

POLITICAL MEMORY IN AND  
AFTER THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

*Edited by*

Jason M. Silverman and Caroline Waerzeggers

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PETUBASTIS IV IN THE DAKHLA OASIS:  
NEW EVIDENCE ABOUT AN EARLY REBELLION  
AGAINST PERSIAN RULE AND ITS SUPPRESSION  
IN POLITICAL MEMORY

Olaf E. Kaper (Leiden University)

Persian rule in Egypt was marked by a series of rebellions and Egyptian rival kings. We know of four major insurgencies, one of which led to a long period of independence. Herodotus (*Hist.* 3.15.4) records the planning of a revolt as early as the year 525 or 524 B.C.E. by Psamtek III, the king who was deposed by Cambyses II. Soon afterward, around 522, there was a first successful revolt by a counterking, Petubastis, now numbered as Petubastis IV,<sup>1</sup> which is attested in some inscriptions found near Memphis.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the reign of Darius I, we know of another revolt led by King Psamtek IV (ca. 486–485 B.C.E.), who is mentioned in Demotic sources from Diospolis Parva.<sup>3</sup> The next major revolt was by King Inaros, dated

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1. Confusion surrounds the numbering of the kings with the name Petubastis. A recent summary of this issue appears in Claus Jurman, “From the Libyan Dynasties to the Kushites in Memphis,” in *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties; Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007* (ed. G. P. F. Broekman, R. J. Demarée, and O. E. Kaper; Egyptologische Uitgaven, Egyptological Publications 23; Leiden: NINO; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 124–25. The Persian period counterking was formerly known as Petubastis III, but he should now be designated as Petubastis IV to avoid further confusion, as was done already in Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (2nd ed.; MÄS 49; Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1999), 222–23.

2. Jean Yoyotte, “Pétoubastis III,” *REg* 24 (1972): 216–23.

3. Pierre Salmon, “Les Relations entre la Perse et l’Égypte du VI<sup>e</sup> au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av J.-C.,” in *The land of Israel: Cross-Roads of Civilizations* (ed. E. Lipiński et al; OLA 19; Leuven: Peeters, 1985), 147–68 (148–51).

between circa 465 and 450 B.C.E., which started in Sais, and whose rule was recognized as far south as the Kharga Oasis,<sup>4</sup> and it left its traces in Demotic literature. The fourth major revolt, by King Amyrtaios II/Psamtek V (ca. 404–398 B.C.E.) liberated the entire country, and it heralded a longer period of independence from 404 until 343 B.C.E. During independence Persians attempted to enter the country several times, until eventually Artaxerxes III succeeded in overthrowing Nectanebo II and bringing Egypt back under Persian control. A fifth revolt is known from the years before the arrival of Alexander the Great, led by King Khababash, which is possibly to be dated 337–335 B.C.E.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE EXCAVATIONS AT AMHEIDA

Excavations at Amheida, a Roman town site in the western part of the Dakhla Oasis, are directed by Roger Bagnall (New York University) and with Paola Davoli (University of Salento, Lecce) in charge of the excavations. The author of this chapter is associate director for Egyptology. In January 2014, the excavations continued the uncovering of the remains of the ruined temple of Thoth, which has been under investigation since 2005. The temple was demolished in at least two phases; one during the late Roman period, when the building was destroyed so that only the foundations and some lower courses of the walls' stone masonry remained *in situ*. A second phase of destruction took place when the soil underneath the temple, built up from the mudbrick remains of the pharaonic town that stretches back to the early Old Kingdom, was quarried for fertilizer (*sebbakh*). This possibly happened in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries C.E., because blocks from the temple found their way into the neighboring town of El-Qasr, where they were reused as building material, some of them visibly exposed in the masonry.<sup>6</sup> The temple site at Amheida was

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4. Michel Chauveau, "Inarôs, prince des rebelles," in *Res Severa Verum Gaudium; Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* (ed. F. Hoffmann and H. Thissen; *Studia Demotica* 6; Leuven, Peeters: 2004), 39–46; J. Winnicki, "Der libysche Stamm der Bakaler im pharaonischen, persischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten," *AncSoc* 36 (2006): 135–42.

5. Günter Vittmann, "Ägypten zur Zeit der Perserherrschaft," in *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich—Herodotus and the Persian Empire* (ed. R. Rollinger; *CLeO* 3; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 373–429 (410).

6. Anthony J. Mills, "The Dakhleh Oasis Project: Report on the Second Season of Survey, September–December, 1979," *JSSEA* 10 (1980): 260, pl. 12; *Linteaux à épig-*

left full of deep pits, in which a few thousand mostly unarticulated blocks and fragments of the demolished temple remained.

In the reigns of the Roman emperors Titus and Domitian, an earlier temple complex from the Late Period was demolished and the new building was erected with its stones. For this reason, blocks from different periods are found mixed together in the current excavations. The following phases of construction of the local temple may at present be distinguished on the basis of the hieroglyphic inscriptions found, which indicate that the temple was extended or rebuilt under Seti II, Ramesses IX, Nekau II, Psamtek II, Amasis, Petubastis IV, and Darius I.<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence for a temple building from the Ptolemaic period at the site.

#### PETUBASTIS AT AMHEIDA

The royal name Petubastis was first discovered at the site of the temple in 2005. Because there were no further inscriptions associated with this cartouche, it was not clear whether this king was Petubastis I, II, III, or IV. It was decided that the most likely identification was Petubastis I *Wsr-m<sup>3</sup>c-t-R<sup>c</sup>-stp-n-Imn* (ca. 818–793 B.C.E.), founder of Twenty-Third Dynasty, because we also found a stela from the same dynasty, of king Takelot III, among the temple blocks of that season.<sup>8</sup> A presumed temple built by Petubastis I provided the location where this stela had been erected. No earlier remains of a temple were known at that stage of our excavations. Petubastis II is a presumed later king of the Twenty-Third Dynasty based at Tanis, while Petubastis III *Sh<sup>h</sup>tp-ib-n-R<sup>c</sup>* lived at the time of the Assyrian

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*raphes de l'oasis de Dakhla* (ed. Chr. Décobert and D. Gril; Suppléments aux Annales Islamologiques, Cahier 1; Cairo: IFAO, 1981), 10, pl. V.

7. Olaf E. Kaper, "Epigraphic Evidence from the Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period," in *The Oasis Papers 6: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* (ed. R. S. Bagnall et al.; Dakhleh Oasis Project Monographs 15; Oxford: Oxbow, 2012), 167–76.

8. Olaf E. Kaper and Robert J. Demarée, "A Donation Stela in the Name of Take-loth III from Amheida, Dakhleh Oasis," *JEOL* 32 (2006): 19–37 (20–21); Olaf E. Kaper, "Epigraphic Evidence from the Dakhleh Oasis in the Libyan Period," in *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties; Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007* (ed. G. P. F. Broekman, R. J. Demarée, and O. E. Kaper; Egyptologische Uitgaven, Egyptological Publications 23; Leiden: NINO; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 149–59 (151); Karl Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, vol. 2: *Die 22.–24. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 209.

conquest of Assurbanipal in the seventh century B.C.E. (667–666), but he is only attested in Tanis and Memphis.<sup>9</sup> Petubastis IV *Shr-ib-R<sup>c</sup>* is dated to the early Twenty-Seventh Dynasty (ca. 522–520 B.C.E.), but he was only associated with the region of Memphis and Herakleopolis Magna, which made it highly unlikely that either of the latter three kings would have built a temple in Dakhla.

In January 2014 we found two further cartouches, reading: *Shr-ib-R<sup>c</sup>*, “Who delights the heart of Re.” This provided proof that the initial identification of Petubastis I was wrong and that the building was in fact erected in the name of Petubastis IV.

Petubastis IV was previously known only from two fragments of a wooden *naos*, now divided between Bologna and the Louvre,<sup>10</sup> one scarab and two seals.<sup>11</sup> One seal was found by Petrie either at Memphis or at Meydum, sealing a papyrus document relating to fields in the area of Herakleopolis Magna. The form of the seal impression, which is now in the Petrie Museum,<sup>12</sup> led Jean Yoyotte to conclude that the king ruled

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9. On Petubastis II, cf. Jurman mentioned in note 1. On Petubastis III, cf. Karl Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, vol. 3: *Die 25. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2009), 254–55.

10. Archaeological Museum of Bologna, no. KS 289; Cristiana Morigi Govi et al., eds., *La Collezione Egiziana: Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Milano: Leonardo Arte, 1994), 91. Musée du Louvre, no. N 503; Christiane Ziegler, ed., *The Pharaohs* (Milano: Bompiani Arte, 2002), no. 81; Marc Étienne, *Les Portes du Ciel: Visions du monde dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2009), 303. These are the only known two images of the king. It is possible that also an uninscribed fragment in New York, MMA 23.6.75a, stems from the same *naos*.

11. Yoyotte, “Pétoubastis III,” 217. Other scarabs found abroad with a reference to this king are published in Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, “Der Skarabäus des Pedubaste von der Finca del Jardin,” *Madriider Mitteilungen* 16 (1975): 187–94; and Dimitri Meeks, “Un scarabée ‘Pédoubastis’ dans la maison III O de Délos,” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 121 (1997): 613–15.

12. Petrie Museum no. UC13098; Jan Moje, *Herrschaftsräume und Herrschaftswissen ägyptischer Lokalregenten: soziokulturelle Interaktionen zur Machtkonsolidierung vom 8. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Topoi: Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 21; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 465; 268, fig. 76. The website of the Petrie Museum, [www.ucl.ac.uk/museums/objects/LDUCE-UC13098](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums/objects/LDUCE-UC13098) (accessed October 2014) expresses doubt about the provenance of this seal: “There is some confusion over whether it was found in Memphis (implied by *Historical Studies* pl. XX title of plate) or Meydum (as stated *Meydum and Memphis* pl. XXXVII and implied perhaps by the preservation of the papyrus paper).” Yoyotte, “Pétoubastis III,” 217 note 3 refers to a letter from Petrie about the Meydum provenance. I thank Liam McNamara of the Ashmolean Museum,



shortly after the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, in the early years of the Persian occupation.<sup>13</sup>

The blocks of Petubastis IV found at Amheida consist of four complete relief blocks and a fragment from the façade of a temple gateway (fig. 1), and one additional block from an offering scene. The upper block (figs. 2–3), no. Amheida 16362, measures 35 x 39 x 17 cm; the central block (figs. 4–5), no. Amheida 16512, measures 45 x 23 x 34 cm; the bottom block (fig. 6), no. Amheida 2078, measures 23 x 30 x 11 cm.

Three blocks join together and they allow three inscription columns to be reconstructed (fig. 1). Two columns were located upon the façade of the left jamb of the gateway, and a single column was located in the passage of the gateway. The hieroglyphs are carved in sunk relief, with blue colour in the hieroglyphs and the framing bands, with black for the inner details, and yellow for the interior spaces in the mouth hieroglyph (letter *r*), the cartouches and the *serekh* (Horus name). Remains of oil are stuck to some parts of the surface of the stones, as part of the ritual use of the temple doorway, which indicates that the building functioned for a number of years. Similar traces of oil libations are visible in the temples of the Roman period in Dakhla, such as Deir el-Hagar and Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab).<sup>14</sup>

The inscriptions (fig. 7) contain the full titulary of Petubastis IV in two columns on the façade of the gateway:

(1) *Hr smn t3wy nbty [s3 Nt] shd r-prw Hr[-nbw ...]* (2) *nsw-bity nb t3wy spr-ib-Rc s3-Rc nb h[ w ] [P3-di-B3stt] mr Pth rsy-imb[=f ...]*

“Horus, who controls the Two Lands; The Two Ladies [Son of Neith?] who illuminates the temples; Horus of Gold ... (lost); [King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands] Who-delights-the-heart-of-Re; Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Petubastis, beloved of Ptah of Memphis (South of His Wall).”

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Oxford, for researching the papyrus document now in his collection, and the history of its seal.

13. Yoyotte, “Pétoubastis III,” 216–23. His view on the dating of this king is already cited in Labib Habachi, “Three Monuments of King Sehetepibre Pedubastis,” *ZÄS* 93 (1966): 73–74.

14. On Kellis, see Andrew Ross, “Identifying the Oil used in the Rituals in the Temple of Tutu,” in *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary Reports on the 1994–1995 to 1998–1999 Field Seasons* (ed. C. A. Hope and G. E. Bowen; Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 11; Oxford: Oxbow, 2002), 263–67. An article on this topic is in preparation by the author of this chapter.



Figure 1: Reconstruction of the façade and reveal of the gateway of Petubastis IV at Amheida. Drawing by O. E. Kaper.

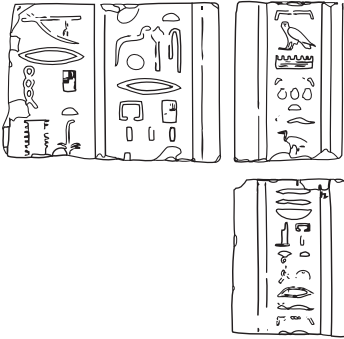


Figure 2: Block from the façade of the gateway with part of the Horus name of Petubastis IV. Copyright New York University. Photograph by B. Bazzani.



Figure 3: Inscription from the reveal of the gateway, upon the same block as Figure 2. Copyright New York University. Photograph by B. Bazzani.

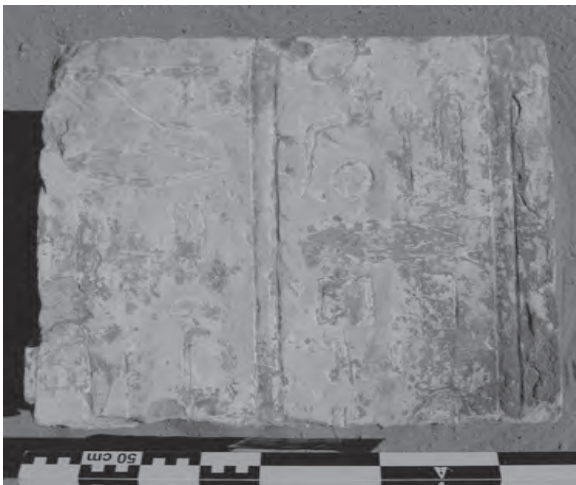


Figure 4: Block from the façade of the gateway with part of the Two-Ladies name of Petubastis. Copyright New York University. Photograph by B. Bazzani.



Figure 5: Inscription from the reveal of the gateway, upon the same block as Figure 4. Copyright New York University. Photograph by B. Bazzani.

Figure 6: Inscription from the reveal of the gateway with the lower part of the building inscription. Copyright New York University. Photograph by B. Bazzani.





Figure 7: Hieroglyphic inscriptions from the gateway of Petubastis IV (author).

The reveal of the gateway contains a building inscription in a single column:<sup>15</sup>

[nsw-bity nb t3]wy nb irt [t spr-ib-R<sup>c</sup> s3-R<sup>c</sup> nb [h<sup>c</sup>w P3-di-B3stt] ir.n<=f>  
m mnw <n> it=f Dhwty ʿ3 ʿ3 nb St-w3h ir=f n=f [di ʿnh]

“[King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands], Lord of Rituals, Who-delights-the-heart-of-Re; Son of Re, Lord of [Appearances, Petubastis]; He has made (it) as a monument for his father Thoth the Twice Great, the Lord of Amheida, so that he may be given [life].”


The previously found block (fig. 8), no. Amheida 2076 (measuring 34 x 17 x 42 cm), belongs to the same building phase:<sup>16</sup>

P3-di-B3stt ʿnh dt

“Petubastis living for ever”



15. About this formula, termed the “königliche Weiheformel,” see Silke Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weihen: Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierunginschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo 18.1–2; Berlin: Achet, 2001), 34–40.

16. Arguments from outside the text itself are the following: the reconstructed width of the text column on 2076 and those on the façade of the doorway is the same. The shape of blocks 2076 and 16362 is unusual, because they are both taller than wide, and they are of nearly the same size. The light blue colour on the two reliefs is different from that used in other building phases, such as the relief work dating to Amasis. There are identical splashes of red paint on the surface of the blocks 2076 and 16362, probably from a red cornice painting overhead.

A small fragment was found belonging to the opposite reveal (fig. 9). It bears the number Amheida 16357 and measures 15 x 16 x 10 cm. It contains the group  *mnw*, “monument.” Even though the writing direction is ambiguous, the size of the signs and the word itself indicate that it preserves part of a building inscription parallel to the one cited above.<sup>17</sup>

#### COMMENTARY TO THE NEW INSCRIPTIONS

Of Petubastis IV, only the birth name (*s3-R<sup>c</sup>*) and the throne name (*nsw-bity*) were known previously. The new inscriptions also contain the Horus name and the Two-Ladies name.

The name *Spr-ib-R<sup>c</sup>* is a mistaken writing for *Shr-ib-R<sup>c</sup>*:  (*pr*) for  (*h*). The two confused signs *pr* and *h* look similar in hieratic script, and we assume therefore a visual mistake based on a *Vorlage* written in hieratic. However, the mistake was aggravated when the scribe elaborated upon his misreading of the name by the addition of the determinative of the verb *spr*, “cause to emerge,” the sign of the walking legs. The resulting reading does not yield a satisfactory meaning of the royal name, because this verb is generally not constructed with *ib*, and it makes no sense in a throne name, whereas *Shr-ib-R<sup>c</sup>* makes perfect sense.<sup>18</sup> The signs *pr* and *h* have likewise been confused in some inscriptions of Darius I at Hibis.<sup>19</sup>

17. This is common practice on temple doorways; Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weißen*, 48–49.

18. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, vol. IV (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1926–1931), 208.14. The confusion in the spelling helps to confirm that the element *ib* is to be read separately, and that is not merely a determinative with *shr* (as in Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, Vol. 1: *Die 21. Dynastie* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007], 72, line 6). The inclusion of the element *ib* corresponds to a tradition in royal names in the Late Period, on which cf. note 26 below.

19. “*pr*” is used in the toponym *Hbt*, Hibis (54 S behind Khonsu) and *h* is used as determinative in *prt*, “distribution place” (27 N 26); Eugene Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project Volume I: Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List* (San Antonio, Tex.: Van Siclen, 1988), 227, index [598–599]. Already by the Third Intermediate Period, the sign *h* is used instead of *pr* (Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit* [Ägypten und Altes Testament 34; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996], 27 §35: B/3.3.41, RS,1), and the same is found in Ptolemaic Dendera (Sylvie Cauville, *Dendara: Le fonds hiéroglyphique au temps de Cléopâtre* [Paris: Cybèle, 2001], 161), but apparently not the reverse. In Edfu, *pr* can be used for *h* (Dieter Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische: Eine Grammatik mit Zeichen-*

The paleography of the signs is remarkable, chiefly because of the small size of the cartouches in comparison with the other signs. The same phenomenon is also found on the interior wall decoration of the Hibis temple from the time of Darius I.<sup>20</sup> Red paint drops are visible on the surface of blocks 2076 and 16362. Possibly there was a red-painted lintel or cornice overhead, which was painted only after the door jambs had been finished.

The building inscription refers to Thoth of Amheida. This is the local form of the god mentioned in the stela of Takelot III, mentioned above, albeit that the toponym changed its spelling somewhere in the course of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty or the early years of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.<sup>21</sup>

The title 𓄚 𓄚 is common for Thoth in Amheida in all Late Period inscriptions from the temple.<sup>22</sup>

The block with the cartouche of Petubastis that was found in 2005 is not from the same gateway, but it must stem from a regular temple scene. On the left is the remains of the *Ini*-crown of the king, who was depicted facing right. The height of the crown is ca. 30 cm, which indicates that the scale of the figure as a whole was only slightly smaller than life-size. The presence of such a large-scale relief confirms that Petubastis IV had an entire temple or chapel constructed.

Building a temple was only done for a king's hometown or for an important administrative center. Political considerations played a major part.<sup>23</sup> In the case of Petubastis IV, there is no other building known that

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*liste und Übungsstücken* [2 vols.; Hützel: Backe, 2008–2009], 347 n. 6) and *h* can be used to write *pr* (ibid., 349 n. 75). The confusion is explained by the similarity of the two signs in the hieratic script: Dieter Kurth, “Der Einfluß der Kursive auf die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu,” in *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys; Materialien und Studien* (ed. D. Kurth; Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu 5; Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1999), 69–96, esp. 77 [h], 81 [ai].

20. Melanie Wasmuth, “Reflexion und Repräsentation kultureller Interaktion: Ägypten und die Achämeniden” (Ph.D. diss., University of Basel, 2009), 216. I do not share Wasmuth's interpretation of this feature as indicating a recarving of the cartouche. It should rather be seen as an art historical phenomenon related to the tendency to abandon isocephaly in two-dimensional representations at Hibis.

21. Kaper and Demarée, “A donation stela in the name of Takeloth III,” 34–35.

22. As also elsewhere in Egypt; see Jan Quaegebeur, “Thoth-Hermès, le dieu le plus grand,” in *Hommages à François Daumas* (ed. Institut de l'égyptologie; vol. 2; Orientalia monspeliensia 3; Montpellier: Institut de l'égyptologie, Université Paul Valéry, 1986), 525–44 (533).

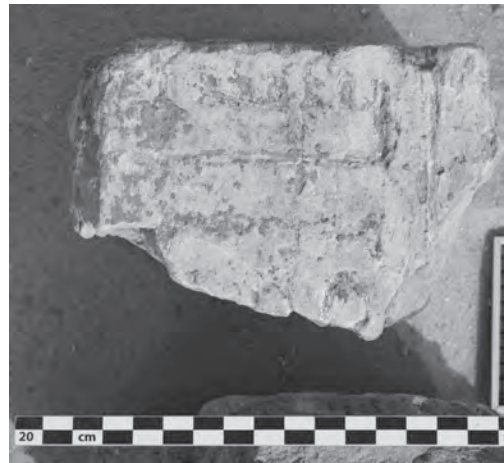
23. See Jean-Claude Goyon et al., *La construction pharaonique du Moyen Empire à l'époque gréco-romaine. Contexte et principes technologiques* (Paris: Picard, 2004),





Figure 8: Block from an offering scene of the temple of Petubastis IV, with his cartouche. Copyright New York University. Photograph by B. Bazzani.

Figure 9: Fragment from the reveal of the gateway of Petubastis IV with part of a building inscription. Copyright New York University. Photograph by B. Bazzani.



34–35. Dieter Arnold (*Temples of the Last Pharaohs* [New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999], 64–65) comments on the Saite kings favoring temples in the Delta and the oases, but neglecting Thebes.



was dedicated in his name, only a piece of temple furnishings in the form of the small wooden shrine, mentioned in note 10 above. The temple at Amheida must have been a product of the brief period of rule between the capture of Memphis, where Petubastis presumably was crowned, and his overthrow in the early years of Darius I. During this period, the papyrus letter found by Petrie at Memphis or Meydum was written. It demonstrates that the administration of the country, at least of the part recaptured by Petubastis, resumed its normal routine. The letter sealed with the name of Petubastis is dated to year one.<sup>24</sup>

The previous Twenty-Sixth Dynasty had invested heavily in the development of the Dakhla Oasis, because evidence for temple building at Amheida is attested under Nekau II, Psamtek II and especially Amasis. The addition of a gateway and at least one large-scale relief by Petubastis IV is therefore to be seen as a supplement to the existing buildings on the site. There is no evidence that earlier buildings were demolished and reused at this time.

#### HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The new material indicates that the area governed by king Petubastis IV was considerably larger than was previously suspected. It was known that this Egyptian rebellion against Persian rule managed to occupy the capital Memphis, but otherwise its extent is unknown. Now it is clear that Dakhla Oasis was also involved, which means that the entire Southern Oasis (Kharga and Dakhla) must have been with the rebellion. The rebel king even built a temple there, which calls attention to a number of issues.

The dating of the rebellion of Petubastis was placed by Yoyotte on good grounds in the early years of the Persian domination.<sup>25</sup> His principal argument was the shape of the seal inscribed with the royal name, which closely follows the model of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. A new argument that confirms this dating is found in the titulary of the king, now known almost in its entirety, which is modeled on those of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty kings.

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24. Eugene Cruz-Uribe, "Early Demotic Texts from Heracleopolis," in *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* (ed. F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen; Studia Demotica 6; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 59–66 (60).

25. Yoyotte, "Pétoubastis III,"; see also Eugene Cruz-Uribe, "The Invasion of Egypt by Cambyses," *Transeu* 25 (2003): 5–60 (55–56).

The Coronation Name refers to the “Heart (mind) of Re,” which was the pattern for almost all kings of the Saite dynasty.<sup>26</sup> The “Two Ladies Name,” [s<sup>3</sup>-Nt] *shd r-prw*, is constructed similarly to that of Amasis: s<sup>3</sup>-Nt *spd-t<sup>3</sup>wy*. It has been suggested that Petubastis was a member of the Saite royal family,<sup>27</sup> but this remains mere speculation without further data.

The temple at Amheida was built after Petubastis had assumed his titulary, and after he established control over a large part of the country. The reference to Memphis in the title “Beloved of Ptah, South of his Wall,” points at the seat of government at the time.<sup>28</sup> The papyrus document from “year 1” that was found at Memphis or Meydum indicate that there was a period of stability that would be conducive to royal construction activity. Yet, the location of the temple is remarkable.

The town of *St-w<sup>3</sup>h* (Amheida) had been the site of recent temple construction under Amasis. A medium-sized temple to the god Thoth had been erected at the site. However, Petubastis IV did not merely continue the building programme of an admired predecessor. To understand this we have to consider the circumstances of his reign.

Petubastis had fought several battles with the Persian army, we must assume, and he had occupied the capital Memphis. It is possible that the “great rage” (*nšn ʿ3*) mentioned by Udjahorresne,<sup>29</sup> refers to the insurrection. Sais, the hometown of Udjahorresne, may have remained in Persian hands, but there must have been violent confrontations. The duration of Petubastis’s claim to the throne is unknown, but it cannot have been more than a few years. Darius I and the satrap Aryandes did everything in their power to bring the country back under their control. By the time when

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26. Ronald J. Leprohon, *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary* (SBLWAW 33; Atlanta, Ga: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 164–65: the titulary of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty was not bellicose as in previous periods, but it adapted much older Middle Kingdom models, which express the king’s relationship with the gods.

27. Cruz-Urbe, “Invasion of Egypt,” 55.

28. Stephen Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West: Egypt and the Persian Empire 525–332 BCE* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 237 n. 41, considers the possibility that the Persian army retained control over the White Wall, the fortified garrison section of Memphis, as at the time of Inaros’ revolt in the 450s (Thuc. 1.104.2), but this is hard to imagine. A retreat by the Persians to some fortifications in the Delta seems more likely, such as Sais, where Udjahorresne continued to hold office.

29. G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte, recueil d’inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* (BdÉ 11; Cairo: IFAO, 1936), 18–19 [line 33–34]; 20 [line 40–41].

Darius I came to Egypt in 518 B.C.E. or not long afterwards, the matter must have been settled. There is not a shred of evidence that Petubastis built any other stone monument, be it a royal statue or a temple. The building activity in the oasis is thus highly significant, because of the threatened position of Petubastis, which made it difficult to organize any building activities at all.

The Dakhla oasis could very well have been a powerbase for Petubastis, from where he organized his rebellion. That would explain the extraordinary building activity there, as an expression of his attachment or even gratitude to the region and its gods. There is circumstantial evidence that this was indeed the case.

Herodotus (3.25.3) reports the following story he had heard about Cambyses II:

When he reached Thebes in the course of this march [against the Ethiopians—OEK], he separated out about 50,000 men of his army and instructed them to reduce the Ammonians to total slavery and to set fire to the oracle of Zeus.... (26) As for those dispatched from Thebes to wage war against the Ammonians, they travelled with guides, and it is known that they reached the city of Oasis (*Oasis polis*). This city belongs to the Samians said to be of the Aeschrionian tribe, and it lies a seven-days' journey through the desert sand from Thebes.... It is said that the troops reached this place, but no one except for the Ammonians and those who heard the report of the Ammonians is able to report anything more about them. Apparently they never reached the Ammonians, nor did they ever return to Egypt. The Ammonians themselves say that when the troops left Oasis, they marched across the sand until they stopped somewhere between Oasis and the Ammonians, and while they were having breakfast there, a strong wind of extraordinary force blew upon them from the south, such a way, it is said, that they completely disappeared. That, at least, is what the Ammonians claim to have happened to this army.<sup>30</sup>

This is the only record of the expedition of Cambyses into the Western Desert, but it seems credible in some of its basic facts. Nevertheless, a number of points raise questions. Firstly, the reason why Cambyses would want to attack the oases is unclear from Herodotus's report.<sup>31</sup> Secondly,

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30. Translation Andrea L. Purvis in R. B. Strassler, ed., *The Landmark Herodotus The Histories* (New York: Anchor Books, 2007), 356.

31. Ahmed Fakhry (*The Oases of Egypt I: Siwa Oasis* [Cairo: American University

the number of 50,000 soldiers seems excessively high, mainly because longer desert journeys are more effectively made with smaller caravans, carrying their own water and food. Thirdly, the starting point of the journey is unexpected: Thebes is not the obvious starting point for reaching the oasis of Siwa—the oasis of Ammon, or the Ammonians—because one would normally depart from Memphis or travel along the Mediterranean coast to reach Siwa.<sup>32</sup> Yet, the army is said to reach the town of Oasis after seven days, which is an accurate designation of the capital of Kharga Oasis and the time it takes to arrive there from Thebes.<sup>33</sup> We need to examine the possibility that Herodotus's Ammonians were not confined to the Siwa Oasis. Elsewhere in his *Histories*, Herodotus describes the Ammonians as follows:

The first of these peoples, at a ten-days' journey from Thebes, are the Ammonians. They have a sanctuary of Zeus derived from that of Theban Zeus which, as I mentioned earlier, has an image of Zeus with a ram's head. (4.181.2, trans. Purvis).

The distance from Thebes suggests that Herodotus's Ammonians are here the inhabitants of Dakhla, as was already concluded by Brugsch.<sup>34</sup> A cult of the Theban Amon is known in that oasis since the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>35</sup>

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in Cairo Press, 1973], 81) summarizes aptly: "We can easily understand why Cambyses wanted to conquer Ethiopia and Carthage, but as for Siwa, we cannot find a satisfactory explanation except perhaps that Cambyses held a grudge against its oracles."

32. Guy Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs* (BdÉ 100; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1987), 150–51; G. B. Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia, and of a Journey to the Coast of the Red Sea, in Search of the Ancient Berenice and Another to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon*, London: John Murray, 1820), 399 speculated that Herodotus was mistaken and that the army left from Memphis instead of Thebes.

33. Wagner (*Les oasis d'Égypte*, 124 n. 5) adds that the term "Oasis city" is only ever applied to the Great Oasis, and never to Siwa.

34. H. Brugsch cited in Gerhard Rohlfs, *Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste* (Cassel: Theodor Fischer, 1875), 332–33: "In der That, so wahnsinnig Kambyses auch gewesen sein mag, er war es schwerlich in dem Grade, dass er von Theben aus ein Heer mitten durch die Wüste nach der viel nördlicher gelegenen Oase Siuah gesandt haben sollte. Alles stimmt dagegen sehr gut, wenn die von Herodot hier gemeinte Ammons-Oase die Oase Dachle ist."

35. C. A. Hope, "Mut el-Kharab: Seth's city in Dakhleh Oasis," *EA* 27 (2005): 4

The fourth aspect that should be questioned is the manner of death reported for this army. Experienced Sahara travellers such as Théodore Monod confirm that a sand storm is highly unlikely to kill anyone.<sup>36</sup> People may die of thirst in the desert, but they will survive a sand storm. Moreover, Cambyses's army was very experienced in desert travel,<sup>37</sup> and they would not take needless risks.

In the light of the new evidence of the activities of Petubastis IV in Dakhla, we can better explain the strange story reported by Herodotus about the lost army. Cambyses sent part of his army into the Western Desert from Thebes, not in order to attack Siwa, but to confront Petubastis, who was preparing a rebellion in the Southern Oasis. The place of departure and the description of the route confirm that Dakhla was the target of the expedition.<sup>38</sup> Since none of the soldiers are said to have returned, we must conclude that the army was defeated by Petubastis. When news of this disaster reached Cambyses he managed to prevent it from becoming widely known, and after Darius I had restored full control, the shameful event was modified in public memory into the result of an unfortunate sandstorm.

I think we can lay to rest the myth of the lost army of Cambyses. The idea that Herodotus's report is to be taken literally and that the entire army of Cambyses was hit by bad weather and remains buried somewhere under a sand dune was overall too fantastic to be true.<sup>39</sup> The presence of a revolt

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[block not depicted]. There is no evidence as yet for a ram's head for Amun-Re at Dakhla before the Roman Period, but in Kharga, in the temple of Hibis, the ram's head is well attested already in the Persian period.

36. Théodore Monod, cited in Jean-François Sers, *Désert libyque* (Paris: Arthaud, 1994), 100–103: “Jamais, au grand jamais, un vent de sable n'a enseveli quelqu'un!” (p. 101). See already J. Leclant, “‘Per Africae Sitientia’: Témoignages des sources classiques sur les pistes menant à l'oasis d'Ammon,” *BIFAO* 49 (1950): 193–253 (215).

37. Leclant, “‘Per Africae Sitientia,’” 214.

38. Herodotus's reference to Samians inhabiting the oases may perhaps be explained by the name of the Libyan tribe of the Shamain that is attested in Dakhla around the time of the early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, on which see Kaper and Demarée, “A donation stela in the name of Takeloth III,” 35.

39. Yet, serious expeditions have been mounted with the purpose of finding this treasure. Already Belzoni, *Narrative*, 399–400 reported finding the remains of the army. A later expedition in 1933 is reported in Orde Wingate, “In Search of Zerzura,” *The Geographical Journal* 83 (1934): 281–308. Almásy searched for it in April 1935 in the northern part of the Sand Sea, see Saul Kelly, *The Hunt for Zerzura: The Lost Oasis and the Desert War* (London: John Murray, 2003), 119–21; L. E. de Almásy,

in Dakhla provides a much more satisfactory explanation. Petubastis was indeed a formidable enemy, because he succeeded in reconquering a large part of the country, including the capital Memphis.

There are other places where Herodotus reports propaganda stories. In 2.141, he describes the flight of the Assyrian king Sennacherib from Egypt caused by “a horde of field mice,” who ate the army’s weapons and caused his retreat.<sup>40</sup> This seems to be on all accounts a comparable series of events.

More information on Petubastis’ revolt can be gleaned from the great inscription at Bisitun. According to this text in the name of Darius I,<sup>41</sup> there were nine revolts by “liar kings” at the beginning of his reign, one of which took place in Egypt. He is said to have crushed them all, in his first two years or so, bringing back their leaders in order to publicly execute them in Persia. No specifics are given about the Egyptian revolt or its leader, but with the new evidence about the extent of the revolt of Petubastis IV in mind, the Bisitun text should be read as referring to Petubastis IV, even though he is not mentioned by name. The suppression of the revolt may have taken several years, and probably the satrap of Egypt,

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*Récentes explorations dans le Désert Libyque (1932–1936)* (Cairo, 1936), 96; Michael Weese et al., eds., *Schwimmer in der Wüste: Auf den Spuren des “Englischen Patienten” Ladislaus Eduard von Almásy* (Eisenstadt: Landesmuseum Burgenland, 2012), 191. A planned second attempt by Almásy in 1950 did not come about; Gerhard L. Fasching, in Weese et al., eds., *Schwimmer in der Wüste*, 40. According to Hansjoachim von der Esch (*Weenak—Die Karawane ruft: Auf verschollenen Pfaden durch Ägyptens Wüsten* [2nd ed.; Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1943], 236–300) Cambyse’s vanished army was Almásy’s “Lieblingsproblem” (p. 225). In 1983–1984, Harvard University funded G. S. Chafetz in a fruitless and unpublished search. Fakhry, *Siwa*, 82 shows that the heart of the problem lies in our interpretation of Herodotus’ text: “While it is very possible that the number of the soldiers is greatly exaggerated, this does not change *the historical fact* [italics OEK] that an army sent by Cambyse in the year 524 BC was buried under the sands of the Libyan Desert at some place mid-way between Kharga and Siwa.”

40. Dan’el Kahn, “The War of Sennacherib Against Egypt as Described in Herodotus II 141,” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 6 (2014): 23–33 (25).

41. Heinz Luschey, “Studien zu dem Darius-Relief in Bisitun,” *AMI NS* 1 (1968): 63–94, pls. 29–42; Rykle Borger and Walther Hinz, “Die Behistun-Inschrift Darius’ des Grossen,” in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, vol. 1: *Historisch-chronologische Texte* I (ed. R. Borger; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1984), 419–50. An Aramaic translation of the text was found at Elephantine dating from the time of Darius II; Jonas C. Greenfield and Bezalel Porten, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Aramaic Version* (London: Lund Humphries, 1982).

Aryandes, was the main player in this process.<sup>42</sup> Darius came to Egypt in 518 B.C.E., and it is even possible that the rebellion was not yet entirely crushed by then.

The Roman period author Polyænus (7.11.7) also mentions the revolt at the beginning of the reign of Darius I:

The Egyptians revolted, on account of the cruelties inflicted on them by Aryandes, their satrap. In order to reduce them to obedience, Darius himself marched through the Arabian Desert and arrived at Memphis, at the very time when the Egyptians were commemorating the death of Apis. Darius immediately made a proclamation, that he would give a hundred talents of gold to the man who could produce Apis. The Egyptians were so impressed by the piety of the king, that they took decisive action against the rebels, and entirely devoted themselves to the support of Darius.<sup>43</sup>

The revolt is linked to Aryandes and thus we can identify the rebel with Petubastis IV.<sup>44</sup> This late source suggests that when Darius arrived in Egypt in 518 B.C.E., the rebellion was still ongoing.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The new finds in Dakhla shed light on the history of the oasis in the wider historical context of the first major rebellion against Persian occupation. The new evidence from the temple at Amheida shows that Petubastis IV was no “puppet’ or vassal king.”<sup>45</sup> The combination of the archaeological data with the record of Herodotus indicates that Petubastis IV had probably established himself in Dakhla, away from the Nile Valley and away

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42. See Richard A. Parker, “Darius and his Egyptian Campaign,” *AJSL* 58 (1941): 373–77.

43. See <http://www.attalus.org/translate/polyaenus7.html#11.1>, translation adapted from R. Shepherd, *Polyænus’s Strategems of war: Tr. from the Original Greek* (London: G. Nicol 1793), 272.

44. As already John D. Ray, “Egypt 525–404 B.C.,” in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 4: *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525 to 479 B.C.* (ed. John Boardman et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 254–86 (262, 266), but this identification is denied in Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 410.

45. Cruz-Uribe, “The Invasion of Egypt,” 56. Yet, on p. 60, he gives Petubastis III (read: IV) four years of reign, 525–522 B.C.E.



from control by the Persian army that occupied the country. He managed to defeat the army of Cambyses in ways that we cannot know, and he was successful in reaching Memphis, where Petubastis was crowned, assuming control of at least part of the country. The demotic document from year 1 that was sealed with his name demonstrates a regular maintenance of administrative control. Petubastis assumed a titulary that is modeled upon those of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty kings, in particular Amasis. Eventually, Darius I managed to reestablish control and all references to Petubastis were deleted from the king lists. On the reverse of the Demotic Chronicle are noted the reigns of Amasis (year 44), Cambyses, and Darius I but not those of Psamtek III or Petubastis IV.<sup>46</sup>

The temple for Thoth in Amheida was destroyed and its blocks were reused in later structures. Remains of oil libations on the reliefs indicate that the temple functioned for a number of years. It is most likely that the reuse of the blocks took place under Darius I,<sup>47</sup> because no later structures have been found at the site until the Roman period and the reliefs do not show evidence of several centuries of exposure. At the same time, it is known that Darius invested heavily in the development of the southern oases. Apart from a small temple at Amheida, he built the large temple of Hibis, as well as a smaller stone temple at Ghueita in Kharga. This remarkable high level of interest in the oases, which remains unexplained,<sup>48</sup> can now be ascribed to the vital role of the southern oases in the large revolt

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46. W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten* (Demotische Studien 7; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1914), 30–31, pl. VII; translation Didier Devauchelle, “Le sentiment anti-perses chez les anciens Égyptiens,” *Transeu* 9 (1995): 67–80 (74–75).

47. On this temple, see Olaf E. Kaper, “Epigraphic Evidence from the Dakhleh Oasis in the Late Period” (reference in n. 7 above), 167–76 (171–72).

48. John Coleman Darnell, David Klotz and Colleen Manassa, “Gods on the Road: The Pantheon of Thebes at Qasr el-Ghueita,” in *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives (D3T 2)* (ed. C. Thiers; Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne 8; Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 2013), 1–31 (13) describe the significant increase of activity on the desert routes and in the oases in the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty, which they connect to the disastrous military campaign under Cambyses. On the Persian period sites in the Southern Oasis, see the overview in Michel Wuttmann and Sylvie Marchand, “Égypte,” in *Larchéologie de l’empire achéménide: Nouvelles recherches* (ed. P. Briant and R. Boucharlat; Persika 6; Paris: De Boccard, 2005), 97–128 (117–19). Kharga is described as having an “activité architecturale pendant l’époque perse qui nous semble sortir d’un quasi-néant.”



that had taken place. By organizing the agriculture of the region and its infrastructure, Darius I wished to make sure that a revolt could never come from the oases again.<sup>49</sup>

History is written by the victors. When Herodotus arrived some seventy-five years after the reign of Petubastis IV, the Persians had already obliterated all memory of the episode so that he did not hear anything about the rebellion whatsoever.

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49. Yet, when the revolt by Inaros took place in the delta between 462 and 453 B.C.E., the Kharga Oasis supported him, see n. 4 above.

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