reason, they indicate the reality of this heartland capital populated in part by many people from various locales throughout the empire. Thus, it is quite reasonable to expect that if the Great King or his satrap felt the need to populate the

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[125] Henkelman and Stolper 2009.

Kharga Oasis, there certainly existed the administrative apparatus and experience to make this happen. In this case, the relocation of people to the oasis necessitated the construction of a temple to serve as the nucleus of the new community at Hibis, and in planning the sanctuary's reliefs an effort was made to ensure that the appropriate gods from the relevant places were included.

The Development of the Oasis and the Experience of Achaemenid Rule

The introduction of the qanat and the construction of new temples in the Kharga Oasis during the 27th Dynasty point to a deliberate undertaking on the part of the Achaemenids. Given the limited extent of settlement in the oasis prior to Achaemenid rule it is unlikely that either was the product of local initiative. Rather, as the inscriptions on the temples at Hibis and Qasr el-Ghueita proclaim, they were built at the behest of the Great King in order to further specific imperial agenda he had mandated, even if he was not present for their consecration or directly involved in their design. The geographic distribution of the gods featured in the sanctuary of the Hibis temple implies that this temple was built to cater to people from certain parts of Egypt, either because they had already moved to the oasis, or because the construction of the temple was part of a larger effort to bring certain people there. Likewise, while irrigation in Egypt was managed locally, the introduction of the qanat to the oasis is best explained as an imperial undertaking. The circumstances of this introduction may be compared usefully to an episode from Pliny the Younger's tenure as Roman governor of Bithynia and Pontus.

Pliny (*Letters* 10.41-2) applied to the Emperor Trajan for an engineer with hydrological experience for a project at Nicomedia (Trajan acceded to the request). We can easily envision a comparable scenario in the satrapy of Egypt, wherein an imperial official in the oasis itself or in Memphis sent off to the Great King for specialists to oversee the construction of qanats.

The question, then, is this: to what end was the development of the oasis undertaken? While there is little direct evidence with which this question might be answered, the Hibis temple provides an important clue. As noted above, the temple was dedicated to Amun, and in its decorations the Theban triad of Amun, Mut and Khonsu receives special attention (they also play a significant role at Qasr el-Ghueita). Moreover, Amun of Karnak (as opposed to Amun of Hibis) is addressed specifically in three of the six hymns inscribed on the walls of the forecourt (M). These hymns were all imported from Thebes and actually carved on the walls of the Karnak temple there.[126] Amun of Karnak is also depicted in Hibis temple, such as on the walls of the pronaos (B).[127] These references to Theban cults suggest that Thebes was somehow involved in this larger effort to colonize the oasis, most probably as the main source of the colonists.

As noted earlier in this chapter, during the Third Intermediate Period Thebes was essentially an independent kingdom ruled by priests of Amun.[128] And well after the fall of the Persian Empire, in the second century BCE, Thebes was in a state of revolt against Ptolemaic rule for two decades.[129] These historical instances demonstrate how Thebes' political and economic power, combined with its deep reservoir of Egyptian cultural

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[126] Klotz 2006, 11.
[127] E.g. Davies 1953, pls. 7-8, 11-13.
[128] Jansen-Winkeln 2001.
[129] Véïsse 2004.

memory, made it an important yet difficult place to control for rulers seeking to unify Egypt. Such an effort required concerted measures. The Saites dealt with Thebes by co-opting the office of the God's Wife of Amun through the installation of a royal princess (Psammetichus I's daughter Nitocris) as heiress apparent. That she arrived in Thebes accompanied by an admiral at the head of a fleet no doubt served to smooth this adoption. The Ptolemies dealt with Thebes by building a new city, Ptolemais, nearby, and by inserting royal officials into the financial administration of the Theban temples.[130]

The Persians employed their own strategy to contend with Thebes: they built developed the Kharga Oasis for settlement and populated it with Thebans.[131] The use of ex novo civic foundations as a means of disrupting local matrices of economic and political power is well known in the ancient Near East.[132] The mechanism by which these people were moved to the oasis is unknown, and the possibilities range from forcible deportation to incentivized voluntary migration.[133] Certainly the empire was more than capable of moving subject populations around its territory for a variety of reasons.[134] The population of Thebes in the Late Period was likely between 20,000 and 40,000 people, whereas even at the height of its development the entire western desert probably supported no more than 35,000 people, so it is doubtful that Thebes was emptied of its

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[130] Manning 2011.

[131] Ohshiro (2008) has suggested independently that the Hibis temple was intended to supersede the Karnak temple. While that view is certainly endorsed here, the logic informing his argument is questionable in many respects, most notably his assertion that the Persians permitted the worship of Amun-Re because of his resemblance (?) to Ahuramazda.

[132] Joffe 1998.

[133] Briant (1997, 89) suggests that the Persians gave financial incentives to Egyptians to settle in the oasis, and provided them with the knowledge necessary to dig and maintain qanats. But it is equally likely this was a deportation, plain and simple.

[134] Briant 2002, 505-7, for textual references; cf. the example of Dujail in Iraq discussed earlier in this chapter.

population.[135] But even the relocation of a few thousand Theban residents would have sent a strong message to the city concerning the potency of the new regime.

Settlement of the Kharga Oasis served other imperial purposes as well. Control of the oases meant control over the north-south route through the desert that was the main alternative to travel along the Nile. Control of this route was an important preventative measure against rebels, and it also provided a means of monitoring and taxing caravan traffic between the Sahara and the Nile valley traveling along the Darb al-Arbein and the Abu Ballas trail. Indeed, one of the ways by which the satrapal government raised revenues was by the imposition of import duties, best attested in the Aramaic customs document from Elephantine (TADAE C3.7).[136] Finally, the creation of arable land in the oasis surely served an ideological function. The idea that the Great King could cause plants to grow where previously they could not was a very powerful one, and the motif of the king as a gardener or farmer recurs in a number of contexts in and around the empire.[137]

It remains to consider how the development of the Kharga Oasis affected the experience of Achaemenid rule in Upper Egypt. If the proposal advanced in this chapter is correct, Thebes (and especially the temple of Amun there), suffered a degree of disenfranchisement under the Persians. In the Kharga Oasis, on the other hand, Achaemenid rule clearly created new opportunities, particularly the opening up of new lands for agriculture through the introduction of the qanat. Indeed, it is interesting to note that in addition to grain (emmer wheat and hulled barley), the crops attested at Ayn

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[135] These population estimates are from Hassan 1993, 563, and Butzer 1976, 97-8, respectively.
[136] Kuhrt 2007, 681-703; Briant and Descat 1998; Cottier 2012.
[137] Collected and discussed in Briant 2003b.

Manawir are olives and castor beans.[138] Both of these crops were used to make oil, and as such were cash crops rather than staples. This is a clear indication that the agricultural activity in the oasis was operating at a much higher level than mere subsistence, a level made possible by the deployment and assiduous maintenance of qanats. Furthermore, the demotic ostraca from Ayn Manawir also contain references to 'staters of Ionia,' usually understood to mean Athenian tetradrachms.[139] The full significance of these references is discussed in detail in Chapter Six; here it suffices to note that they indicate the long range trade networks in which Ayn Manawir, a small town in the southern Kharga Oasis, participated. That the use of coined money had penetrated this far south and was being used in place of traditional Egyptian units of weight is telling of the high volume of traffic between the oasis and the eastern Mediterranean, where the Athenian tetradrachm was the bullion coin par excellence. It is impossible to say whether or not anyone got rich off this trade in oil, but certainly it is a far cry from the grim picture of life in the oasis painted in the Late New Kingdom Papyrus Pushkin 127 quoted earlier in this chapter.

Pioneers of the Western Desert

Despite its distance from the traditional Egyptian centers of political power and cultural memory in the Nile valley the Kharga Oasis was the recipient of royal attention in the 27th Dynasty. The introduction of the qanat facilitated settlement on a scale that

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[138] Newton et al. 2006; Newton et al. 2013; Agut-Labordère and Newton 2013; Agut-Labordère, forthcoming a. Olive pits were found in the course of the excavations at Ayn Manawir in Persian period contexts; castor beans occur in a number of the demotic ostraca from the same site.
[139] Chauveau 2000; Agut-Labordère, forthcoming b.

had previously been impossible there, and the construction of temples created the religious, administrative, and economic infrastructure necessary for that settlement to function properly as an Egyptian community. In other words, the Achaemenid Empire used its considerable economic and technological resources to perform an act of internal colonization in the western desert. The reasons for this colonization are varied. In addition to controlling the oases for the purposes of security and taxation, one of these reasons was to create an alternative to Thebes, the major power of Upper Egypt. In this respect the Persians were continuing the Saite practice of supporting Memphis at the expense of Thebes; but their particular solution to the Theban problem was uniquely their own. It was made possible by their hydrological knowledge and their understanding of the critical role played by temples in Egyptian society.

The experiences resulting from this internal colonization must have been varied. For some individuals this relocation provided new opportunities and access to land; for others it was tantamount to exile, and may only have been accomplished at the point of a spear. The evidence does not permit us to distinguish between these possibilities in most cases. But it does seem that some agricultural success was achieved with cash crops, namely olives and castor beans. Thus, from an economic standpoint at least, the individuals and temples involved in the oil trade benefited from this act of imperialism. Indeed, the comprehensiveness of the decorative program of the Hibis temple and the use of the Athenian tetradrachm in the oasis point to the wider social and economic networks in which it participated under Achaemenid rule.

These two chapters on Memphis and the Kharga Oasis have explored the impact of Achaemenid rule on two different places, one ancient even by Egyptian standards, and

the other, in certain respects anyway, brand new. In both cases the impact of the empire, and the experience of it on the part of individuals and institutions, was not monolithic. Rather, it was varied and complex, defying generalization. Both the city of Memphis and the Kharga Oasis were exceptional places in Egypt. As such, their pairing is an instruction in varying features of Achaemenid presence and impact on the land, its populations, and its institutions. They also happen to offer the two greatest concentrations of archaeological material and related evidence that can be securely dated to the 27th Dynast. In this respect they provide an invaluable baseline for studies to follow in the next three chapters, where the material evidence is often not as clearly fixed in time and space.

CHAPTER FOUR

REPRESENTATION AND IDENTITY

> The practical limitations on our knowledge of the past are not inherent in the nature of the archaeological record; the limitations lie in our methodological naïveté, in our lack of principles determining the relevance of archaeological remains to propositions regarding processes and events of the past.

> - Lewis Binford[1]

Egyptian Art and Achaemenid Rule

The previous two chapters examined the impact of Achaemenid rule on two specific places in Egypt: Memphis and the Kharga Oasis. This chapter considers the same topic, but this time in specific reference to the experiences of individuals. Imperialism was experienced differently by everybody, and although these discrepant experiences can be studied profitably in aggregate (and often one has no choice but to do so), it is important where possible also to consider discrete individuals, as a counterweight to more generalizing approaches. The differences in people's experiences with, reactions to, and participation in empire result from a wide variety of factors, many of which are beyond recovery today. It is instructive to observe how two individuals who would

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[1] Binford 1968, 23.

otherwise be lumped together may have had very different experiences, or at the very least may have conceived of themselves and their roles in the broader social order in different ways. Although any one individual's experience is not necessarily representative of the experiences of a large category of people, these individual cases are indicative of a significant range of interactions with and relationships to the Achaemenid Empire, and illustrative of the sorts of impact the empire could and did have on Egypt.

One of the best ways to study individuals in Egypt is to examine how they themselves presented their identities in given contexts. As discussed in Chapter One, identity is a construct, one that is multifaceted and constantly created and recreated through the decisions made by individuals. Fortunately for the archaeologist these identities become materialized and fossilized when these decisions relate to the creation of monuments or other objects that served as proxies for people. By parsing the visual features of these monuments we can effectively reconstruct some of these decisions and the identities that informed them. To that end this chapter examines several objects that were created to serve as proxies for specific individuals, with a view to determining how these individuals fabricated identities in the context of Achaemenid rule in Egypt.

Traditionally the study of the artistic output of an Achaemenid satrapy is hampered by what Margaret Root has called 'the politics of meagerness.'[2] This refers to a vicious cycle wherein preconceptions of the weak and ephemeral nature of Achaemenid rule fuel assumptions about the scarcity of material produced in a given region, and this scarcity in turn affects how objects are classified, both in terms of their date and the cultural vectors most responsible for their creation. Since Root's initial articulation of this problem there has been much progress, particularly the recognition that unidirectional

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[2] Root 1991.

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artistic influence is not the only way in which art and empire interact.[3] In Egypt,

however, there is still a persistent notion that this period was characterized by artistic

poverty as a direct result of Achaemenid rule. This view is best illustrated in a recent

article on Late Period art:

> But there was a marked reduction of building activity and work in
> sculptural ateliers. The invasion of the Persians must have caused major
> disruptions in the lives of the Egyptians. It seems inconceivable that
> sculptural ateliers were operating normally, if at all, after this traumatic
> event. The extreme rarity of sculpture safely datable to this period attests
> to the logic of this conclusion.[4]

The circularity of this argument is readily apparent. Assuming, as the article's author

does, that Achaemenid rule was disruptive and oppressive, it stands to reason that

artisanal workshops would have had less business and therefore less output, justifying in

turn the all too common practice of dating Late Period statues to the Saite period or the

fourth century unless compelled to by epigraphic evidence.[5] This in turn leads to very

few statues with 27th Dynasty dates, which ultimately confirms the original premise about

the nature of Achaemenid rule.

Its logical failings aside, the premise causes severe problems for the study of the

art of this period. First, there is the practical problem of dating material to the 27th

Dynasty. The criteria that have been employed for this activity are too imprecise, and

therefore demand reconsideration. Secondly, and more importantly, this notion of artistic

poverty has been entrenched in narratives of the 27th Dynasty for the entire twentieth

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[3] See e.g., Khatchadourian 2012; Colburn 2014. See also Hermerén 1975 for a full examination of the
concept of artistic influence.
[4] Josephson 1997, 10; cf. Sternberg-el Hotabi 2000, 156-7; 2002, 117-18.
[5] See Aston 1999b.

century, if not earlier, and it dominates any assessment of the nature of Achaemenid imperialism in Egypt. This poverty is not, however, a result of Achaemenid imperialism, but rather of modern scholarship. Egyptologists and other scholars brought their own assumptions about the Persians, informed by both Greek prejudices and modern orientalist ones, to their own work, and this has in turn shaped the art historical record for the period in question.[6] Thus before embarking on a study of individuals in Achaemenid Egypt it is necessary to reexamine the intellectual underpinnings of the study of Late Period art. As will be shown, many of the statues normally dated to the 26th or 30th Dynasties actually cannot be dated with any precision whatsoever.

This chapter, then, has two main purposes. The first purpose is to challenge the artistic poverty of the 27th Dynasty by considering the historiography of this trope, and the means by which categories of Late Period art (especially statues) have been assembled and dated. Analysis of the process by which the corpus of Late Period material was formed, and especially the factors that affected the survival of certain statues and statue types, reveals that the collections which served as the foundation of the modern study of Egyptian statuary were derived in large part from the objects imported to Italy by the Romans. Thus Roman taste and Roman needs (especially the needs of the cults of Isis and Serapis) have had disproportionate influence on the formation of the corpus of Late Period statues.

The second purpose of this chapter is to present a series of case studies of individuals as viewed through visual representations. The creation of these representations was informed by a combination of how people conceived of themselves and the broader social, cultural, political and religious contexts, out of which these self-

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[6] Reid 2002, 139-212; see also Colburn 2011, 94-8.

conceptions emerged. Thus these representations are a valuable source of evidence for how individuals experienced Achaemenid rule in Egypt. The cases studied below show the experiences were variable, and did not seem to divide predictably along ethnic lines.

The Artistic Poverty of Achaemenid Egypt

That the artistic poverty of the 27th Dynasty, at least as it is currently understood, is a product of modern scholarship (including the lack of scholarship) can be demonstrated by a brief historiographic review of the study of Late Period art. By the standards of Egyptology this topic has received comparatively little scholarly attention. The reason for this has to do with the perception that the earlier periods of Egyptian history when it was most powerful were also the periods in which its achievements in other realms were greatest and therefore most worthy of study. As Bernard Bothmer observed:

> Until recently, the millennium following the end of the Ramesside Period after 1000 B.C. was generally treated in a sketchy way by those who – like the proverbial man getting out of the rain – were eager to complete a book or article supposedly devoted to the inexhaustible fund of Egyptian art throughout the ages. This in turn tended to influence the general public, which was led to believe that the older an Egyptian antiquity was, the better its quality was thought to be.[7]

Since the art of the Late Period as a whole has generally received such short shrift, the art of the period of Achaemenid rule in particular has received almost no attention

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[7] Bothmer 2004, 144; originally published 1962.

whatsoever. This lack of scholarly investigation has fueled perceptions of the artistic

poverty of the 27th Dynasty, as published work on the topic is scarce, and a vicious cycle

ensues in which this perceived poverty deters scholars from examining the period which

in turn reifies the perception of poverty.

The earliest modern treatment of Late Period statuary is Käthe Bosse's *Die

menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit von der XXII. bis zur

XXX. Dynastie*, a revised version of her Munich doctoral dissertation published in 1936.[8]

In this book Bosse catalogued 224 statues of the 22nd through 30th Dynasties, i.e., what

would now be identified as the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, of which she

attributed six to the 27th Dynasty.[9] Her criteria for these attributions are unusual garments

(nos. 19, 20, 90, 125) and epigraphy and prosopography (nos. 89 and 91); she does not

assign anything to this period without one or the other of these features. Yet the apparent

specificity of these criteria is in contradiction to the uncertainty of most of her other

dates, for one finds statue after statue dated as 'wohl 26. Dynastie' without further

comment on the matter or any clear justification for the attribution. Indeed, in her

introduction she readily admits just how difficult it is to assign dates to many of these

statues.[10] But the conclusion she draws is that under Achaemenid rule there was a 'decay'

in the art ('einen Verfall der Kunst').[11] The uncertainty of her dates is ignored because

the conclusion was what she expected from the outset.

Bosse's monograph was the first and only word on Late Period sculpture until the

advent of the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture in the 1950s. This project was the

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[8] Bosse 1936.
[9] Bosse 1936, nos. 19, 20, 89-91, 125; see also pages 92-3.
[10] Bosse 1936, 9.
[11] Bosse 1936, 92.

brainchild of Bosse's countryman and near age contemporary Bernard Bothmer. Beginning in 1950 Bothmer (a curator at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and then for the bulk of his career at the Brooklyn Museum) began collecting material for the Corpus with the objective of cataloging the Egyptian statuary of the period from 750 BCE to 100 CE, with a view towards its eventual publication.[12] This publication never came to fruition, but in 1960 he curated an exhibition of this material and published a catalogue entitled *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (often abbreviated to *ESLP*) that included a selection of the material he had assembled.[13] His research archive at the Brooklyn Museum (still called the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture) remains available for consultation by scholars.[14]

Unlike Bosse, Bothmer assigned perhaps fifty or so statues, some quite fragmentary, to the 27th Dynasty (of which only fourteen were included in *ESLP*). His criteria are less obvious than Bosse's, in part because they are buried in his commentaries on individual objects in *ESLP*. It also seems he wished to present a diverse selection of statues from this period, so it is difficult to draw common threads between the items he discusses. In general, however, it seems that he grouped objects according to shared formal features and then assumed the objects in the group were all contemporaneous. In this manner he developed a relative chronology of sorts, which was occasionally anchored to fixed points by means of epigraphic evidence.[15]

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[12] Bothmer 1954; 1956.

[13] Bothmer 1960.

[14] I consulted the Corpus during the summer of 2011; I am grateful to Ann Russmann and Edward Bleiberg for their hospitality and assistance during my research visits to the Brooklyn Museum.

[15] It is important to note that Bothmer did not actually study the statue inscriptions himself; these were taken on by Herman de Meulenaere, who sometimes disagreed with Bothmer over the dates of certain statues.

The formal features most used by Bothmer to attribute individual statues to the 27th Dynasty include the presence of the so-called 'Persian gesture' and 'Persian garment,' the appearance of realism or aspects of portraiture instead of youthful idealization, and the shape of the dorsal pillar. As discussed in the following sections these criteria have been deservedly challenged on a variety of grounds. Despite the frailties of his dating criteria, Bothmer's efforts led to two significant achievements. His work promoted the importance of the poorly understood statuary of the Late Period. And in so doing it implicitly rejected the notion of artistic poverty in the 27th Dynasty, as suggested by Bothmer's optimistic remarks that more material of 27th Dynasty date was bound to arise with further research.[16]

In the decades immediately following the publication of *ESLP* Bothmer's optimism was never realized, and instead a great deal of scholarly energy was dedicated to re-dating material from the 27th Dynasty to earlier or later periods. Some of these efforts have made use of epigraphic and prosopographic evidence, usually a cartouche on the statue itself or the identification of an individual whose name appears on the statue with an eponymous person known from a more securely dated inscription.[17] It is much more common, however, for scholars to utilize the same groups of formal features as Bothmer himself did, but to assign them to earlier or later periods based on single objects of purportedly earlier or later date that appear to share one of these features.[18] This is not necessarily the result a deliberate attempt to remove material from the 27th Dynasty in order to propagate ideas about the artistic poverty of the time; rather these revisions are clearly reactions to the frailties of Bothmer's chronology. But these more recent efforts

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[16] Bothmer 1960, 67; cf. 1956, 70.
[17] E.g., Leahy 1984a; de Meulenaere 1983.
[18] E.g., Leahy 1988; Shubert 1989; Josephson 1997.

do not improve on his methods. As the quotation from one such revisionist article given at the beginning of this chapter demonstrates, these studies are still informed by assumptions about the nature of Achaemenid imperialism and its impact on the artistic output of Egypt.

The artificial nature of this artistic poverty is perhaps best illustrated by the dating of the material from the Karnak Cachette, as it is usually called. The Karnak Cachette is an enormous cache of statuary in stone and bronze, as well as other objects, excavated by Georges Legrain between 1903 and 1907 in an area in front of the Seventh Pylon at the Karnak Temple.[19] The latest material appears to be of Ptolemaic date, and the Cachette is usually interpreted as a massive deposit of votives that was buried in the courtyard of the temple to make room for new offerings.[20] The material was never formally published as a whole, and much of it was dispersed to museums and private collections throughout the world, with the bulk of it going to Cairo. Beginning in 2006 the Institut français d'archéologie orientale created a database of all the known objects from the Cachette, permitting this invaluable corpus of material to be considered in its entirety for the first time.[21]

Over 700 stone statues were recovered in the course of Legrain's excavations, dating from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period. Of these 246 of these have been assigned Late Period dates. The attributions of those statues designated as Late Period comes from various sources and publications, including the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture. Thus these statues represent a cross section of the study of Late Period art. Of these 246 objects, three have been assigned to the 27th Dynasty; the bulk of them (130)

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[19] Azim and Réveillac 2004; Arnaudiès 2007; Jambon 2009.
[20] Russmann 2010, 945.
[21] The database is freely accessible via the web site of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

are attributed to the 26th Dynasty, with another twenty-two assigned to the 30th Dynasty (**Fig. 4.1**).

If we consider only the statues dated by cartouches, a different pattern emerges (**Fig. 4.2**). There are still fewer statues in total dating to the 27th Dynasty than to others, but most of the pharaohs of the 26th and 30th Dynasties have only a few statues each. The glaring exception to this is Psammetichus I, whose name appears on twenty-seven statues in the Cachette. This exceeds the second most frequently mentioned pharaoh, Nectanebo I, by twenty occurrences, and must be exceptional in some way. It may be that part of Psammetichus' attempt to integrate the Theban priesthood into his own nascent power structures, of which the adoption of his daughter Nitocris as the successor to the God's Wife of Amun is the most prominent example, also included the appointment of a large number of priests and other ranking officials loyal to him.[22] These officials in turn dedicated a disproportionate number of statues dating to his reign at the Karnak Temple.

If this outlier is removed, the trend line on the graph becomes more or less flat.[23] Since, as is discussed further below, the most reliable chronological indicators for statuary are the names of kings, this flatness suggests that with the exception of the reign of Psammetichus I statuary should be evenly distributed across the dynasties of the Late Period, correcting of course for their respective durations, of which those of the 26th and 27th Dynasties are the longest (**Fig. 4.3**). A comparison of Figures 4.1-3 shows that this is not the case, suggesting that the number of statues from the Karnak Cachette assigned to

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[22] See briefly Perdu 2010, 141-4; for Nitocris see Ayad 2009, 23-7.

[23] This also requires the removal of all the pharaohs not attested in any inscription in the Cachette, namely Amasis, Psammetichus III, Cambyses, Xerxes, Darius II, Artaxerxes II, Amyrtaeus, Nepherites I, Psammuthis, Achoris, Nepherites II, and Tachos. Some of these had very brief reigns, lasting no more than a few years at most; others reigned for decades or longer. The absence of Amasis, whose reign lasted some forty-five years, is especially striking.
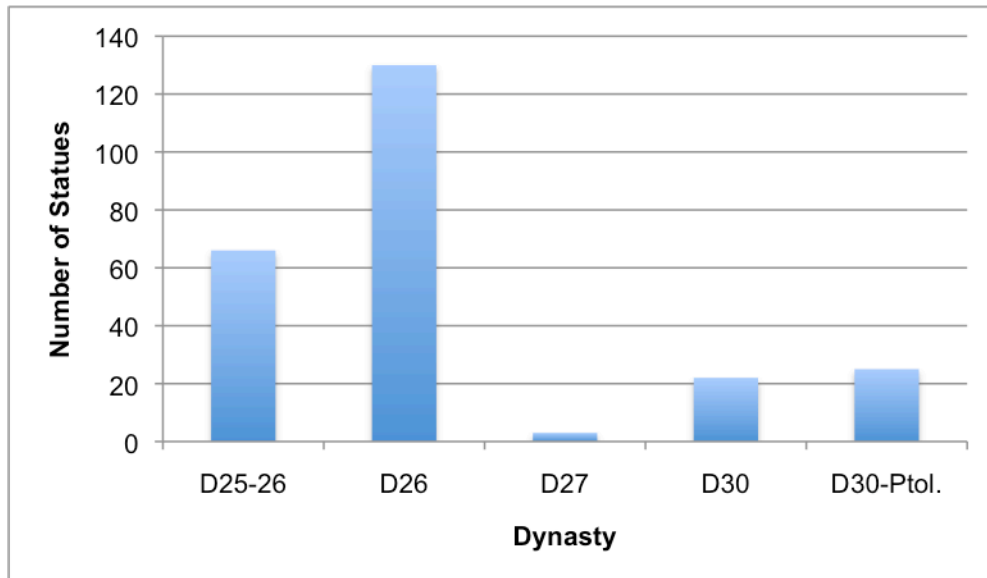
Figure 4.1. Number of statues in the Karnak Cachette attributed to each Late Period dynasty.
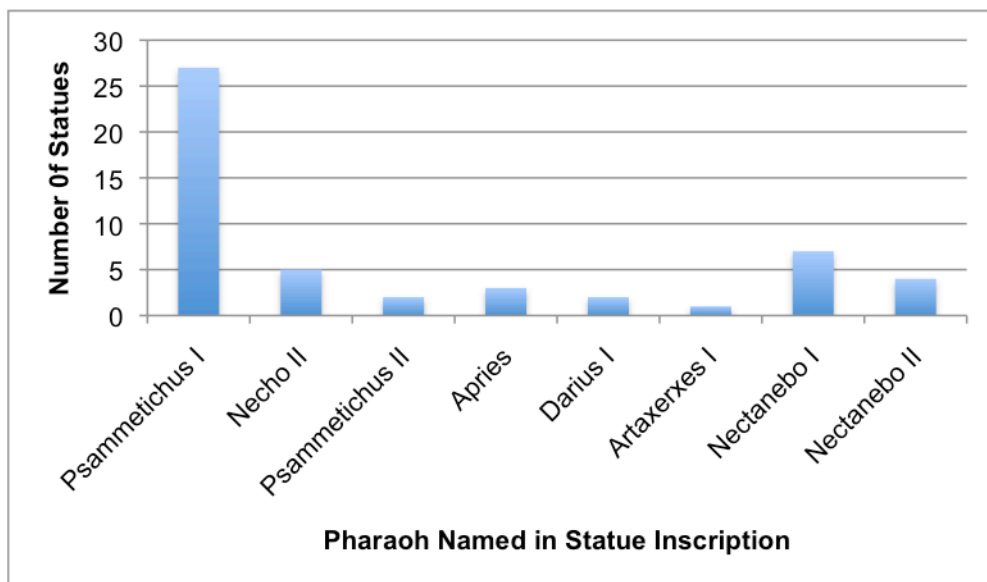
Figure 4.2. Number of statues in the Karnak Cachette datable to the reigns of individual pharaohs according to inscriptions.

the 26th Dynasty especially has been inflated artificially. At the very least the staggering

divergence between the chronological distribution of statues dated by inscription and

those dated by other means warrants a reassessment of the dating criteria used for Late
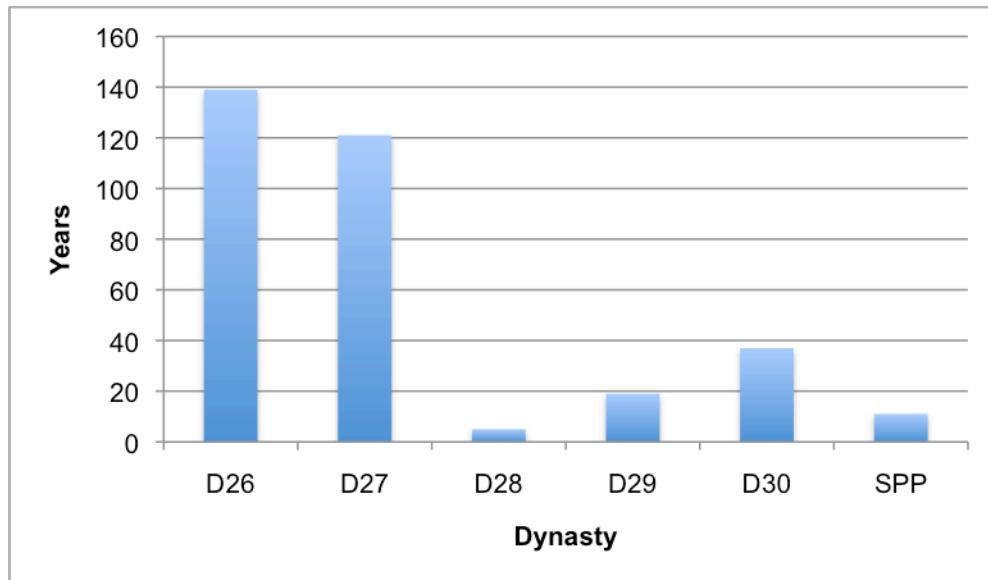
Figure 4.3. Duration in years of each Late Period dynasty, according to the chronology in Lloyd 2010, xxxviii-xxxix.

Period art. Similarly, it is also worth considering what other factors have contributed to the formation of the corpus of Late Period art and how these factors have affected our understanding of the 27th Dynasty and the nature of Achaemenid rule.

Dating Criteria

The skewed dating of Late Period sculpture seen in the Karnak Cachette results from the dating criteria that are used to identify material of the Achaemenid period, or, more accurately, to exclude material from belonging to that period. Almost by default a statue is assigned to the Saite period (or sometimes the 30th Dynasty or the Ptolemaic Period) unless it includes one of the chronological markers of the 27th Dynasty. This happens even if there is no further evidence supporting the earlier or later dates. An example is provided by a standing naophorous statue in the Walters Art Museum in

Baltimore (**Fig. 4.4**).[24] The statue's surface is badly pitted, the man's face is largely

destroyed, and the brief inscription is illegible. In short, the statue is in too a poor

condition to date at all precisely, yet in the catalogue of Egyptian art at the Walters it is

confidently labeled as being "Saitic or Ptolemaic" in date.[25] This catalogue was written

well before Bothmer began his work collecting materials for the Corpus of Late Egyptian

Sculpture, but catalogues and handbooks such as this one still serve as the foundation for

modern assessments of Late Period statuary.

      Overall, the dating criteria themselves, with the exception of certain forms of

epigraphic evidence, are less secure than is normally recognized. These criteria include

the presence of the so-called 'Persian gesture' and 'Persian garment,' realism, and the

tapering of the dorsal pillar at the top. In some cases there are clear instances of these

criteria conflicting with each other. In other cases a criterion is methodologically unsound

because it is based on unspoken and unproven assumptions. Since these assumptions

themselves are informed by preconceived notions of Achaemenid imperialism that are

open to serious challenge, the approach to dating Late Period material typically becomes

bound up in circular arguments. In the following pages each of these criteria is reviewed

and its shortcomings articulated. As will be shown, on the whole there are very few

reasons to exclude a given statue from a 27th Dynasty date, and the corpus of

representations dating to this period is certainly much larger than current approaches

admit.

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[24] Walters Art Museum 22.196; PM VIII 778.
[25] Steindorff 1946, no. 177.
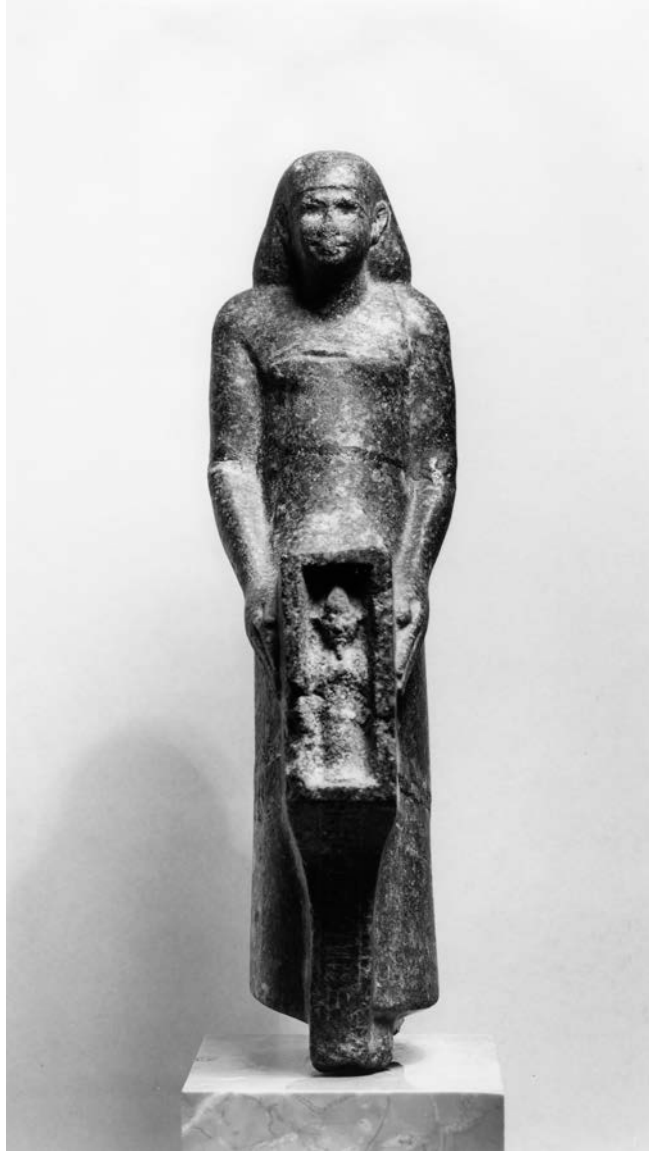
Figure 4.4. Granite naophorous statue, assigned by Steindorff (1946,) to the Saite or Ptolemaic period. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.196.

Inscriptions. The most reliable criterion for dating Egyptian statuary of the Late Period is the presence of an inscription that either makes clear reference to a pharaoh or to a person whose prosopography is sufficiently well known that the piece can be dated accordingly.[26] This is not always a straightforward matter, especially as cartouches

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[26] Bothmer 1960, x; Leahy 1988, 32-44.

bearing royal names are frequently erased from statues, usually as acts of *damnatio memoriae*. In the case of private individuals usually the best scenario is that the name of the statue's dedicator, or that of a member of his family, occurs in the Serapeum stelae from Saqqara. However, dates derived from prosopography are not necessarily certain, since it is often impossible to determine whether or not two individuals with the same name are in fact the same person. Titles can help resolve such ambiguities of identity; but because they tend to be generic and widespread in Egypt, they too must be used cautiously.

It is important here to mention the so-called 'Saitic (or Saite) formula,' the occurrence of which has sometimes been used to assign individual pieces to the Saite period. This formula, an invocation of the goddess Neith, is often included in the inscriptions on naophorous and other dedicatory statues. Neith became especially prominent during the 26th Dynasty because of her close association with the city of Sais in the western Nile Delta, whence the rulers of that dynasty came.[27] This explains the tendency to see the occurrence of the Saitic formula as a firm index of 26th Dynasty date. But the formula actually occurs as early as the New Kingdom, and persists into the Ptolemaic period.[28] It even occurs on one clearly datable statue of the fifth century, that of Horwedja now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (discussed further below). Thus the appearance of the so-called Saitic formula is by no means a reliable indicator of 26th Dynasty date without some corroboration through additional criteria.

The 'Persian Gesture.' The 'Persian gesture' refers to the placement of one hand across the wrist or back of the other hand, with both hands disposed at the front mid-

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[27] Lesko 1999, 58-60. For the temple of Neith at Sais see Leclère 2008, 168-74.
[28] Jansen-Winkeln 2000.

section of the body (e.g., **Fig. 4.5**). Its identification as a distinctively Persian gesture is

based primarily on two factors, namely its frequent and strategic appearance in reliefs at

Persepolis (where it revives a representational tradition relating to courtly performance in

earlier Mesopotamia and Elam), and its contrasting rarity in Egyptian art before the

Persian Period. Bothmer cites only five examples of pre-Persian representations of this

distinctive posture in Egypt, of which three are sculptures of Amenhotep III (reigned

1390-1352 BCE).[29] One is a now headless statuette made of serpentine, said to be from

Thebes (**Fig. 4.6**), and the other two are over life-sized statues found in Amenhotep III's

mortuary temple at Thebes.[30] All three of these representations of Amenhotep III depict

the pharaoh with his left hand resting on his lower abdomen and his right covering it.

This is not precisely the same as the Persian gesture as we see it in Persepolis, wherein

one hand crosses over the opposite wrist. But it is on the same spectrum as the tradition

of the gesture in Mesopotamia and Elam. Moreover, in all three cases Amenhotep is

depicted wearing a long, fringed robe, which is a very unusual costume for any Egyptian

ruler, and was potentially of Near Eastern origin. Thus it has been suggested that this

particular combination of gesture and garment is a reference to contact with the royal

courts of Mesopotamia and especially Elam of the Middle Elamite period

contemporaneous with Amenhotep III, where it had important associations with divinity

and kingship.[31]

Bothmer's other two examples are a tomb painting from Deir el Medina

(unfortunately he provides no specific reference for it), and another painting from the

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[29] Bothmer 1960, 84.
[30] MMA 30.8.74: Johnson 1996, pl. 4; JE 33900 and 33901: Trad and Mahmoud 1993, 45-7.
[31] Helck 1971, 499; Root 1985, 111 n. 32.

Figure 4.5. Greywacke statue exhibiting the 'Persian gesture.' Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.208.

tomb of Amenemhet at Thebes, dating to the 18th Dynasty.[32] In addition to the five

instances cited by Bothmer, there are two more depictions of the hand-over-wrist gesture

from Egypt that clearly predate the Persian period. One of these is a relief from the 6th

Dynasty chapel of Qar at Giza, in which a female figure at the head of a funerary

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[32] Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 12.

Figure 4.6. Serpentine statuette of Amenhotep III, c. 1390-1352 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.8.74.

procession is shown making this gesture.[33] The other is a lapis lazuli female figurine found at Hierakonpolis, and thus likely of Protodynastic date (c. 3200-3000 BCE).[34] It remains an open question whether this figurine is an Egyptian product, or, as Edith Porada has proposed, it was carved somewhere in Iran, where there any many secure examples of the gesture from later periods.[35] Thus it provides no evidence either way as to the gesture's origin. If Porada's interpretation is correct, however, it does provide an interesting example of how this motif reached Egypt from Mesopotamia and Iran.

Indeed, the Persian gesture occurs much more frequently in Mesopotamia and Iran. In addition to Persepolis, where it appears prominently on the Apadana (e.g., **Fig. 4.7**) and is made by various courtiers in the presence of the king, it has a long history in

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[33] Smith 1946, 211, fig. 84a. In addition to this example Root (1985, 111 n. 32) also cites a wooden statuette now in Cairo (GC 140; see Borchardt 1911, 103-4, pl. 31) that is usually assigned to the Late Period and thus could postdate 525; see Laurent 1984, 141 n. 9.

[34] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908 E.1057, 1057a; Eaton-Krauss 2011, 187-8.

[35] Porada 1980.

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Figure 4.7. Relief of the Great King enthroned receiving a bowing official. The king and several other figures wear the Persian court robe. The weapon-bearer to the left and the bowing official wear the Iranian riding costume. The figure to the far right of the scene and the figure fourth from the left both exhibit the 'Persian gesture.' Excavated from the Persepolis Treasury (originally the central panel of the northern façade of the Apadana). Tehran, National Museum of Iran.

Mesopotamian and Elamite representational traditions.[36] In Mesopotamia it first occurs in the Ur III period (c. 2112-2004 BCE), especially in representations of Gudea of Lagash, where it was used for "a contextually specific type of servant-master relationship between either man and god or minor deity and greater divinity."[37] In this respect it had a distinctly different meaning than the more common pose in which the hands were clasped tightly together. It seems the hand-over-wrist gesture was an aspect of courtly behavior which was applied by analogy to the divine realm as well. Thus Gudea is depicted with this gesture in a serpentine statuette from Telloh dedicated to the goddess Geshtinanna.[38] The gesture then appears again in quantity in Elam during the Midde Elamite period of the thirteenth century BCE, perhaps not coincidentally an era of widespread international communication between greater Mesopotamia and Egypt. One particularly notable

[36] Root 1979, 272-6, with pls. 17-19 and 22, for examples of its use at Persepolis.
[37] Root 1979, 273.
[38] Frankfort 1996, 97 fig. 100.

example of it is in the near life-sized bronze statue of Queen Napir-Asu from Susa (**Fig. 4.8**).[39] Its use continues into the Neo-Elamite period in the first few centuries of the first millennium BCE, which in turn served as an important contributor to the iconographic repertoire of the Achaemenids. At Persepolis the Persian gesture seems to have been the appropriate posture for one's hands in the presence of royalty or divinity, as this was the apparent meaning of its Mesopotamian and Elamite precursors.
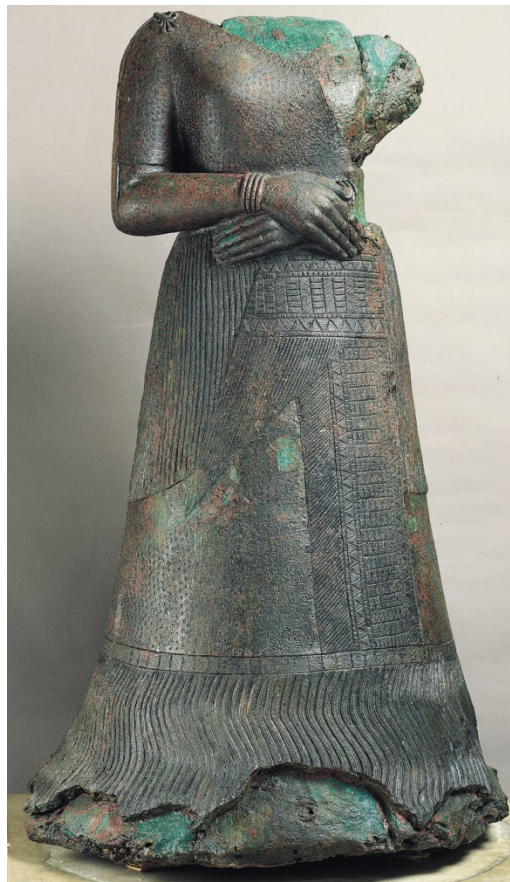
Figure 4.8. Bronze and copper statue of Queen Napir-Asu, c. 14th century BCE, from Susa. Paris, Louvre Sb 2731.

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[39] Louvre Sb 2731; Frankfort 1996, 335 fig. 396; Harper et al. 1992, no. 83.

The long history of the Persian gesture in Mesopotamia and Elam and its deployment in the program of visual rhetoric at Persepolis makes its association with the Achaemenid Empire reasonably clear. It is quite unlikely that its appearance in representations of the Late Period was a form of archaism, as has been suggested.[40] Yet despite the clarity of its association with Achaemenid rule, its utility as a dating criterion is still limited. This is because it has been suggested that the gesture continued to be used into the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.[41] None of the examples of this continued use is dated by inscription; rather all are dated impressionistically on the basis of style, meaning their dates remain uncertain. Thus although the association of the Persian gesture with the Achaemenid court is a sound premise, the appearance of the gesture as the sole dating criterion for a given object is not. But in conjunction with other criteria, however, the gesture could still be used to propose a tentative 27th Dynasty date.

Since the Persian gesture is associated with the Achaemenid Empire it is worth considering the reason why someone would choose to be represented for all eternity making it. The typical explanation is that it was a symbol of subservience to and collaboration with the Achaemenid rulers of Egypt.[42] But it is unlikely that the Egyptians who chose to be represented in this matter conceived of it in these terms. Rather, the inclusion of the Persian gesture in one's monument was a means of highlighting one's connection to the center of the social order, whether this center was perceived to be at the satrapal court in Memphis or in southwestern Iran. To some extent Bothmer hints at this same explanation in his comment on one statue exhibiting this gesture: "The pose is one

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[40] Cooney 1953, 10 n. 4; Leahy 1988, 102-6.
[41] See the examples collected by de Wit 1964 and Laurent 1984, 140-2. De Wit cites Bothmer (1960, passim) for most of his dates, but many of these citations are seemingly to the wrong page, making it difficult to assess the basis for de Wit's proposed dates.
[42] Schulman 1981, 107-8.

that must have struck the Egyptians as typically foreign, and the man who had this sculpture made for himself…must have wished to adopt something exotic (and probably fashionable) in his gesture."[43]

The relatively limited number of examples of this gesture suggests not the small number of people who 'collaborated' with the Persians, but rather what must have been a largely widespread view that the center of the social order remained firmly within an Egyptian context, regardless of the political developments of the sixth and fifth centuries. The exact connections made by patrons who commissioned statues of themselves displaying the Persian gesture remain unclear and are perhaps not the most significant feature of the choice. What matters in the context of this discussion is that the gesture was perceived by certain patrons as a positive statement and that patrons wanted to have associated with their monuments for all eternity.

Garments. Certain articles of clothing appearing in statuary and relief of the Late Period have been identified as explicitly Persian in nature; typically they are referred to as the 'Persian jacket' or the 'Persian garment.' These include both a wraparound garment and a sleeved jacket, and in at least one case a long sleeved robe bearing some resemblance to the modern Egyptian *gellabiya*. This latter garment occurs only rarely, and in its most notable case it occurs in tandem with the 'Persian gesture' the a statue now in Baltimore discussed above (**Fig. 4.5**).[44] It does not parallel any known Achaemenid costume very closely, and its limited occurrence makes its significance

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[43] Bothmer 1960, 84; the statue is Walter Art Museum 22.208 (PM VIII 764).
[44] Bothmer 1960, no. 68 (the date is clearly based on the presence of the Persian gesture). Bothmer proposes that this garment is an Upper Egyptian version of a Persian garment, since the statue in question has an inscription addressed to "Onuris-Shu, the son of Ra, the great god, the lord of the Thinnis," which may suggest that the statue originated in the in Thinite nome in the vicinity of Abydos. The only other example he cites is a statue now in Boston (MFA 35.1484), apparently of Theban origin, that features the garment. However, Klotz 2009b, 123-5, argues for an early Ptolemaic date for this statue, and it may be that this garment actually belongs to the Ptolemaic period.

difficult to assess. The other garment is depicted more frequently. It consists of two separate elements, namely a wraparound robe and a sleeved jacket. The robe extends from the armpits to the ankles. It seems to comprise a single rectangular sheet wrapped tightly around the body starting at the front, going around the back, and then overlapping at the front again where it is tucked in (e.g., **Fig. 4.21**).[45] This is represented worn over a jacket with fitted sleeves that sometimes flare from the elbow. This combination is typically worn over a round-necked undergarment.

The association of this garment with the Achaemenid Empire is based on the similarities between it and the 'court robe' worn by many of the figures depicted on the Apadana reliefs (and elsewhere) at Persepolis (**Fig. 4.7**), and by the guards from Susa shown in glazed brick.[46] It also occurs on seals and other imagery deployed all over the empire, including on some of the sealings from the Palace of Apries in Memphis. Darius is depicted wearing similar clothing in the famous statue made in Egypt but excavated at Susa (**Fig. 4.14**; the statue is discussed further below in the case studies). Though there are resemblances between the wraparound robe and jacket combination from Egypt and the Persepolitan court robe the match is not an exact one. It has been suggested that the court robe actually consisted of a single article of clothing rather than a combination of tunic and robe as in the Egyptian cases.[47] It also typically features a belt, which is absent from the Egyptian examples (save for the statue of Darius). The formal resemblance between the Egyptian 'Persian garment' and Achaemenid court robe is more evocative

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[45] This description is based on that of Bothmer (1960, 75-6), which is in turn based on his own experimentation; see also Russmann 2010, 960-1.

[46] For this 'court robe' see the recent discussions by Stronach (2011) and Root (2011b, 426-33), and the examples in Schmidt (1953, pls. 22-6, 50-2, 57-9, 63, 65-71, 75-6) and Koch (2001, figs. 54, 56-7, 69, 71-4, 106). For Susa see Harper et al. 1992, nos. 155-6.

[47] Beck 1972.

than it is precise. The 'Persian garment' is perhaps better described as 'Persianizing'

garment, since it seems to represent a negotiation between a traditional Egyptian garment

and the general look of the Achaemenid court robe.

The frequent occurrence of the Persian garment in Achaemenid Egypt is an

important factor in understanding the choices made by individual Egyptians with respect

to the creation of their personal monuments. Its prevalence in this period, however, is

undermined by studies that seek to date its occurrence in earlier, Saite contexts. Many

such examples have been adduced, but most cannot be dated conclusively. The only two

which can be reasonably attributed to the Saite period on inscriptional evidence are the

niche stela of Wahibra, presumably from Sais and now in the National Museum of

Scotland in Edinburgh, and the naophorous statue of Somtutefnekhet, also presumably

from Sais and now in Cairo.[48] The stela of Wahibra is dated to the reign of Amasis on the

basis of two other monuments of his, namely a naophorous statue in Cairo and a stela in

the British Museum, both of which are clearly datable by means of cartouches of

Amasis.[49] The stela depicts Wahibra and his father Padihorresnet standing side by side

looking out at the viewer. The figure of Wahibra, on the right, is better preserved than

that of his father. He wears a long garment that extends from the level of his armpits as

far down as the figure is preserved (seemingly all the way to his feet). The garment has

two folds visible at the top, one tucked in to the top of the garment itself and the other

hanging down over it. Wahibra also wears a sleeved jacket or tunic with an unclear

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[48] Wahibra: Edinburgh 1956.134 (Bothmer 1960, no. 66); Somtutefnekhet: Cairo 27/11/58/8 (Bresciani 1967).
[49] CG 672 (discussed further below) and BM 1427; see El-Sayed 1975, 61-93, 219-20. The cartouche on CG 672 was first identified as such by Daressy (1895, 114-16) and further confirmed by Leahy (1984a, 57 n. 56) and by T. G. Wilfong (personal communication, 2011). An excellent photograph of the cartouche can be found in Bresciani 1967, pl. 2.3. The cartouche on BM 1427 is quite clear.

neckline tucked into the long garment. Padihorresnet appears to be dressed similarly, though the details of his costume are difficult to discern. The statue of Somtutefnekhet, a kneeling naophorous, is datable to the reign of Amasis by means of a partially erased cartouche, and can be further narrowed by a reference to year 39, i.e., 530 BCE.[50] Somtutefnekht is also depicted wearing both a long garment extending from his armpits to his ankles with two folds at the top and a sleeved v-neck tunic tucked into it.

Another monument of the same Wahibra who dedicated the niche stela in Edinburgh may provide a third instance of the full Persian garment prior to Achaemenid rule; it is a kneeling naophorous statue from Sais.[51] The date of the statue, derived from an incompletely erased cartouche of Amasis, is reasonably secure.[52] However, the statue is poorly preserved, and the portion of Wahibra's chest that does survive is obscured by the large naos he clutches. It is clear that he is wearing a long garment that covers his legs, but the telltale folds at the front of the chest are not discernible, so the garment could be a long kilt, a common garment throughout Egyptian history. Wahibra's garment may also have sleeves, though it is impossible to tell from published photographs.[53] The combination of the long garment with sleeves is certainly consistent with the Persian garment, but the statue's poor condition makes it difficult to say for certain what exactly Wahibra is depicted as wearing.

Wahibra's niche stela and Somtutefnekht's naophorous statue are the only two depictions of the Persian garment featuring both the long robe and the sleeved tunic that

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[50] The cartouche on the statue of Somtutefnekhet was identified by Bresciani (1967, 277), who provides an excellent picture (pl. 2.2).

[51] Cairo GC 672; El-Sayed 1975, 73-93; illustration in Borchardt 1930, pl. 122.

[52] The cartouche was first identified as such by Daressy (1895, 114-16) and further confirmed by Leahy (1984a, 57 n. 56) and by T. G. Wilfong (personal communication, 2011). An excellent photograph of the cartouche can be found in Bresciani 1967, pl. 2.3.

[53] Bosse (1936, 48) describes the statue as having sleeves.

date unequivocally to the Saite period. There are various other statues and monuments which have been adduced in the past as evidence of the Persian garment's use (both with and without the distinctive sleeved tunic) in earlier periods. None of these objects, however, can be assigned unequivocally to the Saite period; they thus create a false impression of the garment's prevalence prior to the invasion of Cambyses. For example the naophorous statue of Padineith now in Berlin has been assigned to the Saite period on the basis of the inscription.[54] This inscription, however, does not mention any Saite ruler by name, but refers to a king's mother by the name of Isenkhebe. Vittmann, operating on the assumption that the statue is of Saite date, notes that since the name of the mother of every Saite ruler except for Psammetichus I is known, the statue must date to the reign of this king.[55] This argument ignores the fourth century kings of Dynasties 28 through 30, none of whose mothers are known by name and any of whom could be called Isenkhebe.[56] Another statue often cited as evidence for the garment in the Saite period is that of Psamtiksaneith, probably originally from Sais and now in Philadelphia.[57] Ranke believed that the erased cartouche on the statue was that of Amasis; it could well be, but the cartouche is completely illegible.[58] Louvre E 25499 and British Museum EA 178, similarly cited as Saite examples of the garment, could just as easily belong to the period of Achaemenid rule, since neither has clear epigraphic evidence for an earlier date.[59]

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[54] Ägyptisches Museum 10192.
[55] Vittmann 1976; Bosse (1938, no. 94) also suggests a Saite date.
[56] See Dodson and Hilton 2004, 254-7.
[57] University Museum 42-9-1; Silverman 1997, 146-7.
[58] T. G. Wilfong (personal communication, 2011), based on the picture in Ranke 1942, pl. 24; see also Ranke 1942, 14; 1943, 129.
[59] Louvre E 25499: Vandier 1964b; BM EA 178; de Meulenaere 1987. Both Vandier and de Meulenaere date their respective statues to the 27th Dynasty; however, Vittmann 2009, 97 n. 37, and Pernigotti 1985, 10-18 assign them to the 26th.

Two other personal monuments often cited as 26th Dynasty instances of the garment, the niche stela of Necho probably from Sais and now in the British Museum and the naophorous statue of Peftuaneith from Abydos and now in the Louvre, feature only the long robe (without the sleeved tunic).[60] So they are not instances of the Persian garment as such, but, since their dates are reasonably secure, they can provide some insight into the garment's development. The squat, basalt stela of Necho (a private individual, not the Saite pharaoh) has two large depressions in it. The larger one, to the viewer's right, is empty, but the one on the left features two male figures, presumably the stela's dedicator Necho and his brother Nekhthorheb. These figures both wear long robes that extend from the mid waist to the mid-calf. Both also have small knobs, off center, at the top of the robe; these are usually interpreted as the folds of cloth that normally occur on the Persian garment. However, there are no sleeves readily visible on either figure, so these garments are essentially long kilts, an article of clothing that occurs throughout most periods of Egyptian history, albeit with the addition of a roll of cloth tucked into the top of the garment. In his statue Peftuaneith is depicted striding forward holding a naos with the god Osiris inside. He too wears a long garment extending from his armpits to his ankles with two stylized rolls of cloth at the front of the chest; these rolls, which are simply stone cylinders, seem to take the place of the folds that occur on the belted, wide-sleeved Persian garment. As with Necho and Nekthorheb, Peftuaneith does not wear a sleeved tunic. Thus strictly speaking neither of these monuments is an instance of the Persian garment per se, but the clothes depicted on both may well be precursors to the garment, an attractive possibility in light of their early dates.

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[60] Necho: BM EA 511 (de Meulenaere 1983); Peftuaneith: Louvre A 93 (Leahy 1984a; photos in Spencer 2010, 455 figs. 5-7).

The stela of Necho is dated to the early sixth century on the basis of the identification of Necho's brother Nekhthorheb with an eponymous individual, known from two statues and some inscribed objects, who was active under Psammetichus II.[61] This identification is based on a comparison of the titles of this Nekhthorheb, as listed on his own monuments, and those of Necho's brother as listed on this stela; they have five in common. Additionally, there is a fragment of a statue of Necho, now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen, that also makes reference to his brother Nekhthorheb and his titles; five of these titles are also attested on the monuments of the Nekhthorheb contemporary with Psammetichus II, and two of them do not occur on the British Museum stela.[62] Though it is entirely possible that these two people named Nekhthorheb were one and the same, the personal name and the titles are too common to permit of certainty, especially in the absence of patronyms or surnames. Thus although this early sixth century date is far from secure, it is at least probable.

The date of the statue of Peftuaneith is based on a cartouche of Amasis on the statue.[63] Bothmer argued that this cartouche was a reference to Peftuaneith's son, who was also named Amasis, and that the enclosing of the name within a cartouche was a subtle form of resistance against Achaemenid rule.[64] The reference to Amasis in the inscription reads "may he give life to his son, Amasis son of Neith." This statement is presumably addressed to Osiris, the god depicted in the naos carried by Peftuaneith, in which case it is very unlikely the Amasis in question is anyone other than the Saite king.

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[61] De Meulenaere 1983; see El-Sayed 1975, 225-7, for the titles and Posener 1951 for the date.
[62] NCG 1648; Koefoed-Petersen 1950, 62; see de Meulenaere 1983, 37-8.
[63] Leahy 1984a; the inscription is translated by Lichtheim 1980, 33-6.
[64] Bothmer 1960, 68, 76, 77.

Living Egyptian kings, after all, were assimilated to Horus, not Osiris.[65] The date of the statue can be further narrowed to the beginning of Amasis' reign, the mid sixth century, because the reconstruction of Peftuaneith's career from the inscription on this statue and another in the British Museum indicates that he was active under both Apries and Amasis, in whose service he worked to renovate several temple structures at Abydos.[66] Since he was already at the height of his career under Apries, it stands to reason he was already of mature age by the time Amasis came to power, and thus his statue is unlikely to date later than midcentury.[67]

If these chronological attributions are accurate, it becomes possible to reconstruct hypothetically the historical development of the Egyptian 'Persian garment.' Long linen kilts extending from the waist to mid-calf or even to the ankles are attested at least as early as the Middle Kingdom.[68] At some point in the late seventh or early sixth century a variation on the long kilt, in which an even longer garment was wrapped around the chest with the extra material tucked in at the front, became popular.[69] In the second half of the sixth century this garment was combined with another: a long-sleeved tunic or shirt that covered the shoulders and chest entirely, which was worn underneath the long kilt. This combination of clothing then gained particular prevalence during the period of Achaemenid rule, most likely on account of the resemblance it bore to the Persian court robe. Despite its uncertainty as a dating criterion, the 'Persian garment' is enormously useful index of how certain Egyptians constructed their personal identities and conceived

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[65] Morris 2010b, 202.
[66] BM 83; Heise 2007, 225-8. For Peftuaneith's work at Abydos see Klotz 2010, 128-35 and Leahy 1984a.
[67] Leahy 1984a; Vittmann 1976, 143 n. 6.
[68] Smith 1998, 100; also Riefstahl 1944, 4.
[69] The roll of cloth tucked in at the front of the kilt occurs as early as the Old Kingdom, as attested by the 5th Dynasty statue of Nenkhafetka excavated at Deshasheh by Petrie and now in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago (OIM 2036 A; Teeter 2003, no. 8).

of themselves and their roles in the broader social order during the late sixth and fifth

centuries BCE, as is demonstrated further below in the case studies.

Realism. Although rarely presented as a definitive dating criterion, the association

of realism, in Egyptian statue heads with the period of Achaemenid rule is presented by

many scholars as a matter of course.[70] The association, however, is based on implicit and

unproven assumptions about the nature of Achaemenid rule, Egyptian reactions to it, and

the factors and reasons informing the creation and purposes of Egyptian art. This

assumption is easily demonstrated by a statement in a classic handbook on Egyptian art:

"The melancholic introspection, already apparent in Saite times, became more

pronounced in the resigned expressions with which the faces of the statues of this time

gaze out into their troubled world."[71] In other words, Achaemenid rule made the

Egyptians sad, and this sadness was reflection in the creation of their statues. Obviously

there are manifold methodological problems with this sort of approach, and only a few

are examined here.

First there is the problem of what is meant by 'realism.' The term implies accurate

physical likenesses of the individuals who commissioned the statues, but in the context of

Egyptian art it really refers to any departure from the more common idealizing youthful

visage. Such departures are not necessarily likenesses by any means, since idealized

representations of the human face can take a variety of forms depending on the social and

cultural contexts of their deployment. The sculptures of republican Rome, for instance,

are characterized by a form of idealization known as 'verism' that emphasizes careworn

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[70] E.g., Bothmer 1960, 71-2, 78-9, 81-3; 2004, 407-31; Barocas 1974; see also Shubert 1989, who, in his 'refutation' of realistic trends in Egyptian sculpture of the 27th Dynasty, ends up reifying the methodological problems discussed below.
[71] Aldred 1980, 233.

and aged physiognomies over youthful ones in an effort to demonstrate the republican virtues of *gravitas* and *auctoritas* in the statesmen they represent.[72] Similar examples of non-youthful idealized representation are known from earlier periods in Egypt, with the statues of the Middle Kingdom pharaoh Senwosret III being perhaps the best known.[73] The criteria used to identify such 'realism' is highly subjective, as demonstrated, for example, by one particularly amusing case in which a museum curator put his own clothes on a cast of an Old Kingdom bust, declaring "one is struck by the modernity of the face, which might be met with any day in the street."[74]

Second, implicit here is the assumption that artistic phenomena map closely on political changes, and that such phenomena only occur in discrete chronological groups. While political conditions are indeed one of the many factors that affect artistic production, they are only one of many, and to assign them disproportionate influence during a single time period is methodologically unsound. Discernible trends and changes do occur in Egyptian statuary, but they do not necessarily affect the entire artistic output of a given time period. And it is worth noting that the dates of many of the individual pieces often assigned to the 27th Dynasty on the grounds of their apparent realism have been challenged, albeit not always with good reason.[75]

Third, these approaches that link realism to Achaemenid rule assume that these images are simply reflections of the lived realities of their dedicators; they discount any purposeful manipulation of reality to achieve a certain goal or effect. Thus they ignore

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[72] Tanner 2000. To his credit Bothmer (2004, 407-31) also referred to Late Period realism as verism, though he did not pursue the full implications of the comparison.
[73] Freed 2010, 900-3; Smith 1998, 102; see also Bothmer 2004, 371-93, for Old Kingdom examples of non-youthful representations.
[74] Dunham 1943, 10.
[75] Barocas 1974; Shubert 1989.

the potential that visual representations have to participate actively in, modify, and create cultural and social processes rather than to merely result from them. The visual appearance of an object is the result of a series of decisions made by its creators (including both artist and patron). While these decisions are certainly informed by the social, cultural and political contexts in which they are made, it does not follow that art is necessarily a simple and regularized reflection of these contexts.[76]

Finally, such approaches are complicated by difficulties of actually identifying emotional states, real or idealized, from facial expressions. Facial expressions are cultural constructs rather than physiological constants universal among humans.[77] Thus the emotions that modern scholars read in the faces of these statues are not necessarily those that an ancient viewer would have read in them, or that the statue's dedicator intended to be read in them.

Dorsal Pillar Shape. Bothmer cites the shape of the top termination of a statue's dorsal pillar as a chronological indicator, arguing that terminations in the shape of a truncated triangle or trapezium (**Fig. 4.9**) do not occur on any statue dated on epigraphic grounds to the 26th Dynasty. On this basis he proposes that statues with this feature must date to the 27th Dynasty or later.[78] Though this may well be the case, he goes on to argue that the shape of the dorsal pillar had a practical purpose rather than any symbolic meaning: he suggests it served to make the dorsal pillar less obvious on statues of individuals represented with bald heads instead of bag wigs. Bald heads do seem to become more common over time in the Late Period, and the tapered pillar associated with

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[76] See especially Tanner 2000, who examines this issue with specific respect to Roman republican statuary.
[77] Russell 1994; Russell and Fernández-Dols 1997; Russell et al. 2003.
[78] Bothmer 1960, 79.

them becomes more common as well, but there is simply no indication of any causal link between Achaemenid imperialism in Egypt and changes in dorsal pillar shape.
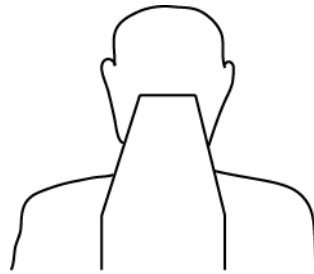
Figure 4.9. Schematic drawing of the trapezoidal dorsal pillar shape.

As this review has shown, the criteria used for assigning statues and other objects to the Saite or Achaemenid Periods are not as reliable as much previous scholarship would suggest. Of all these criteria, only clear references in a statue's inscription to kings and individuals known from other, better dated contexts are sound indicators of date. Otherwise there is no reliable means of assigning a given Late Period statue to one dynasty or another, and therefore no reason to exclude so much material from the period of Achaemenid rule. That said, issues revealed by discussion of the 'Persian gesture' and the 'Persian garment' inform our understanding of representation and identity in Egyptian statuary of the Persian Period. These are important visual cues related to the application of certain other Persianizing features such as Iranian torques or bracelets, as will be discussed in specific cases below.

Formation Processes of the Art Historical Record

Another factor that has contributed to the notion of artistic poverty in the period of Achaemenid rule is the assumption that the visual record of representational art as it

exists today is a representative sample of all the art produced in a certain medium during a certain period within a certain region. This assumption, often called the 'Pompeii premise,' is not limited to Egyptian archaeology by any means. It ignores what are termed 'formation processes,' i.e., the factors, both natural and manmade, that act on and affect material objects between the time of their creation and the present day.[79] Such factors do not act equally on all material from all times and places. This much is demonstrated easily by a brief consideration of Saite sculpture. The kings with the longest reigns, Psammetichus I and Amasis, ruled fifty-four and forty-four years respectively, with Apries in a distant third at nineteen years (**Fig. 4.10**). Yet the quantities of their statuary do not necessarily reflect these long reigns (**Figs. 4.11-12**).[80] Likewise, the statues from the Karnak Cachette datable to the reigns of the various Saite pharaohs on the basis of royal cartouches in their inscriptions do not necessarily reflect these long reigns, at least not in the case of Amasis (**Fig. 4.2**). *Damnatio memoriae* is often suggested as a contributing factor this unevenness of distribution, but on the whole it is very difficult to reconcile the surviving statues of the Saite pharaohs with our normative exceptions.[81] Clearly it is worthwhile to consider how such art historical corpora are created, and how human activity especially affects this creation.

The most thorough and detailed study of archaeological formation processes is Michael Schiffer's *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, first published in 1987.[82] Schiffer considers a much broader range of objects than just statues, but he

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[79] Schiffer 1985.
[80] Leahy 1984b; Myśliwiec 1988, 46-66. In the graphs derived from these two studies I have endeavored to eliminate statues dated solely on stylistic grounds, especially in light of the criticism of dating criteria expressed in the previous section.
[81] Leahy 1984b, 71-2.
[82] Schiffer 1987.
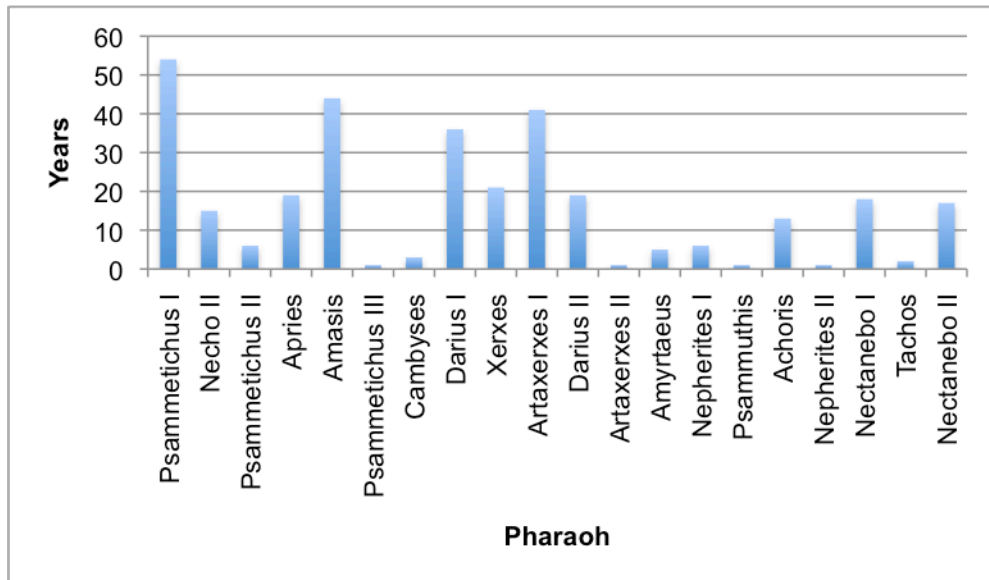
Figure 4.10. Duration in years of each Late Period pharaoh, based on the chronology in Lloyd 2010, xxxviii-xxxix.
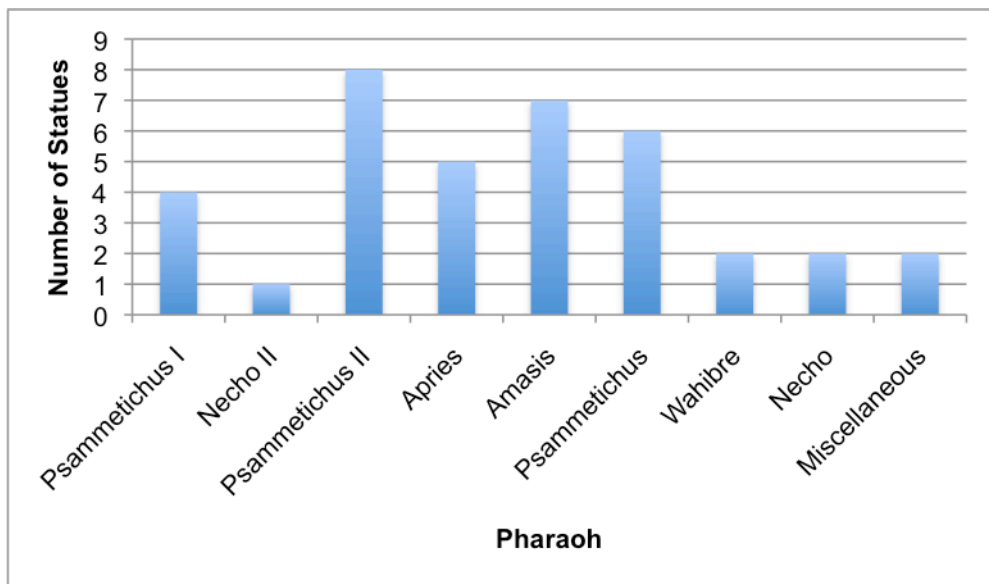
Figure 4.11. Number of statues datable to various Saite pharaohs based on data in Leahy 1984b.
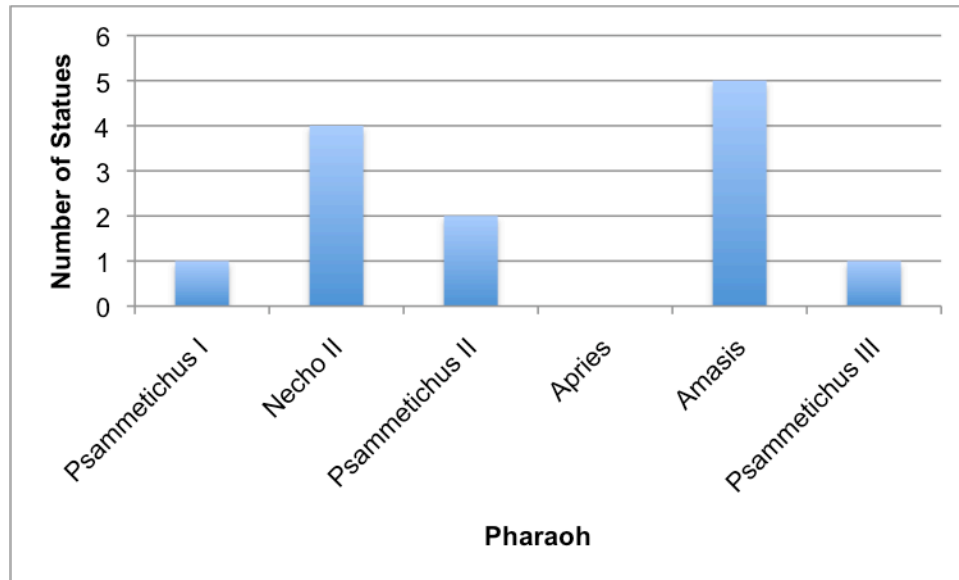
Figure 4.12. Number of statues datable to various Saite pharaohs based on data in Myśliwiec 1988, 46-66.

provides a framework for approaching the specific problem of what we might call the 'art historical record.' In general formation processes belong to two categories, cultural and natural processes (or C-transforms and N-transforms in Schiffer's terms). Egypt's natural processes are quite straightforward. The two main natural forces that could contribute to the formation, and indeed the destruction, of stone statues are wind and water. Save for exceptional cases neither of these would normally affect statues set up in temples, as most Late Period statues seem to have been. This leaves cultural processes, to wit human activity, as the main factor to have a major impact on the kinds and preservation of visual art in Egypt's archaeological record of the Late Period. The following discussions seeks to illustrate via a few relevant examples the tortuous routes taken by some statues from the point of their creation to modern museums.

The inscriptions on most Late Period statues imply that their dedicators intended them to stand in the temple forever, though in reality this rarely happened. Some temples, such as the Karnak temple, certainly did operate for very long periods. Assuming steady

or even diminishing numbers of statues added every year such temples eventually ran out of space. The priests then had to bury old statues within the temple precinct, since removing them entirely or defacing them would have dire consequences for their deceased dedicators and might also invoke the god's wrath. This is the standard interpretation of the Karnak Cachette discussed above, which contains statues dating from the New Kingdom into the Ptolemaic Period and thus represents the accumulated statuary of seven or eight centuries.[83]

This is, however, the least dramatic sort of C-transform, causing the least amount of dislocation from the statue's original point of deposition. Other human actions, especially defacement and appropriation, could have a much greater impact. Defacement for high-status political reasons certainly did occur, as the various erased cartouches of Amasis mentioned in the previous section demonstrate. But defacement and destruction could happen for other reasons too. The Petition of Petiese accuses the priests in the temple of Amun in Teudjoy of throwing two statues of Petiese (the narrator's eponymous grandfather) into the Nile, as part of their feud with his family.[84] The Petition is an admittedly singular document, but it is not too difficult to imagine this sort of local strife leading to the destruction of statues, and in a manner that is difficult to model or predict. Other factors could also contribute to the destruction of statues, and in Egypt the iconoclastic tendencies of more zealous Christians in the fourth and fifth centuries CE no doubt account for the destruction (and removal) of many Late Period statues.[85]

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[83] Jambon 2009.

[84] *P. Ryl. Dem.* 9.18.20-2; Griffith 1909, 103; Ray 2002, 108; see generally Vittmann 1998 and the useful summary in Ray 2002, 97-112. The priests also attempted unsuccessfully to deface stelae recording the elder Petiese's benefactions to the temple.

[85] See discussion in Frankfurter 2008.

Appropriation of statues, particularly their removal from the temple in which they were initially installed, to some other location, also took place. Normally this was associated with invading armies intent on seizing plunder or appropriating the charismatic and religious authority of a defeated enemy.[86] But this was not the only situation in which statues were removed from Egyptian temples. Notably, the statue of Darius from Susa was originally set up in a temple of Atum, most likely in Pithom along the course of the Red Sea canal. It was, however, subsequently brought to Susa where it was incorporated into the decorative program of a monumental gateway there. The specific reason for its removal from Egypt is unknown, but it is clear that the statue was considered an integral part of the desired visual effect of the gateway. Indeed, based on the Achaemenid predilection for grand symmetries, it is likely it was copied at Susa in order to create a pair of identical-looking statues.[87]

The centuries of Roman rule in Egypt also afforded ample opportunities for the removal of Egyptian statues (along with many other objects) to Rome and other places around the empire. A cursory glance at the catalogue of items collected by Anne Roullet reveals an extraordinary variety of Egyptian statues of gods, kings, private individuals, animals, obelisks and so forth found in Rome.[88] This variety makes it difficult to identify any pattern in how, or criteria by which, objects were selected for export. And because these objects were imbued with new meaning according to the context of their re-use in Italy (and elsewhere around the Roman Empire), it seems that the main reason for their

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[86] See Winnicki 1994 for discussion in an Egyptian context.
[87] Razmjou 2002, 87-9. The statue is discussed more fully later in this chapter.
[88] Roullet 1972.

selection was their visibly Egyptian character, with condition, availability, and the fame of the site from which they came also playing roles.[89]

Certain statue types, however, were in demand in Rome for specific reasons. Statues of Ptolemaic queens were often understood to represent Isis, and in some cases they were actually used as such in sanctuaries. Indeed, statues of Isis sculpted in Italy were often modeled on statues of Ptolemaic queens, as seen in the case of a sculptural group from Hadrian's villa that was part of a shrine to the deceased Antinous.[90] The Romans may also have interpreted naophorous statues as images of priests; this much is suggested by a small basalt statue in the British Museum formerly in the possession of the Danish consul general Julius Loytved in Beirut (**Fig. 4.13**).[91] The statue, worn and incomplete, represents a standing male figure placing his arms around a figurine of Osiris. In addition to the inscribed dorsal pillar, which is lacunose, there are also inscriptions on the left side of the dorsal pillar reading *sacerdos Osirim ferens* in Latin and προφή[της] Ὄσειριν κώμ[α]ζω[ν] in Greek, both of which translate simply as 'priest carrying Osiris.' The statue's condition makes it extremely difficult to assess its date of origin, but the likelihood is that it is Ptolemaic, with the Greek and Latin inscriptions added later.[92] The content of these inscriptions suggest that they were added as labels to identify the statue's form. The Roman interpretation of naophorous statues as representations of priests led to their use as décor for Roman sanctuaries of Isis or Serapis.[93] The roles played by these two types of Egyptian statues in Roman religion may

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[89] Swetnam-Burland 2007.
[90] Ashton 2010.
[91] BM EA 24784; Erman 1893; Malaise 2004, no. 27.
[92] This date is based on the fact that the latest known firmly datable naophorous statue (dated by a cartouche) is a product of the reign of Augustus (de Meulenaere 2009, 228).
[93] Roullet 1972, 111; see further Malaise 2004.

Figure 4.13. Basalt naophorous statue, with added Greek and Latin inscriptions, Ptolemaic period (?). London, British Museum EA 24784.

well have created special demand for them, more so than other Egyptian art, and

therefore led to disproportionate importation of these types to Italy (and other places in

the Roman Empire).

The sites in Egypt from which these statues came were not necessarily evenly

distributed. The provenances of many of the objects taken to Rome cannot now be

ascertained, but Heliopolis and Sais seem to have been favored sites for procurement of

Egyptian objects by Romans.[94] It is not at all difficult to image why Sais may have been a popular source for statues. Its proximity to Alexandria would have made it convenient for seaborne merchants bound for Italy to acquire statues there, and Sais' relative obscurity and unimportance in the Roman period probably also made it simpler for merchants, and anyone else, to remove statues from the temple there.[95]

Once in Italy a different set of human activities came into play affecting the survival of these statues. Here the well-known naophorous statue of Udjahorresnet may serve as an illustrative example (**Fig. 4.22**).[96] According to its lengthy biographical inscription this statue was commissioned by Udjahorresnet, a courtier who served in various high positions under Amasis, Psammetichus III, Cambyses, and Darius, and spent time at the Achaemenid court in the course of his career.[97] Udjahorresnet was a key figure in the early years of Achaemenid rule in Egypt; he even composed the formal pharaonic titles used by Cambyses.[98] The statue and its inscription are both vital sources for the study of Achaemenid Egypt, and both are discussed further below. The statue's inscription indicates it was originally dedicated in the temple of Neith at Sais. Presumably it remained there until the Roman period, at which time it was taken to Italy. Most likely it ended up at Hadrian's villa at Tibur (modern Tivoli, near Rome), where it was set up either as part of the Egyptian-themed pool complex known as Canopus (presumably intended to recall the Egyptian coastal town of the same name), or in the

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[94] Roullet 1972, 153-6; cf. 14-15. Provenances are best attested for obelisks; they cannot be determined at all for most of the statues in Roullet's catalogue. In light of the general lack of preserved or published inscriptions which can provide information about provenance, the recurrence of Sais, however limited, is striking.
[95] For Sais under Roman rule see Leclère 2008, 183-4.
[96] The statue is discussed further below.
[97] Translations in Kuhrt 2007, 117-22, and Lichtheim 1980, 36-41. Udjahorresnet's tomb at Abusir is examined in Chapter Two.
[98] Dillery 2003.

Egypt-themed Antinoeion.[99] From this point on the fortunes of this statue, like those of all other Egyptian objects at Tibur, were tied to those of the villa itself.

The last secure evidence for imperial use of the villa dates to the reign of Caracalla, between 211 and 217 CE. After that point it ceased to be an imperial property and was ransacked, plundered and reoccupied by less illustrious residents.[100] Part of a lime kiln was discovered in one of the buildings, suggesting that much of the villa's stone, including statuary, was burned to produce quicklime. Many local buildings in Tivoli, including the twelfth century CE churches of San Stefano and San Pietro, and the sixteenth century villa of Ippolito d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara, were constructed using spolia from the villa, to the extent that one particular type of marble became known as 'porporina di Villa Adriana.'[101] In 1461 the villa was identified as Hadrian's by the humanist Flavio Biondo, on the basis of the description in the *Historia Augusta* (26.5).[102] This identification gave an added degree of prestige to statues found there, and for centuries afterwards the villa was excavated for the purposes of recovering works of art for various patrons. Notably, in the mid-sixteenth century Pirro Ligorio excavated the villa on behalf of the Cardinal of Ferrara, and in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Bulgarini family (who owned portions of the land the villa was on) provided concessions to various other excavators in search of art.[103]

One of these excavators presumably uncovered the statue of Udjahorresnet, since in 1783 a drawing of it was published in Carlo Fea's Italian edition of Winckelmann's

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[99] Grenier 1989; MacDonald and Pinto 1995, 108-11; Mari and Sgalambro 2007; for the statues, both Egyptian and Italian in their manufacture, see the list in Roullet 1972, 49-51. It is not entirely clear if the statue of Udjahorresnet was ever at Hadrian's villa, as is often assumed; see further below and the remarks in Pietrangeli 1951, 137.
[100] MacDonald and Pinto 1995, 198-9.
[101] MacDonald and Pinto 1995, 206.
[102] MacDonald and Pinto 1995, 207-8.
[103] Haskell and Penny 1981, 64-5.

Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums.[104] Moreover, according to the archives of the Vatican's Museo Egiziano Gregoriano (where the statue is today) it was acquired by the museum in the same year from a surgeon named Carlo De Assulle, who had in turn acquired it from Count Pasch (or Pask) of Knieven in 1774.[105] There is still a disconnect between this Pasch and the villa itself, but it is a reasonable possibility that he was one of the many adventurers who received a concession to plunder it for art.[106] In the nineteenth century, following the decipherment of hieroglyphics, the statue gained added interest on account of its lengthy and well preserved inscription, which garnered particular attention on account of its references to figures known from Herodotus, such as Amasis, Cambyses and Darius. This assured its prominence at the beginning of the twentieth century when scholars such as Bosse began their work on Late Period statuary.[107]

This partially speculative history of the statue of Udjahorresnet provides an example of one of the many paths an Egyptian statue could take from the temple where it was dedicated to the modern museum collection where it becomes part of the art historical record. It should be clear that happenstance plays a significant role in the preservation of statuary, and that certain factors such as the Roman need for objects to adorn temples of Isis and Serapis, as well as early modern interest in relating Egyptian

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[104] Winkelmann 1783, pl. 8; see MacDonald and Pinto 1995, 286-300, for the excavations at the villa prior to 1783.

[105] Pietrangeli 1951, 137. The identity of Count Pasch is unknown; his name implies Swedish extraction. He might be identical with Heinrich Leopold, Graf Pasch von Krienen, who published at Livorno in 1773 a book entitled *Breve descrizione dell' arcipelago e particolarmente delle diciotto isole sottomesse l'anno 1771 al dominio russo, con un ragguaglio esatto di tutte le Antichità da esso scoperte ed acquistate e specialmente del sepolcro d'Omero e d'altri celebri personaggi*. Certainly the title of this work suggests activities entirely consistent with searching for statues at Hadrian's villa.

[106] Around this time a female head was put on the statue as a restoration, indicating that Udjahorresnet's fleshy torso and long garment had been mistaken for those of a woman by Pasch or whoever had acquired the statue before him. Similar such mistakes are widely attested and provide an interesting sidelight on eighteenth century gender stereotypes. It was not until the twentieth century that this restored head was removed and replaced with another, bald one that is a much closer approximation of the statue's original head. See Tulli 1941.

[107] E.g., de Rougé 1851.

hieroglyphic inscriptions to classical historiographic narratives, contributed to the survival of some statues over others. Indeed, it is quite likely that most of the statues that were not taken to Italy and other imperial locales during the Roman Period either ended up in caches such as that at Karnak or were destroyed altogether. Of those statues taken to Italy, many were from Sais, leading to a disproportionate rate of survival among statues of 26th Dynasty date.

The art historical record of the Late Period does not provide a representative sample of all the art produced in Egypt between 664 and 332 BCE. Rather, a wide variety of human processes and actions have shaped it over two and a half millennia. This means that one cannot simply assume that patterns discernible in this record are necessarily a direct result of conditions in Achaemenid Egypt.

Archaism

The final aspect of Late Period statuary that warrants attention here is the role played by archaism. According to a recent overview, archaism "refers to a deliberate attempt to reproduce a style of sculpture, painting, language, literature, architecture, or other material or intangible cultural artifact from an earlier period."[108] It is associated particularly with the Late Period, both with a 'Saite renaissance' (in which art and text of earlier periods were deliberately emulated), and with the 27th through 30th Dynasties in which, according to one general work on Egyptian history, "the memories of the Saite dynasty became a refuge of traditional values to which the Egyptians were able to turn as

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[108] Josephson 2001, 109.

the yoke of each new invader grew too heavy for their shoulders."[109] In other words, the archaic appearance of certain Late Period statues and inscriptions is assumed to result from a literal desire to reconstruct a bygone era on the part of the Egyptians, and this in turn underscores modern notions of the oppressive nature of Achaemenid rule during the 27th Dynasty. The Egyptians, as the logic seems to go, preferred the past to the present, and archaism in later statuary thus demonstrates the resilience of Egyptian culture in the face of foreign invasion and oppression. In essence this assumption requires a linear relationship between the form of archaism and its meaning, and on closer scrutiny it is clear that this relationship is much more complex. The following pages provide a brief reexamination of the conception and deployment of archaism in Egyptian art, with a view towards demonstrating the difficulties of its use as an analytical tool.

Although there are many examples of archaism in the Late Period, especially in the grammar and content of inscriptions, it occurs in all periods of Egyptian history and in a wide variety of media.[110] This is due in large part to the stability of the Egyptian visual canon, a series of conventions, compositions and hierarchies developed in the Early Dynastic period within which most subsequent Egyptian art operated, with that of the Amarna period being the notable exception.[111] Such conventions were an important source of meaning, and were thus crucial to the function of art. Deviations from these conventions, which might also be called innovations, were necessarily limited in order to maintain the art's functionality. This stability made repetition in visual representations inevitable.

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[109] Grimal 1992, 366.
[110] Kahl 2010; Tiradritti 2008a; Baines 2007, 191-8; Josephson 2001; Russmann 2001, 40-5; for archaism in Saite period inscriptions see Der Manuelian 1994 and Assmann 2002, 335-64.
[111] Schäfer 1974; Davis 1989; see more recently Baines 2007, 191-2.

Not all repetitions constituted archaism, however. As John Baines has argued, archaism refers only to repetitions that are both deliberate and programmatic.[112] Indeed, this means that an understanding of the purpose a given instance of repetition or emulation of an earlier prototype must precede its interpretation as archaism, and not the other way around. In some cases the purpose is quite clear. For example, the Libyan pharaohs of the 22nd Dynasty and the Kushite pharaohs of the 25th Dynasty made extensive use of New Kingdom and Middle Kingdom models respectively, as both actively sought to depict themselves as legitimate Egyptian pharaohs using the visual vocabularies of earlier rulers.[113] Such purposes are much more difficult to establish for private art, since a statue of an individual that emulates an earlier royal or private monument is not doing so in search of legitimacy or royal authority. There might be a range of idiosyncratic personal, filial, and pious motivations for such choices that may defy our ability to reach them at the individual level. Private Egyptians did certainly value the past as a source of charismatic authority and a component of personal identity. For example, recorded priestly genealogies go back sixty generations, demonstrating a strong interest and specific knowledge of the past.[114] While this knowledge could be used to create archaizing monuments, all we can readily deduce from them is that the individuals who created them considered the earlier monuments they drew upon to be appropriate models for how they conceived of themselves and their positions in the social

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[112] Baines 2007, 193.
[113] Morkot 2003; 2007.
[114] Moyer 2011a, 63-8.

order. Why they thought this, however, would have varied from person to person, and is mostly beyond recovery now.[115]

Another problem with archaism as it is currently used in Egyptology is that it privileges references to chronologically distant superordinate centers over all others. As discussed in Chapter One, superordinate centers of all sorts have potential as sources of charismatic authority.[116] Thus focusing on only those situated in the past provides an incomplete picture of how individual Egyptians constructed their identities. Certainly the Egyptian past was a source of charismatic authority for many Late Period Egyptians, and for many it was the only one of consequence. But as is demonstrated further in the case studies discussed below, there are references to other centers as well. Focusing exclusively on archaism obscures these references altogether.

In short, the analytical value of archaism is limited primarily to the interpretation of royal monuments. Its use in the study of private statuary may seem fitting in light of assumptions about the conditions under Achaemenid rule and of the Late Period more generally, but the meaning of these instances of archaism is complex and varies from one individual to another. Thus archaism is a useful concept for understanding Achaemenid period material, but it must be considered alongside other factors, not treated in isolation as proof of an Egyptian longing to be freed from Achaemenid rule.

Artistic Poverty in Achaemenid Egypt

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[115] Neureiter 1994 provides an interesting explanation for archaism in private contexts, namely that by the end of the New Kingdom Egyptian elites constructed and demonstrated their high status through displays of knowledge of the past rather than through displays of outright power. This is not the proper venue to examine her provocative thesis in detail. Here it suffices to note that, as argued further below, the focus on the past to the exclusion of other superordinate centers provides an incomplete picture.
[116] Helms 1993, 177-9.

Our modern narrative of the artistic poverty of the 27th Dynasty results from a variety of factors both ancient and modern, but we are hard pressed to validate the idea that the nature of Achaemenid imperialism was among the causal factors involved in this perceived situation. Indeed, we are hard pressed to validate the narrative at all. Modern scholars seeking to bring order to a disparate corpus of material also brought with them the long held assumptions of their disciplines, including especially Greek ideas about the Achaemenids. Likewise, the uneven nature of the Roman harvesting of Egyptian statuary has led to the prominence of certain places, periods and statue types over others, and the bounty of this harvest provided the foundation of much of the modern scholarship on Egyptian art. Finally, the false precision with which much Late Period statuary is dated also contributes to this narrative. In fact, much of the material traditionally assigned to the Saite period or the fourth century could just as well belong to the 27th Dynasty, and our general inability to distinguish among the statuary of these various periods is a result not of our own methodological failings, but of the sheer variety of experiences that must have existed in Achaemenid Egypt. Accordingly, there is little to be gained by further minute chronological adjustments to the corpus of Late Period art. Rather, to understand the impact of Achaemenid rule at the individual level we must look at some individuals, or at least at how they elected to represent themselves in certain significant contexts. This is the purpose of the case studies discussed below.

Discrepant Experiences: Case Studies

The case studies that follow are intended to explore the range of experiences of Achaemenid rule in Egypt by examining representations of individuals. The variations in these representations result from the different ways in which individuals conceived of their identities within the context of Achaemenid Egypt. Some seem to have paid little heed to the empire in their choices as to how to represent themselves, whereas others made reference to superordinate centers outside of Egypt, such Persepolis, as part their representations. This variety is suggestive of the potential gamut of experiences had by people in Egypt during this period, including Egyptians, foreigners (including ethnic Persians), and the children of mixed marriages. Of course, these cases are biased towards the people who could most afford the services of sculptors and other artisanal professionals. It is also skewed towards males, representations of whom predominate this sort of evidence. So it is important to recognize that the experiences of less wealthy individuals and females could have been very different.[117]

The Statue of Darius from Susa

Perhaps the best known representation of an individual created during the period of Achaemenid rule in Egypt is the statue of Darius I found at Susa on Christmas Eve, 1972, by the Délégation archéologique française en Iran and now in the National

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[117] In Chapter Five I consider the decisions made by certain communities as to their use of ceramic vessels and how and why these decisions may have changed in the context of Achaemenid rule. This is intended in part as a counterpoint to the more elite male individuals discussed here. The evidence for the female experience of Achaemenid rule in Egypt is disappointingly limited at present, though the refinement of object typologies and chronologies may change this situation in the future. For now the best evidence is provided by the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine (see Azzoni 2013), which is a special case in certain respects.

Museum of Iran (**Fig. 4.14**).[118] Both the statue's trilingual cuneiform inscription (DSab) and the Egyptian greywacke from which it was carved attest to its creation in Egypt. Furthermore, the content of the hieroglyphic inscription is consistent with an Egyptian royal monument and makes frequent reference to the god Atum of Tjeku, another name for the town of Pithom (usually identified as modern Tell el-Maskhuta in the eastern Nile Delta), implying that the statue had been set up there originally in a temple of Atum.[119] Yet despite its unequivocally Egyptian origin, the inclusion of Achaemenid imperial iconography in the representation of Darius (discussed further below) makes it clear that the statue was designed as an imperial monument as well as a local Egyptian royal one. Its creation must have involved ranking officials familiar with the expression of imperial ideology, as well as priests of Atum. This combination of designers for the statue is best explained by Pithom's location on Darius' Red Sea canal, making it an important locus of imperial activity and worthy of royal attention in the form of monuments.

The date and circumstances of the statue's removal from Egypt to Persia remain subject to debate. But the statue's original setting at Pithom, along the Red Sea canal, may help to explain it. According to the best preserved of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the canal stelae (the Tell el-Maskhuta stela), Darius conceived of the idea of the canal while in his palace in Persia, for the purpose of moving goods and tribute by water from Egypt to Persia.[120] No reference is made to any statue in this inscription. But the transport to Susa of an Egyptian royal monument representing Darius as pharaoh would have been

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[118] This discussion of the statue is an expansion on that in Colburn 2014, 784-8.

[119] Yoyotte 2010, 268-9; Bresciani 1998; for translations of the inscriptions see Kuhrt 2007, 477-9. The archaeological remains at Tell el-Maskhuta support this conclusion insofar as ceramics of fifth century date have been discovered there (Paice 1986-7). On the identification of Pithom with Tell el-Maskhuta see most recently Collins 2008.

[120] Lloyd 2007b, 101-4; the stela is published more fully in Posener 1936, 50-63.

Figure 4.14. Greywacke statue of Darius from Susa. Tehran, National Museum of Iran 4112. Photograph provided courtesy of Jean Perrot and Rémy Boucharlat.

a very effective demonstration of the canal's successful completion and integrative potential. Whether this statue was the only one of its kind, or if a duplicate of it remained in Pithom, is unknown, and to some extent irrelevant; certainly there is reason to assume this statue was completely unique.[121] Once in Susa the statue was integrated into the monumental gateway, where it became an important part of the palace's decorative program.[122] As such it was both a statement of Achaemenid imperial ideology generally and a monument to Achaemenid appropriation of Egyptian kingship more specifically.

The statue is preserved up to its shoulders; originally it would have stood approximately 3 m high, making it well over life-size. It depicts Darius in a striding pose with his left foot further forward than his right. He holds his left arm horizontally across his chest and his right straight down at his side. He wears a full-length robe with flaring sleeves gathered high on his waist with a belt; a dagger in a scabbard is tucked into the belt at the front. In his left hand he holds what seems to be the stem of a flower, the top of which is not preserved, and his right fist is filled with a cylinder, in keeping with Egyptian sculptural practice. At the back is a dorsal pillar that runs the entire preserved height of the statue. The cuboid base of the statue features incised decoration; at the front and back is a well-known Egyptian image, the "uniting of the two lands." On each long side is a row of twelve kneeling figures representing personifications of a total of twenty-four peoples of the empire (including Persians).[123] The statue is inscribed with a trilingual cuneiform inscription (DSab) on the lower folds of Darius' garment; there are hieroglyphic inscriptions on the belt and lower folds of the garment, as well as on the top and sides of the base. No traces of the statue's head survive. Generally it is believed that

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[121] Bresciani 1998 even argues that the canal linking the Nile to the Red Sea was lined with such statues.
[122] Possibly it was copied as well (Razmjou 2002, 87-9).
[123] Yoyotte 2010, 288-96; Roaf 1974.

the head was largely consistent with the representations of the Great King at Persepolis and Naqš-e Rustam, though it is also possible that it had a more Egyptian aspect.[124]

The statue of Darius quotes Egyptian artistic tradition in a number of features. Most distinctive is the representation of the 'unification of the two lands' on the base of the statue.[125] This image shows two fecundity figures representing Upper and Lower Egypt binding together a lotus and a papyrus plant (the two plants also representing Upper and Lower Egypt), with the hieroglyph for 'unite' in between them. This image goes back well into the Old Kingdom, and it is typically placed beneath the king, either below a cartouche containing his name, or on a throne or statue base.[126] Thus its inclusion on the statue of Darius is a straightforward appropriation of Egyptian iconography and of the royal ideology underlying it.

Similarly, the figures representing the subject peoples of the empire carved on the base of the statue have distinctive Egyptian antecedents in the depiction of foreign prisoners of war.[127] Prisoners are identifiable as such because of their non-Egyptian attributes, especially their beards and clothing, and because their ethnonyms are written in studded cartouches representing city walls. Since the Predynastic Period they had been depicted kneeling and bound, and placed in a location where they were either beneath the king, or in some cases actually trodden upon by him.[128] The placement of the subject peoples on the base of Darius' statue, and therefore below the king, where they are

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[124] See the reconstruction proposed by Luschey 1983. Various fragments of colossal royal statue heads were excavated at Susa (Root 1979, 110-14; Harper et al. 1992, no. 153), though none clearly belong to this statue. Traunecker (1995) has published a statue head, now in the collection of the Institut d'Égyptologie (inv. 1604) at the University of Strasbourg, which combines Achaemenid and Egyptian iconography in a manner that may provide a plausible alternative to Luschey's reconstruction.
[125] Yoyotte 2010, 282-4.
[126] Schäfer 1943; Goedicke 1985.
[127] Roaf 1974, 75-6; Root 1979, 138-47; Calmeyer 1991.
[128] Ritner 1993, 113-36.

effectively trampled by him, is consistent with Egyptian iconography, as is their kneeling pose and the cartouches that accompany them. The connection the statue makes with traditional Egyptian renditions of kingship is also reinforced by the hieroglyphic inscriptions, which praise Darius as pharaoh and frequently invoke the Egyptian god Atum.[129]

Other aspects of the statue are also clearly borrowed from the Egyptian visual repertoire. Darius' right fist is filled by a stone cylinder. This is a common feature of Egyptian statuary, and it has been interpreted variously as a shortened staff, a roll of linen, or simply a convention for representing an empty hand.[130] Likewise, the striding pose of the statue, with the left foot in front of the right, and with the stone in between them left in place, is also a regular feature of Egyptian statuary in particular. Finally, the inclusion of a dorsal pillar is a consistent feature of Egyptian sculpture in the round.

The statue of Darius, then, draws heavily on Egyptian representations of kingship in order to present Darius as a royal figure in Egypt. At the same time it also utilizes visual references to Mesopotamian and Iranian art to nuance this presentation and adapt it to fit Achaemenid imperial ideology. For example, Darius is depicted wearing the Persian court robe and carrying an Elamite dagger; both are accoutrements of the Persians on the Persepolis reliefs and part of Darius' representation of himself as a "Persian man," as alluded to in the statue's cuneiform inscription and referenced in the art of the empire in various media.[131]

The figures representing the subject peoples on the base of the statue have also been adapted to better fit Achaemenid imperial ideology. The figures hold their arms up

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[129] Kuhrt 2007, 478-9; Yoyotte 2010, 278-81.
[130] See discussion in Fischer 1975.
[131] Root 1979; 2011b.

in front of them, with their open palms facing upward. This is in sharp contrast to the usual depiction of prisoners, whose arms are always bound behind their backs. Rather, in Egyptian art this pose is used to represent carrying or support, and the spatial relationship between the subject peoples and the figure of Darius imply that they are supporting the king.[132] This imagery has close analogies at Persepolis and in the façades of the royal tombs at Naqš-e Rustam. There the king is depicted on a platform supported by rows of subject peoples in the atlas poses with their arms raised and their palms facing upward.[133] The atlas pose has a long history in Mesopotamian art, where it usually denotes a divine context. Its use at Persepolis and Naqš-e Rustam to support the king is a means of representing the relationship between the king and the people of the empire, that is, it reinforces the king's amalgamation of political and religious authority with the support of his subjects.[134] This notion is furthered by the inclusion of Persians among the subjects of the empire, at Persepolis and Naqš-e Rustam, as well as on the statue of Darius, which, visually at least, puts the Persians on a par with everyone else rather than emphasizing their (military) superiority.[135] Finally, the trilingual cuneiform inscription on the statue (written in Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian) is a feature of Darius' ideological program and served as a linguistic epitome of the empire's ecumenical nature.[136]

The statue of Darius was intelligible in two different contexts. In an Egyptian context it was a statement of Darius' role and legitimacy as pharaoh. In the context of the imperial court it communicated Darius' ideological program in which he cast himself as a Persian heroic figure, who straddled the earthly and cosmic realms with the support and

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[132] Roaf 1974, 77; Root 1979, 149.
[133] Schmidt 1953, 116-20, 134-7; 1970, 77-118.
[134] Root 1979, 131-61; Garrison 2011, 43-7.
[135] Roaf 1974, 94-8; Yoyotte 2010, 289.
[136] Finn 2011.

participation of all the peoples of his empire. Moreover, at Susa, the Egyptian visual references made in the statue contributed to the notion of the universality of the empire, and in Egypt the adaptation of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian atlas pose to the Egyptian prisoner motif contributed to the notion that Achaemenid rule was different from other forms of imperialism, emphasizing cooperation over domination. The selection of the specific assortment of visual elements that comprise the statue also provide a window onto how Darius and the others involved in its design and execution conceived of their larger world. The combination of Achaemenid and Egyptian features implies that the cultures that informed these different artistic traditions were the superordinate centers from which Darius drew his charismatic authority.

It is important to recognize as well that the statue was not unique in its role as a simultaneous Egyptian royal monument and marker of Achaemenid imperialism; the stelae which lined the Red Sea canal completed by Darius operated visually in a comparable manner. The four stelae were found at Tell el-Maskhuta, at a site between Ismailiya and the Great Bitter Lake erroneously called 'Serapeum' by the French, at Kabret, and at a location some 6 km north of Suez (this stela is now lost).[137] These huge stelae (over three meters tall and two meters wide) feature hieroglyphic and cuneiform texts in Elamite, Old Persians, and Babylonian Akkadian, all of which make reference to Darius and the construction of the canal.[138] The hieroglyphic texts are poorly preserved, but the most complete version, from the Tell el-Maskhuta stela (now Cairo JE 48855),

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[137] Posener 1936, 48-87; Roaf 1974, 79-84; Lloyd 2007b, 99-107; Redmount 1995, 127-8.

[138] To be clear, it appears that three of the four stela had a hieroglyphic inscription on one side and a cuneiform trilingual one on the other. The exception is the Tell el-Maskhuta stela, of which only the hieroglyphic side survives, leading to speculation that the cuneiform text was inscribed on an adjoining stela. The Tell el-Maskhuta stela is the best preserved hieroglyphic text, and the Kabret stela features the best preserved cuneiform text, and these are therefore usually taken as representative of what all four stelae would have looked like.

indicates that the text took the form of what is known to Egyptologists as a

Königsnovelle, a genre of royal inscription with a long history in Egypt, in which the king

conceives of an idea and then carries it through to completion in a manner unparalleled

by any of his predecessors.[139] The cuneiform texts, although better preserved than the

hieroglyphic (especially on the Kabret stela), are more curt. They refer in no uncertain

terms to Egypt's subjugation by the Persians and its integration in the empire:

> King Darius proclaims: I am a Persian; from Persia, I seized Egypt. I
> ordered this canal to be dug, from a river called Nile, which flows in
> Egypt, to the sea which goes to Persia. So this canal was dug as I had
> ordered, and ships went from Egypt through this canal to Persia, as was
> my desire.[140]

Thus the inscriptions on the stelae, like the statue, were intelligible in both Egyptian and

Achaemenid imperial contexts, and this is equally true of their visual aspects as well. The

Tell el-Maskhuta stela (**Fig. 4.15**) features the vault of heaven hieroglyph and a winged

disk in the lunette. Below that appears the 'unification of the two lands' scene, with a

cartouche containing the name of Darius above the plants being bound together. The texts

on either side of the scene confer blessings on Darius. Below this is a row of subject

peoples with their ethnonyms enclosed in studded cartouches and with their hands

upraised, as on the base of the statue of Darius. The main text of the stela is flanked by

wah scepters, symbols of power often carried by Egyptian gods. The cuneiform side as

preserved on the Kabret stela (**Fig. 4.16**) also features the vault of heaven hieroglyph and

a winged disk in the lunette, but this time the winged disk has a feathered tail and tendrils

descending from it, in a manner in keeping with the representation of this motif in

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[139] Lloyd 2007b, 104; for the *Königsnovelle* see Loprieno 1996.
[140] DZc; Kuhrt 2007, 485-6.
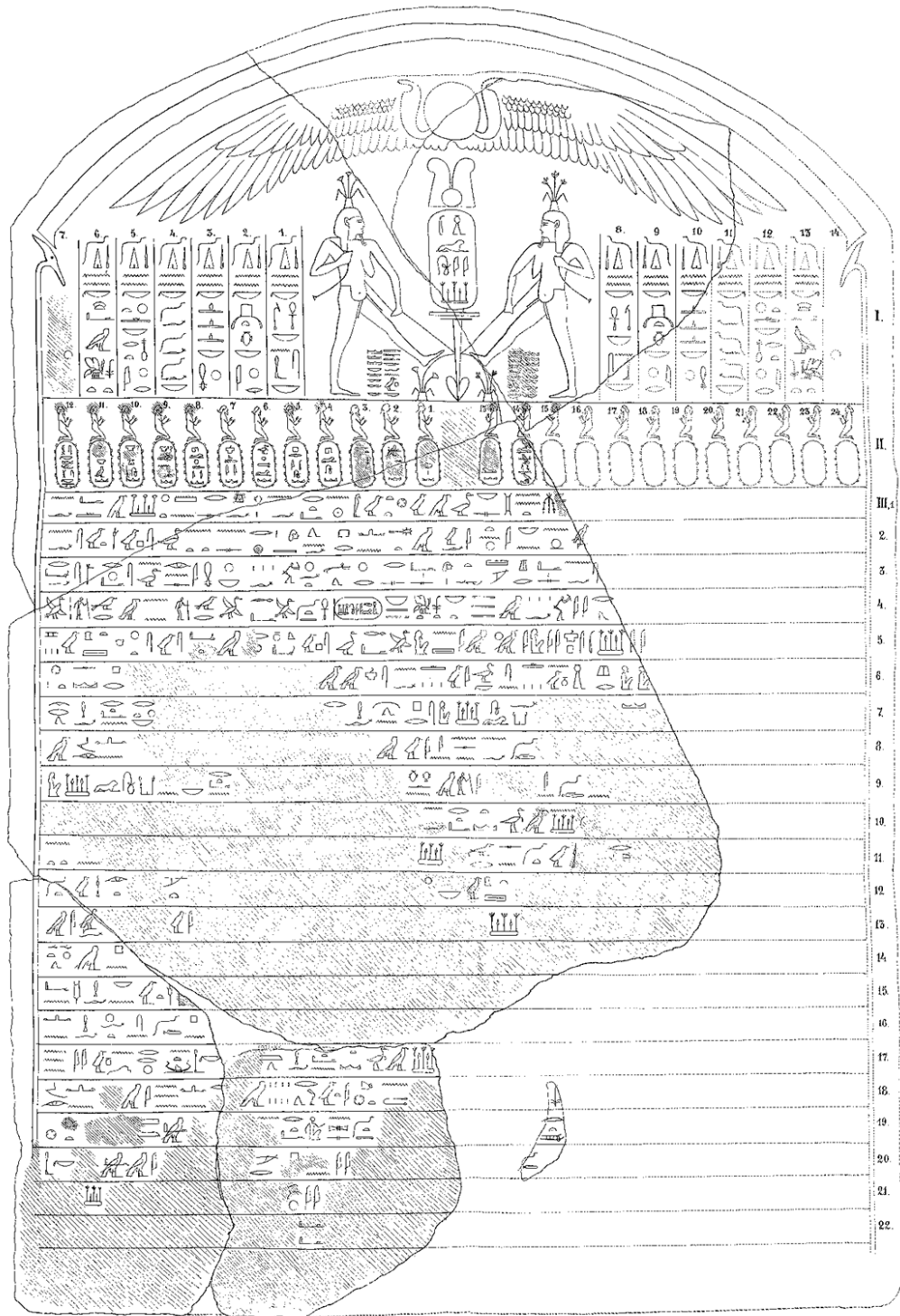
Figure 4.15. Drawing of the Tell el-Maskhuta stela (Cairo JE 48855). From W. Golénischeff, *Recueil de travaux relatifs a la philologie et a l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 13 (1890), pl. 8.

254
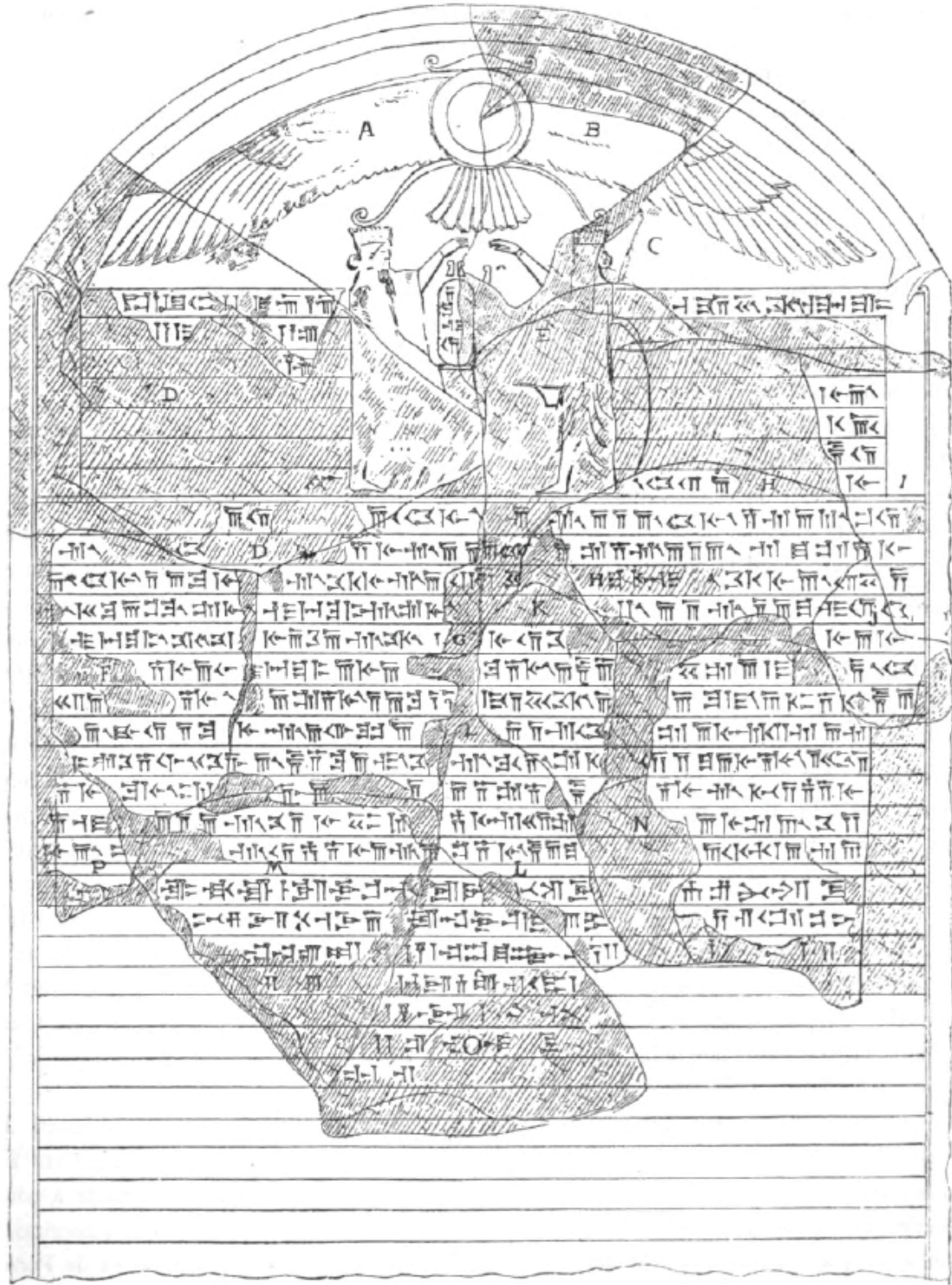
Figure 4.16. Drawing of the Kabret stela (now lost). From J. Ménant, *Recueil de travaux relatifs a la philologie et a l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 9 (1887), 145.

Achaemenid imperial monuments.[141] Beneath this are mirror images of a man with a squared beard wearing a crenellated Persian crown and the long sleeved Persian court robe. The stela is too poorly preserved to see exactly what the figures are doing. Each has one arm raised over a large central cartouche enclosing the name of Darius written in cuneiform rather than hieroglyphics. As on the Tell el-Maskhuta stela, the main trilingual cuneiform text is flanked by *wah* scepters.

These stelae, like the statue, present Achaemenid imperial power in a local Egyptian idiom. There can be no doubt that these stelae made clear reference to Persepolis and to the empire, to superordinate centers far outside of Egypt. At the same time they were not so alien that an Egyptian would mistake them for anything other than the work of the king. The overt reference to Achaemenid imperial iconography was especially appropriate to stelae erected along the canal connecting Egypt with Persia, and in certain respects the combination of Egyptian and Achaemenid motifs, imagery and language on these stelae represented this connection. So too did the statue of Darius, being a representation in an Egyptian manner of the Great King that may well have made the trip from Pithom to Susa by way of the canal and the sea route around the Arabian peninsula.[142]

Unlike the other cases discussed in this chapter, these monuments are imperial ones, conceived of and designed as the highest levels of the royal court in order to disseminate a specific idea. But because both the statue and the stelae were intended to address Egyptian audiences, their visual programs speak to the social environment that existed in Egypt. The same is true of the private objects and monument discussed in the

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[141] The wings are curved rather than straight, in order to fit the shape of the lunette, which has the effect of quoting the normal Egyptian representation of this image.
[142] Yoyotte 2010, 277.

rest of this chapter: the creators of these objects also sought to communicate specific

ideas, mainly about how they conceived of their identities and their roles in the social

order of Achaemenid Egypt.

Other Royal Images

Of course, these images of Darius conveyed through the statue and the canal

stelae are not the only representations of him from Egypt. There are a number of other

extant images of Achaemenid pharaohs that are much more difficult to identify because

they do not make overt references to any superordinate center outside of Egypt, and as a

result in the absence of inscriptional evidence they tend to be assigned to earlier or later

periods. Many of these representations are altogether impossible to date more precisely

than to the Late Period (though this does not make them Saite by default). But a few can

be attributed unequivocally to the 27th Dynasty on account of cartouches of Cambyses

and Darius respectively, which serve to identify the pharaoh who is otherwise depicted

generically. These include the reliefs of the Hibis temple in the Kharga Oasis (already

discussed in Chapter Three), the two Serapeum stelae that show Cambyses and Darius

before the deceased Apis bull (already discussed in Chapter Two), and two wooden naoi.

One of these naoi, of unknown provenance, is now in the British Museum. All

that remains of it is the door, which is richly ornamented with polychrome glass inlay

depicting Darius before the enthroned god Anubis, with Isis, who is wearing cow horns,

looking on, all below a winged disk.[143] Darius wears an Egyptian kilt and the White

Crown of Upper Egypt as he makes his offering to Anubis. It is difficult to discern

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[143] BM EA 37496; Razmjou 2005, no. 266.

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exactly what this offering is, since the image is poorly preserved, but it appears to be a figurine of some kind. Given the prominence of Anubis on this door, the naos probably once housed an image of that god. But with its lack of provenance and poor condition little more can be said about this door, other than that Achaemenid pharaohs could be depicted on personal votive monuments to a range of Egyptian gods.

The other naos is largely intact, reasonably well preserved, and comes from a controlled context (**Fig. 4.17**).[144] It was discovered by Sami Gabra in 1945 during his excavations of the ibis hypogeum at Tuna el-Gebel, the site of the necropolis of Hermopolis in Middle Egypt, along with a jar containing eight Aramaic papyri.[145] These papyri do not feature dates, but their paleography suggests a late sixth or early fifth century date. This is consistent with both the date of the naos itself (established by the cartouche of Darius I on it) and with the pre-Ptolemaic dating of Gallery C suggested by the current excavators, where the naos and the papyri were found.[146] These papyri consist of personal letters, probably written at Memphis and addressed to recipients in Luxor and Syene. Their presence in the hypogeum at Hermopolis was presumably the result of their having been set aside for use as mummy wrappings, reflecting the existence of a secondhand market in papyri for this purpose. All of these factors point to the deposition of the naos in the hypogeum in a fifth century context and not (as has been proposed) in a

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[144] It is now in the Mallawi Museum (inv. no. 200). The fullest publications of it are Myśliwiec 1991 and Mahran 2008.
[145] Gabra 1945-6. The papyri are TADAE A2.1-7, D1.1; see Bresciani and Kamil 1966; Porten and Greenfield 1968; Azzoni 2013, 122-8.
[146] The hypogeum has extensive Ptolemaic additions, but the earliest sections, Galleries C and D, were in use by about 500 BCE, if not earlier. This much is suggested the demotic papyri found there (Zaghloul 1985), which date to the reign of Darius and refer to the transfer of ibises from the Fayum to Hermopolis for burial. See now Kessler and Nur el-Din 2005, 139-41. For the paleography of the Aramaic papyri see Naveh 1971.
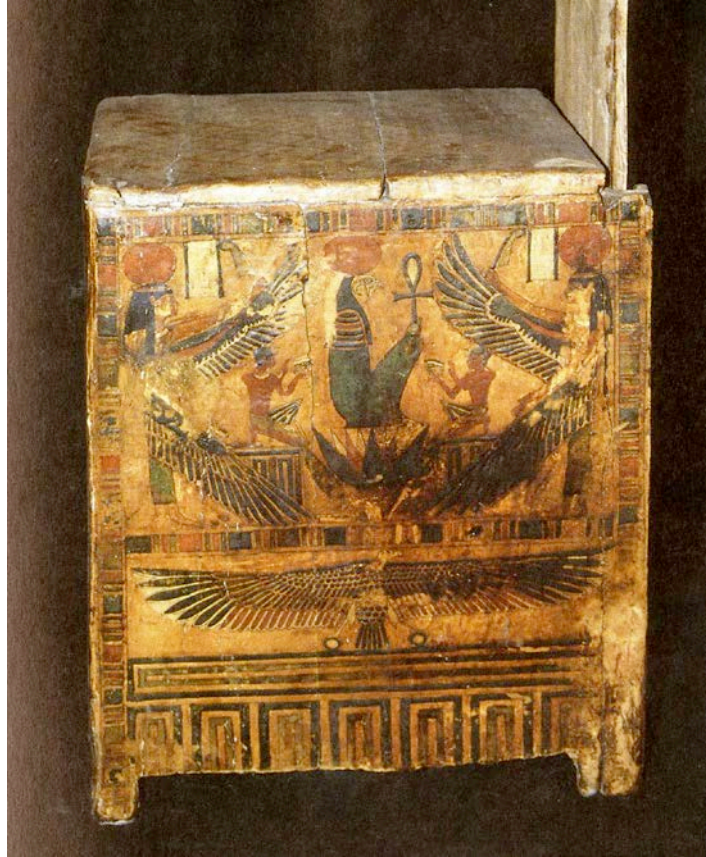
Figure 4.17. Right side of a wooden naos featuring a representation of Darius I, excavated from an ibis hypogeum at Tuna el-Gebel. Mallawi, Mallawi Museum inv. no. 200.

Ptolemaic one.[147] That said, the naos was discovered with a baboon mummy inside it, demonstrating that it had been reused as a coffin in the time of its deposition. This type of naos, identified by the Egyptian term *sḥ-nṯr*, was built for temporary use during religious festivals.[148] So there is nothing unusual about its reuse as a baboon coffin not long after it had served its original ritual purpose. Additionally, the presence of a baboon mummy in an ibis hypogeum is not especially curious either, since both animals were sacred to the god Thoth, the primary deity worshipped at Hermopolis. The burial complex at Tuna el-Gebel includes many burials of both animals.

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[147] Myśliwiec 1991, 221; 2000, 144.
[148] Spencer 1984, 114; see also Mahran 2008, 112.

The naos features painted and polychrome glass inlays on four sides. The sliding door at the front is topped with a cavetto cornice and depicts Darius twice in mirror image presenting a *wedjat* eye to the god Re in the form a scarab beetle with outstretched wings holding up a sun disk. Darius, who is named in both the hieroglyphic inscription underneath the cornice and in the cartouches directly in front of him, wears the Egyptian kilt, a collar, and the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt with a uraeus at the front.[149] The inscription at the top reads "May the good god live, the Lord of the Two Lands, Darius, may he live forever," a typical pious vow for the longevity of the king.[150] Darius also appears on the sides of the naos. The scene on both sides is largely the same. A mummiform falcon figure, identified in the inscription as 'Horus, protector of his father,' sits on an open lotus and holds an ankh. He is flanked on either side by the goddess Nut, represented by a winged woman. Horus is also flanked by two small kneeling figures presenting a *wedjat* eye. These figures are not labeled, but the they do wear the blue crown, suggesting that once again the king is represented here. That king would be Darius in a different guise. The back wall features the god Re in the form of a ram-headed mummiform figure sitting on a pedestal flanked by two winged cobras. Although there are no representations of the king on this side, the pious inscription from the front of the naos is repeated here.

The representations of Darius on this naos are entirely generic. Nothing distinguishes them visually from representations of other Egyptian kings in offering

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[149] The spelling of Darius' name in these inscriptions includes an initial *nt*, which Posener (1936, 161-3) argues only occurs after his twenty-fifth regnal year, i.e., 497 BCE, and as a result Mahran (2008, 116) dates the shrine to between 497 and 486. However, this is only of the many variations of the writing of this name, and as Cruz-Uribe (1992-3, 8) points out, these variations all persist throughout Darius' reign, and there is no clear historical or linguistic reason why this particular variation would have been introduced so much later than the others.

[150] Mahran 2008, 112.

scenes, including those of Amasis and the ephemeral pretender Petubastis III on two similar wooden naoi.[151] Moreover, Darius is depicted wearing the blue crown on the side panels, a crown especially favored by the Saite pharaohs.[152] There are no visual references to any superordinate center outside of Egypt, no hints that Darius was anything other than an Egyptian pharaoh. This becomes all the more interesting in light of the distinct possibility that this naos was commissioned not by Darius himself, or by his satrap, but by a temple official at Hermopolis.

The usual assumption is that naoi bearing cartouches were commissioned by the rulers named on them. This was more probably the case with monumental stone naoi, which, on account of their size and material, were intended to be permanent fixtures in the temples where they were erected.[153] Such temple additions are a well-known royal prerogative. But it is unreasonable and unnecessary to assume that every wooden shrine like this one required royal or satrapal initiative. Rather, it is more plausible to see this naos as a production of a local temple workshop in Hermopolis, created for use in a specific ritual, in this instance perhaps involving Re or Horus, since they are featured in its decorations. After the completion of the ritual it was reused for another ritual activity, namely the burial of a sacred baboon. Indeed, the seventeen variations on the writing of Darius' name collected by Cruz-Uribe are highly suggestive of decentralized scribal activity. In other words, scribes in various places had their own ways of writing the king's name, and it was one of these variations, rather than a centrally composed one, that was supplied to the craftsman who built this particular naos.[154] Darius' prominence on

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[151] Yoyotte 1972, pl. 19; see further the representations of Saite rulers collected in Myśliwiec 1988, 46-66.
[152] Russmann 1995.
[153] Spencer 2006, 31-8.
[154] Cruz-Uribe 1992-3.

the naos was not a result of his direct involvement in the local cult. It was rather an indirect result of his royal status, since as pharaoh he was also the chief priest of every Egyptian cult and the intermediary between the Egyptian people and their gods.[155] His inclusion on this naos was a matter of course, not a political statement of any kind.

This naos, then, represents an instance in which certain Egyptians, in this case the priests responsible for its creation, assimilated a foreign ruler to their own notions of kingship. In fact, the naos implies that for certain Egyptians of high status (as the members of the Hermopolis priesthood surely must have been) there was simply no meaningful difference between the Achaemenid pharaohs and their Saite predecessors. This naos, along with the statue of Darius discussed above, demonstrates the multiple ways in which Darius, and by extension other Great Kings, could be represented in Egypt. Although the variation depends in part on context, it suggests that there was no single view of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. Rather, there were multiple viewpoints, each informed by individual ideas and circumstances, and these viewpoints, like identity itself, were fluid. Furthermore, the generic representation of Darius on this naos shows that any unlabeled or unattributed image of a Late Period king could just as easily belong to the 27th Dynasty as to the 26th or the 30th.

Funerary Reliefs

In the preceding case studies we saw how one foreign king, Darius I, was represented in Egypt in several different contexts. As pharaoh Darius played central roles in both the political and the religious realms in Egypt, and the potential tension between

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[155] Morris 2010b, 213-14.

these realms (i.e., political domination by foreigners versus the pharaoh's role in maintaining cosmic balance) was often resolved in favor of the latter, at least visually. This was the case for the Nubian pharaohs of the 25th Dynasty as well.[156] For private individuals there were different tensions, between political, religious, cultural and social factors, and each person resolved these tensions in different ways depending on how he conceived of his identity in the appropriate context. Thus it is instructive to consider the representation of two non-royal private individuals who included images of apparent foreigners in their funerary monuments.

These monuments are two funerary stelae that were both already mentioned in Chapter Two. One is the stela of Djedherbes, found in a secondary context at Saqqara in 1994 in the course of survey work carried out by the National Museums of Scotland (**Fig. 4.18**).[157] This stela is notable for a number of reasons, including both its unusual decorative program and the parentage of Djedherbes. According to the inscriptions his father had a Persian name (Artam), and his mother, like Djedherbes himself, had an Egyptian name (Tanofrether). Names do not necessarily indicate ethnic or racial origins, but, as discussed in Chapter Two, the names people give their children (or in some cases adopt for themselves) reflect their aspirations for their children. The combination of the multicultural names in Djedherbes' and the elements he chose to include in his funerary monument are indicative of the complexity of the social world in which he operated.

The stela has a rounded top and three registers of images. In the top register the lunette features a winged sun disk, typical of such monuments from Egypt, save that it has a feathered tail and two curled tendrils extending from beneath it. In the upper main

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[156] Chimko 2003.
[157] Cairo JE 98807; Mathieson et al. 1995.
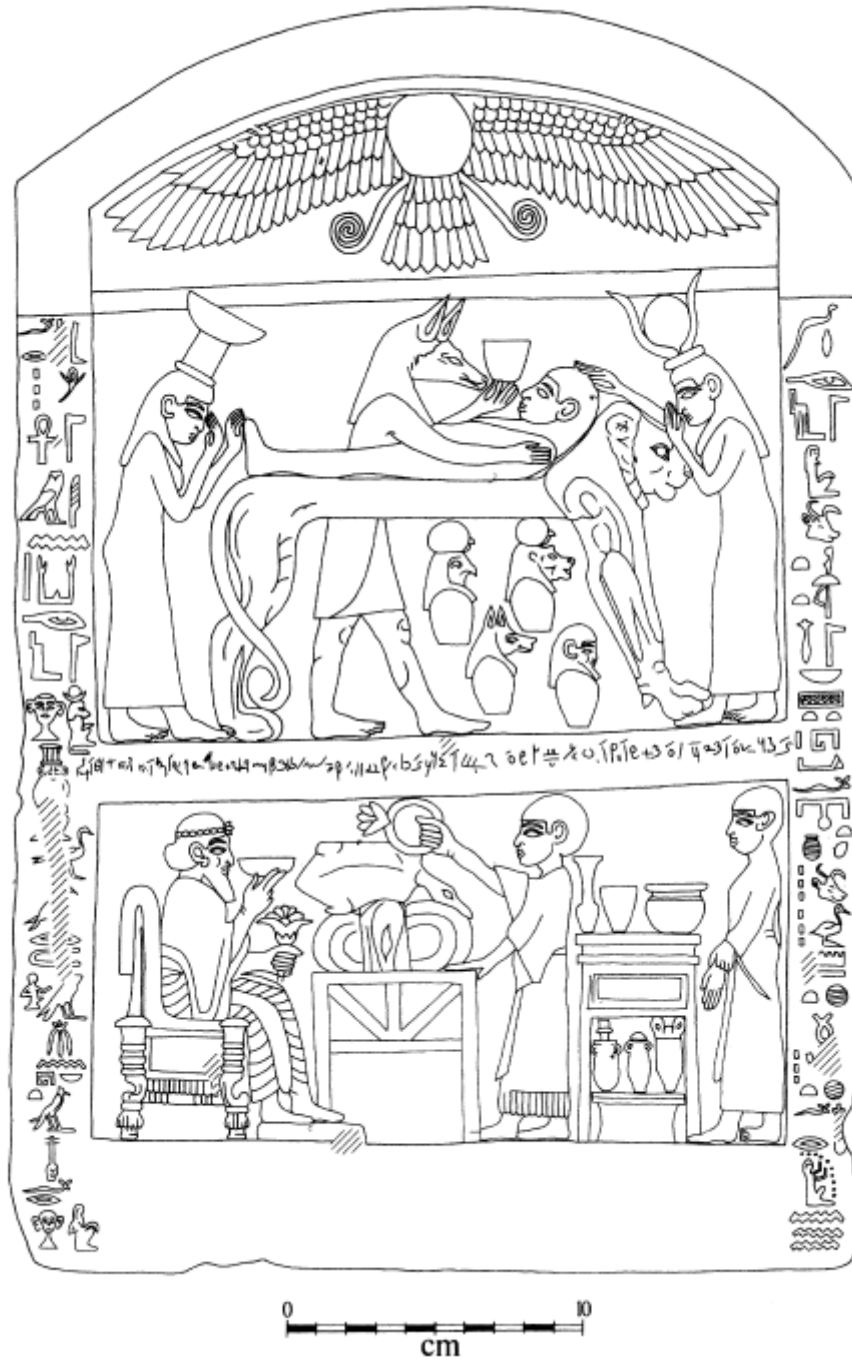
Figure 4.18. Drawing of the stela of Djedherbes, excavated at Saqqara. From Mathieson et al. 1995, fig. 3.

register Djedherbes is depicted being embalmed by Anubis and mourned by Isis and

Nephthys, a scene illustrating Spell 151 from the Book of the Dead. There are some

stylistic features of this register that are unusual by Egyptian standards (and they are

discussed further below), but the on the whole its content and accoutrements are traditionally Egyptian.

In the lower register there is a presentation scene in which a standing figure makes an offering to an enthroned figure, seated before a lavishly supplied table of foodstuffs.[158] Behind the offering figure is another table, this time laden with vessels. Another figure stands at the far right of the scene. There is some disagreement as to who the figures in the lower register are meant to represent. The stela's excavators suggested the enthroned figured could not represent Djedherbes himself, but were at a loss to suggest a compelling alternative.[159] Margaret Miller has argued that it is Djedherbes himself, noting that Egyptian funerary stelae can depict the deceased at various stages of life.[160] Indeed, the enthroned figure is the most prominent one on the lower register, making this latter interpretation more likely. The hieroglyphic inscription, which borders the registers on either side, invokes Osiris; the demotic inscription, which runs horizontally between the two main registers, seems to be a laconic version of the hieroglyphic inscription.[161]

While the upper scene appears wholly Egyptian in its ritual apparatus, many of the details represented in the presentation scene below refer to other material culture traditions, especially to Achaemenid Persian courtly arts. The enthroned personage, almost certainly Djedherbes, wears the Achaemenid Persian court robe as depicted on the statue of Darius from Susa and on the enthroned figure of the king on each of the two original central panels of the Apadana facades at Persepolis (**Fig. 4.7**). This figure also

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[158] Mathieson et al. (1995, 31, 33) note that the genders of the two standing figures on the lower register cannot be ascertained.
[159] Mathieson et al. 1995, 38-9. Artam, Djedherbes' father, is mentioned as one possibility.
[160] Miller 2011b, 125 n. 8.
[161] Mathieson et al. 1995, 33-7. For Late Period funerary stelae see Munro 1973.

has a long, rectangular royal Persian beard and a typical Persian haircut. He wears a circlet around his head, with a central flower at his forehead. Such a head ornament (which reaches back to earlier Neo-Assyrian models) is worn by the two noble Persian collaborators of Darius on the Bisitun relief.[162] He holds a shallow drinking bowl typical of Achaemenid courtly paraphernalia on his fingertips in a manner known from other Near Eastern contexts and associated with Achaemenid banqueting practices.[163] In his other hand he holds a lotus flower, which is reminiscent of the statue of Darius discussed above, and also occurs frequently at Persepolis. The lotus also had deep symbolic meaning in Egypt, and its use in Achaemenid contexts reflects the interest on the part of Achaemenid royal planners in adapting key elements of the iconography from the satrapies of the empire.

The two standing individuals on the lower register look quite Egyptian. Along with their beardlessness and their close-shaved heads, they wear variations of the Egyptian 'Persian garment' discussed above. The offering figure extends a circlet toward the enthroned Djedherbes. Though of exaggerated size, this item appears to be the lotus circlet worn by many women in New Kingdom tomb paintings.[164] But it may also be intended to represent a headdress similar to what Djedherbes wears on his head from a different perspective. The figure at the far right of the scene holds his hands down somewhat oddly as if perhaps intended to depict the hand-over-wrist gesture of an attentive Persian courtier.

The throne is an impressive rendering of the elaborate Achaemenid throne type (see **Fig. 4.7**). The tables follow Syrian and Achaemenid examples, basically western

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[162] Root 2011b, Fig. 10.
[163] Miller 2011b.
[164] E.g., Tiradritti 2008b, 214-15, 254.

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Asiatic types. The funerary bier on which Djedherbes is laid out for mummification on the upper register takes the shape of a lion, a common motif in Egyptian funerary reliefs. But the modeled rendering of the lion's legs and head is reminiscent of carved representations of lions at Persepolis. Features of the stela's carving style also depart from Egyptian tradition, particularly in the robust relief modeling and in the breaking of the register boundaries by the crowns of Isis and Nephthys. This latter practice is otherwise unattested on Egyptian funerary stelae, but it does occur on Carian ones.[165]

Djedherbes, then, drew on a wide array of artistic and material traditions in the creation of this monument, which he likely commissioned himself while he was still alive. Some of the result was presumably reflects the identity and experience of the craftsman Djedherbes selected. On the basis of the carving and its resemblance to that of Carian funerary stelae Melanie Wasmuth argues that this stela was the product a workshop that served primarily resident foreigners such as Carians and Phoenicians.[166] Regardless of the specifics of this, Djedherbes would have hired a craftsman to produce such a well-appointed stela quite intentionally and with at least some knowledge of his work. This choice, along with the inclusion of the scene on the lower register with its array of elements already discussed, emphatically suggests that he saw some part of his identity as straddling Egyptian and Persian traditions. It is clear that Djedherbes saw his world as consisting of more than Egypt. Yet it is also clear that he operated within a distinctly Egyptian cultural and religious context. The scene in the upper register, an illustration of a spell from the Book of the Dead, as well as the form of the funerary stela itself, are consistent with Egyptian funerary practice and religious belief, suggesting that

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[165] See discussion in Wasmuth 2010.
[166] Wasmuth 2010, 541.

Djedherbes had himself buried in the Egyptian manner with the full expectation of an afterlife as understood in Egyptian cosmology. In this respect Djedherbes, like Darius represented himself in manner intelligible in both an Egyptian and an Achaemenid context, since he considered both of these contexts of such great importance to his identity that he commissioned a funerary monument that accommodated both.

The other monument a section of a funerary relief allegedly from Memphis, purchased by Baron von Bissing in 1930 and now in Berlin (**Fig. 4.19**).[167] The limestone relief measures 45 cm wide by 23 cm tall, and presumably once belonged to a larger monument. In the absence of a specific provenance and of any preserved inscription accompanying it, there is no way of determining what sort of monument it was. It might, for example, come from a tomb, or have been cut from a funerary stela. The relief depicts a male figure laid out on his back on a funerary couch with a curved headboard and a small table in front of it. The man is not shown as a mummy, but rather as he would have appeared in life. He has a long beard elaborately coiffed in the Persian mode and wears a sleeved garment and a rounded cap. His garb is reminiscent of the Iranian riding garment worn by many figures in the program of Persepolis reliefs (see **Fig. 4.7**).[168] He is flanked by mourners in grieving postures with upraised arms, two men wearing the Iranian riding garment on the left and two women with bared breasts and skirts on the right.

In the upper register on the left two smaller mourners appear. One is clearly a male who leads a horse forward by its reigns with one hand while he raises the other to his brow. It is impossible to determine whether he wears an Egyptian kilt or the Iranian riding costume, but he is clearly clean-shaven. along with a horse. The other figure is

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[167] Ägyptisches Museum 23721; von Bissing 1930; Vittmann 2003, 151.
[168] See Root 1979; Stronach 2011; Root, forthcoming.
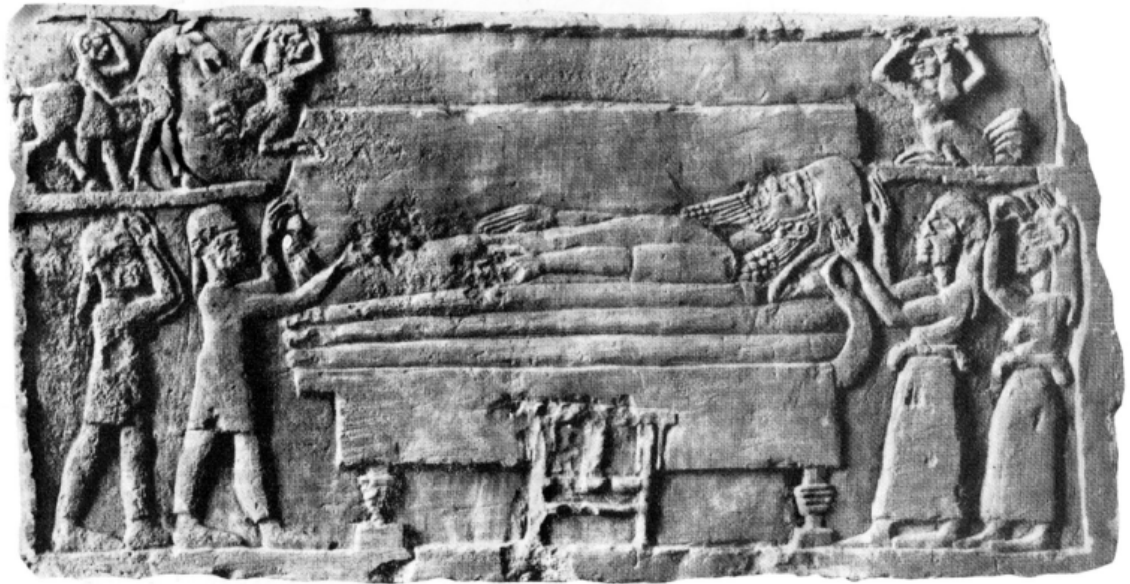
Figure 4.19. Stone funerary relief, said to be from Memphis. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 23721.

kneeling with torso turned frontal, both arms raised up to the head. The sex of this figure

is difficult to assess. On the right, another mourning figure appears in the form of a

human female upper body (with bared breasts) and a body in the form of a bird. Her torso

is also frontal, and she too raises both arms to her head.

The mourners in the relief exhibit a combination of Egyptian and non-Egyptian

mourning practices. The female figure at the far right of the scene and the male figure at

the far left (as well as the male leading the horse at the upper left) are shown with their

hands raised to their foreheads. This gesture represents the placement of dust on one's

head, and has a long history in Egyptian funerary imagery, in both tomb reliefs and

illustrated manuscripts of the Book of the Dead.[169] The two frontal figures in the upper

left and upper right of the scene, however, make slightly different gestures. These figures

raise their hands to either side of their heads, in a manner most closely paralleled by

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[169] For examples see e.g., Fazzini et al. 1989, no. 72; Taylor 2010, 82-103.

Greek mourning practices, going back into the Bronze Age.[170] It has no explicit precedent in Egyptian tradition; in its Greek context this gesture symbolizes pulling out one's hair. Interestingly, Herodotus links the pulling of hair as an act of mourning to the Persians. In his description of the events following the death of the Achaemenid military commander Masistius during skirmishing shortly before the battle of Plataea in 479 BCE, he makes explicit reference to the practice: "They shaved off not only their own hair, but also that of their horses and their yoke-animals, and gave themselves over to unending lamentation…so the Persians honoured Masistius on his death in their own fashion."[171] The usual caveats must apply to using Herodotus to reconstruct Persian social practices, but his remark furthers the idea that hair-pulling it is not a recognizable Egyptian mourning practice. And in this connection it is interesting as well the horse on this relief is depicted without a mane, just as Herodotus describes.

The patron who commissioned this relief desired to be portrayed wearing the Iranian riding garb and beard of the Persians and being laid out without the normative accoutrements of Egyptian funerary practice (as we see it on the stela of Djedherbes) and mourned in a manner seemingly alien to Egyptian custom. This provides no indication of his ethnic origins, but it does suggest how he conceived of his social position in life, namely as someone who seemingly operated in a military capacity (as a cavalryman) and would have been mourned by the Persians after his death.[172] Oscar Muscarella has argued that the crude carving of the relief is inconsistent with the comparatively high status

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[170] Cavanagh and Mee 1995.

[171] Hdt. 9.24, trans. R. Waterfield. See Petropoulou 2008, 19-22 and Mulzer 2002.

[172] The couch depicted on this relief includes a large, curved headrest, and is reminiscent of the couch on which Ashurbanipal lies on the famous banquet relief from Nineveh (see Curtis 1996, 175-6). This suggests there was some western Asiatic aspect the deceased's identity, which he felt was somehow important enough to signal visually in this manner. This further demonstrates how some individuals cultivated 'pan-imperial' identities that, like the visual program at Persepolis, drew on material culture traditions from throughout the empire.

associated with such a person.[173] But funerary monuments are usually aspirational rather than literal, so we cannot even say from this relief what the deceased's social or economic standing actually was, only that he saw his role in the Achaemenid military apparatus as the central aspect of his identity.[174] The relief's crudeness may result from the deceased's actual economic standing, as it seems he could not afford something more refined. It is also impossible to say anything about the ethnic or geographic origins of the person represented on this relief, and the possibility remains that he may even have been Egyptian by birth. But it is clear that in death he wished to be depicted in a Persian mode.

These two stelae represent two different attempts by individuals at negotiating their places in the social order of Achaemenid Egypt, and to some extent of the empire more broadly. Much of the attention given to these individuals has focused on their ostensible foreignness, i.e., on their references in these monuments to superordinate centers outside of Egypt. However, both also emphasized their links to Egyptian cultural memory as integral parts of their identities, and it seems that these two individuals operated in a social and cultural context in which such hybrid identities were considered appropriate or even advantageous.

Horwedja and Ptahhotep

Thus far we have considered how the identities fashioned by individuals of varied status in Achaemenid Egypt, as reflected in their representations of themselves, shed light on the broader social conditions in which these identities were constructed. But it is

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[173] Muscarella 2003. Muscarella also doubts the relief's authenticity; see further discussion of this point in Chapter Two.
[174] For this point see discussion in Parker Pearson 2000, 72-94.

important to recognize that two different individuals operating in very similar such conditions could very well experience the empire in very different ways, according to their own personalities, ideas, and so forth. This is exemplified by the two statues examined in this section.

Both statues are of a type of unequivocal significance in an Egyptian cultural and religious setting, namely the naophorous statue. The naophorous statue type goes back to the New Kingdom, and it represents a uniquely Egyptian idea about the relationship between human and god. The human is depicted holding the god's shrine with a small figure of the god inside it, an act of protection that assimilates the human to the god Shu, who tended the shrine of Atum and was therefore the archetypal Egyptian temple priest.[175] It is generally accepted that these statues were placed within temples, since their inscriptions are addressed to specific gods, and also refer to offerings made to those gods by the individual represented. Thus these statues served as eternal proxies for their dedicators and markers of their piety. Their imagery must have been selected and commissioned quite deliberately. Moreover, their placement in temples would have made them visible to members of that temple's priesthood, who would have been prominent members of the local community as well, and, perhaps more importantly, would have been able to read their inscriptions. The dedicators of these statues thus had to negotiate a balance between their personal religious concerns and their public personas, though of course these were not necessarily mutually exclusive by any means.

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[175] Klotz 2012; see also van Dijk 1983 and Malaise 2004, and the list of naophorous statues in de Meulenaere 2009. I am grateful to David Klotz for sharing with me his as yet unpublished research. Of course, it is important to recognize that although naophorous statues had specific theological significance in an Egyptian religious context, this does not mean they could not be reinterpreted by others unfamiliar with this significance. This much is suggested by the naophorous statue discussed above (BM EA 24784), which, according to the Greek and Latin inscriptions added to it, it was reinterpreted as a figure of priest (though in light of Klotz's interpretation of these statues this misapprehension is not that far off the mark).

The two statues considered here represent ranking officials of the time of Darius I. Both had titles indicating that they had responsibility for financial matters, and both of their statues preserve indications that they were dedicated in the temple of Ptah in Memphis (although their contexts cannot be verified archaeologically). The combination of these factors suggest that both men had positions at the satrapal court there. Thus it is possible, even likely, that they knew each other. Yet, as their respective statues attest, despite both operating in largely identical social contexts each made different decisions concerning his self-representation. These two men conceived of their places in the broader social order of the empire in different ways.

The first of these is the kneeling naophorous statue of Horwedja, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (**Fig. 4.20**).[176] The statue was purchased for the museum by Howard Carter from a dealer in Cairo, so its exact provenance is unknown; however, the offering formula on the base addressed to Ptah-Sokar implies that the statue was dedicated in the temple of Ptah in Memphis.[177] The date of the statue is likely in the reign of Darius I, because the same Horwedja is also known from an unpublished stela from the Serapeum dating to 519 BCE.[178] His titles include 'hereditary prince, count, sealbearer of the king of lower Egypt, sole companion,' and, most significantly, *senti*. This last title is usually translated as 'finance minister' or 'planner,' and its holder was apparently answerable to the king or satrap.[179]

Horwedja is depicted kneeling and holding a shrine of Ptah. He wears only a short pleated kilt, a garment that appears in Egyptian art as early as the 1st Dynasty and

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[176] CMA 1920.1978; Berman 1999, no. 316; Bothmer 1960, no. 61.
[177] Bothmer 1960, 73. For this temple see most recently Leclère 2008, 61-3.
[178] Louvre IM 4057; PM III^2 800. The identification is supported by the name of Horwedja's mother, which is identical in both monuments.
[179] Yoyotte 1989; Vittmann 2009, 100-2; Chauveau 2009, 127-9.

Figure 4.20. Greywacke naophorous statue of Horwedja, probably from Memphis, c. 521-486 BCE. Cleveland Museum of Art 1920.1978.

continues to occur well into the Roman period.[180] It is worn by kings and commoners alike, and as such is the quintessential male garment in ancient Egypt for most of its history. Horwedja also wears a bag wig, and his face is idealized and youthful. In short, he makes no visual references in this statue to connections to political powers outside of Egypt itself, connections which his titles surely indicate he had. For Horwedja, these connections were not important in the context of this statue. Regardless of the political realities, for the purposes of this statue he drew his charismatic authority from Egypt alone.

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[180] Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 53-64.

This contrasts distinctly with the views of his (probably) younger contemporary Ptahhotep, who is known from several inscribed objects: a stela from the Serapeum at Saqqara, a shabti figurine and the lid of his sarcophagus (both probably from Campbell's Tomb at Giza, mentioned in Chapter Two), and an under life-size schist statue now in the Brooklyn Museum (**Fig. 4.21**).[181] The inscriptions on these objects preserve Ptahhotep's titles, including overseer of the treasury and *ḳppš*, a Persian title that was reserved for the most eminent officials and administrators. The inscriptions also indicate that had he gained this prominence in the reign of Darius I.[182] According to its inscription, Ptahhotep's statue was dedicated in the temple of Ptah in Memphis, a location appropriate to his career in government service at the satrapal capital of Achaemenid Egypt and not too far removed from the site of his burial at Giza. The statue depicts Ptahhotep standing and holding a shrine. The shrine itself is not preserved, but presumably it contained an image of Ptah. He also wears a distinctively 'Persian garment,' with wide sleeves (fully preserved on the right arm sleeve; the left arm is destroyed) and folds visible on his chest. Around his neck he wears a torque with caprid protomes and a pectoral featuring a scene of the pharaoh presenting a figure of Maat to Ptah and his wife the goddess Sakhmet.[183] The statue's head, unfortunately, is not preserved.

Certain features of Ptahhotep's statue clearly make Egyptian references. As discussed above, the naophorous statue type had specific meaning in an Egyptian religious context and served as a means of forging and maintaining a personal

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[181] Brooklyn Museum 37.353; Cooney 1953; Bothmer 1960: no. 64; Fazzini et al. 1989: no. 75; Colburn 2014, 791-4; see Jansen-Winkeln 1998: 163-8 for the inscription.
[182] Posener 1986; Vittmann 2011, 390-2.
[183] Cooney 1953, 10-11.

Figure 4.21. Schist naophorous statue of Ptahhotep, c. 500-475 BCE. New York, Brooklyn Museum 37.353.

relationship with a god, in this case Ptah, for all eternity. This religious attachment is also supported by the pectoral featuring Ptah and Sakhmet. The statue's significance and potency are rooted in the context of Egyptian cosmology and religion, and Ptahhotep's dedication of it demonstrates unequivocally his participation in Egyptian cultural and religious life. But there are some features of this statue that attest to other aspects of Ptahhotep's identity, namely, the 'Persian garment' and the Persian torque around his neck. Ptahhotep chose to be depicted wearing the 'Persian garment' to signify that he identified with the elite Persians who wore the actual Persian court robe in the heartland capital of Persepolis and at satrapal courts throughout the empire.

The torque, with its caprid protomes, is an explicitly Achaemenid object. The ibex has a long history of representation in ancient Iranian art, and it was a frequent motif on

Achaemenid torques and bracelets, as attested on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis and in extant metal examples.[184] The torque depicted on Ptahhotep's statue is clearly intended to be Achaemenid, and it may in fact be a reference to a royal gift from the Great King himself. The practice of gift giving by the king is frequently mentioned by Greek authors, and Sancisi-Weerdenburg has shown persuasively that such gifts provided ideological cohesion to the empire by creating personal relationships between the king and key elites.[185] For example, on his statue Udjahorresnet is depicted wearing a lion-headed bracelet of distinctly Achaemenid type, and the biographical inscription states that he received "ornaments of gold" from the king.[186] Whether or not Ptahhotep had in fact received the torque he is shown wearing as a similar mark of esteem from Darius, the adornment implies such a connection and creates a link with the Achaemenid rulers of Egypt. Finally, his pectoral, although certainly an object with an Egyptian cultural referent, features an image of the pharaoh presenting a figure of Maat to Ptah. In Ptahhotep's case, this pharaoh was Darius. This is an instructive example of how a decidedly Egyptian object could be used to imply connections to the Achaemenid Great King.

Ptahhotep's statue neatly encapsulates the different components of the person he considered himself to be. His dedication of a naophorous statue, with an inscription asking for eternal sustenance from the living in the form of prayers and listing all his good and pious acts, is intelligible only in an Egyptian religious and cultural context. It shows not only a potentially very real concern for the afterlife but also Ptahhotep's

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[184] E.g., Rehm 1992, 31-38, 42-43, 65-69, 79-80, 86; also Curtis 2005, nos. 152, 157-9, 164-8. For the ibex in Iranian art see Root 2002, 184-92.
[185] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989; see also Gunter and Root 1998; Garrison, forthcoming c.
[186] Moyer 2006, 244-7. Udjahorresnet is discussed further in the next section.

cultivation of a relationship with a very important Egyptian institution, the temple of Ptah. At the same time he deliberately chose a statue through which he was represented with clothing and ornaments associated with the elites who governed the Achaemenid Empire and with whom he identified. Horwedja, on the other hand, despite having a similar position in the satrapal administration of Egypt, made no explicit visual reference to it, preferring instead to construct his identity exclusively in Egyptian terms. In fact, it is entirely possible that if Ptahhotep had received gifts from the Great King Horwedja had as well. Precisely why Horwedja chose to display his identity differently than did Ptahhotep is impossible to say. But these two cases serves as an important reminder that Achaemenid imperialism could be experienced and expressed differently even by people whose circumstances were largely identical. A third case, that of the well-known naophorous of Udjahorresnet, provides yet another perspective, this time of an individual who served who four successive kings, two Egyptian and two Achaemenid, and appears to have traveled throughout the empire. To an extent this might mean his experience was exceptional, but it nevertheless provides another example of an individual Egyptian's experience with Achaemenid rule.

Udjahorresnet

Aside from the statue of Darius, the now-headless naophorous statue of Udjahorresnet introduced earlier in this chapter is perhaps the most emblematic representation of Achaemenid rule of Egypt; certainly it is the most famous (**Fig.**

4.22).[187] The biographical inscription has received a great deal of scholarly attention, and rightly so. But this is only one aspect of Udjahorresnet's overall self-presentation for eternity, and the form and attributes of the statue itself warrant consideration as well. Indeed, the combination of these two elements is necessary for understanding how Udjahorresnet conceived of himself and his role in the social and political order during the first decades of Achaemenid rule in Egypt.

The modern reception of this statue has been heavily influenced by preconceived notions of the insidiousness of Achaemenid imperialism in Egypt. This is best demonstrated by the common practice of labeling Egyptians like Udjahorresnet and Ptahhotep who held high positions during the 27th Dynasty as 'collaborators.'[188] This term has inescapable associations with the governments of countries occupied by the Axis powers during the Second World War, especially Vichy France and the government of Prime Minister Vidkun Quisling in Norway. Its use to describe Udjahorresnet makes an implicit comparison between the Achaemenid Empire and the Axis, a comparison that is unequivocally negative.[189] In fact, the earliest use known to me of this term being used to describe an Egyptian serving in the satrapal administration was by the Dutch scholar Adolf Klasens in a 1948 article, i.e., immediately following the end of the Second World

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[187] Museo Gregoriano Egiziano 22690. The statue was most likely originally set up in the temple of Neith in Sais during the 510s; see Spalinger 1986, 823 for the date. For the temple of Neith see Leclère 2008, 159-96.
[188] E.g., Lloyd 1982; Blenkinsopp 1987, 410, 413; Morschauser 1988, 216; Ray 1988, 258; 1999, 846 (the 'arch-collaborator'); Wessetzky 1991; Huss 1997; Sternberg-el Hotabi 2002, 120-3; Fried 2004, 63-5; Yamauchi 1996, 374 calls Udjahorresnet a 'defector' instead; see also the critiques by Holm-Rasmussen 1988, 29, Bareš 1999, 38-43, and Vittmann 2009, 376.
[189] Kalyvas 2008.

Figure 4.22. Basalt naophorous statue of Udjahorresnet, possibly found at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli and probably originally from Sais, c. 519-510 BCE. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egiziano 22690.

War.[190] That his use of the term is not simply a condemnation of imperialism in general is made clear by the fact that no other figure in Egyptian history is ever called a collaborator in Egyptological literature before this. This is the case despite the fact that there are numerous examples of Egyptians who participated in Nubian and Greek rule in Egypt, as well as various individual who participated in Egyptian imperialism in the Levant during the New Kingdom.[191] Thus Udjahorresnet's statue provides a very clear instance of the double standard in Egyptology wherein Egyptian imperialism is inherently good and Achaemenid imperialism is inherently bad.[192]

The labeling of Udjahorresnet as a collaborator has clearly affected the interpretation of his career based on the statue's inscriptions. There are ten separate inscriptions in total, usually identified by the letters A through F, with inscriptions on the statue's right assigned uppercase letters and those on the left lowercase ones.[193] On the top and front of the naos itself is the enumeration of Udjahorresnet's offerings to Osiris Hemag (A). The inscriptions on the sides of the naos, which continue onto the torso above the arms list Udjahorresnet's pious deeds, including saving the people of Sais from a 'very great disaster' (D and d). The inscriptions underneath each arm, and continuing onto the plinth supporting the naos from below list Udjahorresnet's titles under Amasis and Psammetichus III and describe his various interactions with Cambyses (B, b, C and c). The inscription on the dorsal pillar describes his interactions with Darius, including his return to Egypt from Elam in order to restore the 'House of Life' (E). Finally, the

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[190] Klasens 1948; Johnson 1999, 218 n. 49. The first English usage of this term in this context (to refer to Ptahhotep) was by John Cooney (1953), who served as an intelligence officer in London during the war.
[191] See e.g., Lloyd 2002.
[192] Colburn 2011, 97-8.
[193] For the text see Posener 1936, 1-26; translations in Kuhrt 2007, 117-22, and Lichtheim 1980, 36-41; see also the extended commentary in Lloyd 1982. The arrangement of the inscriptions has been studied by Baines 1996 and Rößler-Köhler 1985.

short inscription on the left side of the statue base is an appeal to the gods of Sais to remember Udjahorresnet's pious deeds (f), and in the inscription on the right side he states he was 'honored by all his masters' who gave him 'ornaments of gold' and did for him 'every beneficence' (F).

These inscriptions are often presented as if they form a single continuous narrative. This is probably due in large part to Posener's presentation of the material as such, though his ordering of the individual inscriptions actually follows that of Giulio Farina (who also devised the lettering scheme).[194] However, in order to read the inscription in Farina's and Posener's order, the viewer would start at the front (A), move to the statue's right (B), then all the way around to the statue's left (b), then back to the right (C), then back to the left (c), then back to the right (D), then back to the left (d), then to the rear (E), then finally to the right (F) and left (f) of the socle. This is a tortuous sequence, and it is not informed by any discernible logic except for the desire to place the 'very great disaster' in D (as well as the reference to 'turmoil' in the Saite nome in d) between Udjahorresnet's dealings with Cambyses and with Darius, on assumption this refers to Cambyses' invasion.[195] Thus this ordering of the inscriptions is based only on modern assumptions about the nature of Achaemenid rule (and the Egyptian reaction to it), not on an intrinsic feature of the statue itself. Rather, as John Baines has pointed out, "a work of art such as the statue may not impose any one sequence of viewing and reading, even if texts are necessarily more sequential than pictorial materials."[196] There is no single correct order for reading these texts. Instead the disposition of the inscriptions must be informed by some other organizing principle.

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[194] Posener 1936, 1-36; Farina 1929.
[195] Cf. Posener 1936, 168-9.
[196] Baines 1996, 86.

In fact, the locations of the inscriptions pattern neatly according to their importance in terms of Udjahorresnet's afterlife. Inscription A on the front and top of the naos is Udjahorresnet's direct address to Osiris wherein he enumerates his many offerings to the god including his protection. This inscription is at once intimate and generic, but it is generic because it is so essential to the statue's function and therefore cannot risk deviation from the established canon. Its essentialness is the reason for its central position on the statue, front and center where god and man alike could not miss it. The inscriptions on the outer walls of the naos (D and d), which continue onto Udjahorresnet's chest above his arms, describe his merits. This description is highly formulaic and stereotyped, a common feature of autobiographical inscriptions since the First Intermediate Period. For example, on one of his statues Harwa, high steward of the Divine Consort of Amun during the 25th Dynasty, states "I am one beloved of his city, praised of his district, kind-hearted to his towns. I have done what people love and gods praise, one truly revered who had no fault, who have bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked, removed pain, suppressed wrongdoing."[197]

These sorts of claims, along with the associated descriptions of the tumultuous conditions that Harwa and Udjahorresnet and their like work against, are commonplace, and invariably do not refer to specific historical circumstances. This is because, as Alan Lloyd puts it, these autobiographical texts

> Embody the traditional Egyptian philosophy of history according to which historical events are assimilated, to a greater or lesser extent, to a mythological prototype, the cosmic conflict of order and chaos...This gives rise to a marked tendency in Egyptian texts for the specifically historical elements in a particular event to be stripped away and ignored to

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[197] Lichtheim 1980, 24-8.

enable the author to concentrate on what he considers to be its deeper cosmic significance.[198]

Thus the most specific historical details are the least important parts of a statue's inscription, and are accordingly relegated to the most subsidiary positions. In this case the particulars of Udjahorresnet's career under Amasis and Psammetichus III and his dealings with Cambyses and Darius are recorded on the lower portions of the sides of the statue, and at the rear.

The arrangement of the texts on the statue reflects their position on a spectrum from the generic and cosmically important to the detailed and cosmically insignificant. The texts at the front of the statue above the arms (A, D, and d) are the most important and least specific, whereas those on the lower and rear portions of the statue (B, C, b, c, and E) are the most detailed and least important to the success of Udjahorresnet's afterlife. They are in certain respects the footnotes to the inscriptions on the front, since they elaborate on Udjahorresnet's claims of piety and merit. The inscriptions on the base of the statue (F and f) admittedly do not fit neatly into this division, but they may well be exceptional for reasons now lost to us. It is important to recognize that the inscriptions that most interest the modern scholar were those that least interested Udjahorresnet, at least as far as the purposes of the statue were concerned. The importance of the disposition of the inscriptions for understanding Udjahorresnet's times and career is that the references to disaster and turmoil, often taken as recognition of the trauma of Achaemenid rule in Egypt, belong to the cosmic rather than the historical sphere.

The interpretation of the inscriptions (B, b, C, c, and E) that record Udjahorresnet's titles and dealings with Cambyses and Darius has especially been

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[198] Lloyd 1982, 167.

affected by the labeling of him as a collaborator. Under Amasis and Psammetichus III he

held several titles:

- Prince
- Count
- Royal seal bearer
- Sole companion
- True beloved King's friend
- Scribe
- Inspector of council scribes
- Chief scribe of the great outer hall
- Administrator of the palace
- Overseer of the royal *kbnwt* vessels

Many of these titles are also attested on Udjahorresnet's sarcophagus and on the small

statue of him from Memphis, both discussed above in Chapter Two. His sarcophagus also

preserves one more title: 'overseer of foreign mercenaries.'[199] It is not clear under which

pharaoh he held this last title. Under Cambyses he held these same titles, save for

'overseer of the royal *kbnwt* vessels,' and he notes specifically that Cambyses appointed

him 'chief physician.' The bulk of the biographical section of the inscription is dedicated

to Udjahorresnet's activities during the reign of Cambyses, the most prominent of which

are the services he performed on behalf of the temple of Neith and the city of Sais,

including the removal of foreigners from the temple precinct and saving the city from an

unspecified 'very great disaster.' He also composed pharaonic titulary for Cambyses.[200]

Under Darius he held the titles "count and duke, sealbearer of the king of Lower

Egypt, sole friend, prophet," and again 'chief physician.' At Darius' instruction he left

Elam for Egypt in order to restore the House of Life, an Egyptian religious institution that

served as a microcosm for the whole universe, allowing the priests operating in lieu of the

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[199] Bareš 1999, 57, 60.
[200] Dillery 2003.

gods themselves to create and resurrect Osiris on a regular basis. As such it also

contained all (or much) cosmic knowledge in the form of theological, liturgical,

astronomical, and indeed medical texts, known collectively as the 'manifestations of

Ra.'[201] Given the focus on Sais in the rest of the inscription it is very likely this was the

House of Life in the temple of Neith in that city. What nature of restoration it required is

unclear.

Much has been made of the ostensibly military nature of the title 'overseer of the

royal *kbnwt* vessels,' which he held under Amasis and Psammetichus III. Because

Psammetichus' reign was so brief (less than a year), it is safely assumed that

Udjahorresnet held this particular title at the time of the invasion. This in turn leads to

assertions that Udjahorresnet defected to the Persian side during the invasion, and that

this was a major factor in Cambyses' success.[202] These assertions are questionable for

two reasons. First, the military character of Udjahorresnet's title is based on the

assumption that *kbnwt* vessels were warships, possibly even triremes.[203] This term refers,

however, to all ocean going vessels, including warships, so the title may not have military

implications at all, and may instead refer to a responsibility for trade fleets, such as those

sent to Punt in both the New Kingdom and the Saite period.[204] Even if this title was a

military one there is still no guarantee it was not honorary or a sinecure.[205]

Second, there is no indication in the inscription as to when Udjahorresnet's

relationship with Cambyses began. According to Herodotus Cambyses went to Sais after

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[201] Meeks and Favard-Meeks 1996, 173-5; Derchain 1965, 18-20, 38-40, 96-111.
[202] E.g., Spalinger 1977, 244; Ray 1988, 258.
[203] Lloyd 2000b, 86-7.
[204] Darnell 1992; see also Cruz-Uribe 2003a, 10-15.
[205] To cite an illuminating modern parallel, someone familiar with only his title might assume Colonel Harland Sanders was a war hero rather than a fried chicken magnate who served only a few months in the army as a muleteer (Pearce 2005, 131).

his capture of Memphis, i.e., after Psammetichus had been defeated.[206] This is as probable an occasion for the beginning of Udjahorresnet's service to Cambyses as any time during the invasion itself. So the inscriptions on his statue do not in fact indicate that Udjahorresnet played any role whatsoever in the Achaemenid takeover of Egypt. Some scholars also read the reference to Udjahorresent's saving the people of Sais from a 'very great disaster' as another indication of his treachery, assuming that this must refer specifically to Cambyses' invasion and that Udjahorresnet saved the city by surrendering it to the Persians.[207] As discussed above this is a stereotypical motif common in autobiographical inscriptions, not a specific historical event, and as such it cannot be connected to the historical Cambyses in any way.

The inscriptions on Udjahorresnet's statue are proof only of his high status in the later decades of the sixth century. The turncoat seen by many scholars is a modern construction, the product of their own negative assumptions about the nature of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. In fact, there is some evidence for the reception of Udjahorresnet's activities by other Egyptians, during the fourth century BCE. This evidence is provided by an inscribed statue fragment excavated at Mit Rahinah in 1956.[208] According to the inscription, someone named Menuirdisu "caused the name of the chief physician Udjahorresnet to live, who has completed 177 years after his time, because I found the statue while it was in a state of [decay]."[209] The implication here is that Udjahorresnet was venerated sometime between his death in the early 510s and circa 340, 177 years later.

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[206] Hdt. 3.16; see Kahn 2007, 106 for details of the timing of Cambyses' movements in Egypt.
[207] Olmstead 1948, 88.
[208] Anthes 1965, 98-101; Bresciani 1985b.
[209] Translation in Kuhrt 2007, 415-16. The square brackets indicate restored text.

Veneration of this sort was typically the result of personal success, and it led to the individuals thus honored being "surrounded by the myth of a man of genius and mystery as being a favorite of the gods."[210] So in Udjahorresnet's case, whatever modern scholars might think of him, at least some segment of the Egyptian populace in the fourth century considered his actions to have been highly meritorious. What actions in particular prompted this response has been debated; some suggest his medical and scholarly prowess were his main achievements in the eyes of the Egyptians, and others that his pro-Persian political stance was the reason for his veneration.[211] Certainly the concurrence of the restoration of his statue by Menuirdisu and the resumption of Achaemenid rule in Egypt seems like more than coincidence, but this does not prove anything about why the veneration began in the first place. At any rate, the positive reception of Udjahorresnet by the Egyptians underscores the prejudice that occurs in modern interpretations of his career.

To understand Udjahorresnet on his own terms it is necessary to consider the formal features of the statue itself. The green basalt statue stands approximately 0.7 m high, not including the restored head. It depicts a striding male figure in the traditional Egyptian pose, with his left foot ahead of his right, holding a small shrine in which the god Osiris is depicted. The figure wears an ankle length 'Persian garment' knotted at the front of his chest over a sleeved garment. On his right arm he wears a bracelet with lion head protomes (the left arm is a modern restoration). The head is missing entirely.[212]

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[210] Wildung 1977, 31.
[211] Burkard 1994, 43-5; Godron 1986.
[212] The fullest publication of the statue itself (as opposed to the texts of the inscriptions) is Botti and Romanelli 1951, 32-40, which includes several excellent photographs, albeit with one of the restored heads.

Udjahorresnet's choice to be represented wearing the 'Persian garment' is clearly

deliberate and derived from his belief that this was an appropriate garment for someone

of his station, especially one who had served two pharaohs, both in Egypt and abroad, in

very high offices. His bracelet with lion protomes can be understood in a similar manner.

Numerous examples of such bracelets have been attributed to the Achaemenids on

stylistic grounds.[213] Thus these bracelets (it is very likely he also had one on his left arm)

were a clear reference to a superordinate center outside of Egypt, namely the Achaemenid

Great King and his court. His ornaments and clothing served to draw a visual connection

between Udjahorresnet and the elite that governed the Achaemenid Empire.

At the same time his bracelets can be read in a different context, one that has clear

Egyptian antecedents. In one of the inscriptions on the statue (F), Udjahorresnet says "I

was one who was honored by all his masters, my being… They gave me ornaments of

gold and did for me every beneficence."[214] This has been interpreted as a reference to the

bracelets, which given his close connections to Cambyses and Darius, could very well

have been actual gifts from the Great King; even if they were not their representation on

the statue along with inscription F seems to have been intended to imply as much. But the

practice of the king awarding gold ornaments (called 'gold of praise') to meritorious

individuals has a very long history in Egypt. It is attested textually as early as the Old

Kingdom and visually in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. So the

inclusion of the bracelets on Udjahorresnet's statue and the reference to gold ornaments

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[213] Rehm 1992, no. A116; Curtis 2005, nos. 154-6, 160-2; Razmjou 2005, no. 270.
[214] Trans. Lichtheim 1980, 40. For the proposed reconstructions of the lacuna see Moyer 2006, 246 n. 63.

in inscription F can also be read in a distinctly Egyptian context, even if the king awarding the gold was an Achaemenid.[215]

The choice of statue type emphasizes Udjahorresnet's particularly Egyptian religious concerns. The naophorous statue type goes back to the New Kingdom, and it represents a uniquely Egyptian idea about the relationship between human and god.[216] In choosing to be represented for all eternity in this manner Udjahorresnet was connecting himself to an explicitly Egyptian cultural context. Moreover, since the statue was most likely placed in a temple and thus would have been seen mainly by priests, this choice was essentially a private one, reflecting concerns beyond fads, trends, public opinion or short term goals. In short he did not believe the world had changed so much as a result of Cambyses' invasion that a purely Egyptian statue form was no longer the most appropriate way to represent himself for all eternity.

The statue's legibility in different settings is a result of the different ways in which Udjahorresnet constructed his identity. Though he may not have recognized explicitly the statue's multiple possible readings he certainly considered it in its entirety to be an appropriate representation of himself. In many respects the statue is a quite conventional Egyptian funerary monument of a ranking official in that it emphasizes, both textually and visually, his service to and connections with the pharaoh, his pious acts, and his personal achievements. At the same time the statue situates Udjahorresnet within the imperial context more broadly, not as an Egyptian but as a member of the imperial elite, participating in the project of empire.

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[215] Moyer 2006, 245-7; see further Feucht 1977.
[216] Klotz 2012; see also van Dijk 1983 and the list of naophorous statues in De Meulenaere 2009.

Seals

A different realm of self-representation consisted of the choice and use of seals. Naophorous statues were intended to serve as eternal corporeal proxies for their dedicators, whereas seals were administrative tools used in the earthly realm, albeit ones that also served as proxies for their owners. Both had to be appropriate to the self-image of their users, but what was appropriate, and indeed what this self-image included, varied depending on whether one was addressing a god or a coworker. Thus, seals provide an opportunity for examining social conditions in an administrative and daily setting, rather than a strictly cosmological or religious one. Despite the different contexts through which we know the three seals presented here, they all illustrate the same range of identities, decisions, interactions with the empire as do the statues discussed in the previous section.

As discussed in Chapter Two in the context of the sealings from the Palace of Apries, there was a long tradition of seal use in Egypt. As in other parts of the Near East and the Mediterranean seals were used to seal containers, doors, and especially documents. In Egypt this meant papyri especially, though other writing media such as parchment were also known and used. Egypt's inclusion in the Achaemenid Empire made it part of a broader communication and administrative system in which seals played a major role. At Persepolis, for example, the participants in the transactions recorded on the tablets of the Fortification Archive certified their presence using seals. The sealed bullae from the Palace of Apries show how the imperial administrative system was grafted onto an existing local one, with seals continuing to play their essential role as markers of specific individuals or offices.

The first seal under consideration, from the collection of Vladimir Golenishchev and now in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, is a stamp seal in the shape of a rectangular prism made of calcareous clay (**Fig. 4.23**).[217] The seal face features a hieroglyphic inscription carved in intaglio with the signs colored with black ink. The text reads "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Cambyses, beloved of Wadjet, Queen of Imet, Great Eye of the Sun, Queen of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods, to whom is given life as to the sun."[218] There is nothing remarkable about this inscription in a traditional Egyptian context; the goddess Wadjet was one of the traditional protectors of the pharaoh. But Cambyses' name appears to have been written over an erasure. Apparently the seal originally named a different pharaoh, probably Amasis or Psammetichus III. Its owner had it recut to reflect the change in leadership. Though many factors could have informed the decision to recut this seal, this act reflects the reality of Achaemenid rule for this seal user, namely that the only change was a new king. In his view nothing else was different enough to warrant any sort of personal reorientation or reinvention. It is also possible that this was an office seal, in which case the re-cutting of the seal was a simple update. If so, this suggests that for the holder of this office (and his staff) business went on largely as before.

The second seal of note here was discovered at the site of Tell el-Herr near Pelusium at the eastern edge of the Nile Delta, in a fortress of Achaemenid date (**Fig. 4.24**).[219] The carnelian cylinder seal (2.4 cm in height) features an image of heroic

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[217] Puskhin Museum I.1.a. 4431; Hodjache and Berlev 1977, 37-9. The seal face measures 4.1 by 3 cm. For other Egyptian seals naming Achaemenid kings see Posener 1936, 152-60.

[218] Kuhrt 2007, 127.

[219] Oren 1977, 76; Collon 1987, no. 423; Stern 2001, 538 fig. III.48a; the seal is now in the custody of the Israel Antiquities Authority. For the fortress at Tell el-Herr see Valbelle 1998; see further the discussion of the ceramics finds there in Chapter Five.
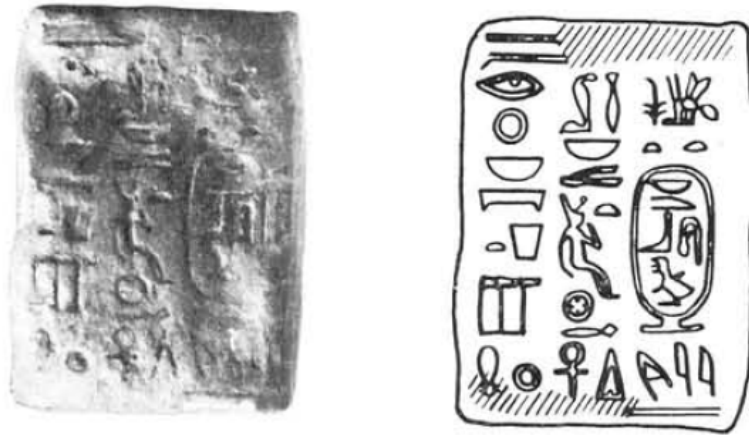
Figure 4.23. Clay stamp seal featuring cartouche of Cambyses, c. 525-519 BCE. Moscow, Puskhin Museum I.1.a. 4431.

Figure 4.24. Modern impression of the cylinder seal found at Tell el-Herr. Israel Antiquities Authority.

encounter, with a hero controlling two winged lion creatures in a heraldic composition. The hero, with his arms horizontal, holds the rampant lion creatures by their throats. He wears a belted Persian court robe, with a belt, and a dentate Persian crown.[220] The hero does not appear to be bearded, though it is difficult to tell from the published modern impression. The lion creatures each extend a foreleg and a hind leg directly towards the hero. Both have two wings extending outward diagonally from their backs, with many feathers indicated. The modeling of the creatures' bodies, as well as of the hero's garments, facial features, and hair, is very deep and rounded, almost having the

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[220] These terms for the image's formal features are all taken from Garrison and Root 2001, 505-28.

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appearance of relief sculpture. There is also a large chip missing from the lower portion of the seal, obscuring the bottom of one of the lion creatures.

This seal would be very much at home among the products of the glyptic workshops at Persepolis. The motif of the heroic encounter, especially this particular iteration of it, was enormously popular there during the reign of Darius. Darius himself made use of it on the royal name seals which, as Mark Garrison has recently argued, he gave as gifts to ranking, non-royal bureaucrats and administrators as a means of integrating them into his still fresh regime.[221] The plastic rendering of the lion creatures especially on this seal are quite consonant with the Persepolitan Modeled Style of seal carving, adding to the likelihood that this seal was carved at Persepolis and then eventually brought to Egypt.[222] The absence of a beard on the hero is unusual, but not unparalleled at Persepolis.[223] In fact, the content, composition and iconographic features of this seal are very closely matched by those of PFS 301, which features a heroic control encounter with two winged lion creatures and a beardless hero wearing a crown, the Persian court garment, and strapped shoes. It is clear that these two seals are not identical, but their similarity is a solid argument in favor of the Tell el-Herr seal's origins at Persepolis in the imperial heartland.

The fortress has been interpreted by its excavators as an imperial garrison protecting the land route across Sinai into the southern Levant. This does not mean that its inhabitants were necessarily ethnic Persians, since the Achaemenid army was a multinational force, employing people from throughout the empire and beyond, and this

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[221] Garrison, forthcoming c. For the heroic encounter motif in the seal of the Fortification Archive see Garrison and Root 2001.
[222] Garrison and Root 2001, 16-17.
[223] Garrison and Root 2001, 508.

was certainly the case in Egypt as well.[224] The selection of a seal such as this on the part of a member of this garrison, perhaps a ranking one, must result from a desire to signal a connection with the imperial core. Because the seal was owned by someone serving in an imperial garrison, the connection may not be entirely fictive, even if it is not literal. In other words, if we assume the seal's owner was an officer in the garrison, he may not have been from Persia originally, nor would he necessarily have visited there. But the fort certainly would have been plugged into the imperial communication network, with news and instructions from throughout Egypt and the empire coming and going on a daily basis. The seal's owner, whatever his ethnic origins, used this seal to emphasize these connections.

The third seal under consideration here has much clearer connections to Persepolis, the royal court, and the Great King himself. This is the so-called London Darius Cylinder, now in the British Museum but said to be from Lower Egypt (**Fig. 4.25**).[225] This provenance is far from certain, and must be treated with all due caution, especially as seals are considerably more portable than other classes of objects, such as statues. Thus the remarks made here cannot represent more than provisional conclusions. However, it is worth considering that there is nothing about the seal that would suggest an Egyptian provenance to a dealer, who would otherwise normally fabricate a provenance much closer to the Achaemenid heartland, such as Hamadan.[226] This, then, is a minor point in favor of an Egyptian provenance for the seal, though by no means a conclusive one.

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[224] Briant 1999; see also Kaplan 2003 for the case of Egypt.
[225] BM ANE 89132; Garrison, forthcoming c; Merrillees 2005, no. 16. See the discussions of its provenance in Yoyotte 1952 and Merrillees 2005, 53.
[226] See the discussion of this problem in Muscarella 1980, 31-7.

Figure 4.25. Agate royal name seal of Darius I, said to be from Lower Egypt, c. 519-485 BCE. London, British Museum ANE 89132.

In the course of his recent work on the seals of the Fortification Archive, Mark Garrison has identified a seal on an anepigraphic tablet, PFUTS 603, which is definitely a close companion piece to the London Darius Cylinder, and may in fact be an ancient impression of the same seal.[227] Though this exciting discovery does not shed any light on the provenance attributed to the London Darius Cylinder, it does suggest that at some point in its life the seal traveled (as such portable objects of personal identity are wont to do) from one imperial locus to another, in this case, from Persepolis to Egypt. We still cannot say when or under what circumstances this took place, but we are justified in considering the implications of a royal name seal such as this being in Egypt.

The seal features an image of the Great King hunting lions with a bow from a chariot. The king wears a Persian crown and holds his bow with an arrow notched and the string pulled taut. A charioteer is in front of him, leaning over and holding the reigns of a

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[227] Garrison, forthcoming c. The impression is preserved on a single, uninscribed tablet, PFUT 1673-201, and not enough of the image is preserved to determine whether or not it was made by the London Darius Cylinder, or even if it had an inscription at all. Further impressions of PFUTS 603 may yet be found.

diminutive horse. One lion lies dead beneath the horse, and the other stands rampant before the chariot with arrows lodged in his forehead and foreleg. A figure in a winged disk hovers over the scene, which is also flanked on either side by palm trees. A trilingual cuneiform inscription in Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian Akkadian reading "I (am) Darius, King" is in the terminal field. Both the appearance of this seal and the trilingual inscription place it in the category of seals known as royal name seals of Darius.[228] This group of seals, of which nine (including the London Darius Cylinder and MPS 22) are presently known, has clear resonances with Achaemenid imperial iconography, albeit adapted to the glyptic medium in certain respects.

Garrison has convincingly argued that these seals were targeted at high ranking officials within the imperial bureaucracy who had no existing familial or other connections to Darius himself. Darius gave these seals as gifts to these officials as an effort to consolidate his power at Persepolis itself following the suppression of the revolts against him (as detailed in the Bisitun Inscription). It stands to reason then that the first owner of this seal was one of these officials whom Darius sought to integrate more closely into his regime. There is no guarantee (despite the putative Egyptian provenance) that its owner brought this seal to Egypt. But it is certainly true that officials such as those targeted by Darius were dispatched to Egypt to assist in the governing of the satrapy. Even if the seal's original owner was never posted to Egypt himself we can easily imagine this seal being an heirloom passed down over several generations, some of whom had reason to come to Egypt subsequently. Its iconography and inscription would probably have been most meaningful to someone familiar with the self-representation of

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[228] Garrison, forthcoming c; see also Finn 2011, 228-34. The discussion here is indebted primarily to Garrison's lucid assessment of these seals.

the Great King, and, as the statue of Darius from Susa indicates, this could include

Egyptians as well. At any rate this seal represents a tangible connection to the Great King

and to the empire in a way that the Tell el-Herr seal aspires to.

Like the statues of Horwedja, Ptahhotep and Udjahorresnet these three seals

represent the gamut of potential interactions with Achaemenid rule, this time by both

native Egyptians and by people from elsewhere in the empire. When considered

alongside the sealings from Memphis they illustrate the multiplicity of identities and

social interactions that took place in Egypt during this period.

Representation and Identity in Achaemenid Egypt

The individual identities examined above by way of their representation in

personal monuments and other media are unified primarily by their variety and their

multiplicity. Though it is hardly surprising that most of the individuals under

consideration constructed their identities with reference to either Egyptian cultural

memory or Achaemenid imperial ideology, or to both, what is interesting is that these

orientations do not seem to cleave to ethnic, cultural or political affiliations in any clear

manner. Darius himself draws on Egyptian visual culture in the statue found at Susa, and

many Egyptians, or at least residents of Egypt, made of use the Achaemenid iconographic

repertoire in various ways in their own monuments; in both cases this was the result of

the respective foreign features being somehow appropriate to the identities of the people

selecting them. This variety in identity indicates variety in the experience of and reaction

to Achaemenid imperialism in Egypt, and it is all the more striking when one considers that the above sample is limited primarily to elites, to those people who could most afford to make use of art.[229] Also, most of these examples have features that are intelligible in both Egyptian and Achaemenid imperial contexts, implying that many people found it advantageous to be able to transition seamlessly between these two cultural spheres. Indeed in Egypt (perhaps at Memphis most of all), the various cultural identities were at times sufficiently overlaid so as to be indistinguishable from each other.

The variety in experience with Achaemenid rule attested in these monuments, as well as the apparent lack of concern with ethnicity, makes it quite difficult for use to conceive of the denizens of Achaemenid Egypt in the monolithic categories of 'Persian' and 'Egyptian,' as well as their attendant implications of 'colonizer' and 'colonized,' and 'oppressor' and 'oppressed.' Though it is indubitable that Egypt was part of an empire and extremely likely that at least some oppression and exploitation took place there, the evidence presented here indicates that these categories were fluid rather than fixed, and that membership in them occurred on an individual basis, as least insofar as the elites studied in this chapter were concerned. In this respect the impact of Achaemenid imperialism on Egypt had as much to do with the proclivities of the individuals involved as it did with any systematic changes imposed from without.

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[229] In the next chapter I consider how certain non-elites in Egypt may have experienced Achaemenid rule, with specific reference to ceramic evidence.

CHAPTER FIVE

CERAMICS AND SOCIETY

My definition of man is, 'a cooking animal.'

- James Boswell, *The Journal
of a Tour to the Hebrides*

Ceramics, Cooking and Culture Contact

The previous chapter on representation and identity illustrated how various individuals experienced Achaemenid rule of Egypt in different ways, according to their varying stations in life and personal conceits. But for the most part these individuals represent a small segment of the population of the satrapy, namely those whose personal wealth and social standing permitted them to commission funerary monuments. This chapter seeks to redress that imbalance through a consideration of the ceramic vessels used by a wide spectrum of Egyptian society for the preparation, consumption, storage, and transport of food and drink. Because the shapes and forms of these vessels were closely associated with dining practices, and because such practices are heavily culturally charged and integral to constructions of identity, ceramics provide an extremely useful

proxy for studying cultural contact.[1] As with other forms of material culture, the decisions made by individual consumers about what pots, dishes and jugs to purchase were informed by the broader social environment in which such decisions were made.[2] Thus changes in ceramic corpora from the 26th Dynasty to the 27th can reflect changes in social conditions during the period of Achaemenid rule. Though in most cases it is impossible to detect individual decisions, broad changes from one period to the next are nevertheless representative of aggregate experiences of entire communities, and these experiences provide valuable insight on life in the Achaemenid Empire.

There are several methodological challenges involved in the use of Egyptian ceramic evidence to address social change in the Persian period. First, there is the simple reality that ceramic corpora and historical periodization rarely coincide neatly.[3] Political events certainly can affect the production and use of ceramics, but they usually do so indirectly, and these changes are rarely immediate. In Egypt this problem is compounded by the relative lack of interest in and knowledge of Late Period ceramics overall, not to mention the 27th Dynasty specifically.

The disturbed nature of many Egyptian archaeological sites means that sherds are often recovered from secondary or tertiary contexts, making it difficult to establish relative chronologies. And until comparatively recently the Late Period material was not recorded rigorously or studied. Fortunately that is no longer the case, and there are now a number of sites and areas where the ceramic remains of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE are well enough known to be compared. Three of these, Tell el-Herr in the eastern Nile Delta, Elephantine at the first cataract of the Nile, and the surface survey carried out by

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[1] E.g., Voss 2005; Ralph 2005.
[2] Blinkhorn 1997, 114-16.
[3] Adams 1979.

the Dakhleh Oasis Project, provide the case studies examined in this chapter. The Late Period ceramic remains from each of these places have recently been published in full catalogue form in a manner that permits comparison.

Another issue is that differences in the recording, publication and quantification of ceramics inhibits easy comparisons between different sites. This significantly limits the potential metrics used for comparison. However, it is possible to control for many of these differences by comparing the change in the diversity of a ceramic corpus from one period to the next, so long as the material from each period was excavated from comparable contexts and published consistently. Lastly, it can be hard to identify the significance and causes of perceived changes, and thus to link them to Achaemenid rule in some way. Indeed, in most cases it is impossible to adduce specific reason for certain changes. But as noted above, the connection between ceramics and politics is indirect. That changes occurred at all is enough to show that Achaemenid rule had some impact on the broader population of Egypt, and there are some specific ways in which Egypt's inclusion in the empire can explain shifts in the choices people made about their pottery.

The difficulties enumerated above are presented here for the sake of methodological transparency, and in recognition of the somewhat experimental nature of the discussion that follows. One of the goals of this chapter is to demonstrate the potential utility of ceramic evidence for studying cultural contact and social change in Egypt, in the hope that it will inspire greater interest in the ceramics of the Late Period. But it is also significant that the most distinctive change from the Saite to the Persian period visible in the ceramics is the increase in the diversity of ceramic corpora, in terms of both shape and decoration. In other words, social and economic conditions were such that in

the fifth century there was a greater range of material culture options available than there had been before. This is the same sort of change as was seen in the statues, reliefs and seals discussed in Chapter Four, but with a different type of material and a different social demographic, suggesting that these additions to the Egyptian material culture repertoires were both part of the same general phenomenon related to Egypt's status as an Achaemenid satrapy.

Comparing Ceramic Assemblages

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in the comparison of ceramic assemblages over time and space is variation in the methods used to quantify ceramics remains. The most common methods include counting individual sherds, determining a minimum possible number of vessels, and weighing, and generally some combination of these is utilized to gauge how much pottery constitutes a given assemblage.[4] Such methods are generally adequate for comparing the sizes of assemblages within a given site and within a given excavation project. But it is much more difficult to draw comparisons between assemblages from different sites because it is not possible to control for such factors as slight disparities in quantification methods or variations in local conditions. For example, some excavators employ minimum sherd size guidelines, which can alter both overall weights of assemblages (though generally not by much) and sherd counts. Likewise, it has been shown that the amount of time pottery spends drying can affect its overall

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[4] Orton et al. 1993, 168-71; Orton 1993.

weight.[5] Differences in shape, size and thickness can affect the number of sherds produced by a given vessel as well.[6] There is also the problem of contemporaneity of chronological phases at different sites. This is both because different sites have different stratigraphy, and because different ceramic types have different chronological ranges at different sites.

In light of these issues it is useful to employ a metric of comparison that measures diversity within a ceramic assemblage rather than its overall size. The method employed here uses the morphological, fabric, and decorative classification made by the individual ceramicists responsible for the publication of each assemblage. Fabric and decorative elements are treated together here, because some ceramicists working in Egypt combine the latter into a single typological category. These two categories of morphology and fabric/decoration are organized into typological hierarchies, modeled on the typology 'trees' developed by Robert Whallon, albeit with some modifications.[7] The diversity of each assemblage can then be compared over time at single site in terms of both breadth and depth, and then the nature of this change can be compared to it at other sites. Indeed, the hierarchies serves as a very effective means of visual comparison, though quantification of the diversity represented is of course possible and in some cases useful. This approach requires that each ceramicist be internally consistent in his or her classification, especially when comparing assemblages over time from a single site. Generally this is a safe assumption.[8] It also requires that one using this approach not

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[5] Slane 2003, 324.

[6] Chase 1985.

[7] Whallon 1972. The primary modification is that the hierarchies created here do not have exclusively binary divisions, as in Whallon's original version. This is because the ceramicists on whose work these hierarchies are based did not employ such binary divisions in classifying their pottery.

[8] In the case of Aston's publication of pottery from Elephantine he is explicit about the precision and consistency of the terms he uses to describe vessel shapes (Aston 1999a, 9-14).

reclassify any of the pottery oneself, with the exception of grouping existing categories for the purpose of organization (as this does not affect the overall diversity of the assemblage). Finally, it requires that the material of different periods at a single site be recovered from similar contexts, and that the time periods being compared are of roughly comparable duration.

The diversity of ceramic assemblages, though not necessarily able to answer the same questions as quantity, can potentially attest to a number of important social and economic phenomena. Because many pottery vessels are used for the preparation, consumption and storage of food, an increase in diversity can be indicative of changes in dining practice. This is significant because dining practice is often very closed tied to social and cultural identity.[9] An increase in the range of shapes of tablewares and cooking pots could potentially indicate the modification of existing dining practices through the addition of new vessels. The introduction of a different suite of vessels entirely would indicate the simultaneity of different dining practices within the same temporal and geographic setting.

In reality it can be very difficult to distinguish between these possibilities, unless the vessels come from primary household deposits, and because the introduction and adoption of new dining practices is typically gradual and piecemeal. But the introduction of new dining practices, whether for social or cultural reasons, is of note regardless. A decrease in the diversity of a given ceramic assemblage could be interpreted as resulting from the emergent predominance of one dining practice over others. Analogous arguments can be made with changes in the diversity of storage vessel assemblages. New and different shapes could be indicative of new and different products, possibly from new

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[9] Goody 1982.

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sources, to which the residents of a given site had gained access; likewise a decrease in the number of storage vessel shapes could indicate a narrowing in the range of a site's economic interaction or production.

This approach relies on the premise, articulated by David Aston, that material culture of the 27th Dynasty has been under-identified by archaeologists working in Egypt.[10] Aston formulated this premise in reference to funerary assemblages rather than ceramics, and in fact he argues that better ceramic typologies and chronologies represent the best course for rectifying this imbalance. But for the purposes of this chapter the key aspect of his assessment is that there is no *prima facie* reason that the ceramics of the 27th Dynasty would be any better known than those of the 26th; if anything the opposite would be the case. This premise is further supported by Peter French's preliminary survey of Late Period ceramic types from Lower Egypt.[11] He adduces only nine different vessels types in his 'third phase,' which is the closest chronological fit to the Persian period. This means that the comparison of diversity between 26th and 27th Dynasty ceramic assemblages is not skewed by there being more vessels shapes or fabrics known from the latter period. If anything, the preferential treatment given to the material culture of the Saite period would skew the results in the other direction. Thus it is all the more striking that the results of this comparison show an increase in ceramic diversity in the period of Achaemenid rule.

Sites

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[10] Aston 1999b.
[11] French 1992.

The three locales whose ceramics are the subject of this paper are Tell el-Herr, Elephantine, and the Dakhla Oasis (**Fig. 1.1**). The Dakhla Oasis is not a single site of course, but the publication of the pottery collected by the Dakhleh Oasis Project's survey makes it feasible, even necessary, to treat it as such. These sites have been selected because they all have sizable ceramic assemblages from the Late Period which have been published in accessible and thorough manners by individual ceramicists, thus making it possible to apply the methodology outlined above.

It is important to recognize that each of these sites was special in certain ways. Tell el-Herr was a fortress defended by imperial forces, though most of the ceramics used by these forces were supplied locally. Elephantine was the site of a well-known Jewish mercenary colony, which in the Persian Period was employed by the Achaemenids to guard the First Cataract of the Nile. The Dakhla Oasis was exceptional partly by its being an oasis. As discussed in Chapter Three, the oases were considered separate from Egypt proper. Moreover, like the nearby Kharga Oasis, Dakhla was certainly the object of imperial attention in the form of settlement and the development of agricultural and religious infrastructure during the 27th Dynasty. Thus none of these sites should be considered typical of Egypt in the fifth century. Their respective ceramic corpora indicate what sorts of vessels were being used by people living in Egypt, but not necessarily by Egyptians per se. Nevertheless it is striking that the diversity of the ceramics corpora from each site expand distinctly during the period of Achaemenid rule.

Tell el-Herr

Tell el-Herr is located in the eastern Nile Delta near the ancient port of Pelusium. The site has frequently been identified with the biblical Migdol, or with the Migdol that appears in the reliefs at Karnak depicting Seti I's Palestinian campaign. This identification is tenuous: 'Migdol' is a rather generic term for a fortified site, and no remains of the Ramesside period have yet been found there.[12] The Late Period remains at the site consist of two successive fortresses which have been have been interpreted as a Persian garrison.[13] This interpretation has been furthered by the discovery of a cylinder seal (**Fig. 4.24**) with distinctly Persepolitan resonances from a fifth century level at the fortress.[14] Nearby at Tell Qedwa there is another fortress (also sometimes known as 'Migdol'), whose occupation appears to terminate in the sixth century BCE.[15] It has been suggested that this fortress was the site of Cambyses' defeat of the Egyptian army during his invasion, and was then replaced by the fortress at Tell el-Herr.[16]

If this interpretation of the relationship between Tell Qedwa and Tell el-Herr is correct, the ceramics from the earliest phase at Tell el-Herr, dated to the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE, are representative of Saite ceramic production in Lower Egypt. Though the fortress at Tell Qedwa was destroyed, the new installation at Tell el-Herr still required pottery vessels. No evidence of kilns has been found at either site, and no finds from the settlement area or cemetery at Tell el-Herr predates the Ptolemaic period. It is likely, then, that both fortresses were supplied with pottery from production sites

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[12] Defernez 2001, 470-8; Valbelle 1999.
[13] Valbelle 1998; Valbelle and Defernez 1995, 96-9.
[14] This seal, and its implications in relation to recent work on seal impressions in the Persepolis Fortification Archive, is discussed further in Chapter Four.
[15] Oren 1984; Redford 1998; Smoláriková 2008, 48-54.
[16] Cruz-Uribe 2003, 26-30a; Oren 1998, 78-80; Defernez 1998.

elsewhere in the region, and given their close proximity to each other, it was probably the same one for both. Thus the ceramic remains from the earliest level at Tell el-Herr is representative of ceramic production and consumption in this region during the sixth century BCE, immediately before Cambyses' conquest of Egypt in 525.

The ceramics of the period of Achaemenid rule from Tell el-Herr have been published in detail by Catherine Defernez. Based on the stratigraphy of the site she has identified five periods that belong to the Late Period.[17] Of relevance to this study are Period VII/F, which is the earliest phase of the first fortress and thus dates to the late sixth century or early fifth, and Period VI/E, which dates primarily to the fifth century BCE (see **Table 5.1**).

Elephantine

The site of Elephantine in Upper Egypt is located on an island in the Nile at the northern entrance to the first cataract, opposite modern Aswan.[18] It was continuously occupied since at least the mid fourth millennium BCE. During the Late Period (as in previous periods) it served as both a border fortress and trading post, facilitating exchange with Nubia and beyond. At some point a Jewish and Aramaean population took residence in Elephantine in the so-called 'Aramaic Quarter' northwest of the Temple of Khnum; their presence there is attested by non-Egyptian architecture and Aramaic papyri and inscriptions.[19] It is unclear when exactly this part of Elephantine became home to Jews and Aramaeans, but the sixth century pottery discovered there suggests that this area

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[17] Defernez 2001, 5-14; 1998.
[18] Kaiser 1999.
[19] Porten 1968; von Pilgrim 1998; 2002; 2003; Rosenberg 2004; Azzoni 2013.

was occupied prior to the advent of Achaemenid rule, and an Aramaic letter from Elephantine (TADAE A4.7) makes reference to the Jewish settlement existing prior to Cambyses' invasion.[20]

Parts of Elephantine, including the Aramaic Quarter, have been excavated by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, and the only Late Period ceramic material published in any quantity (by David Aston) was excavated between 1987 and 1992.[21] This material is divided into chronological phases on the basis of comparison with French's three phases of Late Period ceramics. Of relevance to this study are Phases IV ('Sixth Century') and V ('Late Saite – Persian Period'). The ceramic material from the site belonging to Phase IV is somewhat scarce, especially when compared to that of the following phase, making a comparison between the two difficult. However, it is possible to correct for this scarcity to some degree by including only the Phase V ceramics from building G in the comparison.[22] The material attributed to Phase IV is believed to be from a structure of Saite date that was leveled in order to allow for the construction of building G sometime during the fifth century.[23] The only remains of this structure identified by the excavators is a circular wall, which underlays building G but overlays building H nearby (of eighth century date). The arc of the wall and its encompassing of these two other buildings suggests that it was a building of distinctive size, larger than the later houses in the neighborhood. Building G, however, is also noteworthy for its size, which exceeds that of the houses as well. Of course this simple physical similarity does not assure any

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[20] Aston 1999a, 208-12. The date of the installation of the Jewish colony is discussed in Chapter Three.
[21] Aston 1999a.
[22] Due to the large number of imported storage vessels from building G, Aston (1999a, 232-46) treated this pottery separately from the rest of the Phase V material, making this comparison possible. The imported vessels are not included in the comparison. For the excavation and clearance of building G see Krekeler 1988.
[23] Aston 1999a, 208.

continuity in use from the sixth century to the fifth, but at the very least it means that the two ceramic assemblages under comparison come from comparable spatial contexts.

Dakhla Oasis

The Dakhla Oasis in Egypt's western desert is essentially a westward extension of the larger Kharga Oasis. It was occupied since the Early Dynastic Period, though a majority of the known sites there belong to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.[24] There is evidence for Egyptian activity at the site of Ayn Asil in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, and in the Third Intermediate Period it, along with Kharga and Bahariya, was overseen by the 'Governor of the Two Oasis Lands'.[25] But in general the picture is much the same as in the Kharga Oasis (discussed already in Chapter Four): while the Egyptians sought to monitor and control the oasis for reasons of trade and security, it was considered a place apart from Egypt proper, and only sparsely inhabited. Like the Kharga Oasis it seems to have undergone a significant degree of development during the period of Achaemenid rule. There is epigraphic evidence for temple construction, or at least enlargement, at Amheida in the reign of Darius I, and several qanats have been documented in the oasis as well.[26]

The oasis has been the object of study by the Dakhleh Oasis Project since the 1970s. The project's activities have included both excavation and surface survey, and though a majority of the sites in the oasis are later, a significant corpus of ceramic

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[24] Willeitner 2003, 54-85; Patten 2000, 13-22; Mills 1999a; Giddy 1987, 166-73.
[25] Klotz 2013, 901-3.
[26] Kaper 2012, 171-2; Youssef 2012; see further Wuttmann and Marchand 2005, 116-17 for Achaemenid Period remains in the oasis.

material from the Late Period was discovered as a result of these activities. The material

from the 1970s and 1980s has been assembled in an as yet unpublished dissertation by

Shirley Patten.[27] There are, however, some issues with this material that need to be

addressed before it can be utilized. The survey seems to have been unsystematic in its

approach. No explicit statement of survey methodology is given.[28] It seems that sites

were discovered by sight, presumably on the basis of standing remains such as

architecture, and then collected unsystematically.[29] This makes this material useless for

most analyses typically made of survey ceramics, but the unsystematic manner of the

survey is unlikely to have prejudiced it towards or against the recovery of material from

any particular period, nor of any particular shape or fabric (at least not in a manner

inconsistent with other surveys). The material from excavations has also been included in

the ceramic study.[30] These sites were identified through the survey, and inclusion of

material from them gives them undue significance in the ceramic corpus; however this

bias primarily affects the material from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, as most of the

excavated material is of that date, and has relatively little effect on this study.

     Patten divides the ceramic material into four chronological phases on the basis of

comparanda from other sites. The first two of these phases include material that has

parallels dated to the eighth through sixth centuries BCE (Phase 1) and late sixth through

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[27] Patten 2000.
[28] The closest is in Mills 1999b.
[29] Given (2004, 18) notes that in arid conditions deflation creates artificially high surface sherd densities, which in turn can lead to greater site visibility. This could explain why no criteria for site definition are provided for the Dakhleh Oasis Project's survey; the sites were perhaps (to their minds) self-evident.
[30] Patten 2000, 2-5.

fourth centuries (Phase 2).[31] As in the case of the material from Elephantine many of

these parallels are based on the ceramic phases identified by French for Lower Egypt.[32]

Chronological Synthesis

The ceramics sequences developed by Defernez, Aston and Patten for their

respective assemblages are all somewhat different, and in order to make the proposed

comparison it is necessary to reconcile them to some extent. Defernez's Period VII/F at

Tell el-Herr dates to the late sixth century BCE. This makes it slightly later than Aston's

Phase IV at Elephantine, which includes the first half and middle of the sixth century, and

it overlaps with his Phase V, which covers the period c. 550-400 BCE. However, the late

26th Dynasty date for the beginning of this phase is not unequivocal. Most of the parallels

for the late Saite material cannot be dated so precisely.[33] The ceramics from Nebesheh

and Tell Defenneh are both dated by foundation deposits containing objects inscribed

with the names of Saite pharaohs. But this only provides a *terminus post quem* for the

ceramic material.

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Two, cartouches are not a sure-fire

indication of date. The tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir, for example, has foundation

deposits including objects naming Amasis, even though it is well known that

Udjahorresnet did not die until some time into the reign of Darius I.[34] Aston even

concedes that the ceramics from Tell Defenneh are unlikely to be as early as the reign of

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[31] Patten 2000, 25.
[32] French 1992.
[33] Aston (1999a, 213-15) is forthright about the frailties of the chronology. The following remarks are primarily a commentary on his discussion of the dating of the relevant comparanda.
[34] Bareš 1996.

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Psamtik I, whose name appears in the foundation deposits there. At Kafr Ammar, a cemetery site some distance south of Saqqara, the pottery recovered from the tombs there has been assigned to the Saite period because the other objects from the burial assemblages there could be as early as the sixth century. But there is nothing about them that compels a Saite date, and, as Aston himself has noted elsewhere, in the absence of inscriptions the dating of Late Period funerary objects remains open to question, with much material being assign by default to the Saite period.[35] Finally, in the case of Heliopolis, Petrie assumed that the town had been destroyed by the Persians in 525 BCE, and despite the lack of any evidence to support this assumption he therefore dated all the ceramic remains he found there to the 26th Dynasty or earlier.[36] So although it is certainly possible that several of the vessels attributed to Phase V first occur before 525, none of them must absolutely pre-date the Persian period. Rather, the likelihood is that the bulk of the material actually dates to the fifth century.

Tell el-Herr Period VII/F and Elephantine Phase IV are both considerably more narrow than Patten's Phase 1 in the Dakhla Oasis, which spans the eighth through sixth centuries BCE. Likewise, Period VI/E at Tell el-Herr and Phase V at Elephantine date primarily to the fifth century, but Phase 2 in the Dakhla Oasis includes the late sixth through fourth centuries. This increased span means that the diversity discernible in Patten's Phase 2 is not solely the product of 27th Dynasty factors; some aspect of conditions in the fourth century could potentially be skewing the picture. But Phase 1 is also long, stretching back well into the 25th Dynasty. So there is the potential for distortion in both phases. Unfortunately, with the current state of knowledge of the Late

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[35] Aston 1999b.
[36] Petrie and Mackay 1915, 7.

Period ceramics in the Dakhla Oasis there is no way as yet to control for this distortion. For now it is necessary to proceed as is, since these corpora still represent the best data available.

The synthesis of these different ceramic phases is summarized below in **Table 5.1**. Their imperfect congruence does not condemn the endeavor, and though it is important to recognize the shortcomings of the data, these phases can be taken as representative of the aggregate ceramic diversity at each place in each period. The critical factor is that the divide between these two sets of phases is close enough to 525 BCE that they can be used to compare conditions prior to and then under Achaemenid rule.

Table 5.1 – Synthesis of Ceramic Chronologies					
Tell el-Herr		*Elephantine*		*Dakhla Oasis*	
Period	Dates	Period	Dates	Period	Dates
Period VII/F	Late 6th cen.	Phase IV	6th cen.	Phase 1	$8^{th} – 6^{th}$ cen.
Period VI/E	5th cen.	Phase V	c. 550-400	Phase 2	Late $6^{th} – 4^{th}$ cen.

Results

The data presented in this section has been generated from the ceramics publications by Defernez for Tell el-Herr, Aston for Elephantine, and Patten for the Dakhla Oasis. This consists of two sets of typological hierarchies for each of two chronological phases examined for each site. One set consists of all of the discreet shapes identified by each ceramicist for each site, and the other of all the combinations of fabric and decoration (which in some cases the ceramicist has not separated from each other).

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These hierarchies omit imported ceramics because they are not included in the ceramics reports for all three sites.

Morphology

The following six hierarchies (**Boxes 5.1-6**) are based on the morphological distinctions identified by each individual ceramicist in his or her respective site's ceramic corpus. No modifications have been made to the typologies developed by each ceramicist, save for some additional grouping of vessel shapes in the Dakhla Oasis material to make the hierarchy more orderly in its appearance. This additional grouping consists only of placing identified shapes into larger categories, and not reclassifying individual sherds or pots as new or different shapes. The typological hierarchies have also been separated into the two main Egyptian ceramic fabrics, namely silt (or Nile) and marl fabrics; this is a fundamental division between the two fabrics since they tend to have different ranges of shapes. The production of marl pottery was in general a more specialized industry, owing to the localized occurrence of marl clays and the need for carefully controlled firing.[37] Non-vessel objects such as stands and lids have also been included they essential represent separate shapes, and an increase or decrease in their morphological diversity is meaningful in the same manner as it is for vessels.

All three ceramicists use what is known as an 'intuitive typology' whereby vessel shapes are grouped by visual inspection according to apparent similarity.[38] This similarity

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[37] Bourriau et al. 2000, 122, 125.
[38] Sinopoli 1991, 49-52.

Box 5.1 – Tell el-Herr, Period VII/F, morphology

- Silt
  - Open
    - Mold made
    - Hemispherical bowls
    - Plates
  - Closed
    - Jars
    - Containers

Box 5.2 – Tell el-Herr, Period VI/E, morphology

- Silt
  - Open
    - Mold made
    - Hemispherical bowls
    - Basins
    - Flat bottomed plates and lids
    - Flat bottomed cups and lids
    - Wide-sided cups
    - Lidded cups
  - Closed
    - Jars
    - Containers

Box 5.3 – Elephantine, Phase IV, morphology

- Silt
  - Dishes with direct rims and small bases
  - Carinated bowls
  - Globular jars
  - Bowls with direct rims and small bases
  - Three legged stands with rims and flat bases
  - Bowls with modeled rims and flat bases
  - Ringstands
  - Lids
  - Spouted vessels
  - Jugs
  - Storages jars
- Marl
  - Bowls with models rims and flat bases

Box 5.4 – Elephantine, Phase V, morphology

- Silt
    - Beakers
    - Lids
    - Ringstands
    - Dishes
        - Dishes with direct rims and rounded bases
        - Dishes with direct rims and flattened bases
        - Small dishes with direct rims and flat bases
        - Dishes with modeled rims and round bases
        - Carinated dishes with direct rims and ring bases
        - Carinated dishes with modelled rims and ring bases
    - Storage jars
    - Bowls
    - Bottles
    - Globular jars
    - Incense burners
    - Basins
    - Cooking pots
- Marl
    - Small jars
    - Storages jars
    - Pilgrim flasks
    - Bowls
    - Jars
- Aswan clay
    - Bowls with incurved rims
- Oasis clay
    - Kegs

Box 5.5 – Dakhla Oasis, Phase 1, morphology

- Silt
  - Jars
    - Neckless jars
      - 97
      - 98
    - Small jars with flat bases
      - 110
    - Deep vessels with rounded bases
      - 67
      - 68
    - Vessels with pointed bases
      - 82
      - 84
    - Small jars with short necks and rounded bases
      - 112
    - Medium jars with tall necks and rounded bases
      - 118
      - 119
    - Large jars with short necks and rounded bases
      - 127
  - Bowls and dishes
    - Restricted
      - 1
      - 2
      - 5
      - 13
      - 31
      - 32
      - 33
    - Unrestricted
      - 38
    - Small vessels with rounded bases
      - 43
      - 48
      - 49

Box 5.5 (cont.)

- Medium size bowls with ring bases
  - 51
  - 53
  - 57
- Restricted medium size bowls
  - 62
- Spouted bowls
  - 86
  - o Jugs and bottles
    - Small vessels with rounded bases
      - 77
    - Jugs with one handle
      - 101
    - Slender vessels with rounded bases
      - 79
    - Flasks and kegs
      - 151
      - 152
      - 153
      - 154
      - 155
- Marl
  - o Jars
    - Neckless jars
      - 96
      - 97
    - Deep vessels with rounded bases
      - 67
      - 68
    - Small jars with short necks and rounded bases
      - 112
    - Medium jars with tall necks and rounded bases
      - 118
      - 119
    - Vessels with pointed bases
      - 80
      - 81

Box 5.5 (cont.)

- o Bowls and dishes
  - ▪ Restricted
    - • 1
    - • 2
    - • 31
    - • 32
  - ▪ Unrestricted
    - • 38
    - • 40
  - ▪ Small round based vessels
    - • 43
  - ▪ Medium size bowls with ring bases
    - • 51
    - • 53
  - ▪ Spouted bowls
    - • 86

Box 5.6 – Dakhla Oasis, Phase 2, morphology

- • Silt
  - o Jars
    - ▪ Neckless jars
      - • 97
      - • 99
    - ▪ Small jars with flat bases
      - • 110
      - • 111
    - ▪ Small jars with short necks and rounded bases
      - • 112
      - • 113
      - • 114
      - • 116
    - ▪ Medium jars with tall necks and rounded bases
      - • 119
    - ▪ Large jars with short necks and rounded bases
      - • 125

Box 5.6 (cont.)

- 126
- 127
  - Neckless jars with rounded bases
    - 122
  - Restricted vessels with rounded bases
    - 69
  - Medium jars with short necks and rounded bases
    - 117
  - Neckless jars with rounded bases
    - 122
- Bowls and dishes
  - Restricted
    - 1
    - 2
    - 5
    - 12
    - 13
    - 14
    - 15
    - 17
    - 31
    - 33
  - Unrestricted
    - 36
    - 37
    - 38
    - 39
    - 40
    - 42
  - Small round-based vessels
    - 44
    - 45
    - 46
    - 47
  - Medium size bowls with ring bases
    - 52
    - 53

Box 5.6 (cont.)

- 55
- 57
  - Restricted medium size bowls
    - 61
    - 62
  - Deep vessels with rounded bases
    - 63
    - 64
    - 65
  - Spouted bowls
    - 85
    - 86
    - 87
    - 88
    - 89
- Jugs and bottles
  - Small vessels with rounded bases
    - 77
  - Jugs with one handle
    - 101
    - 104
    - 105
  - Slender vessels with rounded bases
    - 78
  - Necked vessels with two handles
    - 94
    - 95
  - Necked vessels
    - 108
    - 109
  - Flasks and kegs
    - 150
    - 152
    - 154
    - 155
- Marl
  - Jars
    - Neckless jars
      - 96

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Box 5.6 (cont.)

- Small jars with short necks and rounded bases
  - 112
  - 113
  - 114
  - 116
- Medium jars with tall necks and rounded bases
  - 119
- Neckless jars with rounded bases
  - 122
- Large jars with short necks and rounded bases
  - 125
  - 126
- Dishes and bowls
  - Restricted
    - 1
    - 2
    - 31
  - Small round-based vessels
    - 45
  - Medium size bowls with ring bases
    - 53

is entirely relative, which means that the hierarchy of shapes is not necessarily indicative of degrees of similarity or dissimilarity. For example, in **Box 5.4** (Elephantine Phase V) 'beakers' and 'dishes' are both on the second level of the hierarchy, but 'dishes' has eight different shapes within it, whereas 'beakers' has none. This does not mean that all eight shapes within the category of 'dishes' are as dissimilar from each other as all the pots are within the 'beakers' category. Rather, it means that all the pots in the 'beakers' category are more alike each other than they are any other category. The large number of different shapes within the dishes category is partly a result of there being a large number of 'dishes' recovered from the site, making the category easier to subdivide. In totaling the shapes in each phase only the most specific groups of shapes are counted. The resulting

figure is the measure of diversity for each. The results of the tabulation of shapes are

summarized below in **Table 5.2**.

Table 5.2 – Comparison of Vessel Shapes					
Tell el-Herr		*Elephantine*		*Dakhla Oasis*	
Period	Shapes	Period	Shapes	Period	Shapes
Period VII/F	5	Phase IV	12	Phase 1	56
Period VI/E	20	Phase V	26	Phase 2	79
Fold Increase	4.00		2.17		1.41

Fabric and Decoration

The fabric and decoration combinations in the following six typological

hierarchies (**Boxes 5.7-12**) are those identified by each ceramicist. In all three pottery

reports these features are treated independently of morphology. As such they represent an

independent means of gauging changes in the diversity of ceramic corpora from different

sites.

> **Box 5.7 – Tell el-Herr, Period VII/F, fabric and decoration**
>
> - Silt
>   - L 1
>   - L 2
>   - L 4
>   - L 6
>   - L 7

Box 5.8 – Tell el-Herr, Period VI/E, fabric and decoration

- Silt
    - L 1
    - L 2
    - L 3
    - L 4
    - L 5

Box 5.9 – Elephantine, Phase IV, fabric and decoration

- Silt
    - B Variant 2
        - Red slipped
        - Black slipped burnished
    - C Variant 1
        - Uncoated
        - Palered slipped
        - Cream/pink slipped
- Marl
    - A4 Variant 2
        - Uncoated

Box 5.10 – Elephantine, Phase V, fabric and decoration

- Silt
    - B Variant 1
        - Burnished
    - B Variant 2
        - Uncoated
        - Red slipped
    - C Variant 1
        - Uncoated
        - Pale red washed

Box 5.10 (cont.)

- Red slipped
- Cream slipped
- Red slipped burnished
- Orange slipped
- Red rim on cream
- D
  - Uncoated
- Marl
  - K20
  - A4 Variant 1
    - Uncoated
    - Painted
  - A4 Variant 2
    - Uncoated

Box 5.11 – Dakhla Oasis, Phase 1, fabric and decoration

- Red-firing
  - 1
    - Plain
    - Decorated on plain surface
    - Red slipped
    - Cream slipped
    - With black patches
  - 2
    - Plain
    - Decorated on plain surface
    - Red slipped
    - Cream slipped
  - 3
    - Plain on uncoated
    - Cream slipped
  - 5
    - Plain
  - 6
    - Plain
    - Red slipped
    - Decorated on red slipped surface
    - Red slipped and burnished
    - Cream slipped

Box 5.11 (cont.)

- ▪ Decorated on cream slipped surface
  - o 9
    - ▪ Plain
- • Light-firing
  - o 1
    - ▪ Plain
  - o 4
    - ▪ Plain
  - o 8
    - ▪ Plain
  - o 9
    - ▪ Plain

Box 5.12 – Dakhla Oasis, Phase 2, fabric and decoration

- • Red-firing
  - o 1
    - ▪ Plain
    - ▪ Decorated on plain surface
    - ▪ Red slipped
    - ▪ Cream slipped
    - ▪ With black patches
    - ▪ Decorated on cream slipped surface
  - o 2
    - ▪ Plain
    - ▪ Decorated on plain surface
    - ▪ Red slipped
    - ▪ Cream slipped
  - o 3
    - ▪ Plain
    - ▪ Cream slipped
  - o 6
    - ▪ Plain
    - ▪ Red slipped
    - ▪ Decorated on red slipped surface
    - ▪ Red slipped and burnished

- - - Cream slipped
    - Decorated on cream slipped surface
  - 8
    - Cream slipped
  - 10
    - Plain
- Red-firing shale
  - Plain
  - Red slipped
- Light-firing
  - 1
    - Plain
  - 4
    - Plain
  - 8
    - Plain
  - 9
    - Plain
- Light-firing shale
  - Plain

For Egyptian fabrics Defernez and Aston both utilize the Vienna System of
classification, which is now for the most part commonplace in the study of Egyptian
ceramics.[39] For the Dakhla Oasis Patten uses a system specific to the oasis, which
distinguishes between 'red-firing' and 'light-firing' fabrics (the latter essentially being a
marl fabric).[40] Each of the three handles decorations in a different manner. Defernez only
comments on it incidentally; most of the locally produced material from Tell el-Herr is
undecorated anyhow. At Elephantine Aston notes washes, slips and burnishing. In the
material from the Dakhla Oasis Patten notes slips and the presence or absence of
decoration (the nature of which she does not specify further). As with morphology only

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[39] Defernez 2001, 27-36; Aston 1999a, 2-9; for the Vienna System see Nordström and Bourriau 1993, 168-82.
[40] Patten 2000, 81-104.

the most specific groups are counted, and the resulting figure is the measure of diversity

for each. The result of the tabulation of combinations of fabrics and decoration is

presented below in **Table 5.3**.

Table 5.3 – Comparison of Fabric and Decoration Combinations					
Tell el-Herr		*Elephantine*		*Dakhla Oasis*	
Period	Combos	Period	Combos	Period	Combos
Period VII/F	4	Phase IV	6	Phase 1	23
Period VI/E	11	Phase V	14	Phase 2	27
Fold Increase	2.75		2.33		1.17

The diversity of the ceramic assemblages of all three sites increased from the

Saite to the Achaemenid period with respect to both shape and fabric and decoration (**Fig.**

5.1). This is especially striking in light of the premise that the material culture of the 27th

Dynasty is less well known than that of earlier periods, so if anything this measure of

diversity should be biased towards the 26th Dynasty. At each of the three places the

pottery was studied and published by different ceramicists, and comes from different

types of contexts: at Tell el-Herr it was recovered from a fort, at Elephantine from

domestic contexts, and in the Dakhla Oasis from surface survey. This means that the

increase must reflect a more general trend in Egypt.

The differing magnitudes of increase for each ceramic corpus are likely the result

of different local conditions. Tell el-Herr shows the highest increase in diversity for both

shape and fabric and decoration. This can be attributed to the site's role as a fortified

waypoint between Egypt proper and the rest of the empire, and its proximity to the major

port of Pelusium. Elephantine shows less of an increase, and this may have to do with its
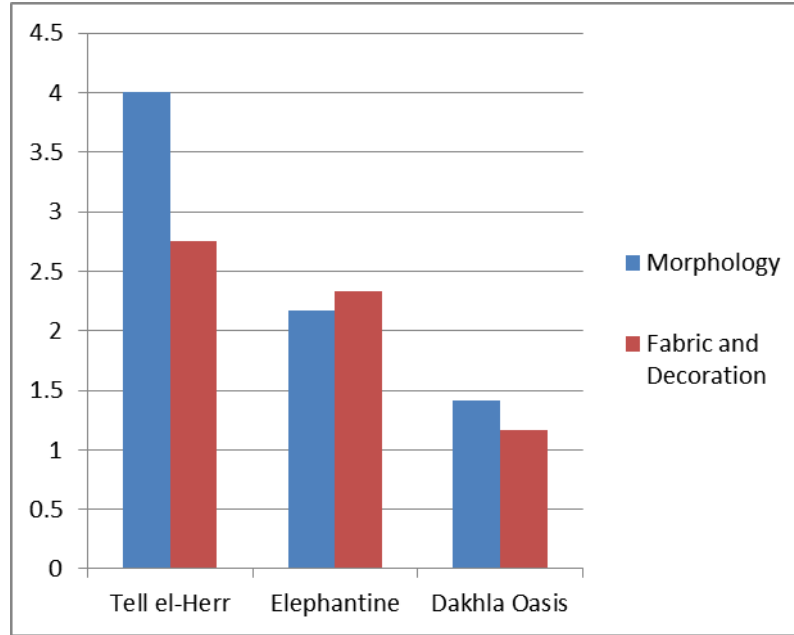
Figure 5.1. Graph showing fold increase in diversity of morphology and fabric and decoration at the three sites.

position in the far south of Egypt, but at the same time it is well known from

papyrological sources that it was an important site of imperial interest and a locus of

interaction and exchange between Egyptians, Jews and Arameans (not to mention

Persians). The Dakhla Oasis shows the least amount of change, and this may be

reasonably attributed to its remoteness from the rest of Egypt and its relatively insular

potting traditions. Yet there is a perceptible increase in diversity there as well, suggesting

that the oasis was also affected in some way by Egypt's position as a satrapy in the

Achaemenid Empire. The potential implications of this increased diversity are considered

in the next section.

Discussion and Interpretation

The increase in the diversity of ceramic assemblages during the 27th Dynasty could have been caused by a variety of factors related to Egypt's integration into the empire. Since many ceramic vessels were used for the consumption, preparation or storage of food, changes in dining practices, especially the introduction of new practices, could lead to an increase in the diversity of a given ceramic corpus. Another possibility is that an increase in the range and quantity of imported ceramics (either as commodities unto themselves or as containers for other products) could have resulted in the introduction of new shapes and decorative features into the Egyptian potter's repertoire. Because access to foreign goods is a means of demonstrating one's connections to sources of charismatic authority, the appearances of certain foreign vessels developed a cachet of their own and created demand for locally produced imitations of them. Finally, broader social and cultural trends in the empire could have affected Egypt along with other regions under Achaemenid rule. None of these causes can be proven outright, but they can serve to explain the results of the comparison presented in the previous section. And a discussion of them is illustrative of the ways in which Achaemenid rule could indirectly affect the social and economic lives of non-elites in Egypt.

Changes in Dining Practice

The introduction of new dining practices can result from a number of factors, but culture contact is by far the most commonly cited.[41] In Achaemenid Egypt, as in the Saite period that preceded it, there was a distinctive population of resident foreigners.[42] These foreigners included Aramaeans, Jews, Phoenicians, Carians, Greeks and of course Persians, though the respective sizes of these populations and their respective roles in Egyptian society are uniformly certain. Many of them served as soldiers or in some other imperial capacity, but it is important to recall that many foreigners lived in Egypt prior to Achaemenid rule as well. The Persians themselves are the main exception to this, as there is no evidence for their presence their prior to Cambyses' invasion. So changes in dining practices seem most plausibly attributable to the arrival of the Persians and the Achaemenid imperial human apparatus more broadly. Given their prominence in Egypt as conquerors and rulers at this time, it should be no surprise that a discernible infusion of fresh cultural practices and the material accoutrements associated with them would emanate from the impact of people coming into Egypt on behalf of the Achaemenid enterprise, including both ethnic Persians and others from throughout the empire participating in its administration.

It is, nevertheless, difficult to prove that any distinctly Persian dining practices were adopted or appropriated by the Egyptians. There are a number of reasons why. First, although the ancient Egyptian diet can be reconstructed with a fair degree of certainty, the actual manner in which it was eaten cannot be so easily reconstructed. The key staple in Egypt was grain, mainly emmer wheat and barley, baked into loaves of bread or

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[41] E.g., Goody 1982, 175-90; Ralph 2005; Voss 2005.
[42] Vittmann 2003.

brewed to make beer.[43] Examples of ceramic bread molds found on Egyptian sites and images of loaves from tomb paintings both indicate these loaves were usually domelike in shape. Fruits, vegetables, pulses, and meat were eaten as well.[44] There are many scenes of dining among wall paintings from tombs, especially of New Kingdom date, that may provide some indication of dining practices.[45] Often the diners are seated, either on chairs or benches, or seemingly on the floor, with trays stacked with food placed before them on columnar pedestals. These scenes are usually interpreted specifically as funerary banquets, but they are limited in number, and it is unclear how accurate they are meant to be as reflections of actual and current-day experience. The ceramic vessels depicted in these scenes are relatively few in number, and they mainly represent general types rather than specific examples of actual vessels.[46]

Secondly, the Egyptian diet is not all that distinct from other known contemporary diets. The Jews of Elephantine appear to have lived off this same combination of foods.[47] To some degree this is no surprise, given that emmer wheat was especially abundant in Egypt. But it suggests that if these Jews were constructing their ethnic identities through dining practice, it was not through the food itself but presumably through the manner in which it was consumed. Unfortunately there are no Jewish banqueting scenes (from Egypt or anywhere) to compare against their Egyptian counterparts. And while the ceramic remains from Elephantine are potentially the remnants of Jewish dining practices

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[43] Samuel 2000.
[44] Murray 2000b; Ikram 2000.
[45] E.g., in the tombs of Rekhmira, Nakht (Tiradritti 2008b, 214-15, 254), Nebamun (Parkinson 2008, 71-91), and Djeḥōut (Davies 1936, pl. 35), all in the vicinity of Thebes.
[46] Paice 1989.
[47] Porten 1968, 80-7.

there, the change in vessel shapes is not pronounced enough to draw any conclusions as to how those practices might have differed from Egyptian ones.

Thirdly, the evidence for Persian dining practices in some general sense is both limited and indeterminate. As with the food eaten by Egyptians and Jews it is reasonably clear what the Persians ate. Documents from the Persepolis Fortification Archive make reference to a number of different foods, such as grain (including wheat and barley), poultry, cattle, oil (from plants or animals), goats, sheep, pomegranates, honey, beer and wine.[48] Some of these items were reserved for the royal table, and the general populace would have had limited access to them. But they provide a sense of what the people provisioned by the royal bureaucracy at Persepolis ate. Of course this included people from throughout the empire, not just the imperial heartland. Greek authors writing about Persian eating habits tend to either focus on the more unusual foods served at the royal table or on the supposed culinary austerity of the Persians in the days of Cyrus the Great. Even so they highlight certain interesting details, such as Herodotus' comment (1.133) on the importance of meat during birthday celebrations. This is consistent with the impression had from the Fortification Archive that most Persians ate meat only infrequently.[49]

As for how this diet was consumed, there is some evidence in the form of seals depicting banqueting scenes impressed on the tablets of the Persepolis Fortification Archive. For example, PFS 535* shows a man seated on a high-backed chair before a table on which sits a small horned animal (possibly meant to represent a rhyton) and a horizontally-ribbed bowl (**Fig. 5.2**). Next to the table is a stand on which sits a jug with a

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[48] Henkelman 2010, 734-53.
[49] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995, 293.

handle and a spout. A server stands to the left proffering an amphora and a ladle to the

seated banqueter. A significant subset of seals in the archive feature variations on

banqueting imagery, although PFS 535* provides the richest array of representations of

vessels and related items.[50] As with the Egyptian tomb paintings of funerary banquets the

images on these seals were not necessarily literal representations of dining, but their

imagery does seem to make reference to the practices of eating and drinking. Similarities

between the presentation of the amphora and ladle on PFS 535* and on the banqueting

painting from the fifth century BCE Tomb II at Karaburun in Lycia suggest that courtly

dining protocols were widespread in the empire.[51]

Another seal, PFS 170, depicts a man seated on a high-backed chair (**Fig. 5.3**). He holds a

crescent-shaped object in front of his face, seemingly perched on his fingertips. This

object must represent a bowl, perhaps either the distinctive carinated 'Achaemenid bowl'

(discussed further below), or a phiale.[52] This specific practice of drinking from a bowl

held on one's fingertips also appears elsewhere on the seals of the Fortification Archive,

as well as on seals attested in the Murashu archive from Nippur and on the painting from

Karaburun mentioned above.[53] These images surely reflect elite dining practices, which

may well have differed from how non-elites ate and drank on a daily basis. But elite

practices are the most likely ones to be emulated or adopted by the subject peoples of the

empire, including Egypt, either through direct exposure to elite personages themselves, or

through images of such practices.

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[50] M. C. Root, personal communication, 2013. These seals will be published in Garrison and Root, forthcoming.
[51] For Karaburun see Miller 2010, 324-8; with Miller 2011b, 97-8, and Gunter and Root 1998, 21 fig. 8. A full publication of the tomb paintings is being prepared by Stella Miller-Collett.
[52] For phialai as drinking vessels see Gunter and Root 1998.
[53] Miller 2011b, 100-5.
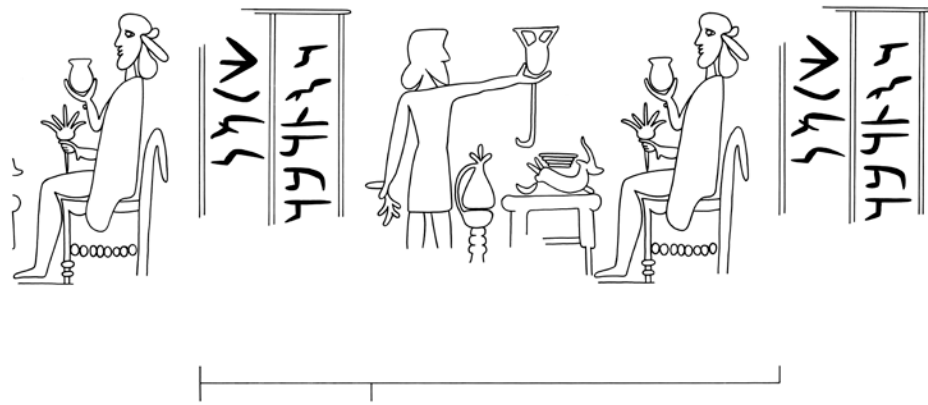
Figure 5.2. Composite drawing of PFS 535*. Reproduced by permission of M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.

Figure 5.3. Composite drawing of PFS 170. Reproduced by permission of M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.

The lack of detailed knowledge on Egyptian and Persian dining practices makes it impossible at this stage to relate the expansion of Egyptian ceramics corpora to the adoption of any particular dining practice. But the general idea still holds, and it receives support from the stela of Djedherbes from Saqqara, discussed in detail in the previous chapter (**Fig. 4.18**). In the lower register Djedherbes, seated in a high-backed chair before a table laden with foodstuffs, holds before his face a wide, shallow bowl, perched on his fingertips. As argued in Chapter Four, in designing this stela Djedherbes drew on

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multiple traditions of visual representation as befitted his complex and multivalent

identity. The inclusion of an image of him drinking in this Persian manner is consistent

with the other visual features that contributed to his representation as one of the

Achaemenid imperial elite. This indicates that Djedherbes was familiar with this mode of

drinking. This does not necessarily mean that he had actually adopted it in real life. But

the social conditions that informed the creation of this stela are analogous to the

conditions that would prompt someone like Djedherbes to adopt a foreign dining practice,

and to procure the appropriate vessels to go with it.

An illuminating parallel is presented by Elspeth Dusinberre in her study of

ceramic assemblages from Sardis. Both cooking vessels and tablewares exhibit

morphological changes under Achaemenid rule.[54] Cooking vessels shift from rounded to

flat bottoms, and bread trays are thinner and have steeper curves and more pronounced

rims. The two most common tablewares of the Lydian period (prior to the Persian

conquest) are a shallow stemmed bowl and another shallow bowl with a ring foot are

replaced by thin-walled bowls with incurved rims. These incurved rim bowls show a

close resemblance to bowls from southwestern Iran from the early first millennium BCE.

Dusinberre interprets these changes as evidence for shifts in both dining practice and the

manner in which food was prepared. Some of these shifts may not have been very

dramatic. For example she suggests that "bread was cooked faster than in the Lydian

period, with a thinner dough, probably resulting in a crispier end result."[55] But it is

nevertheless significant, given the close connection between food and identity, that such

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[54] Dusinberre 1999; 2003, 172-6.
[55] Dusinberre 2003, 176.

changes occurred at all. It is certainly plausible that Egypt's inclusion in the Achaemenid Empire could likewise have led to the introduction of new and different dining practices.

Imports and Imitations

Another potential implication of the expansion of shapes and fabrics is that it was a response to or result of an increase in the number and diversity of imports into Egypt at this time. This is perhaps an obvious interpretation with respect to foreign ceramics discovered in Egypt, but it has repercussions for locally produced ceramics as well for two reasons. First, there is the simple fact that a more diverse body of foreign shapes and fabrics provided Egyptian potters with a greater range of models to emulate. In addition to the agency of individual potters there would also have to have been some impetus for this emulation in order for it to be sustained. Second, there are the potential social and economic advantages of utilizing shapes reminiscent of imports. A producer may have found that packaging his product in a vessel of foreign shape made it more competitive or more appealing. A consumer might have been more inclined to purchase a vessel of foreign shape because of the implications of wealth or discernment. Of course it would have been readily clear to anyone on closer inspection that these vessels were not in fact imports, but the purpose of using a foreign shape was not deception. Rather, the choice to use these shapes would have been made for a variety of reasons, some subconscious, but all based on the implicit understanding that these shapes were for whatever reason appropriate, suitable, or advantageous to the purpose for which they were chosen.

A number of vessels have been identified at Late Period sites that appear to be mimicking or imitating foreign shapes.[56] These primarily consist of storage jars in shapes clearly modeled on amphoras produced in Cyprus, Syro-Palestine, and in the Aegean, as well as some mortaria that resemble Cypriote ones. Though these vessels cannot all be placed within the period of Achaemenid rule, a number of examples found at sites in the Nile Delta do belong to the fifth century.[57] The reason for this phenomenon, at least in respect to amphoras (its most common iteration) may have to do with changes to the availability of wine in Late Period Egypt (though the same argument could be made for oil as well). Wine was produced in Egypt from the beginning of the Old Kingdom (if not earlier), and for much of the pharaonic period its consumption was limited to the upper echelons of society.[58]

By the Late Period, however, Egypt was part of an eastern Mediterranean trade network by which wine and other products were imported from Greece and the Levant.[59] In the period of Achaemenid rule this is attested most clearly by an Aramaic customs document found at Elephantine and dated to 475 BCE.[60] It lists ships arriving at and departing from an unnamed Egyptian port with their cargoes. Wine appears in the cargoes of both Greek (called Ionian in the document) and Levantine ships. This does not mean that wine became commonplace in Egypt in the Late Period, but its increased availability is suggestive of a broader range of potential consumers. These consumers may have found wine especially appealing because of its associations with the highest echelons of

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[56] Defernez and Marchand 2006, 64-81.
[57] Defernez 2012.
[58] Murray 2000a, 577-8.
[59] Salles 1994, 191-200.
[60] TADAE C3.7; Yardeni 1994; Briant and Descat 1998; Cottier 2012.

society; if so the amphoras themselves essentially became status symbols, which in turn made the amphora shape a more valuable one.

Once again, the stela of Djedherbes (**Fig. 4.18**) provides useful visual evidence for the scenario described above. Beneath one of the tables depicted on the lower register of the stela are three vessels in the shapes of foreign (probably Levantine) amphoras.[61] Djedherbes apparently regarded these vessels as symbolic of his socioeconomic standing, and accordingly included them in his funerary monument. Another possible explanation for the imitation of foreign amphora shapes is that imported wine created new expectations regarding the packaging of wine. Amphoras became the proper container for wine, much like how today the bottle is widely regarded as the most appropriate wine container (as opposed to the box). Indeed, among the imports to Egypt listed in TADAE C3.7 are jars, some of which are identified as 'uncoated' (*zy l' sptyn* in Aramaic). Ceramic storage vessels were typically coated with pitch on the inside in order to mitigate the porosity of the clay and therefore better preserve their contents.[62] Only some of the jugs listed in TADAE C3.7 are labeled as uncoated, implying that the rest already had been treated with pitch. Because pitch was unavailable from natural sources in Egypt, it had to be imported, so presumably the distinction between coated and uncoated jars is made here because their respective import duties were assessed at different rates.[63] The implication here is that foreign made wine jars coated with pitch were imported into Egypt in this period. This supports the idea that certain foreign vessel shapes became

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[61] Mathieson et al. 1995, 32-3.

[62] Stacey et al. 2010; Mayerson 2004.

[63] Lipiński 1994, 63-4 argues on etymological grounds this refers to a slip rather than pitch. But it does not make sense that jars without slips would taxed at a different rate than jars with slips.

associated with wine, providing Egyptian potters with a market for local imitations of such vessels.[64]

It is interesting to note as well that a few ceramics variations of 'Achaemenid bowls' have been found at Heliopolis, Tell Defenneh, Tell el-Herr, Ayn Manawir, and Ein Tirghi in the Dakhla Oasis.[65] The shape of the Achaemenid bowl is quite distinct. Dusinberre describes it thus:

> They have a shallow body and a small base, sometimes flat and sometimes with an *omphalos*; the bowl is sometimes decorated with horizontal or vertical fluting or with protruding lobes that are often tear-shaped. An everted rim rises from a carination that may be more or less defined, sometimes as a sharp ledge and sometimes as a simple line drawn with a pointed tool.[66]

These bowls appear in a variety of places both within and outside of the Achaemenid empire, and in a variety of media, including metal and glass in addition to ceramic.[67] Dusinberre argues that the use of ceramic Achaemenid bowls at Sardis was part of the development of a new cultural system by which non-elites constructed their social identities.[68] The shape not only had connections with the Achaemenid Empire, but also with elite status. The two are related, of course, because the regional elites in the empire

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[64] Herodotus (3.6) seems to comment on this phenomenon. He notes first of all that the Egyptian imported wine, but then comments on the absence of empty wine jars in Egypt. He explains this absence with the story that the governor of each nome was required to collect empty jugs and ship them to Memphis, where they were filled with water and sent to Syria. Given the challenges of collecting potable water in Egypt this is an unlikely scenario, but it may be that Herodotus is responding to a tendency in Egypt to reuse pitch-coated wine vessels because of the scarcity of the pitch itself.

[65] References in Defernez 2011a, 110. The bowl from Ein Tirghi was recovered from a grave believed to be of Roman date (Hope 1981, 237, pl. 23 [bottom left]); in her reassessment of the pottery from the oasis, Patten (2000, 55) places it early in her Phase 2, putting it somewhere in the fifth century BCE.

[66] Dusinberre 2003, 176-7.

[67] Dusinberre 2003, 177-8; Pfrommer 1987, 42-74; Ignatiadou 2010.

[68] Dusinberre 2003, 194-5; see further Miller 2011b.

were the ones who engaged most often with the imperial cultural system (albeit in various ways).

The bowls from Egypt are mostly published in cursory or preliminary ways; consequently nothing definite can yet be said about the contexts of their use. The two bowls from Ayn Manawir are especially interesting in light of the evidence for imperial interest in the Kharga Oasis presented in Chapter Four.[69] These bowls are both made of local clay, suggesting that the model Dusinberre proposes for Sardis holds for Ayn Manawir as well. Some resident of this small town considered these vessels, and perhaps also the connections they implied, appropriate to his identity and station. We cannot say if he or she also adopted the dining practices associated with them. But given the empire's involvement in the development of settlement at Ayn Manawir, it is not difficult to envision a scenario in which this resident encountered these bowls in action.

In addition to these ceramic examples, four silver Achaemenid bowls (or variations thereon) have putative Egyptian provenances, and therefore represent possible models for the ceramic vessels discussed above. All four are now in the Brooklyn Museum. One of these bowls, said to be from Thebes, closely resembles the shape and general proportions of the Achaemenid bowl as it is represented at Persepolis on the Apadana.[70] The other three are part of the hoard of silver vessels, gold-mounted stones, and Athenian tetradrachms found at Tell el-Maskhuta in 1947.[71] Two of these have high rims and floral decorations on their bases (**Fig. 5.4**). The third more closely matches the

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[69] Wuttmann et al. 1996, 417-18 (= Groupe 1, nos. 15-16).
[70] Brooklyn Museum 37.154; Cooney 1965, 40-2.
[71] Brooklyn Museum 37. 154; 54.50.32; 57.121; Brooklyn Museum 1956, nos. 50-1. The Athenian tetradrachms, many of which are probably locally struck imitations, are now IGCH 1649/CH 10.441. The coins suggest a date of c. 400 BCE for the date of the bowls' deposition, though the illicit nature of the excavation of these objects warrants caution. The imitation Athenian tetradrachms struck in Egypt are discussed further in Chapter Six.

standard shape of the Achaemenid bowl. Two phialai with everted rims were also found at Tell el-Maskhuta.[72]

Figure 5.4. Inscribed silver bowl from Tell el-Maskhuta, Egypt, c. 400 BCE. New York, Brooklyn Museum 54.50.32.

The Aramaic inscriptions on four of the vessels indicate they were dedicated to the north Arabian goddess Han-'Ilat.[73] One of these inscriptions states that one of the phiale was dedicated by 'Qainu bar Geshem, king of Qedar.' This figure has been identified as an Arab client king, subject to Achaemenid rule, and Qedar is thought to refer to northern Arabia.[74] If so, this phiale, and the rest of the Tell el-Maskhuta vessels, were very likely originally gifts from the Great King to a local Arab ruler.[75] How they came to be deposited at a shrine of Han-'Ilat at Tell el-Maskhuta is unknown, but there is a good possibility that there was an Arab military presence there to help guard and monitor the Red Sea canal. There may have even been an entire community there,

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[72] Brooklyn Museum 54.50.33-4; Brooklyn Museum 1956, no. 50.
[73] Rabinowitz 1956; 1959.
[74] Dumbrell 1971.
[75] For royal gifting of phialai see Gunter and Root 1998.

analogous to the Jewish colony at Elephantine. At any rate, silver vessels such as these, with their royal connotations, served as the models for the ceramic versions of the Achaemenid bowl made in Egypt. Indeed, the example from Ein Tirghi in the Dakhla Oasis closely resembles the high-rimmed bowls from Tell el-Maskhuta (**Fig. 5.5**).
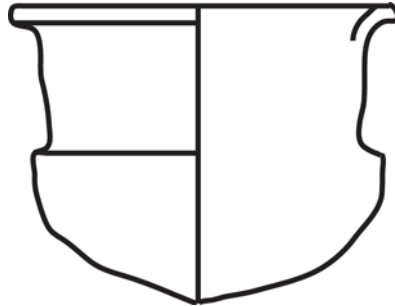
Figure 5.5. Profile drawing of vessel CS5 2r, from Ein Tirghi, Dakhla Oasis. After Patten 2000, pl. 14.

Finally, the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel provides indirect confirmation of the production of Achaemenid bowls in Egypt[76]. The tomb, which is discussed further in Chapter Seven, is dated by most scholars to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE. Thus it postdates the Second Persian Period and does not necessarily reflect conditions during the fifth century. But in light of this late date it is all the more interesting that one of the painted reliefs in this tomb depicts the production of a metal carinated bowl closely resembling the classic shape of the Achaemenid bowl (**Fig. 5.6**).[77] The same relief also shows the production of a rhyton (with a griffin protome), another drinking vessel closely associated with the Persians.[78] The other reliefs in the pronaos of Petosiris' tomb (which

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[76] Lefebvre 1923-4; Cherpion et al. 2007.
[77] Cherpion et al. 2007, 34-5.
[78] Hoffmann 1961; Ghirshman 1962. Miller (1997, 135-52) has shown how the rhyton achieved wide emulative resonance outside of the empire in mainland Greece. Her argument illustrating the mechanisms by which this imitation and adaptation took place provides a valuable parallel for Egypt.

Figure 5.6. Line drawing of a relief from the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel, c. 325-300 BCE. From Lefebvre 1923-4, pl. 7.

was designed like a miniature Egyptian temple) feature scenes of agricultural and other

productive activities, and there is no reason to doubt that vessels such as these were

actually made in Egypt during the fourth century, if not in the fifth. Their inclusion in

these early Ptolemaic tomb reliefs suggests that even after the end of Achaemenid rule

vessels associated with Persian drinking practices continued to have cachet for certain Egyptians.

Bes Vases

It is also worth considering briefly the phenomenon of the so-called 'Bes vases,' since they exemplify another mechanism by which Achaemenid rule could influence the production of ceramics in Egypt. The term 'Bes' refers to a number of Egypt dwarf-gods all represented as nude, bandy-legged dwarves with full beards (or lion's manes) and tall feathered headdresses.[79] For this reason depictions of Bes are often called 'Bes-images.' From the New Kingdom onward Bes is frequently depicted frontally on amulets and apotropaic plaques called *cippi*, and on closed ceramic vessels decorated with images of his face. He is believed to have served a protective function, especially for mothers and children. During the period of Achaemenid rule representations of Bes gained particular popularity throughout the empire. Kamyar Abdi has collected 142 occurrences of Bes on objects from within the empire, including seals, amulets, coins, and statuary.[80] There are even two fragments of a wall relief from Persepolis representing Bes' face.[81] Some of these objects were of Egyptian manufacture and carried elsewhere in the empire by travelers and merchants. Others were made locally, sometimes incorporating features of Achaemenid iconography. Abdi argues that Bes' protective function appealed to soldiers serving in the imperial army, and that the movement of soldiers from one posting to the

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[79] Romano 1989; 1998.
[80] Abdi 1999; 2002.
[81] Abdi 1999, 138 nos. 11.2-3. Unfortunately it is impossible to determine where exactly at Persepolis these fragments were originally situated.

next facilitated the spread of Bes imagery, both the objects themselves and the concept of this particular deity. This argument is based in large part on the occurrence of these objects in the context of known Achaemenid garrison populations.

It is beyond the scope of this study to consider the phenomenon of Bes' popularity in the empire in any detail. But it is interesting to note that Bes vases were notably popular in Egypt during the 27th Dynasty as well. Bes vases were made as early as the New Kingdom, and after an apparent lapse in the Third Intermediate Period their production resumes sometimes in the seventh century BCE. Around 500 BCE, however, their production really takes off. In his doctoral dissertation Kevin Kaiser has identity nearly 200 Bes vases of types attributed to the fifth century BCE, and the vast majority of these are from Egypt.[82] One potential explanation for this phenomenon is that these vessels were responding to the same broader social trend that accounts for the spread of Bes throughout the empire on other media. Egyptian potters could have responded to an increased demand from abroad for Bes vases. Two vases excavated from the cemetery at Deve Hüyük in Syria and Tell el-Hesi in southern Palestine respectively provide some confirmation of this scenario. Based on the description of their fabric, it has been argued that both vases were made in Egypt, and based on the very close similarity between the shape and decoration of the two vessels it has been further suggested they were made in the same workshop.[83]

Given the large number of Bes vases recovered from Egyptian sites, however, it is clear that many of these vessels were purchased locally. Abdi's suggestion that Bes had special appeal for soldiers serving in the Achaemenid army may explain some of these

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[82] Kaiser 2003, 215-82; see also Aston and Aston 2003, 100-7; Defernez 2009.
[83] For the identification of the fabric see Aston and Aston 2003, 105; for the suggestion that the vases come from the same workshop see Blakely and Horton 1986, 118.

vessels, since several have been found in places known to be sites of garrisons or encampments, such as Tell el-Herr, Tell Defenneh, and Saqqara (across the way from the imperial garrison at Memphis). Furthermore, in her study of four Bes vases from Tell el-Herr Defernez has suggested that the shapes of these vessels, which have open mouths and carinated shoulders, imitate those of Achaemenid metal vessels.[84] This is an interesting proposition, one which warrants further study. It suggests that the new meaning and associations gained by Bes vases through their use elsewhere in the empire reached Egypt as well. While this must remain for now a preliminary conclusion, it is worth observing that these Bes vases exemplify how Egyptian ceramic production interacted with larger and sometimes foreign currents whose transmission was facilitated by Egypt's inclusion in the empire.

Ceramic Perspectives on Achaemenid Rule

This chapter has been a sort of thought experiment. Starting from the premise that it is very unlikely that the ceramics of the 27th Dynasty are better known than those of the preceding period, it is somewhat surprising that so visible an increase in the number of different vessel shapes and combinations of fabric and decoration occurs following the advent of Achaemenid rule. There is of course much that remains uncertain about Late Period Egyptian ceramics, and the findings presented here are certainly subject to change as knowledge of this material improves. But this increase in the diversity of ceramic assemblages from Egypt during the 27th Dynasty, as seen at three different sites, is

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[84] Defernez 2011.

unlikely to be the result of chance alone. Rather, this must reflect some change in social and economic conditions that at least coincided with Achaemenid rule, and likely resulted from it as well.

Several factors account for this increase. First, the introduction of new dining practices created the need for new vessel shapes, and the diversity of those shapes suggests that many dining practices were in use in this period. Probably foreigners are responsible for the introduction of new practices, but since foreigners had already lived in Egypt during the Saite period, the real change is that under Achaemenid rule it became advantageous or appropriate to adopt new ways of eating. Second, the importation of ceramic types from abroad provided a new range of models for Egyptian potters to draw upon. Again, Egypt had also imported foreign products in earlier periods, so the increase in imitations and quotations of foreign vessels resulted from them now being more appealing as markers of certain products, social practices, or links to superordinate centers outside of Egypt. And in the case of Bes vases it seems as well that broader, empire-wide social trends could also affect the production and decoration of Egyptian ceramics, at least in certain limited ways.

All of these factors amount to a broadening of the range of ceramic options available to Egyptians under Achaemenid rule. The conclusions drawn here are admittedly preliminary, but their feasibility is suggested by the parallel case of Cyprus during the period of Ottoman rule. A study of the mediaeval and Ottoman coarse wares from Fabrika in Nea Paphos has shown that when the island was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire, a variety of new ceramic shapes and decorative elements and patterns

began to appear.[85] Some of this diversity can be attributed to Cyprus' inclusion in a broader trade network, and some, such as the presence of small jugs and pipes, can be attributed to Cypriote adoption of aspects of Turkish culture, namely the institution of the coffee house. Obviously not all Cypriots made use of coffee or tobacco, but many did alongside their own previous cultural practices. In doing so they facilitated the production of a more diverse corpus of ceramic vessels. The same seems true of Achaemenid Egypt, where the incorporation of Egypt into a new social, economic and cultural setting led to the selective use of new cultural practices, practices which are visible today in Late Period ceramic assemblages.

In the previous chapters we saw how Achaemenid rule effectively increased the range of options as to how Egyptians constructed their identities in a certain circumstances. The same picture emerges from the ceramic material analyzed in this chapter. Conditions in Achaemenid Egypt created a social environment in which new sources of charismatic authority became available and even desirable; there were new networks of interaction and exchange in which Egyptians (and other residents of Egypt) could now participate. This created a demand for new types of pots that were suitable to these new identities that people were creating for themselves. The picture is one of vibrancy and innovation, not the conservative retreat into the past that is often portrayed as a central feature of Egypt under Achaemenid rule.

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[85] Gabrieli 2009.

CHAPTER SIX

COINAGE AND THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMY

And, bearing their wheat over a glittering sea,
ships carry from Egypt vast
wealth.

- Bacchylides[1]

The Satrapal Economy

This chapter is concerned with the impact of Achaemenid rule on the Egyptian

economy and what this may tell us about the experience of that rule in Egypt. The

exaction of tribute is a frequent feature of ancient empires, and this was certainly true of

the Achaemenids as well, in Egypt and across the entire empire.[2] According to Herodotus

(3.92.1) Egypt (including Cyrene and Barca) paid 700 Babylonian talents per year in

tribute. When compared to the princely revenues of the Ptolemies, in excess of 12,000

talents per year according to Strabo (18.1.13) and St. Jerome (*Daniel* 11.5), this is a

rather modest sum.[3] Yet at the same time Achaemenid tribute demands changed the

Egyptian economy in certain fundamental ways. Following the advent of Achaemenid

rule coins were imported to Egypt for the first time. These coins came primarily from the

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[1] Fr. 20B.14-16, trans. Fearn 2007, 35.
[2] See overviews in Briant 2002, 388-421, and Klinkott 2007b.
[3] See the table in Fischer-Bovet 2008, 147.

Greek world, and they were imported in large part to satisfy the empire's tribute demands. Specifically, it was Athens that became Egypt's main supplier of coins at this time (especially in the form of the tetradrachm). At the height of its power in the fifth century BCE Athens had a considerable need for grain, and thus its exchange of coin for grain was a critical one that served both economies perfectly. By the mid-fifth century the Athenian tetradrachm was the most common coin in Egypt. By the last decade of that century it was serving as a unit of account at Elephantine and at Ayn Manawir in the Kharga Oasis. It was so embedded in the system that imitations of the Athenian tetradrachm were being made in Egypt. The use of the tetradrachm as a bullion coin continued well into the fourth century. When the Persians regained control of Egypt in c. 343 BCE after a six decade hiatus, the new satrap Sabaces introduced a coinage in his own name that retained the tetradrachm's weight and types.[4]

Put simply, an important impact of Achaemenid rule on Egypt was the introduction of coinage into the economic system there. This put the country on the road to monetization, a process later completed more fully under the Ptolemies. The use of coins affected temple administrations as well as the imperial offices of the satrapy. Temples were major economic actors and institutional lessors of farmland, and as such

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[4] The traditional date for the Persian re-conquest of Egypt, 343 BCE, has recently been challenged by Depuydt (2010). He prefers a date of 340/39, and cites four pieces of evidence in favor of it: 1.) According to the appendix to Manetho covering the '31st Dynasty' (i.e., the Second Persian Period; Lloyd 1988), the conquest of Egypt occurred in Artaxerxes III's twentieth year, i.e., 340 at the earliest. 2.) According to the same source, Artaxerxes III ruled Egypt for two years. Artaxerxes' death is firmly dated by cuneiform sources to September of 338, meaning that his rule of Egypt began c. 340. 3.) The highest attested regnal year of Nectanebo II is his eighteenth, and indicates he was still king in November of 342, meaning the invasion took place after this point. 4.) In his *Panathenaicus*, completed in late 339 or early 338, Isocrates makes reference to a recent or current war between Egypt and Persia. Assuming this refers to Artaxerxes' invasion, the conquest must have taken place prior to Isocrates' mention of it. The date of 343 is based on a reference in Diodorus Siculus to a Persian embassy to Athens seeking military support for the invasion. This embassy is assumed to be one in the same as that mentioned by Didymus in his commentary on Demosthenes, which took place in 344/3. There is no way of confirming this assumption, and an embassy occurring in 344/3 is still consistent with an invasion in 340.

changes to the Egyptian economy had a significant impact on them. Coinage also affected

individual Egyptian farmers and artisans, whose labor helped to provide much of the

wealth used for tribute. How it affected each varied. Some people embraced coinage,

while others chose to treat it as bullion; some temples began to strike their own coins,

while others show no traces of doing so. What is clear is that even though the use of coins

was limited to certain individuals and institutions, depending perhaps on their respective

relationships with the empire and the outside world, Achaemend rule caused distinctive

and lasting changes in the Egyptian economy.

Coins and Money in Fifth Century Egypt

At the time of Cambyses' invasion coins were not in use in Egypt. Instead, as in

many other premodern societies, the Egyptian economy consisted of systems of staple

and wealth finance, in which food staples and wealth objects served as money.[5] In Egypt,

due to the enormous fertility of the Nile river valley and the predictability of the Nile

floods, grain (specifically emmer wheat and hulled barley) was the main food staple. It

was also used to store wealth and to make payments. Beginning in the New Kingdom

silver and copper especially were used as units of account for transactions, such as in the

hieratic ostraca from the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina.[6] There is evidence for the

circulation of silver bullion as early as the fourteenth century BCE, when the earliest

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[5] I provide a fuller discussion of the Egyptian political economy (i.e., the relationship between political institutions and the social organization of production and consumption) during the Late Period in Colburn, forthcoming a.
[6] Janssen 1988.

securely dated *Hacksilber* hoard occurs.[7] *Hacksilber*, a German term for chopped silver

bullion, is the most common form of precious metal wealth in Egypt prior to the

introduction coinage, though any silver object could serve as a store of wealth or means

of exchange. Hoards of *Hacksilber* continue well into the Late Period, though these

hoards are difficult to date precisely because of the generally mutilated condition of the

objects in question.[8]

Beginning in the ninth century BCE with P. Berlin 3048, marriage contracts

include references to weighed quantities of silver, which typically were to be paid to the

wife in the event of divorce.[9] Similarly, loan agreements and the penalty clauses in

contracts such as land leases and sale agreements also refer to weighed quantities of

silver at this time.[10] In the earliest such documents silver is weighed against the 'stones'

(i.e., weights) of the treasury of the temple of Heryshaf in Thebes. (In demotic they are

simply called the 'stones of the treasury of Thebes.') By the fifth century the stones of the

temple of Ptah in Memphis supplanted those of Heryshaf.[11] The continued use of silver

bullion as money during the fifth century is demonstrated by agreements detailing loans

of weighed quantities of silver, such as P. BM 10113 and P. Hou 12 (in demotic), and

TADAE B3.1 and 4.2 (in Aramaic).[12]

The lack of coins in Saite Egypt is demonstrated by the absence of hoards buried

immediately on the eve of the arrival of the Achaemenid army in c. 525 BCE. Threats of

invasion create the sort of conditions in which hoards are often hidden and then not

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[7] Vargyas 2010, 147-64.
[8] Van Alfen 2004-5a; Kroll 2001.
[9] Lüddeckens 1960.
[10] Vleeming 1991, 87, 103-5.
[11] Vleeming 1991, 87-9; Müller-Wollerman 2007, 177-8; Vargyas 2010, 165-7.
[12] Donker van Heel 2011, 35-9; Vleeming 1991, 156-77; Porten et al. 1996, nos. B34 and B48.

recovered because the hoarders are unable to return to reclaim them.[13] The only known

coin hoard that could possibly predate Achaemenid rule is IGCH 1632, which contained

at least five gold Lydian croeseids. Only their weights are known (no images of them

were ever published). These indicate the coins were minted on the lighter of the Lydian

gold standards, meaning they could date as early as the reign of Croesus (560-c. 547/6

BCE), though they could just as well date later.[14] Without pictures of them they cannot

be dated more precisely. But even if the coins in this hoard were minted during the reign

of Croesus (before the arrival of Cyrus in 547/6 BCE) this does not prove anything about

the hoard's burial date, and it certainly does not indicate that coins served any purpose in

the economy of the 26th Dynasty.

　　　With the exception of IGCH 1632 the earliest coin hoards from Egypt date to

around 500 BCE (see **Table 6.1**). From that point onward they continue to occur

throughout the fifth century in varying sizes from 900 coins down to two. The

chronological distribution of these hoards tends to clump in certain places, especially

around the year 480. This is probably because the Persian Wars, and especially the

destruction of the Athenian acropolis, are used as chronological benchmarks by

archaeologists and numismatists alike. The mints represented in these hoards are located

all over the eastern Mediterranean, including mainland Greece, the Aegean islands,

Macedonia and Thrace, Asia Minor, and Cyprus. There are also coins from Sicily, Magna

Graecia, Cyrenaica, the Levant, and Sinope on the Black Sea. Hoards buried before 480

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[13] See discussion in Crawford 1969.
[14] Cahill and Kroll 2005, 609-13; the weights are given by Regling 1904, 25.

are characterized by a great diversity of mints, whereas in those deposited after 480 the

coins of Athens have a 'virtual monopoly.'[15]

TABLE 6.1 – Fifth Century Hoards			
Reference	*Burial Date (BCE)*	*Findspot*	*Contents*
IGCH 1632	6th cen.	Egypt	5 AU
IGCH 1635	c. 500	Fayum	2 AR
IGCH 1638	c. 500	Nile Delta	30 AR
IGCH 2.10	c. 500	Egypt	14+ AR
IGCH 1636/CH 3.2	c. 500-490	Memphis	23+ AR
IGCH 1637	c. 500-490	Damanhur	165 AR
IGCH 1639	Early 5th cen.	Xois	72+ AR
CH 8.57	Early 5th cen.	Egypt	14 AR
IGCH 1640	c. 485	Athribis	77+ AR
IGCH 1641	c. 480	Alexandria	4 AR
IGCH 1642	c. 480	Damietta	5+ AR
IGCH 1643	c. 480	Memphis	4 AR
CH 1.7	c. 480	Egypt	14+ AR
IGCH 1644/CH 10.435	c. 475-470	Asyut	900 AR
IGCH 1634/CH 9.681	c. 470-465	Egypt	4 AR
IGCH 1646	c. 460	Fayum	15 AR
IGCH 1645/CH 10.436	c. 450	Zagazig	84 AR
CH 10.437	c. 450	Egypt	19+ AR
IGCH 1647	c. 440-435	Naucratis	15 AR
Fischer-Bossert and Gitler 2010	c. 425-400	Ismailiya	14 AR
IGCH 1653/CH 9.682	c. 400	Giza	2 AR
CH 10.438	Late 5th-early 4th cen.	Egypt	2 AR

The distribution of these hoards is almost entirely confined to the Nile Delta. The

one exception to this is the famed Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644), which was found at Asyut

in Middle Egypt. Neither the date (c. 475-470 BCE) nor the content of this hoard

provides any clue as to the conditions of its burial. But ancient Asyut, known

subsequently in Greek as Lyconpolis, served as the border between Upper and Lower

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[15] Thompson et al. 1973, 225. The burial dates for the hoards listed in Table 6.1 that differ from those given in *IGCH* or *CH* are based on the following publications: IGCH 1636/CH 3.2: Sheedy 2006, 144-5; IGH 1637: Sheedy 2006, 145; IGCH 1640: Sheedy 2006, 146; IGCH 1634/CH 9.681: Hardwick 1998, 125; IGCH 1645/CH 10.436: Sheedy 2006, 147; IGCH 1647: Mattingly 1996, 448-9.

Egypt, and the presence of coins there but no further south indicates that coin use in the fifth century was on the whole limited to Lower Egypt.

Many of these hoards also include *Hacksilber* and other forms of unminted silver (see **Table 6.2**). Moreover, several of these fifth century hoards have coins which were chopped up, implying they were treated as *Hacksilber*. Indeed, the test cuts one often finds on coins from Egyptian hoards further demonstrates that they were regarded as pieces of silver valued according to their weight and fineness. There is nothing to suggest that their face value had any meaning. In essence these coins represent imports of silver bullion into Egypt.[16]

TABLE 6.2 – Hoards with Bullion or *Hacksilber* from Late Period Egypt			
Reference	*Burial Date (BCE)*	*Findspot*	*Content*
CH 2.10	c. 500	Egypt	5 AR
IGCH 1636	c. 500-490	Memphis	73 kg AR
IGCH 1637	c. 500-490	Damanhur	2 AR
IGCH 1639	Early 5th cen.	Xois	3+ AR
IGCH 1640	c. 485	Athribis	238.25 g AR
CH 1.7	c. 480	Egypt	19 AR
IGCH 1644	c. 475-470	Asyut	6 AR
IGCH 1645	c. 450	Zagazig	17 AR
CH 10.437	c. 450	Egypt	7 AR
IGCH 1647	c. 440-435	Naucratis	1191 g AR
IGCH 1650	Late 5th cen.	Nile Delta	8.33 g AR
CH 10.438	Late 5th – early 4th cen.	Egypt	314.6 g AR
IGCH 1649/CH 10.441	Early 4th cen.	Tell el-Maskhuta	4500+ g AR
IGCH 1652	c. 360	Naucratis	'a few' AR
IGCH 1651	Mid 4th cen.	Beni Hasan	2 AR
Van Alfen 2004-5b	Late 4th cen.	Egypt	39.93 g AR

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[16] IGCH 1649/CH 10.441, the Tell el-Maskhuta hoard, is included here because of the nine silver vessels (discussed in Chapter Five) associated with the hoard of (imitation) Athenian tetradrachms. Given the illicit nature of the excavation of this hoard, we cannot be certain that the bowls were actually found with the coins. If they were, as is widely believed, they represent a store of wealth in the form of bullion.

Greek Coins and Egyptian Tribute

The sudden presence of Greek coins in Egypt following the advent of Achaemenid rule cannot be merely coincidental. Some aspect of Achaemenid imperialism must have created a need to import silver, and the most obvious explanation pertains to the payment of tribute. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Herodotus (3.92.1) states that Egypt paid 700 Babylonian talents per year in tribute following the reforms of Darius. Herodotus' source for this figure is unknown; suggestions that it, along with the other tribute figures he provides, are derived from an official Achaemenid imperial source are undermined by his presentation of the list of satrapies from a decidedly Greek geopolitical standpoint.[17]

Although the figures cannot be verified, the payment of tribute in silver rather than in kind is extremely probable, at least in the case of Egypt. This is because the geographic dynamics of the empire inhibited payment in grain, Egypt's traditional form of wealth. First of all, southern Mesopotamia was extremely fertile.[18] This means that if Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana or Babylon (the four cities usually identified in classical sources as the empire's royal capitals) required significant quantities of grain, it could be supplied more easily and more readily from Mesopotamia than from Egypt. Also, none of these four cities was especially large, so it is unlikely there was any need for grain to be imported.[19] Finally, the cost of overland transport would have significantly devalued any

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[17] Asheri 2007, 479-81.

[18] See Potts 1997, 80-2, for Mesopotamian crop yields. Herodotus (1.192) even notes that Babylonia supplied the empire with food for four months out of the year, though exactly what he means by this is unclear.

[19] According to Boiy (2004, 229-34), the population of Babylon in the fourth century did not exceed 50,000, and Colburn, forthcoming b, has recently put the population of Persepolis c. 493 BCE at nearly 30,000. The other two cities likely had commensurate populations to these.

grain used as tribute. This cost is typically overestimated in scholarly literature, but combined with southern Mesopotamia's fertility and the lack of a pressing need for large quantities of grain in the imperial capitals it would have made imported grain next to worthless as tribute.[20] Silver, the other primary form of money in Egypt at the time of Darius' reforms, suffered from none of these shortcomings because of its density and intrinsic value, and therefore would have eminently serviceable as a form of tribute payment.

In Egypt, however, there were very few native sources of silver. Some was available in the form of 'aurian' silver, i.e., silver which occurred in the same ore with gold; indeed, many of the silver objects from Egypt are made from such metal.[21] In light of this it may seem illogical for tribute to have been imposed in silver instead of gold, which was seemingly more abundant, but there are several reasons for this. First, gold was never used as a unit of account in Egypt; in other words, it was not a recognized form of money. Grain, copper and silver were used as money prior to Achaemenid rule, and of these silver had the highest ratio of value to weight, making it suited to transport over long distances. Second, although there are more natural sources of gold than silver in Egypt, these are primarily out in the eastern desert of Upper Egypt, closer to the Red Sea coast than to the Nile Valley.[22] Many more are located in Kush. The exploitation of these sources normally required expeditions organized at the pharaonic level. So gold was not exactly easy to come by. The imposition of tribute payments in gold on Egypt would have been a departure from normal Egyptian monetary practice, and would have

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[20] Grain could have been shipped from Egypt to Mesopotamia and Iran by way of Darius' Red Sea canal. But this does not seem likely because Mesopotamia's enormous fertility would have made it unnecessary.
[21] Ogden 2000, 170-1; Gale and Stos-Gale 1981.
[22] Klemm and Klemm 2013, 601-21.

been difficult to implement using existing economic structures. Finally, exploitation of Egypt's mineral resources was a pharaonic prerogative. If, as is argued below, the Great King and his satrap used temples as the primary mechanism for exacting tribute from Egypt, it stands to reason that the gold mined in the eastern desert was regarded as separate from tribute payments. When Darius came to Egypt, he would have seen silver used as money, so requiring tribute in silver would have seemed a sensible continuity of existing practice. He would not have been in a position to query its availability and ease of procurement relative to gold.[23]

During the New Kingdom Egypt received silver as tribute from its vassals in the Levant, and following the collapse of Egyptian power abroad some silver was probably received in trade.[24] In general there was little pressure in this period to increase the overall amount of silver circulating in Egypt. But beginning with Darius' economic reforms, if not before, it became necessary to import silver in greater quantity than it had previously. The near exclusive presence of Greek coins in Egyptian hoards indicates that this silver was imported from the Greek world. That Greek coins do not survive in any vast quantity in the central and eastern reaches of the empire is likely due to these coins being treated as bullion and chopped up or melted down as needed. According to Herodotus (3.96.2), "the Persian king stores this revenue of his by melting it down and pouring it into clay jars; then, when each jar is full, he removes the surrounding clay.

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[23] This idea of a misconception on the part of Darius receives some confirmation from the Susa foundation charter (DSf; translation in Kuhrt 2007, 492-5), in which he lists the how various places in the empire supplied raw materials and artisans for the construction of his palace. He states: "the silver and ebony were brought from Egypt." As Root (2010, 178-86) has shown, this is an ideological statement of the cohesion of the empire, but it nevertheless reflects a perception on the part of the royal court that Egypt was a source of silver.
[24] Pons Mellado 2006, 12-16.

Whenever he wants money, he slices off as much as he needs at that time."[25] Strabo (15.3.21) closely echoes this assertion. Also, Diodorus (17.80.3) and Strabo (15.3.9) both report that Alexander looted some 180,000 talents of silver from the major cities of the empire, and François de Callataÿ has argued ingeniously that this booty served as the raw material for the early Hellenistic coin issues.[26] Furthermore, the pre-Hellenistic coin hoards in the central and eastern parts of the empire contain Greek coins almost exclusively.[27] So once shipped eastward the Greek coins used for Egypt's tribute payments essentially disappeared as they were used to make Persian *sigloi* or other silver objects, or they were carried off by Alexander's army.

The availability of Greek coins in Egypt comes as no surprise because, in addition to silver resources in Attica, Macedonia and Thrace, there was also demand in the Greek world for grain, as well as for several of Egypt's more unique products. During the Classical period many Greek cities imported grain, especially cities such as Aegina which were major commercial centers that had very little farmland at their disposal.[28] Athens in particularly would have been a major importer of grain for much of the fifth century BCE at the height of its imperial power. Exactly how much grain it needed to import remains a point of contention, but at the very least the high population estimates for the city are strongly indicative of a need to import grain, and the need apparently persisted into the fourth century when Athens' population and political power were both in decline.[29] Egypt's role as a grain exporter is more often implied than articulated, and the evidence for it is rather allusive and indirect. The most explicit statement to this effect is in a poem

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[25] Trans. R. Waterfield; see further Zournatzi 2000.
[26] De Callataÿ 1989.
[27] Schlumberger 1953.
[28] Bissa 2009, 193-206.
[29] Moreno 2007, 3-33; Bissa 2009, 169-91.

by Bacchylides, quoted as the epigraph to this chapter, written in the mid-fifth century. But it is also worth noting here that the other purported major grain supplier to the Greek world, the Black Sea region, was not nearly so steady a grain producer as Egypt, and the Black Sea grain trade does not seem to have been very prominent until the end of the fifth century.[30]

Other Egyptian products, particularly papyrus, linen and natron, were also in demand in Greece. Papyrus was the standard writing medium in the Greek world from at least the sixth century BCE onwards, probably even in the seventh, and Egypt was the only source of it in antiquity.[31] Linen was another sought-after Egyptian export. Although the production of linen was not exclusive to Egypt, it was produced there in greater quantity than anywhere else.[32] Natron and alum were again largely exclusive to Egypt, and were exported all over the Greek and Near Eastern worlds. The Aramaic customs document from Elephantine TADAE C3.7 refers to both Greek and Levantine ships departing Egypt with cargoes of natron, and there is evidence from Neo-Babylonian tablets of it being sold at Babylon only a few years before the Achaemenid conquest of Egypt.[33] In addition to these products, which were uniquely Egyptian, there were others such as ivory from central Africa and aromatics from south Arabia for which Egypt was a major entrepôt. These too found a market among the Greeks.[34]

The near absence of Phoenician and other Levantine coins in fifth century Egyptian hoards does not necessarily indicate that the volume of the Levantine trade was

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[30] Braund 2007, 42-51.
[31] Roemer 2008; Lewis 1974, 84-94.
[32] Vogelsang-Eastwood 2000, 269-76.
[33] Briant and Descat 1998; Bresciani 1996; Boardman 2013; see Tal 2009 for the identification of *kzd/r* as coming from Tell Ghazza/Gazara between Ascalon and Joppa. The Neo-Babylonian tablets are YOS 6 168 and TCL 12 84 (Oppenheim 1967).
[34] Sofia 2007.

less than that of the Greek trade. The hoard evidence demonstrates that Phoenician coins of the fifth and fourth centuries generally did not circulate far outside the Levant, and those that did have been found primarily in Egypt.[35] It may well be that even though the cities of Phoenicia and Palestine did start minting their own coins in the mid fifth century Levantine merchants continued to use Greek coins for foreign commerce. Moreover, as in Egypt the Athenian tetradrachm became quite common in the Levant in the second half of the fifth century.[36]

The precise mechanisms for all this trade are unclear, but certain aspects can be deduced. For example, Naucratis served as a port of trade between the Greeks and Egypt during the Saite period, and it seems to have had a similar function in the fourth century as well, as indicated by the decree preserved on the Naucratis Stela of Nectanebo I, which refers to the collection of an import duty there on items traveling on 'the sea of the Greeks.'[37] Naucratis surely served this same purpose during the fifth century, if not earlier.[38] Indeed, the ceramic evidence from the site shows a gap in the Athenian pottery between 525 and 500 BCE followed by a resurgence after 500.[39] This strongly suggests continued trade activity there. The decree of Nectanebo also refers to the nearby harbor of Heracleion-Thonis collecting duties, and recently a near identical copy of the decree was discovered there.[40] Heracleion-Thonis' role as a port of trade during the fifth century is further confirmed by the shipwrecks found there.[41] In the eastern Nile Delta Pelusium probably served a similar purpose to Naucratis, and many of the sites previously

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[35] Elayi and Elayi 1993.
[36] Nicolet-Pierre 2000.
[37] Möller 2000, 182-215; Bresson 2000, 57; for the Naucratis stela see Lichtheim 1976; 1980, 86-9.
[38] As per Posener 1947.
[39] Boardman 1999, 125.
[40] Von Bomhard 2012.
[41] Fabre 2011.

identified as Saite period *stratopeda* probably actually belong to the Achaemenid period and were commercial rather than military in nature.[42] If so there is significant evidence for the continued presence of Greek merchants in the Delta throughout the fifth century. Naucratis, Thonis and Pelusium served as the major points of interaction between Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean, and as collection points for import and export duties.

It is less apparent who the primary actors responsible for this trade were. On the Greek and Levantine side the main participants were presumably seaborne caboteurs, Braudel's "proletarians of the sea," who characterized Mediterranean trade in many periods of history.[43] Certainly this is consistent with the varied cargoes coming into Egypt as listed in TADAE C3.7. But this customs register also attests to at least one case of a sea captain, Glaphyros by name, who made two voyages to Egypt in a single sailing season, implying he moved directly between two different ports rather than tramping along the coast.[44] He was carrying natron rather than grain, but the same practice is implied with specific reference to grain in the speech *Against Dionysodorus* (Ps.-Demosthenes 56), dating to c. 322 BCE.[45] According to this speech the defendant entered into an agreement to sail to Egypt, buy a cargo of grain, and return to Athens with it. Instead of doing this, he went to Rhodes. The plaintiff supposes that the defendant did this so he could make multiple trips between Egypt and Rhodes in a single season, whereas had he returned to Athens as per the agreement he would have been compelled to remain there for the winter. This suggests that certain captains specialized in the

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[42] Carrez-Maratray 2000.
[43] Braudel 1972, 296.
[44] Lipiński 1994, 66-7.
[45] Briant and Descat (1998, 80-1) and Cottier (2012, 58) argue that grain was exported from Egypt duty-free, and therefore was not recorded in the outgoing cargoes of the ships listed in TADAE C3.7. Natron, on the other hand, was taxed.

transport of grain, and sailed directly between Egypt and potential markets such as Athens and Rhodes.

On the Egyptian side there is no direct evidence for who the traders were, but as the primary holders of arable land, the temples are very likely candidates. Papyrus Reinhardt, a hieratic register of lands in the domain of an Upper Egyptian temple of Amun dating to the tenth century BCE, offers a good indication of the extent of these landholdings, as do the later demotic receipts for harvest taxes paid to the temple.[46] Their usufruct of large areas of farmland gave them access to large quantities of grain, and of any of the economic actors in Egypt the temples were the best equipped to export it. Of course there may have been other middlemen involved who bought grain from temples and sold it to Greek merchants. It is also possible that the satrapal government was exporting grain. According to the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics* (1352a-b) Cleomenes of Naucratis, satrap of Egypt under Alexander, bought grain directly from farmers for export. At the same time, however, he also explicitly banned the export of grain, apparently to create a monopoly for himself. The *Economics* (which dates to the early Hellenistic period) provides the only direct evidence for satrapal involvement in the grain trade, and on the whole Cleomenes' activities are viewed as exceptional.

It is more likely that the Achaemenid satraps simply used the Egyptian temples as instruments for collecting tribute by requiring payments in silver.[47] Achaemenid administrative oversight of temple finances is documented in a few sources. In the demotic P. Berlin 13536 an official named Khnemibre writes to the priests of the temple of Khnum in Elephantine demanding that that they produce the temple accounts for the

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[46] Overview in Donker van Heel 2011, 101-13; for P. Reinhardt see Gasse 1988, 139-66; Vleeming 1993.
[47] For a more extensive discussion of the mechanics of this relationship see Colburn, forthcoming a. See also Bresciani 1989 for a brief summary of our limited knowledge of tribute exaction in Egypt.

years 22 to 24 of Darius (i.e., 500-498 BCE). Khnemibre's title, *ḥry-ib-tpy*, suggests he was a high-ranking financial official in the satrapal administration, and it has been argued that the purpose of this requirement was to assess the temple's finances in order to determine how much tribute could be collected from it.[48] The text on the verso of the Demotic Chronicle, which preserves fragments of a decree of Cambyses regulating temple revenues, might also be read in this context. It has been argued that the purpose of this decree was to increase the economic efficiency of temple estates, presumably with a view towards generating more tribute.[49] This sort of approach to tribute exaction has also been proposed for Achaemenid Palestine, and it represents a form of imperialism in which existing local institutions were appropriated as intermediaries between imperial officials and the subjects of the empire.[50] It is interesting to note as well that the introduction to Egypt of the *artaba*, a Persian unit of dry measure used for grain, also facilitated conversions between Greek and Egyptian units of dry measure.[51] Thus the use of the *artaba* there may well have been an indirect result of tribute demands in silver, rather than a direct result of tribute demands in kind.

The appearance of Greek coins in Egypt for the first time at the end of the sixth century BCE must be related to the imposition of tribute by the Persians. Since the geography of the empire required tribute to be given in the form of precious metal, mainly silver, which Egypt did not have in any quantity, it was necessary for the Egyptians to convert grain, the main form of wealth there, into silver through trade with the Greeks and Phoenicians. While this did not necessarily cause structural changes to the

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[48] Fried 2004, 80-1.
[49] Agut-Labordère 2005a; 2005b; the text is translated in Kuhrt 2007, 125-6.
[50] For Palestine see Schaper 1995.
[51] Vleeming 1981a. For further discussion of the *artaba* see Chapter Two.

Egyptian economy, the increased presence and circulation of silver had distinctive

consequences, and these are explored in the following sections.

'Aryandic' Silver

An interesting corollary to the use of Greek coins for tribute payments is the

potential for rereading Herodotus' account of the demise of the satrap Aryandes in an

economic context, which in turn adds nuance to our understanding of the role of coinage

in fifth century Egypt. According to Herodotus (4.166):

> Aryandes was the man Cambyses had made governor of Egypt. Later, he
> was to be executed for trying to claim equal status with Darius. What
> happened was that he realized – it was obvious – that Darius wanted to
> leave behind as a memorial to future generations something which no
> other king had achieved, and he proceeded to do likewise, until he
> received his reward for doing so. Darius had refined gold until it was as
> pure as it possibly could be and then struck coinage with it; when
> Aryandes was in charge of Egypt he did the same with silver. In fact,
> Aryandic silver is the purest silver even today. When Darius found out
> what Aryandes was doing, he brought a different charge, that of sedition,
> against him, and had him executed (trans. R. Waterfield).

The date of Aryandes' removal from office and execution is not known, but it could have

been as early as c. 518 BCE (the putative date of Darius' return to Egypt as king) and he

was certainly deposed before 492 (when another satrap, Pherendates, is referred to in

demotic documents from Elephantine).[52] Furthermore, the numismatic context for this

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[52] See references in Corcella 2007, 692-3. The documents are P. Berlin 13540 and 13539, which are
translated as Porten et al. 1996, nos. C1 and C3.

story places Aryandes' demise around 500 or a little later, as this is the earliest confirmed dating for the issue of Darius' gold coins.[53]

It is generally agreed that Aryandes did not mint coins.[54] Herodotus uses different terms to describe the activities of Darius and Aryandes respectively (νόμισμα ἐκόψατο for Darius versus ἀργύριον ἐποίεε for Aryandes), and no known coin can be attributed to Aryandes. The apparent absence of a factual basis for this episode has prompted scholars to look elsewhere to explain its function in Herodotus' narrative. A notable example of this is Leslie Kurke's 'cultural poetics' reading of the passage, in which she argues that it illustrates the structural tension in Greek society between the aristocracy, with their shrinking monopoly on precious metal objects, and the common people, who with the advent of coinage gained access to these same metals.[55]

Peter van Alfen has recently proposed that rather than minting coins Aryandes instead issued an edict defining a high grade of silver (referred to by the Greeks as 'Aryandic').[56] The purpose of this edict was to control the quality of the silver bullion in circulation, since there was no easy test for fineness and it was the nature of bullion to be melted and mixed indiscriminately. This would have been especially important in light of the need to pay tribute with silver of a certain guaranteed fineness. As noted in the previous section, Herodotus' remark (3.96.2) that the Great King melted down all precious metal tribute and then simply chipped off whatever was required on a given occasion has been taken to mean that despite the minting of the well-known archer

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[53] For the dating of Darius' archer coinage see Nimchuk 2002, 58-60.
[54] But see Tuplin 1989; Sheedy and Gore 2011.
[55] Kurke 1999, 68-80.
[56] Van Alfen 2004-5a, 24-6.

coinages the empire treated the tribute it received as bullion.[57] Since the fineness of

bullion was not guaranteed by a minting authority it had to be assured by other means,

such as the definition of specific grades of metal purity, and their enforcement by the

state where appropriate. In the case of Egypt, Aryandes added an additional, higher grade

of silver to the existing scale in order to clarify the minimum fineness for the silver that

was to be used for tribute. This was primarily a self-serving move, since as satrap he was

ultimately responsible for making tribute payments.

Van Alfen identifies two grades of silver referred to in the Elephantine Aramaic

papyri, one around 90% fineness and the other around 95%. He proposes that Aryandic

silver was even finer than 95%, probably closer to 100%.[58] Analyses of Achaemenid

silver objects, however, show a silver content of between 98.9% and 92.8%.[59] There are

no breaks in the data suggesting there were objects whose fineness was intended higher

than around 95%, and we should suppose either that Aryandic silver was equivalent to

the 95% fineness grade attested in the Aramaic documents, or that it was exceedingly rare

in antiquity. Indeed, limitations to ancient metallurgical technology would have made it

very difficult to achieve more than about 98% fineness, so as a practical matter if

Aryandic silver did exceed this level of fineness, it was unlikely to have been a

requirement for the silver used as tribute.[60] Moreover, the methods of analysis available

in antiquity were not precise, and would not have been sufficient for distinguishing

between silver of 95% and 98% fineness.

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[57] Most recently by Zournatzi 2000.
[58] Van Alfen 2004-5a, 23-4; see further Vargyas 2010, 247-56.
[59] Zournatzi 2000, 252, 262.
[60] Zournatzi 2000, 264 n. 97.

The association of Aryandic silver with the grade of about 95% fineness is supported by the importation of Greek coins to Egypt. Analyses of a selection of coins from the Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644) show a range of 99.6% to 95.2% fineness.[61] That these coins were not melted and recast may well be because they were identified as being of good fineness already, though test cuts indicate the sort of scrutiny to which they were subjected. Indeed, the high silver content of many of the Greek coins of the Archaic and Classical periods would have made them quite desirable as imports in Achaemenid Egypt.

If, as argued here, Greek coins met the standard for Aryandic silver, it is possible to understand Herodotus' presentation of this incident in a new light. The coins of Aryandes were not coins that the satrap himself had issued, but rather foreign coins imported to Egypt. Their association with the satrap's name may result from an Egyptian perspective on coinage in the early years of Achaemenid rule, a view that lumped all Greek coins together as a single category of object equally capable of meeting the requirements of Aryandes' edict. This conclusion does not necessarily alter Kurke's reading of this episode, as this represents an attempt on the part of Herodotus to analyze a historical event known to him through Egyptian cultural knowledge. But it does point to how the Egyptians may have thought about the Greek coins that came flowing into their country as a consequence of Achaemenid rule.

The Athenian Tetradrachm in Egypt

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[61] Gale et al. 1980, 14-20.

While 'Aryandic' coins seem at the outset to have included any Greek issue that made its way to Egypt, by the middle of the fifth century BCE the Athenian tetradrachm had become by far the most common coin there. Its popularity was not limited to Egypt, and it occurs frequently in hoards throughout the eastern Mediterranean littoral in the second half of the fifth century, and well into the fourth.[62] The reliability of its weight and fineness must have contributed to the coin's desirability. With only occasional exceptions during times of crisis, the type (Athena on the obverse, an owl on the reverse), weight (17.2 g), and silver content of the Athenian tetradrachm remained constant from its introduction in the last decade of the sixth century BCE down into the Hellenistic period.[63]

The massive production of tetradrachms at the height of the Athenian Empire, using the copious output of the Laurium silver mines, made them widely available. Xenophon (*Poroi* 3.2) even remarks that merchants doing business in Athens could make a great profit by taking only silver with them when they departed the city.[64] Moreover, certain aspects of Athenian imperialism may have created conditions that favored the use of the Athenian tetradrachm over local coinages, though the nature and chronology of the relevant decrees are still debated.[65] Their prevalence in Egypt is attributable to both direct commercial interaction between Athens and Egypt, especially the grain trade, and the use of the coin by other Greek and Phoenician merchants doing business there.

Many Egyptians would have treated these coins like any other form of bullion, with the result that they were chopped up or melted down. But given the prevalence of

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[62] See the list of hoards containing tetradrachms in Flament 2007a, 173-232.
[63] Van Alfen 2012a, 91-7.
[64] Van Alfen 2012b; Kroll 2011a, 28-33.
[65] Kroll 2009.

the Athenian tetradrachm, their consistent weight and fineness would not have gone

unnoticed, and some Egyptians must have begun to treat them more like coins than

bullion. At the very least an association must have developed between the coin's

distinctive type and its weight and fineness, especially if it met the requirements for

Aryandic silver. And indeed there is evidence for this association in the late fifth century

BCE from two separate corpora of documents. Six of the demotic ostraca from Ayn

Manawir in the Kharga Oasis refer to staters; one (O. Man. 661) specifies that five staters

are equal to one *deben* of silver, and another (O. Man. 620) equates one 'stater of Ionia'

with two *kite* of silver.[66] Also, there are references in the Aramaic papyri from

Elephantine to the 'stater of Ionia,' which is worth two shekels.[67]

In both cases these seem to be references to the Athenian tetradrachm. The term

'stater' applies to the standard coin of a given monetary system, and thus certainly

applied to the Athenian tetradrachm, and the word 'Ionian' is the normal term for 'Greek'

in Near Eastern languages.[68] Furthermore, the specified equivalencies also support

identification with the Athenian tetradrachm. The *deben* was an Egyptian unit of weight

equal to about 91 g; five Athenian tetradrachms of 17.2 g apiece are equal to 86 g. The

difference is just enough to require legal definition in a contract. The *kite* was one tenth

of a *deben*, and therefore two *kite* weighed 18.2 g, or one gram more than a full weight

tetradrachm. Likewise, in TADAE B4.6 we find the phrase '2 sh(ekels), that is [silve]r, 1

stater;' two Babylonian shekels of 8.3 g each is 16.6 g, half a gram shy of the Athenian

tetradrachm. All of these documents date to the last decade of the fifth century, and they

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[66] Chauveau 2000, 138-40; Agut-Labordère, forthcoming b.
[67] TADAE A4.2, B3.12, B4.6, B4.5; the first three documents are also in Porten et al. 1996, nos. B14, B45, and B51.
[68] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001; Root 2007, 178-9.

give a sense of how long it took for the Athenian tetradrachm to be regarded as more than bullion. These documents suggest that at least by the end of Achaemenid rule in Egypt coin was accepted at its face value rather than at its intrinsic worth, at least in certain places and among certain people. The people using these coins, like the Athenians themselves and many other Greeks, recognized the relationship between the type and the metal content, and, more importantly, had faith in it.

The importance of the tetradrachm in Egypt is also evidenced by the imitations of it that were struck there beginning in the last decade of the fifth century and continuing well into the fourth. These were 'anonymous imitations,' that is coins that featured the same type, weight and fineness as their authentic prototypes, and which bore no indications of who was responsible for minting them.[69] They are generally quite difficult to distinguish from genuine Athenian issues, in part because in 353 BCE Athens recalled its coinage and re-struck it with a slightly different type, creating what is now known as the 'pi-style tetradrachm;' this destroyed a large number of the coins minted at Athens up to that point.[70] Only those coins that were abroad at the time survived. Some of these were certainly Athenian, but many others were imitations, either because they were minted and circulated locally, or because they had been excluded from circulation at Athens under the Law of Nicophon of 375/4 BCE, and thus were taken elsewhere. The existence of these Egyptian imitations was first put forward by T. V. Buttrey in two papers examining a hoard of tetradrachms (CH 10.442) purchased by the excavators of Karanis in the Fayum and now in the Kelsey Museum at the University of Michigan.[71]

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[69] This follows the typology developed by Van Alfen 2005.
[70] Kroll 2011b; 2011c.
[71] Buttrey 1982; 1984. See now van Alfen 2002, 16-20; 2011, 66-70; Nicolet-Pierre 2003; Colburn, forthcoming a.

Buttrey identified three different styles in the hoard, all with profile eyes, which he arbitrarily labeled as Types X, B and M (**Fig. 6.1**). Based on numerous die links in Types X and B, their unusual stylistic features, and the hoard's Egyptian origin he argued that these three styles were part of a larger coinage of imitation Athenian tetradrachms minted in Egypt in the fourth century rather than in Athens. Further support for their Egyptian origin comes from a 'cube die' used to strike such coins. The bronze cube has three obverse dies engraved on it, all with the Athena type of the Athenian tetradrachm; two of these dies seem to be related to Buttrey's Type M, and the third to Type B. The die is now known only from an electrotype of it in the British Museum, but the original came from Egypt.[72] Moreover, three reverse dies are also known from Egypt, one from Athribis and two from Sais. These dies indicate the minting of imitation Athenian tetradrachms in Lower Egypt, and without a die study to suggest otherwise they provide sufficient confirmation of Buttrey's attribution, as least for Types B and M.

The identification of these coins as Egyptian imitations has not been universally accepted. A reexamination of the Fayum Hoard has found fewer die links than Buttrey had originally identified.[73] In general a high number of die links in a single hoard usual indicates that the hoard was deposited not far from its mint of origin, and the high occurrence of die link was one of the grounds on which Buttrey originally suggested these coins were Egyptian imitations. These new findings undermine Buttrey's proposition somewhat, but they do not prove the coins were struck in Athens instead of Egypt. The most strenuous objections have been made by Christophe Flament, who argues for an Athenian origin for all of Buttrey's styles. His argument is complex and

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[72] Meadows 2011.
[73] Arnold-Biucchi 2006-7, 91. She is currently preparing a full publication of this hoard.

Figure 6.1. AR tetradrachms from the Fayum hoard (CH 10.442) illustrating Buttrey's types X (KM 1984.01.0330), B (KM 1984.01.0042) and M (KM 1984.01.0041). Ann Arbor, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.

multifaceted, and at times ingenious, but here it is possible only to address its most salient aspects.

First, Flament points to CH 5.15, a hoard from the Piraeus containing both tetradrachms of styles B and M, and also drachms of similar styles.[74] Since fractional issues do not travel as far from their mints as staters do, he argues these coins must have been produced at Athens. Working against this thesis, however, CH 10.439 (the hoard of imitation Athenian tetradrachms excavated from the House of Apis in Memphis) also included drachms. So by this same logic these coins would have to have been struck nearby (i.e., in Egypt).

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[74] Flament 2005.

Second, Flament has carried out metal analysis on samples from the Tell el-Maskhuta hoard (IGCH 1649, c. 400 BCE) using PIXE (proton-induced X-ray emission), in order to determine their elemental makeup.[75] His findings are that the high lead content and low gold content in the coins is consistent with the metal content of earlier Athenian coins undoubtedly produced from Laurium silver. The reason for the high lead content is that Laurium silver was obtained from galena, rather than from gold, which was the main source of silver in Egypt. However, Egypt had long received silver from abroad, as tribute during the New Kingdom and in trade subsequently, and by the end of the fifth century the country's silver supply included metal from a variety of places and containing a variety of trace elements.[76] This was the metal used to mint imitation tetradrachms. Indeed, analyses of metal content of Buttrey's type X coins show higher levels of trace elements than is normal for Laurium silver, and Flament argues that these coins were minted under economic duress when it was necessary to use imported silver.[77] But this could just as easily be silver imported to Egypt as to Athens.

Third, a hoard (CH 10.378) excavated at Naxos on Sicily containing tetradrachms of styles B and M was found in a context dating to before 402 BCE, and Flament argues that it must predate the Sicilian invasion of 415.[78] While this latter assertion cannot be proven, the archaeological evidence does point to these imitations being struck as early as the 410s. In light of this dating Flament argues that the unusual appearance of these coins is a result of inexperienced die carvers being employed at Athens after its defeat in the

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[75] Flament 2007b; Flament and Marchetti 2004.
[76] For example, analysis of a silver statuette of a woman bearing cartouches naming Necho II indicates that it too was made using silver derived from galena (Becker et al. 1994, 47). But this has not prompted anyone to suggest it was made in Athens.
[77] Flament 2007c, 92-7; Kroll 2011b, 12-15.
[78] Flament 2003.

Peloponnesian War.[79] But it is important to note that even at times of crisis Athenian coins were almost invariably struck from well-cut dies, and these dies were always stylistically related to their immediate predecessors.[80] Styles B and M, however, are clear departures from earlier issues, which is indeed why they were flagged as imitations in the first place.

Although the reattribution of Buttrey's styles B and M to Athens is not compelling, this third aspect of Flament's argument raises an important point for our understanding of the tetradrachm in Egypt. The re-dating of the beginning of these coins to the 410s BCE (if not a few years earlier) means that they were first struck during the last years of Achaemenid rule there. Indeed, this was roughly the same time as when the demotic ostraca and Aramaic papyri referring to staters were written. The implication is that by this time the Athenian tetradrachm was so common in Egypt that not only had certain individuals begun to recognize it as a fixed and reliable quantity of silver (i.e., as a coin), but it was also being imitated there. The actors responsible for minting these imitations were most likely temples, as these were the major economic institutions in Egypt, and as noted earlier in this chapter they also had an interest in the weight standards used for precious metal.[81] Furthermore, their involvement as large landowners in the grain trade, in order to procure silver for tribute payments, made them especially prone to encountering Athenian tetradrachms.

The recognition and use of the tetradrachm did not necessarily penetrate every part of Egypt equally. The hoards listed above in **Table 6.1** are limited to the Nile Delta, with only one exception, and the textual references to staters occur only in documents

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[79] He makes a similar argument for attributing Buttrey's type X coins to Athens (Flament 2007c, 92-7).
[80] As pointed out by Anderson and van Alfen 2008, 165.
[81] This argument is developed further in Colburn, forthcoming a.

from Elephantine and Ayn Manawir. It is probably not a coincidence that these two attested southern occurrences of tetradrachm use were also the sites of imperial projects. Most likely this resulted from the satrap using Egypt's wealth in the form of silver to carry out the Great King's instructions and further the empire's goals. It is also possible that these two communities made use of their imperial connections to gain better access to foreign merchants. It is interesting as well that although it was recognize at Elephantine the tetradrachm seems to have skipped Thebes and the Thebaid altogether. As described in Chapter Three, Thebes presented a special challenge to Achaemenid rule, and the empire addressed this challenge in part by developing the Kharga Oasis for settlement as an alternative or counterweight to Thebes. The absence of the tetradrachm at Thebes may be the result of a lack of imperial investment, limited access to the grain trade on for Theban temples, or a degree of conservatism regarding silver on the part of the Thebans.

The special role played by the Athenian tetradrachm in the Egyptian economy was a direct result of its prevalence, and its prevalence was a direct result of the imposition of tribute by the Persians. Certainly this was not the intent of imposing tribute, but it had the very real impact of introducing to Egypt the first coin to be recognized at face value rather than treated as bullion. Once imitations were being struck there, the tetradrachm became in essence Egypt's first native coinage, even though it was not issued by a central governmental authority. However, by the time the Persians returned to Egypt during the mid-fourth century the tetradrachm was so engrained that imitations of it were indeed issued bearing the names of Artaxerxes and two of his satraps.

Tetradrachms in the Second Persian Period

The prevalence of the Athenian tetradrachm in Egypt continued to grow

throughout the period of native rule that interrupted Achaemenid control in the first half

of the fourth century.[82] Although Egypt was liberated, if only temporarily, from the

requirement to make tribute payments, the pattern of exchanging grain for silver

continued, no doubt fueled by the military and construction ambitions of the native

pharaohs Nectanebo I, Tachos, and Nectanebo II. When the Persians regained control of

Egypt in 343 BCE, the tetradrachm was the commonest coin in Egypt, and the only one

the Egyptians were not inclined to treat solely as bullion, but rather to use according to its

face value. The Achaemenid Empire retained control of Egypt from c. 343 until the

arrival of Alexander in 332. During this short period three series of imitation

tetradrachms were minted there bearing the names of Artaxerxes and the satraps Sabaces

and Mazaces in place of the usual ethnic ΑΘΕ (for 'Athens') on the reverse.[83] All of

these coins share the same type as the Athenian tetradrachm, and they also all seem to be

minted on the Attic weight standard, though some individual examples fall short of this.

The coins in the name of Artaxerxes are clearly attributable to Artaxerxes III

because they occur in the 1989 Syria hoard (CH 8.158), which dates to the 330s, and the

examples of them in that hoard exhibit very little wear (**Fig. 6.2**).[84] Peter van Alfen has

distinguished four different variations of this coin among the twenty-three known

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[82] Colburn, forthcoming a.

[83] For much of what follows see van Alfen 2002, 24-32 and Colburn, forthcoming a; see also Anderson and van Alfen 2008, 163-4; van Alfen 2011, 71-3.

[84] Van Alfen 2002, 14; Mørkholm 1974.

examples of it. Three of these (van Alfen's Types I-III) bear inscriptions that clearly read

'Artaxerxes pharaoh' in demotic. Coins of the fourth variation (Type IV) have multiple

unintelligible inscriptions, some of which seem to consist of Aramaic letters. These coins

have close stylistic affinities to those of Type III, which is the reason for their attribution

to Artaxerxes. A few examples also include the words *ankh, wedj, seneb*, again in

demotic, a pious Egyptian wish that follows the pharaoh's name and means 'life,

prosperity, health.'[85] Coins of Type I are also distinguished from the other three

variations by their resemblance to the Buttrey styles. Types II-IV bear a strong

resemblance to the pi-style tetradrachms minted at Athens starting in 353, this provides

further confirmation of their attribution to Artaxerxes III.

Figure 6.2. AR tetradrachm of Artaxerxes III, c. 343-338 BCE. New York, American Numismatic Society 2008.15.39.

Figure 6.3. AR tetradrachm of Sabaces, c. 338-333 BCE. New York, American Numismatic Society 1944.100.75462.

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[85] Vleeming 2001, 1-4.

Several factors point to these coins being struck in multiple mints, rather than in a single centralized one. The variations in the inscriptions and appearances of the different types are probably not chronological developments, since this would not account for the garbled versions of the demotic inscription. They would, however, be explained by the existence of several different die cutters working simultaneously in the short period between 343 and Artaxerxes' death in 338.[86] It may be that these die cutters were itinerant moneyers who traveled from one temple to another striking coins.[87] The connection with temples also explains the choice of demotic (rather than Aramaic) for the legend. These are the only coins naming an individual Great King. All known Achaemenid imperial issues from the central court (i.e., darics and sigloi) are anonymous, bearing no specific royal name. Furthermore their devices conform to tendencies in official Achaemenid art in general, eschewing focus on the individual ruler in favor of a larger notion of the concept of the ruler. It thus seems unlikely that this coin was the result of a royal initiative. In general these coins are a continuation of the earlier imitation tetradrachms minted by Egyptian temples, but with the addition of the name of Artaxerxes, presumable for some political or religious purpose that so far eludes us.

Sabaces and Mazaces were the penultimate and final Achaemenid satraps of Egypt respectively, serving under Darius III, and are known from the Greek accounts of Alexander's campaigns.[88] Both issued pi-style tetradrachms bearing their names in Aramaic.[89] Some forty-nine examples of Sabaces' coins are known in three varieties, and only three of Mazaces (whose tenure as satrap was only a single year). In addition to the

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[86] Vleeming 2001, 1-2.
[87] As suggested by Meadows 2011, 110, with respect to the anonymous issues of Egyptian imitation tetradrachms.
[88] See references in Heckel 2006, 156, 246.
[89] Agnieszka Wojciechowska is preparing a die study of these issues.

legends, these coins are distinguishable by symbols on the reverse that always co-occur with one of the names. For Sabaces this symbol represents a lightning bolt; Mazaces' symbol is a raised dot. There are also a few fractional issues in silver and bronze attributed to each satrap.[90] Their types seem to imitate coins of Phoenicia (especially Sidon) and Asia Minor. Only a few examples of each survive, and it is difficult to say what weight standards were intended.

Unlike those naming Artaxerxes, the coins of Sabaces and Mazaces do seem to be the product of a single mint, and this, along with their Aramaic inscriptions, indicate centralized production under the aegis of the satrap. The impetus for this centralized production is not known, but it is quite possible that Sabaces was familiar with the coins issued by Achaemenid satraps elsewhere throughout the fourth century, and regarded the absence of centralized minting in Egypt as a deficiency. Accordingly he began issuing coins in his own name but retained the type and weight of the Athenian tetradrachm because of its trenchancy in the Egyptian economy. He also issued fractions as part of his effort to supply Egypt with a currency. The Phoenician appearance of some of his fractional issues may provide some hint as to where Sabaces developed his notions of coinage, which by this time featured several mints and widespread familiarity with coined money. Mazaces, who succeeded Sabaces when the latter led the Egyptian contingent to Issus, followed closely the minting practice of his predecessor. And the hoard evidence suggests that neither satrap actively prohibiting the minting of imitation Athenian tetradrachms by temples, since these coins continue to appear in hoards throughout the 330s. Indeed, the satrapal issues usually appear in hoards alongside anonymous imitations.

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[90] Van Alfen 2002, 27-32.

Thus the Achaemenid satrap Sabaces gave Egypt its first national coinage. Admittedly it was modeled on a foreign coin, and it only worked because that foreign coin was already recognized as a reliable bullion coin. Indeed, at least one demotic papyrus from this period refers to the equation of five staters to the *deben*.[91] Yet the coins of Sabaces also represent an attempt at fusing the prevailing Egyptian approach to money with the practice seen elsewhere in the empire of minting local coinages. The attempt was only partly successful, as shown by the poor survival of Sabaces' (and Mazaces') fractional issues. These coins, which lacked the recognizable Athenian types and were clearly not the expected weight, were mostly likely treated as *Hacksilber* and destroyed. This latter point attests to the great importance of the Athenian tetradrachm in the Egyptian economy in the fourth century.

The Impact of Achaemenid Rule on the Egyptian Economy

The integration of Egypt into the Achaemenid Empire had an indirect yet distinctive impact on the nature of the Egyptian economy. Since at least the New Kingdom, if not before, grain and precious metal bullion were the main forms of money in Egypt. Since grain was abundant in other parts of the empire such as Mesopotamia, Egypt had to pay tribute in silver. Natural sources of silver were limited in Egypt, so it was necessary to find some way to convert grain into silver on a scale as yet unparalleled. Thus Egypt began, or at least increased significantly, its grain exports to the Greeks, along with other products such as papyrus, natron and linen, in exchange for silver in the

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[91] P. Libbey, a marriage contract; Cruz-Uribe 1977-8.

form of coins. As a result of this trade Greek coins, and the Athenian tetradrachm especially, became one of the more common forms of silver money in Egypt. Their popularity was no doubt furthered by meeting the standard of Aryandic silver as defined by the first satrap.

By the middle of the fifth century the Athenian tetradrachm was by far the most prevalent coin in use in Egypt. The tetradrachm's unchanging types and its reliable weight and fineness made it appealing to Egyptians accustomed to the use of bullion. By the 410s BCE the tetradrachm occurs in demotic and Aramaic documents as a unit of account, and imitations of it began to be struck in Egypt itself. These imitations continued to be made during the fourth century, and when the Persians captured Egypt for the second time c. 343 the tetradrachm was so widely recognized as a distinctive form of money that the satraps Sabaces and Mazaces used it as the basis for their own coinages. In essence the imposition of tribute by the empire indirectly promoted the use of coined money in Egypt.

Of course it was not the empire's intent to promote the use of coinage in Egypt, and especially not the coinage of a city outside of its borders. But in the process of exploiting Egypt's wealth the Persians inadvertently created the conditions in which the premier bullion coin of the Mediterranean world, the Athenian tetradrachm, became recognized and accepted in Egypt. In this respect Achaemenid tribute requirements put Egypt on the road to monetization. It was only a small first step; the Ptolemies, as the recent study by Sitta von Reden has shown, had to go to great lengths to make coinage the standard form of money there.[92] Nevertheless, the impact of these changes was unquestionably felt by certain individuals and institutions. Notably, the Egyptian temples,

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[92] Von Reden 2007; see also de Callataÿ 2005 for a numismatic perspective.

one of the traditional stewards of Egypt's wealth, found themselves compelled to engage in foreign trade in order to supply the satrap with silver. Indeed, this satrapal exploitation of the temples foreshadows the native pharaonic exploitation of them by Nectanebo I and Tachos in the fourth century.[93] More importantly, Achaemenid rule created a situation in which the temples eventually found it worthwhile to mint their own tetradrachms.

For individuals the impact was more varied. The tetradrachm became common in the Nile Delta, as the coin hoards there show, and especially those people who were directly involved with foreign trade would have found it advantageous to use this coin. It can also hardly be a coincidence that the two places where the tetradrachm first occurs as a unit of account, Ayn Manawir and Elephantine, were both areas of specific imperial interest. The connections that these two communities had with the satrap and the empire more generally made them seemingly more apt to use the tetradrachm, either through the satrapal administration using coins themselves, or through better access to foreign merchants. For many other individuals, especially those who rarely encountered silver in the course of their everyday lives, there was little discernible change, except perhaps that grain was in higher demand than it had been before.

It is difficult to identify clear winners and losers here. Certainly the empire benefitted from the collection of tribute from Egypt. And a successful satrap doubtlessly was able to enrich himself, though Aryandes' fate surely served as a cautionary tale. It might intuitively seem that the Egyptians were the major losers here. The text on the verso of the Demotic Chronicle referring to an effort on the part of Cambyses to curtail temple income, not to mention the strong negative traditions in Egypt that became

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[93] For the economic activities of Nectanebo I and Tachos see Agut-Labordère 2011; Will 1960; Davies 2004.

attached to his name in later periods, is usually understood as evidence for the Egyptian temples suffering economic hardship under Achaemenid rule. But in addition to the historiographic problems surrounding the origins and interpretations of these texts, it is worth noting as well that in writing on taxation in the Roman Empire Keith Hopkins famously demonstrated how the need to export consumables in order to procure money for taxes could actually stimulate trade.[94] Thus temples, as the major institutional lessors of farmland in Egypt, as well as individuals involved in the production, transport and sale of grain, were both potentially beneficiaries of this stimulation. The tired notion that that Achaemenid rule brought economic hardship on Egypt demands a new look.

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[94] Hopkins 1980; 2002; see also Bedford 2007, 326, for a rudimentary application to the Achaemenid Empire.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EXPERIENCING ACHAEMENID RULE IN EGYPT

> One ought to say such things as these, beside a fire in
> wintertime,
> lying fully fed on a soft couch,
> drinking sweet wine and eating chickpeas for dessert:
> 'Who among men are you and what family are you from?'
> 'How old are you, good sir?'
> and 'What age were you when the Mede came?'
>
> - Xenophanes of Colophon[1]

The End of Achaemenid Rule in Egypt

According to the priest and historian Manetho of Sebennytus, the 27th Dynasty

came to an end in 405/4 BCE with the revolt of Amyrtaeus of Sais, the first and only

pharaoh of the 28th Dynasty. There had been periodic revolts in Egypt throughout the

fifth century, some instigated perhaps by Athenian agitation, but none had ultimately

succeeded until this one.[2] Amyrtaeus, however, in addition to whatever cunning or ability

he possessed as a general, was extremely fortunate in the timing of his revolt. Not long

after it began Darius II fell ill and died at Babylon, and within a few years his younger

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[1] Fr. 22, trans. Lesher 1992, 71.
[2] For a recent study of the revolts see Rottpeter 2007.

son Cyrus had assembled an army in Asia Minor with which to challenge the claim of Darius' elder son, now enthroned as Artaxerxes II. The defeat of Cyrus' expedition is well known, thanks to the accounts of Xenophon and Ctesias, but it seems it drew imperial attention away from Egypt long enough to ensure the success of Amyrtaeus' efforts.[3]

Of course, this is not to say that the revolt was carried out with ease. Manetho's clean division of the 28th Dynasty from the 27th belies the slow progress made by the rebels. The demotic ostraca from Ayn Manawir continue to use regnal years of Artaxerxes II in dating formulas until 402, as do the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine until 401.[4] Amyrtaeus, like the other pretenders before him, was based in the Delta, and the implication is that it took several years for him finally to assert control over the entirety of Egypt. If the resistance he faced emanated solely from imperial strongholds defended by handfuls of loyalists it is unlikely it would have taken this long for him to capture the rest of Egypt. Rather, the process was slow, slower than Cambyses' seizure of Egypt a century before. This suggests that the 'liberator' Amyrtaeus was, for most people anyway, just another conqueror, and not their ticket to freedom from oppressive foreign rule.

This was the end of Achaemenid rule in Egypt, save for a brief period in the 330s that was brought to a close by the arrival of Alexander in 332 BCE. But this was not the end of the Achaemenid presence on the conceptual landscape of Egypt. The specter of another invasion always existed, and in several instances came to pass as the Great

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[3] Ruzicka 2012, 38-9.
[4] Chauveau 1996, 43-4; Lemaire 1995.

King's armies mounted attacks with the purpose of retaking the satrapy.[5] The fourth century pharaohs prepared for this eventuality by forming alliances with Greek cities and recruiting foreign mercenaries to bolster their forces. They also made financial reforms aimed at generating additional revenues to support these efforts.[6] Nectanebo I and II were both very active in the construction and renovation of temples, as attested by the frequent occurrence of their cartouches at cult sites throughout Egypt.[7] Given the political turmoil and threat of Persian invasion, it is no surprise these two long-reigning native pharaohs of the 30th Dynasty engaged in activities that reinforced their legitimacy and authority as rulers. But it may be that these activities were also intended to obscure or usurp the support given to cults by the Achaemenid pharaohs before. For example, the Hibis temple was enlarged in the fourth century, and the names of both Nectanebo I and II appear on the expansion.[8] Fourth century Egypt was certainly a vibrant place, but it is clear this vibrancy was accompanied by the memory of Achaemenid rule and an awareness of the empire's political, military and cultural potency. As John Ray has noted: "the history of fourth-century Egypt has, at least on the surface, a strikingly 'post-colonial' look to it. It is not simply Achaemenid Egypt without the Achaemenids; it is an Egypt in which the idea of the Achaemenids is always present."[9]

After several unsuccessful attempts the Persians returned to Egypt in c. 343 BCE and ruled there until the arrival of Alexander in 332.[10] This Second Persian Period, as it is often called, was interrupted by the revolt of Khababash, which probably began c. 338

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[5] Ruzicka 2012.
[6] Will 1960; Davies 2004; Agut-Labordère 2011.
[7] Arnold 1999, 105-36.
[8] Winlock 1941, 20-32.
[9] Ray 1987, 80-1.
[10] The traditional date for this event, 343 BCE, has recently been challenged by Depuydt (2010). For a summary discussion of his argument, see p. 334 n. 4 above (in Chapter Six).

and lasted for over a year but less than two.[11] Achaemend rule in this period thus lasted less than a decade, and there is comparatively little material, textual or archaeological, that can be safely attributed to it.[12] Despite this, Achaemenid rule in the 330s is usually considered harsh and oppressive. This view is based largely on a passage in Diodorus Siculus describing Artaxerxes III's treatment of Egypt following the invasion:

> Artaxerxes, after taking over all Egypt and demolishing the walls of the most important cities, by plundering the shrines gathered a vast quantity of silver and gold, and he carried off the inscribed records from the ancient temples, which later on Bagoas returned to the Egyptian priests on the payment of huge sums by way of ransom.[13]

This account cannot be accepted uncritically. In the preceding sections Diodorus (16.46.4-51.1) describes the campaign in detail, including the assault on Pelusium and the surrender of Bubastis.[14] This remark, however, is generic and suggests a transition in source and tone from a detailed historical narrative to a stereotyped vision of Achaemenid rule current when Diodorus was writing in the first century BCE. Indeed, his sentiments are echoed by later writers such as Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 11) and Aelian (*Varia Historia* 10.28), who go so far as to confuse Artaxerxes with Cambyses. The comment about the eunuch Bagoas' role in this affair only furthers the stereotyped nature of this passage, since Diodorus (and Plutarch later on) consistently depicts Bagoas as cruel and effeminate.[15] As discussed in Chapter One, Ptolemy legitimized his role as

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[11] Burstein 2000.

[12] Devauchelle 1995b provides a critical reexamination of the Egyptian language evidence for this period, much of which he suggests actually belongs to the fifth century.

[13] 16.51.2, trans. C. H. Oldfather.

[14] Ruzicka 2012, 177-98; Agut-Labordère 2008.

[15] Briant 2002, 774-6. Briant rightly distinguishes between the portrayal of Bagoas by Diodorus and Plutarch and the real role he must have played in the murder of Artaxerxes III, an event which is partially confirmed by a Babylonian 'dynastic prophecy' text (van der Spek 2003, 316-17).

king of Egypt by representing himself as the successor to Alexander and as the restorer of order there.[16] It comes as no surprise that the ensuing Greek tradition of the Second Persian Period portrayed it in grim terms to contrast with the piety and benevolence of Ptolemy.

Accounts such as these have long obscured the path to assessing the nature and impact of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. Although the historicity of Diodorus' account is uncertain, there can be no doubt that Artaxerxes' invasion, like that of Cambyses two centuries before, was a traumatic event for the Egyptians. The problem is that it is unclear whether the trauma discernible in Diodorus is a reflection of the lived reality of contemporary Egyptians, or if it is a product of ancient and modern biases and political agendas mutually reinforcing each other. So instead of relying on narratives with questionable foundations, this dissertation turns to material culture as a means of investigating the experience of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. As discussed in Chapter One it approaches experience from two different perspectives, first by identifying continuities and changes in the structures that comprised the social and economic fabric of Egyptian society, and second by examining the construction of identity by individuals and communities through decisions made about material culture. These two approaches show a wide variety of experiences, ranging from resistance, to apparent indifference, to enthusiastic participation.[17] The satrapy of Egypt was neither an apartheid state nor a

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[16] Briant 2003; Lianou 2010. It is interesting to note that Ptolemy's depiction of himself as the 'restorer' of Egypt (e.g., in the Satrap Stela; see Chapter One) fits well with his surname 'Soter' (i.e., 'savior'). It is usually believed that Ptolemy received this epithet from the Rhodians in 304 BCE, when they declared him a god, but Hazzard (2000, 3-24) argues convincingly that it was part of a concerted propaganda effort on the part of Ptolemy II. The numismatic evidence supports this conclusion, but it may be that Ptolemy II was continuing a pattern of representation started by his father.

[17] Stolper (1998, 143) collects several references to Egyptians being branded and sold as slaves, both in Egypt and elsewhere in the empire. This is a sobering reminder of how badly the experience of Achaemenid rule turned out for certain individuals.

melting pot; it was a complex web of social, cultural and economic relationships between individuals, communities and institutions, as it had already been for millennia. The most distinctive and significant impact of Achaemenid rule was to add to that complexity.

Structural Continuities and Changes

From a *longue durée* perspective, the structures that comprised Egyptian society were seemingly stable under Achaemenid rule. The pharaoh, although now not Egyptian by birth and usually absent from Egypt, remained the primary intermediary between the divine and earthly realms. *Maat* was maintained by the king through the dedication of temples, notably in the Kharga Oasis, and through the king's participation in religious rituals, such as the burial of the Apis bull at Saqqara. This was accomplished through local proxies, such as the satrap, but the use of such proxies was not unto itself novel: Egypt had many cults, and the pharaoh could not be expected to participate in every single ritual or festival performed by each.[18] The fortunes of individual temples certainly varied under Achaemenid rule, but they continued to be vital institutions in the fabric of Egyptian society. Structures of political authority also remained mostly intact. The Palace of Apries in Memphis, which served as the seat of the satrap, continued to be an important locus of administrative and military power. Indeed, as mentioned in passing in

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[18] The substitution of a priest for the pharaoh, presumably in the latter's absence, is attested in Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.50, a hieratic document detailing the annual ritual confirming the king's power (Goyon 1972). Despite the apparent importance of the ritual for king there are references to a priest standing in for him. The document has been dated on paleographic grounds to the sixth century BCE (Verhoeven 2001, 318), and the text itself may be older, implying that in the Saite period, if not before, there already existed mechanisms for accommodating an absent king without compromising the significance or potency of a given ritual.

Chapter One, this was where the elderly priest Petiese came to seek redress for his grievances.[19] Memphis continued to be a major cultural and religious center in Egypt, as well as one of the great cosmopolitan cities of the Mediterranean and the Near East. It attracted merchants, mercenaries, tourists, and even scholars like Herodotus and Hecataeus of Miletus, from both within and beyond the borders of the empire. The agricultural basis of the economy was unchanged, with grain still serving as Egypt's most prevalent form of both wealth and sustenance. Finally, the conceptual landscape of Egypt remained largely as it always had been. The grandees of the satrapal court at Memphis continued to be attracted to the ancient burial monuments at Saqqara and Abusir, and they constructed their own tombs in the shadows of royal pyramids. The Apis bull, the animal incarnation of the god Ptah, continue to dwell in his house in Memphis, and the animal catacombs remained active cult places, where Egyptians and others came to demonstrate their piety or ask the gods for help.

But this stability belies the distinctive structural changes that can be firmly identified as results of Achaemenid rule. The introduction of the *qanat* to the Kharga Oasis in the western desert made agriculture, and therefore significant permanent settlement, feasible for the first time since the Old Kingdom. As part of this development new temples were built in the oasis, and it was transformed from a place once considered uninhabitable into a vibrant and seemingly prosperous region. This development seems to have taken place at the expense of Thebes. Although that great political and religious center of Upper Egypt was not razed or depopulated, its marginalization was a new feature of the political landscape of Egypt. Another major structural change concerns the forms of money used in Egypt. While grain continued to play an integral role in the

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[19] As recounted in the *Petition of Petiese* (P. dem. Ryl. 9); see discussion and references in Chapter One.

Egyptian economy, the imposition of tribute by the Achaemenids created a new and increased demand for silver. Accordingly grain was converted to silver by exporting it to the Greeks, especially the Athenians, in exchange for coins. As a result of this process, the Egyptians became familiar with the Athenian tetradrachm to such an extent that by the end of the fifth century it was used alongside bullion as a form of silver money, and imitations of it were being struck in Egypt.

The integration of Egypt into the Achaemenid Empire created new links between Egypt and foreign lands and peoples. News, letters and information moved swiftly along the royal roads between Egypt and the rest of the empire. People and goods also moved along these roads, as well as by sea. Indeed, the construction of the canal connecting the Nile to the Red Sea linked Egypt to the Arabian peninsula and Mesopotamia more directly than it had ever been before. Of course Egypt had never been truly isolated from its neighboring lands, but there was an air of xenophobia in its dealings with these places. The Report of Wenamun, for example, a text written during the late New Kingdom or early Third Intermediate Period, recounts Wenamun's miserable experiences on a trip to Byblos to procure timber.[20] He is robbed, humiliated, and nearly killed, and he is always at the mercy of hostile local rulers. By comparison, Udjahorresnet's experience travelling abroad is markedly different. According to the biographical inscription on his naophorous statue, Udjahorresnet went to the court of Darius and remained there until Darius sent him back to Egypt to restore the House of Life.[21] During his return trip, Udjahorresnet says, "the foreigners carried me from country to country." These two texts reflect very different perceptions of going abroad. For Wenamun it was a daunting, even terrifying,

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[20] Translation in Simpson 2003, 116-24. See Egberts 1998 for a discussion of the text's chronology.
[21] Translation in Lichtheim 1980, 36-41.

prospect. For Udjahorresent it was a great honor. There are different literary and historical factors informing each of these accounts, but the shift in attitude in Udjahorresnet's inscription is suggestive of a broader change in how Egyptians thought about foreign lands, resulting from Egypt's new status as part of the empire.

Identity and Experience

The evidence for identity assembled in the preceding chapters points to a wide array of experiences with Achaemenid rule in Egypt, on the part of both individuals and communities. These identities were constructed based in significant part on how people conceived of themselves and their wider worlds, and these conceptions in turn were informed by broader social conditions, including experiences with Achaemenid rule. In the case of Ptahhotep, the overseer of the treasury in Memphis during the reign of Darius I, his experience led him to identify himself with the international elite who administered and governed the empire. This identity prompted him to have himself represented wearing a long robe suggestive of the Achaemenid 'court garb' as seen on the reliefs at Persepolis, as well as a torque that could have been a gift of the Great King himself. At the same time Ptahhotep clearly saw himself as Egyptian, evidenced by his participation in Egyptian religious activities such as his dedication of a naophorous statue in the temple of Ptah in Memphis.

Ptahhotep's contemporary Horwedja had a different experience with the empire. Horwedja was the *senti*, a financial officer who reported directly to the satrap himself,

and therefore one of the most senior imperial officials in Egypt. Yet his statue suggests that unlike Ptahhotep he constructed his identity exclusively in Egyptian terms. No aspect of his statue makes any visual reference to Persepolis or to the empire. Of course he may well have worn a long robe like Ptahhotep's to work every day, but in commissioning a statue to represent himself for eternity he made reference only to Egyptian cultural memory. This indicates not only that Horwedja had a different experience with Achaemenid rule than Ptahhotep did, but the difference in their identities is suggestive of the multicultural environment that characterized Egyptian society during the 27th Dynasty.

The comparative examples of Ptahhotep and Horwedja are enough to demonstrate the discrepant experiences two individuals of similar station could have under Achaemenid rule. The case of Memphis goes even further in demonstrating the full range and variability of experience that was possible. Because of the city's long history as a political and cultural center, Egyptian cultural memory was abundant in Memphis. There were numerous highly visible reminders of Egypt's past glory, and the pull of this cultural memory was undoubtedly strong, for both Egyptian natives and resident foreigners alike. At the same time, Memphis was the center of Achaemenid rule in Egypt, the seat of the satrap and the home of a sizable garrison. Many residents thus interacted with the empire on the regular basis, including participation in the furtherance of imperial goals.

These experiences informed how individuals constructed their identities, especially through the decisions they made about the designs of their funerary monuments, the form and imagery of their personal seals, and the names they gave their

children. While it is certainly the case that some people constructed their visually

manifested identities solely in terms of Egyptian cultural memory, others specifically did

so with explicit reference to Achaemenid art and material culture and their connections

with the empire. There are also many examples of identities that do not neatly cleave to

one superordinate center or the other. Indeed, this observation highlights an important

point: neither these centers nor the shades of identity variation reflecting them were

opposing poles on a single axis. Rather, they were like menu options; one could choose

either, both, or neither. Memphis had been a cosmopolitan city long before the arrival of

the Persians, and the many foreign residents there only added to the range of cultural

references one could make.

Beyond Memphis the evidence for Achaemenid rule is unevenly distributed and

often without definite provenance. This is due in part to the inability to date much Late

Period material with any accuracy. But in general the picture is much the same. Some

individuals saw themselves as participants in something larger than Egypt itself, and

constructed their identities accordingly, while others remained within traditional

parameters of social options. The choice to operate within these traditional parameters

was not necessarily a rejection of the legitimacy of Achaemenid rule or some similar act

of resistance. For example, the wooden naos found at Tuna el-Gebel showing Darius

presenting a *wedjat* eye to Re makes no visual reference to the empire, but it does

indicates *de facto* acceptance of Darius as pharaoh on the part of the naos' owner. As in

the case of Memphis, the most discernible consequence of Achaemenid rule was the

addition of new choices to the total range of potential social options. This is evident in

the corpora of ceramic vessels recovered from Late Period contexts at various places in

Egypt. The increase in diversity of ceramic assemblages, with respect to both shape and decoration, from the Saite to the Persian period, points to the adoption of new dining practices and exposure to new and different imported commodities. This increase suggests not that new dining practices were supplanting old ones, but rather that the range of acceptable or current practices was now larger.

Achaemenid Egypt was a diverse place, and that diversity is visible across the spectrum of material culture, from statues to ceramics to seals. It is especially interesting to note that the evidence assembled and analyzed to the degree allowed by it sustains a clear indication that it was acceptable, and even admirable in many arenas, to draw upon multiple cultural traditions in the course of self-presentation. In other words, there was no clear distinction between Egyptians and Persians. Though there is textual evidence for the use of ethnonyms (foreign ones mostly) in this period, these occur primarily in administrative documents rather than in the inscriptions on personal monuments or seals.[22] So they are used generally to describe other people, especially groups of people, for administrative purposes of identification. This practice parallels the use of ethnonyms in the Persepolis Fortification Archive.[23] Furthermore, in the Ptolemaic period, ethnonyms functioned as 'occupational-status designations,' identifying specific groups for administrative and tax purposes.[24] Though these groups may have had common ethnic identities at one point, the integrity of these identities soon became lost because, from an administrative standpoint anyway, ethnicity was less important than other factors.

This is not to say that ethnicity was not important at all, but that it was one of many facets of an individual's identity, and it informed people's decisions about material

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[22] These are discussed in Johnson 1999.
[23] Henkelman and Stolper 2009.
[24] La'da 1994; see further La'da 2002 and Vandorpe 2008.

culture in different ways. For example, Horwedja had himself depicted wearing a linen kilt, a costume significant primarily in a Egyptian setting, whereas Ptahhotep was represented wearing an Egyptian garment that also had potential meaning in an Achaemenid context. Both men had Egyptian names and participated in Egyptian cultural and religious practices, but each materialized this 'Egyptianness' in different ways, in part because it was weighed against other facets of their respective identities.

Experiencing Achaemenid Rule

In sum, the structural continuities and changes to Egyptian society discussed in this dissertation demonstrate the potential range of experiences of Achaemenid rule in Egypt. For some, it represented a grave interruption of everyday life, for others it provided new opportunities, and for others still it had comparatively little practical effect. The diversity and multiplicity of the identities studied in this dissertation suggest that the experience of Achaemenid rule in Egypt was not a uniform one. People of seemingly similar stations could construct their identities in noticeably different ways. These variations seem generally to transcend ethnicity, since in many cases individual identities contained elements of several different ethnicities. Someone like Ptahhotep, for example, could be simultaneously Egyptian and Achaemenid, as well as many other things. The implications of this are perhaps best understood in light of Amartya Sen's insightful discussion of identity. According to Sen:

> There are two distinct issues here. First, the recognition that identities are robustly plural, and that the importance of one identity need not obliterate the importance of others. Second, a person has to make choices – explicitly or by implication – about what relative importance to attach, in a particular context, to the divergent loyalties and priorities that may compete for precedence.[25]

Ptahhotep's identity is indeed 'robustly plural.' He seems not to have been compelled to favor the Egyptian or Achaemenid aspect of his identity at the expense of the other. This is of course a single case, but the broader implication is that Achaemenid rule created a social context in which Egyptian and Achaemenid identities were not necessarily at odds with each other. Rather, they represented two different qualities altogether, with the empire signifying an entirely different sort of affiliation than did a reference to Egyptian cultural memory.

In fact, there is some evidence for the continued co-existence of these identities into the Ptolemaic period. The tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel, already discussed briefly in Chapter Five, is particularly revealing in this respect. Petosiris was high priest of Thoth at nearby Hermopolis, and the superstructure of his tomb, consisting of a pronaos and a small hypostyle hall behind it, is clearly modeled on the temple of Thoth. The tomb is usually dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE, i.e., in the years immediately following the death of Alexander and Ptolemy's seizure of power in Egypt. In the inscription Petosiris states:

> I spent seven years as controller for this god,
> Administering his endowment without fault being found,
> While the Ruler-of-foreign-lands was Protector in Egypt,
> And nothing was in its former place,
> Since fighting had started inside Egypt,

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[25] Sen 2006, 19.

The South being in turmoil, the North in revolt;
The people walked with head turned back,
All temples were without their servants,
The priests fled, not knowing what was happening.[26]

The 'Ruler-of-foreign-lands' is usually understood to be Artaxerxes III (or alternatively Darius III), on the assumption that Petosiris would not describe Alexander's tenure in Egypt in this manner.[27] As discussed in Chapter Four, narratives of chaos and destruction are common tropes in biographical inscriptions, and Petosiris continues this practice. In the next section of his inscription he describes how he "put the temple of Thoth in its former condition," and he goes on to recount all of his good deeds on behalf of the people of Hermopolis. Thus the content of the inscription has more to do with the narrative effect Petosiris sought to create than with the historical realities of the time it purports to describe. Nevertheless, he must also have been aware that the reference to Artaxerxes created an implicit link between the chaos described in the inscription and the Second Persian Period. Thus in terms of both genre and implied political allegiance this inscription represents Petosiris in a wholly Egyptian manner, in deliberate contrast to the Persians.

The tomb's decorations, however, point to another aspect of Petosiris' identity. The interior walls of the tomb are richly decorated with painted reliefs displaying a range of scenes of daily life, including agriculture and craft production. Some of these crafting scenes show the production of metal vessels, including both rhyta and carinated bowls (**Fig. 5.6**).[28] As discussed in Chapter Five, these vessel forms are commonly associated with the Achaemenids. Carinated bowls had special meaning in the empire as royal gifts

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[26] Trans. Lichtheim 1980, 46.
[27] Menu 1998.
[28] Cherpion et al. 2007, 34-6, 38; cf. 126-7.

and markers of imperial identity. Likewise, rhyta were widely associated with Persian drinking practice, but had no tradition of use or representation in Egypt. Petosiris may not have been aware of the specific cultural associations of these vessels, but his inclusion of them in the decoration of his tomb must have resulted from his belief that they were appropriate to his identity as a local grandee in Middle Egypt in the early years of Ptolemaic rule. Given the implied negative view of Achaemenid rule expressed in his biographical inscription this suggests that by Petosiris' day vessels of these types, once so intimately connected to the empire, had taken on further meaning in an Egyptian context. In Petosiris' mind there was nothing incongruous about his use of these vessels to signify his elite political and social status while at the same time proclaiming his worthiness through his efforts to undo the (supposed) ill effects of Achaemenid rule during the Second Persian Period.[29]

Similarly, in the Ptolemaic Period there were status designations of 'Persians of the Epigone' (Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς), occurring in Greek papyri, and 'Medes,' occurring in demotic.[30] The origins of these designations are obscure; presumably they preserve the memory of imperial military colonies in Egypt, either those stationed there by the Achaemenids or recruited later by Alexander from the ranks of his defeated foe and then taken over by Ptolemy I.[31] References to these individuals in papyrus documents indicate that they were upwardly mobile, since their legal and fiscal privileges were greater than those designated simply as 'Egyptians;' they were in effect a lower order of 'Greeks.'[32]

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[29] It is worth noting as well that the uniqueness of the tomb of Petosiris is overstated. Baines (2004, 47) notes several parallels for both its decoration and architectural plan, though unfortunately they are fragmentary or otherwise poorly preserved.
[30] Clarysse and Thompson 2006, 157-9.
[31] Hammond 1996.
[32] Vandorpe 2008.

Communities of these 'Persians' were transplanted to key areas by the king to help establish and maintain control there, in a manner akin to the Great King's use of foreign military colonies to secure important locations in Egypt (and elsewhere in the empire as well). All told, the status of 'Persian' in Ptolemaic Egypt seems to have been a positive one, indicating one's membership in a privileged group. The ethnic dimension is absent; the memory is only of an imperial military institution that provided opportunities for advancement.

Achaemenid Egypt was a colonial situation like any other. Certainly there were 'winners' and 'losers' there, created by the conditions and circumstances of Achaemenid rule. But there was also a wide range of other experiences that become discernible when we look past the assumptions embedded in historical narratives of the Late Period. Achaemenid rule of Egypt was neither entirely good nor entirely bad; such thinking obscures a much more complex reality. But it clearly had an impact on the people and institutions of Egypt, an impact whose importance, for both the study of Egypt and of the Achaemenid Empire, is undeniable.

Future Directions

This dissertation has proposed new interpretations of and perspectives on the material culture of the 27th Dynasty in Egypt. At the same time it has also been an essay on method and historiography, exploring the oftentimes blurry lines between evidence and interpretation. In doing so it has perhaps raised more questions than it has answered,

and there are many further avenues of research than can be built upon the foundations laid here. One of these is the development of more comprehensive dating criteria for the statuary of the Late Period. While it has been shown in Chapter Four that discrete stylistic features occur and recur at various time periods, it may still be possible to identify trends where suites of features occur together. Likewise, with further study and publication of additional statues, it may be possible to discern correlations between titles held individuals and iconographic features included in their statues, as is attested in Ptolemaic Egypt, especially the second century BCE.[33] Certainly there is a great deal of as yet untapped potential in the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture and in the Karnak Cachette, and further work on these important resources will go a long way towards bettering our understanding of art and society in the Late Period.

The study of Late Period ceramics shows similar promise, as material from stratified excavation contexts continues to be published. The analysis of shifts in ceramic assemblages from the 26th Dynasty to the 27th presented in Chapter Five is simply one example of how this material can serve as invaluable evidence for writing social and economic history. However, with the refinement of ceramic chronologies more sophisticated analyses become possible. There are numerous ways to refine these chronologies, such as correlating Egyptian vessel types with the presence of imported Greek vessels whose dating is better understood.[34] Another possibility is to use ceramics from contexts datable on epigraphic grounds to build up suites of contemporary vessel types and then plot them, as one would a series of coin hoards, to develop a rough

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[33] See Moyer 2011b, 31-7.
[34] Smoláriková's (2002) catalogue of Greek vessels found in Egypt provides an invaluable starting point for such an undertaking.

chronology of shapes. Most important of all, however, is the full publication of more Late Period ceramic corpora from controlled excavations.

Indeed, fieldwork in general must be a major component of future research on Achaemenid Egypt. This dissertation has shown the large quantity of material that could potentially date to the 27th Dynasty; however, the definitive dating of objects is often hampered by the lack of reported context, so new excavations are especially important. Several recent and ongoing field projects in the Nile Delta, such as at Buto, Sais, Heracleion-Thonis, Mendes and Tell Tebilla, show particular promise, since earlier work at each has already demonstrated significant Late Period activity.[35] Likewise, the excavations at Tell el-Maskhuta in the Wadi Tumilat are especially tantalizing, given the site's apparent important role in the empire as a major waypoint along Darius' Red Sea canal and the probable original location of the statue of Darius found at Susa. The continuing excavation of Late Period tombs at Saqqara and Abusir show much promise, especially as finds of Aramaic papyri (and other Aramaic inscriptions) point to fifth century dates for certain of them. These tombs could provide valuable evidence for Persian period burial practices and self-representation, and could also help to refine ceramic chronologies by providing a firm date for the vessel types found in them. At Memphis further work by the Survey of Memphis has the potential to elucidate the Late Period there. It may even be possible to reconstruct the results of Clarence Fisher's excavations of Late Period houses from his field notes, stored at the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Lastly, the Kharga and Dakhla Oases in the western desert are especially exciting because of the increasingly distinctive evidence for Achaemenid

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[35] The catalogue of Lower Egyptian towns compiled by Leclère (2008) demonstrates the rich potential of the Delta for providing firm evidence for the Late Period, including the 27th Dynasty.

interest and activity there. In many respects the oases represent the best opportunity for recreating the actual conditions of life in Achaemenid Egypt.

Finally, it is worth considering in detail Egypt's role in the Achaemenid Empire more broadly. Throughout much of antiquity and the middle ages Egypt was a major source of charismatic authority, and its role as such is an important component in our broader understanding of the social and cultural dynamics of the Achaemenid Empire. Even before Cambyses' invasion of Egypt, Cyrus (the founder of the empire) may have married the Egyptian princess Nitetis (according to one reading of Herodotus 3.3), meaning that there was Egyptian blood in the Achaemenid royal family.[36] Beyond this there is evidence both for quantities of movable objects from Egypt being transported throughout the empire (and beyond), and for the dissemination of Egyptian imagery, including hieroglyphic inscriptions. For example, images of the Egyptian dwarf-god Bes were disseminated throughout the empire.[37] He appears on seals at Nippur, coins in Palestine, and even on the gold miniature chariot from the Oxus Treasure. While Bes has a specific significance in an Egyptian cultural context, his meaning in these other settings remains an open question. As such, this is an opportunity to study cultural interaction within the Achaemenid Empire, as well as how the Persians, from Darius on down, conceived of Egypt, both as a satrapy and as a superordinate center of social order and meaning.

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[36] It is a tantalizing possibility that if Cyrus indeed married Nitetis, the offspring of this union was Irtashduna, whose seal, as preserved in the Persepolis Fortification Archive (PFS 38; Garrison and Root 2001, cat no. 16), features distinctly Egyptianizing imagery. Irtashduna (Artystone in Greek) married Darius, and their son Arshama may have been the grandfather of the eponymous satrap of Egypt. For a reading of Herodotus 3.1-3 and the possibility of a diplomatic marriage between Egypt and Persia see Lang 1972.
[37] Abdi 1999; 2002.

This dissertation has demonstrated the feasibility and vitality of the period of Achaemenid rule in Egypt as a subject of research. Though much work remains to be done, the value and importance of the period for understanding both Egypt and the Achaemenid Empire cannot be overstated.

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