Aršāma and his World: The Bodleian Letters in Context

Volume III: Aršāma's World

Edited by Christopher J. Tuplin and John Ma

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Aršāma and his World

The Bodleian Letters in Context

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CHRISTOPHER J. TUPLIN AND JOHN MA

VOLUME III
ARŠĀMA'S WORLD

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Abbreviations and Conventions

ADAB	Naveh and Shaked 2012
AL	Lemaire 2002b
AO	Antiquité Orientales (Musée du Louvre)
ARTA	Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology (see www.achemenet.com)
ARV^2	Beazley 1963
ATNS	Segal 1983
BE 9	Clay and Hilprecht 1898
BE 10	Clay 1904
BIN 1	Keiser 1917
BM	British Museum
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
Camb.	Strassmaier 1890
CG	Lozachmeur 2006
CH	coin hoards
Dar.	Strassmaier 1897
DemNB	Lüddeckens 1980–
DNWSI	Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995
DS	seals in Kaptan 2002
EE	Stolper 1985
EPE	Porten 2011
FdX	Fouilles de Xanthos
Fort. ####	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, edited by G. G. Cameron, collated by R. T. Hallock, C. E. Jones, and M. W. Stolper, published in Arfaee 2008a, re-collated by W. F. M. Henkelman
Fort. ####-###	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive on loan in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, edited by M. W. Stolper
FuB 14	Jakob-Rost and Freydank 1972
GN	geographical name
HTC	Bresson, Brun, and Varinlioğlu 2001
IGCH	Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards
I.Labraunda	Crampa 1969–72

IMT	Donbaz and Stolper 1997
KAI	Donner & Röllig 1966–9 and 2002
LSJ	H. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones, *Greek–English Lexicon* (ninth edition with revised supplement: Oxford, 1996)
ML	Meiggs and Lewis 1988
MP	Middle Persian
NBC	Nies Babylonian Collection
NN	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive on loan in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, edited by R. T. Hallock, currently being collated and prepared for publication by W. F. M. Henkelman.
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
O.Man.	ostraca from Ain Manawir (http://www.achemenet.com/fr/tree/?/sources- textuelles/textes-par-langues-et-ecritures/egyptien-hieroglyphique-et-demotique/ostraca-d-ayn-manawir#set)
OP	Old Persian
PBS 2/1	Clay 1912
PF	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, published by R. T. Hallock (1969) and collated by W. F. M. Henkelman
PFa	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, published by R. T. Hallock (1978) and collated by W. F. M. Henkelman
PFA	Persepolis Fortification archive
PFAT	Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablet, for clay tablets on loan in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, provisionally edited by R. A. Bowman, edited and prepared for publication by Annalisa Azzoni
PFATS	Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablets Sea
PFATS #*	ditto, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PFATS #s	ditto, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PFS	Persepolis Fortification Seal
PFS #*	ditto, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PFS #s	ditto, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PL	Patrologia Latina
PN	personal name
PTS	Persepolis Treasury Seal, occurring on PT tablets and 'labels'
QA	quart
RO	Rhodes and Osborne 2003

ROMCT	Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts
SAA	State Archives of Assyria (Helsinki 1987–2003)
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
S.H5-DP	Demotic papyri from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, Saqqara
SIG^3	Dittenberger 1915–24
Sigill.Aram.	Sealed letter-*bullae* associated with the Aramaic documents of Aršāma, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford
TADAE	Porten and Yardeni 1986–99
TAO	Porten and Yardeni 2014–20
TCL 9	Contenau 1926
TCL 13	Moore 1935
TEBR	Joannès 1982
TuM 2/3	Krückmann 1933
Urkunden II	Sethe 1904
VS	San Nicolò & Ungnad 1935
WDSP	Gropp 2001, Dušek 2007
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS 3	Clay 1919

PERSIAN ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

The following *sigla* represent Persian royal inscriptions: DB, DH, DNa, DNb, DPd, DPf, DPh, DSa, DSe, DSf, DSo, DSp, DSt, DSz, DZc, XE, XPb, XPc, XPd, XPf, XPg, XPh, XSc, XV, A^{1}Pa, D^{2}Sa, A^{2}Hb, A^{2}Hc, A^{2}Sa, A^{2}Sd, A^{3}Pa. (DB$_e$ designates the Elamite version of DB.) For these see Kent 1953 (text and English translation of the OP version), Schmitt 2009 (texts and German translations of the OP versions), Lecoq 1997 (French translation covering OP, Akkadian, Elamite and Aramaic versions), Steve 1987 (text and French translation of Susa inscriptions covering OP, Akkadian and Elamite versions), Schmitt 1991 (text and English translation of the OP version of DB), Grillot-Susini, Herrenschmidt, and Malbran-Labat 1993 (text and French translation of Elamite version of DB) Von Voigtlander 1978 (text and English translation of the Akkadian version of DB), Malbran-Labat 1994 (text and French translation of the Akkadian version of DB), TADAE C2.1 (text and English translation of the Aramaic version of DB), Schmitt 2000 (text and English translation of the OP version of the Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis inscriptions). Most important items are also available in English translation in Kuhrt 2007.

ARAMAIC TEXTS

The majority of the Aramaic texts to which reference is made in this publication are from four *corpora,* TADAE, ATNS, CG, and ADAB. Sigla in the form A6.3 (i.e. letter (A–D) number, stop, number) designate texts published in TADAE. Specific line numbers within a text are indicated by appending a colon and number, e.g. A6.3:2. Sigla in the form A2 (i.e. letter (A–D) and number) designate texts in ADAB. Specific line numbers within a text are indicated by appending a colon and number, e.g. A2:2. Texts from CG or ATNS are always labelled as such, e.g. CG 175 or ATNS 25 or (with a specific line number) CG 175:2 or ATNS 25:2.

PAPYRI

In the absence of information at the point of citation, papyrus publications can be identified from J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Clackson, A. A. O'Brien, J. D. Sosin, T. G. Wilfong, and K. A. Worp (edd.), *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, fifth edition (2001) or online at http://www.papyri.info/docs/checklist

JOURNAL TITLES

Abbreviations for journal titles follow the lists in *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* 20 *(U and W)* (Chicago, 2010), vii–xxix and *Année Philologique* (see http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles_fr.pdf), giving precedence to the former in cases of disagreement. Journal titles are left unabbreviated in cases of ambiguity or when the journal in question is absent from both lists.

DATES

Unless otherwise indicated all dates, except those in bibliographical references, are BC.

Month–year dates in Persepolis documents are given in the form XI/23, which designates the eleventh month of year 23. The form XIe indicates that the text uses the Elamite, not the Persian, month name. Occasionally a specific day is indicated as well, giving e.g. 29/XII/21.

CROSS-REFERENCING

Commentary A single line in one of the Bodleian letters regularly generates several distinct notes in the Commentary (on distinct *lemmata*). When this occurs the notes are numbered (1), (2), (3) etc., this number being appended to the salient line number, giving e.g. 'line 1(2)'. A cross-reference in the form A6.3:1(2) n. refers to the second note on A6.3:1. Cross-references within the commentary on a single letter may be in the form 'above, line 1(2) n.'

Essays A cross-reference in the form Tuplin iii 34 refers to p. 34 of volume III of this publication. Cross-references within a single essay are characteristically indicated with a simple page or note number (e.g. 'above, p. 27', 'below, n. 27').

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1

Introduction

1.1

Aršāma

Prince and Satrap

Christopher J. Tuplin

The first aim of this chapter is to describe the larger Aršāma-related textual dossier of which the Bodleian letters are part (and especially the Egyptian part of that dossier), address the question of their date, and articulate some of their material, formal, and linguistic features. It then moves to consider the figure of Aršāma as 'prince', satrap, estate holder, and an actor in the political and military history of his times.

1. DEFINING THE DOSSIER

The Contents of the Dossier

At the heart of this publication is a set of documents conserved in the Bodleian Library. But they are part of the larger set of texts that constitutes the Aršāma dossier—that is, the totality of texts that certainly or possibly refer to the man. This dossier comprises fifty-seven items drawn from three distinct contexts:

(1) Egypt: 41 items in three different languages:
  (a) thirty-six in Aramaic: twenty-six form a single set from an unknown Egyptian site and ten are from Elephantine
  (b) four in Demotic Egyptian: one is from Saqqara (Memphis); the others are of unknown origin, but two of them can be linked to Heracleopolis
  (c) one in Old Persian from an unknown site.

(2) Babylonia: thirteen items in Akkadian from Nippur. (All but one of them are from the Murašû archive.)

(3) Greek literary tradition: three items, only one of which is of certain direct relevance.

I shall first list these items in slightly more detail, and then comment at greater length on the problems surrounding some items that are of problematic status.

Egypt

Aramaic

Letters to or from Aršāma:[1]

(1) TADAE A6.3–6.16, D6.3–6.14. This is the Bodleian material and comprises fourteen mostly well-preserved items and twelve extremely fragmentary ones. Subject: various—see below. Date: undated.
   - (a) A6.3: Aršāma orders the punishment of eight slaves belonging to the father of his *pqyd* Psamšek
   - (b) A6.4: Aršāma orders the transfer of a land-grant to Psamšek
   - (c) A6.5: Aršāma issues an order about Kosakan (fragmentary)
   - (d) A6.6: Aršāma issues an order of obscure content (fragmentary)
   - (e) A6.7: Aršāma orders the release of thirteen Cilician slaves
   - (f) A6.8: Aršāma orders Armapiya to obey the bailiff Psamšek
   - (g) A6.9: Aršāma authorizes daily travel rations for Nakhtḥor and thirteen others
   - (h) A6.10: Aršāma instructs his *pqyd* Nakhtḥor to preserve and enhance his estate during a time of disturbance
   - (i) A6.11: Aršāma authorizes assignment of a domain to Peṭosiri
   - (j) A6.12: Aršāma authorizes rations for the sculptor Ḥinzani and his household personnel
   - (k) A6.13: Aršāma tells his *pqyd* Nakhtḥor and other officials to ensure that Vāravahyā's *pqyd* sends rent-income to Babylon
   - (l) A6.14: Vāravahyā writes to Nakhtḥor and others on the issue dealt with in A6.13
   - (m) A6.15: Virafša orders Nakhtḥor to hand over five Cilicians (in accordance with Aršāma's instructions) and return misappropriated goods
   - (n) A6.16: Artaxaya complains that Nakhtḥor has sent unwanted goods
   - (o) D6.3–6.14: these items are too fragmentary to yield continuous sense, though D6.7 is clearly related to A6.15.

---

[1] In fact A6.14–16 are neither to nor from Aršāma; but it seems senseless to separate them from the rest of the Bodleian set.

(2) TADAE A6.1. Subject: the sending of a 'share' (*mnt*'). Date: 6 November 427.
(3) TADAE A6.2. Subject: boat repair. Date: 12 January 411.
(4) TADAE A5.2. Subject: petition to an anonymous 'lord' (possibly but not certainly Aršāma) about injustice. Date: after 416.

Documents referring to Aršāma:

(1) TADAE A3.6. Subject: actions of Pilti, Ṣeha, and Pisina. Date: undated.
(2) TADAE A4.1. Subject: Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread regulations. Date: 419
(3) TADAE A4.2. Subject: report of conflict (of uncertain nature) and request for assistance. Date: undated.
(4) TADAE A4.5. Subject: petition to unknown addressee about temple reconstruction. Date: not before July 410.
(5) TADAE A4.7 and 8. Subject: petition to Bagāvahyā about temple reconstruction (two versions). Date: 25 November 407.
(6) TADAE A4.9. Subject: memorandum of authorization of temple reconstruction. Date: after November 407.
(7) TADAE A4.10. Subject: offer of payment in connection with temple-reconstruction, addressed to an anonymous 'lord', probably but not certainly, Aršāma. Date: after November 407.

Demotic Egyptian

Documents referring to Aršāma:

(1) Saqqara S.H5-DP 434. Published in Smith and Martin 2009: 31–9. See Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 288–93. Subject: report of official or judicial proceedings of uncertain nature. Date: 24 or 26 January 435.
(2) P.BM EA 76274.1. Unpublished: see Martin 2019, Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 294–9. Subject: letters on estate business. Date: one letter is dated 9 June 422.
(3) P.BM EA 76287. Unpublished: see Martin 2019, Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 294–9. Subject: land survey. Date: uncertain.
(4) P.Mainz 17. Unpublished: see Vittmann 2009: 103–4. Subject: uncertain. Date: 429.

Old Persian

Document referring to Aršāma:

(1) Inscribed perfume-holder lid. Published in Michaélides 1943: 96–7. The inscription reads *Ariyāršā Aršāmhya puça* (Ariyāršan, son of Aršāma). See below under Problematic Items.

Babylonia

Documents referring to Aršāma:

(1) Twelve texts from the Murašû archive (Nippur):
  (a) (i) PBS 2/1 144–8, BE 10.130–1, (ii) BE 10.132, (iii) BE 9.1. Pirngruber i nos. 5–13. Subject: leases of Aršāma's livestock issued by his bailiff Enlil-supê-muhur. Date: (i) various dates in 22 September–9 October 413 (8–25.6.11 Darius II), (ii) 24 June 411 (29.3.13 Darius), (iii) 1 November 404 (28.7.1 Artaxerxes II).[2]
  (b) EE 11 = Stolper 1985: 235–6. Pirngruber i no. 2. Subject: lease of grain-fields, including land from Aršāma's estate. Date: 10 June 425 (10.3.40 Artaxerxes I)
  (c) IMT 9 = Donbaz and Stolper 1997: 85. Pirngruber i no. 3. Subject: lease of property by Murašû. Date: 2 March 429 (15.12.35 Artaxerxes I)
  (d) IMT 105 + 109 = Donbaz and Stolper 1997: 152–4. Pirngruber i no. 4. Subject: record of settlement of complaint brought by a servant of Aršāma against the Murašû. Date: 20 March 423 (9.12. Acc. Darius II).

(2) One non-Murašû text (also from Nippur):
  (a) TCL 13.203 = Moore 1935: 203. Pirngruber i no. 1. Subject: division of land (Aršāma is mentioned in a field border-definition). Date: 5–13 September 403 (10(+$^?$).6.2 Artaxerxes II)

Greek Literary Tradition

Texts referring to Aršāma:

(1) Ctesias 688 F14(38). After the suppression of Inaros' revolt in Egypt, Megabyzus appointed (*kathistēsi*) Sarsamas as satrap of Egypt. See below under Problematic Items.

(2) Ctesias 688 F15(50). 'Eventually Ochus got a large army and was likely to be king (*epidoxos ēn basileuein*). Then Arbarius (Sogdianus' *hippeōn arkhōn*) defected to Ochus; then Arxanes, the satrap of Egypt; then Artoxares the eunuch came from Armenia to Ochus'. See below under Problematic Items.

(3) Polyaenus 7.28.1. Arsames captures the city of Barca treacherously after a siege. See below under Problematic Items.

---

[2] Driver 1965: 89 is wrong to say that PBS 2/1 144 comes from 423 (1 Darius). Van Driel 1993: 247 n. 66 reports that BE 10.132 may actually date from 29.2.13 Darius II, i.e. May, rather than June, 411. BE 9.1 was published as of from the reign of Artaxerxes I, and so regarded in Driver 1965: 41; but the transaction is exactly like those in texts from Darius II's reign, and clearly BE 9.1 must be from the reign of Artaxerxes II. This view is assumed by Stolper 1985: 64.

Problematic Items

Apart from TADAE A4.10 and 5.2, where an anonymous 'lord' might or might not be Aršāma, and A3.6, where Aršāma is only present if one accepts Van der Toorn's conjectural restoration of the end of line 2 (2018a: 262–3), the items of problematic status are the Old Persian inscription from Egypt and, one way or another, all of the Greek literary texts.[3]

Ariyāršā Aršāmhya puça

Michaélides wrongly read 'Ariyarta, son of Artam', citing the 'Ariyawrata, son of Artames' in Posener 1936: nos. 27, 31, 33, 34. (The patronymic is actually *Rtamiça-—i.e. Artamithres, not Artames: Tavernier 2007a: 298.) One may suspect that Michaélides read what he wanted to see. There is certainly no doubt that the correct reading is *Ariyāršā Aršāmhya puça*, as Mayrhofer 1964: 87 noted (cf. Mayrhofer 1978: 33 §9.6).

For Mayrhofer, the item was plainly a valid piece of evidence about Persian onomastics, and he went on to wonder whether Ariyāršā might be the son of *the* Aršāma—an idea that Schmitt 2006: 80 was also happy to envisage. There certainly do not appear to be any independent dating criteria that might refute (or for that matter validate) the identification.[4]

Are there reasons to doubt the item's authenticity? It is always a possibility with unprovenanced items; and the authenticity of a Darius alabastron published by Michaélides in the same article is questioned by Westenholz and Stolper 2002: 8 (n. 10), on the grounds that the name of Darius has a superfluous word divider after it, suggesting that the inscription was created from a longer text by someone (a modern forger?) whose command of the writing system was imperfect—or who was just careless. By those standards, however, the Ariyāršā inscription scores well, being composed in correct Old Persian and inscribed without obvious writing errors—worth noting, given that the name Ariyāršā does not exist in, and so could not be copied from, the surviving corpus of OP documents. (‘Son’ and ‘of Aršāma’, by contrast, could be lifted from e.g. the opening of DB.)[5]

---

[3] For completeness' sake I note that there is no reason to think that the putatively pre-Ctesian 'Arsames the Persian' who was born with teeth (Ctes.688 F72) has anything to do with our Aršāma. (The fragment is only doubtfully from Ctesias anyway. On this see Almagor n.d.)

[4] By contrast Tavernier 2007a does not register Michaélides' perfume-holder lid: it does not appear s.v. Ṛšāma- (pp. 13, 44) or s.v. *Aryāvrata- (p. 117) or s.v. *Ṛtama- (p. 297), and the name Ariyāršān is not listed at all. But this is a consequence of the way in which Tavernier's lexicon works (see 2007a: 5–6). He is only interested in OP words/names for which a rendering survives in some language(s) other than Old Persian or Greek. That is not true of Ariyāršān; and, although it *is* true of Ṛšāma-, the authentic OP form of that name is supplied by a royal inscription, rendering any evidence from Michaélides' item superfluous. (In effect royal inscriptions are treated as the sole valid source for authentic OP names and words. This arises because the corpus of potentially authentic OP texts is almost exactly coterminous with that of royal inscriptions.) Dr Tavernier has kindly confirmed his agreement with Mayrhofer's etymological interpretation of the name Ariyāršān ('mit arischen Mannen': Mayrhofer 1978: 33 §9.6). Perhaps for comparable (though not philological) reasons of scope the item also does not figure in Wasmuth 2017a.

More troubling is whether we should expect an Old Persian text of this sort. The discovery of an Old Persian text in the Persepolis Fortification archive (Fort.1208-101: Stolper and Tavernier 2007) means it is not strictly true that written Old Persian is confined to royal contexts. But that document may still be the exception that proves the rule: whatever motivated its scribe to try out Old Persian script on an administrative text, doing it in the special and (in a way) private environment of a government office, may tell us little about behaviour elsewhere. The suggestion has been made that the vessel was a votive offering. Was that an appropriate reason for someone who *might* have been the son of an Achaemenid prince to find a suitably skilled scribe to make his Old Persian mark for him? Perhaps he was even making a point in *not* having it labelled in hieroglyphic Egyptian. Or is this all a little out of proportion for a humble perfume jar? In any case, taken at face value, the item falsifies Garrison’s statement (2017a: 558) that ‘Petrie seal 22 is…the only occurrence [in Egypt] of one of the official monumental languages of the empire outside of royal monuments’.

The fact remains that inauthenticity cannot be proved. Nor can the identity of this Aršāma with the Egyptian satrap. But one must say it is still a possibility. For further discussion see Garrison & Henkelman ii 53–4.

Sarsamas and Arxanes, satraps of Egypt

We have two statements, both from Ctesias (as summarized by Photius):

- After suppressing the revolt of Inaros, Megabyzus made Sarsamas satrap of Egypt[6]
- During the disorders after the death of Artaxerxes I, the satrap of Egypt, Arxanes, sided with the eventual victor, Darius II.[7]

The second item belongs in 424–423, squarely in the period for which Aršāma’s link with Egypt is attested, and it seems plain that Arxanes must be Aršāma—even though the Greek form is entirely unexpected and is one for which Schmitt 2006: 78 cannot supply an explanation.

The first item takes us, on conventional chronology, to 454 or, on the recent non-conventional view of Kahn 2008, to 458/7, and it gives us a Greek form that is recognizably close to what would be predicted for Aršāma.[8] But there are problems. One is that one of the MSS of Photius (the source for the relevant Ctesias fragment) gives the name as *Sartaman*, suggesting the satrap was really called Artames.[9] Another is that, if we read *Sarsaman* and identify the man with Aršāma, the latter was Egyptian satrap for at least forty-seven years (454–407).[10] A third is that, whether we read *Sarsaman* or *Sartaman*, the fact that the name is not *Arxanēn* might suggest that Ctesias did not think the two individuals were the same; since *Arxanēn* must be Aršāma, *Sarsaman/Sartaman* must be someone else.[11]

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[5] Another inscribed item in Michaélides 1943, a bull with the (Akkadian) name Mi-it-ri-AD-u-a = *Miθrabua-, was thought a forgery by Zadok 2004: 116, but is defended by Tavernier 2007a: 472.

[6] Ctesias 688 F14(38): *καθίστησι* (sc. *Μεγάβυζος*) *δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σατράπην Σαρσάμαν καὶ λαβὼν Ἴναρον καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἀρτοξέρξην.*

[7] Ctes. 688 F15(50): *Ἀφίσταται Ἀρβάριος ὁ τῶν ἱππέων Σεκυνδιανοῦ ἄρχων πρὸς Ὦχον, εἶτα Ἀρξάνης ὁ Αἰγύτου σατράπης.*

The choice between *Sartaman* and *Sarsaman* is probably an open one: although editors have tended to take the view that, *ceteris paribus*, A is the better manuscript, it is not obvious that, where A and M offer equally good (or bad) readings, there should be any particular prejudice in favour of one or other reading. In theory we have a free choice between Artames and Arsames, and the issue has to resolved by other means.

Any argument from dissimilarity between 'Arxanes' and either Artames or Arsames probably gets us no further forward with the choice between the latter. If 'Arxanes' is Aršāma and the earlier satrap has to be someone different (since otherwise Ctesias would have called him Arxanes as well), that earlier satrap's name could still just as well have been (in Ctesias' view) Arsames as Artames. But does the earlier satrap have to be someone different?

The question is affected by the fact that *Arxanēs* cannot be explained as a legitimate, if unusual, rendering of OP Ṛšāma- and (apparently) admits of no explanation as the legitimate rendering of any Persian name.[12] If Ctesias offered two distinct real Persian names there would be no problem in the first place. Instead his MSS offer two putatively Persian names, one certainly textually corrupt (and of uncertain restoration), the other partly or wholly aberrant. It may be no less likely that the two passages offer different failed attempts at the *same* name as failed attempts at different names—and the fact that the two attempts produce broadly rather similar results inevitably (if, some might say, illogically) tempts one to the former conclusion.

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[8] Schmitt 2006: 78 attributes the aberrant initial 's' to 'Lautzuwachs [infolge falsche Worttrennung]'. Or perhaps it is straightforward textual error: a copyist's eye momentarily strayed to the start of the previous word, *satrapēn*, before returning to *Arsaman*.

[9] This is the reading in M. *Sarsaman* is found in A.

[10] Bigwood 1976: 9 n. 30 found this improbable; in her view 'Sarsamas' was indeed Aršāma, but it was not true that he became satrap as early as the 450s. (Bichler 2006: 456 n. 3 entertains a similar view.) The implication is that Ctesias has falsely backdated the tenure of the individual whom he knew as satrap of Egypt at the time of his direct experience of the Persian court—which arguably is odd if he really thought the name of the latter was Arxanes.

[11] Lewis 1958 was hesitant about Sarsamas being Arsames, feeling that even Ctesias ought to have stuck to one name-form, but in the end left the matter open. (For the purpose of an argument focused on events in the 410s, of course, it did not matter.)

[12] I am inferring this from the silence of Schmitt 2006: 78, and the point does require further investigation.

But, even if we decided that Ctesias' original text referred to Arsamas/Artamas and Arxanes (the latter actually representing OP *Ạršāma-*), should we assume they are actually different people? We might concede that Ctesias *thought* they were different people (or to put it less positively) did not think that they were the same person—the point being that the names arguably came to him by different source-routes (one source about the 450s, the other about the 420s) and that he thought no further about the possibility that a single individual might be involved.[13] In other words, we should not be concerned with what Ctesias thought but simply find the best interpretation we can of separate bits of data for which he is merely the channel.

If so, the only remaining issue that has a bearing on the choice between *Sarsaman* and *Sartaman* is that to choose the first invites the conclusion that a single Arsames/Aršāma was satrap for forty-seven years or more.[14] Is there any compelling reason to rule this out? Aršāma is a 'son of the house' (*bar bayta*)—conventionally understood to mean royal prince (see further below, pp. 31–8)—and bears the name of (a) Darius' grandfather[15] and (b) Darius' son by his favourite wife Artystone (Herodotus 7.69, 70), a figure who is known independently from the Fortification archive[16] and is the presumed earlier owner of the magnificent cylinder seal used by our Aršāma.[17] Another royal prince (Cyrus, son of Darius II) was appointed to a politically complex provincial position in his mid teens. Admittedly he was the actual son of the king; but perhaps Aršāma was sufficiently well-connected to the core Achaemenid family to be sent to Egypt at an age which makes his survival in post until the century's final decade not too disturbing, especially as some members of the

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[13] This is in effect the reverse of Bigwood's position (cf. n. 10).

[14] It does not, of course, compel the conclusion, since there *could* be more than one Egyptian satrap called Arsames/Aršama, whether immediately consecutively or not. (Quack 2016 envisages this possibility.) But if one were going to believe that one might as well believe that the satrap appointed in the 450s was called Artames. Henkelman ii 212 draws attention to some other quite long satrapal tenures, but they do fall well short of the period postulated for Aršāma.

[15] Often identified with the father of Parnakka/*Farnaka- (PFS 0016* = Garrison and Root 2001: 92–4 (no. 22)), making the latter Darius' uncle. But see Garrison & Henkelman ii 133 n.152.

[16] PF 0309, PF 0733, PF 0734, PF 2035, NN 0958, Fort.0965–201, all edited or re-edited in Garrison & Henkelman ii 141–66. (The eponym of the '*degel* of Aršāma' apparently mentioned in an Aramaic superscription to PF 2050 is presumably a different person.) Ael. fr. 46 (cf. Suda θ 162) rather oddly postulates a *daughter* of Darius called Arsame. (The story concerns the resistance of Cyzicene virgins to being sent to her as *xeinia*.) Garrison & Henkelman ii 55 n. 18 suggest that this is a garbled reference to the son of Artystone. Much later the name was borne by a son and a nephew of Artaxerxes II (Plut.*Artox.*30, Diod.17.5, Syncell.392, 486, Jo.Ant.38,39, Euseb. ap. Jer. *Chron.* ann.1652, exc.Lat.Barb.32a: the latter was also the father of Darius III), the governor of Cilicia killed at Issus (Arr. *Anab.*1.12, 2.4,11), and a son of Artabazus (3.23). A Lycian called Aršāma turns up in FdX 9.191—a nice coincidence (presumably nothing more: but see Tavernier iii 75 n.1), given the apparent Lycians in A6.8 (Armapiya) and perhaps A6.11–14 (Kenzasirma). Another nice coincidence is that Xenophon (*Cyr.*6.3.21, 7.1.3, 8) has an Arsames on the left wing at Thymbrara, where he would have been fighting against Egyptians.

[17] Garrison & Henkelman ii 50, 56–62. The discovery that the Bodleian's Aršāma letter-*bullae* came from a seal already in use in the 490s was made by Mark Garrison in summer 2012.

Achaemenid family did live to a ripe old age.[18] The satrap of Egypt immediately before the revolt (and since the 480s) had been Xerxes' brother Achaemenes. Continuation of a close (if not *quite* so close) royal link with the post might be perfectly natural in the circumstances.[19]

I think, therefore, that we *can* in good conscience opt for *Sarsaman*, emend it to *Arsaman* and identify the individual with our *Aršāma*. But if a dated document from the 440s were to turn up in which the Egyptian satrap was called Artames, we could not claim to be utterly surprised.

Arsames and Barca

In Polyaenus' story Arsames is conducting a siege of Barca. He then makes a deal with Barcaean ambassadors (sending his *dexia* as a token of trustworthiness) and lifts the siege. Barcaean *arkhontes* come to discuss an alliance (and are lavishly entertained), while the general Barcaean populace leaves the city to buy food from a specially created *agora*. A signal is then given and Arsames' troops seize the gates and loot the city, killing any who resist.[20]

There are at least three possible views of the date of the story and the identity of 'Arsames'.

(1) In Herodotus 4.167, 200–2 a Persian army (under Amasis and Badres) captured Barca towards the end of the 510s through a trick centring around a meeting at which oaths are sworn by Persians and Barcaeans. All the details are very different,[21] but Persian treachery is a common feature between this and Polyaenus' story. Perhaps for this reason, Briant (2002: 482) takes it that Polyaenus' story is an alternative version of Herodotus' and that his Arsames is identical with Herodotus' Amasis. Since Herodotus calls Amasis a Maraphian (meaning that he is apparently an Iranian), Briant takes it that we have a case of double nomination, Arsames having taken the Egyptian name Amasis, in the same way that e.g. Aryāvrata took the name Djedḥer = Tachos (Posener 1936: no. 33).[22]

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[18] Darius, Artaxerxes I and II. Darius' grandfather was alive when Darius became king.

[19] Ctesias is represented by Photius as saying that Megabyzus put in place (*kathistēsi*) Arsames (Sarsamas) as satrap. That is surely shorthand for establishing in post someone who had, of course, been selected by the king, but tells us nothing further about Arsames' age or status at the time.

[20] Polyaen.7.28.1: *᾿Αρσάμης ἐπολιόρκει Βαρκαίους. τῶν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβευσαμένων περὶ διαλύσεως ὡμολόγησε καὶ δεξὶαν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε νόμῳ Περσικῷ καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διαλύσας παρεκάλει Βαρκαίους βασιλεῖ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατείας καὶ πέμπειν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ἁρμάτων βοήθειαν. οἵ δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔπεμψαν βουλευσομένους μετ᾽ ἀυτοῦ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας. ᾿Αρσάμης λαμπρὰν ὑποδοχὴν παρασκευασάμενος εἱστία τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ προέθηκεν ἀγορὰν πᾶσι Βαρκαίοις ἐπιτηδείων ἄφθονον. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν προελθόντων σημεῖον ἦρε τοῖς Πέρσαις. οἵ δὲ μετὰ ἐγχειριδίων καταλαβόμενοι τὰς πύλας καὶ εἰσπεσόντες δίηρπασαν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς ἐγχειροῦντας κωλεύειν φονεύοντες.*

[21] Wachsmuth 1879: 157: 'nichts weniger als alles verschieden ist'.

[22] Driver 1965: 96 prefers to postulate a simple confusion of 'Amasis' and 'Arsames'.

(2) The prospective alliance involves *basilei koinōnēsai tēs epi tēn Hellada strateias kai pempein autōi tēn tōn harmatōn boētheian.* The natural immediate reaction is to take this as a reference to Xerxes' expedition. One can then see trouble in Cyrenaica as a side-effect of the revolt in Egypt which was suppressed early in Xerxes' reign, and put the Barca incident in the later 480s.[23] Since Achaemenes became satrap straight after the Egyptian revolt, Arsames would be operating as his subordinate commander (as Amasis and Badres were the subordinates of Aryandes in Herodotus IV). An alternative version of the same general approach would be to identify the prospective campaign as the one that Darius was planning at the end of his reign. On that view trouble in Cyrenaica was the background to, rather than a side-effect, of the Egyptian revolt, and Arsames could theoretically be satrap (since Farnadāta is not attested in that role after 492)—though there would still be no necessity to suppose that that was so.

(3) Others have located the story in the period after 'Sarsamas' = Aršāma became satrap of Egypt: on this view, which goes back to Wachsmuth 1879, the prospective campaign against Greece is explained by reference to Persian forces with which Cimon came into conflict in the Levant in the early 440s (Diodorus 12.3): the idea is presumably that Cimon's final campaign was a pre-emptive operation against Persian preparations for a new attempt to re-enter the Aegean and undo the effects of Xerxes' defeat. Meanwhile, trouble in Cyrenaica will be (as on Chamoux's view) part of the aftermath of an Egyptian rebellion—an aftermath that in this case also included troublesome behaviour from Amyrtaeus, an Egyptian prince holed up somewhere in the Delta (or so it is normally supposed).

The advantage for the first explanation is that it ties the event to a known event involving Persians and Barcaeans and avoids the multiplication of entities. One would not, of course, worry so much about that multiplication except for the highly generic but still real link between the Polyaenus and Herodotus stories. Two stories about Persians capturing Barca might not be a problem. Two stories about a capture that turn on treacherous oath-swearing are somewhat more worrying. The inclination to think that this is the historiographical tradition playing with alternative versions of the same event is quite strong.

The *prima facie* disadvantage of the first explanation is the link to a putative forthcoming royal expedition against Greece, since it is not immediately obvious that such an expedition is available at the relevant juncture. A similar disadvantage affects the third explanation, since it is at the very least a matter of interpretation to turn the data in Diodorus 12.3 into *hē epi tēn Hellada strateia*. By contrast, this is the great advantage for the second explanation. The planned royal expedition against Greece (which is the only element in the story that might fix its relation to anything outside Barca) can be linked to known examples of the phenomenon involving Darius or Xerxes. Since planned royal campaigns against Greece are not something that we should not duplicate recklessly, this is a strong argument in favour of locating the story in the 480s.[24] Is it a decisive argument?

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[23] Chamoux 1953: 164–5, opting specifically for 483. Chamoux claims that this coheres with numismatic evidence. I do not know whether this has any real independent force.

In the case of the third explanation we do at least have evidence for a major troop agglomeration. Can we rule out the possibility that some strand in the Greek historical tradition about the situation between Persia and Greece around 450 (a tradition now represented for us by very selective narratives in Thucydides, Diodorus, and Plutarch) originally included a clear belief that Persian forces were being mobilized for a Greek campaign? One part of the historical tradition did believe that (at a somewhat earlier date) the exiled Themistocles was supposed to have been promoting preparations for a new attack; and some modern historians have believed the battle at the Eurymedon pre-empted an expedition that was already under way.

In the case of the first explanation we should need to envisage that Polyaenus drew (ultimately) on a source that believed Darius was planning a more or less immediate continuation of the advance into European Greece begun by Megabyzus' Thracian campaign; and, since that campaign was contemporary with the operations of Amasis and Badres in Cyrenaica, one might even say that it is rather neat that there should be talk of what the Barcaeans could do to help with the next stage of Greek operations. The problem, of course, is that the next stage of operations against Greece did not come until the Naxian campaign over a decade later. So the question is whether it is legitimate to postulate a (non-Herodotean) tradition that Darius originally planned an invasion of central/southern Greece to happen perhaps as early as 510 simply on the basis of Polyaenus 7.28.1. One view would be that the historical location of the Polyaenus passage is too uncertain for it to underpin what might look like a rather significant adjustment of historical understanding. Another view would be that our direct knowledge of non-Herodotean traditions about the later sixth century is too poor for us to rule anything out, that it is worrying that what Herodotus says about Persian interest in peninsular Greece at this stage breaks off with a highly suspect story about relations with Macedonia, and that, if there *was* a break in the continuity of imperial expansion (especially in the west) after *c.*512, the fact that it turned out to have lasted a good decade does not have to mean that it was planned from the outset to last that long. These considerations are perhaps powerful enough to keep the first explanation of Polyaenus 7.28.1 in play.

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[24] An additional consideration pointing in the same direction might be that Polyaenus speaks specifically of the Barcaeans providing chariots for the royal campaign. That is, frankly, historically implausible in any context, but, as chariots are a feature of the Libyan contribution to Xerxes' army in Hdt.7.84, 186, one might slightly suspect that Polyaenus' ultimate source thought he was dealing with that historical context.

For the present purposes it is, of course, the status of the third explanation that matters most: if we accept it, we stand to get another piece of information about Aršāma. The only additional and distinctive claim it has to acceptance is that—just as the first explanation has the advantage of linking Polyaenus with an already known event in Barca—so this third explanation has the potential advantage of linking it to an appropriately named individual already known in an Egyptian context as the holder of a position of power. But it is debatable whether the individually debatable cases of Ctesias' Sarsamas/Sartamas and Polyaenus' Arsames can be used to support one another. And it has to be noted that the association between the name Arsames and the occupation of a position of power in Egypt is not actually a unique characteristic of the Aršāma in whom we are interested.

In Aeschylus' *Persians* we hear of an *arkhōn* of Memphis called Arsames who was in Xerxes' invasion force (37) and learn that he was one of those who died at Salamis (308). It is tempting to compare this with the fact that Darius' son Arsames (Xerxes' half-brother) appears in the Herodotean army list as commander of the Arabians and the (African) Ethiopians ('the Ethiopians above Egypt')—not an Egyptian commander, indeed, but at least one associated with Africa.[25] Links between the named Persian commanders of the *Persians* and Herodotus are generally fairly slim.[26] We might, of course, regard this one as mere coincidence. But we might alternatively take it seriously as an indication that in the 470s Athenians had reason specifically to link the name of Arsames with the Egyptian sector of the empire; and, if we did that, we might say that Aeschylus provided some indirect support to the second explanation of the Polyaenus story, which puts a prominent Arsames in Egypt in the 480s. This is not a particularly strong argument, but its existence does do a bit to undermine the third explanation. One may add that, even leaving Aeschylus aside, we might identify an Arsames in Cyrenaica in the 480s with Darius' son, especially on Chamoux's version of the second explanation: the idea that two sons of Darius and brothers of the new king (Achaemenes and Arsames) were cooperating in the ongoing task of restoring order to the empire's North African possessions has a certain charm, especially when one recalls that the king himself (yet another son of Darius) had personally participated in the original campaign of recovery.

In sum: I do not think we can exclude the possibility that the young Aršāma conducted a campaign in Cyrenaica—and demonstrated himself to be a worthy successor to Amasis and Badres and predecessor of Tissaphernes. But there are plainly other possibilities that also cannot be wholly excluded.[27]

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[25] Aeschylus' Arsames is regularly identified with Darius' son: see Balcer 1993: 107, 174, Broadhead 1960: 43, 318, Garvie 2009: 60–1.

[26] Relatively few Aeschylean names recur in Herodotus anyway. Others that recur in the army list display no geographical links: thus Ariomardus, also associated with Egypt in Aeschylus, is the name of men commanding troops from Anatolia or Iran in Herodotus.

2. THE EGYPTIAN DOSSIER

The documents from Egypt form the largest sub-section of the Aršāma dossier and deserve further introductory contextualization.

(1) They represent, of course, a tiny proportion of the material from Egypt in Aramaic and Demotic Egyptian (not to mention material in hieroglyphic Egyptian and in other non-Egyptian languages—Greek, Carian, Phoenician).

The set of Aramaic texts consists of 617 items in the *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (of which some 559 belong to the Achaemenid era),[28] 176 in Segal 1983 (ATNS) that are not in TADAE,[29] 297 new items from the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca collection in Lozachmeur 2006,[30] and a substantial number of other scattered pieces, e.g. six fragments from Saqqara published in Lemaire and Chauveau 2008 (which include references to judges, provincial scribes, and a storehouse described with a Persian loanword), a graffito (also from Saqqara) naming Bagadāta son of Hori/Houri (Lozachmeur 1998), a list of names supposedly found in Jordan but thought by some to originate from Elephantine

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[27] For the sake of completeness I note that the Arsames of Polyaenus 7.28.2, a rebel against the king active in Phrygia, cannot—despite what Polyaenus may have thought—reasonably be thought to have anything to do with Aršāma. Driver 1965: 96 (followed by Porten 1968: 279) assigned the story to the context of Darius II's succession, but there really is no ground to think that those events spilled over into central Anatolia. The story is much more likely to belong to the 'Satraps' Revolt' era (and Wachsmuth 1879 suggested, in effect, that it was a doublet of a story about Datames).

[28] For these purposes the Achaemenid era embraces 526–332, i.e. includes the fourth-century period of Egyptian autonomy. The dating of eighteen items remains unclear to me or is undetermined. (For continued use of Aramaic in Hellenistic Egypt see also Gallazzi 2000.) It is perhaps worth noting that the tabulation of Aramaic material in Porten 1997: 391–410 is not a complete record of the material included in TADAE (and, of course, ignores the Clermont-Ganneau material in Lozachmeur 2006). In a number of cases it also offers a different view on find-site from that implicit in TADAE. Sometimes this is because TADAE suggests an origin for an item whose provenance is technically unknown and is so registered in Porten 1997 (or occasionally Porten 1997 suggests a provenance, while TADAE treats it as unknown). But there are several direct contradictions: A5.4, a number of items assigned to Memphis-Saqqara at TADAE III v §1 fin., and a number of the ostraca in D7–10.

[29] ATNS 11–15, 17–18, 22–7, 31–4, 36–43, 46, 49–52, 54–6, 58–60, 62–86, 88–105, 107–202, XXII. There is no guarantee that all the contents of ATNS are of Achaemenid date—nor any proof that they are not.

[30] CG 16, 44, 70, 125, 152, 169, 186, 228, 277 correspond (respectively) to D7.7, D7.10, D7.21, D7.44, D7.16, D7.2, D7.35, D7.5, D7.30. There is no reason not to assign all of these to the Achaemenid era. There are also twenty-seven items that are not (or not certainly) Aramaic (listed in Siljanen 2017: 338–9).

(AO 25431: Lemaire 1975),[31] sundry other items certainly from Elephantine (seven jar inscriptions, fifteen ostraca, a papyrus, and Aramaic annotations on a Demotic papyrus),[32] two funerary stelae (one of them from Saqqara, the other possibly so),[33] eleven or more labels of debated nature from Memphis (Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright 1910: pl. 34),[34] an ostracon from Tell el-Maskhutah,[35] graffiti from Wadi Sura, Abusir, and El Kab,[36] the Aramaic texts written in Demotic script contained in P.Amh.63 (perhaps from Edfu),[37] an alleged incantation against scorpions from Wadi Hammamat (also in Demotic script),[38] and a number of other unpublished texts in the lists on www.trismegistos.org.[39] This material is by no means entirely epistolary or documentary (let alone the direct product of Persian administration),[40] as it includes not only the incantation just mentioned and P.Amh.63, but also e.g. the remnants of the Aramaic version of the Bīsotūn text (C2.1), a version of the Words of Ahiqar (C1.1), the long Sheikh

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[31] The text is very reminiscent of the Elephantine environment. It may beg questions to assume that such an environment might not occur elsewhere (much depends on how many homonymous 'Caspians' one might expect to find in different parts of the empire); but Lozachmeur 2006: 409 reports that the ostracon on which AO 25431 is written is of Egyptian origin, and she finds it palaeographically very close to CG 275. CG 267 and D9.11 are other Elephantine ostraca with lists of names of similar type to AO 25431.

[32] Jar-inscriptions: Röllig 2013: nos. 24–6, 30, 32, Lozachmeur 2012. Ostraca: O.Munich 898, 899 (Lidzbarski 1915: 20–2), Röllig 2013: nos. 33, 36–47. Papyrus: Cairo 98511 (papyrus mentioned in *MDAI(K)* 1990, 252 nr. 4, without further details). P.Berl.Dem.23584 (Zauzich 1971: 2.119, no. 211). There are apparently some still unpublished items from the original German excavations (Lepper 2015: 263–4, 271–2). Newly discovered ostraca and papyri are also reported from just across the Nile in Syene (von Pilgrim, Müller, and Schwaiger, H. 2011/12: 5, von Pilgrim and Müller 2013/14: 3): the ostraca are said to contain 'Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Phoenician and Persian names and the notification of a military unit of the Persian army', while one of the papyri has 'the impression of an Achaemenid seal'. A subsequent report speaks of 'an assemblage of sealings including Achaemenid seal impressions' (von Pilgrim, Hepa, Müller, Nováček, and Scheelen-Nováček 2016/17: 2), perhaps the remnants of a lost documentary archive. The relationship between the *loci* of these various finds is not clearly stated, but they do not appear to be identical.

[33] Lozachmeur and Dobrev 2008 (Saqqâra Tb 184), Vittmann 2003: 111 (Hamm 5773).

[34] Sometimes said to be mummy-case labels, but that was not Petrie's view.

[35] Lutz 2001: 195 n. 18, pl. 3c (M81–336a).

[36] Dušek and Mynářová 2013: 65–9 (Abusir), Lemaire 2007: 213 (Wadi Sura), Vittmann 2017: 251 (El Kab).

[37] Van der Toorn 2018b has now provided a comprehensive publication. Among earlier studies see e.g. Steiner and Nims 1983, 1984, 1985, Steiner and Moshavi 1995, Vleeming and Wesselius 1985–1990, Steiner 2000.

[38] So Steiner 2001, but not everyone agrees.

[39] In terms of provenance, Elephantine-Syene and Memphis-Saqqara-Abusir provide about 62% and 27% respectively of the Achaemenid-era material. Of the rest, about 5% is of unknown origin and 6% is distributed across fourteen different locations.

[40] Of items published in TADAE the following might be classified as Persian administrative or administration-related documents (as distinct from private documents such as A4.5, A4.7–10, that happen to interact with administrative figures): A4.1, A5.1–2, A5.3–5, A6.1–2, B8.5, C3.3–10, C3.12, C3.14, C3.19, C3.21, C3.25–7, C4.1–2, C4.4–9, D1.32, D2.29–34, at least some of D3.1–26, D3.27–47, D6.1–14. Known provenances split evenly between Elephantine and Memphis-Saqqara. (See Kuhrt iii 127 n. 21.) At least some of the Aramaic items from North Saqqara that are not in TADAE (cf. n. 29) are also in this category.

Fadl literary text (D23.1), a fragment from an Egyptian story (C1.2), and material from a variety of contexts/genres in TADAE IV.[41]

The context of the Demotic material is less easy to quantify and assess. The listing in www.trismegistos.org suggests that over 450 items may date to the Achaemenid era in the broadest sense (cf. n. 28), but much of this has never been published and there is no convenient corpus corresponding to TADAE. Agut-Labordère 2017a: 678–9 offers a more conservative and narrowly focused assessment of the relevant material, reckoning that there are 176 precisely dated documents from the First Domination, over half of which (95) come from Ain Manawir.[42] As with Aramaic texts, the material is mixed in character: alongside purely private business documents (including, among more recent discoveries, the numerous ostraca from Ain Manawir illustrating the agricultural exploitation of an oasis area in the Western Desert),[43] there are official letters (e.g. the Farnadāta correspondence from Elephantine),[44] a mixed bag of tantalizing remnants from a possible administrative archive in Saqqara (this is the immediate context of one of the documents that refers to Aršāma, the other one being, by contrast, linked to Heracleopolis),[45] the immense petition of Peteese in P.Ryl.Dem. 9 (about allegedly sinister goings-on in Teuzoi stretching back from Darius' reign deep into the Saite era),[46] and some celebrated items directly linked with Achaemenid rulers—Cambyses' decree about temple-revenues or Darius' order for the compilation of an Egyptian law book.[47] Agut-Labordère 2017a: 680–4 provides a list and brief description of twenty-three dated and undated documents that have a good chance of being fairly directly related to the Persian administration of Egypt because of the presence of Iranian personal names and/or appropriate official titles (whether Iranian or Egyptian).

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[41] The total number of known Aramaic texts of Achaemenid date lies somewhere between 5,250 and 5,650 (precise counting is hard because of varying estimates of the amount of unpublished material and uncertainties about the dating of both published and unpublished items). The Egyptian total of 1,082 makes it the third most productive area after the Levant (where the total is disproportionately boosted by the immense Makkedah haul—over 2,000 ostraca at the present count) and Iran.

[42] Vittmann 2008/9: 221 notes that, aside from the Ain Manawir material, the incidence of Demotic documents from the period after Darius I is 'extrem dürftig'. Müller 2016 provides some summary information about the Demotic texts found at Elephantine. I describe Agut-Labordère's assessment as conservative both in relation to the global www.trismegistos.org figure and my own reckoning that there are some 113 texts aside from those from Ain Manawir that can robustly be assigned to the First Domination. Unlike Aramaic (cf. previous n.), Demotic has little presence outside Egypt, but it appears in the PFA on Fort.2131-401 and perhaps also on Fort.0839-401: see Azzoni *et al.* 2019. The number of surviving Achaemenid-era texts, whether Demotic or Aramaic, is of course modest compared with what is available for the Ptolemaic era, but the innovative manufacture of mummy cases from cartonnage has an impact on this contrast (Thompson 2011b: 400).

[43] See Chauveau 1996, 2001, 2006, 2008, Agut-Labordère 2014, 2016a, 2016b. The ostraca are published at http://www.achemenet.com/fr/tree/?/sources-textuelles/textes-par-langues-et-ecritures/egyptien-hieroglyphique-et-demotique/ostraca-d-ayn-manawir#set.

[44] P.Berl.Dem.13539, 13540, 13572: Chauveau 1999. Lepper 2015: 263–4, 271–2 suggests that there may be further unpublished Demotic texts relevant to the Elephantine community.

[45] Smith and Martin 2009, Martin 2019, Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 287–99.

[46] See Vittmann 1998.

[47] Spiegelberg 1914. For more recent re-editions/treatments of the texts cf. e.g. Agut-Labordère 2009–10, Quack 2011a: 233–6 (Darius), Devauchelle 1995, Bresciani 1996, Agut-Labordère 2005a and 2005b (Cambyses).

(2) The Egyptian Aršāma dossier material is not homogeneous and can be subdivided in various ways, some fairly straightforward—provenance (Elephantine, Saqqara, unknown) or relation to Aršāma (author or recipient of letters; referent within texts of other origin)—some deserving a little more by way of preliminary comment.

Date. Nine documents from Egypt carry dates, with an outer range of 435–407.[48] (The upper *terminus* has only relatively recently been definitively pushed back to 435 by publication of S.H5–DP 434 = Smith and Martin 2009: 31–9. See Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 289.) By contrast, none of the Bodleian documents contains any explicit dates at all. (In this respect they are dissimilar to the Axvamazdā letters from Bactria. On these see further below, pp. 21, 23–9, 38–9, 43, 47, 53, 60–1, 72.)

The prevailing view locates them in the later fifth century,[49] because (a) they are generally thought to have been written outside Egypt (on this see below, pp. 39–45) and Aršāma is known to have been outside Egypt in 410–407, (b) a story can be told that links references to disorder or rebellion with a date horizon of 412/11, and (c) the palaeography of the texts is held to be consonant with such a date (Porten and Yardeni 1986–99: 1.93). These may be good arguments, though there is no reason to assume Aršāma was only outside Egypt once during his period of office, the association with 412/11 is necessarily speculative (see below, pp. 63–72), and palaeography is not an entirely exact science. Naveh (1970: 24) found that the 'formal cursive' script of Aršāma's scribes (he refers specifically to A6.2 and to the Bodleian letters)[50] had some features appropriate to the beginning of the fifth century. Since A6.2 was certainly written in 411, this archaism does not, of course, prove that the Bodleian letters are earlier than is usually assumed. But the possibility theoretically remains open, especially since the semi-formal cursive script of some Elephantine professional scribes (specifically Natan son of ʿAnani) active in the second to third quarters of the century also display archaizing tendencies—i.e. the phenomenon is not itself a marker of its last ten to fifteen years. Another piece of material evidence

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[48] The regnal dates found in the new document-set associated with Aršāma fall within this range (Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 293). The date range of Babylonian documents associated with Aršāma is 429–403.

[49] Contrast e.g. Harmatta 1963: 200–2, Dandamaev 1989: 242–3. Holm 2007: 212 also considers the possibility of an early date for at least some of the Bodleian letters: cf. pp. 66–7.

[50] Note incidentally that Naveh assumes the Bodleian letters were written outside Egypt (unlike A6.2) and sees no salient difference between scribes writing for Aršāma and for other addressors (Vāravahyā, Virafša, and Artaxaya). By contrast, A6.1, an official letter *to* Aršāma, is in a 'semi-formal' script (Naveh 1970: 33).

(the seal used by Aršāma) was already in use before 494, so that certainly cannot establish a relatively late *terminus post quem*. The case for dating the Bodleian letters earlier in the fifth century and associating the references to disorder or rebellion with the rebellion of Inaros in the 450s has recently been restated by Quack 2016. If the name Inaros is indeed present in A6.7:7, Quack's position can undoubtedly claim to be the most parsimonious treatment of the evidence.[51]

Whatever the absolute date, one's initial inclination might be to respond to the (alleged) discovery of the Bodleian letters as a single cache by assigning them a relatively small time-frame. But they seem to embrace both the start and end of Psamšek's tenure as Aršāma's *pqyd*,[52] so—unless he only lasted an unexpectedly short time—the rationale of the collection is likely to be subject-matter, not date. Certainly, whatever precise order they are printed in, the documents seem to tell a story about a number—even a succession—of *pqydyn* (Ankhoḥapi: mentioned in A6.4; Psamšek: A6.3–8 and also mentioned in A6.15; Nakhtḥor: A6.9–16), and—perhaps—the contrast between them.[53] Arguably they represent an extract from the archives of the office of the *pqyd*,[54] but who made the extract and why can only be a matter of speculation.[55] If the documents by reason of selection have themselves become a sub-archive, one might more justifiably call it Nakhtḥor's archive than Aršāma's.[56]

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[51] Vittmann's observation that the Inaros of A6.7 cannot be the famous one on chronological grounds (2003: 97) is a *petitio principii*.

[52] Start: 6.4. In 6.3 he is not called *pqyd* but simply 'servant', and Artavanta's authorization is required for the punishment of slaves ordered by Psamšek to be carried out. End: certainly implied in 6.10.

[53] Psamšek certainly succeeds 'Ankhoḥapi (A6.4:3); and Nakhtḥor is *pqyd* at a time at which Psamšek is not (A6.10:1). But, strictly speaking, we do not know that Nakhtḥor is his successor: the opening part of A6.15 is certainly too unclear for this to be anything like a guaranteed inference. There is no ground for speculating that Kosakan (A6.5) was ever a *pqyd* (Tuplin i 103–7).

[54] Whitehead 1974: 27. Note the implication in A6.15:4 that Nakhtḥor had access to a letter to Psamšek. The fact that some of the letters were reportedly discovered folded up does not mean they had not been read; letters can be opened and closed again (as has happened in modern times to ADAB C4).

[55] Driver's order was 6.5, 6.4, 6.3, 6.8, 6.7, 6.9–16—i.e. he had the Nakhtḥor letters just as Porten–Yardeni do but treated the Psamšek ones differently. Putting 6.5 first is presumably connected with Driver's idea that Kosakan was Psamšek's predecessor. 6.3 and 6.4 both refer to both Psamšek and Psamšek's father; it is perhaps an arbitrary matter which to put first. (6.6 was fragment 5 in Driver and therefore out of sequence. We now know that it relates to Nakhtḥor, not Psamšek: cf. TADAE IV at pp. 135, 150.) Porten–Yardeni's order for A6.3–5 was already argued by Whitehead 1974: 20. Porten–Yardeni presumably put 6.7 before 6.8 because its addressee is Artavanta (like 6.3–6), whereas 6.8 is addressed to Armapiya. Driver presumably puts 6.8 before 6.7 because 6.8 names Psamšek and 6.7 does not. Lindenberger (who omits A6.5 and A6.6) prints the letters in another order again. This affects both the Nakhtḥor letters (with A6.10 and A6.11 in reverse order, and A6.12 placed between A6.13–14 and A6.15–16) and the Psamšek letters (in the order A6.4, A6.3, A6.8).

[56] The presence of A6.14, A6.16, relatively personal letters to Nakhtḥor lacking external summary and not intended for formal filing (cf. A6.4:6 n.), points in this direction.

Type of content. There is, in principle, a division between what might be called public and private spheres.

In the first category are the items from Elephantine and Saqqara: the so-called Passover letter (A4.1), the letters and other documents about the destruction and rebuilding of the Elephantine Judaean temple (A4.5, A4.7// A4.8, A4.9–10),[57] and other items of miscellaneous and not always very clear import (A3.6, A4.2, A6.1–2; S.H5-DP 434)—among which the letter authorizing repairs to a boat (A6.2) is perhaps the most immediately arresting because of its punctilious specification of the materials required (down to the precise number of nails to be used).[58] These are the texts that give a glimpse of a satrap's duties; it is also here that we find references to other types of official in the local levels of the imperial system (A6.1, A6.2, A4.5, A5.5, S.H5-DP 434)—including some outside the Egyptian satrapy (Bagāvahyā and Sanballat, the governors of respectively Judah and Samaria in A4.7//A4.8). One official in A6.1 has a title, *azdakara* (herald), that is not otherwise encountered until a Hellenistic era document from Babylonia—a situation one might almost call characteristic of the whimsical survival of data about the Achaemenid imperial system.[59]

In the other category are the Bodleian documents in which the common thread is provided by Aršāma's Egyptian estates and the activities of his bailiffs ʻAnkhoḥapi (A6.3–4), Psamšek (A6.3–8), and Nakhtḥor (A6.9–16).[60] The extremely scrappy bits-and-pieces in D6.3–14—whose contents in general terms fit nicely with those of the well-preserved items[61]—also include fragments of a letter from someone to his sister, one disjoined part of which contains the words 'from Aršāma' (D6.13). The sister's name, Eswere (*ʾswry*), is not

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[57] See Granerød iii 329–43, Tuplin iii 344–72.

[58] Recent editors/translators of A6.2 present part of the text in tabular form, with headings and sub-headings: Whitehead 1974: 128–32, Porten and Yardeni 1986–99: 1.98–101, and Porten 2011: 119–22. (The original text is written in continuous lines throughout.) But they produce three different results, and up to four further possibilities could be entertained: yet none of these seven solutions is indisputably correct. What this indicates is that the bureaucrats' concern for specification of materials was not matched by a wholly logical categorization of those materials. Perhaps, of course, the fact that the text was not written in tabular form in the first place already points in that direction. Another mixture of apparent punctiliousness and imperfect documentary articulation appears in lines 4–6. These embrace two orders evidently issued by a single person (viz. Aršāma): (i) an order that the accountants and foremen examine the boat [that is the process that will lead to the detailed report reproduced in 6–22], and (ii) an order to 'whoever is there' to provide materials and do repairs and other things 'about which word was sent from me to them'. The problem is that these orders cover not only setting up the inspection but also executing the result, even though the inspection has not yet happened. So the apparently orderly detailed account of the back-story to Aršāma's eventual order to Waḥpremaḥi for the work to be done (1 + 22–3) seems to elide a stage in the narrative.

[59] *Azdakara*: Stolper 1993: A2-7:5, Stolper 2006: 235, 243. A detailed survey of sub-satrapal officials in Greek and Aramaic sources appears in Tuplin 2017a.

[60] The Babylonian documentary material falls into a similar category.

[61] Some of the same names recur (Psamšek, Nakhtḥor, Rāšta, Virafša; D6.7 is plainly related to the same issue as A6.15; and D6.8 deals with 'household personnel' as does A6.11. See Tuplin i 265–8.

Iranian but Egyptian (*3s.t+wr.t*, 'Isis (the) great' or 'Great Isis').[62] The initial excited thought that this might be evidence for a female member of a Persian family with a Egyptian name (and thus a direct or indirect sign of intermarriage or acculturation) should probably be resisted. Certainly one might equally well imagine that the archive of documents included a letter from one of the Egyptian *pqydyn* to his sister—which would be almost equally interesting.

But the public/private divide is not entirely hermetic. In A6.8 Aršāma instructs Armapiya and his *ḥyl* (military force) to obey instructions from the *pqyd* Psamšek. Assuming (a) that *ḥyl* has to designate a body of *military* men (A6.8:1(4) n.) and (b) that soldiers always count as part of the public sphere, this letter illuminates a cross-over between the public and private sphere—and perhaps, indeed, reveals that some individuals in the former were resistant to such cross-over. There are also in other letters some allusions to disturbance or revolt which may take us into the public sphere, even if the letters in question are in the first instance about the implications of public matters for the affairs of a private estate. (These allusions are discussed below, pp. 63–72.) In general terms, of course, when the 'private' estate holder is also the satrap, then (irrespective of whether he has the estate *because* he is satrap) the distinction between public and private is liable to be blurred. Something similar is observable in the correspondence of Axvamazdā in Bactria.[63]

Material features. The non-Greek items in the dossier come on various carriers: clay tablets, papyrus, a perfume-holder lid, and leather. Of these the first and second are normal and unremarkable in their respective Babylonian and Egyptian environments, the third more remarkable but essentially random (we cannot say anything useful about why this particular name should appear on this particular object), but the fourth deserves further comment.

The distinctive material features of Bodleian cache are in fact three in number. Not only were the letters written on leather.[64] They were also reportedly found together with two leather bags and eight letter-*bullae*, and (despite suspicions about the activities of sellers of unprovenanced goods in 1930s Egypt: see Allen i 12–15) there seems no compelling reason to doubt that report.

The size of the bags involved (judging from the well-preserved specimen) was nicely calculated to fit the dimensions of a letter when folded. Whether the bags would have comfortably contained *all* the letters at once is another question. Borchardt seems to have contemplated the possibility that the bag-space exceeded what would be necessary for the surviving letters—thus implicitly suggesting that there had once been more of them.[65] Since he speaks as though there were only one bag, he may in his own terms actually have been underestimating the supposed mismatch. On the other hand, it is also not clear whether he was taking into account the implications of the many very fragmentary bits of leather that are a feature of the Bodleian collection.[66] Porten and Yardeni (TADAE D6.3–14) sort those fragments palaeographically into as many as twelve sets,[67] so, even on existing evidence, the well or relatively well-preserved letters published in TADAE I may represent only slightly more than half the original cache. My suspicion is that they would have fitted neatly (but with little spare space) into the two bags. In any event, we are surely dealing with bags that were purpose-made for the conveyance and/or storage of letters—in fact, with objects that are themselves in some sense part of the administrative process.[68]

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[62] DemNB 76–7, Porten 2002: 311. The name also occurs in A2.7 and B5.5, and perhaps in D6.1 (miswritten as *ʾWsyry*).

[63] See Jursa iii 114, who pertinently cites Max Weber on the matter.

[64] The word 'parchment' is often used, but this gives a misleadng impression and is avoided in this publication.

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[65] 'Ob dieser Sack für das Vorhandene nicht zu gross war, weiss ich nicht. Der Fund könnte also geteilt worden sein' (Borchardt 1933: 47).

[66] One of these (fragment XIII = D6.14) was unrepresented in Driver 1954. Driver (1954: 1, 10; 1965: 1, 21) refers to a letter that reached the Bodleian still folded but was essentially destroyed ('became a total loss') by the attempts to open it. Fragment XIII, though neglected in Driver 1954, is no more a 'total loss' than the other fragmentary material that Driver *did* present in his first edition, so is evidently not the item in question. The 'total loss' item (which had been opened, albeit destructively) is also, on the face of it, distinct from a still unopened document that Whitehead (1974: 8, 9, 14) reports as being in the Bodleian in May 1974, although in referring to the latter Whitehead also alludes to Driver's account of the former. It is not entirely clear from Whitehead's written description whether he actually saw it nor (he kindly tells me) can he now remember. Allen (i 18) reports Porten as saying that the unopened document was opened at the time of the preparation of TADAE I; but TADAE I contains no material that is not already in Driver. Some clarification of the 'total loss' item may be provided by a box discovered out of place in the Bodleian Library in September 2013. The box is labelled *Fragm.pell.aram.apertis rest.* The paper, typescript, and use of Latin match what one finds on the mounts of the fully preserved documents, and go back before the time of Driver's first edition. There are two components to the contents of the box. (1) Two sets of fragments, each mounted but not under glass. These correspond to fragment XIII = D6.14, though there are two more fragments than appear in D6.14. (2) Three sets of fragments stored loose in three separate compartments within the box. One of the compartments (labelled B) contains a very large number of essentially discrete pieces of very various size. The material in the other two compartments (A, C) is more uniform, part because of the presence of a dark sticky material resembling that encountered on the bags and some of the *bullae*. It seems plausible to associate the contents of these compartments with Driver's opened but totally lost item, though one might wonder if there is not more material here than would be accounted for by a single letter. So far as we are aware nobody has ever tried to decipher any of this material, and the prospects to achieving much without high-end technological intervention seem small. Attempts to secure funding for such intervention proved fruitless.

[67] Even so, it appears that not all the known fragments have been placed in either A6.3–16 or D6.3–14. There are thirteen sets of fragments (numbered I–XIII), each of which consists of a large number of actual (small) fragments. If one collates the information provided by Porten and Yardeni about which fragments are included in which numbered items in TADAE I and IV (and takes into account the observation about fragment XIII in the previous note), it emerges that over fifty are unaccounted for.

[68] Llewelyn 1993: 47 n. 13 notes, but rejects, an old suggestion that there was a Ptolemaic tax called *bursēs* that paid for leather bags to store letters and other documents. For another sort of document container cf. 'in my box of documents' (*btby spryʾ*) in CG 265. Jars labelled 'scroll' or 'scrolls' (D11.22, D11.23) might also have been document stores—the sort of thing perhaps to be found in a 'house of documents' (*byt spryʾ*: D5.44) or 'house of writings' (CG 31174). For an

The eight letter-*bullae* derive from two different sealstones, one represented seven times, the other once. The former is a fine seal showing a combat scene and inscribed with the name of Aršāma and the title *bar bayta*,[69] the latter a somewhat humbler object carrying a geometric design that evokes some of the Babylonian worship scenes familiar at Persepolis as well as in Babylonia.[70] These are discussed in detail elsewhere in this publication,[71] and I say no more here, save to note again that the Aršāma seal is now known to have been in use since the 490s,[72] and to add that the use of heirloom seals is paralleled at Persepolis and in Bactria[73] and that the *bulla* created by a fine seal of whatever sort added impact and authority to a letter—was, indeed, part of its rhetoric. The seals entered the Bodleian collection separated from the letters to which they would once have been attached (though still preserving embedded in them

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example of documents being wrapped in cloth before being put in jars see Depauw 2000: pls. 1–5. The Bodleian bags are a remarkable survival, but not unique for Achaemenid Egypt. Alongside a substantial amount of Persian-era leather footwear of distinctive apparently non-Egyptian design and workmanship found at Elephantine (largely in House DA) is a single rather well-preserved and finely made leather bag: see Veldmeijer 2016: 12, 23–8 and cat. no. 60 (which supersedes the earlier presentation of this material in Kuckertz 2006, where the bag is item 18). The better preserved of the Bodleian bags seems to be a little bit larger, but not dissimilar. An expert comparison of the three items would be most desirable.

[69] In not naming the owner's father, the seal inscription follows the norm for Aramaic seal inscriptions (Garrison 2017b: 377 n. 892, after Garrison 2006: 71); Elamite inscriptions by contrast do characteristically provide a patronymic. One might say that *bar bayta* is a halfway house, but the phrase is more title than quasi-patronymic.

[70] No worshipper is present, but what we see recalls the paraphernalia of such scenes. In this it resembles one of the Dascylium seals (DS 1: Kaptan 2002: 1.106–7, 2.3). Babylonian worship scenes are very common at Persepolis; that such a thing should appear with the Bodleian letters is not absurd. But the reading is very uncertain: Garrison & Kaptan ii 23 n.26, 169–70, Kaptan ii 191–2.

[71] Garrison & Kaptan ii 1–45, 167–71, Garrison & Henkelman ii 46–140.

[72] See above, p. 19. For the image on the Aršāma seal in the context of other combat iconography see Tuplin 2020. The seal stands out among Achaemenid seals for size, quality, and iconographic interest: among the few parallels are BM 188963 (Garrison, Jones, and Stolper n.d.), the Dascylium royal name seals (DS 2–4; Garrison 2017a: 560, 563, 570), Sb 1971 bis = Amiet 1972: no. 2203 (Garrison 2017a: 542), Petrie seal no. 22 (Garrison 2017a: 557), and the Bactrian heirloom seal (Garrison 2017a: 566). Recurrence of the same seal in impressions in different archives from different places and times is quite exceptional. Artemis Karnava has drawn my attention to a Minoan example, a signet ring bearing the near-unique image of a griffin-drawn chariot that was used at Akrotiri on Thera and reappears 80–120 years later in Crete at Agia Triadha and Sklavokambos. It remains to be seen whether the suggestion that the celebrated Darius seal found in Egypt (BM 89132) was used at Persepolis on PFUT 1673-201 (Garrison 2014: 90) can be validated.

[73] Bactria: Garrison 2017a: 566–7, on the letter-*bulla* from ADAB C2, produced by a seal of unusual design that may be of fifth-century date. If it is the seal of Vištāspa the *karanos*, a high-ranking individual, this would not be surprising. (That view presupposes a scenario in which Vištāspa issues and seals a document certifying that forty sheep 'have come out to my lord Vaidyūra' and either sends it to Kaufadāta, if that is a PN, as an assurance that the disbursement has been received or marks it Kaufadāta on the *verso* to indicate which archive file it is to go in—which works whether Kaufadāta is PN or GN.) The particular significance of heirloom seals is further discussed by Garrison & Henkelman ii 137–40.

some of the string that once encircled the folded letter), but individual seals may perhaps sometimes be re-associated with particular letters.[74]

The letters were written on leather. One (A6.15) is on a piece of leather created by stitching together two bits (one large, one small). It is an exceptionally neat piece of work (much neater than a Bactrian example of the phenomenon: ADAB C3), but interestingly was used for Virafša's letter to Nakhtḥor: Aršāma perhaps insisted on more perfect materials. The use of leather, until comparatively recently a unique survival at this date for this kind of material,[75] is now paralleled in the Aramaic letters and other documents from Bactria,[76] though in the case of the letters we seem to be dealing with rough copies, not (as with the Bodleian material) the final drafts actually despatched to their addressees:[77] use of leather was thus not kept for best in later fourth-century Bactria, though, inasmuch as some of the letter-drafts are palimpsests, we are perhaps in the presence of some careful husbanding of resources.[78] (Palimpsest writing certainly arises in the case of a scrap of a leather document from Elephantine in D6.1–2 in which a largely unintelligible, indeed some say linguistically unidentifiable, text was written over an erased list of female names.[79]) Darius spoke of disseminating the Bīsotūn text on clay and leather (DB §70), Ctesias believed in royal (quasi-historiographical) *diphtherai* (688 F5 (32.4)), and most significantly—so far as a Persian administrative environment is concerned—there is not only good reason to detect leather at Dascylium[80] but also a great deal of more specific (if still indirect) evidence for its use at Persepolis in the shape of references to leather documents and those who write them.[81] I single out particularly an Aramaic epigraph on an unpublished cuneiform tablet (Fort.2178-101), reading *nsh ʿl mšk 1* = 'copied (literally "removed") onto a leather document'. An abbreviation of this, just the word *nsh* = 'removed', occurs on nearly 100 other documents, mostly journal and account texts (Azzoni and Stolper 2015). We see here evidence of systematic use of leather in parallel to (? in replacement of) clay. By comparison with Aršāma's letters these would be relatively utilitarian documents, as would much else that is reflected in the sources cited in nn. 80 and 82; the use of leather in these contexts as well is striking, and recalls the non-epistolary part of the Bactrian cache. (Where the Dascylium material would sit in these terms is impossible to say, unless there is anything to be inferred from the styles of the seals involved.) It is, in any event, certain that the carrying material of the Bodleian letters bespeaks a Persian rather than an Egyptian documentary environment.[82] Whether it actually demonstrates that they were written outside Egypt is another matter.

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[74] See Allen 2013: 27. (This paper contains many important observations about the letters as objects.) The reverse of one of the Bodleian letter-*bullae* (Sigill.Aram.VIII) lacks the marks normally created by attachment to a document; one of the Bodleian documents (A6.9, the travel-ration authorization) never had a seal attached to it in the ordinary way, although a seal would have been needed to make the document work (Henkelman ii 200). It is not over-venturesome to connect these two facts, especially as the document may show signs of a non-standard seal attachment (Allen 2013: 30). Dr Allen also felt able to associate the letter-*bulla* with a stamp seal impression (Sigill.Aram.IV) with A6.15 (see Garrison & Kaptan ii 5 n. 13, 24 n. 27, 170). In the Bactrian material seal and document were still attached to one another in the case of ADAB C2.

[75] Nile Valley conditions are not particularly suitable for leather, but its use for writing is nonetheless attested for various genres, if perhaps with sense that it is for special circumstances, for example for authoritative copies of texts (Jördens *et al.* 2015: 326). The paucity of surviving examples may misrepresent the actual degree of use (Eyre 2013: 31–2). On the manufacture of leather in antiquity see Forbes 1966, Van Driel-Murray 2000.

[76] One of the Bactrian items, ADAB B10, belongs to the early fifth century and is thus earlier than the Bodleian material.

[77] The Bactrian items might almost be described as mock-ups of the eventual letter, inasmuch as a space is left in the external address for the seal. The external text is sometimes written in a different hand from the letter (Folmer 2017: 442, referring to A1–3 and A8).

[78] In one case (A2) the scribe Daizaka wrote the draft over the erased remnants of something that had been addressed to him. (Papyrus was used in Bactria in Hellenistic times, as we know from finds at Ai Khanum. What the situation would have been before Alexander's arrival we cannot know.) Eyre 2013: 33–5 discusses re-use of writing materials in the context of pharaonic Egypt, and observes that 'recycling of raw materials of even the most trivial value is the expected norm for a pre-industrial society'.

[79] But the language is identified as Egyptian by Vittmann 2003: 118–19. The text remains obscure, though contains some divine names.

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[80] It is inferred from the smooth backs of fifty of the letter-*bullae* (Kaptan 2002: 1.13–16, Garrison 2017a: 550), 12.5% of the total. The complete list (not given in Kaptan's discussion) is DS 12.1, 12.2, 17, 30, 33, 66.1, 66.2, 68.2–3, 6–16, 83, 85.1–4, 86.1, 86.2, 86.3, 89.1, 89.3, 89.4, 93.2, 96.1, 96.2, 101, 102.1, 102.2, 103, 119, 131, 132, 134, 161.1, 161.2, 171, 172, 173, 182, 183, 184, 185. (DS 85.4 and DS 86.1 are applied to a single *bulla*, Erg.440.) Twenty-seven distinct seals are involved (just under 15% of the complete set of 185 seals). In terms of Kaptan's main stylistic categories, Achaemenid Persian *koine* and Greek are under-represented. See also Kaptan ii 178.

[81] Documents: PF 0323, PF 1986. Writers: PF 1808, PF 1810, PF 1947, PFa 27 (on which cf. Henkelman 2010: 694), NN 0061, NN 1040, NN 1255, NN 1369, NN 1511, NN 1752, NN 1775, NN 2394, NN 2486, NN 2493, NN 2529, Fort.1872–103, Fort.1909A-101, Fort.2016–101. In NN 2493 Dadda, the writer-on-leather, is said in one entry to have 'counted the workers (*kurtaš*)'. He is travelling with one Mananda, a 'lanceman', who is also attested both in another entry in this document and in NN 1747 as counting workers (in the latter case royal workers). So here we see a writer-on-leather associated with a particular administrative task. Most of the writers-on-leather in other texts are 'assigned' by Parnakka or Ziššawiš, i.e. are part of the extended staff of the men right at top of the administrative structure reflected in the Fortification archive. The certainty of Hallock (1969: 14) and others that the hides that figure as commodities in some PFA texts (characteristically going to a treasury) were all intended for use as writing materials has been rightly questioned by Potts n.d. 2.

[82] Herodotus' statement that barbarians still use *diphtherai* (5.58) presumably has Persians in mind, though in Euripides Delphic oracles are imagined as written on leather (fr. 627 Kannicht), and the earliest pertinent attestation (*c.*500) is in a lead letter from Olbia (*SEG* 54.694, Dana 2004), where *diphtheria* are documents (of uncertain precise nature) capable of proving ownership of property. (*Diphtherion* recurs in post-classical Egypt as a term for a register.) The (later) Greek attitude to leather documents is indicated by the proverb *arkhaiotera tēs diphtheras legeis* (Suda s.v., Diogenian.3.2, Apostol.4.47). Given the amalgam of Assyrian and Persian colour in the Inaros Epic, the use of a leather scroll in a piece cited by Ryholt 2004: 493 may reflect Persian-era recension. There are also some signs of leather use in Achaemenid-era Babylonia: a *ḫaṭru* of makers of leather scrolls (**magallatakara*) in BE 10.93, PBS 2/1 136, the appearance of KUŠ *magallātu* in legal (IMT 27:8) and administrative (VS 6.313, 6.317, 6.319) contexts, the use of KUŠ. SAR ('leather scribe') as the logogram for *sēpiru* (the Aramaic loanword used for non-cuneiform scribes), and the application of the KUŠ (leather) determinative to *šipirtu* (document) in Persian-

Formal features and issues of style in letters. Various features of the way in which content is incorporated or expressed in the epistolary documents deserve comment.

The Bodleian letters have written text on both the internal and external face of the document. The internal text consists of some or all of: an address formula naming addressor and addressee (all letters),[83] a formal greeting (A6.3–A6.7), the body of the message (all letters), a subscript (A6.9–A6.13). The external text consists of some or all of: an address naming (and often providing other information about) addressor and addressee (all letters except A6.9; additional information appears in A6.3, A6.4, A6.7, A6.10–A6.13, A6.15), a content-summary (A6.4, A6.5, A6.7, A6.8, A6.10–A6.13,[84] A6.15), a Demotic annotation (A6.11–A6.13).[85] For further discussion of the non-universal features see A6.3:1(5) n. on formal greetings, A6.3:9(2) n. on additional information in external address, A6.4:6 n. on content summaries A6.11:8 n. on Demotic annotations, and the endnote on subscripts (i 69–83). As will be apparent from those further discussions, all of the features involved (except Demotic annotations) have more or less close analogies in the Bactrian letters.

Among other letters in the wider Aršāma dossier, A6.2 lacks a formal greeting, but has a subscript, an apparent content summary, a Demotic annotation, and an external address (with additional information). Even so, it does not quite conform to the Bodleian letters model. (1) The body of the text continues onto the *verso* for eight lines, whereas none of the Bodleian letters is long enough for that to happen, and in A6.15 some words are written along the right hand margin of the *recto* to avoid such an eventuality.[86] (2) The (apparent) content summary and the Demotic annotation follow directly after the completion of the body of the letter. (3) The external address is followed by a line naming a scribe (Nabuʿaqab) and providing a calendar date. On the other hand, the external address and subsequent line *are* separated from the rest of what is

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period texts (CAD s.v. *šipirtu*; in Seleucid/Parthian-date *Astronomical Diaries* communications from kings, satraps and the like are standardly on leather). The editors restore [KUŠ(?)*ši*(?)-*pir*(?)]-*re-e-ti-šú-nu* = '[leather] documents(?)' in IMT 105 + EE 109:7 (Pirngruber i 309–10 (no. 4)), although it is not clear that the word *šiprētu* (pl. *šipirēti*) calls for the determinative KUŠ with the same force that *šipirtu* might. There is a remote possibility that A6.16:3 refers to leather for writing purposes (A6.16:3(3) n.) Utilitarian writing took other (non-papyrus, non-clay, and non-leather) forms. Babylonians used wax-covered writing tablets (San Nicolò 1948, MacGinnis 2002) and there is perhaps indirect evidence of this in Persian royal contexts in Ael.*VH* 14.12, Ctes.688 F13(14), and Hdt.7.239. See Briant 2014.

[83] In A6.9 the internal address includes extra information about addressees (viz. their geographical location) of a sort not found in other internal addresses but at home in an external address. Being an open letter, A6.9 has, of course, no external address.

[84] In A6.11 the summary is in Demotic, not Aramaic

[85] In A6.11 the annotation consists of a content-summary.

[86] For this phenomenon cf. ADAB B3, B4. That some Bodleian letters *did* originally stretch on to the *verso* is a possible conclusion from D6.7 (c) outside and D6.10 (g) outside, on which see A6.4:6 n.

written on the *verso* and appear in a position (relative to the disposition of the *recto* side) that is broadly comparable with that of external addresses on Bodleian letters. A6.1 closely resembles A6.2 in having at (what would be) the end of the *verso* an external address with additional information followed by a line containing a name plus title[87] and a calendar date. Much of the papyrus is lost, so we cannot be sure whether or not part of the letter's main body extended onto the *verso*. But this certainly happened in one of the Bactrian letters (ADAB A1), and its inclusion of a calendar date (something also encountered in some of the others) is another parallel with A6.1 and A6.2. (On the other hand, other features of this part of the external text of the Bactrian letters diverge both from the Bodleian model and the one in A6.1/A6.2.) The dissimilarity between A6.1/A6.2 and the Bodleian letters may reflect a distinction between satrapy- and estate-related items and/or (on the common view of the original provenance of the Bodleian letters) a distinction between things written inside and outside Egypt.[88]

Seven of the letters have formal subscripts. In A6.2 we have "Anani the scribe is *bʿl tʿm*, Nabuʿaqab wrote (sc. the document)'. In A6.8–13 we have a subscript in the form 'PN^1 knows this order; PN^2 is the scribe'. Both of these have some resemblance not only to one another but also to subscripts in Aramaic letters from Bactria, a Demotic Egyptian letter from Elephantine, and the Elamite letters in the Fortification archive. For a full discussion of this phenomenon see Tuplin i 269–83. Here I simply draw attention to the fact that the presence of such subscripts in both an official letter about boat-repair (A6.2) and a series of letters from the estate-related Bodleian collection represents another blurring of the private/public distinction. The process for validating instructions and giving them the written form of a letter-order (in a given language) was in some degree the same whatever the sphere to which the instructions related. The question does, of course, then arise why such subscripts are absent when Aršāma writes to Artavanta (6.3–7) and Vāravahyā, Virafša, and Artaxaya write to Nakhtḥor (A6.14–16). Is it precluded by the facts that (a) Artavanta is of relatively high status (if this is a fact: see immediately below and pp. 44–5; and Tuplin i 63–5) and (b) the other authors are not writing to Nakhtḥor as his line manager but merely as external interested parties (albeit higher status ones)?

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[87] This time '[PN] servant (*ʿlym*) of Sinneriš the herald, their colleague' rather than 'Nabuʿaqab the scribe'. But perhaps PN was a scribe.

[88] A calendar date is found at the very end of A4.7//A4.8, but without an associated external address. But these *are* draft texts. The letters actually sent to Bagāvahyā and to Delayah and Šelemyah must have had a *verso* address line, so it is possible they resembled A6.1 and A6.2 more closely—though there is no necessity to assume there was anything analogous to the 'scribal' names found in those documents. In the wider corpus of Egyptian Aramaic letters the pattern in which the entire text of the letter is on the *recto* and there is an address line on the *verso* recurs in A2.2, A2.7, A3.4, A3.6, A3.9, A4.4. It is more common for the letter to run over onto the *verso* with an external address line following, normally after a gap: A2.1, A2.3–6, A3.3, A3.5, A3.8, A3.10, A3.11, A4.1–3. (The situation is unclear in the case of A3.7 and A5.3.) None of these has a content-summary, Demotic annotation, or calendar date. (A calendar date occurs at the end of the main letter text in A3.3, A3.8, and A3.9.) Those from the Hermopolis cache (A2.1–7) add an instruction to deliver the letter to Syene or to Luxor, which might be said to constitute additional information, as certainly do the extra filiation details that occur in many cases both at Hermopolis and elsewhere. The basic *praxis* of writing and addressing a letter is in fact common across a range of settings. The absence of dates in letters is sometimes said to reflect the fact that letter primarily exist to produce action rather than to become part of a historical or bureaucratic record. In the case of (some of) the Bodleian letters this does not at first sight sit entirely well with the presence of subscripts, which look like a bureaucratic feature designed to facilitate later reconstruction of a paper trail. But the sense that the absence or inclusion of subscripts is an aspect of the rhetoric of power (see Tuplin i 281–3) perhaps means that there is no fundamental contradiction here.

The structural articulation of the main body of letter texts depends to some extent on the nature of the issue under discussion. One broad distinction is between letters in which the author is responding to reported information and/or a request for action and those in which (at least as the document is formulated) he is not. For further comments on this see A6.7:6–8 n.

The varying differences of status between addressors and addressees may also in principle have what are broadly speaking structural or stylistic implications. It is, for example, easily observed that the 'greetings of peace and strength' which Aršāma extends to Artavanta are absent in his letters to Nakhtḥor, Armapiya, and the various officials in A6.9, absent when Vāravahyā and Virafša write to Nakhtḥor—but present when Artaxaya writes to him.[89] If Artaxaya is the same man who figures as the one who 'knows this order' in A6.10–13 he is certainly of a lower status than Aršāma, Vāravahyā, and Virafša and may feel the need or propriety of being polite to Aršāma's *pqyd* more keenly than others. (The case is particularly interesting since, on Porten and Yardeni's restoration of the text, Artaxaya is complaining about Nakhtḥor's conduct.[90])

Those who have noted the 'severité étonnante' (Shaked 2004: 14) with which the presumed Bactrian satrap Axvamazdā writes to Bagavanta, *pḥt* of the city of Khulm, may wish to compare and contrast the cases of Aršāma, who threatens Nakhtḥor with a 'severe sentence' in A6.10,[91] but otherwise adopts a measured tone,[92] or Virafša who seems to have much to complain of in Nakhtḥor's behaviour but stylistically speaking keeps his cool (A6.15).[93] Driver 1965: 12 remarked that the style of A6.2 (the boat-repair text) was 'closely similar' to that of Bodleian items of which Aršāma is the author (A6.3–13), though I do not know that he elaborated on this anywhere and the observation is primarily adduced as an argument for identifying the two Aršāmas. A6.2 is a very much more structurally complex and technically detailed document than anything we encounter in the Bodleian set, which makes comparison a little difficult, but (that said) most will probably agree that it does not inhabit an entirely different world. As things stand now, of course, the comparison with the Bactrian letters is a more natural one to make.[94]

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[89] On greetings formulae cf. A6.3:1(5) n.

[90] In Driver's version he thanks Nakhtḥor for his help. - Artaxaya was of similar status to Bagasravā (Tuplin i 270); and Nakhtḥor and Bagasravā perform similar tasks: A6.9:3(7) n.

[91] The same happens to Armapiya in A6.8. For full discussion of the phrase see A6.8:3–4 n.

[92] He rarely falls into what might seem a peremptorily staccato style, as in A6.11 (cf. A11: 2–3 n.), and that is not in a context of irritation.

[93] These facts are worth remembering, should one be tempted to infer from the discussion of Aršāma's heirloom seal in Garrison & Henkelman ii 137–40 that he was a man highly conscious of the historical weight of his lineage and consequently peculiarly prone to treating subordinates with disdain. The same caution applies to his robust methods of worker-recruitment, which A6.10 implies were also current among other 'lords'.

Language. One thing that unites a great deal of the Aršāma dossier is its use of the Aramaic language.[95] Within the longer history of Aramaic, the form of the language encountered here and in all of the surviving Aramaic documents of the Achaemenid era is distinct and strikingly uniform, because the particular Babylonian dialect selected for official use in the aftermath of the conquest of Babylonia not only remained unchanged in official circles for the next two centuries but also had a considerable normalizing impact on non-official users in Egypt and the Levant—even if the process took a little time (the authors of the Hermopolis letters around 500 are not yet affected; the situation in the Bauer-Meissner papyrus of 515 (B1.1) is hard to judge), was sometimes incomplete (Biblical Aramaic is a case in point—a distinct dialect, but, partly because of subject matter, much coloured by the Achaemenid environment),[96] and always left some room for linguistic oddities.[97] Its prestige status led to its use in western Anatolia (not always perfectly and in some respects inconsistently),[98] a linguistic area to which it was historically entirely foreign, but it did not displace Phoenician as a language of public representation and it had little linguistic impact on unrelated languages: for example, judging by Coptic, speakers of Egyptian were untouched—a fact that no doubt makes sense in view of Agut-Labordère's observation (2017a: 680) about small impact of administration on the lower levels of Egyptian society. For the connection with administration remains fundamental. 'The common language of a highly centralized scribal culture' (Gzella 2012: 11), Aramaic served as a linguistic bridge between OP and other languages—a kind of blanket covering the empire (Tavernier 2017b: 382). It was not *the* official language of the empire—but it was the only empire-wide official language used to transmit satrapal orders (ibid. 387), was an indispensable code for long-distance written communication between Iranian agents of the imperial state (and, indeed, between the imperial state and outsiders: Thucydides 4.50), and of substantial importance at the heart of the empire as well as in its peripheries.[99] It is worth stressing that in these circumstances the scribes who could write the language were also indispensable agents of empire. Henkelman's *bon mot* assimilating stylus and spear is well judged, and it applies just as much to the *sepīru*'s pen.[100]

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[94] Attention is drawn to Bactrian parallels and divergences throughout the commentary. For some general remarks cf. Naveh and Shaked 2012: 39–51, which is not as substantial a treatment as it may look, since 40–50 are occupied by double-spread photographs of Bodleian items. There is a much fuller treatment in Folmer 2017, with differences summarized at 443–5. There is nonetheless a case for inferring the existence of scribal schools working to standardized guidelines. (Other parts of the Bactrian archive also contain more complex bureaucratic documents, e.g. C4, but nothing quite matches TADAE A6.2.) The other notable sets of Achaemenid-era Aramaic documents from outside Egypt are the Idumaean ostraca associated with Makkedah in southern Israel (Porten and Yardeni 2014–20 is an ongoing corpus publication; for existing publications see Lemaire 2017a: 472 nn. 27–32), the Wadi Daliyeh papyri from Samaria (Gropp 2001, Dušek 2007), ostraca from Arad (Naveh 1981; Bezalel Porten is working on a new edition of this material) and Beersheva (Naveh 1973, 1979), the Arachosian inscribed green chert vessels from the Persepolis Treasury (Bowman 1970, but with a completely wrong interpretation: see Henkelman 2017a: 102–9, who rightly says that 'a new edition and detailed analysis is a great desideratum', and King 2019), and two forms of material from the Persepolis Fortification archive, viz. Aramaic tablets and Aramaic annotations on Elamite tablets (mostly unpublished: see Azzoni 2008, 2017, Azzoni and Dusinberre 2014, Azzoni and Stolper 2015 for preliminary indications; a number of documents appears on the Chicago Oriental Institute's OCHRE site). Of these sets the first and last are much the largest. The last four sets are administrative documents, while the Wadi Daliyeh papyri are private documents about sale or rental transactions requiring official *imprimatur*. The function and status of the Makkedah documents is debated: their interpretation as tax-related administrative documents (Lemaire 2017a) should perhaps be qualified as heterodox.

[95] In the remarks that follow I am very much indebted to Gzella 2015: 157–211.

[96] Cowley 1923: 118–19 detected Hebraisms in A4.7//A4.8 that betrayed an author not really at home with Aramaic. This idea does not seem to recur in recent relevant literature (e.g. Folmer 1995, Porten 1998, Muraoka and Porten 2003, Gzella 2015).

[97] See Gzella 2015: 184–5 on the Aramaic version of the Bīsotūn inscription. Publicly displayed Aramaic was not always well presented: the stonemason responsible for the Aramaic text on the Xanthos Trilingual knew little or no Aramaic (Lemaire and Lozmacheur 1996: 114).

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[98] Members of the epichoric elite at Sardis used Lydian and Greek epigraphically—and sometimes, if they wanted to display solidarity with the ruling power, Aramaic. A similar phenomenon is encountered at and around Dascylium. See recently Benvenuto, Pompeo, and Pozza 2015, Benvenuto 2016. But there is a contrast between the two locales in the case of seal inscriptions. There are several seals represented among the Dascylium *bullae* with Aramaic inscriptions, but none of the inscribed seals surviving from Sardis uses that language: instead we find Lydian, whereas at Dascylium there are no seals inscribed in Phrygian. But it is not clear how far we are comparing like with like here: the Dascylium *bullae* represents seals used on documents that ended up in official archives (and the Aramaic inscribed ones often contain linguistic *Iranica*), whereas seals from Sardis are known only as archaeological finds, and, while they are stylistically strongly inclined to what Dusinberre (2008: 93) calls 'Achaemenid hegemonic' (though other quite different styles are represented: Dusinberre 2003: 168), the only Iranian linguistic feature is that one of them belonged to one Miθrāta (*mitrataliś eś sadmẽś*: Boardman 1970: no. 1)—which is also the patronymic of the Miθridasta or Miθridašta who dedicated a temple to *Qldans* and Artemis Ephesia (Tuplin iii 372). So the demography of the seal-users in the two sets may be different, with a stronger bias in Dascylium towards those who engaged with the Persian administrative world. Comparison is perhaps complicated by the fact that the provenanced Sardis dataset (perhaps as many as forty) is much smaller than the Dascylium one (185 reconstructed seals). On the other hand the dataset seems to be characteristic of all parts of the elite that we can access *via* funerary assemblages. (Dusinberre 2003: 28 observes that the same sort of jewellery and seal-stones appear in both tumulus and cist-tombs, so whatever distinctions within the elite are mirrored by the structural difference do not extend to *Kleinkunst*.) So we cannot independently establish e.g. that Sardis seal-owners belong to a single subsection of Sardian elite that might have been distinct from the administratively active class.

[99] On the peripheries Graf 2000 is partly obsolete since the discover of the Bactrian documents (Naveh and Shaked 2012). See also Henkelman 2017a: 66–8, 79, 102–9, 150, 153, 174–5, 185. The role of Aramaic in the Persepolis bureaucratic environment was larger than it appears at first sight: alongside epigraphs on Elamite tablets (not a common phenomenon (about 2.5% of tablets) but with some tendency to occur in royal contexts: Garrison & Henkelman ii 153) and Aramaic tablets arguably attached as brief glosses to other records (Tavernier 2017b: 382), one has to allow for the implications of the letter-order subscripts and the unrecorded activities of the alphabet-scribes mentioned in Elamite texts. One such individual, Šarbaladda—variously treasurer (*kandabarra* or *kapnuškira*), 'scribe, treasurer' (*tipira kandabarra*; *tipira kapnuškira*), scribe in the treasury (*tipira/tuppira kapnuškima*), and scribe writing on leather in the treasury (*tuppira*

3. ARŠĀMA: FRAGMENTS OF BIOGRAPHY

What primarily characterizes Aršāma is that he was a royal prince, satrap of Egypt, and an estate holder in both Egypt and Babylonia. (It is actually this last characteristic that generates the bulk of the items that constitute the dossier—thirty-nine from the total of fifty-seven.)

Aršāma the 'Prince'

The Aramaic term rendered as 'prince' is *bar bayta*, literally 'son of the house'. The designation is applied to Aršāma in the external address line of three letters of which he is the addressor (A6.3:9, A6.4:5, A6.7:10) and appears in the inscription on the letter-*bullae* (D14.6: see Garrison & Henkelman ii fig. 2.1). Use of the title in documentary contexts is not standard: Aršāma's name normally appears unadorned by this or any title (unless the respectful use of 'lord' counts as a title, which is arguable).[101] Its confinement to the address line (not in the body of the text) of three (and perhaps more) letters sent to Artavanta struck Driver as a mark of the relatively *high* status of the recipient (cf. A6.3:9(1) n.). The nature of Artavanta's position (and therefore status) is an issue in its own right but, unlike other addressees of Aršāma's letters to individuals, he was at

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KUŠMEŠ-*uk-ku-na*?), and identified by Stolper 2017 as the chief clerk and head of Aramaic record-keeping at the Persepolis central treasury—was ranked just below the top directors of the Persepolis institutional economy. A different reflection of the status of Aramaic is the preference of top people for Aramaic-inscribed sealstones (Garrison & Henkelman ii 67).

[100] 2017a: 189: 'indeed, the stylus of the Persian man had gone forth far', in imitation of Kent's rendering of DNa §4: 'the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far'—the message to be learned by inspecting the throne-bearer figures on Darius' tomb. Against this background, if the OP title **nipišta-marya* ('young man of writings') really existed and its bearers could be encountered in Egypt (Smith and Martin 2009: 57–8, citing a very tentative suggestion from Günter Vittmann), one would rather it described a writer than a postman. (There is even a slight evocation of the Persian *puhu* copying tablets at Pittannan in PF 0871, PF 1137, NN 1485, NN 1588, members of an elite group: Henkelman 2008: 349–50). Also relevant here is the argument of Jursa 2012 that use of Aramaic, already characteristic of royal (as opposed to temple) administration in pre-Achaemenid Babylonia, became a marker of increased royal control over temple affairs from early in the Persian era. The Aramaic scribe's power is, of course, only a (particularly) special case of a wider potential for scribal empowerment. See e.g. Waerzeggers 2015: 184–7 on the state-bureaucracy-connected Babylonian scribes who wrote documents for Judaean exiles.

[101] See A6.3:3(2)n.

least a fellow-Iranian.[102] What is implied is a slightly paradoxical etiquette (or should one call it rhetoric?) in which the title expressive of Aršāma's special status is *not* used when addressing foreigners of necessarily inferior standing: it is as though no justification or mitigation of alien power is deemed necessary when dealing with such people (even, or perhaps especially, if they were agents in his domains), whereas certain niceties apply within the Iranian community.[103] Even then, the Iranian recipients of the letter authorizing Nakhtḥor's travel-rations (A6.9) are addressed simply by an untitled Aršāma: the absence in an open letter of an external address (the location of *bar bayta* in the letters to Artavanta) is apparently decisive.[104]

Aršāma is not the only *bar bayta* encountered in dossier: Aršāma describes Vāravahyā (another estate holder in Egypt) as *bar bayta* in A6.13,[105] and D6.7 (as restored) gives the title to Virafša (the author of A6.15). Nor do these Aramaic texts exhaust the record of 'sons of the house' in Achaemenid historical sources.

Elsewhere in Egyptian documentation an Old Persian term of exactly similar meaning, **vis(a)puθra*, survives in Egyptian Demotic form in an undated document containing the phrase 'house of the prince'.[106] This must refer literally to a house (i.e. a building) and not, as one might be tempted to think, a prince's 'estate';[107] but the building might be an administrative one (rather than the actual place of residence of a prince). The fact that the document also refers to the 'tax of Ptah', 'Aḥmose the administrator of Hardai' (i.e. Cynopolis), and the 'house of Pharaoh' (here clearly a royal treasury, though the Demotic phrase would normally designate the palace or court) as well as to judges associated with a nome only makes the situation more tantalizing, especially as one has a vague sense that there is a dispute about whether certain assets should go to the king's or the prince's storage facility.[108] But, of course, there is no particular reason to think that it has anything to do with Aršāma. (There are references to years 4 and 5 of an unnamed king.)

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[102] Other letters from Aršāma to Artavanta in which the title does not appear are letters in which no external address line is preserved.

[103] See also Hilder iii 106, Garrison & Henkelman ii 74 note that sporadic use of titles is characteristic of the PFA and moot the importance of the fact of many of Aršāma's addressees being members of his household.

[104] If they were Aršāma's estate *pqyd* (Tuplin i 154–63), they would also be affected by the principle mentioned in the previous note.

[105] Not necessarily inconsistent with the suggestion that Vāravahyā was a son or other relative of Aršāma (Driver 1965: 14).

[106] P.Cair.31174, with Vittmann 1991/92 and 2004: 131, 168.

[107] Vittmann 1991/92. The Demotic word for 'house' used here cannot apparently double for 'estate' in the way that Aramaic *byt* or Greek *oikos* might. Further information about the document's contents comes from a translation presented by Günter Vittmann at the third Aršāma Workshop in 2011.

[108] These nome-related judges need not be categorically different from the 'royal' and unlabelled judges encountered in Aramaic documents: Schütze 2017: 497–8, Tuplin 2017a: 617. It was previously thought that P.Cair.31174 also mentioned scribes associated with a nome, but Professor Vittmann now reports that the reading 'scribe' in *verso* 4 is incorrect. (What it should be is uncertain.)

Elsewhere in the empire the Akkadian equivalent of *bar bayta* (DUMU.É = *mār bīti*) is used of Aršāma himself in BE 9.1 (Pirngruber i 311–13 (no. 5)). It is also applied to at least ten other individuals in the Murašû archive (Zadok 1977: 109–11),[109] and perhaps an eleventh (Bammuš = OP *Bāmuš in IMT 105 + EE 109 (Pirngruber i 308–10 (no.4)). Moreover, the fact that Aršāma has the title in only one of the thirteen documents that name him (nine of which, moreover, are of identical transactional character) suggests that there are probably more 'sons of the house' in the Babylonian documentation than we can now recognize.[110] Some of the individuals to whom the title *is* given can, like Aršāma himself, be recognized from other sources as men of satrapal or comparable status: we seem to be dealing with the imperial elite.

Moving on to the imperial heartland, the Persepolis Fortification archive provides an anonymous groups of 'sons of the house' (*mispušašpe*, an Elamite version of OP **viθapuça = *vis(a)puθra*) in PF 1793 ('the horses and mules of the king and of the princes at Karakušan'), as well as use of the word as a proper name (PF 1197; NN 0669). But named individuals whom we can recognize as members of the royal family characteristically appear without any title expressive of that relationship—at least if they are male. Royal women are occasionally designated as *dukšiš* = OP **duxçīš* or 'king's daughter'.[111]

'Son of the house' is, therefore, a well-established term of art for certain very high-status Persians, attested in a range of different places and in Old Persian, Elamite, Akkadian, Aramaic, and Demotic Egyptian forms. It stands to reason that the 'house' in question is the royal one, and this is actually explicit in at least one Babylonian text, in which Manuštanu (Menostanes) is described as *mār bīt šarri*, 'son of the king's house' (BE 9.84 = TuM 2/3 202). It is a natural, and perhaps correct, assumption that 'sons of the (royal) house' are members of the royal family. But there is a little more to be said before we affirm that conclusion—and then start debating how *close* a relative of the king one had to be to be a 'son of the house'.

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[109] Aḫ'banuš (*Haxibanuš), Artaḫšar (*Rtaxšara-; Artoxares), Arbareme/Armareme (*Arbarēva; Arbarius), Arrišitu (*Ṛšita-; Arsites), Artareme (*Ṛtarēva-), Dadaršu (*Dādạršis), Ipradatu (*Fradāta-), Manuštanu (*Manuštana-; Menostanes), Neba'mardu (*Nēbavarda-), Siṭunu (*Stūnā-). I have excluded Dundana' (*Davantāna-) from the list drawn up by Zadok, since he was actually simply the *mār bīti* of Tattannu (this is clear in BE 10.89, though in BE 10.82 'of Tattanu' seems to be omitted). At least once we find *mār bīt šarri* ('son of the royal house': BE 9.84 = TuM 2/3 202, of *Manuštana). Dandamaev 1992: 158 describes one Amisri as a princess, but the presumed identification with Amestris is doubtful (Stolper 1985: 66; Tavernier 2007a: 104) and she is never given any title that establishes her royal status. The anonymous 'woman of the palace' whose property is mentioned in BE 9.28, 50 perhaps did have that status.

[110] A similar phenomenon applies to those of the other eleven who are mentioned more than once.

[111] *Dukšiš*: PF 0823, PF 1795, PFa 31, NN 0812, Fort.6764, (perhaps) PFAT 154, 272. (See Garrison & Henkelman ii 73.) King's daughter: PFa 5, the wife of Mardonius. (She may have been Radušdukya, a lady mentioned in PF 0684: information courtesy of Wouter Henkelman.)

For the fact is that the Aramaic and Akkadian forms of the term also have a wider application. In the witness lists in four Elephantine documents (B3.11–13, B4.6) we find *bar bayta* used of a man called Nahum. He is plainly nothing to do with the Achaemenid royal family, though there is no contextual evidence to establish his precise status.[112] More helpfully the Murašû archive contains many allusions to at least thirteen different men who are labelled as the *mār bīti* of another named individual. The bearers of the title (who may have either Iranian or Babylonian names) clearly function as important agents of the individuals whose *mār bīti* they are said to be—individuals who themselves may have Iranian or Babylonian names and who sometimes have significant titles of their own (*mašennu*; *ustabaru*). There are also documents which imply that important individuals (one of the Murašu in three cases;[113] Persians in two others[114]) characteristically have an entourage of *mār bīti*s, servants and commissioned agents—people who can be accused of the violent misappropriation of other people's property. In this body of material, then, *mār bīti* designates individuals of privileged status in the environment of men who wield significant economic and social power but are certainly not kings and do not even have to be Iranians.

The *mār bīti* as putative 'prince' thus simply represents a special case of the phenomenon, one in which the household happens to be that of the king. Further questions then arise. First, which type of case has priority? Is talk of the *mār bīti* of a non-royal individual a secondary imitation of the royal environment or was a terminology for close associates of the king transferred from originally less august surroundings? If it is true that *mār bīti* terminology has no relevant earlier history in Babylonia (and it appears to be absent even in earlier Achaemenid-period texts),[115] the natural presumption must be that it enters Akkadian under Persian influence; and the role played by *viθ* ('house') in Persian royal inscriptions would certainly be consistent with the idea that 'son of the *viθ*' was an established Persian term of art.[116] If so, the model of the king and his 'sons of the house' was extended to the entourages of (necessarily) less powerful men—an extension that was presumably conscious and evidently attracted no adverse reaction from the royal establishment.[117] Secondly, what type of personal relationship is entailed by *mār bīti*? In the extended use of the term there is no obvious reason to postulate a genetic relationship between *mār bīti* and principal and it is natural to take 'son of the house' as meaning little more than 'member of the household', 'son' being a metaphorical indication of privilege.[118] Could that be the case with a royal **vis(a)puθra* = **viθapuça* or *mār bīti* or *bar bayta*?

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[112] Kraeling 1953: 255–6 suggests we are dealing with a adopted house-born slave. (He lacks a patronym.) Porten 1968: 230 doubts a slave would witness a document (though such a thing was possible in Babylonia: cf. n. 168) and sees him as 'some official whose function eludes us'—while noting the important *mār bīti*s of the Murašû documents discussed immediately below. More recently Porten 2011: 244 moots the possibility of 'a(n emancipated) houseborn slave'. For other possible examples of *br bytʾ* designating a house-born slave see C4.3: 12, 16, 17, ATNS 74:3, though in the first three cases Porten–Yardeni restore *br bytʾ[l]*, 'son of Bethel', and could doubtless have done so in the fourth. At B5.6:4 we have *ʿbdʾ ʾrmy yld bzn by* [sic], which TADAE renders tentatively as 'Abda (or: the slave), born in this house'.

[113] BE 9.69, BE 10.9, IMT 105 + EE 109 (Enlil-šum-iddin). See further below, pp. 49–52.

[114] BE 10.9 (Bagadāta), TuM 2.3 204 (Artareme—who is a *mār bīti* in the other sense).

[115] *Mār bīti is* used as the designation of a deity, the first born son of a temple god (and can be the theophoric element in personal names). CAD cites little evidence about this: Dar.378, YOS 3.62, and TCL 9.117 are all late Babylonian (and might all be Achaemenid) but the text in Weidner 1933/34: 98–100 is of Neo-Assyrian date. The phenomenon needs further investigation.

One's natural inclination is probably to think not, but I am not sure that it is easy to prove the point. I make five observations.

(1) Of the individuals designated *mār bīti*, Artarius (*Ṛtarēva-) and Menostanes (*Manuštana-) were respectively brother and nephew of Artaxerxes I (and so perhaps son and grandson of Xerxes),[119] and there are strong circumstantial reasons to identify our Aršāma as a fairly direct descendant of Darius I. But Arsites (*Ṛšita-) is probably not Darius II's brother,[120] the identification of Aḫ'banuš as a *Haxāmaniš (Achaemenes) and so bearer of a name appropriate to the royal family is uncertain (*Haxiyabānuš / *Haxībānuš is an available alternative: Tavernier 2007a: 200), and of the other five we have no direct and relevant information,[121] except that Artoxares was allegedly a Paphlagonian eunuch (Ctesias 688 F14(42)): that is hardly consonant with membership of the

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[116] Perhaps its mutation into a personal name could be pleaded in support of this as well.

[117] Eilers 1954–6: 325 reckoned that the term could apply outside the royal family because the mirror-like quality of the social order (in which everything aped the royal house) meant that it could apply to non-royal elite families. (One might recall the satrapal *imitatio regis* of Xen.*Cyr*.8.6.10-13.)

[118] Other *mār* + noun terms display a metaphorical use of 'son': *mār banî* = citizen, free man; *mār damqa* (of uncertain meaning); **mār damqi* = soldier (cf. 'sons of the *degel*' in II Chron. 25.13); *mār ekalli* = courtier ('son of the palace', rather like *bar bayta* if one thinks of *bayta* as a building, but not if one thinks of it as a family) ; *mār šipri* = messenger; *mār ikkari* = farmer; *mār ištari* = worshipper of a goddess.

[119] Theoretically, of course, Artarius and Artaxerxes might only have shared a mother. A distinct OP term did exist for a king's son, **vās(a)puθra*, attested only in the Akkadian calque of its adjectival form (*umasupitrû*) twice used in the title of an estate in Nippur otherwise written with the sumerogram DUMU.LUGAL = *mār šarri*. This is conventionally rendered 'crown prince' (presumably with an implied reference to the putative heir apparent) because of the force of the cognate MP *vāspuhr*. (On this see Stolper 1985: 59–60, Tavernier 2007a: 434, CAD 17.112, 20.97.) What other sons of the king would have been called (apart from 'son of the house', which must have applied to them too, if not very distinctively) we do not know.

[120] To believe otherwise would require some complex special explanations of a Ctesian narrative that implies he had rebelled and been eliminated long before 417, when he was still alive according to TuM 2/3 190, PBS 2/1 137.

[121] If Aḫ'banuš *is* an Achaemenes and of royal status, then his son Ipradata (*Fradāta-) will, of course, share that status. Of Arbarius (Arbareme, *Arbarēva) we know that he was Sogdianus' cavalry commander and defected to Darius. But that says nothing of his family relationships.

royal family and may come close to proving that the status of *mār bīti* can be conferred on those who are not the king's real relatives.

(2) The metaphorical use of 'son' (*mār*) to designate members of a group that is not (solely) genetically defined has parallels in Akkadian. But if the stimulus for *mār bīti* is Persian the question is whether such metaphorical use is characteristic of that language, a question that I do not currently know how to answer. But, since our primary interest is in **vis(a)puθra*= **viθapuça*, much will also depends on the force of *viθ*. In considering that question one should bear in mind the fact that Greeks evidently believed the 'house (*oikos*) of the king' to be a significant Achaemenid Persian concept.

(3) The case of Artoxares immediately makes one think of claims that Graeco-Roman sources use the terms *sungenēs* or *cognatus* to designate as 'relatives' of the king privileged people who were in origin nothing of the sort.

(4) If there was nothing to call a royal son who was not the eldest and/or the heir apparent except 'son of the house', perhaps that points to the term being at any rate firmly genetically limited. But in a polygamous environment that may still be a rather large pool of only rather distantly mutually related individuals. Perhaps, indeed, the reason for a distinctive word for the crown prince (n. 119) is precisely that there are so many princes—and so many that introduction into the class of others who are not related to the royal lineage at all is unproblematic.

(5) Apart from individual 'sons of the house', the Aršāma dossier includes an interesting anonymous use of the term. In A4.7 the writer expresses the wish that Bagāvahyā should enjoy a thousand-fold increase in favour before 'King Darius and the sons of the house'.[122] The implication that a specially designated collective group around the king played a role in the individual Judaean subject's understanding of Achaemenid power is quite striking. For one thing there is the dilution of the king's special position. We are very ready to succumb to the influence of Greek constructions of the king as the only free man in a world of slaves or the king's own construction of himself as a uniquely larger-than-life beneficiary of divine favour. The resulting picture of the king as isolated source of power is undoubtedly one strand of the truth, but it is not the only one (Tuplin 2010a). But for the present purposes the interest is different. When we *do* acknowledge that the king worked amidst and through an elite class, we are prone to view that elite primarily as Persian rather than as specifically royal, and this despite, for example, the high proportion of military commanders in the Herodotean army list who are relatives of the king—a telling fact, whatever the precise status of that text. This is probably because, taken as a whole, the Greek tradition does *not* routinely categorize top men in the imperial system simply as close members the king's family. So the question is whether the

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[122] This is a unique salutation in surviving texts. See also A6.3:1(5) n., on a constructed parallel with the God of Heaven, and A6.3:7(2) n. on the PN-and-associates trope.

phrasing of A4.7 should be understood as speaking of the 'King and the royal princes' and constitutes a corrective to that impression[123] or whether it is not, after all, so very different from speaking of the king and his court.

To return to Aršāma: the normal response to *bar bayta* ('prince') makes him a relative of the king whereas the alternative (perhaps 'privileged courtier') neither precludes nor demands such a supposition. If the nexus of arguments around Sarsamas, Arxanes, and Aršāma rehearsed above (pp. 8–11) is resolved in favour of a half-century tenure of the Egyptian satrapy, that will be a powerful incentive in favour of positing royal status—and perhaps a place in the stemma quite close to the heart of the family. The discovery that what we had hitherto thought of as the satrap Aršāma's seal was already being used by the homonymous son of Darius and Artystone in the years before 494 more or less guarantees that supposition.[124] More specifically, he may be the grandson of Darius' son (a straightforward case of papponymic naming, and the dates are just about possible)[125] or perhaps, as Driver (1965: 93) suggested, his son. On this hypothesis, if Aršāma really became satrap of Egypt after the mid-century revolt, a son of Darius (Achaemenes—killed at the start of the revolt) was succeeded by a great-grandson or grandson of Darius.[126]

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[123] Ezra 7.23, where it is said that it is necessary to behave in the right way to the God of Heaven 'lest there be wrath against the king and his sons' and Ezra 6.10, where there are to be prayers for the life of the king and his sons, may point in this direction. But the reference to sons in 7.23 adds point to the threat (it will extend to the king's successors) and that in 6.10 adds point to benevolence (which also extends to the king's successors), whereas (one might think) the favour of the king at any moment trumps that of anyone else, making reference to the 'sons of the house' somewhat superfluous. Moreover, 'sons of the house' is *prima facie* a wider category than just 'sons'. So, formally and perhaps rhetorically, the Bible passages are not entirely like A4.7. The second Spartan–Persian treaty of 412 is internally described as 'with King Darius and the children of the king' (Thuc.8.37). Commentators suggest that the point is that the deal will continue even when Darius II is dead, but are puzzled that the feature is missing in the third, more definitive formulation in 8.58 (Hornblower 2008: 855). Further negotiations had evidently eliminated a too open-ended commitment, just as they eliminated recognition of Darius' rights over land that belonged to his father and ancestors (only slightly softened in 8.37 as compared with 8.18). But perhaps in the first case (or even both) what was being eliminated was a cliché that said more to Greek ears than Persians had actually intended. If so, Thuc.8.37 *might* count as parallel evidence to A4.7// A4.8, though it remains true that 'children (*paidas*) of the king' is not the same as 'sons of the house'. The two passages belong just five years apart in the reign of Darius II: could the cliché have been a particular feature of court discourse in his reign? When we encounter 'the horses and mules of the king and of the princes [*mišapušaš*] at Karakušan' some ninety years earlier, the phrase has been thought more mundane (Garrison & Henkelman ii 73). But if Parnakka (the writer) was abbreviating what would have been a long list of additional names, one might wonder why so many distinct members of the royal family had horses at Karakušan and begin to suspect that *mišapušas* actually designates a collective estate; and, if he was abbreviating only a short list (just three royal sons are attested in PFA), then in writing what he did he may provide indirect evidence for a formula that also existed in other settings.

[124] Garrison & Henkelman ii 50, 56–62.

[125] Darius' son Aršāma was born no earlier than *c.*520 (on the assumption that Darius acquired Artystone, Cyrus' daughter, as wife as part of the legitimation process following his accession), so he can only have a grandson born by 475 (and so old enough to become Egyptian satrap in the 450s) if both he and his own son or daughter produced children relatively young; but we have no evidence about elite Persian behaviour that makes that particularly implausible.

Aršāma the Satrap

Egypt was *the* sempiternal prestige kingdom of the Ancient Near East. In terms of future Persian satrapies only Assyria-Babylonia was comparable—it was another region where pre-Persian monarchs laid claim to universal rule—but the history of the kingdoms of Mesopotamia over the previous two millennia was more fragmented than that of pharaonic Egypt. It was appropriate that the direct descendant of a king should govern such a place; and, if he was so minded, Aršāma might even have reflected on Darius' engagement with Egypt,[127] the contributions Egypt made to the manner in which he caused royal power to be articulated in the architecture and decoration of Persepolis as part of his reinvention of the empire in its new Achaemenid guise (Wasmuth 2017a: 49–66), and—more soberingly—the breakdown in Persian rule that occurred at the end of his reign. Whether Aršāma was given to historical reflection of this sort is, of course, something we can never know.[128]

To turn to more mundane matters: one thing that Aršāma is never actually called in non-Greek sources is 'satrap'. He is 'Aršāma who is in Egypt' (A6.1, A6.2) or (extremely tantalizingly) 'Aršāma who is in Egypt as [. . .]' (P.Mainz 17)[129] or 'lord' or (as we have seen) 'son of the house'. This is unremarkable. The term 'satrap' is far from omnipresent even in Greek sources (cf. Lenfant 2015: 107–12) and decidedly rare in Persian and the other non-Greek languages of the empire. (It does not occur, for example, in the Bactrian Aramaic letters, leaving us strictly speaking unsure of the status of Axvamazdā. There, as in Egypt and indeed the world of the Persepolis Fortification archive, we are in a system in which, the more important you are, the less your title needs to be reiterated at every opportunity.[130]) In Egypt a Demotic version of the word appears on a Saqqara ostracon (S.75/6-7:2), apparently in reference to the Petisis of Arrian 3.5.2,[131] and in the text on the *verso* of the Demotic Chronicle that recounts Darius' commissioning of a collection of Egyptian laws, but otherwise (apparent) holders of the office are referred to as 'to whom Egypt is entrusted' (P.Berl.Dem. 13539-13540) or 'lord of Egypt' (P.Ryl.Dem. 9: 2.17) or (perhaps) 'the great one who ruled Egypt'.[132] The low incidence of official use of the title might have some bearing on the sparseness of its use in Greek sources before the fourth century.

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[126] Driver's alternative suggestion, that Aršāma was the son of Achaemenes, would also make him a grandson of Darius. But the seal evidence tells against what was always a rather arbitrary hypothesis. I note in passing that it has been suggested that the Achaemenes who *may* appear in Murašû texts (see above, n. 121) might be grandson of the satrap of Egypt.

[127] The situation in Egypt at the time of Darius' accession presents something of a problem (Tuplin 2018a: 111–16, 122–3), but he certainly visited early in his reign, the completion of Necho's Red Sea canal was certainly a substantial exercise in claiming, and surpassing, the heritage of native rulers (Tuplin 1991b), the assembling of *hp* ('law') that he ordered was, so far as we can see, an initiative peculiar to Egypt (Tuplin 2105: 102–4), and we should not necessarily underestimate his interest in the 'Houses of Life' just because it is the self-displaying Udjahorresnet who tells us about it. Lloyd 2007 argued against over-interpretation of the evidence about Darius and Egypt, but we should not go to the opposite extreme.

[128] But the speculation of Granerød 2013 about Aršāma's link with the Aramaic copy of DB (cf. n. 233) would, if correct, be pertinent. Slightly differently, Garrison & Henkelman ii 139 moot the possibility that Aršāma and his milieu might have understood the image on his seal as the record of a historical event, even if that was not the intention of the seal-cutter or his client, and taken appropriate pride in his ancestor's military prowess.

[129] Vittmann 2009: 103–104. It is preceded by a regnal date (year 36 of, presumably, Artaxerxes I), producing an effect resembling the Mylasan inscription *SIG*^{3} 167 = *RO* 54, the Lydian (funerary?) text in Gusmani & Akkan 2004 (starting with the 17th year of Artaxerxes and the satrap Rhosaces) and the Aramaic version of the Xanthos Trilingual (FdX vi 136; the Greek and Lycian versions omit the regnal date).

As we have seen the date of his appointment as satrap is only known (as some date in the 450s) if we make the appropriate decision about *Sarsaman* in Ctesias 688 F14(38)—as I think that in the present state of the evidence we legitimately can. The latest date at which we know him to have been satrap is 407. Persian control of Egypt collapsed not long after that date (Persian regnal dates continue at Elephantine and Ain Manawir until 402 or 401; Manethonic calculations implied a somewhat earlier start for Dynasty XXVIII). The precise circumstances elude us, as does identity of the satrap at the time—though the economical assumption is that it was still Aršāma.[133] If so, he held the office for some half-century, right in the middle of the Persian imperial era, but right at the end of the first and, as it would prove, longer period of continuous Persian rule over Egypt: for the autonomy recovered at the end of the fifth century lasted for some six decades until 343, and the second Persian domination would then last a mere decade—and even then be marred, if not entirely broken, by the intrusion of Chababash in the early 330s.

The Absent Satrap

Direct documentary reflection of Aršāma's activity *as satrap* is confined to the letters and memorandum about the temple affray in Elephantine and four or five other disconnected items. I shall say a little bit more about some of this material later on.[134] First, we should confront a different aspect of his tenure of the satrapy, viz. his absence(s) from Egypt.[135]

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[130] Artavanta's undefined status is perhaps another example of this. The failure to give him a title is an epistolary acknowledgement of his importance.

[131] The belief that it occurs in S.H5-DP 450 (cf. Tavernier 2007a: 436) must be abandoned: cf. Smith and Martin 2009: 51–3. The correct reading is *Ḫšsry* (? = OP *Xšaçāriya-, a personal name).

[132] Such, at least, is Menu's understanding of this phrase in one of its occurrences in the *Wn-nfr* = Onnophris stela: cf. Menu 2008: 157.

[133] TCL 13.203 *prima facie* implies that he was still alive in August–September 403.

[134] See also Tuplin iii 344–72.

[135] Apart from the fact that Memphis functioned as the satrapal centre and the implications of his having estates in different parts of Egypt (on the assumption that he visited all of them occasionally), we can say little about Aršāma's whereabouts when actually in Egypt. Folmer's speculation

Absence in 410–407

We know from A4.5:2–3 and A4.7:4–5//A4.8:4 that he was not in Egypt in July 410 (the date of the destruction of the temple in Elephantine), and we might infer from the phrasing of the documents that he left after the start of Darius' 14th regnal year, though this is strictly speaking not necessary.[136] He was certainly back in Egypt by the time of A4.9 (the memorandum of Bagāvahyā and Delayah recommending reconstruction of the temple), but that still leaves some room for uncertainty. The decision by Bagāvahyā and Delayah has a *terminus post quem* of 25 November 407, the date on which the Elephantine Judaeans drafted (twice) a letter to Bagāvahyā, Delayah and Šelemyah (Delayah's brother) requesting their intervention. The actual letter may have been sent a little later than that and we cannot tell how long elapsed between that point and the taking of that decision. Given how close we are to the end of 407, it highly likely that A4.9 only *proves* that Aršāma was in his satrapy or soon expected there by some date in the early part of 406.

Is it possible he was there before that? The Judaeans had already written to Bagāvahyā on an earlier occasion, in that case addressing him alongside the religious and secular authorities in Jerusalem. This was presumably soon after the destruction of the Elephantine temple, and no reply was forthcoming. In the light of A4.9, one might speculate that one reason why they tried again (this

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(2017: 426–7) that Anani 'the scribe' in A6.2: 23 is the son or brother of Ma'uziyah b. Natan and member of a scribal family at Elephantine probably does not entail that A6.2 was written at Elephantine and that Aršāma was therefore there on 12 January 411. Such an inference would require us to believe that 'Anani, who is *also* labelled *bʿl tʿm*, was casually employed, not to write a document (*prima facie* that was done by Nabu'aqab: see Commentary pp. 276–9), but to transmit Aršāma's order as part of the formal chancellery process. Performance of this function by someone with a non-Iranian name is odd, but not odd enough to authorize an even odder *ad hoc* hypothesis. That some Elephantine Judaeans were Aramaic–Iranian bilinguals is quite credible, but we might as well believe that one of them ended up in satrapal chancellery service (something that A4.3 may also reflect, whether or not one follows Van der Toorn 2018a: 257 in restoring the phrase *bʿl tʿm* in line 8 as a reference to 'Anani, named elsewhere in the letter without title) as that he was casually picked off the street to act as the satrap's *ad hoc* interpreter. Of course, strange things happen, and the story cannot be wholly excluded. A better indication that Aršāma was once in Elephantine is probably that an official letter written *to* him (A6.1) was found there, having (one may hypothesize) been received by him during his visit and then accidentally left behind (Porten 2011: 114). It is a great pity that, as usual (Porten 2011: 3–5), the precise find spot of the two letters is not immediately discernible, though we are in any case in the Judaean–Aramaean quarter. Everything came from three houses, *m* in the north/central part of the quarter, *d/f* at the south-west edge, and *k/l* at the eastern side close to the German/French concession border line: see Honroth *et al.* 1910. The excavations notebooks (Müller 1980, Müller and Zucker 1982, Müller 1984) underline that the 'big find' (house *m*) occurred over a period of time, but otherwise add nothing. It is revealing of the excavators' Egyptian and Greek priorities that at one point Rubensohn expresses regret about a newly recovered papyrus being in Aramaic.

[136] Van der Toorn 2018a: 265 rejects the inference, since he believes that Aršāma had already left before January/February 410. This follows from his view that A4.2 (a) was written in January/February 410 and (b) presupposes Aršāma's absence. But (b) is not cogent and in any case need not entail (a).

time excluding the Jerusalem authorities in favour of those in Samaria) was the knowledge that Aršāma was, or would soon be, back in Egypt.

That speculation interconnects with the question of how we deal with the surprising final sentence of the letter of 25 November 407, which says that Aršāma 'did not know about this which was done to us at all' (A4.7) or 'did not know [about this], any (of it) which was done to us' (A4.8)—a sentence that may have a bearing in its own right on the question of Aršāma's whereabouts. One would have expected the Elephantine Judaeans to have reported their distress to the satrap. But this sentence requires us to believe *either* that they made no effort do so—but contented themselves with (presumably) approaching other non-Elephantine authorities in Egypt[137] and (certainly) approaching Bagāvahyā and the Jerusalem priests and nobles[138]—*or* that the sentence is a polite way of saying that, although Aršāma did actually know about the temple issue, he had shown no interest in intervening. The latter option perhaps has no compelling implications for Aršāma's whereabouts: he could ignore Judaean letters wherever he was, and to assume that he more likely to do so when absent from Egypt is to beg the question. But the former option might make most sense as a consequence of Aršāma's absence from Egypt—provided one can believe that the Judaeans would treat that Aršāma absence as an unarguably cogent reason for not even attempting to approach him in writing. Why might they take that view? We know nothing independently of the reasons for Aršāma's departure.[139] Both in A4.5 and A4.7 we are told not just that he left Egypt but that he 'went to the king'. Nothing special *has* to be read into that: on the face of it 'the king' is simply a destination, substituted for a geographical name because the king did, after all, move from place to place.[140] Of course, if the letter's authors knew that there *was* something special about the nature of Aršāma's visit (or summons) to court—something that might preclude interest in a local issue affecting the garrison in Elephantine—they might well not allude to it here: 'when Aršāma went to the king' *might* be heavy with overtones—albeit ones that we cannot decode. All we can do is assume that the Judaeans (and everyone else) knew that all of the satrap's powers and authority were now delegated to a deputy and the satrap himself was effectively out of circulation. (The whole problem is deciding whether such a situation was normal when a satrap was absent or requires special explanation in terms of an unusual crisis.) If the Judaeans *had* tried and failed to get help from that deputy (cf. n. 137), the news that Aršāma was (or would soon be) back might prompt a re-opening of the question. Of course, if the final sentence of the petition to Bagāvahyā, Delayah and Šelemyah is true, we have to take it that re-opening the question initially meant just looking for support from Palestine, (still) not contacting Aršāma directly. (The final sentence becomes, in fact, a tacit acknowledgement that, in the end, Aršāma's attitude would matter and a tacit hint that Bagāvahyā, Delayah and Šelemyah could take a view of the issue confident that they were not in conflict with a view the satrap had already taken.)

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[137] There is no direct evidence of such an approach—unless that is how we explain A4.5, a letter whose addressee is unknown. But, even granted that the local authorities in Elephantine-Syene (Vidranga, the *frataraka,* and his son Nāfaina, the garrison-commander) had colluded in the attack upon the temple, it is perhaps hard to believe that no attempt to contact the authorities in Memphis. A further complication is the possibility that something bad had happened to Vidranga and others involved in the temple-attack—a *possibility* only, not a certainty: Lindenberger's reading of A4.7:16–17//A4.8:15–16 (2001, 2003: 75) deserves consideration. On all of this see Tuplin iii 350–2.

[138] A4.7:17–19//A4.8:16–18. (They sent no reply.)

[139] For further speculative comment see below, pp. 70–2.

[140] It recalls the terminology of travel ration texts in the PFA, where we read that travellers 'carried a sealed document of so-and-so and went to the king (*sunkikka paraš*)': see Henkelman ii 209 n.28 the terminology can be used in relation to other destination figures, of course, including Parnakka, Ziššawiš, Irdubama, Karkiš, Bakabana, Irtuppiya, Mišmina, and Mašana.

On this reading of the situation, then, Aršāma's absence would (effectively) be over at some date in 407, 27 November 407 being a *terminus ante quem* or (one might say) *terminus circa quem*. To put his return significantly earlier than this is only possible if the final sentence of A4.7//A4.8 is not true and the reason for sending the November 407 petition is unconnected with Aršāma's movements. We are certainly not well-informed enough to preclude the latter; but the former (that the petitioners would actually lie about Aršāma to Persian governors in Palestine) is not easy to credit or a sensible starting point for other speculation.[141]

Other Signs of Absence

In the case of A4.1 (419), A4.2 (undated) and the two Demotic texts (435 and 429 respectively)—documents that simply refer to Aršāma—and A6.1 (427), A6.2 (411)—letters written respectively to and by Aršāma—there is no obvious reason to suppose that the satrap is anywhere but in Egypt, though, as we have seen, Van der Toorn 2018a: 265 takes a different view about A4.2 (see n. 136). In the case of the letters in particular, addressor(s) and addressee(s) are plausibly in different parts of Egypt. A6.2 is written by Aršāma to an Egyptian boatman who is most naturally assumed to be in Elephantine. In A6.1 a large group of officials, including some who are scribes of provinces (presumably subdivisions of Egypt), write to Aršāma. Both letters would make sense if Aršāma was in e.g. Memphis at the time. Admittedly we probably cannot prove that he was. In both letters the address-line includes a description of Aršāma as 'who is in Egypt'. But that would still be consistent with his being outside the satrapy if the phrase were construed as a title, virtually equivalent to 'to whom Egypt is entrusted' or (as we might say) 'satrap of Egypt'; and it may be that such an understanding makes good sense even if Aršāma is *not* outside the satrapy, particularly in A6.1, where people are writing to him from elsewhere inside Egypt and the phrase might seem superfluous if regarded just as (so to say) a postal address. So Aršāma's whereabouts are strictly speaking a matter of speculation. But, to re-iterate, nothing in these documents invites the supposition that he is away from the satrapy, and I do not think that anyone has ever suggested otherwise.

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[141] For further discussion of the fate of the Elephantine temple during Aršāma's absence see Tuplin iii 344–72.

But the question *has* been raised with the Bodleian documents. One has to be careful here. All letters entail some distance between writer and recipient, and (as has just been noted) letters can be sent between different places in the satrapy. So there have to be plain additional indications of a substantial distance separating Aršāma from Egypt: a letter to 'Nakhtḥor the *pqyd* who is in Egypt, in Lower (Egypt)' (A6.10:11 n.), for example, would hardly satisfy that requirement (see below, p. 44).

It is not unnatural to assume that Nakhtḥor's ration-authorization document was written in Mesopotamia or Elam and, although this is not strictly speaking certain (A6.9:1(1) n.), it would perhaps be unduly contrarian to think otherwise. Ḥinzani's trip to Susa in A6.12 (whence he has now returned to Egypt) probably also entails that Aršāma was in Susa at the time of his visit; but the letter may not guarantee that he is still precisely there or (at any rate) is going to go on being there for the foreseeable future (A6.12:1(3) n.). There are also two documents that locate Aršāma in Babylon. It is next to certain that both Aršāma and Vāravahyā were there when Aršāma wrote to Nakhtḥor instructing him to assist in recovering dues owed to Vāravahyā from his Egyptian estates (A6.13);[142] and A6.15 also places Aršāma in Babylon, although we cannot be sure that he was still there when Virafša wrote thence to Nakhtḥor (A6.15:1(4) n.).

Both A6.13 and A6.15 have external address-lines which describe the letter's recipient(s) as 'in Egypt'.[143] In these cases that description does match what is likely or certain to be a substantive geographical distance between addressor and addressee. Can we extrapolate from this to other formally parallel cases?

A6.13 is one of three letters from 'Aršāma to Nakhtḥor the *pqyd*, Kenzasirma and his colleagues the accountants who are in Egypt', the other two being A6.11 (where there is nothing else to indicate Aršāma's whereabouts)[144] and A6.12 which may have been written while Aršāma was outside Egypt (see above). In

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[142] The companion letter, A6.14, confirms that Vāravahyā was in Babylon, but adds nothing about Aršāma. This case, incidentally, establishes that the presence of a Demotic annotation (the name Ḥotepḥep) does not guarantee composition in Egypt. Such annotations also appear on A6.11 ('about the fields of Pamun which I have given to Peṭosiri') and A6.12 ('Ḥotepḥep').

[143] See A6.3:9(2) n. on the geographical annotations in external address lines, which also occur in the Bactrian letters.

[144] Whitehead 1974: 81 claimed that *bgw* (literally 'within'; translated as 'therein' in Porten and Yardeni) in A6.11:2 indicates that Aršāma was outside Egypt. But this is not compelling: A6.11:2(5) n.

A6.15 Virafša wrote from Babylon to 'Nakhtḥor the *pqyd* who is in Egypt'. This evokes two types of parallel case.

In A6.10 Aršāma writes to Nakhtḥor 'the *pqyd* who is in Egypt, in Lower (Egypt)' (line 11) and some contrast is implied between what Aršāma has heard at his current location ('here': line 3) and the situation of 'officials who are in Lower Egypt' (which is what he has been hearing about). This certainly implies Aršāma is not actually on his Lower Egyptian estates (wherever they were) but requires no other conclusion about his whereabouts: he could in theory be in the satrapal residence in Memphis.

The other type of parallel does not involve Nakhtḥor, *Lower* Egypt, or an explicit title. It is found in two letters sent by 'Aršāma, son of the house, to Artavanta who is in Egypt' (A6.3, A6.7)—part of a set of five (A6.3–7) to the same recipient (spelled Artahanta on one occasion), of which the others are less well preserved and lack surviving address lines, though A6.4:5 can certainly be restored to conform. The substance of these letters (as distinct from the address-line) contains little that pushes towards any particular conclusion as to Aršāma's whereabouts.[145] All we can tell for sure is that Aršāma and Artavanta are remote enough from one another for letters to be necessary, that (in A6.3) Aršāma's *pqyd* Psamšek has recently travelled to Aršāma and then back to the vicinity of Artavanta (perhaps carrying the letter in question), and that the involvement of Artavanta was necessary to execute orders from Aršāma involving the punishment of slaves—explicitly (6.3) or implicitly (6.7)—and the assignment of domains (6.4).[146]

What we make of the situation is very much tied up with what we make of the status of Artavanta. One argument might run like this. Artavanta has no title (such as *pqyd* or accountant). This makes it harder to use the titular explanation of 'who is in Egypt' in order to justify a scenario in which Aršāma is *not* absent from Egypt. To be more precise: the description 'who is in Egypt' might serve as a quasi-title for the satrap (as we have already seen in A6.1 and A6.2), but Artavanta is not the satrap. So *either* the description marks the distinctive geographical fact that he is in Egypt, whereas the addressor (Aršāma) is not *or* it is quasi-titular after all, indicates that Artavanta is (so to say) 'acting satrap' and therefore surely entails the same conclusion—that Aršāma is somewhere outside Egypt.

The only way to evade that conclusion would be to identify a regular role for Artavanta as authoritative intermediary between an Aršāma resident in Memphis and the business of his landed estates in Upper and Lower Egypt (i.e. throughout the satrapy) and to maintain that by extension he might be accorded a quasi-satrapal description. I do think that one can perhaps imagine such a role: one might even in Babylonian terms describe Artavanta as a *mār bīti* of Aršāma—a rather grander example, perhaps, than the ones that one sees in Nippur, but appropriately so since Aršāma is, after all, the satrap. And one might then note the respectful way in which Aršāma addresses Artavanta (A6.3:1(1) n.) and suggest that he is also being respectful in marking the addressee as the one 'who is in Egypt'.

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[145] But note the words 'there in Egypt' in A6.4:4, which may constitute a formal indication of Aršāma's location outside Egypt (A6.4:4 (n).).

[146] A.6.5–6 are about domains too, but too fragmentary for a clear narrative to emerge.

The degree of Aršāma's absenteeism or (what is not quite the same) the regularity with which it is actually reflected in his correspondence and other Egyptian documents thus remains hard to assess. The default assumption will probably remain that it is quite a prominent feature of the record and what some will see as the special pleading of some of the arguments just rehearsed may in the end serve to validate that default assumption. There will clearly be an inclination to think that, since some of the Bodleian letters were written outside Egypt and none of them (perhaps) *have* to have been written inside Egypt, the parsimonious hypothesis is that they were all written outside Egypt. Whether the collection's quasi-archival character helps to validate that hypothesis is a moot point.[147]

Meanwhile one final observation is required about a part of the dossier lying outside the Egyptian documentation. Ctesias represents Aršāma's support for the cause of the future Darius II as an important element in the latter's success—at least it seems reasonable that that is the implication of his support being picked out in the narrative sufficiently for Photius to note it. Do we assume that when Aršāma declared his support he was in Babylon—or wherever we assume Darius' elevation to the throne to have occurred? It seems likely. Did he travel east from Egypt post-haste as the succession crisis developed? Had he been at or near the imperial heartland from well before the latter part of 424? Does the phrasing of Ctesias 15(50) actually imply that he had originally expressed allegiance to Sogdianus and then defected (as Arbarius did) or had he managed to bide his time, whether in Egypt or Babylon or wherever, before picking Ochus as the one to back? I do not at the moment think there is any way of answering these questions.[148]

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[147] On wider questions around Aršāma's travel to the centre and royal supervision of distant satraps see Keaveney iii 136–46. Memphis was perhaps twelve days from Persepolis by fast messenger and nine to ten from Susa (cf. Colburn 2013: 46). Whether this represents a degree of isolation that made regular personal sojourns at the centre of royal power politically or administratively desirable is hard to say. (One should remember that a similar calculation would put even the southern border of the satrapy nearly four days' distant.)

[148] We lack for Aršāma the fortuitous documentary hint that (perhaps) tells us of Gobryas' absence from Babylonia in summer 522 at the start of the troubles surrounding Darius I's eventual accession (YOS 3.106:7,31, with Stolper 2003: 279). There is also an almost malignly tiresome lacuna in documentation from Egypt. There are no dated documents at Elephantine between 427 (A6.1, B3.6) and 420 (B2.9, B3.7, B3.8) or at Saqqara between 427 (ATNS 32) and 419 (ATNS 27). The 427–420 gap at Elephantine is the last time there is that long a gap between dated documents. Prior to 427 we have a ten year gap 483–473?, an eight year gap 495–487, and seven year gaps 471–464 and 434–427. (There are twenty-four dated documents in the sixty-nine years from

Aršāma the Estate Holder

Aršāma’s status as estate holder is apparent from both Egyptian and Babylonian documents. Taken together they show him to have had a claim on property in Nippur (the Akkadian dossier: see Pirngruber i 300–39),[149] in various other parts of Babylonia, Assyria, and Syria (A6.9),[150] and in Upper and Lower Egypt (the Bodleian archive), perhaps specifically including the Heracleopolis area (the new British Museum papyri). As such he is arguably unique, for no other individual who is not actually a king or queen is known to have had estates in so many different regions. The closest approaches are perhaps Tissaphernes (with an *oikos* in Caria and—if we take it as representing an estate—a tree-*paradeisos* at Sardis)[151] and Bēlšunu, who had property in various parts of Babylonia and a palace (and tree-*paradeisos*) in North Syria.[152] (He is also indirectly connected with livestock at Thapsacus in the Euphrates valley, but that was only three days’ march from his palace, so perhaps does not count as a separate region.[153]) One might also mention Demaratus, who was reportedly granted land on two separate occasions, probably in quite different areas, and Themistocles with his interests in the Maeander valley and the Troad, and Xenophon’s implicit assumption that privileged courtiers would have property both in the vicinity of the king and in other parts of the empire.[154] But it may be no more than an accident of source survival that we cannot postulate multiple location ownership for other princes and/or satrap-level figures with estates in Babylonia[155] or for Axvamazdā in

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495–427, and twenty-eight dated documents in the twenty-two years from 420–399. In other words, the end of the 427–420 gap is the point at which preserved dated documents become markedly more frequent.)

[149] Van Driel 1993: 223 does note that the livestock to which many of the documents relate might not actually have been in Nippur, even if the contractual arrangements were made there. All we can tell (from the dates of the contracts) is that they were somewhere where lambing could be expected to happen in November.

[150] If the *pqydyn* here are Aršāma’s estate officials, this is straightforward. If they are provincial officials whose payments are to be reimbursed from Aršāma’s ‘estate which is in your province’ (6.4:2), it must still be implied that he *has* estates in all the relevant areas. On *pqydyn* see A6.4:2(1) n.

[151] Xen.*Hell.*3.2.12, Diod.14.80.

[152] Babylonia: Stolper 1987 and 1995 provide a global description. Further relevant documents appear in Stolper 1990, 1999, 2004, 2007. See also Henkelman 2018: 17–20. North Syria: Xen.*An.*1.4.10. Some detect an estate of an earlier satrap of Ebir-nari in Nehemiah 3.7 (Briant 2002: 585, Grabbe 2004: 62), and the reference to the satrap’s ‘throne’ could perhaps evoke the Babylonian concept of throne-land (cf. n. 166). But others see only a reference to Mizpah as the administrative centre of Judah (Williamson 1985: 197, Zadok 2012: 166).

[153] Czechowicz and Dandamaev 2010.

[154] Demaratus: Hdt.7.60, Xen.*Hell.*3.1.6. Themistocles: Thuc.1.138, Diod.11.57, Plut.*Them.*29, Nep.*Them.*10 etc. Other Greek benefactors in receipt of presumably single-location estates include Phylacus (Hdt.8.85: *khōrēi edōrēthē pollēi*), Democedes (3.132: *oikos megistos*), and Gongylus (Aeolian cities: Xen.*Hell.*3.1.6). Courtiers: Xen.*Cyr*. 8.6.3–5.

[155] Mardonius: Stolper 1992. Manuštanu (*Manuštana-): IMT 40. Aḥiabanuš (*Haxiyabānus): BE 10.85. Neba’mardu: PBS 2/1 20. Uštana (*Vištāna-) (1): Pearce and Wunsch 2014: nos. 18–21. Uštana (*Vištāna-) (2): PBS 2/1 105. Dadaršu (Dādạršiš): PBS 2.1 37, TuM 2.3 147. Siṭunu (*Stūnā-):

Bactria or Pharnabazus in Hellespontine Phrygia.[156] Such people are certainly comparable with Aršāma, and the same must be true to some extent (though not perhaps in sheer extent of possession) of various other persons, with official titles or otherwise, who emerge in Babylonian documents with holdings that required the managerial attention of *paqdu*s, *rab bīti*s, or *mar bīti*s,[157] in Persepolitan ones as the eponyms of *ulhi*s, *irmadim*s, or *appišdamana*s,[158] and in Egyptian ones in the case of Vāravahyā (A 6.13–A6.14), Virafša (A6.15), and the anonymous lords of A6.10.[159] All such people are near one end of a spectrum of secular land-holding which at the other stretches to the holders of service-estates (most clearly attested in the bow-, horse-, and chariot-fiefs of Babylonia, but sometimes postulated in various forms elsewhere)[160] or other less well-understood categories.[161] Where exactly in between one puts Asidates with his *tursis*-estate in the Caicus Valley or the putatively similar entities represented by the *tetrapurgia* of Phrygia is a nice question,[162] as is the nature of the land-holdings

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TuM 2/3 148, BE 10.129. Arbareme (*Arbarēva-): TuM 2/3 204. Gubaru (*Gaubaruva-): BE 8.80. Tattannu: YBC 11432, 11603, Jursa 2005: 95. Undaparna’ (*Vindafarnā-) : BM 79541, MacGinnis 2008.

[156] Axvamazdā: ADAB A6. Bagavanta’s penalty for not re-roofing Axvamazdā’s old houses and delivering corn to his granary building (*byt wsm*) is to pay compensation from his *byt* to that of Axvamazdā: both obligations presumably relate to Axvamazdā’s estate. Whether the same is true of the house in A2 is less clear. Pharnabazus: Xen.*Hell.*4.1.15–16, 31. Notwithstanding the long-standing family connection with Dascylium, it is more or less inconceivable that Pharnabazus had no estates elsewhere. The case might be different with another non-Iranian individual of (eventually) quasi-satrapal status, Memnon, whose Anatolian *khōra* (Arr.*Anab.*1.17.8, Polyaen.4.3.15) might have been the totality of his reward for services rendered.

[157] This is, of course, only one possible criterion for identifying significant estate holders, and one not, I believe, satisfied by Bēlšunu (n. 152), whose subordinates are characteristically simply ‘servants’ (*ardu, qallu*), though one of them (Arad-Nergal) is called major-domo (LÚ.GAL É) on one occasion (VAT 15735:6, with Stolper 1999: 373). *Titled* Bagasaru (*Bagasravā) the treasurer: Dar.296 = Abraham 2004: no. 103, Dar.542 = Abraham 2004: no. 132. Bagišu (*Bagaiča-) the *uzutuabara* (**visūtabara*, ‘interest-collector’): UET 4.99. Six *ustabaru*s: ^{d}Ḫ̮U’apatu (uncertain Iranian name: HSM 1931.1.11 = HSM 8414: Jursa and Stolper 2007: 252–3), Parnuš/Parmuš/Parrinuš (*Parnuš: PBS 2/1 70,102, BE 10.103), Pitibiri (TuM 2/3148, BE 10.129), Šibbu (PBS 2/1 43), Ipraduparna’ (*Frādafarnā-: BE 10.114, PBS 2/1 138), Bagamihi (*Bagamihra-: BE 9.50). Three *mašennu*s: Tattannu: (BE 9.59), Artambaru (*Ṛtambara: BE 9.14, 9.15), Harrimunatu (BE 10.123, IMT 48, PBS 2/1 143). Šulum-Babili, *šaknu* of the ‘*šušānu*s, teamsters’: PBS 2/1 101, 125, IMT 45. *Untitled* Iqiša: Dar.296 = Abraham 2004: no. 103. Bēlšunu: Waerzeggers 2014b: 110, 158–9. Artaumanu (*Ṛtāumanā): EE 4. Mitratu (Miϑrāta-): BE 10.114. Niḫ̮istu-ṭabi: Dar.274. Umartaspa’ (*Vartāspa-): PBS 2/1 70. Unnatu (*Vanata-): EE 10. Ni-ki-?ma-x: FuB 14 no.4. Pap…: FuB 14 no. 21. Ṣihā, son of Tattannu: VS 6.185. Mušalim-bel: TuM 2/3 182. Abulidu: PBS 2/1 173. Tattannu: BE 10.89. Zatame (*Zātavahyā): BE 9.45,50, EE 7,12. Illil-nadin-šumi: BE 10.56, BE 9.68, BE 10.10, PBS 2/1 28, 159, IMT 20, 22, EE 86, 93, 99.

[158] See Tuplin i 158–62.

[159] One wonders how the landed property (*tas epi tēs khōras ktēseis)* looted by Amyntas’ mercenaries in 333 (Diod.17.48; cf. Curt.4.1.31) relates to the estates of such people.

[160] I have in mind talk of military colonization in western Anatolia. On the question of military property in Syene-Elephantine cf. Tuplin iii 298 n. 24. The implications of ADAB A4 are debatable.

[161] See n. 166 below.

[162] Asidates: Xen.*An.*7.8.8–23. *Tetrapyrgia*: Plut.*Eum.*9, Briant 2002: 705. Nor is it entirely clear what species of cavalry-producing estate Xenophon envisages in *Cyr.*8.8.20.

alluded to in DB §14 and the significance of Bardiya's interference with them. But that smaller entities *could* be institutionally contained within larger ones is certain, both from evidence in the Bodleian letters (the cases of ʿAnkhoḥapi and Psamšek, and Pamun and Peṭosiri)[163] and the perception that Babylonian *bit qašti*s and the like were not only gathered together in *ḫaṭru*s, but were among the components of much larger estates controlled by members of the Iranian elite or favoured members of other ethnic groups.[164]

A proper realization of the importance of estates and land-allotments (especially as either gifts or rewards or as a basis for military recruitment, but also more general in terms of social, fiscal, and political structures) was an early feature of the modern development of Achaemenid studies,[165] but a full-scale treatment in the light of the whole range of potential evidence (which has grown considerably in the meantime) is still lacking. One aim of such a study would be to determine how much fundamental change to the historical principles of land-holding in the empire's regions (as opposed to simple re-assignment or re-packaging of real estate) was occasioned by the advent of Achaemenid control. The answer in Egypt will not necessarily be the same as in Anatolia, Babylonia, or the south-western Iranian heartland: certainly even a cursory inspection of the Egyptian record discloses items that are not terminologically parallel with the written record elsewhere.[166]

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[163] A6.4, A6.11.

[164] Stolper 1985, esp. 1-103.

[165] Briant 1975, 1978/79, 1980a, 1980b, 1983, 1985, Cook 1983: 167–82, Sekunda 1985, 1988, 1991. It is somewhat in this spirit that Rollinger and Wiesehöfer 2009: 216 interpret the Akkadian translator's use of *bītu* (not *ekallu*) to render *tacara* or *hadiš* in royal inscriptions as a sign that some people saw Persian royal palaces primarily in terms of economic activity.

[166] *Dšn*: A6.4:1(3) n. *Bg*: A6.4:2(3) n. Royal *ḥlq* (share, portion): B1.1. (Other occurrences of the word in Egypt (A3.10, B2.11, B3.5, D1.17:12) and at Makkedah (Lozachmeur and Lemaire 1996: no. 3, AL 267 = ISAP 1395) cast no light.) **Upastā*-land: C3.18, C3.21. Understood as 'support-land' by Tavernier 2007a: 404. (See A6.9:1–2(1) n.) *ʿšk*-land: ATNS 6 (but not in B8.12: cf. A6.14:4(3) n.), C3.22. *Ḳ*-land: P.Loeb 45, P.Cair. 31046, P.Moscow 424 (a term later associated with Ptolemaic *katoikoi*). It is theoretically possible that we should read *dstkh* in C3.21:2, 8 (not *rstkh*) and understand it as a word meaning 'estate' (Shaked and Naveh 2012: 113–14). Variation occurs even within relatively small areas: so e.g. within Babylonia the *hanšu* (a unit of gardens and fields) seems to be distinctively characteristic of the fiscal landscape of Borsippa (Jursa 2009: 243, 246–7). Alongside plentiful references to *bīt qašti*, the documentation for Babylonia also contains rarities, some comparative (chariot-estates, horse-estates), some more extreme: *bīt aspastu* (**aspasti-*) = lucerne-estate (VS 5.55, EE 19, IMT 18), *bīt kussî* = throne-estate (PBS 2/1 65, 186, ROMCT 2.36, VS 5.128, 8th Congress 31 = Stolper 2004: 526, BM 120024 = Stolper and Jursa 2007: 257–9, with 262–3), *bīt azanu* = quiver-estate (ROMCT 2.9). (The last-named evokes a record in PF NN 1277 of flour 'to be used for the baking of bread that (is) of the bow-and-arrow case of the Harku-people', a situation 'perhaps comparable to the "Queen's girdle" and "Queen's veil" ': Henkelman 2003: 121. So, we may have here a unique Persepolitan reference to people sustained by a service-estate.) Even entities that appear quite often can be problematic: the *bīt ritti* (hand-estate) is a long-standing problem (e.g. Jursa 1998: 13–18, Van Driel 2002: 305–6, MacGinnis 2012: 25–6), if not a chimera (MacGinnis 2012: 26 n. 130).

The Estates of A6.9

Of the estates in the provinces named in A6.9 little more can be said than that they were available (directly or indirectly) as a resource from which Nakhtḥor and his travel party could draw daily subsistence. That they sufficed to cover *all* his requirements when travelling through the relevant regions is not stated and should not be inferred: in fact, the geographical discontinuity precludes it.[167]

The Estates in Babylonia

In the case of the estates in Nippur the Akkadian documents (see Pirngruber i 300–39) provide us with nine transactionally identical items (leases of livestock),[168] a lease of arable land involving property belonging to Aršāma,[169] two documents (one Murašû, one non-Murašû) in which his land or land belonging to someone from his household is part of a boundary-definition (but otherwise has no relevance to the transaction being recorded),[170] and one rather more unusual document about the resolution of a dispute involving Aršāma's servant and the Murašû firm (IMT 105 + EE 109).[171] Taken globally the documents prove that Aršāma owned land and livestock in Babylonia and that management of the latter at least was in the hands of a Babylonian *paqdu*. I comment just on two points.

(a) The livestock leases are of particular interest not only for what they say about livestock management[172] but also for two other facts: they are the latest dated documents in the entire Murašû archive and the lessor (and Aršāma's *paqdu*) is one Enlil-supê-muhur—a man who is attested earlier as a servant

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[167] Tuplin i 150–4. Some of the estates were in areas with long-standing royal associations.

[168] Driver 1965: 88 was wrong to suggest that in BE 9.1 the animals are 'in the charge of' Bēl-ittannu, judge of the Sîn-canal. Bēl-ittannu only appears as the person in whose presence the transaction was concluded (which is the role characteristically fulfilled by judges of the Sîn-canal: cf. Cardascia 1951: 20, Stolper 1985: 41). In the other texts no such figure appears, but the overseer of Aršāma's animals, Šamahtānī *is* mentioned as the person in charge of the particular livestock being leased. Meanwhile two slaves and an *ustarbaru* of Queen Parysatis are among the witnesses in these documents (Dandamaev 1992: 166).

[169] In EE 11 Enlil-šum-iddin leases out grain fields, including land of Aršāma's estate, crown-land (*uzbarra*) by the Simmagir canal, as well as a canal and forty oxen with their harness and other land. He does so for an annual payment of 1,300 kur of barley, 100 kur of wheat, 100 kur of spelt, and some other products. The text confirms directly that Aršāma owned real estate in Babylonia (Stolper 1985: 65, Dandamaev 1992: 33).

[170] IMT 9 (the field of Šamaš-ibni from the household of Aršamu), TCL 13.203 (the border of the *mār bīti* Aršamu).

[171] It was once believed that one of the Nippur *ḫaṭru*s was called Aršammaja (cf. CAD A/2, 308) and was linked to Aršāma; but the name is now read as Arumaja (Stolper 1985: 72). It is possible that P.BM EA 76282 refers to Aršāma's links with Babylonia (Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 295).

[172] Their important place in the evidence about Babylonian sheep and goats is fully discussed in Van Driel 1993. The basic rent (the leaseholder must return two thirds of the live-births of the flock) is attested at Persepolis as well: cf. Henkelman 2005a: 157.

(*ardu*) or *paqdu* of the Murašû firm. Putting these two facts together, Stolper 1985: 23 speculates that Aršāma effectively expropriated the Murašû family at some date in or after *c.*414 and that that is why Enlil-supê-muhur had passed from their service into his. If this is correct, it presumably puts Aršāma's economic engagement with the landscape of southern Babylonia onto a whole new level. The precise circumstances of the change and its ongoing implications lie beyond our gaze (though Joannès 2020 has recently cast some new light on the background), but, since the Murašû could hardly have assembled their business in the first place without the blessing of the royal administration, one may observe that its termination at the hands of the likes of Aršāma is entirely appropriate.

(b) IMT 105 + EE 109 records a complaint brought by a servant of Aršāma (Šiṭa') against Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû (Stolper 1985: 65). The complaint is that Enlil-šum-iddin, members of his household, servants, and commissioned agents have taken some property belonging to Šiṭa'. The complaint is first brought before Bammuš, '[son of the] house' ([LU DUMU].É(?)) and some other notables, who then travel to Nippur for its final resolution. Enlil-šum-iddin paid an indemnity of 500 kur of barley (which Dandamaev 1992: 34 regards as a high sum) and received guarantees against further litigation which were validated by an oath sworn by gods and the king. This incident is interesting for various reasons.

In the first place it can be compared with what is found in BE 9.69 and BE 10.9. In BE 9.69 Udarna' (*Vidarna-), son of Raḫīm-Il, claims before a Nippur assembly that the same range of associates of Enlil-šum-iddin (together with some of his own relatives) had taken utensils and other property from his house. Enlil-šum-iddin questioned the accused, recovered the property, and returned it. In BE 10.9 Baga'data' (*Bagadātā-) the *ustarbaru*, son of Bēl-nadin, claimed that Enlil-šum-iddin and his associates had destroyed two places called Rabija and Hazatu and removed silver, gold, livestock, and other property thence. This time Enlil-šum-iddin denied the charge—but paid a huge indemnity in return for guarantee against future prosecution. The indemnity is much larger than that in IMT 105 + EE 109, but the essential situation sounds rather similar. This is particularly striking because, whereas the incident in BE 9.69 occurred at the end of Artaxerxes I's 39th year (in early spring 425), BE 10.9 was written on 16.1.1 Darius = 26 April 423, only a little more than a month after IMT 105 + EE 109 (9.12.Acc.Darius II = 20 March 423): in other words, the two most similar cases are almost exactly contemporaneous. Moreover these documents belong very early in Darius' reign (the first one just over two months after the earliest example of his claim to be king being recognized in the dating formulae of Babylonian documents, on 10 January 423) and at time at which, on conventional reconstructions of the events following Artaxerxes' death Darius had not yet disposed of Sogdianus. Could the actions of Enlil-šum-iddin and his entourage be a side-effect of troubled times? Or should the fact that a similar well-grounded accusation could be made already two years earlier warn against any such specific inference? Tolini, who discusses the incident at some length (2011: 1.505–19), concludes, perhaps prudently, that a specific political link cannot be postulated. (In general terms, of course, the possible association of public upheaval with private violence has a certain resonance with TADAE A6.10.)

Secondly, there is a pattern connecting the complainants. The first two are men with Iranian names but Babylonian patronymics. That suggests families that have chosen (to put it crudely) to side with the foreign imperial power. The third is the servant of Aršāma, another collaborator with and positive beneficiary of Achaemenid rule—for there is no reason to doubt that the property actually belonged to Šiṭa' (i.e. was not simply property belonging to Aršāma for which he had administrative responsibility) and was reasonably substantial.

Thirdly, prosopographical details are provided in IMT 105 + EE 109 about the process for dispute-resolution, something that does not happen in the two other texts. These details show not only that there was an *ustarbaru* and *šaknu* (*ḫaṭru* supervisor) among those involved in hearing the case in Nippur but more strikingly that those who received the initial complaint alongside the 'son of the house' Bammuš (*Bāmuš) included a 'satrap': his name is lost, but it can probably be restored as Ṣiha'[173] and he is an individual also known from PBS 2/1 2–3—not, of course, 'satrap of Babylonia' in our normal understanding of such terminology, but a person of high enough standing to be designated 'protector of the kingdom' (*ahšadrapanu* = **xšaθrapāna-*) and thus representative of the king. Another person involved was (it now seems) Ispitāma', the *mār bīti* of Patēšu. Earlier editions of the Akkadian text discerned simply Ispitāma', son of Patēšu (i.e. *Spitāma-, son of *Paθēša-: Tavernier 2007a: 273, 314), a pair of names and filiation that evoked Ctesias 688 F14(42), where Petesas and his son Spitamenes go as emissaries to Megabyzus (along with Artarius, Amytis, and Artoxares) to settle latter's revolt. The identification was supported by Stolper 1985: 94 (and extended to the Ispitāma' of PBS 2/1 27 and 2/1 29 and the Patēšu of BE 10.33 and 10.37), but Dr Pirngruber's new reading makes things less straightforward.[174] Patēšu/*Paθēša- could still be Ctesias' Petesas (and the man encountered in BE 10.33 and 10.37), but he is now *prima facie* represented in the investigation in IMT 105 + EE 109 by a (senior) household functionary, not by his son. Where this leaves Ctesias is a nice question. Did he simply misreport 'son of the house' as 'son', with the implication that the emissaries to Megabyzus included a grandee accompanied by a household functionary? Is the latter a plausible scenario: was *Spitāma- an important enough figure (even though only a household functionary) for his participation to have been remembered or retrospectively assumed? Or should we question, not the new reading of the

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[173] Tolini 2011: 1.511, 514, 517.

[174] The link was already noted by König 1972: 78, and Stolper's endorsement has been widely followed.

Akkadian signs, but the accuracy of the record? Did the scribe really mean to name *Spitāma-, son of *Paθēša- and label him as a *mār bīti* in the more elevated sense of the term (the one applied to Bammuš three lines earlier)—in which case we may return to the view of König, Stolper, and others? But, in any case, the events of IMT 105 + EE 109 certainly drew in some very high-status people. In fact, Tolini (2011: 1.505–19) argues that the initial denunciation took place in Babylon and that this happened because the king was currently there: i.e. Šiṭa' took advantage of this circumstance to bring his grievance to the attention of people with real clout, perhaps even to the king himself.[175] Does the special level of high-rank Iranian concern with this case (resulting in *Bamuš and the rest actually going to Nippur to join with local figures in settling it) reflect the status of Šiṭa' as a servant and protégé of Aršāma—something putting him in a different league from Bagadāta (himself an *ustarbaru*) and Vidarna? In any event, Enlil-šum-iddin survived the episode and in soon back in Babylon, doing new business in the context of the king's re-allocation of land in Babylonia (Tolini 2011: 1.519–28).

The Estates in Egypt

Aršāma has estates in Upper and Lower Egypt (A6.7; cf. A6.4, A6.10).[176] Psamšek seems to be described as *pqyd* for domains in both areas in A6.4 (the text is restored, but the restoration is surely plausible), whereas in A6.10 (address line) Nakhtḥor is *pqyd* in Egypt, but more specifically located in Lower Egypt. How substantive a distinction this is I am not sure. On the one hand, the fact that A6.7 can describe a group of thirteen slaves as 'appointed . . . among my domains which are in Upper and Lower Egypt' even though they must in practice have been located at some particular place in one or the other region suggests that 'my domains which are in Upper and Lower Egypt' is purely formulaic (i.e. that the specification 'Upper and Lower' is not adding anything very substantive); and on the other hand the substance of A6.10 relates specifically to Lower Egypt,[177] so the formulation of Nakhtḥor's title in that document might have been adjusted accordingly. One could maintain, then, that both men might have been described as '*pqyd* in my domains in Upper and Lower Egypt', but also as '*pqyd* in Egypt' or even (if the situation made it specially fitting) '*pqyd* in Lower Egypt' or '*pqyd* in Upper Egypt'—though this last option is not strictly speaking directly attested by A6.10:11. This leaves it hard to tell how many *pqydyn* Aršāma might have had at once in Egypt and whether, as a matter of fact, the remit of Nakhtḥor or Psamšek was actually confined to one part of the country.[178] Even if the term *sḥn* encountered in P.BM EA 76274.1 is a Demotic equivalent for *pqyd*, the document casts no certain light on the question.

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[175] But a later (certain) case of a complaint made directly to Darius (BE 10.118: 16 April 417) occurred at Susa (Joannès 2020), not in Babylonia (as Tolini 2011: 1.529-37 supposed).

[176] These terms are usually interpreted in the conventional way (Upper = southern, Lower = northern). For the possibility that this might be wrong see A6.4:2(4) n.

[177] The suggestion in Lewis 1958 that we restore 'Upper Egypt' in line 4 is not cogent: A6.10:4(1) n.

Driver (1965: 15) was inclined to think the *pqyd* a very senior official, perhaps the highest position beneath the satrap in the administration of Egypt. In this he was evidently influenced by the politeness of Artaxaya to Nakhtḥor in A6.16 and by an assumption that the *pqydyn* of A6.9 were state-officials. But, although A6.9 remains a problematic text (Tuplin i 154–63), there is no doubt that the Egyptian *pqydyn* of the Aršāma dossier should primarily be associated with the estate environment in which the texts *prima facie* locate them.[179]

Stolper 1985: 65–66 described the situation in Egypt in the following terms (I have added some references):

> [Aršāma's] extensive estate was managed by…men entitled 'bailiff, comptroller' (*pqyd*). It included small farms, designated 'allotments' (*bgʾ*), held by the owner's personal subordinates.[180] The farms were required to pay tax or services (*hlkʾ*) to the estate (*ʿl byt*) [A6.11]; in the same way Labaši, for example, collected the *ilku* due from bow lands within the crown prince's estate [sc. in Babylonian Nippur]. Aršam's Egyptian bailiffs held property within the estate, once termed a 'grant' (*dšn*), conferred by Aršam and the king [A 6.4]; similarly, Parysatis' bailiff held a fief within her estate [TuM 2/3 185], and agents of crown collaborated with the bailiffs in control of personnel on the crown prince's estate. In short…the structure of Aršam's Egyptian estate corresponds in broad outline and in terminological particulars to the structure inferred for the estates of other members of the royal family in Babylonia…

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[178] The only possible closer geographical specification for an estate in the Bodleian letters is the naming of Papremis (reading uncertain) in reference to the estate of Virafša in A6.15:6 (A6.15:6(1) n.). What is said there might imply that Aršāma had land in the same region (hence Nakhtḥor could purloin wine that allegedly really belonged to Virafša). This (shaky) argument would again link Nakhtḥor with Lower Egypt, at least in conventional usage (but cf. 176). Note, incidentally, that there is no ground for linking Nakhtḥor with Syene (Tuplin iii 53 n. 178).

[179] For fuller discussion of uses of the term *pqyd* (which also occurs in one of the Bactrian letters) see A6.4:2(1) n. (The cognate *paqdu* is used of estate managers in Babylonian texts.) If one looks around for comparable differently labelled figures outside the Aršāma dossier one might mention the estate managers of Achaemenid queens (cf. Tuplin i 238 n. 369, 249 n. 385), the chief of Pe and overseer of (royal) mansions on PFATS 0424* (Tuplin i 165), the *oikonomoi* of the younger Cyrus (Tuplin 2017a: 641), the *hupēkooi* of Xen.*Cyr.*8.6.5, or even the eponym of the much debated Gadatas inscription (*ML* 12; Briant 2003a, Tuplin 2009). But the 'overseers-of-land' in S.H5-DP 503 (Davies and Smith 2005: 116–17, summarized in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 15)—'a position of considerable importance within the administration' relating to royal land (Smith and Martin 2009: 58)—may be something different. According to the editors, these Egyptian-named officials have subordinates with non-Egyptian and sometimes Iranian names (one of which, ironically, is Aršāma). But the document is truthfully rather opaque. (The title recurs in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 17:7, no more informatively.)

[180] On *bgʾ* see A6.4:2(3) n., A6.13:1(5) n.

This assessment holds good, but one should not, of course, hastily infer that the parallel extends to Egyptian estates being composed of *ḫaṭru*s or bow-fiefs. We do not know how the Egyptian estate of Aršāma or Virafša or Vāravahyā came to be defined (Vāravahyā's domain was given to him by Aršāma, but this says nothing of its original formation: A6.13:1), but the configuration of landholding within the estates may have developed on the basis of the native Egyptian set-up, just as that in Nippur had Babylonian roots. The ultimate authorization for the holding of land is doubtless royal—something perhaps reflected in the way that ʿAnkhoḥapi's land-grant (*dšnʾ*), received as *pqyd* and presumably located within Aršāma's estate, is described as having been given to him by the king and Aršāma (A6.4:1). Strictly speaking we cannot tell whether Aršāma has estates in Egypt simply as a consequence of being satrap, though a consequence of adopting an early date for the Bodleian letters (pp. 18–19) would be that that was *not* the case. But, if he really *was* from the heart of the royal family (pp. 10, 31–8), it may seem unlikely that he had not already benefited either directly or by inheritance from sequestrations of property in the aftermath of the revolt of the 480s.[181]

A number of further observations can be made about the Egyptian estates of Aršāma and his fellow Persians.[182]

(1) They were not confined to one part of Egypt: talk of Upper and Lower Egypt may be somewhat formulaic (see above, p. 52), but it must also mean what it says. (The only more specific indication is the association of the new British Museum papyri with Heracleopolis.) In other parts of the empire too high-level figures had property in more than part of a satrapy, as is now proved in the case of Babylonia by new documentary information about Parysatis.[183] Use of *tš* (a word for nome or province) to describe Aršāma's estate (Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 295) perhaps captures its size and administrative complexity.

(2) Apart from the *trbṣ* (A6.10:7 n.), a storehouse/granary (P.BM EA 76274.1 i 6–7) and houses (P.BM EA 76274.1 ii 10, 76287 back) and the availability of a fortress refuge (A6.7:6(5) n., A6.7:7(2) n.), there are no hints at the physical character or components of the estate. The *paradeisoi* that are a feature of Ptolemaic documentation in themselves attest a use of the term in relatively mundane contexts that surely had Achaemenid antecedents in Egypt and elsewhere, but one may wonder if the distinctive way in which the term became embedded in Egypt says something about the presence of the grander variety

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[181] Both models might apply, of course. At a lower gubernatorial level the estate that presumably furnished Nehemiah's Governor's Table (Fried 2018) must have come to him *ex officio*.

[182] For completeness' sake I note that D6.14 (o) outside:2 is restored as containing *hngyt*, partner-in-chattel (**hangaiθa*-, Tavernier 2007a: 425), a term known from several Elephantine contracts (B3.6:5, B3.10:18, B3.11:12, B3.12:27, B5.5:9, D2.10:11). How this might have fitted into the story of the management of Aršāma's estates is anyone's guess.

[183] Stolper 2006. Greek sources already showed that she had property both in Transeuphratene and the Tigris valley (Xen.*An*.1.4.9, 2.4.27). On Parysatis' estates see now Henkelman 2018: 20–4.

in the estates of Aršāma and others.[184] Evidence about estates in other areas sometimes links them to villages or the like,[185] and the same was presumably true in Egypt. Irrigation-canals will sometimes have been a feature, as in Babylonia, though some of the satrap's land will have benefited from the specifically Egyptian phenomenon of Nile flooding. But the *qanāts* of Ain Manawir (n. 42), attested archaeologically and reflected in documents about watering rights, have no known connection with satrapal or other elite estates.

(3) The *pqyd*'s duty is not merely to manage but to enhance the estate: that at least is the implicit contention of A6.10. The statements that harbour this implicit contention are, of course, provoked by a particular circumstance, viz. Aršāma's belief that Nakhtḥor is not even maintaining the *status quo* during a time of disturbance. But that the principle had general applicability seems credible, even if we choose not to believe that in normal times estate managers were permanently on the look-out for people who could be forcibly recruited to Aršāma's service as branded or tattooed workers.[186] One could see this in the larger context of an Achaemenid interest in increasing agricultural productivity by extension of cultivation to marginal or under-exploited land in Babylonia, western Iran, North Africa, and Bactria.[187]

(4) The estate owed *mndtʾ* to its owner, and (where necessary) this was actually carried from Egypt to the absentee landlord elsewhere in the empire. We learn this from A6.13, where Aršāma instructs Nakhtḥor and the accountants to assist in ensuring that Vāravahyā's *pqyd* Aḥatubaste disburses the *mndtʾ* and

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[184] Tuplin 1996: 97, 104 n. 85, 119, 124, 131, Tuplin 2018b: 484 n. 58, 494–6. If we encounter a *paradeisos* at Makkedah (EN 186, reading *prds*), it will be a mundane one.

[185] PF 1857, Xen.*An.*1.4.9, 2.4.27, *Hell.*4.1.15–16. Bagadāta's estate (n. 114) included villages. Matannan is both village and estate (Garrison & Henkelman ii 57). The estate of one Bēlšunu (not the famous one) is named both *bit ša Bēlšunu* and *alu ša Bēlšunu* (Waerzeggers 2014b: 110, 158–9). Villages are a component of the *oikos* of Mnesimachus (Buckler and Robinson 1912, Aperghis 2004: 320–3), a Hellenistic royal grant often regarded as a proxy for Achaemenid-era arrangements. Alexander's donation to his *hetairoi* of estates, villages, and revenues derived from Macedonian royal property (Plut.*Alex.*15) probably differed little from Achaemenid practice.

[186] The impression of vigorous, not to say violent, exploitation might recall a Babylonian text (YOS 7.128: 528/7) that in some translations speaks of Gubaru and Parnaka throttling workers (*ṣabe* = ERIN.MEŠ), apparently with a *kudurru* (an ornamental neckpiece), and has been understood as a comment on the harshness of *corvée* requirements or general distraint upon resources: see Tolini 2011: 1.167, Jursa 2014: 79–80, Kleber 2015: 14, Jursa and Schmidl 2017: 729. (The rendering in Holtz 2009: 269 is different.) For further comment on the economics and manners of Achaemenid exploitation see Ma iii 189–208.

[187] Babylonia: Jursa 2017: 720–1 on use of the land-for-service model to this end. Iran: Henkelman 2017a: 167 n. 189 on centrally organized development of estates. North Africa: various studies noted in Wasmuth 2017a: 261–3 (to which one might add Agut-Labordère 2016a) on the development of western desert oases. (Some have noted the possible role of the oases in caravan connections into the heart of Africa. For outward connections beyond imperial frontiers one might compare the Red Sea canal, especially in the light of Klotz 2015, or the hypothesis of Henkelman and Folmer 2016 about trade with central Asia.) Bactria: Wu 2018 (and cf. Henkelman 2018: 245) on the landscape around Kyzyltepa.

the 'accrued interest' and arranges for its transport to Babylon,[188] and A6.14, which is Vāravahyā's letter to Nakhtḥor on the same subject.[189] On the meaning of the word *mndtʾ* see A6.13:3(2) n., a discussion which also raises (but does not resolve) the question of the relationship between *mndtʾ* (as encountered in A6.13–14) and the *hlkʾ* owed to Aršāma's estate by Pamun and Peṭosiri (as encountered in A6.11).

(5) Those who pay *hlkʾ* in A6.11 do so because they have a land allotment (*bgʾ*), and their relationship to that allotment is described with the word *mhḥsn*—a word that recurs in a variety of other contexts in the Aršāma dossier (A6.2) and elsewhere, both in Egypt and in other parts of the empire. Porten–Yardeni translate the underlying verb as 'hold-as-heir', but, although it is clear that we are dealing with technical terminology (it is not reasonable to regard *mhḥsn* as just an anodyne equivalent of 'have' or 'hold'), the claim that there is a necessary connection with hereditary ownership is far from certain. An interconnection with service obligations is more likely to be definitively important. For fuller discussion see A6.11:2(3) n.

(6) Various other human aspects of the estate (in addition to the *pqyd* who manages it) deserve note.

Kenzasirma and his colleagues the accountants (an Iranian title, **hamārakara-*) appear several times as co-addressees with Nakhtḥor (A6.11–14). A6.2 (a document from Aršāma's administrative life as satrap) refers to 'treasury accountants' (also Iranian: **hamārakara-* of the **ganza*), who play a role in the resourcing of boat-repairs, but Kenzasirma and his colleagues on the face of it are something separate and belong purely to the estate environment: see A6.11:7 n. They appear in letters that relate to the assignment of a domain within the estate, the disbursement of rations to Ḥinzani the sculptor, and the payment and transport of *mndtʾ*. One may suspect that the processes of ration-provision to which A6.9 would have given rise involved similar estate accountants in places outside Egypt. The link of accountants and estates is paralleled at Persepolis in the case of Queen Irtašduna (A6.11:7 n.), but another estate-related professional designation encountered in Babylonia is absent: there are no attested 'judges of the estate of Aršāma' to match those attested in relation to the Queen Parysatis and the (putative) satrap Undaparna'.[190]

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[188] An interesting detail is that the transport of the rent to Babylon might be carried out not by Aḥatubaste but by his son or brother (A6.14). I do not know how strong a piece of evidence this is that the functions of a *pqyd* might be shared with his family. But one recalls that Psamšek's father had been Aršāma's *pqyd*.

[189] For journeys of an Egyptian estate manager to the heart of empire cf. A6.9 and (perhaps) PFATS 0424* (cf. A6.9:2(4) n.).

[190] Parysatis: BE 10.97, TuM 2/3 185. Undaparna': BM 79541 (MacGinnis 2008). Whether we should interpret the judges of (the gate of) Gubaru (PBS 2/1 105, 133, 224, BE 10.84, 97, CBS 12961, 12966; gate of Gubaru: BE 10.128) or Artareme (*databaru*: PBS 2/1 1, 34, 185) in this way is debatable.

We encounter an *wršbr* (A6.5, A6.11), another Iranian term most recently interpreted as **varčabara* = 'worker' or 'worker-supervisor', but also variously said to mean 'plenipotentiary', 'forester', 'mounted officer', 'shield-bearer', and 'quarter-master': for details see A6.5:2(2) n. Peṭosiri, the man petitioning to recover his father's land-grant in A6.11, has the title, but one can deduce nothing about its practical content from his petition—save that (as a potential landholder) he is more likely to be a 'worker-supervisor' than mere 'worker'. But explanation of *wršbr* as a defective writing of **(h)uvaršabara* ('quarter-master') is perhaps more tempting.

The new British Museum papyri provide two high-level titles (Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 296). One of them, *sḥn*, is intrinsically entirely vague. It *might* actually correspond to *pqyd* but could perfectly well designate some other function—perhaps even that of accountant (see above, p. 56)? The other, *wsṱrbr* = **vastra-bara-* or **vaçabara-*, is more straightforward, being a status-title (literally meaning 'chamberlain') attested quite frequently in Babylonia, *inter alia* in the environment of elite estates and their management.

At a lower level there are workers designated as *grdʾ* = Iranian **garda:* see A6.10:1(3) n. This is the word used generically (in Elamite form: *kurtaš*) for dependent workers in the Persepolis Fortification archive (though not in regular association with entities labelled as estates)[191] and it can embrace various types of activity. In A6.10 they are glossed as 'craftsmen' (*ʾmnn*), in A6.12 as (perhaps) 'artists'—this latter in the text where we encounter what is in some respects Aršāma's most remarkable employee, Ḥinzani the sculptor or image-maker. We note also in A6.15 that *grdʾ* (not here further qualified) can belong to a woman—probably, in context, Virafša's wife. (She is referred to as 'my lady' by Virafša's *pqyd*.) This, of course, recalls the Persepolis environment as well, and one may legitimately wonder whether Virafša's wife or whoever the 'lady' may be was an estate holder in her own right.

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[191] The reading *ulhi* is too uncertain for NN 1022 to be a clear example of *kurtaš*-estate association. In NN 1999 Parnaka orders Ištimanka at the estate (at) Nasiš to supply flour to Babylonian workers (also described as *gitišbe* and wood-workers), who are removing wood at the mountain Mantiyamantaš. Whether this guarantees that they are permanently associated with the estate is debatable. Groups of travelling *kurtaš* who are given rations at an estate clearly are not. If *appišdamanna* designates an institutional estate to which workers reported before assignment to specific tasks (Garrison & Henkelman ii 158), we learn nothing about ordinary estates; and if the *irmadimbe* of Fort.1902A-101: 10 are estate workers (Henkelman 2017a: 167 n. 189), they are not actually labelled as *kurtaš*. Given the relatively large number of documents referring to estates (Tuplin i 158–62), the general absence of normal *kurtaš*-ration records is significant. In Babylonia the **piθfabaga-* of *gardu* (ration-distributor of *gardu*), along with a scribe, collects rents on land belonging to the Crown Prince Estate, which they deliver to Labaši, the estate's *paqdu*, and to Laqip the *gardapatu* (*gardu*-chief: BE 10.95). There are other links between *gardu* and the Crown Prince Estate (Stolper 1985: 94), so the **piθfabaga-* presumably distributed provisions for *gardu* attached to that estate. But the Crown Prince Estate was a major institutional entity at least is some degree different in character from the estates held by individuals.

Another employee-category is *nšy byt* = 'people of the household' (a loan from Akkadian: *nišê bīti*), attested in A6.11, A6.12, and D6.8. In A6.11 and A6.12 the phrase refers to people associated with Pamun (the deceased land-holder) and Ḥinzani (the sculptor). In D6.8 some unknown people address Aršāma and refer to 'people of our household'; so here too the phrase is apparently not used in immediate reference to Aršāma's personnel. Pamun was a *bgʾ*-holder and the father of someone who is now a *wršbr* (and postulant *bgʾ*-holder), so having 'people of the household' is presumably characteristic of people who are not on the bottom level of the system. At the same time the fact that Ḥinzani can both have household personnel and be himself classified as *grd* reminds us that socio-economic classification is not a straightforward matter. It is not clear whether the fact that the phrase is borrowed from Akkadian means that it has specific technical overtones.

At the bottom of the system are 'slaves' (*ʿbdn*), encountered in the shape of the slaves of Psamšek's father ʿAnkhoḥapi, who are to be punished (A6.3)[192] and the Cilician slaves of Aršāma, who bear the OP loanword label *ʾbšwk* = Iranian **abišavaka-*, allegedly meaning 'presser',[193] and who are *not* to be mistreated (A6.7).[194] Both groups of slaves are listed by name. But the distinction between 'slaves' and *grd* is perhaps hardly watertight, even if in these documents there is no terminological overlap in relation to the same individuals. In A6.10 Aršāma tells Nakhtḥor he must seek additional craftsman-*grd*, bring them to his court, brand (or tattoo) them, and hand them over to the estate. The victims of such treatment are hardly straightforwardly 'free' individuals. Once again there is a resonance with Persepolis, where the status of *kurtaš* is a matter of debate and Curtius speaks of branded foreigners in the neighbouring countryside.[195] But one should not too readily simply assimilate the two settings (A6.10:1(3) n.).

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[192] D6.3 (a) may conceivably refer to the same context. It is interesting that Psamšek requires the authorization of Artavanta for punishment of the slaves (who had stolen property and attempted to flee) to be carried out. It appears that, even if ʿAnkhoḥapi is now dead (which is not certain), Psamšek has not inherited full title to his slaves. Perhaps ʿAnkhoḥapi had them in virtue of his role as *pqyd* and the slaves in some sense really belong to Aršāma's estate. See also A6.3:6(2) n.

[193] So Tavernier 2007a: 415 (after Shaked). See A6.7:5(1) n. for other suggestions.

[194] The situation seems to be that they had temporarily disappeared but turned out not to have been attempting flight but simply to have been innocently caught up in confusion occasioned by an Egyptian rebellion. Is there a melancholy symbolism in the fact that the only two references to *ʿbdn* in the Bodleian letters involve punishment? Perhaps not entirely. One of the Ahiqar proverbs (C1.1 *recto* 178 (88)) does run thus: 'a stroke for a *ʿlym* (servant), a rebuke for a *lḥnt* (female slave?); moreover, for all your slaves (*ʿbdn*) discipline' (*ʾlpn*: or could it be 'training', as David Taylor has suggested?). But the general run of Egyptian Aramaic evidence about slaves or servants is not specially full of physical violence, except for the practice of bodily marking. The assault in B8.6:8–11 is apparently distinct from the incident involving PN the *ʿbd* of ?Virafša in 4–6 and someone branded in 1; and there is no clear reference to violence against slaves in B8.2–3. Such documents (as well as a number from Elephantine) also at least place slaves in a context of legal process and contract—one rather different on the face of it from the world of A6.10.

[195] Curt.5.5.6. (Just.11.14.11 and Diod.17.69 mention only the amputation of ears, noses, or limbs.)

The reference to the 'courtyard' in A6.10 is interesting in its own right. The word used is *trbṣ*, a word also found in a number of other texts, where it refers to a literal courtyard (part of the description of a house).[196] Driver believed the reference was to the 'court' of the satrap as representative of the king; but since the Akkadian equivalent can mean stable or stall, and since the place for branded *grd* is arguably part of the economic rather than the political aspect of Aršāma's world, one might be uneasy about this suggestion, at least put in those terms. But it may not be entirely off the mark. What Aršāma says is that the new *grd* should be brought to his courtyard, branded, and made over to his estate. A 'courtyard' does seem the right sort of place for the formal act of appropriation in both its physical and bureaucratic dimensions. But how exactly are we to envisage it? Is there a single such place serving all of Aršāma's estate(s)? Or is it really only a virtual place—might there be several actual locations in different parts of Lower or Upper Egypt to which prospective Aršāma-estate *garda* could be taken? (If A6.12:2 refers to a memorandum about ration-payments, that would be a documentary appurtenance of the virtual 'courtyard': see A6.12:2(3) n. In either event we are perhaps not so very far after all from talk of people going (or being taken) to a king's or dignitary's 'gates'.[197] It is also worth noting we are somewhere close to the way that Greek *aulē*—once a cattle-stall—became a term of royal discourse. In the end the domestic, economic, and (let us say) political spheres do have a tendency to interact and intersect.

One final aspect of the estate's human environment is its multi-ethnicity. Aršāma's attested *pqydyn* are Egyptian, but Vāravahyā's may have a Babylonian name (alternatively it is mixed Aramaic-Egyptian) and Virafša's certainly has an Iranian one.[198] The chief accountant Kenzasirma (addressee of several letters along with Nakhtḥor) has what may be an Anatolian name.[199] There are also several references to Cilicians: the thirteen slave 'pressers' of A6.7 (who are listed by name), two members of Nakhtḥor's travel party (A6.9) (described as servants of Aršāma), and ten individuals (categorized only as *gbrn*, but presumably slaves) who were to be given by Aršāma to Virafša (A6.15; cf. D6.7), five of whom were duly delivered in Babylon, while the rest remain an object of contention between Virafša and Nakhtḥor. The general run of evidence about the Achaemenid empire or about Egypt in particular does not otherwise prepare one for this strong showing by Cilicians in the environment of an Egyptian satrap.[200] Another interesting thing about them is that, although most of the thirteen individuals in A6.7 seem to have Anatolian names, two have Iranian ones (*Sāraka- and *Bagafarnā-).[201] Mismatches between personal name and apparent ethnicity, including cases involving Iranian names, are not rare in the Achaemenid empire (this is the world of e.g. Spitaka the Greek, attested in the celebrated Customs Account document: C3.7 KV2:16), but Iranian-named slaves are perhaps less expected—though not unexampled: compare *Bagabarta-, son of Eli[. . .] in WDSP 10.[202] More generally, of course, the multi-ethnicity of estate personnel has analogues elsewhere in the Aršāma dossier:[203] the *azdakara* (Iranian term for 'herald') of A6.1 has an Akkadian name; A6.2 provides Carians with Egyptian names (members of a well-established Caro-Egyptian community) and Phoenician-named shipwrights, as well as a chancellery official (*bʿl tʿm*) with a Jewish name, while elsewhere the names of scribes do not always linguistically match the Aramaic in which they are presumably writing (the Egyptian-named Aḥpepi in A6.8 and Iranian-named Rāšta in A6.9–13);[204] and occasional Demotic Egyptian annotations on Aramaic letters (A6.11–13, D6.11) leave a trace of a parallel bureaucracy which is, of course, directly represented by Saqqara S.H5-DP 434, P.Mainz 17, and the new BM documents.[205]

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[196] See A6.10:7(1) n.

[197] 'Gates' terminology occurs in D6.7, perhaps in reference to Aršāma's establishment in Babylon.

[198] See A6.13:3(1) n., A6.15:1(2) n.

[199] See A6.11:1(1) n. It might be Lycian; that of Armapiya in A6.8 very likely is (A6.8:1(2) n.)

[200] A6.7:2(2)n.

The intrusion of linguistic *Iranica* into the non-Iranian languages of the dossier is hardly surprising.[206] Sometimes this is a matter of (putative) Aramaic calques of Iranian idiom,[207] but more often we are dealing with the importation of individual bits of Iranian vocabulary.[208] There are fifty-one Iranian words (ten of them official titles, the rest nouns, adjectives, or prepositions) supplied by the Aramaic documents of the Aršāma dossier. (This is, of course, excluding personal names and toponyms.) Of these fifty-one words, twenty-three occur just in the Bodleian letters, twenty-four occur just in other parts of the Aršāma dossier, and four occur in both (**ganza-*, **hamārakara-*, **handaiza-*, **ṛdba-*). Twenty-three of the fifty-one also occur in Aramaic form outside the Aršāma dossier, six in Egypt (**framānakara-*, **ganza-*, **hangaiθa-*, **kạrša-*, **nāupati-*,

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[201] Two more might do too: ʾ.[.]*m* and [. . .]*my* are marked as 'Anatolian/Persian' in Porten and Lund 2002: 326, 424.

[202] Note also Nanāia-silim, a slave variously called Bactrian and Gandharan in BM 64240 (Sippar: 512/11) and Dar.379 (an Egibi document from 508/7)—is this an Iranian who has been given a Mesopotamian name?

[203] As in the rest of the written evidence about Achaemenid-era Egypt (cf. Vittmann iii 263–77)—and indeed other parts of the empire.

[204] Jewish *bʿl tʿm*: see n. 135. Aḥpepi: A6.7:4(2) n. Scribes: cf. also Rwḥšn (*Rauxšna-), scribe of B3.9, and (perhaps) Magava son of Miθrabara in P.Mainz 17 (with Vittmann 2009: 103–4)

[205] See A6.11:8 n.

[206] Already discussed at length in Whitehead 1974: 189–276 and 1978: 131–7.

[207] See A6.3:1(5) n., A6.3:1(9) n., A6.3:6(3) n., A6.3:6, 8 n., A6.4:2(2) n., A6.7:6, 7 n., A6.7:8(4) n., A6.8:3(1) n., A6.8:3(6), A6.10:3(1) n., A6.15:6(4) n. and Tavernier iii 84–7.

[208] The summary lexical data that follow entail various assumptions and are certainly subject to error and omission. They depend heavily on Muraoka and Porten 2003: 342–5, Tavernier 2007a, and Naveh and Shaked 2012. (Note that the list of *Iranica* at Naveh and Shaked 2012: 55–7 does not include all the items identified as *Iranica* in their commentary.)

ṛdba*), eleven outside Egypt (āčarna-*, **azdā-*, **dāmya- or *ramya-*, **gṛda-*, **handarza-*, **ništāvana-*, **patigāma-*, **graušyata-*, **upaiti-*, **usprna-*, **zyāni-*), and six both in Egypt and elsewhere (**āčarna-*, **azdā-*, **bāga-*, **frataraka-*, **hamārakara-*, **piθfa-*). There is thus a decent overlap between the lexical *Iranica* of the Aršāma dossier and those of other sources of Official Aramaic, though items from outside Egypt are almost all from Bactria. By contrast, although Egyptian Aramaic documents *outside* the Aršāma dossier provide another thirty-seven words, only four of them occur outside Egypt, one in Bactria (**ādranga-*) and three in other sources (**grīva-*, **hamāra-*, **maguš*). A further ninety-six words are supplied solely by non-Egyptian Aramaic documents.[209] Of these sixty-five come from the Bactrian letters, twenty-nine from non-Bactrian sources, and only two from both (**ganzabara-*, **kapautaka-*), a result which perhaps underlines the separateness of the Bactrian environment *except* where it shows overlap with the comparable official documents of the Aršāma dossier. Put another way, these data simply reflect the facts that (a) the Aršāma dossier and the Bactrian material have no real parallels elsewhere and (b) the Bactrian material, originating from a wholly Iranian environment, shows a much larger Iranian linguistic impact.[210] For further discussion of these matters see Tavernier iii 75–96.

The Aršāma dossier does, then, enhance our sense of elite estates. But it must be admitted that, although we encounter a royal storage-facility in A4.5 and A6.2 presupposes institutional possession of resources for boat-repair, the dossier does not cast much light on the institutional economy, especially if A6.9 is (also) about elite estates. Evidence in the wider body of Egyptian documentation is richer, thanks among other things to the Elephantine garrison, but still mostly (as often elsewhere too) indirect. The phenomenon of structural interaction with external agents (other than as tax-payers) that has been detected at Persepolis (livestock supply) and in Bactria (the putative traders represented by the ADAB tallies) is not readily visible. One might wonder whether A3.10 relates to business activities that as a matter of fact serviced the institutional economy in some fashion. But the fact that one of the players is onomastically Iranian does not necessarily strengthen such a conjecture. We cannot tell the basis of employment of the craftsmen who will actually repair the boat in A6.2, and the same goes for Esḥor the 'builder of the king' in TADAE B2.6, not to mention Pia 'the builder' in B2.8 (Tuplin 2017a: 617).

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[209] Thirteen are uncertain, even by the sometimes liberal standards of this exercise.

[210] Tavernier iii 77–82 offers a list of thirty-eight *Iranica* for the Aršāma correspondence (A5.2, A6.1–16) and seventy-four for Bactria (ADAB A–C), a ratio of 1:2. The two *corpora* are almost exactly the same size (if anything, the Aršāma one is slightly larger), so the Iranian linguistic impact in the Bactrian material is significantly stronger.

Aršāma and the Politico-Military History of his Times

As we have already noted, Greek sources in the Aršāma dossier allow us to say that he probably became satrap of Egypt in the aftermath of the revolt of the 450s, certainly played a role in the succession of Darius II, though the details elude us, and may conceivably have mounted (but probably did not) a successful, if treacherous, attack on the city of Barca. But we can do no more than speculate about his connection with things we hear from other Greek texts about Egypt in the second half of the fifth century, such as the activities of quasi-independent Delta kings, an outbreak of the plague that subsequently reached Athens and did such damage there, or—for those who resist invitations to deny that they ever happened—the travels of Herodotus.[211] The last of these he need never have noticed, but the other two must have engaged his attention to some degree. One assumes that that might also have been true of something that Greek texts do not mention, the increasing circulation of Athenian tetradrachms and (perhaps particularly) the start of production of Egyptian copies of such coins, whether this was done by Achaemenid authorities or Delta warlords.[212]

Greek silver coinage does appear in some Aramaic and Demotic texts from the later fifth century (see n. 212), but on the whole non-Greek documents from outside the Aršāma dossier are not particularly good at filling out the politico-military background to his years in office. The texts that figure in discussion of the military environment of Persian Egypt (Tuplin iii 291–328) persistently lack dates or display ones that fall outside 450–400 and so cannot provide the help that we might theoretically hope for. (We confront here one aspect of a general dearth of Egyptian documentation from the second half of the fifth century.) Military operations near Syene-Elephantine by the Nubian king Harsiyotef probably postdate the First Domination. By contrast the purely ideological assault on Egypt represented by the regnal names of his predecessor-but-one Irike-Amannote may coincide with the last years of Aršāma's satrapy,[213] but whether it is something of which he is likely to have been aware is impossible to say. Another matter worth note is the hint of a suspension of the interment of Apis bulls through the second half of the fifth century that emerges from the Demotic text discussed in Davies 2008.[214] Herodotus' story about Cambyses and the Apis bull inevitably makes historians of Persian Egypt sensitive to anything unusual in evidence about the Apis cult. But, although the more we suspect the truth of Herodotus' story, the more interesting it is that it was told, one may hesitate to affirm that there was a political issue at stake here that would have kept Aršāma awake at night. Somewhat more mundanely, much of the Ain Manawir archive belongs to the years during which Aršāma governed Egypt. Positive signs of Persian official engagement with the agricultural development of the Khargeh oasis are scarce, but if there *was* a conscious policy, it is presumably something of which the satrap would be aware.

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[211] Delta kings: Hdt.3.15, Thuc.1.112, Plut.*Per*.37, Philoch.328 F90; cf. n. 227. Plague: Thuc.2.48. Herodotus' travels: the only evidence comes, of course, from Herodotus himself.

[212] Van Alfen 2011, Colburn 2018: 84–94, Tuplin n.d. 1. See also Hyland iii 249–59. Silver staters are mentioned in one of the dossier texts, A4.2:12. According to Van der Toorn 2018a the date is 411/10, which is within the date-range of other stater (tetradrachm) attestations at Elephantine and Ain Manawir (Tuplin n.d. 1). A recently published Demotic letter from Saqqara (S.71/2-DP 39: Martin, Smith, and Davies 2018: 130–1, no.11) mentions staters in the second year of an unnamed king who could perhaps theoretically be Darius II, in which case the attestation would be significantly earlier than at Elephantine or Ain Manawir. But it is perfectly possible the king is Artaxerxes II.

[213] On these Nubian matters cf. Török 2009: 367–8.

We are left with the non-Greek parts of the dossier itself. Do they have anything to say about Aršāma's involvement in the politico-military narrative of Achaemenid history—that is, about matters with wider potential impact than the state of repair of a boat on the sand in front of the Elephantine fort (A6.2), the affair of the precious stone as reconstructed in Van der Toorn 2018a,[215] or whatever issue(s) might once have been addressed in the now sadly battered fragments of Saqqara S.H5-DP 434?

One strand of modern study has tended to stress adjustment to the Persian *status quo* and to reject 'collaborationist' interpretations of such adjustment. Perhaps that is a fair response to over-simple attitudes, but it is indubitably true that Egypt did rebel from time to time and with a degree of seriousness that ensured the disorder caught the attention of the outside world and cannot reasonably be sidelined as just a little local difficulty. Neither the Aršāma dossier nor the wider Egyptian documentation can produce quite the cumulative impression of an explanatory background to rejection of imperial rule that has been claimed for Babylonia in the fifty-five years from the original conquest (or, perhaps more particularly, the thirty-eight years from the accession of Darius) to the troubles of 484. The documentation is simply too different in character and too much smaller in quantity. The spectacle of Iranian ownership of Egyptian land and control (perhaps violent) of the means to exploit it dimly visible through the window of the Aršāma letters is one that may be consequential upon re-conquest as much as conquest (insofar as it is not just traditionally Egyptian)[216] and might contribute to developments that would call for further re-conquest; the way Aršāma responds to 'disturbances' by telling Nakhtḥor to find more people to be branded and assigned to his estate is striking. But all this remains anecdotal and unquantified. Reading an episode such as the demolition of the Judaean temple in Elephantine (A4.5, A4.7–A4.10) as usable evidence about larger issues around the relations between rulers and ruled in a multicultural setting is not entirely easy, as Pierre Briant has reminded us (Briant 1996a)—though his strictly legalistic understanding of the event surely suppresses some interesting and important dimensions.[217] In any event, some of the Aršāma texts do actually speak of rebellion or disturbances, and an argument can be advanced for seeing these as a point at which the contents of a pair of leather bags touch the world of high politics.

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[214] Tuplin 2009: 418.

[215] Aršāma's direct link depends on restoration of his name in A3.6:2 (and on the assumption that A3.6 is part of the relevant dossier), for on Van der Toorn's reconstruction of A4.2 (2018a: 264) his principal characteristic in that letter is his absence from Egypt. The involvement of Ṣeha and Ḥor, the servants of ʿAnani, connects the affair to the satrap's office (A4.3), if this ʿAnani is indeed the one who appears in the subscript to A6.2, and on Van der Toorn's view this is the result of the Judaeans exploiting their fellow-Judaean's presence in the satrapal entourage: Hosea and Ṣeha secured official authorization from Pisina and (perhaps) Aršāma (A3.6) and this is what enabled Ṣeha and Ḥor to secure Mauziah's release and conduct further investigations in Elephantine (A4.3)—though later, with Aršāma's departure (and Vidranga's promotion to the post of *frataraka*), the situation changed to the Judaeans' disadvantage (which presumably entails *inter alia* that ʿAnani lost influence). Of course, even if one is cautious about Van der Toorn's all-embracing narrative, A4.3 in itself is evidence for the impact of personal links on satrapal government—always assuming that the ʿAnani of A4.3 is the ʿAnani of A6.2—just as A4.2 is evidence for its exposure to bribery by both Egyptians and Judaeans (A6.16:3(3) n.). For further remarks about bribery see Ma iii 205, Fried iii 279, 282, 286. See also A4.8:5, A4.10 (with Granerød iii 335, 338–40, Tuplin iii 354 n. 40, 355 n. 44, 366 n. 81). The Greek tradition has surprisingly little about Persian corruption: but see Hdt.5.25, 7.194, Xen.*Cyr.*8.8.13, Diod.16.51.

The starting point is A6.7, where we read that Egypt rebelled (*mrdt*) and that, as a consequence, the *ḥylʾ* was 'garrisoned' (**handaiza*), which is taken to mean that it retired to the protection of a fortress. It is the consequences for thirteen Cilician slaves that is the subject of the letter and *ceteris paribus* one would not think the events in question are *very* distant in the past. *Mrd* is the word used persistently in the Aramaic version of DB to mean 'rebel' (in reference to major political and military disturbances), and it recurs in A6.10, which contrasts 'formerly when the Egyptians rebelled' (*mrdw*) (when Psamšek was *pqyd* and behaved well) and current 'disturbances' in Lower Egypt,[218] in which Nakhtḥor is not doing what he should. Here the word is *šwzyʾ*—a *hapax legomenon* translated 'rioting' in Porten and Lund 2002 and considered possibly Iranian, though with no etymology suggested either there or in Muraoka and Porten 2003: 345. (The word is not recognized as Iranian in Tavernier 2007a.) Next, in A6.11:2, 4 we have a third word, *ywzʾ*, used of the 'unrest' during which Pamun perished. We are in the Nakhtḥor era again—at least for dealing with the consequences of Pamun's demise and the abandonment of his domain. Tavernier 2007a: 452 *does* recognize this word as Iranian: **yauza-*, 'revolt, turmoil, rebellion'. (Compare Av. *yaoza-* = 'excitement', OP *yaud-* 'to be in turmoil'.) It is the word used in XPh §4 (the famously tantalizing reference to an unnamed land that was in turmoil at the time of Xerxes' accession to the throne), and it recurs in its Aramaic guise in D6.12 (g), though in a hopelessly broken context.

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[216] See Tuplin i 190.

[217] Fuller discussion: Tuplin iii 344–72. On Briant's interpretation in particular see pp. 356–7.

[218] Lewis's wish to read 'Upper Egypt' here does not seem justified. But the reading 'Lower Egypt' is admittedly not certain either. See A6.10:4(1) n.

All of the texts just mentioned are part of the Bodleian archive and are therefore as they stand undatable.[219] Outside that archive A5.5 has *mrdyʾ* ('rebellious': the same word again as that used in DB and A6.7) at the end of an equally undated document that also alludes to soldiers (*ḥyl*), a *degel* (a military subunit), chiefs of centuries, killing, and a fortress. But no continuously sensible narrative survives, so there is not a lot be got from the text. A4.5 is more helpful: this refers to Egyptians 'rebelling', yet again using the same word (*mrdw*). More specifically, the reference is to an occasion when *degelin* (military sub-units) of Egyptians 'rebelled' but the Judaeans did not leave their posts or do anything bad (A4.5:1–2). They mention this as a *Priamel* to presentation of the events around the destruction of temple in mid-410. So it happened before that date. But how long before? The authors of A4.5 also refer to what did *not* happen as long ago as 526–522 (the temple's survival at the time of Cambyses' conquest and occupation of Egypt), and this non-event recurs in the memorandum reporting the view of Bagāvahyā and Delayah that re-building should be permitted (A4.9)—rather remarkably given the succinctness of that document. So both the Judaeans of Elephantine and the representatives of the imperial power were apt to see things in a very long perspective, and the Egyptian 'rebellion' of A4.5 might also not be a very recent occurrence.[220] On the other hand, it could also theoretically be part of the same context as the Egyptian 'rebellion' of A6.7 and A6.10; and in that case the event would be no longer before the 410 horizon of A4.5 than the period within which Psamšek might have held the office of *pqyd*. A separate question is whether the *locus* of the trouble was (or included) the fairly immediate vicinity of Elephantine: that is, whether the *dgln zy Mṣryʾ* (detachments of Egyptians) that the Judaean letter-writer has in mind included some who were part of the military environment of Tshetres or were just Egyptian soldiers misbehaving somewhere else in Egypt. There is probably no way of resolving this question with any confidence, especially as the start of the document is lost and the writers may well have supplied other details that would originally have made the answer clear: the few words left cannot readily bear the weight of much inferential argument.[221]

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[219] Ruzicka 2012: 243 infers, perhaps rightly, that troublemakers deliberately targeted Aršāma's estates (and presumably, we might add, those of other 'lords'). Ruzicka is generally inclined to detect a large degree of disorder in these and the other texts to be mentioned shortly. The same goes for Sternberg-el Hotabi 2000. Anneler 1912: 134 took the revolt of Egyptians in A4.5 to be the start of the process that led to the autonomy of Dynasties XXVIII–XXX—though a faltering start, since she also believed that Aršāma temporarily restored order (138).

[220] Quack 2016: 61 takes this view.

[221] The existence of a separate Elephantine letter about rebellion (A5.5) perhaps marginally increases the chances that we are dealing with an episode with immediately local repercussions. But, of course, we do not *know* that the authors of A4.5 and A5.5 were talking about the same episode.

So the situation is this. There are four references to rebellion: two are in letters by Aršāma (A6.7, A6.10),[222] the third is in a letter by members of the Judaean community in Elephantine (A4.5), and the fourth in a letter whose author is not certainly identifiable but might be one Mithradates (A5.5): in all cases but the last the rebels are explicitly Egyptian. The letters by Aršāma are from the Bodleian set, while the other two letters represent two further different archival backgrounds (though both are in Elephantine). In addition to these references to rebellion there are also single references to (current) disturbances (A6.10) and to (past) unrest (A6.11), both in letters from the Bodleian set. The 'disturbances' and the 'rebellion' are certainly different events (the 'rebellion' being the earlier one), since they are both mentioned in the same letter (A6.10) and an explicit contrast is drawn between them. The only indication of date is that the Judaeans' references to rebellion is in a letter written not earlier than July 410.

The simplest way of dealing with this material is certainly to hold that all references to 'rebellion' (A4.5, A5.5, A6.7, A6.10) concern the same event and that this event is also what was meant by the past 'unrest' in A6.11. The argument in favour of this last point (apart from the wish to keep things simple and not to multiply entities) would be that any suggestion of substantive difference created by the use of a different word (by the same nominal author, Aršāma)[223] is mitigated and perhaps negated, by the fact that the different word in question is Iranian—so that we may be faced by what is merely a stylistic or indeed an arbitrary choice between what the writer regarded as synonyms in two different languages.[224]

This simplest solution was espoused by David Lewis (Lewis 1958). He then took an important further step and identified the 'rebellion' and 'unrest' with the situation in 411 alluded to by Diodorus 13.46.6, who speaks of the Arabian and Egyptian kings plotting against *ta peri tēn Phoinikēn pragmata*.[225] As an economical use of all the sources (Aramaic *and* Greek) this still looks like a good argument. It could only be wholly undermined either by questioning Diodorus' authority (so that there is no ground to believe in a significant disturbance to Persian rule of Egypt in 411 in the first place) or by claiming that, despite its currency in the Aramaic version of DB, the Aramaic word translated 'rebellion' need not connote events big enough to register outside the most local of radars (so there is no ground for attaching any of the Aramaic evidence to Diodorus' 411 event). But both approaches do look a little contrarian and the latter, in particular, begs a lot of questions.

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[222] We cannot be sure that the same Aramaic scribe wrote both, as there is no identifying scribal signature in A6.7. The named scribe of A6.10 was Rāšta, though this does not guarantee he personally wrote it (see Tuplin i 270). That A6.7 refers to 'Egypt' (*Mṣryn*) rebelling, whereas A6.10 speaks of 'Egyptians' (*Mṣryʾ*) doing so, might conceivably be a difference reflecting different scribal taste (whether that of the actual writer or the supervising 'scribe'): see A6.7:6(2) n. It does not authorize the drawing of any substantive distinction between the events.

[223] And indeed the same scribe, at least as between A6.10 and A6.11.

[224] It is slightly ironic that the Iranian term is actually put in the mouth of the Egyptian Pamun; but then the letter is already making him speak in Aramaic.

[225] An episode with which Tissaphernes' postulated issuing of coins at Dor has been connected: Qedar 2000–2. Given the geographical horizon, any pertinent 'Egyptian king' has to be pictured as based in the Delta in the manner of Amyrtaeus (Hdt.2.140, 3.15). Association of Diod.13.46 with the Aramaic sources goes back at least as far as Anneler 1912: 134. Van der Toorn's location of the 'rebellion' of A4.5, A6.7, and A6.10 (A5.5. is unmentioned) in summer 410 (Van der Toorn 2018a: 265) puts it in broadly the same chronological horizon, but he does not refer to Lewis 1958 and reaches his date on the (rather arbitrary) assumption that the event is very recent when the Jews refer to it in A4.5. (That it is also about a half-year after Aršāma had, on Van der Toorn's view, left Egypt—so that Aršāma cannot be blamed for not having foreseen it—is a consequence of his

There are, however, two further observations that may complicate matters to a certain degree.

One is that the 'rebellion' of A6.7 is associated with 'the wicked Inḥarou (Inaros)' (A6.7:7)[226]—the man responsible for seizing the Cilician slaves whose fate is the subject of that letter. Inaros was the name of the Libyan insurgent whose uprising immediately preceded Aršāma's appointment as satrap of Egypt. We *could* in theory choose to identify the two troublemakers. In that case A6.10:1 and A6.11:2 might also be referring to the Inaros revolt,[227] and the whole batch of Bodleian letters (assuming that they are not of chronologically greatly diverse origin) would belong to the start of Aršāma's period of office.[228] There is probably no way of disproving such a scenario, assuming that palaeography cannot serve such a purpose (see above, p. 18); and it must be conceded that, if the consequence is that none of the Aramaic sources (except conceivably A5.5) reflect the contents of Diodorus 13.46.6, no one could properly regard that as an impossible circumstance: where Egyptian troubles are concerned, multiplication of entities is not necessarily an offence against reason.[229]

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dating of Aršāma's departure (above, n. 136), not a separate argument in favour of a 410 rebellion. It cannot be said that Van der Toorn really integrates the revolt into his narrative of the affair of the precious stone: n. 215.) A date for the 'rebellion' that makes it virtually contiguous with the temple-destruction is hard to square with the absence of any reference to it in the narrative of A4.7//A4.8. It is much easier to believe that the authors of A4.5 adduce it as a distinct and complete event in the past.

[226] The reading is more or less certain: A6.7:7(3) n.

[227] So could A4.5:1, of course, since the writer *might* be adducing relatively old history. (But A5.5 could not perhaps be disposed of so easily, assuming its palaeographical assignment to the later fifth century is sound.) That the Inaros rebellion might have resonances beyond the world of the Delta and Memphis is not to be discounted. A supportive indication is available if he is really mentioned in a Demotic ostracon from Ain Manawir (Chauveau 2004, Winnicki 2006). He is there described (in a dating formula referring to his second year) as 'prince of rebels' or (more likely) 'prince of the Bacali'. Either way it is perhaps interesting that they do not call him pharaoh.

[228] This view is espoused by Harmatta 1963: 200–2, Dandamaev 1989: 241–3 (citing Henning and Diakonoff for a similar view) and Quack 2016. See also A6.7:7(3) n.

[229] The chronographic tradition begins the reign of Amyrtaeus (the sole pharaoh of Dynasty XXVIII) at various dates from 414 to 412 (Olympiad 91.3 to 92.1: Schoene 1866–75: 2.108–9, Helm 1956: 116, PL 27.458), but we are not entitled to treat this as indirect evidence that there was *some* political disturbance in the second half of the 410s. The dating is probably due to errors internal to the chronographic tradition. Grelot 1972: 306 regarded A6.7 as an echo of Amyrtaeus'

The second observation picks up on that point. Egypt rebelled rather often while under Achaemenid rule (Inaros was not unique) and, in particular, showed a consistent tendency to do so at or fairly soon after the transition of power from one Great King to another (522; 486; *c.*460; *c.*404; and the rebellion of Chababash in the 330s).[230] The only such occasion on which the sources seemingly record *no* rebellion is the transition from Artaxerxes I to Darius II in 424–423—a transition so chaotic that it seems to cry out for an Egyptian reaction. Perhaps it is the rule-proving exception. Or perhaps we should consider the possibility that the sources' apparent silence is illusory. There are two ways in which the evidence could be reconfigured to achieve this.

One is to detach Diodorus from the Aramaic evidence. Diodorus' report only requires us to postulate trouble in the Delta region and among the adjacent Arabs of North Sinai and the southern Levant. The letter from the Judaeans of Elephantine (A4.5) might (or might not) only refer to the environs of that city and the same could be true of A5.5 (the letter perhaps written by Mithridates), while the geographical location of the 'rebellion' in Aršāma's letters is (again strictly speaking) uncertain.[231] So one could maintain that the Aramaic evidence hangs together but relates to a situation earlier than 411, for example one in or shortly after 424/3[232]—there being nothing to prevent us putting the Bodleian archive wherever we wish chronologically speaking, subject only to the outer limits of Aršāma's attested association with Egypt and the rather flexible indications of Aramaic palaeography.

The other way to reconfigure the evidence in search of Egyptian upheavals in 424/3 is to detach the 'rebellion' of the Bodleian letters (A6.7 and A6.10) from the 'rebellion' of the letters of the Elephantine Judaeans (A4.5) and ?Mithradates (A5.5), on the grounds that the difference in archival origin between the two sets of documents diminishes the force of the assumption that all events described with the word 'rebellion' belong in the same context. On this view the Judaeans and ?Mithradates are referring to Diodorus' 411 upheaval (and perhaps show that that upheaval had repercussions in southern Egypt), but the Bodleian letters still belong in an earlier chronological horizon and allude to a situation in or shortly after 424/3.[233]

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activities in the Delta. On the date of the end of Persian rule see Lemaire 1995a (but his suggestion that D17.1 might date to 398 is to be rejected). The latest Ain Manawir ostracon dated by Artaxerxes is now O.Man.5799 (March–April 400), the earliest dated by Amyrtaeus O.Man.4161 (June–July 400). Both are in the fifth year of the respective king.

[230] On the historiographical problem presented by the events of 522–1 cf. Tuplin 2018a: 111–16, 122–3, Wijnsma 2018a. On the 480s revolt see recently Wijnsma 2018b. For Chababash see e.g. Ruzicka 2012: 189–205.

[231] Given Nakhtḥor's association with Lower Egypt, the (past) unrest of A6.11 may have been in that part of the country, as the (current) troubles of A6.10 probably were (A6.10:4(1) n.). But there remains slight uncertainty about what 'Lower Egypt' signifies: A6.4:2(4) n.

[232] Porten 1968: 279 also contemplated this (referring to the Egyptian *degelin* of A4.5:1).

[233] The question whether there was trouble in Egypt and specifically in Elephantine takes on extra resonance in view of the fact that someone in Elephantine chose to write out a copy of the

Both of these solutions yield *two* attested periods of upset in the twenty years before the more definitive recovery of independence starting in or after 404. The problem, of course, is that, although this is more tidy in terms of long-term trends (because it allows the succession crisis of 424/3 to be reflected in Egypt), it is undeniably less tidy as a way of reconciling a specific set of sources. But it is worth stressing that the only alternative (if we revert to Lewis's solution but still, as I think we should, keep our eye on long-term trends) is to suppose that the control exercised over Egypt by Aršāma at and after the time he sided with Ochus against Sogdianus in 424/3 was particularly tight and proved good enough to keep a lid on any Egyptian reaction for over a decade. We have seen (above, p. 45) that it is possible that Aršāma was actually outside the satrapy during some of the succession crisis, but it is perhaps conceivable that he was able to be back in Memphis sufficiently quickly to pre-empt trouble. So adopting Lewis's solution may turn out to tell us something about the effectiveness of Aršāma's regime in Egypt, though it will also leave us wondering what brought about the (putative) eventual breakdown of order in 411—a breakdown which (on this view) involved trouble in the Delta and Sinai (a pharaonic pretender plotting with an Arab ruler), the 'Lower Egypt' of A6.10 (cf. n. 231), and perhaps also in distant Elephantine, if A4.5:1 does have a relatively local reference. The alternative approach, by contrast, implies that Aršāma was not able to prevent some manifestation of disorder relatively soon after the upheaval at the heart of the empire or (indeed) the Egypto-Arabian plotting of 411, the former perhaps precisely because he had been away in 424/3 and did *not* return quickly enough.

But Aršāma's possible absence from Egypt in 424/3 is not the only absence relevant to this story of rebellion(s). Whether we adopt the Lewis solution or allow ourselves to postulate an additional period of trouble shortly after 424/3, the difficulties in 411 were, it seems, sufficiently under control by early summer 410 for Aršāma to leave the satrapy (see above, pp. 39–45)—though how *completely* they were under control will, of course, depend (in inverse relationship) on how pressing the reasons for Aršāma's departure were. The problem is that we *know* nothing about those reasons and we also have to take account of the fact that, on a conventional view, he then stayed away for well over three years. Is that a sign of the depth of the crisis that took him away or the shallowness of

Aramaic version of the Bīsotūn text in the early years of Darius II's reign. The notion that this saluted the centenary of Darius I's accession is an engaging one (see e.g. Tavernier 1999), and in the aftermath of the events of 424/3 (themselves nearly a centenary celebration in their own right) it might not seem politically neutral. Granerød 2013 even speculates that Aršāma played a role in disseminating Darius I's story. If (as he also speculates) forces from Syene-Elephantine had accompanied Aršāma to Babylonia in 424–423, people at the First Cataract might be specially susceptible to interest in, and attempts to exploit, the historical parallel. But the centenary explanation of the text is not uncontested: see Mitchell 2017. And Granerød's notion that it could have been read publicly on Darius' birthday (in the manner of Ezra reading the law: Nehemiah 8) is in any event perhaps rather too fanciful. Incidentally, Wesselius' detection of another copy of the Bīsotūn narrative at Saqqara in ATNS 62 (1984a: 444) was, probably prudently, retracted in 1984b: 704.

the threat to Persian control of Egypt that preceded his departure? Even adopting Lewis's solution, we could go with a minimalist version of the relevant data in which the Egyptian and Arabian activities reported by Diodorus were modest and not well coordinated—simply an example of endemic tendencies to local dissidence that provided an excuse as much as a reason for the diversion of a Phoenician fleet—and we choose to find in the Aramaic texts no evidence for trouble in central or southern Egypt (i.e. we locate the Bodleian archive's 'rebellion' and 'unrest' in a conventionally interpreted Lower Egypt and deny that there were any specific repercussions in Elephantine or Tshetres). Rejecting Lewis's solution, this minimal reading becomes even easier, because the Bodleian material can theoretically be shifted to an earlier date and removed from the calculation.[234] Corresponding maximalist interpretation will prefer Lewis's solution, take Diodorus as evidence of a reasonably serious threat, affirm that A4.5 (and A5.5) *are* evidence for there being trouble in Tshetres, choose a geography for the Bodleian letters that does not confine 'rebellion'/'unrest' to northern Egypt—and note that the current 'disturbances' of A6.10 are happening while Aršāma is away from his satrapy.[235] My personal preference is for readings of the individual texts that speak for the maximalist interpretation of Lewis's solution, but Lewis's solution may not be correct, and, if the only secure evidence of trouble fairly soon before Aršāma's departure in 410 is what we find in Diodorus and A4.5, it may not be enough in itself to make Aršāma's prolonged absence really problematic.

One is somewhat loath to believe that three-year absences were a norm of satrapal government, and it remains extremely disconcerting that this apparent case cannot be more satisfactorily tied down. A search in sources external to Egypt for possible contexts for Aršāma's behaviour is not very productive.

We know (or can plausibly) speculate that one of Aršāma's general interests in the second half of the 410s was the sequestration of the business assets of the Murašû family (see above, pp. 49–50). But this had already happened (or was in train) by 413 (the earliest date at which Enlil-supê-muhur, the erstwhile Murašû agent, is found acting for Aršāma), and it is not obvious that it is an undertaking that would in itself entail Aršāma's prolonged residence in Babylonia. Whether it is a development (centred in Nippur) that was part of some larger alteration in the Babylonian economy—one that would provide a more substantial context for Aršāma's presence—we cannot tell.[236]

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[234] Of course, whatever the date of the difficulties to which the Bodleian letters refer, those who believe the letters were all written outside Egypt must accept that Aršāma left the country at some point in their aftermath. But nothing compels the interval to be as short as that between Diodorus' 411 horizon and the departure in 410 attested in A4.5 and A4.7//A4.8.

[235] Admittedly this might have been just a little local difficulty. Perhaps indeed Aršāma is advancing an *a fortiori* argument: Psamšek behaved well during a serious rebellion; Nakhtḥor is failing during a minor disturbance.

[236] Nothing of the sort seems to emerge in Tolini 2011 or in Stolper's work on the Kasr archive.

In 409 a rebellion in Media came to an end. We know this only from a two-line report in Xenophon's *Hellenica* (1.2.19), which does not make clear how long the rebellion had been going on but certainly leaves open the possibility that it was already in train when Aršāma went to the king. Disaffection so close to the heartland of the empire could certainly be described as a serious matter. But was it serious enough for the king to summon Aršāma to his side—and keep him there well after the trouble had been suppressed?

Another (better-documented) external context is, of course, the complex situation on the Aegean edge of the empire where the activities of a Persian rebel (Amorges) and the king's instruction to the local satraps to recover lost imperial tribute had led to the awkward cooperation of Sparta and Persia against Athens in the last phase of the Peloponnesian War. Hyland (iii 249–59) rightly reminds us that these developments might be a matter of interest to the satrap of Egypt and specifically suggests a potential economic effect, viz. that Spartan disruption of commercial activity between the Aegean and East Mediterranean caused a diminution of the tax revenues of Aršāma's satrapy. An analogy is drawn between Aršāma's trip to the king and the trip of Pharnabazus in 398 to complain about the conduct of the post-400 war *against* Sparta. Aršāma, it is suggested, wanted to complain about the fiscal impact on his satrapy of the king's interference in the Peloponnesian War. But, whereas we can discern an outcome for Pharnabazus' intervention (a naval strategy whose eventual result was the Battle of Cnidus), it is less clear that Aršāma's putative intervention had any effect (the biggest change that occurred within 410–407 was the despatch of the young Cyrus to Anatolia, which represented an intensification of support for Sparta), or indeed that this scenario would explain a three-year absence from Egypt.

One final thought: if there *was* some disturbance of Persian authority in Egypt in 411 (and especially if it *did* extend to Elephantine), one wonders whether there might have been a connection between the mood of the country in 410 and what looks like the strange alliance between the provincial governor of southern Egypt, the garrison-commander of Elephantine, and the local Egyptians against the Judaean community and their temple (A4.5, A4.7–4.10). For many people this episode (which resulted in the temple's destruction in summer 410 and its reconstruction between 406 and 402) may well be the most interesting feature of the Aršāma dossier—and it is one upon which the Bodleian letters cast no direct light. It was also one which Aršāma allegedly only became involved rather belatedly: the Judaean community leaders were still claiming that he knew nothing about it as late as November 407 (A4.7:30// A4.8:28–9).[237] But somewhere in the background lay a royal determination about Judaean religious observance in Elephantine that passed through

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[237] Van Hoonacker 1915: 45 actually suggested that Aršāma had gone to the king to talk about disturbances in Elephantine that were a precursor to the events of July 410.

Aršāma's hands in 419 (A4.1), and the eventual resolution of the problem undoubtedly required his *imprimatur*. For discussion of this episode and some of the issues that it raises see Granerød iii 329–43, Tuplin iii 344–72.

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But, if the Bodleian letters are rather light on information about religious language and belief (though we do at least see the verbal markers of Persian polytheism and are offered the chance to contemplate—but reject—the idea of an assimilation of god and king),[238] many other historical topics (accountancy culture, land tenure, satrapal remuneration, distrained labour, cross-regional ethnic movement, storage and disbursement of resources for state use, military systems, long-distance travel, the employment of skilled craftsmen) are well represented, even if accountancy culture is no more than implicit in A6.11–14 by the standards of its much more enticing instantiation in A6.2 or even the more indirect hint in the analytical and monthly accounting of the 'share' in A6.1:3.[239] The linguistic features and (in some cases) formal subscripts of the letters, the spectacle of a hierarchical world of grandees and officials with at least an intermittent taste for micromanaging procedural complexity, and the sense that wealth consists in labour and consumables as much as money—these are all redolent of an empire-wide bureaucratic environment, one that was a conscious creation of the Achaemenid imperial enterprise (Henkelman 2017a). Now that we have the Bactrian letters published in Naveh and Shaked 2012—and may even still hope that further ones will eventually be published as well—Nakhtḥor's archive has lost the uniqueness it once enjoyed. But it remains a remarkable *entrée* to one corner of the world of a satrap and prince of the blood royal, and through him to the life of an extraordinary empire.

[238] See A6.16:2(2) n. On this topic more broadly see Tuplin 2017b, Tuplin 2017c, Tuplin n.d. 2.

[239] Beyond the Aršāma dossier one might cite the Customs Document from Egypt or ADAB C4 from Bactria. The dossier's evidence about fiscal structures is drawn together in Tuplin n.d. 3.

2

Letters and Administration

2.1

Persian in Official Documents and the Processes of Multilingual Administration

Jan Tavernier

1. INTRODUCTION

The Bodleian letters that are the focus of this publication are part of a larger dossier of Aramaic, Demotic, and Akkadian documents associated with the satrap Ạršāma.[1] Within that dossier they make up the lion's share of Ạršāma's correspondence, i.e. letters written by or to him.[2] None of the Bodleian letters

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[1] For a listing of the material see Tuplin iii 3–6. The Babylonian spellings of Ạršāma's name are ^{m}Ar-šá-am (BE 10.130–131:2, 132:2, 5, 13, PBS 2/1 144–148:2), ^{m}Ar-šá-am-mu (BE 9.1:6, 19, EE 109:1, IMT 9:4, TCL 13.203:8) and ^{m}Ar-šá-mu (EE 11:4). For further comment on the date and substance of these documents see Tuplin iii 49–52. (The claim that ^{m}Ar-šá-ma appears in BM 103541:4 (Zadok 2009: 98 no. 56) must be abandoned, since the true reading is ^{m}Ar-ma-mi[ ]: R. Zadok, pers. comm. 16 September 2013.) In Demotic Egyptian his name is written *Ɛršm* (S.H5–DP 434 obv. i 1, 12, rev. ii 1, 9, 13, P. Mainz 17:1, P.BM EA 76274-1 Ft i 6, ii 7, 10, P.BM EA 76287, Bk frag.3 ii 3; cf. Schmitt and Vittmann 2013: 40, Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 293–9). A name Ạršāma, spelled *Arssãma*, is also attested in Lycian (Neumann 1979: 318a:1), but the date of the inscription, found at the Letoon at Xanthos, is not fully clear. What is left of the inscription, most likely a votive inscription (Laroche 1987: 239; Schmitt 1982: IV/18 no. 3), indicates that Ạršāma has erected (Lyc. *tuwete*) something. Based on the occurrence of Trm̃mili in line 2, Laroche believes that this person was a satrap of Lycia. At least from a chronological point of view, the Lycian Ạršāma could be identical with the Egyptian Ạršāma, as the earliest Lycian stone inscriptions date from the second half of the fifth century (Bryce 1986: 46). Readers should note that in this chapter personal names are given in a philologically more correct form than is the convention in this publication as a whole. (See the *Note on the Representation of Names* in Volume 1.)

[2] The Bodleian cache includes a large number of (often very small) fragments, which may be the remnants of quite a substantial number of discrete documents: see Tuplin iii 22 n. 66. The onomastic overlap with the well-preserved letters (Pamun (D6.14), Psamšek (D6.3 and D6.6), *Rāšta- (D6.3), *Ṛtavanta- (D6.4)) and the presence of certain formulae—'here it is well with me' (D6.4), 'my lord' (D6.6, D6.9), 'I sent [you abundant welfare and strength]' (D6.5)—make clear

is dated, but information provided by the rest of the dossier makes it safe to assume that Ạršāma was satrap in Egypt in the second half of the fifth century.[3]

The contents of the letters are very diverse. They may concern both public and private areas, although the distinction is very difficult to see.[4] A hierarchy is visible in the documents, in which (of course) Ạršāma is the highest-placed individual, but this hierarchy cannot be used to attribute the letters to a private or public sphere. Three levels are visible (see also Table 2.1.1):

(1) A6.3–A6.7: Ạršāma to a high official, named *Ṛtavanta-. Possibly they were family members, since the letters have greetings, but no administrative formulae (cf. (3) below). This indicates a relation of (near-)equality between both persons. To this group belong in all likelihood also D6.4 (mentioning *Ṛtavanta-) and D6.5 (greetings).

(2) A6.2 and A6.8–13: Ạršāma to lower officials, who do not have Iranian names. Here the administrative formulae appear. As can be expected, greetings are lacking. To this group belong in all likelihood also D6.7 (from Ạršāma to Nakhtḥor) and D6.8 (from Ạršāma to Nakhtḥor and his colleagues). If the reference to *Rāšta- in D6.3 points to the presence of an administrative formula, then this text also belongs here.

(3) A6.14–A6.15: Higher officials (with Iranian names) to lower officials (Nakhtḥor and his colleagues). There are no greetings and no formulae.

The letter A6.1 is not included here, since it is sent to Ạršāma by a group of high officials. The greetings are therefore expected. A peculiar letter in this context is A6.16, written by *Ṛtaxaya- to Nakhtḥor. Here the character of the letter is very friendly, with greetings and no administrative formulae. Accordingly, this letter must belong to the same hierarchic category as the one of Ạršāma writing to his high officials and Nakhtḥor must be of more or less the same rank as *Ṛtaxaya-. This implies either that Nakhtḥor had been promoted or, less likely, that *Ṛtaxaya- is an Egyptian lower official who had adopted an Iranian name. In the latter case, we are dealing with a letter between two lower officials. In sum, the hierarchy in the letters does not make a distinction between private and public issues. As already said, this distinction is not very strict. As a result of this, one can conclude that all letters may belong to the public sphere.

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that some of the fragments were from letters, and it is likely enough that all of them were. The appearance of *Rāšta is especially interesting, as he is only otherwise mentioned in the administrative formulae (see below, pp. 88, 95).

[3] The oldest attestation of Ạršāma is in a Demotic document (Smith and Martin 2009: 39, Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 289), dated to 435. But his period of office may go back earlier than that: see Tuplin iii 39.

[4] This means that the strict distinction, set up by Schütze (2010), should be given up. Moreover, Schütze does not include A6.1 and A6.2, the two documents found in a regular excavation, in his divisional scheme.

Table 2.1.1. Hierarchy in the Ạršāma correspondence

Text(s)	Sender	Addressee	Greetings	Formulae
A6.1	High officials	Ạršāma	Yes	No
A6.3–A6.7, D6.4–D6.5	Ạršāma	High Official	Yes	No
A6.2, A6.8–A6.13, D6.7-8	Ạršāma	Low officials	No	Yes
A6.14–A6.15	High officials	Low officials	No	No
A6.16	*Ṛtaxaya-	Nakhtḥor	Yes	No

This chapter will focus on some general aspects of the language of the Ạršāma correspondence, and aims to place Ạršāma in a broader linguistic and administrative context.[5]

2. LANGUAGES IN THE ẠRŠĀMA CORRESPONDENCE

As all letters are written in Aramaic, one might easily assume that this language is the principal language of the correspondence. Nevertheless it is possible to see elements of other languages as well. These elements can be found on three levels: loanwords, onomastics, and translations.

2.1 Iranian Loanwords in the Ạršāma Correspondence

The letters contain a large number of Iranian loanwords (Table 2.1.2), some of which are also attested elsewhere in Achaemenid documentary sources (in Aramaic, Babylonian, Egyptian. and Elamite). They belong to the following categories: abstract expressions (1), adjectives indicating a certain quality (6), administrative and political expressions (5), appellatives (10), architectural and technical expressions (6), economical, financial, and fiscal expressions (4), geographical expressions (2), juridical expressions (1), and military expressions (2). Most of the loanwords have an administrative character. This is not surprising, since the majority of the Ạršāma letters are administrative or quasi-administrative letter-orders, sent by the satrapal administration on the one hand and by high-ranked people or Persian noblemen, such as Varuvahyah-, Virafša-, and Ṛtaxaya- on the other hand. It may thus be assumed that the loanwords belonged to the official Old Persian administrative language and that their specific meaning encouraged their adoption into Aramaic. The same

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[5] This chapter deals with Aramaic texts only. Texts associated with Ạršāma in Babylonian and Egyptian are not included.

Table 2.1.2. Iranian loanwords in the Ạršāma correspondence

Ir. Form	Ar. form	Translation	Reference	Other attestations	Tavernier 2007a
*_abišavaka-_	_ʾbšwk_	presser	A6.7:5	–	4.4.7.3
*_āčarna-_	_ʾšrn_	furniture, equipment	A6.2:5, 9, 21	Ar., Bab., El.	4.4.8.1
*_advan-_	_ʾdwn_	path, travel route	A6.9:5	–	4.4.12.2
*_azdakara-_	_ʾzdkr_	herald	A6.1:5, 7	Bab.	4.4.7.14
*_bāga-_	_bg_	estate, domain	A6.4:2, 6.5:2, 6.7:5, 6.11:5, 6.13:1, 3	Ar.	4.4.12.3
*_bāryakara-_	_brykr_	artisan, artist	A6.12:2	El.	4.4.7.20
*_dāmya-_	_dmy_	of the house; common	A6.9:3	Ar.	4.4.2.4
*_dāšna-_	_dšn_	gift, grant	A6.4:3, 4	Ar., El.	4.4.3.1
*_framānakara-_	_prmnkr_	foreman	A6.2:4, 8	El.	4.4.7.36
*_frataka-_	_prtk_	foremost	A5.2:7	–	4.4.7.41
*_ganza-_	_gnz_	treasure	A6.2:4, 13, 6.13:5	Ar., El.	4.4.10.8
*_gasta-_	_gst_	bad, evil (word)	A6.8:3, 6.10:9	–	4.4.2.7
*_gr̥da-_	_grd_	domestic staff, workman	A6.10:1, 2, 4, 5 ,6, 8, 6.12:2, 6.15:8, 9, 10	Bab., El.	4.4.7.54
*_hadābigāva-_	_hdʾbgw_	interest included	A6.13:5	–	4.4.10.9
*_hamārakara-_	_hmrkr_	accountant	A6.2:4, 23, 6.13:3	Ar., Bab.	4.4.7.57
*_handaiza-_	_hndyz_	garrisoned	A6.7:6	Ar.	4.4.16.3
*_handarza-_	_hndrz_	instruction, order	A6.13:3, 6.14:3	–	4.4.3.4
*_handaunā-_	_hndwn_	varnish	A6.2:5, 17	El.	4.4.8.11
*_kasunaθva-_	_ksntw_	loss, decrease	A6.10:2, 6, 8	–	4.4.10.13
*_nāupati-_	_nwpt_	shipmaster	A6.2:2, 7, 8	Ar.	4.4.7.76
*_ništāvana-_	_nštwn_	instruction	A6.1:3	–	4.4.3.8
*_patigāma-_	_ptgm_	message, report	A6.8:3, 6.10:9	Ar., El.	4.4.3.13
*_patikara-_	_ptkr_	statue	A6.12:2, 3	Ar., El.	2.4.4.3
*_patikarakara-_	_ptkrkr_	sculptor	A6.12:1	–	4.4.7.85
*_patistāva-_	_ptstw_	praiseworthy, praised	A6.16:4	–	4.4.2.14
*_piθfa-_	_ptp_	ration	A6.9:2, 4, 6, 6.12:1	Ar.	4.4.3.15
*_spitakana-_	_sptkn_	whitener	A6.2:9, 22	–	4.4.7.105
*_sraušyatā-_	_srwšyt_	chastisement	A6.3:6	–	4.4.13.5
*_upačāra-_	_ʾwpšr_	needs	A6.2:3, 6, 9, 22	–	4.4.8.22
*_upaiti-_	_ʾpyty_	necessary	A6.2:9	–	4.4.2.20
*_upakr̥ta-_	_ʾwpkrt_	list of materials	A6.2:5	–	4.4.8.23
*_uspr̥na-_	_ʾsprn_	in full, entire	A6.13:4	Ar., El.	4.4.2.21
*_varcabara-_	_wršbr_	worker	A6.5:2, 6.11:1	–	4.4.7.117
*_vispazana-_	_wspzn_	of all kinds	A6.10:3, 7	El., OP	2.4.2.3
*_yauza-_	_ywzʾ_	revolt, turmoil	A6.11:2, 4	Ar.	4.4.16.6
*_zana-_	_zn_	kind, sort	A6.1:3	–	4.4.1.8
*_zarn(i)yaka-_	_zrnyk_	arsenic	A6.2:17, 21	–	4.4.8.25
*_zyāni-_	_zyny_	loss, damage	A6.15:8	–	4.4.10.20

conclusion is also valid for the majority of the Iranian loanwords in Babylonian and Elamite texts.

The loanwords in the Ạršāma correspondence do not make up an entirely distinct and self-contained category within the corpus of Iranian loanwords in non-Iranian texts from the Achaemenid era. On the contrary, some of them are also attested in other Aramaic texts from Egypt, Bactria, and elsewhere, and even in texts in other languages from other regions (Babylonian texts from Babylonia, Elamite texts from Persepolis). Moreover, the Egyptian Aramaic texts that do not belong to the Ạršāma correspondence also contain administrative Old Persian loanwords not attested in the Ạršāma correspondence.[6]

Especially interesting from a geographical, chronological, and institutional point of view are the many Iranian loanwords in the Aramaic texts from Bactria (ADAB), dated to the very last decades of the Achaemenid empire. These texts, edited in Naveh and Shaked 2012, include _inter alia_ a number of satrapal letters that are quite reminiscent of the Ạršāma correspondence. Naveh and Shaked 2012: 54–7 present a list of Aramaic loanwords in the Aramaic texts from Bactria, but as this list is not fully accurate,[7] it needs some adaptation. A revised list is found below in Table 2.1.3.

Table 2.1.3. Iranian loanwords in ADAB

Ir. form	Ar. form	Translation	Reference (ADAB)	Other attestations
*_ācṛna-_	_ʾšrn_	equipment, furniture	C1:20	Ar., El.
*_ādranga-_	_ʾdrng_	guarantor	A6:4, A10:1	Ar.
*_ādvaišā_	_ʾdwšʾ_	affliction, trouble	A4:3	
*_āfrašta-_	_ʾpršt_	instructed, required	A6:10	
*_ākṛsta-_	_ʾkrst_	a type of garment	C6:2	
*_anaravya-_	_ʾnrwy_	contrariness, contravention	A5:2, A6:5, B7:3	
*_antar_	_ʾntr_	in the meantime	A1:4	
*_āsangica-_	_ʾsngšn (pl.)_	a young performer of melodies	C4:13	

(_Continued_)

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[6] *_abigarana-_ ‘penalty’, *_ādranga-_ ‘guarantor’, *_avadaisa-_ ‘statement’, *_āzāta-_ ‘free’, *_azdā_ ‘known’, *_brazmadāna-_ ‘shrine’, *_dafnya-_ ‘one who is tortured’, *_dātabara-_ ‘judge’, *_duškṛta-_ ‘crime’, *_dušvan-_ ‘ill-willed’, *_frataraka-_ ‘governor’, *_fryapati-_ ‘chief of the beloved’, *_gaušaka-_ ‘informer’, *_gazara-_ ‘carrot’, *_hamakāryagraba-_ ‘joint holding’, *_hamāra-_ ‘accounting’, *_hamaunitā_ ‘in agreement with’, *_hamyati-_ ‘government’, *_hanbaga-_ ‘partner in realty’, *_hangaiθa-_ ‘partner in chattel’, *_hanpāna-_ ‘roofed passage’, *_haptaxvapātā_ ‘guardian of the seventh’, *_jauka-_ ‘group’, *_kāratāka-_ ‘traveller’, *_maguš_ ‘magus’, *_manaubara-_ ‘respectful’, *_nāugrabata-_ ‘boat-catcher’, *_nāuvaza-_ ‘sail’, *_niparta-_ ‘litigation’, *_pascadāta-_ ‘after-gift’, *_patifrāsa-_ ‘investigator’, *_ṛdba-_ ‘artabe’, *_yaudāna-_ ‘grain house’, *_yātakara-_ ‘assigner of rations’.

[7] In fact, some expressions, considered to be loanwords by Naveh and Shaked, are in reality personal names: cf. Tavernier 2017a.

Table 2.1.3. _Continued_

Ir. form	Ar. form	Translation	Reference (ADAB)	Other attestations
*aspamanga-	_ʾspmng_	horse-hemp	C7:5	
*avastāka-	_ʾwstk_	document	C10:1	
*azdā	_ʾzd_	known	B1:3	Ar.
*azganda-	_ʾzgndʾ_	messenger	A2:2, A5:4	
*bāgaya-	_bgy_	offering	C1:40, 42, 44, C3:43	
*bagina-	_bgnʾ_	temple, altar	C1:37	
*bānuvā	_bnw_	splendid	D2:2	
*caraka-	_srk_	grazing	C1:7, 11	El.
*cistakāna-	_sstkn_	from Cist	C1:30	
*çāyita- / *sita-	_syt_	_meaning uncertain_	C1:5, 9	
*daba-	_db_	harm	A1:3	
*dainā-	_dyn_	religion	C3:2, 18	
*dămya-	_dmy_	homely, for home use	B2:2, C1:16, 35, 48, C3:21, 22, 38	
*dāmyadatakāna-	_dmydtknn_	livestock attendant	C4:18	
*dauxšaxvāra-	_dwšʾḥwrʾ_, _dwšḥwrʾ_	provisions for the road	A2:1, 6, C1:2, 51	
*dūga-	_dwg_	yoghurt, sour milk	C1:29	
*frabāra-	_prbrn (pl.)_	gift	C6:2	
*fratama-	_prtm_	in the best manner	A5:2, A6:6, 9, C4:37	El.
*frataraka-	_prtrkh (pron. suff)_	foreman, chief of workers	A5:4	Ar. (PFAT)
*frāyah	_pry_	further	B1:6	
*ganzabara-	_gzbrʾ (st. det.)_	treasurer	B10:2	Ar., Bab.
*garidatika- / *gṛdataka-	_grdtk_	a type of animal		
*gauvarza-	_gwrz_	cattle-breeder	C4:54	
*gufrišta-	_gpryšt_	deepest	B2:2	
*hancyākṛta-	_hnškrt_	apprentice, servant	A1:2	
*handarza	_hndrzʾ_	instruction, order	A2:1, A4:1, A5:2, A6:6, 9	Ar.
*haraxvanya-	_hrḥwny_	Arachosian wine	C1:31	
*kapauta-	_kpwt_	(grey)-blue, pigeon-coloured	C7:2	
*kāratanūka-	_krtnkʾ_	bodyguard	A2:6	
*kāsakaina-	_kskyn_	green or blue	C1:17	
*maiθmāna-	_mytmnyʾ (pl.)_	inhabitant	C1:33	
*nihmāranīta-	_nhmrnyt_	the account not registered (in the books)	A1:9, 11	
*nimita-	_nmyt_	assessed, measured	C4:3, 36	

Ir. form	Ar. form	Translation	Reference (ADAB)	Other attestations
*ništāvana-	_nštwnʾ_	instruction, command, rescript	A1:10, A6:6	Ar.
*parikāna-	_prknʾ (det.)_	wall	A4:1, 6	
*pašābara-	_pšbrʾ_	provisions, supplies	C3:44	El.
*patigāma-	_ptgmʾ_	message, report	A1:4	Ar., El.
*patikaravā-	_ptkrw_	decorated with a picture	C6:5, C7:4	
*patizbăna-	_ptzbnʾ_	prohibition, interdiction	A1:5, 7	
*piθfa-	_ptpʾ, ptwʾ_	ration	B2:2, C4:10, 42, C5:8	Ar.
*piθfakāna-	_ptpkn_	ration provider	C1:47, C4:10, 25	
*raitaka-	_rytkyʾ (pl.)_	young servant, servant-boy	C4:24, 27, 42	
*raza-??	_rzbš_	an edible item	C1:19	
*sāmagauna-	_smgwn_	black	C6:4	
*sārakāra-	_srkrn (pl.)_	chief	C3:40	
*sraušyă-	_srwšy_	punishment	C3:41	
*sundusta-(?)	_sndst_	brocade(?)	C6:3	
*suxtaka-	_swḥtk_	burnt, burnished	C7:3	
*tauxmakanica-	_tḥmknšʾ_	seed-	A6:3, 7, 10	
*upabariya-	_ʾpbry_	additional delivery	C1:33	
*upahmata-	_ʾphmt_	ripe	A4:3	
*upaiti-	_ʾwpyty_	necessity	B5:6	Ar.
*upayāta-	_ʾpytʾ_	bye-portion, impost	A2:3, C4:6, 23, 38, 44, 45, 48	Bab., El.
*usprna	_ʾsprn_	in full, entire	A6:8, 10	Ar., El.
*uštrapāna-	_ʾštrpnyʾ (pl.)_	camel-keeper	A1:2, 5, 7, 8, 11	
*uzgāma-	_ʾzgm_	disbursement, expenditure	A10:11, C2:1, C3:1, C4:2	
*vacaka-	_wšk_	word, utterance, command	B1:4, 6	
*vrduca-	_wrdwš_	plum	C1:18	
*xšaθrakanā-	_ḥštrknt_	entertaining girl	C4:13, 27	
*xšvipa-	_ḥšpn_	agitated, trembling, swift	B7:2	
*xvašnaka-	_ḥšnk_	splendid, fine	B4:3	
*yavadā-	_ywdh_	barley-gift, a gift of barley	C4:8, 39	
*yāsišta	_yʾsšt_	in the most desirable manner	A5:2, A6:6, 9	
*yavabara-	_ywbrʾ (det.)_	barley-supplier	C4:2	
*zauθra-	_zwtrʾ_	libation, sacrifice	C1:37	
*zyānā-	_zyʾnh_	damage; restitution, indemnity	B5:4, 7, 8	

As in the Ạršāma correspondence, the loans include what can fairly be described as administrative terms, and a number of words appear in both sets of texts. At the same time accidents of survival and content ensure that there are words peculiar to one or other set, and the overall list is substantially longer in the Bactrian case. This material provides a plain demonstration of the importance of seeing the Ạršāma letters in the wider context of Achaemenid bureaucracy and its distinctive linguistic character. In that regard it is worth stressing the relatively small extent to which Iranian loanwords penetrated into Egyptian.[8] In Egypt Aramaic was a high-level administrative language and to a large extent operated in a separate environment from that of the Egyptian vernacular—a situation on which the fact that official documents drafted in Aramaic might also be translated into Egyptian (see below) seems to have had only a modest impact. It is conspicuous that most of the loanwords encountered in Bactria do not occur in Egyptian Aramaic, although some are very close, e.g. **zyānā-*, which is attested as **zyāni-* in Egypt. This difference may have geographical and/or chronological reasons, as the two sets of texts are relatively dispersed in terms of location and date.

2.2 Personal Names in the Ạršāma Correspondence

Languages other than Aramaic are also attested through the personal names encountered in the correspondence, which is thus a perfect reflection of the multicultural society so typical of Achaemenid Egypt.[9] Logically the higher administration was in the hands of Iranians. Next to this top level administration, workmen of various origins ended up in Egypt to work for the Achaemenids.

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[8] Iranian loanwords in Egyptian are rare. Only nine examples are known:

(1) **Abigarana-*, 'penalty' (Tavernier 2007a: 442 (4.4.10.1)): *3bykrm* (Mattha 1975: 2 ii 2). Also attested in Egyptian Aramaic (TADAE B 2.9:14, 2.10:15, 2.11:10, 3.8:31, 3.9:7, 3.13:7, 5.5:6; TADAE D 2.25:5).

(2) **Frastāvā*, 'head, chairman' (Schmitt, ap. Smith and Martin 2009: 35): *prsṱw* (S.H5-DP 434 = Smith and Martin 2009: no. 4 obv. i 13, rev. ii 5).

(3) *Ḥṱḫ*, of an uncertain etymology, possibly an erroneous writing for **haptaxva-* 'seventh': *ḥṱḫ* (S.H5-DP 419 = Smith and Martin 2009: no. 11 1).

(4) **Kapiča-*, 'holder, something containing' (Tavernier 2007a: 449 (4.4.14.3)): *kpḏ* (Scott 1986: 145 no. 79 (reading: Ritner 1996: 685)).

(5) **Nipištamarya-*, 'young man of writings', a kind of postman (Vittmann, ap. Smith and Martin 2009, 57–8): [*n*]*pyštmry* (S.H5-DP 202 = Smith and Martin 2009: no.14 rev. 1).

(6) **Patifrāsa-*, 'investigator, interrogator': *pṱprs* (S.H5-DP 162 = Smith and Martin 2009: no. 2 obv. x+6).

(7) **Vastrabara-* or **vaçabara-*, 'chamberlain' (Tavernier 2007a: 434–5): *p3 wsṱrbr* (P.BM EA 76274.1 ii 2 : Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 296).

(8) **Vis*(*a*)*puθra-* (Med.), 'crown prince' (Tavernier 2007a: 436 (4.4.7.127)): *wyspwṱr* (P. Cairo CG 31174:4, 5).

(9) **Xšaθrapāna-*, 'satrap' (Tavernier 2007a: 436 (4.4.7.132)): *ḫštrpn* (S.H5-450 obv. i 2; cf. Smith 1992: 295–6); *ih~štrpny* (S.75/6-7:2; cf. Smith 1988: 184–6). Also attested in Aramaic and Babylonian.

Although the letters are written in Aramaic, there are only few Semitic names attested in the corpus: Aḥatubasti,[10] ʿAnani, Ḥinzani, Kosakan, Marduk, Nabuʿaqab, Nabudalani, Sineriš, and Šamaššillek (nine out of sixty-six names). Most names are of Iranian origin, which should not surprise us since one is dealing here with letters written by and for members of the Achaemenid elite. The twenty-one Iranian names are *Asmaraupa-(?), *Axtizara-, *Āyaza-, *Bagadāna-, *Bagafarnā, *Bagasravā, *Frādafarnā, *Haxāmaniš, *Haumadāta-,[11] *Miçapāta-, *Miθradāta-, *Rāsta-, *Ṛšāma-, *Ṛtāvahyā, *Ṛtavanta-, *Ṛtaxaya-, *Sāraka-, *Upastābara-, *Vāravahyā, *Virafša-, and *Zātavahyā. Furthermore, twenty Egyptian names occur (ʿAnkhoḥapi, Aḥpepi, Eswere, Ḥarudj, Ḥetpubaste, Ḥor[ ], Ḥotepḥep, Konufe, Nakhtḥor, Pamun, Psmasineith, Pšubaste, Peṭeisi, Peṭosiri, Psamšek, Psamšekḥasi, Sasobek, Šamou, Waḥpremaḥi, Waḥpremineit) and finally, twelve Anatolian names ([ ]miya, A[ ]ma, Ammuwana, Armapiya, Ka, Kenzasirma, Muwasarma, Pariyama, Piyatarunazi, Sadasbinazi, Sarmanazi, and Tandiya) are also found. The high number of Anatolian names is slightly misleading in view of the fact that most of them occur in a single enumeration of Cilician slaves (A6.7). Only Armapiya and Ḥendasirma/Kendasirma/Kenzasirma have another function as addressees of letters (Armapiya receives A6.8, whereas the other person is apparently a colleague of Nakhtḥor). Four names (ʾNʾ[ ], ʾNw[ ],[12] [ ]nš, and [ ]twy) cannot be affiliated because of their fragmentary state.

2.3 Translational Issues in the Ṛšāma Correspondence

That language contacts may have an influence on grammar is *inter alia* visible in the Aramaic language, as it was used during the Achaemenid period. Especially when Old Persian and Aramaic came into direct contact with each other, more specifically in the administration, Aramaic adopted Persian expressions and translated them literally into Aramaic, thereby sometimes ignoring the Aramaic grammatical rules. It seems a reasonable assumption that administrative expressions of this sort were introduced by Iranian-speaking people who had learned some Aramaic.

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[9] See Vittmann iii 263–77.

[10] The status of this name is not entirely certain: A6.13:3(1) n.

[11] The visible traces of this name show *Hw*[..]*t*, with space for one or two characters. As he is an official based at Damascus and his colleagues mostly bear Iranian names, he too had probably an Iranian name. If correct, then a restoration *Hw*[*md*]*t* becomes plausible, rendering *Haumadāta-. This name, written *Hwmdt*, is also attested in Aramaic texts from Persepolis (Tavernier 2007a: 198 (4.2.731)). Aramaic middle w usually denotes Iranian /au/ or /w/, not /u/.

[12] Not to be reconstructed to *ʾNw*[*šh*]. Although a lexeme *ʾnwšh* occurs in the Aramaic texts from Egypt (D 8.4:24), this is not a Semitic personal name meaning ‘female person’, as Kornfeld (1978: 41) believes, but a noun meaning ‘household’ (Porten and Yardeni 1986–99: 4.xxxix).

Some expressions used by Ạršāma are genuine calques on the original Old Persian expressions (Briant 2002: 457), e.g. *grd ʾmnn wspzn* 'workers, craftsmen of all kind', which is a perfect equivalent of *kurtaš marrip mišbazana* (PT 79:4–5), itself a translation of Old Persian **gr̥dā kr̥nuvakā vispazanā* (cf. Old Persian *martiyā kr̥nuvakā* (DSf 47) and El. RUH$^{\text{meš}}$ *marrip* (DSf 41; DSz 44–5)). Other examples (from the Bodleian letters and in some cases elsewhere), some of which admittedly remain doubtful, are discussed below.

(1) *ʾḥr* 'then, afterwards' corresponds to Old Persian *pasāva*. It is also used as ideogram for Middle Persian *pas* 'then' (Cowley 1923: 206, Menasce 1954: 162, Kutscher 1954: 241 and 1970: 388, Whitehead 1978: 134, DNWSI 39).

(2) The Aramaic lexemes *bēʾdayin* and *ʾĕdayin* also correspond with Old Persian *pasāva*. This is not due to Aramaic influence on Old Persian, but rather to Old Persian influence on Aramaic (Makujina 2013).

(3) *Byn bgyʾ zyly* 'in my domains' (A6.4:2, A6.5:2, A6.6:3, A6.7:5). Normally such a phrase should be constructed with the preposition *b-* 'in', but the use of *byn*, originally meaning 'between', is inspired by Old Persian *antar* 'in' (Rosenthal 1939: 81, Driver 1954: 11 and 1965: 39, Kutscher 1954: 242, Menasce 1954: 162, Eilers 1954–6: 335, Lewy 1955: 292–3, Altheim and Stiehl 1963: 254 n. 58, Whitehead 1978: 134, DNWSI 153). This is confirmed by the fact that the precursors of Old Persian *antar*, PIE ***h_1*enter* and Proto-Indo-Iranian **antar*, also meant 'between' (cf. Old Indian *antár*, Lat. *inter*, Old Irish *eter*, French *entre*; Pokorny 1959: 313, Mayrhofer 1992: 76). *Byn* is also used in the same way both in the Aramaic documents from Bactria (Naveh and Shaked 2012: 51), where we find *byn šnyh* 'in his grain fields' (ADAB A8:1) and *byn ywmn* 2 'in two days' (A10:a:8), and in Ahiqar 40 (*byn krmyʾ* 'in the vineyards'). The existence of this calque is further reflected in the use of *BYN* as an ideogram for *andar* 'in; among, between' in Middle Iranian texts.

(4) Ar. *br bytʾ* 'prince' is accepted by the scholarly community to be a calque on Old Persian **vīsapuθra-* 'son of the (royal) house, prince', as is Babylonian *mar bīti* 'prince' (Kaufman 1974: 70, with older references, Whitehead 1978: 133–4, Stolper 1985: 21).[13] In Egyptian the Old Persian expression was simply adopted as a loanword: *wyspwṱr* (P. Cairo CG 31174:4, 5) renders **visapuθra-* (Vittmann 1991/92: 159, Vittmann 2004: 131, 168, Tavernier 2007a: 436 (4.4.7.127)).

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[13] See also Tuplin iii 31–8.

(5) Ar. *hn ʿl mrʾn ṭb* ‘if it is good to our lord’ (A4.5:19, 21, A4.7:23, A4.8:22), with its variants *hn ʿl mrʾy ṭb* ‘if it is good to my lord’ (A6.3:5), *hn ʿlyk kwt ṭb* ‘if it thus be good to thee’ (A6.7:8), and *hn ʿl mrʾy lm kwt ṭb* ‘if, then, it thus be good to my lord’ (A6.13:2).[14] Benveniste (1954: 305) derives these from a reconstructed Old Persian **yadiy θuvām avaθā kāma* ‘if this is your wish’, but Whitehead (1978: 134 and n. 106) denies this and postulates an Aramaic origin for these turns of phrase.

(6) Ar. *hndrz ʿbd* ‘to instruct’ (A6.13:3, A6.14:3) is probably derived from Old Persian **handarza kar-* which is not attested in the Old Persian text corpus itself, but in Middle Persian *andarz kardan* (Naveh and Shaked 2012: 51). The expression occurs also in Bactria (ADAB A2:1, A4:1, A5:2, A6:6, 9).

(7) Ar. *kn ydyʿ yhwh/yhwy lk* ‘Thus let it be known to you’ (A6.8:3, A6.10:8; Benveniste 1954: 305, Kutscher 1961: 127, Kutscher 1969: 142), used not only in the Ar̥šāma correspondence, but also in Biblical Aramaic[15] and in the Bar Kochba Letters (second century AD),[16] could be a calque on reconstructed Old Persian **avaθātaiy azdā biyā*. A similar expression is also found in a Demotic official report from 423/2 (S.H5-DP 162 obv. x+3, in Smith and Martin 2009: 25): *st ḏd=f my rḫ=⌜w⌝ ⌜s⌝ ỉḫ*, ‘let them know it’.

(8) Ar. *mn qdmn* ‘from of old, long ago’ (A4.9:5) is connected by Benveniste (1954: 305) with Old Persian *hacā paruviyatā*. This idea is, however, not widely accepted.

(9) Ar. *ʿbd lnfš* ‘he has made it his own’ (A6.15:6),[17] probably a calque on Old Persian *uvāipašiyam akutā* (DB I 47; Driver 1954: 34 and 1965: 83, Benveniste 1954: 305, Kutscher 1970: 388, DNWSI 813). Interestingly, the expression also appears in a Demotic letter dated to 502: *ỉ.ỉr-f n-f* (Hughes 1958: 1 and 5–6, Yaron 1961: 128), where it is probably derived from administrative Aramaic, influenced by Old Persian.

(10) Ar. *qdm* ‘before’ also takes the sense ‘at, on’ and this is often linked with its use as ideogram for Middle Persian *apar* ‘at, on’ (Rosenthal 1939: 80, Driver 1954: 11 and 1965: 38, Menasce 1954: 162, Altheim and Stiehl 1963: 69, Whitehead 1978: 134). This example is parallel with example no. 2.

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[14] The form in A6.7 is simply the non-polite form of the standard formula (it is attested in a letter between two persons of near-equal rank), whereas both it and the formula in A6.13 are characterized by the appearance of *kwt* ‘thus’. Remarkably, the formula in A6.13 uses the word ‘lord’, although *Vāravahyā (an Iranian name meaning ‘better at will’: Tavernier 2007a: 338 (4.2.1801)), who is cited in the letter as having used the formula, is also called ‘prince’. Two possible explanations come to mind: Achaemenid princes called each other ‘lord’ or there was a hierarchy at work within the royal family (*Vāravahyā being in a lower position than Ar̥šāma).

[15] e.g. Dan. 3.18, Ezr. 4.12,13 and 5.8.

[16] e.g. Yadin 1961: 47–8 (*ydwʿ yhwʾ lkn*).

[17] Attested also in other documents, such as B7.2:6, a legal document (*lnpšk ʿbdt* ‘you made (them) your own’).

(11) The Aramaic verb *šʾl* (A6.8:3, A6.10:9) normally means ‘to ask’, but in the Ạršāma correspondence may mean ‘to call to account’ and even ‘to punish’, possibly as an equivalent of Old Persian *fras-* (Benveniste 1954: 304–5). This influence may, however, be indirect, as it could be transmitted via Akkadian: in the Babylonian versions of Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions the verb *šaʾālu* ‘to ask’ may mean ‘to question, to punish’. One Bactrian Aramaic text contains this use of *šʾl* (ADAB A1:10).

(12) Another Old Persian intrusion into Aramaic is the expression *šym ṭʿm* ‘to issue an order’ (in various forms).[18] Kutscher (1969: 149–51) considered it to be a *passivum majestatis*, but the expression is also attested in the active form and therefore Makujina (1997) considers the formula to have an Old Persian origin, noting, however, that it is not a servile rendering of Old Persian **framānā(maiy) ništāta-* ‘a command was issued (by me)’.

(13) In many documents of the Achaemenid period, the expression ‘his name’ is put after a person’s name on the first occasion it is mentioned. This habit is attested in Aramaic (*šmh*),[19] Egyptian (*rn=f*),[20] and Elamite (*hiše*)[21] and is clearly a calque on a similar expression found in the Old Persian royal inscriptions (*nāmā* ‘by name’). In the Ạršāma correspondence it occurs in A6.3, [A6.6], A6.7, and A6.11–A6.12.

(14) *Wknwth* ‘and his colleagues’ (A6.1, A6.3, A6.7, A6.11–A6.14): this expression is also attested in other Aramaic texts,[22] in two published Egyptian texts[23] (*ỉrm n3y=f ỉry.w*) and frequently in Elamite texts[24]

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[18] ATNS 14:5, 15:3, TADAE A4.5:21, A6.2:22, 25, A6.7:8. It is attested in active as well as in passive constructions. For more details, see Makujina (1997: 2).

[19] Aramaic *šmh* following a personal name is regularly attested in papyri from Egypt (ATNS 17, 55a, 60, 63, TADAE B2.11, B3.3, B3.6–B3.9, B8.1–B8.3, B8.5–B8.6, C3.8, C3.19, D5.39, D6.1, D6.8, D7.40) as well as from Samaria (WDSP 1:2, 3:1, 4–6:2, 7:1, 9:1, 10:2, 19:2, 36 frg. 2 and 4; cf. Gropp 2001 and Dušek 2007). Not surprisingly, the phrase is also frequently attested on the Aramaic Fortification texts from Persepolis (Azzoni 2008: 259), examples being PFAT 1, 12, 18, 20, 31, 37, 53, 184–6, 230–3, 387–9, 465, 490, etc. (These and other citations of PFAT material in this chapter have been checked against the original documents.) Remarkably, *šmh* does not occur in the Aramaic texts from Bactria.

[20] e.g. in S.H5-DP 162 obv. x+10 (Smith and Martin 2009: 25).

[21] For references for Elamite *hiše*, see Cameron 1948: 205, Hallock 1969: 697, Hinz and Koch 1987: 670.

[22] The Aramaic lexeme *knt* (loan from Akk. *kinattu*) is frequently attested in the form *wknwth* in Aramaic texts from the Achaemenid period, among which most of the Ạršāma letters (A6.1–A6.3, A6.7, A6.11–A6.14). It is clearly an Achaemenid administrative expression, since it only occurs in Official Aramaic. More attestations can be found in ATNS 34a, 79, 97, 99, 121, TADAE B2.2, B3.8, B6.4, B7.1, B8.4–B8.6, C1.1 (Aḥiqar Story), C3.8, D1.32, D3.45. It is also attested in Persepolis (e.g. PFAT 21, 64, 70, 282–3, etc.). Remarkably, *wknwth* does not occur in the Aramaic texts from Bactria.

[23] S.H5-DP 162 obv. x+4 (Smith and Martin 2009: 25); S.H5-DP 434 obv. i 4, 6 and rev. ii 7, 11, 12 (Smith and Martin 2009: 32–3, 36). Both texts are official reports written in the Persian chancellery. One of them even mentions Ạršāma. The formula is also found in the new British Museum papyri (Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 296).

[24] References can be found in Cameron 1948: 204, Hallock 1969: 665, Hinz and Koch 1987: 42–3.

(*akkayaše*) and is a calque on the reconstructed Old Persian **haxāyašai* ‘his colleagues’.

These calques imply that Old Persian has an important oral presence in the correspondence, even if it does not appear as a written language. This feature of the Ạršāma material, which is shared by other texts from the Achaemenid era, makes it clear that Old Persian was an important administrative language, even though it is hardly directly attested as such. The calques also confirm that the Aramaic texts from Egypt and those from Bactria, despite their being dated about sixty years later, originate from a similar administrative context, which was certainly one aspect of the Achaemenid imperial signature. It must, however, be noted that most of the calques appear in the Ạršāma correspondence, and this is not surprising, of course, given the purely administrative/satrapal character of this set of texts.

3. ADMINISTRATION AND LANGUAGE IN THE ẠRŠĀMA CORRESPONDENCE

The Ạršāma dossier is part of the satrapal administration of Persian Egypt. It deals with various issues, such as rations for officials travelling to Egypt, Ạršāma’s estates in Egypt, the activities of a sculptor, the repair of a boat, etc. The administrative character also explains the use of a formal, official language, which was, as has been demonstrated, peppered with Iranian loanwords, most of them also belonging to the realm of administration.

The administrative character is further enhanced by the formulae that appear at the end of various letters (see Table 2.1.4). The word *sepīru*, the Akkadian equivalent of Aramaic *spr*, indicates a scribe who was able to write in alphabetic (i.e. Aramaic) writing. It can be equated with El. *teppir* (Tavernier 2008: 61, 64), an important official already attested from the Old Elamite period onwards,[25] and is clearly distinguished from the class of scribes who used the local writing systems (cuneiform, Demotic), whose members were called *ṭupšarru* in Akkadian and *sẖ* in Egyptian.

Table 2.1.4. Aramaic administrative formulae

Aramaic	Translation
(1) PN$_1$ *ydʿ ṭʿmʾ znh* (A6.8–13)	(1) PN$_1$ is cognizant of this order
(2) PN$_1$ *bʿl ṭʿm* (A6.2)	(2) PN$_1$ is the master of the order
PN$_2$ *sprʾ* (A6.8–13)	PN$_2$ is the *sepīru*
PN$_3$ *ktb* (A6.2)	PN$_3$ wrote (cf. below)

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[25] See Tavernier (2007b) for more information on this official.

The people involved in these formulae are *Ṛtavahyah-,[26] who is three times the master of the order, *Bagasravah-,[27] who plays the same role twice, *Ṛtaxaya-,[28] once the master of the order, *Rāšta-,[29] who acted as *sepīru* five times, and Aḥpepi,[30] who was the *sepīru* on one occasion.

These phrases offer us an interesting insight into the production process of an administrative order. Based on the information provided by the Ạršāma correspondence it seems that the following phases were inherent to this process:

(1) Ạršāma, satrap of Egypt, gives an order in Old Persian to one of his officials (PN_1). This official is the one who is cognizant of the order.

(2) A *sepīru* apparently writes an Aramaic version of the order, as he is the one who is able to write in Aramaic script.

All texts have the same formulae, except for A6.2, an authorization for a boat repair, which is slightly different, both in wording and in content: *ʿnny sprʾ bʿl ṭʿm nbwʿqb ktb* "Anani[31] the *sepīru* is the master of the order. Nabuʿaqab[32] has written'. In addition, there is also an Egyptian formula *sẖ S3-sbk* 'Sasobek[33] has written'. The last remark confirms that a Demotic version of this text, written by Sasobek, also existed. Unfortunately, it has not yet been recovered. In addition, it seems that phases one and two are being executed by a single person, 'Anani, whereas the final Aramaic version of the order was written by Nabuʿaqab. The Egyptian remark was probably added for filing purposes and it is possible that the Egyptian copy had an Aramaic remark, saying that Nabuʿaqab wrote the Aramaic version.

The reference to Sasobek is not the only Demotic subscript found in the Ạršāma correspondence. A6.2 also has *t3 byry* 'the boat', while A6.11 has *r-⌜tb3⌝ n3 3ḥ*(*.w*) *n P3-Imn r.ty*(*=y*) (*n*) *P3-ty-Wsir* 'about the fields of Pamun which I have given to Peṭosiri'. Of peculiar interest are some names in Demotic on the documents A6.12 (Ḥtp-ḥp), A6.13 (Ḥtp-ḥp), and D6.11 (Ḥetpubaste).[34] As the two first ones are written on an official document with administrative formulae, Ḥotep-ḫep might very well be the scribe of the Demotic copy of these texts, just as Sasobek is the scribe of the Demotic copy of A6.2. If this is true, then D6.11, possibly written by Ḥetpubaste, may also belong to this type of letter.

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[26] Iranian name meaning 'better through Arta' (Tavernier 2007a: 302 (4.2.1518)).

[27] Iranian name meaning 'Baga's fame'. It is also attested in the Babylonian and Elamite *Nebenüberlieferungen* (Tavernier 2007a: 138–9 (4.2.284)).

[28] Iranian name, two-stem hypocoristic of *Ạrtaxšaça- or *Ṛtaxraθ/tu-. It is also attested in the Elamite *Nebenüberlieferung* (Tavernier 2007a: 302 (4.2.1532)).

[29] Iranian-Median name meaning 'right'. Its Old Persian counterpart *Rāsta- is attested in the Elamite *Nebenüberlieferung* (Tavernier 2007a: 282 (4.2.1369)).

[30] Egyptian name meaning 'Pepi is magnificent' (Grelot 1972: 463, Kornfeld 1978: 77).

[31] Hypocoristic of ʿAnanyah, a Hebrew name meaning 'Yah has appeared' (Grelot 1972: 465–6; Kornfeld 1978: 67).

[32] Aramaic name meaning 'Nabû has guarded' (Grelot 1972: 480, Kornfeld 1978: 61).

[33] Egyptian name meaning 'Son of Sobek' (Ranke 1935: 284).

[34] Or Ḥetpeese.

Concerning the formulae in general, it should also be noted that the ethnic affiliation of the personal names is informative to some degree (Tavernier 2008: 67–9; see Table 2.1.5). The people cognizant of the orders, except ‘Anani, have Iranian names. The two *sepīru*s have an Iranian and an Egyptian name. In this context it should not be forgotten that non-Iranian people could adopt Iranian names to enhance their career opportunities. The two scribes, Nabu‘aqab and Sasobek, have names corresponding to the language in which they wrote (Aramaic and Egyptian).

The formulae corroborate the existence of a translational process, but they do not give much information on who was responsible for translating the Old Persian order into Aramaic. Several possibilities come into mind, at least theoretically:

(1) The satrap himself dictated the order in Aramaic. This seems highly implausible.

(2) The satrap dictated in Old Persian to his official, the one cognizant of the order. This person translated it into Aramaic and passed it to the *sepīru*, who wrote an Aramaic version of it. This theory is not likely. Two circumstances can be imagined: (1) The one cognizant of the order wrote an Aramaic version; (2) the one cognizant of the order dictated the Aramaic version to the *sepīru* who wrote it down. In both cases, problems emerge. The first suggestion leaves one wondering why it was necessary to have a second written Aramaic version: calligraphic concerns may be excluded, since calligraphy was not the main issue in this kind of documents. The second suggestion implies that the one cognizant of the order could speak, but not write Aramaic, which is improbable.

(3) The official cognizant of the order passed the Old Persian copy of the order to the *sepīru*, perhaps after officially authorizing it. The *sepīru* translated it into Aramaic and produced a written Aramaic version of the order.

Table 2.1.5. Names in the Aramaic administrative formulae

Function	Name	Affiliation
Cognizant of the order (*ydʿ ṭʿmʾ znh*) / Master of the order (*bʿl ṭʿm*)	*Bagasravah-	Iranian
	*Ṛtavahyah-	Iranian
	*Ṛtaxaya-	Iranian
	‘Anani	Semitic
Sēpiru (*sprʾ*)	*Rāšta-	Iranian
	Aḥpepi	Egyptian
	‘Anani	Semitic
Scribe (*ktb*)	Nabu‘aqab	Semitic
	Sasobek	Egyptian

Scenario (3) therefore seems preferable, and the implications of this conclusion can be pursued in other sets of documents, both in Egypt and in other parts of the Achaemenid empire.

4. THE ẠRŠĀMA CORRESPONDENCE IN ITS EGYPTIAN SATRAPAL CONTEXT

The Bodleian letters and the Aršāma-related texts from Elephantine and Saqqara are not the only documents from Egypt linked to a satrap. There is also the correspondence of the satrap Farnadāta, which contains two Egyptian letters[35] dealing with the appointment of a *lesōnis* priest in the temple of Khnum in Elephantine. Despite its small size this archive is very interesting in the present context, because the administrative formulae discussed above also occur here. The first letter (P.Berl.Dem.13540) was written by Farnadāta, the satrap of Egypt, on 22 April 492 to the priests of the temple of Khnum. The second letter (P. Berl.Dem.13539) dates from 25 December 492 and was written by the priests to Farnadāta. The administrative formulae only appear in the first text.

Although both letters are written in Egyptian, there is a big linguistic difference between them. While P.Berl.Dem.13539 (EPE C1), written by the priests, is composed in good idiomatic Egyptian, P.Berl.Dem.13540 (EPE C2), written by the satrap, uses a language which regularly conflicts with Egyptian grammar. This awkward circumstance can easily be explained. The letter written by the satrap is a literal translation of an original Aramaic draft, in which the scribe translated phrase by phrase from Aramaic (Hughes 1984: 77, Depauw 2006: 152, 295). Unfortunately the Aramaic original is lost, but one can still reconstruct it partially and see that the Egyptian letter nicely follows Aramaic epistolographic formulae:

(1) The introduction of the letter can be considered 'un-Egyptian'. *PN_1 ḏd n PN_2 n t3y ḥty* 'A says to B at this moment'[36] is most likely a direct translation from Aramaic *mn PN_1 ʿl PN_2 (w)kʿt* 'From PN_1 to PN_2. (And) now', with the addition of a verb, as the Egyptian language prefers (Hughes 1984: 79, Depauw 2006: 152). In Aramaic letters, *(w)kʿt* is frequently used as the introduction of the body of the letter or of new paragraphs within it (Porten 1968: 25).

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[35] Hughes 1984: 75–7 has demonstrated that P.Loeb. 1 was not written to Farnadāta, but to the commander of the fortress of Aswan Farnavā (on the name, see Tavernier 2007a: 178 (4.2.569)).

[36] This formula is attested only twice in Egyptian. The other occurrence is in P.Berl.Dem.23584, a letter dated to 493/2 (Depauw 2006: 152). Interestingly this letter is also written by the satrapal administration, as it was sent by the satrap Raukaya- (Tavernier 2007a: 285 (4.2.1386)) to a person named *Ns-ẖmn-p3-mtr*. The name of the sender is also written in Aramaic on the address on the obverse of the document (Lüddeckens and Zauzich 1971: 119–20), which is a sign that here too we are in a bilingual administrative environment.

(2) *PN p3 ntj ḏd* ‘PN is he who says’ is certainly related to Aramaic *PN kn ʾmr* ‘PN says thus” (Hughes 1984: 79; cf. A6.3:6, 6.6:4, 6.8:2, 6.11:3, 6.13:4, 6.15:3).[37]

(3) *Trjwš pr-ʿ3* ‘Darius the pharaoh’ instead of the regular Egyptian order ‘Pharaoh Darius’ (Hughes 1984: 82). This ‘mistake’ is also attested in S. H5-DP 162 obv. x+7 (Smith and Martin 2009: 27).

(4) *Mj ḥpr.f ʾw.s rḫ.t n.tn* ‘Let it happen that it be known to you’ is a nearly exact translation of Aramaic *kn ydyʿ yhwh/yhwy lk* ‘Thus let it be known to you’ (Hughes 1984: 82).

Alongside these features, the Farnadāta letter also contains the same administrative formulae as the letters of Ạršāma. This allows us to reconstruct the production process of Farnadāta’s command. According to Hughes (1984: 82, also Depauw 2006: 164), Sṱbr (PN$_1$) decided what the contents of the letter should be and perhaps drafted the Aramaic version. Peftuneith (PN$_2$) drafted the Egyptian version or translated the Aramaic into Egyptian. Finally, Apries (Waḥibre) (PN$_3$) wrote the present copy in Egyptian (see Table 2.1.6). These formulae can easily be paralleled to the Aramaic ones of the Ạršāma correspondence, which gives the result shown in Table 2.1.7.

A reflection of these formulae is also encountered in another Demotic papyrus (S.H5-DP 434 rev. ii 3), which reads: *PN rḫ p3y* ⌜*w3ḥ*⌝ [ ] ‘PN knows this order’. According to Smith and Martin (2009: 37) this is a translation from

Table 2.1.6. Egyptian administrative formulae

Egyptian	English
PN$_1$ *i.rḫ p3y w3ḥ*	PN$_1$ knows this order
PN$_2$ *p3r i.ir sš t3y šʿ.t*	PN$_2$ is he who wrote this letter
sš PN$_3$	PN$_3$ wrote

Table 2.1.7. Aramaic–Egyptian administrative formulae

Aramaic	Egyptian	Translation
(1) PN$_1$ *ydʿ ṭʿm znh*	PN$_1$ *i.rḫ p3y w3ḥ*	PN$_1$ knows this command
(2) PN$_1$ *bʿl ṭʿm*		
PN$_2$ *sprʾ*	PN$_2$ *p3r i.ir sš t3y šʿ.t*	PN$_2$ is the *sepīru* / PN$_2$ is he who wrote this letter
(PN$_3$ *ktb*)	*sš* PN$_3$	PN$_3$ wrote

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[37] It should be noted that the letters containing this formula all have the same structure. First another person is cited (*kn ʾmr* ‘he says thus’), following which Ạršāma gives his reply and instructions, introduced by the formula under discussion. The structure of P.Berl.Dem.13540 (EPE C2) is slightly different: here the person cited is the satrap himself.

Aramaic, and their view is corroborated by three further features that show that Demotic papyri written in the Persian chancellery were actually translations of an Aramaic *Vorlage*, sometimes itself influenced by the Old Persian administrative language (cf. above):

(1) *st ḏd=f my rḫ=⸢w⸣ ⸢s ỉḫ* ‘let them know it’.
(2) *ỉrm n3y=f ỉry.w* ‘and his colleagues’.
(3) PN *rn=f* ‘PN, his name’.

Further examples of this phenomenon are now found in the new British Museum papyri (Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 297–8), and P.BM EA 76274.1 i 2 indicates explicitly that the Demotic letters it contains were originally composed in Aramaic.

5. THE ẠRŠĀMA CORRESPONDENCE IN A BROADER ACHAEMENID CONTEXT

The letter-orders of Ạršāma are comparable with other letter-orders found in Bactria and in Persepolis. The Aramaic letters from Bactria, dated from 353 to 324, also contain these formulae, albeit in a slightly different form (see Table 2.1.8). They appear in an archive of eight letters from *Axvamazdā-, who was most likely the satrap of Bactria (Shaked 2004: 14, Naveh and Shaked 2012: 22–3). Accordingly they correspond with the pattern already described above. The close connection between the two sets is also corroborated by the loanwords and calques attested in them.

By contrast with these letters, the letters from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Hallock’s category T) are pure letter-orders and do not contain other information. Nevertheless, they belong to an administrative system similar to the Ạršāma correspondence. Most of the letter-orders (158 of the 219 letters; Tavernier 2017b: 362–3) are written by superiors to subordinates. Fifty-one letters were addressed by lower officials to other lower officials and an example of a letter of a lower official to a higher official is provided by PF 1857, which is thus comparable to A6.1. One might also particularly compare PFa 27 with A6.12 (letter to accountants; cf. Briant 2002: 457), PF 1792 with A6.3 and D6.13

Table 2.1.8. Aramaic administrative formulae from Bactria

Aramaic	Translation
PN *sprʾ ydʿ ṭʿ(mʾ znh*	PN the *sepīru* is in charge of the command
PN *sprʾ wPN*$_2$ *bʿl ṭʿm*	PN is the *sepīru* and PN$_2$ is in charge of the command
[PN *b]ʿl ṭʿm*	PN is the master of the command

(reaction to a complaint), and PF 1796 with A6.9 (issuing of rations). In any case, the Persepolis letters fit perfectly in the framework of the Achaemenid satrapal administration.

Perhaps the most remarkable similarity between the Ạršāma correspondence and the Elamite administrative texts from Persepolis are the administrative formulae already discussed with regard to the material from Egypt. Three of these formulae, designated T, P, and D after their principal Elamite words,[38] can easily be placed next to the Aramaic and Egyptian formulae, as seen in Table 2.1.9 (with translation in Table 2.1.10). Note, however, that two of them are not translations of the Aramaic formulae and presumably had a different Old Persian source phrase. Only formula T is exactly the same in all three languages.

The Elamite formulae have been discussed more thoroughly elsewhere (Tavernier 2008: 65–70; Tavernier 2017b), and the details do not need to be repeated. It suffices to note some general points of interest:

(1) The names of the 'masters of the command' are almost all Old Iranian. Once a Hebrew name is attested ('Anani), twice an Akkadian (Ribaya), once an Elamite (Humpanunu).

(2) Nearly all the names of the persons responsible for the *dumme* or of those who are called the *sepīru* are West Semitic or Iranian.

(3) The scribe's names are Egyptian (in the case of the Demotic text) but otherwise mostly Old Iranian: fifty-three Old Iranian names against

Table 2.1.9. Aramaic–Egyptian–Elamite administrative formulae

Aramaic	Egyptian	Elamite
(1) PN$_1$ *ydʿ ṭʿm znh* (2) PN$_1$ *bʿl ṭʿm*	PN$_1$ *i.rḫ p3y w3ḥ*	(1) *hi tupaka* PN$_1$ *turnaš* (2) **patigāma* PN$_1$ *lišta* (P)
PN$_2$ *sprʾ*	PN$_2$ *p3r i.ir sš t3y šʿ.t*	PN$_3$ *dumme* PN$_2$-*mar tušta* (D)
(PN$_3$ *ktb*)	*sš* PN$_3$	PN$_3$ *talliš(ta)* (T)

Table 2.1.10. Aramaic–Egyptian–Elamite administrative formulae in English translation

Aramaic	Egyptian	Elamite
(1) PN$_1$ knows this command (2) PN$_1$ is the master of the command	PN$_1$ knows this command	(1) PN$_1$ knew about this (2) PN$_1$ delivered the command
PN$_2$ is the *sepīru*	PN$_2$ is he who wrote this letter	PN$_3$ received the draft from PN$_2$
(PN$_3$ wrote)	PN$_3$ wrote	PN$_3$ wrote

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[38] In Tavernier 2017b: 361 they are labelled respectively **tallir*, *bēl ṭēmi*, and *sēpiru*/*teppir*.

nine Elamite ones. As a consequence of this, they were certainly comfortable with the indigenous writing systems of the region: Demotic for the Egyptian text, Elamite cuneiform for the Elamite texts.

(4) Only if a non-Aramaic text is involved (i.e. an Egyptian or Elamite document) is a third formula (the scribe) added. This means that Aramaic functions perfectly as the central administrative language.

What one can see here is that mostly the formulae P and D (first two rows of Table 2.1.9) are executed by one individual. This is a development of which the first traces appear already in the Fortification Texts. There a certain Ribaya is twice[39] the one in charge of the command, whereas fourteen times[40] he appears as *sepīru-teppir*. Remarkable is that of those fourteen texts, where Ribaya appears in formula D, eight belong to the category H (Receipts by Officials) and six to the category T (letter-orders), the category mostly connected with the formulae. One may compare the way in which ʿAnani combines both functions in A6.2.

6. CONCLUSION

As has been demonstrated, the administrative formulae are attested throughout the Achaemenid Empire, both geographically and chronologically.

- Geographical: Egypt, Bactria, Persia proper.
- Chronological: from the reign of Darius I to the reign of Darius III.

This means that they were part of a genuinely imperial system for the production of administrative commands and orders, one deliberately created by the Achaemenid administration for use across the empire.[41]

Various reconstructions of that system can be proposed, but in my opinion, there is one that surpasses the rest in plausibility:

(1) A high official (e.g. a satrap or even the king)[42] passes a command orally in Old Persian to one of his officials. This person is the one who is called ‘cognizant of the order’ or ‘master of the order’.

(2) This official transmits the command (**patigāma-*) to the *sepīru-teppir* in Old Persian. This is equivalent to formula P in the Elamite texts.

(3) The *sepīru-teppir* notes it down in Aramaic.

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[39] NN 0698, 2425. Both texts are dated to the 15th year of Darius I (507–506).

[40] PF 0670, 0671, 0673, 0678, 1796, 1801, 1828; NN 0049, 0947, 1730, 1775, 1999, 2004, 3061. The dates range from the 17th to the 25th year of Darius I (505–504 to 497–496).

[41] For a broader discussion of the signs of a uniform empire-wide administrative system see Henkelman 2017a.

[42] A nice reference to a direct order from the king to Ạršāma can be seen in the so-called Passover Letter (A 4.1).

(4) If necessary, the *sepīru-teppir* also makes a translation into Egyptian or Elamite.

(5) He passes this translation (El. *dumme*) to an indigenous scribe (formula D).

(6) This scribe writes an additional copy in the local vernacular, the copy that has come to us (formula T). This implies automatically that the Demotic fragments mentioning Ạršāma, if they belonged to that administrative level, must have had Aramaic originals.

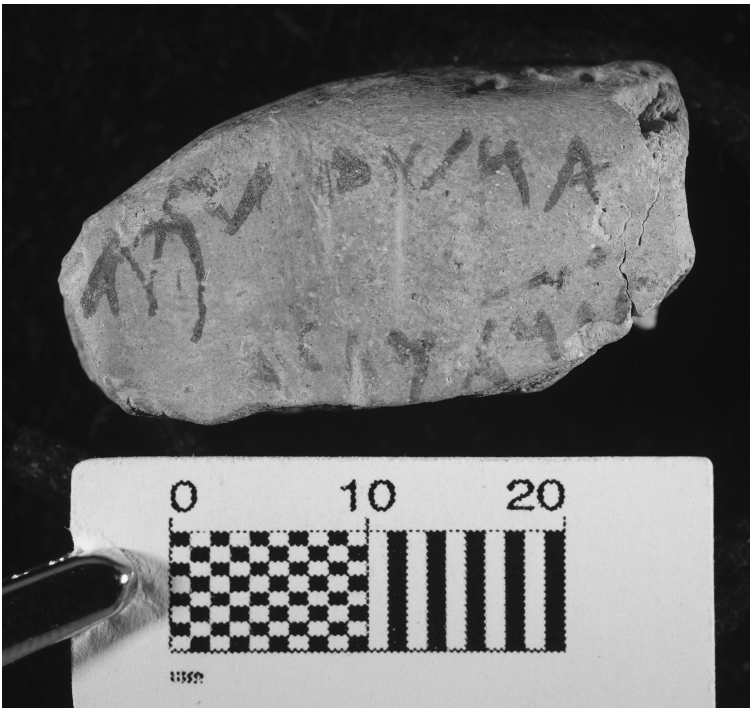
This reconstruction implies that the *sepīru-teppir* had knowledge of at least Old Persian and Aramaic. This could explain their having especially Semitic names. In order to gain their relatively high positions in the administration, they had to learn Old Persian, but this cannot have been all too difficult (Stolper and Tavernier 2007: 20). On the other hand, *Rāšta- the *sēpiru* is either an Aramaean who has adopted an Iranian name or he is an Iranian who has learned Aramaic (cf. above).

It also means that all translational issues were situated at the office of the *sepīru-teppir*, who thus knew two or three languages (Old Persian, Aramaic, and, if necessary, Egyptian or Elamite) and at least two scripts (alphabetic Aramaic, Mesopotamian/Elamite cuneiform or Egyptian Demotic script). That this must have been possible is proven by the Aramaic epigraphs on some of the Elamite documents from Persepolis and the Aramaic dockets on Babylonian documents, for these indicate that some people knew both scripts (Stolper and Tavernier 2007: 19–20). Knowledge of more than one script by an individual is also perhaps attested in an Aramaic Fortification tablet (PFAT 261:1), where the personal name ʾršyn is written with a Greek alpha instead of an Aramaic aleph, although the aleph does appear elsewhere in the same text (Fig. 2.1.1).

It should be stressed that it is not the case that the entire Achaemenid administration was situated at the *sēpiru/teppir*-level. If that were true, it would mean that all the Elamite tongue-shaped memoranda would be translations from Aramaic originals. This is not probable. These memoranda belong to a lower level of administration, totally controlled by simple scribes, such as the ‘Persian *puhu* copying texts’ (Tavernier 2008: 64–5). Only when the document was issued by the satrapal administration or something of comparable level was its first written version in Aramaic. On lower administrative levels the local languages took over.

In addition, one should not forget that geographical variants most likely existed in the way the Achaemenid administration dealt with linguistic problems. The way it worked in Egypt was not necessarily exactly the same as the way it worked in Persepolis or Bactria.

The Achaemenids thus invented an ingenious system to issue orders to all inhabitants of their realm, whatever language they spoke. First of all they placed



2.1.1. PFAT 261. Persepolis Fortification Archive Project – University of Chicago.

Table 2.1.11. Language and administration in the Achaemenid empire

Level	Language
king, satraps	Old Persian
satrapal administration (top level)	Aramaic
local administration (lower level)	local vernacular languages (Egyptian, Elamite, etc.)

Aramaic between their own language, Old Persian, and the languages of their citizens; secondly, they made extensive use of the linguistic knowledge of a special class of scribes: the *sepīru-teppir*.

This implies that the Achaemenids consciously used Aramaic as a kind of empire-wide bridge between the elite language (Old Persian) and the vernacular languages (Elamite, Egyptian, etc.), which points to an active Achaemenid language policy. Table 2.1.11 makes this clear. In this sense, Aramaic became a kind of blanket covering the whole empire. As such, it was extremely important as a means of keeping the vast empire together and making the administration work properly, and its performance of this task had both a horizontal component (use throughout the empire) and a vertical one (contact between high level satrapal administration and low level administration).

2.2

Masterful Missives

Form and Authority in Aršāma's Letters

Jennifer Hilder

The Aršāma letters are evidence not only for historical events and attitudes but also for the way language was used in the context of the Achaemenid empire. In this chapter, the language of the letters will be examined on the basis of the speech-act theory[1] developed by J. L. Austin, which argues that language can have consequences just like physical actions.[2] These consequences can come about *by* saying something (a *per*locutionary utterance) or *in* saying something (an *il*locutionary utterance).[3] It is the latter that will be most important here, as it is rarely known whether, for example, an order given by Aršāma was actually carried out or how.[4] Through careful attention to the letters' structures, their grammatical forms, and the content of largely formulaic phrases, this chapter will argue that the form of Aršāma's utterances enabled him (and other authors) simultaneously to confirm and confer the authority granted to him by his position within the Persian elite.

First, however, a word about Aramaic and Demotic, two of the written languages found in the Aršāma dossier. Aramaic is dominant in the surviving evidence, which is not surprising, given its status in the Achaemenid bureaucracy.[5] The similarities between the Aramaic of the Aršāma dossier and that in, for example, Bactrian documents of the fourth century are so great that they have led scholars to assume that scribal education must have been done in a centralized, or standardized form.[6] The Aramaic copy of Darius I's Bīsotūn text (originally composed in the late sixth century) found at Elephantine suggests that, in Aršāma's time (in the late fifth century), the use of Aramaic conformed to standards set over a hundred years earlier. Indeed, a study of the Aramaic of the Aršāma letters by J. D. Whitehead concluded that they displayed many conservative linguistic features.[7] By conducting correspondence in this language, Aršāma was adhering to the norms of the wider Persian administration and simultaneously forcing others to do the same. The use of Aramaic indicated the integration of sender, recipient, and their respective administrators within the empire. In this context it is interesting to consider the papyri from the Jewish community in Elephantine, which refer to 'our lord Aršāma' (A4.5; *mrʾn ʾršm*). The frequent mistakes and Hebraisms in the letters, especially in the first draft of a petition to Bagāvahyā (A4.7), suggest that their scribe was not a regular user of Aramaic.[8] Nevertheless, when writing to members of the imperial elite, and even to fellow Jews, they too used Aramaic as the official language, which was written in the same style as it appears throughout the Persian empire across its whole period of existence.

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[1] Austin 1976: *passim*. Much work has been done on the theory since, including the work of Q. Skinner and his critics: see in particular Tully 1988 and Skinner 2002. For an application of the theory to the field of ancient history, see e.g. Bertrand 1990, Ma 2000.

[2] Petrey summarizes this well: 'Words and things, speaking and doing are one and the same when language performs' (Petrey 1990: 6).

[3] Austin 1976: 109.

[4] Except the unfortunate case of Nakhtḥor's disobedience in A6.10.

[5] See Tavernier iii 75–96, Tuplin iii 29–31.

In contrast to Aramaic, Demotic appears on only a few of the Aršāma documents, often on the *verso* or outside of the letter, to record a name (e.g. Ḥotepḥep, A6.13) or a summary of the letter's content (A6.11). This could be interpreted in various ways. For example, it could be suggested that a parallel archive existed where Demotic was used extensively on materials which have not survived or that bi- or multilingualism was commonplace amongst the administrative workforce.[9] The Egyptian names of the high-ranking *pqydyn* ('officials') Psamšek and Nakhtḥor show that Egyptians were certainly employed by the Achaemenid administration. Most importantly for this study, the use of Demotic has implications for the use of Aramaic: its presence is a reminder that Aramaic was a language consciously chosen from a range of linguistic possibilities for communicating within a particular, Achaemenid, system.

Thus Aramaic had inherent connotations of Persian power and authority; it was a language imposed on Egyptian administrators, and writing itself was of course a highly specialized skill.

STRUCTURE

At a fundamental level, the structure of the letters played an important role by providing a conventional and well-defined framework within which to deploy language and set an authoritative tone.[10] As a form of diplomatic negotiation, letters were understandably a medium in which formalities were observed and protocol strictly followed. It is often through the absence of certain structural aspects that their significance becomes apparent: the letters addressed to Artavanta (A6.3–A6.7) are especially revealing in this regard, as we shall see, since it is their lack of certain features that helps to identify him as a high-ranking individual.

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[6] Henkelman 2017a: 107–8, 150, 172.

[7] Whitehead 1978: 136.

[8] Cowley 1923: 118–19, Driver 1965: 19.

[9] See Tavernier iii 75–96.

Even from the very first word, the impression created by the opening of a letter is integral to interpreting the nature of the text, both for a modern and an ancient reader. The most important party appears first: for example, a letter could begin either *ʿl ʾršm* ('to Aršāma') or *mn ʾršm* ('from Aršāma'); whether he is the recipient or the sender, Aršāma is granted primary position at the beginning of the address.[11] In this way, the sender of the letter immediately and unequivocally evokes his world-view and the terms of negotiation between the two parties. By giving himself precedence, Aršāma declares his superiority and asserts his right to privilege and deference. When others begin a letter *ʿl ʾršm*, they affirm these claims and signal their willingness to cooperate. In both cases the structure of the letter-form and the need to provide an address demand that a conscious choice be made about the order of recipient and sender, and this results in language taking on a significant and performative function.

The customary greeting or salutation that followed the initial address had a similar effect, as it was designed to reflect the status disparity between addressor and addressee. As the highest-ranking official in Egypt, Aršāma did not give a polite greeting to anyone except Artavanta.[12] Aršāma's style of greeting Artavanta implies that he held a very important position in the imperial administration, perhaps acting as satrap during Aršāma's absence.[13] Most commonly, Aršāma begins letters to him by saying 'I send you abundant welfare and strength' (*šlm wšrrt šgyʾ hwšrt lk*),[14] a clearly metaphorical well-wishing which resonates with Persian concerns found in other literary sources and inscriptions.[15] In A6.7:1–2, Aršāma adds: 'it is well with me here, let it be well with you there also' (*bznh qdmy šlm ʾp tmh qdmyk šlm yhwy*). However, in many letters, addressed to other recipients, a salutation like this does not appear.

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[10] See Lindenberger 2003: 7–9 for a diagram and discussion of the structure of Aramaic letters.

[11] As in A6.1 and A6.2. See A6.3:1(1) n., with reference to Egyptian Aramaic and Bactrian letters (ADAB A1–6), and see P.Berl.Dem.13540. By contrast, the addressee is always named first in the Persepolis Fortification archive (Hallock 1978: 50–1), which may reflect the pragmatic nature of the correspondence.

[12] A6.3:1, A6.4:1, [A6.5:1], A6.6:1, A6.7:1–2.

[13] Tuplin iii 28, 44–5, Kuhrt 2007: 344 n. 2.

[14] Although some translators add e.g. '(greetings of)' or '(wishes for)' in order to make the sense of 'welfare and strength' more tangible, this seems unnecessary.

[15] For example, column IV of Darius' Bīsotūn inscription (DB) warns against the 'Lie' or 'disorder' (§55: OP *drauga*), encourages his successor to think 'may my country be secure!', and wishes 'good strength!' on those who protect Darius' legacy (§65).

Instead, a simple *wkʿt* ('and now') follows the initial *ʿl*...*mn* or *mn*...*ʿl* ('to... from'/'from...to') construction. This more direct approach occurs when Aršāma writes to Armapiya,[16] the *pqydyn* in Syria and Babylonia,[17] Nakhtḥor on his own,[18] and Nakhtḥor with Kenzasirma and his colleagues.[19] There is a similar lack of flourish in letters passing between lower-ranking officials, who were probably of a relatively equal standing.[20] In contrast, the surviving section of the greeting in the papyrus letter from Haxāmaniš and his colleagues to Aršāma (A6.1) focuses on 'the welfare of our lord [at] all times' in recognition of Aršāma's higher rank, and greetings are also found in ADAB B1–6, the non-satrapal Bactrian letters. In ADAB A1–6, the satrapal letters, and most of the Persepolis Fortification archive, no greeting appears.

The use and non-use of these formulations in different yet specific contexts, for particular audiences, indicates that they were deemed to carry a genuine meaning and force. This is further strengthened by Folmer's finding that both the formulation *mn*...*ʿl* and the particle *wkʿt* are rarely present in private Aramaic letters, and may be representative of an official tone or style of correspondence.[21] The discerning utilization of the various greetings also has important implications for interpreting the bureaucratic hierarchy. The nature of the greeting (or non-greeting) immediately signals the perceived distance in rank between the sender and recipient in an agreed format and using shared vocabulary. Placed at the beginning of the communication, the (non-)greeting provides the context for the letter, implicitly reminding the reader of the status differential according to which their response must be tailored.[22]

Another important structural feature of the Aršāma letters is their bipartite form. In the relevant cases, the first sections of letters from Aršāma cite a request from an official and then in a second section repeat parts of that request, now in the form of an order from Aršāma. The two parts frequently mirror one another but, significantly, Aršāma makes minor alterations to his own repetition of the original. An example of this is A6.3, where Aršāma writes to Artavanta about a complaint made by Psamšek, who had suffered damage at the hands of his father's slaves. According to Aršāma's citation, Psamšek asks: 'Let (word) be sent to Artavanta [*that those slaves whom*] I shall present before him: the chastisement, which I shall issue-an-order for them to be done to them' (tr. Porten-Yardeni).[23] In the same line, Aršāma replies (*ʾmr*, 'says'):

> That [P]samše[kḥasi] and his colleagues, the slaves of ʿAnkhoḥapi, whom P[sa]m-šek will present before you t[here]—you, issue an order: *the chastise[ment] which*

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[16] A6.8: *ʾrmpy*. [17] A6.9: *mrdk* and others. [18] A6.10, A6.11: *nhtḥwr*.

[19] A6.11, A6.12, A6.13: *nhtḥwr knzsrm wknwth*. [20] A6.14, A6.15, A6.16.

[21] Folmer 1995: 723.

[22] On greetings see also Jursa iii 111–12 and A6.3:1(5) n.

[23] *yštlḥ ʿl ʾrtwnt [kzy ʿbdyʾ ʾlk zy] / ʾhqrb qdmwhy srwšytʾ zy ʾnh ʾšym lhm tʿm ytʿbd lhm.*

> *Psamšek will i[ssue]-an-order to be done to them—that shall be done to them.*[24] (tr. Porten-Yardeni: my italics)

The direct repetition of this request, and others, demonstrates how closely Aršāma is acceding to his petitioners. However, the citation and its repetition, somewhat superfluous, could be interpreted as more than a simple formality. J. Butler has written about the importance of citation as re-appropriation:[25] by citing the relevant petition, Aršāma is removing it from its original context and situating it anew within his own written domain. This approach is not found in other Aramaic letters of the time, and seems to be unique to Aršāma, as it does not appear in P.Berl.Dem.13540, the Bactrian letters, or the letters of the Persepolis Fortification archive. The re-use and manipulation of another's vocabulary to inform his own commands affirms Aršāma's ability to control and define the language use of others around him, claiming ownership over their frames of reference and granting himself the initiative.

The final structural feature of some significance is the administrative note at the end of each letter, which serves to give it a lasting impact and emphasizes the obligation of the reader to comply with Aršāma's message.[26] The formulation used is '[PN$_1$] knows this order (*ydʿ tʿ mʾ znh*), [PN$_2$] is the scribe (*sprʾ*)'.[27] The singular masculine participle, *ydʿ* ('knows' or 'knowing'), here used to evoke the present tense, suggests a continuous action that is relevant at the time of writing, reading, and beyond. The function of this formula and the officials named in it is further suggested by its absence from the three letters of Aršāma to the high-ranking Artavanta. It might be inferred that these three letters were written with the personal involvement of Aršāma, in contrast to others dealt with perfunctorily by his chancellery, and that as a consequence they did not require supervision from intermediary officials acting on Aršāma's behalf. This suggests that each of the other letters was checked, approved, or registered in some way by the named individuals. The formulation comes to represent (both for the author and the reader) the system for monitoring and overseeing Aršāma's correspondence, and it therefore carries some weight as an expression of the authority of his administration.

The people named in this formulation (and the comparable phrase in A6.2) are inevitably connected with, and could also add to, the letter's authority. It is certainly clear that a scribe was not necessarily a mere amanuensis and could actually be a high-ranking official in the chancellery, an inference that G. R. Driver drew from the different handwriting found on each of the documents where Rāšta is named as 'scribe' (A6.9–A6.13).[28] The authority of these figures is further suggested by the fact that people who are described as 'knowing the order' are present elsewhere in the dossier acting in other important capacities. For example, Bagasravā, who appears in the formula in A6.9, is also entrusted with escorting the sculptor Ḥinzani to Susa (A6.12). The independent activities of these individuals and their relatively high standing confirm the significance of their 'knowing' the order. The prominent placement of their names in this final position commands attention and demands acknowledgement. They become part of the dialogue, and the concomitant implication of their strong association with Aršāma confers authority on themselves and on Aršāma too.

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[24] *[p]smš[kḥsy] / zky wknwth ʿbdy ʿḥḥpy zy p[s]mšk yhqrb qdmyk t[mh] ʾnt šm ṭʿm srwš[yt]ʾ zy psmšk y[šym] / lhm tʿm lm ʿbd zky ytʿbd lhm.*

[25] Butler 1997: 14.

[26] On these annotations, which recur in A6.2 and in Axvamazdā's letters as well as elsewhere, see Tuplin i 269–83, Tavernier iii 87–94.

[27] See for example A6.9, where Bagasravā and Rāšta are PN$_1$ and PN$_2$ respectively. Presumably the unique label applied in A6.2 to a single individual with an apparently Jewish name, 'Anani—'scribe-chancellor' (A6.2: *sprʾ bʿl ṭʿm*; literally, 'scribe [and] master of the order')—has a similar function.

GRAMMAR

Working within the structural formation, the grammatical forms—verb tenses and moods, the uses of particles and pronouns, and reported speech—chosen by the senders of these letters have a similarly powerful effect on the reception of what is said. Differences in grammatical form can have an impact on how letters or phrases are understood and reacted to as they transform utterances from wishes to orders, from certain to uncertain, from implicit to explicit. In the Aršāma dossier, grammatical forms are a worthwhile part of the investigation into how and why letters convey authority.

Changing the mood of a sentence is arguably the most obvious and effectual demonstration of authority created by a grammatical shift, as it indicates when orders are being given. For giving orders, the imperative or subjunctive moods can be used, the latter in a jussive sense.[29] The nature of these two moods means that the imperative is suited to addressing the second person ('you'), and the jussive the first ('I', 'we') or third persons ('he/she/it', 'they'). Therefore the imperative, particularly in the context of the letters, is the more powerful, as it can be addressed directly to the recipient. The expectation and weight of responsibility can be placed on the reader, a situation often enhanced by the addition of the personal pronoun *ʾnt* (the singular, masculine form of 'you'), a part of speech used in Aramaic only for emphasis. Within the letters imperatives introduce what can be called the 'operative' statement,[30] which always comes at the end, where Aršāma identifies the main action required from the reader. In the letter from Aršāma to Waḥpremaḥi regarding the *minutiae* of a boat repair,[31] the final line of the main section is given to Aršāma's summary command, introduced by the personal pronoun and imperative: 'You, do according to this which the accountants say, as order has been issued'.[32] The imperative form is therefore a signal or warning to the recipient that the purpose of the letter is contained there. These forms also assert the prerogative of the author to command and whatever entails that prerogative—be it superiority, authority, or a senior rank in the imperial bureaucracy.

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[28] Driver 1965: 18.

[29] Negative commands can also be given using *ʾl* + jussive e.g. A6.9 'do not give' (*ʾl tntnw* (masculine plural)). See Muraoka and Porten 2003: §53 (jussive) and §57 (imperfect).

[30] As in Szubin and Porten 1987: 46.

In contrast, the jussive subjunctive, used impersonally or passively, connotes a less distinct obligation, and is available in contexts where a harsh application of authority is not necessary or appropriate. Jussive forms often appear as secondary to imperative ones, placed afterwards in a sequence and chronologically dependent on them.[33] For example, in A6.12, where Aršāma writes to Nakhtḥor, Kenzasirma, and his colleagues about the sculptor (*ptkrkr*), the first order comes as an imperative, 'give him rations' (*ptpʾ hb / lh*); once this has been done and the sculptor has become a member of the household 'like other domestic staff' (*kʾḥrnn grd*), he can perform his designated function, as expressed by Aršāma in the jussive: 'let him make' (*yʿbd*) then appears twice. Afterwards, Aršāma commands 'dispatch (them)' (*hwšrw*) and then, following logically, 'let them bring (them)' (*yhytw*), using the imperative and jussive respectively. In one of Aršāma's letters to Artavanta, a conciliatory phrase 'if it so please you' (*hn ʿlyk kwt tb*) introduces three commands, all in the jussive form: 'let it be issued' (*ytšm*), 'let them be released' (*yštbqw*), and 'let them do' (*yʿbdw*).[34] The appearance of the jussive form in combination with the polite phrase 'if it so please you' implies that the jussive form could be used in a consciously less confrontational manner. This usage reflects a deliberate alteration in style directed specifically to Artavanta, who, as mentioned above, was a high-ranking official to whom it was not appropriate for Aršāma simply to give orders.

The use of conditional statements is another grammatical demonstration of authority, as it allows the sender to impose regulations and dictate the course to be taken by the recipient in the future. For this reason, the future tense (expressed using the imperfect form) is often found in conditional statements.[35] This tense is closely related to jussive forms, both in terms of aspect and the often identical nature of the imperfect and jussive conjugations of verbs. Conditional statements are often introduced by *hn* ('if'), as in A6.8, when

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[31] A6.2: *wḥprʿmḥy*.

[32] *ʿnt ʿbd / lqbl znh zy hmrkryʾ ʿmrn kzy šym tʿ m*. See also the use of the imperative in ADAB A1 and A6.

[33] Muraoka and Porten 2003: §57, with examples. This combination of moods is also found in the Bactrian letters. The jussive and imperative are used in ADAB A5 and the jussive is used before the imperative in ADAB A2 and A4.

[34] A6.7. The conciliatory phrase was already noted by Driver 1965: 15.

[35] Muraoka and Porten 2003: §52b–c.

Aršāma writes to Armapiya about disobeying Psamšek, and A6.11, which is Aršāma's response to Peṭosiri's petition regarding his father's domain (*bg*). In both of these instances, the conditional phrase occurs within Aršāma's direct speech. This carries an obvious significance: it is Aršāma himself who sets the conditions, and whose stipulations have an effect lasting into an unspecified future. As for Armapiya, Aršāma's apodosis contains a threat which 'will be' carried out. The use of the future tense (visible in the imperfect prefixes *t*- and *y*-) in the indicative mood gives the threat a sense of inevitability and makes the condition 'vivid', akin to a simple result clause: this is, it seems, his one and only warning.[36]

In A6.11, Aršāma's conditions are similarly 'unconditional' from Peṭosiri's point of view. In order for Peṭosiri to occupy his father's domain,[37] Aršāma stipulates that the situation must be 'so according to these words which Peṭosiri sent' (*hn knm hw kmlyʾ ʾlh zy pṭsry šlḥ*) and the land must not have been 'made (over) [to my estate] and not given by me to another servant' ([*ʿl bytʾ zyly*] /*lʾ ʿbyd wlʿlym ʾhrn zyly mny lʾ yhyb*). This means that the decision about Peṭosiri's occupancy of the estate must be made on the basis of Nakhtḥor and Kenzasirma's findings, which will presumably be drawn from administrative records. Thus, in the Aršāma letters, such conditions are firmly dependent on bureaucratic reality:[38] if Psamšek writes again to Aršāma about Armapiya, there will be consequences, and if Peṭosiri's claim and domain meet Aršāma's administrative requirements, he will be justly endowed. In creating these conditions in the letters Aršāma demonstrates his ability to change and control outcomes, a direct result of his unequalled standing in the Achaemenid bureaucracy of Egypt.

The conditional can also be used to make a request to someone of higher status. In that case, the conditional invokes a subjective state in the addressee and appeals to their acquiescence. In A6.3:5 Aršāma quotes Psamšek's request that 'if it please my lord, let (word) be sent…'. In A6.13:2–3 he quotes a similar request from Vāravahyā. Aršāma himself uses the same construction when writing to Artavanta (A6.7:8), saying 'if it please you, let an order be issued…', and there is a parallel example in a letter of Vahuvaxšu to the satrap Axvamazdā in the Bactrian documents (ADAB A1:9). Although the result of these conditional statements is less predictable in theory, in practice they carry a strong expectation that the addressee will agree and carry out the requisite action, and so they potentially represent a polite way for a lower-ranking individual to secure an obligation. Indeed, A6.3 is the result of Psamšek's request and Aršāma concludes the letter to Artavanta by repeating the apodosis of Psamšek's condition that Artavanta should be instructed that 'punishment…be inflicted on them', suggesting that this kind of conditional request works. Of course, it is no longer possible to know what goes unquoted from the original letter, and hence what is unanswered, or to what extent this quotation is entirely accurate.

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[36] A similar threat is found in A6.8 and there are parallels to both letters in ADAB A6.

[37] The verb is *hḥsn*, in the causative form, 'to occupy, possess, inherit'.

[38] This use of confirmation as a condition is also found in ADAB A6.

Direct speech, introduced by *kn ʾmr*…(*lm*) (‘says thus’), is another grammatical feature of some importance. The question arises here whether direct speech should be interpreted as a more reliable indicator of what was said than indirect speech, and whether these terms had any relevance in ancient thought. To a certain extent, the indication of direct speech may reflect the composition of the letters: the phrase *kn ʾmr* (…*lm*) may introduce a section that was actually recited to Aršāma at the time of writing or said by him to the scribe in reply. The fact that direct speech has its own indicator—the particle *lm*—implies that it was considered a distinct method of reporting speech and worth signalling. The use of the present participle *ʾmr*, even when, as in A6.11, the message from Peṭosiri has been ‘sent’ (*slḥ*) in the past, also gives a sense of immediacy to what is being spoken.[39]

Direct speech is signalled at two points in Aršāma’s letters. When a previous correspondent is referred to, he can be quoted as ‘saying’ or ‘says/said thus’, using the present participle or the indicative present or past tense.[40] At the end of the letter, Aršāma’s order can also be introduced with the phrase ‘says thus’.[41] Both features occur in most of the letters that contain direct speech, so that there are two (or more) different voices contained within the letter, as in the examples of A6.3 (quoting Psamšek) and A6.13 (quoting Vāravahyā) mentioned above.[42] Somewhat similarly, in a letter from Virafša to Nakhtḥor,[43] there are quotations from other previous correspondents (Miçapāta and Aršāma) that are signalled using direct speech, and Virafša, ‘says thus’ in direct speech in line 3, although not in his final order at the end of the letter (line 9).

Several of Aršāma’s letters do not include direct speech.[44] There may be many reasons why letters do or do not include it, but the pattern seems to be that the use of direct speech reflects certain internal epistolary conditions. Where there is no previously quoted direct speech, as in three letters to Artavanta or in letters that give orders to lower-ranking individuals, Aršāma ‘issues an order’ or uses the simple imperative to express his request. That suggests that direct speech is consciously used and not a default status applied to the whole of every letter, as it is in P.Berl.Dem.13540 or the texts from the Persepolis Fortification archive. The principle seems to be that Aršāma issues his instructions in direct speech in precisely those letters in which his instructions are presented as the reaction to a report or request that is also in direct speech: Aršāma responds in direct speech to a message in direct speech, mimicking a conversation between himself and the other party.[45] This may be the key, as the direct speech marker clearly signals the end of the quotation and the start of Aršāma's speech. There may be a parallel in the Bactrian documents: the letters often quote a previous correspondent but Axvamazdā is only once recorded as responding in direct speech, in ADAB A2. In that letter, the previous correspondent had also quoted Axvamazdā so the use of direct speech may have been a marker to emphasize the contrast between his current order and his previous response. On this basis direct speech could be understood as a structural tag within the letter context to raise Aršāma's order to an equal (or higher) level than the quoted material and highlight that it is a new and separate section of the letter. As we have seen above, the bipartite structure of Aršāma's letters seems to be unique, and this grammatical feature may reflect that structural one.[46]

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[39] This is also true in A6.3 (Psamšek ‘complained here’ and ‘says thus’: *qbl / bznh kn ʿmr*); A6.6, A6.8 (Psamšek ‘sent to me’ and ‘s[ays] thus’: *slḥ ʿly kn / ʾm[r*…); A6.15 (Miçapāta ‘sent to me’ and ‘says thus’: *slḥ ʿly kn ʾmr*…). See Muraoka and Porten 2003: §55a.

[40] A6.3:2 (Psamšek), A6.11:1 (Peṭosiri), A6.13:1 (Vāravahyā). See also A6.1:2 (Aršama), A6.2:2 (Mithridates), 3 (the Carians), 6 (the accountants), ADAB A1, A2, A4, ADAB A6.

[41] A6.2:22, A6.3:6, A6.8:2, A6.11:3, A6.13:4. See also ADAB A2:5 (*kkʿn ʾmr ʾhmzd[kʿt]*).

[42] A6.3, A6.11, A6.13. See also ADAB A2. The form of P.Berl.Dem.13540 from Farnadāta is slightly different because the report and the order are reversed but there are still two instances of direct speech. After the greeting, the letter begins with the phrase ‘Now, Farnadāta (is) the one who says’ (lines 1–2), which makes the whole letter part of Farnadāta’s order, and then it quotes the *wab*-priests within that. In the case of TADAE A6.1, although the order section is lost, it is likely that it did not contain direct speech because it begins directly with *kʿt* (‘now’).

[43] A6.15.

[44] A6.4, A6.5, A6.7, A6.9, A6.10, A6.12.

The use of direct speech should not automatically be thought of as a direct quotation, especially in a multilingual environment where Aršāma and his correspondents may have conversed verbally in Old Persian only for that to be freely translated into written Aramaic.[47] Instead, direct speech could be used to give an illusion of authenticity (which must, of course, have some correspondence with reality) and to enhance the authority of the citation and of Aršāma's response.

CONTENT

The uppermost level of the letters' functionality is content: the meaning and effect of the words and phrases used in the letters. In letters to Artavanta, various phrases indicate Aršāma's concern to show respect for the individual addressed as, perhaps, an equal.[48] It is also only in this context that Aršāma sees fit to define himself as a *br bytʾ*, 'prince' (literally 'son of the house').[49] Artavanta would, of course, be aware of Aršāma's position and would need no reminder about it, but Aršāma's self-designation is a form of politeness: it is not only as Aršāma the satrap, that he is sending his request, but as Aršāma the *br bytʾ*. In applying the title to himself, Aršāma emphasizes this particular aspect of his position; the words are carefully chosen to suit the context and enhance Aršāma's authority in a particular way.

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[45] We find this straightforwardly in A6.3, A6.6, A6.8, A6.11, A6.13. A6.2 differs only inasmuch as Aršāma's brief direct speech order (A6.2:22–3) responds to a lengthy and rather complicated set of pieces of direct speech, and views differ about the identity of his immediate interlocutors. (The TADAE translation implicitly identifies them as Šamaššillek, his colleagues, and Šamou, while Porten 2011: 122 takes them to be the accountants.)

[46] For further remarks see A6.3:2(2) n.

[47] See Tavernier 2008, 2017b and Tavernier iii 75–96 for multilingualism in the PF and PT archives.

[48] See above, p. 99 (salutation), p. 103 (conciliatory 'if it so please you').

[49] A6.3:9, A6.4:5, A6.7:10 (in each case in the address on the outside of the letter).

Examining the term more closely confirms its particular nuances of Persian imperial control and authority, and there is a linguistic side to this. The term *br bytʾ* is an Aramaic calque on an Old Persian term, a version of which is also found in Babylonian documents, including one of those that refers to Aršāma himself.[50] It is not unique. The Aršāma dossier contains a number of other supposed calques, as well as a high proportion of loan words from Persian, Akkadian, and Egyptian, and an equally high number of non-Persian names.[51] Sometimes the borrowed words appear to have been 'Aramaicized', that is, given an Aramaic ending (in the case of nouns) or conjugation (in the case of verbs), showing that they were an accepted and embedded part of the language. In a similar way the phrase *br bytʾ* had become so normalized as to be merged into one word, as seen in the address on the outside of letters A6.3, A6.4, and A6.7 (*mn ʾršm brbytʾ*), even though it is in origin two words and appears as such in the main body of A6.13 (referring to Vāravahyā). These casual differences suggest that the literal meaning was not particularly important: what mattered more was its connotation of high rank. Of the words borrowed directly from the Persian language, many were either technical or administrative terms, such as 'domain' (*bgʾ*), 'grant' (*dšnʾ*), 'ration' (*ptpʾ*), and 'punishment' (*srwšytʾ*), as well as professions such as 'herald' *ʾzdkr*), 'treasurer' (*gzbr*), 'judge' (*dtbr*), 'accountant' (*hmrkr*), 'governor' (*prtrk*), and 'sculptor' (*ptkrkr*). Not only do these words reflect the Persian origin of the Achaemenid bureaucracy and its foreign nature, they also act as a reminder of the Old Persian language, equally foreign and probably known to even fewer in Egypt than Aramaic.

Standard or set phrases can develop connotations of authority beyond their primary meaning. Their repetition and usage in particular contexts create a shared agreement between sender and recipient of what the phrase signifies. One such standard phrase was used in the deployment of threats: *ḥsyn tštʾlwn wgst ptgm ytʿbd lk* (A6.10), translated by Porten and Yardeni as 'you will be strictly called to account and a harsh word will be directed at you'.[52] The word *ptgm* translates as 'word' or 'deed'; not only, therefore, are threats made in words, but punishments are also given in a verbal form. It is clear that Aršāma expected such a threat to be effective, despite not being present to issue it directly. His use of the threat in letter-writing implies the assumption that the full force of his influence would successfully be relayed through the medium of the written word. However, this is called into question in the same letter: addressing the *pqyd* Nakhtḥor, Aršāma reminds him that 'even formerly (*ʾp qdmn*) I sent (word) to you about this'. Once ought to be enough, as for Armapiya, to whom the same phrase is addressed in the letter discussed above. Yet in A6.10 Aršāma is forced to repeat this threat to Nakhtḥor. To an extent this illustrates the limitations of the imperial system: if Nakhtḥor was able to disregard Aršāma's instructions once, he could do so again. On the other hand, there is no suggestion that Nakhtḥor did not understand Aršāma's order, which is surely a crucial point for this investigation: Aršāma's authority was successfully transmitted in this utterance. Aršāma is angry precisely because Nakhtḥor knowingly disobeyed his previous order. Aršāma, certainly in his own opinion, communicated effectively and issued an order which was understood by Nakhtḥor; the fact that the utterance did not have the correct consequence, in that it did not ensure Nakhtḥor's obedience or acquiescence, is a separate issue.[53] The problem is presented as a question of Nakhtḥor's attitude, not Aršāma's method or authority; hence Aršāma's confidence in the letter form appears undiminished. As discussed above, by issuing a threat Aršāma is both exercising and reaffirming his right to do so.

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[50] On *br bytʾ* see Tuplin iii 31–8.

[51] See Whitehead 1978: 131–7, Tavernier iii 77–87. There are syntactical influences as well, if the Old Persian background is responsible for the dominant subject–object–verb word order in the letters.

[52] A6.8:3–4 n.

This formidable combination of structural, grammatical, and contextual features results in a clear demonstration of Aršāma's authority. A letter from Aršāma becomes equivalent to an order from Aršāma, and it retains this level of potency even after delivery. This is most powerfully demonstrated in the case of Nakhtḥor's 'passport',[54] compiled like many of the other letters using standard or formulaic phrases. Significantly, it is the only surviving example of what is known as a *halmi* ('sealed document') in the Elamite of the Persepolis Fortification archive.[55] In this document Aršāma addresses *pqydyn* in various locations throughout Babylonia and Syria and authorizes Nakhtḥor to receive supplies from them, probably on the production of Aršāma's seal. The document is valid across a large geographical space and in each of these places Aršāma's official Nakhtḥor would, as a result of this letter, be received in the same manner. Thus Aršāma's word provided a crucial guarantee for Nakhtḥor and those travelling with him. The formulae employed in such letters, although somewhat opaque to the modern reader, made the genre of the communication clear to its audience and thus, as Austin argues, provoked the correct, standardized (and predictable) response.[56]

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[53] Butler 1997: 16 calls this a 'failed performative', but this would only be the case if Nakhtḥor had not comprehended the command; that does not seem to be true here.

[54] A6.9.

[55] Hallock 1969: 6. For further discussion of the Persepolitan context see Henkelman ii 193–223.

[56] Austin 1976: 14, Rule A.1. That there is some disagreement about the identity of the audience (Tuplin i 154–63) does not alter this.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined a variety of ways in which Aršāma utilized letters and language to convey his authority to those under his command, emphasizing the illocutionary and occasionally perlocutionary force of those utterances. On several levels it appears that Aršāma harnessed the potential of the language and deployed it successfully, using the forms discussed above to demonstrate his authority in a way that overcame distance, difference, and even the epistolary medium itself.

The evidence of the Aršāma correspondence also has implications for the broader functioning of the Empire: language was certainly an important tool for the Achaemenid bureaucracy. The same situation may have been replicated not only in other regions of the empire but at other levels of the imperial hierarchy, as suggested by the letters in the dossier that were not written by or to Aršāma himself but nonetheless conform to similar practices. Transmission of authority through letters was a fundamental feature of the Achaemenid empire and one that does much to explain its longevity and geographical extent. 'Our lord' Aršāma could demand not only obeisance from those who were in his presence, but, more importantly, obedience from those who were not.

2.3

The Aršāma Corpus through the Lens of Babylonian Epistolography

Michael Jursa

Chronologically and in terms of contents, Babylonian letters dating to the sixth and early fifth century are the non-Aramaic epistolographic corpus that is closest to the Aršāma letters. A comparison between the two is warranted because of the close socio-linguistic connection between Aramaic and Babylonian (and Akkadian in general) in the Near East in the Iron Age, when Aramaic literacy evolved under the shadow, and often actually within the territory, of Mesopotamian empires bearing the cultural imprint of a millennial tradition of writing and administration in Akkadian (e.g. Beaulieu 2006).

Currently, about 1750 Babylonian letters are known from the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire and the first decades of Persian rule over Babylonia, until 484, when the Persian reprisals against Babylonian rebels resulted in a break in the available documentation. From the subsequent period, only a few dozen cuneiform letters are available.[1] Some 300 of these 1,750 letters come from private archives, while the bulk can be assigned to two large temple archives, that of the Eanna temple in Uruk in southern Babylonia (*c.*700 letters) and that of the northern Ebabbar temple in Sippar (*c.*570 letters). These letters contain the correspondence of high-ranking temple officials and of royal officials who write to the temple on state business. The dominant topics are management of personnel and estates, building activities, military matters (mostly recruitment and provisioning), and the cult. With the exception of the latter, these issues re-occur in the Aršāma corpus, which is likewise set within the hierarchical context of an Iron Age Near Eastern patrimonial-bureaucratic empire. It is within this frame of reference that the Babylonian letter corpus sheds light on the much smaller Aršāma group.

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[1] See Jursa in Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014: 1 with further references for the Late Babylonian letter corpus.

We focus here on matters of epistolographic practice in the Aršāma letters that can be usefully addressed from a comparative point of view. This discussion will be extended to some issues of epistolographic pragmatics and to the (divergent) conceptions of power and hierarchy that underlie the letters we are interested in.

EPISTOLOGRAPHIC STYLE

The two letter corpora under examination share the same basic structure in that missives typically consists of the sequence *salutatio–narratio–petitio*.[2] Language-specific linguistic signals govern the transition from one part to the next, but the overall make-up and function of the several parts of the letters are the same in Babylonian and Aramaic.[3] The *salutatio* is often extended by a blessing of some sort to serve as a *captatio benevolentiae*: e.g. 'may the gods x and y ordain your well-being'. In fact, in Babylonian this part of the introduction of a letter is practically obligatory. Only royal letters regularly lack wishes for the benefit of the addressee (Levavi 2016: nos. 58–66). Otherwise, when occasionally such wishes are not added to the formula naming the letter's sender and addressee, the sender's distinctly superior position vis-à-vis the addressee is necessarily implied (excepting short letters and letter-orders),[4] and an intentional breach of the protocol of politeness may often be intended to convey a strong reproach (see Schmidl in Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014: 16). The protocol in the Aršāma letters is similar, but not identical. The one letter addressed to Aršāma himself (A6.1) by a group of lower-ranking men contains a blessing, as expected. On the other hand, among the letters sent by Aršāma himself, only those to the—relatively high-ranking—Artavanta contain blessings for the addressee (A6.3–7); his letters to his lower-ranking clerks and servants (A6.8–13) do not. This is also true for the letters of two Iranian dignitaries to Aršāma's personnel (A6.14–15). Since letters in Official Aramaic (both on papyrus and leather) as a rule do contain blessing formulae,[5] their omission here must be significant. While Aršāma's letters A6.8 and 10 express reproofs that might motivate the omission of the blessing, this is not true for the other letters without blessings. In other words, at least to the eyes of a contemporary Babylonian, the social gap implied by these letters between Aršāma and the other Iranian authors of these letters (on the one hand) and their clerks (on the other) would have appeared very wide—certainly wider than the gap between the various officials of different rank who are the protagonists of the Babylonian letter corpus: to Babylonians, in fact, Aršāma's style of opening his letters would have appeared quasi-regal.

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[2] See Schmidl in Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014: 4–7 for different descriptive and functional models of analysing epistolographic structures. The 'traditional/classical' terminology is retained here strictly for reasons of convenience.

[3] For Babylonian see Schmidl in Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014: 4–75, Levavi 2016: 38–62. For earlier periods of Babylonian epistolography, see in particular Sallaberger 1999.

[4] But note that the great majority of letters from superiors to lower-ranking addressees does include a blessing.

[5] As can be seen from a quick perusal of TADAE volume 1. See also A6.3:1(5) n.

As far as the evidence goes, an analysis of the forms of address in the Aršāma letters corroborates this impression. Both Aramaic and Babylonian can distinguish between direct and indirect forms of address: 'let my lord write to . . .' as opposed to 'write to . . .'. This distinction is a useful heuristic tool to spot status differences and nuances in institutional and personal relationships. Indirect address is indicative of increased politeness and thus of the addressee's higher status (Schmidl in Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014: 17–28). Babylonian letters amply demonstrate the general validity of the principle, but also show frequent attempts to subvert the standard, e.g. when correspondents of relatively low status claim undue familiarity with their betters by using direct forms of address (e.g. Schmidl in Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014: 58–60). The Aršāma letters include few cases of indirect address, and they all refer to Aršāma, by far the highest-ranking person in this corpus: in A6.13 for example, the prince (*br bytʾ*) Vāravahyā is quoted as referring to Aršāma as 'my lord': 'let a letter be sent by my lord'.[6] Everywhere else in this corpus, direct forms of address are used, emphasizing the top-down nature of the Aršāma correspondence.

The correlation between status and letter structure can be seen also in the case of A6.16. This is the only one of the Bodleian letters sent to an addressee who outranks the sender.[7] We find here the only case of a concluding formula (a *peroratio*) expressing the sender's sense of obligation towards the addressee. 'You are very praiseworthy to me' (*ptstw ly*), he says, and '[*I pray that*] the gods may ordain your well-being' ([. . . *kzy*] *ʾlhyʾ šlm yšmw lk*. This is an expression of gratitude. It seems to be a *topos* of ancient Semitic epistolography—and it certainly is true of Akkadian letters—that gratitude, as a face-threatening concept, is only expressed rarely. When it is addressed, it appears as an acknowledgement of a favour and/or the expression of the wish that the favour may be rewarded. The envisioned reciprocation in turn is frequently relegated to the divine sphere, so that gratitude is expressed as the wish that a god or goddess bless the giver (Sallaberger 1999: 110–27)—which is exactly what the sender of A6.16 is doing. The missing verb may well be a form of *ṣly* 'to pray', in line with the standard expression of gratitude in contemporary Babylonian letters (*ṣullû*, in phrases such as 'I am praying daily for you') which is likewise regularly placed at the end of a missive (Schmidl in Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014: 33–5; Jursa in Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014, 104–5).

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[6] *ʾgrt mn mrʾy tštlḥ*. Note also the use of the typical indirect reference to the grammatical agent through use of the preposition *mn* 'by'. Similarly, the address 'my lord' is put in the mouth of Aršāma's agent Psamšek in A6.3.

[7] In the wider dossier A6.1 is an example (see above).

EPISTOLOGRAPHY AND ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE

As a substitute for face-to-face exchange, letters frequently need to refer to previous communication. Indirect speech is unusual both in Aramaic and in Akkadian, so allusion to past messages is made by indirect reference ('when x spoke to me about y') or through direct quotation. In the light of first-millennium Babylonian epistolography, the Aršāma letters are striking for their reliance on extensive quotations. To be sure, Babylonian letters also use the direct quotation (Schmidl in Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014: 41–5), but generally these quotes are not as long and prominent—in relation to the rest of the missive—as those in, e.g. A6.2, A6.3, and A6.8. There, the extensive quotation of a petition made to Aršāma makes up essentially the entire *narratio* part of the letter; the *petitio* consists of Aršāma's endorsement of the wish expressed (the endorsement mirroring the phrasing of the quoted petition) and of his order to have this wish executed. Late Babylonian official letters do not normally rely on such extensive quotations to introduce the subject of a letter, but prefer to present the matter at hand in the sender's own words or make use of indirect references.[8] The resultant letter structure is less schematic and more flexible than that of the Aršāma letters, possibly as the result of a diachronic development within Akkadian administrative epistolography. In fact, *mutatis mutandis*, the Aršāma letters A6.3, A6.8, or A6.13 might well have been phrased by the chancellery of Hammurabi of Babylon in the Middle Bronze Age.[9] Letters such as these exemplify a reactive culture of hierarchical domination: decisions were made and communicated to the lower levels of administration predominantly as answers to specific requests. The majority of Aršāma's letters are reactive in this sense.[10]

In Aršāma's world letters are seen as proof of their author's intent independent of a messenger's word, and they are thus passed from hand to hand (A6.15:

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[8] There are of course exceptions. Twenty-six of the thirty-six lines of the letter Levavi 2016: no. 56 are taken up by a single quotation.

[9] As can be seen, for example, when comparing a letter like Frankena 1966: no. 1 with A 6.11. For Hammurabi's style of government see in general Charpin 2012: 145–60.

[10] Explicitly so in A6.3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13; and probably implicitly in A6.7. The predominantly reactive approach to epistolary decision-making is of course not limited to the Near East: the correspondence between Pliny the Younger and Trajan, for instance, is cast in the same mould (e.g. Noreña 2007).

3–4: *hʾ ʾnt ḥzy ʾgrt ʾršm zy hytyw ʿl* PN ‘take a look yourself at the letter of Aršāma they brought to PN’). In the equally literate world of ancient Babylonia this is standard procedure: ‘I have now sent on to my brother the letter of the…official that came to me, and you will have read it (by now)’, one letter from sixth-century Uruk states.[11] Yet the trust Aršāma’s correspondents placed in the persuasive power of a single letter and the predictability of the working of the hierarchies that the letter addressed was apparently limited. In A6.13 Aršāma refers to a certain prince’s appeal to him with regard to the actions of some of Aršāma’s underlings; in A6.14 the prince himself writes to the said underlings in the same matter and refers to his previous appeal to Aršāma. In other words, he did not trust a single letter to achieve his objective and wrote repeatedly to all parties concerned, notwithstanding the relative differences in hierarchy. This is reminiscent of letters sent to the seventh-century Neo-Assyrian court, where petitioners might address one missive to the king and another, with the same petition, to a high official (e.g. Dietrich 2003: no. 156). Such pairs of letters are practically absent in sixth-century Babylonian administrative epistolography.[12] This phenomenon reflects the particular nature of the administrative hierarchies and their reliability (or lack thereof) in the different periods and contexts that produced these letters. This is the final point to which we now turn.

EPISTOLOGRAPHY AND PERSUASION: HIERARCHIES AND STATUS

For heuristic reasons, the terms used here refer to Max Weber’s conceptualization of social relationships in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*.[13] In his terminology, the strongly articulated patrimonial regimes that can be identified in ancient Near Eastern imperial contexts in the Iron Age are to be designated as patrimonial bureaucracies:[14] notwithstanding a high degree of professionalism in administration and the importance of rule-bound and standardized procedures, ‘the position of the patrimonial official derives from his personal submission to the ruler’ (Weber 1978: 1030); the division between private and professional affairs of office holders is generally blurred and in no way is the ruler's power restricted to certain legally defined 'competences' (Weber 1978: 220).[15]

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[11] *šipritu ša rab limīti ša ana pānia talliku ana aḫia ultēbil u taltasi*: BIN 1. 24.

[12] One exception: the near duplicates YOS 3.17 and TCL 9.129, sent on the same occasion by an official of the Eanna temple in Uruk to two different colleagues, but without cross-reference. The sender did not rely on a single letter to achieve his objective.

[13] Here I refer to Weber 1978, a convenient English translation of Weber’s posthumously published *magnum opus*. D’Avray 2010 provides a useful discussion of Weber’s concept of ‘historically determined rationalities’. See now also Magdalene 2014.

[14] This is argued in more detail in Jursa 2017.

Administrative epistolography provides some evidence that allows us to flesh out in more detail the actual historical incarnations of these general ('ideal-type') concepts in the societies under investigation. Assuming that basic administrative mentalities are reflected in such letters, the rhetorical devices and strategies of persuasion employed can be used as proxy data for the senders' view of their sense of identity, of their relationship to the addressees, and of their position in the administrative system of which they are part.[16]

Letters aim at maintaining contact over a distance; in the context of hierarchical administrative systems, their goal is generally to communicate some specific information to the addressee, usually with the expectation that the latter act on this information. In terms of the pragmatics of letter writing, the linguistic (or rhetorical) investment necessary to achieve this goal obviously varies with the nature of the problem to be solved by the letter, but also with the social distance between the correspondents and with the nature of the hierarchical (administrative) system into which the letter is embedded: different systems will respond in different ways to different problems. In dealing with Late Babylonian official letters, it proved heuristically useful to distinguish 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' letters exchanged between correspondents of unequal rank and letters sent by officials to colleagues of more or less equal status.[17] Categorizing the persuasion strategies ('arguments') employed by the senders as 'rational' ('there is no water in the canal, so...'), 'personal' ('you are my brother, how could you...'), referring to a higher authority ('you are a servant of the king, so...'), 'emotional' ('I am very angry, so...') or 'threat', a sample of several hundred letters from the sixth century produced the distribution pattern shown in Table 2.3.1.

Table 2.3.1. Persuasion strategies in Babylonian letters from the sixth century

	No reason given	Rational	Personal	Higher Authority	Emotional	Threat
Equal rank	20%	59%	1%	19%	32%	-
Top-down	85.5%	14.5%	-	3%	3%	3%
Bottom-up	-	90%	10%	60%	25%	-

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[15] 'Appointment by free contract...is essential to modern bureaucracy. Where there is a hierarchical organization with impersonal spheres of competence, but occupied by unfree officials—like slaves or *ministeriales*—the term "patrimonial bureaucracy" will be used' (Weber 1978: 221). For applications of this concept to other pre-modern empires, see Blake 2011, Huang 2010 and Eisenberg 2008.

[16] The pertinent methodology is described in a monograph on Late Babylonian private letters (Hackl, Jursa, and Schmidl 2014); Hackl and Jursa 2015 and Levavi 2016 develop the argument on the basis of case studies of several hundred Late Babylonian official letters.

[17] The following is based on Hackl and Jursa 2015 and on Levavi 2016.

In Babylonia, authority is in general persuasive by itself. Letters sent by superiors to subordinates make only minimal use of persuasion strategies: roughly 85% of these missives content themselves with stating an order without giving a real justification or explanation for it (which the remaining 15% do) or referring to *ad personam* arguments. There is little emotion involved, there are few threats, and there is little need to involve higher authorities (3% in each case). 'Bottom-up' letters give the mirror image of this impression of persuasive authority: 'underlings' need to argue their case persuasively with 'rational' arguments based on (presumed) facts (90%) and by recourse to higher authorities (60%); *ad personam* arguments and emotional statements are by no means rare, but threats, understandably, are absent. Finally, the communicative situation in which correspondents of equal rank find themselves seems to be the most complicated; it is certainly the most fraught with emotion. A third of the letters make recourse to emotional statements, close to 60% give rational arguments, a fifth invoke higher levels of the hierarchy. Another fifth, however, assume that the administrative setting as such is sufficiently developed and clear to cause an addressee to comply with the sender's request without the latter arguing his case in any specific way, other than making a bare request. Letters falling in this final category are always exchanged between close colleagues working within the same administrative unit. In the case of communication between officials of equal rank belonging to different branches of government, on the other hand, there is an obvious lack of clear-cut procedures, and usually a combination of persuasion strategies has to be employed. For the study of the interplay between epistolary rhetoric and hierarchical status, the conclusion must be that Late Babylonian officials worked in an administrative environment with pronounced and effective vertical hierarchies; relationships were not normally conceived of as 'personalized' but as dependent on administrative roles and an explicit set of rules and only secondarily on social bonds. A certain degree of 'rationalization' and 'bureaucratization' (as against a straightforwardly 'patrimonial' wielding of power) in Weberian terms was certainly present, but the clear under-definition of lateral hierarchies joining different institutions of the state argues against overstating this case.[18]

When sifting the Aršāma corpus with the same questions and categories in mind, a statistical argument is elusive, given the small number of letters, but some qualitative observations can be made.

Apart from the fragmentary A6.1 (addressed to Aršāma), only one letter, A6.16, can be considered to be 'bottom-up', i.e. addressed to a superior. The appeal is underscored by an invocation: 'act thus, in order that you should pleas[e] the gods and Aršāma' and ends with an indirect expression of thanks: 'you are very praiseworthy to me and [. . . that] the gods may ordain your well-being' (see above, p. 112). Structurally, this letter fits well into the pattern for the rhetoric of letters addressed to men of superior status that was established on the basis of the Babylonian letters.

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[18] These observations summarize Hackl and Jursa 2015: 112–13.

All other letters are 'top-down'. Based on the findings in the Babylonian corpus, one would expect minimal rhetorical effort and simple statements of facts and orders that follow from them. Letters like A6.3 indeed limit themselves to an extensive quotation of a petition made to Aršāma by a lower-ranking party, an endorsement of the petition's content by Aršāma, and its repetition in the form of an order: a straightforward expression of authority.[19] As a variant, the addressees can be charged with verifying the petitioner's statements (A6.11). When petitioners are quoted, they make polite reference to Aršāma's freedom of decision (*hn ʿl mrʾy ṭb*, 'if it (seems) good to my lord…': A6.3:5),[20] but normally (and as expected), no such phrase softens the presentation of Aršāma's own decision. The gap between Aršāma and his correspondence partners that can be perceived in this (mostly) straightforward 'language of power' is underscored by A6.14, the letter of another Persian dignitary (a prince, *br bytʾ*) to Aršāma's agent Nakhtḥor. This letter backs up a petition made to Aršāma himself. The prince requests diligent compliance, using imperatives and direct address (*ʾtnṣḥw*), but ends up saying: *kn ʿb*[*dw*] *kzy tḥdwn* 'ac[t] thus, in order that you might please me'. This statement, which is unique in this corpus, does not seem to be the implicit promise of a reward; rather it comes closer to the potentially 'face-threatening' request of a favour and thus shows the smaller degree of power—relatively speaking—that the sender has over the addressees.

However, this pattern of straightforward rhetoric on Aršāma's part is not without exceptions. While it holds true for all of his letters that lack a greeting formula, Artavanta, the addressee of letters A6.3–7, all of which have a blessing at the beginning, is treated with somewhat more courtesy. This must reflect Artavanta's relatively high status. In A6.7, Aršāma introduces his request by *kʿt hn ʿlyk kwt ṭb mnk ytšm tʿm kzy*… 'now, if (it seems) like a good thing to you, let an order be issued by you,[21] so that…': an attribution of independent agency to the addressee that is probably to be seen as a polite fiction.

There are other cases in which Aršāma departs from the pattern of straightforward and rhetorically unadorned orders that one would expect as the norm on the basis of the Babylonian comparanda: he does not limit himself—or cannot limit himself?—to letting the authority of his name speak for itself. For one thing, he uses threats: an order is followed by 'If Psamše[k] afterwards should send me a complaint about you, you will be questioned forcefully (*ḥsn tštʾl*), and a severe sentence (*gst ptgm*) will be produced for you (*ytʿbd lk*)' (A6.8:3–4;

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[19] See Hilder iii 100–1.

[20] This phrase corresponds to the Akkadian stock phrase *kī pān* x *maḫru* 'if it pleases (the addressee)': e.g. Levavi 2016: 62.

[21] Polite circumlocution of an imperative or jussive.

similarly A6.10:9–10). This is introduced by 'thus let it be known to you (*kn ydyᶜ yhwh lk*)'—a stock phrase that serves to underline the weight to be given the following statement.[22]

The greatest rhetorical investment in Aršāma letters, however, is found in A6.10. Wishing to reprove his agent Nakhtḥor, Aršāma presents him with two examples of diligence: that of one of his own previous agents, i.e. of a predecessor of Nakhtḥor himself, and that of the Egyptian agents of other dignitaries, i.e. Nakhtḥor's counterparts. Having set the stage rhetorically in this way, he proceeds to cite and repeat a previous order or admonition[23] that had not been heeded, ending with the threat cited above. For an order to an estate-manager given by a high-ranking Persian noble, this is a remarkable exercise in persuasion. One might not have expected that Aršāma would have felt the need to incite his servant Nakhtḥor to higher efficiency through *exempla*. This type of argument has no parallel in top-down official Babylonian epistolography from the sixth and early fifth centuries, and it would seem to have been alien to the epistolary code of Babylonian (temple) officials. This raises a question: what exactly was the point that Aršāma wished to make with his comparison? The letter can be better understood by reference to an analogous, if more elaborate, argument found in a letter sent by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon to a Babylonian official in his service in the early seventh century. 'Why…have you stayed in Nippur? The former city governors of Nippur, who were there before you, whether they were at ease with their lords or not (*libbū ša libbašunu itti bēlīšunu kī pašru iānū*), were, like you, courtiers of their lords, and their lords' favour obliged them, as it obliges you. Each governor duly mobilized his forces and went…to where(ver) my grandfather sent him…Now you, too, mobilize your forces and…' (Reynolds 2003: no. 3). The argument made here—remarkable in its explicitness[24]—refers to the basic principle of patrimonial domination: it is a personalized and reciprocal (if asymmetrical) relationship based on (lordly) favour and (the servant's) loyalty and service. For the purpose of persuasion, Esarhaddon, just like Aršāma, refers to pertinent analogous cases of men who had complied with the code of this traditional form of domination. The Persian is less explicit than the Assyrian king—he does not explicitly mention his, the lord's, side of the patrimonial relationship—but he is nevertheless basing himself on the same type of argument: the *exempla* are only convincingly explicable as a positive appeal to (at least supposedly) shared values on which their persuasive force must rest; they are implausible as a mere foreshadowing of the threat that concludes the letter.

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[22] Functionally (and etymologically) identical to Babylonian *lū tīde / lū īdû*, etc.: Levavi 2016: 60.

[23] It is hardly a clear order, rather a call for effective management in general terms.

[24] These matters will be discussed in more detail elsewhere.

In conclusion, the Aršāma corpus falls neatly within the continuum of Ancient Near Eastern administrative epistolography. The hermeneutic categories and the questions and methodologies that have been developed for the much larger Akkadian letter *corpora*, especially of the Iron Age, can be applied to these letters as well. The Aršāma letters are mostly straightforward top-down missives based on the confident expectation that their sender's authority would be heeded. Yet, in comparison to such letters originating within the relatively tightly organized and rule-bound patrimonial bureaucracy of sixth-century Babylonia (the closest comparandum available), the Aršāma corpus displays a penchant towards more elaborate rhetoric and a greater effort at persuasion than might have been expected from missives of a high-ranking dignitary. This reflects the strongly patrimonial and thus reciprocal relationship that bound Aršāma to his servants—notwithstanding the difference in their status.

3

Control and Connectivity

3.1

The Persian Empire

Amélie Kuhrt

1. INTRODUCTION

The Achaemenid empire is the earliest of the great Iranian empires. The name derives from the legendary founder of its ruling dynasty, Achaemenes, which was also the name of the royal clan (*φρήτρη*: Herodotus 1.125), members of which ruled the empire for over two hundred years (*c.*550–330). It was the largest empire the world had yet seen, spanning the territory from the Hellespont to north India, including Egypt and extending to Central Asia up to the frontiers of modern Kazakhstan. By contrast with earlier and later periods, no contemporary political entity of even remotely comparable size capable of challenging it existed along its frontiers, until the development of Macedonian power under Philip II.[1]

Before Cyrus' conquests in 550, the Persians are barely attested in the world of the Middle East. Archaeological and written evidence suggests that until around the mid-seventh century, they consisted of agro-pastoral groups located in the region of modern Fars (= Old Persian Pārsa, Greek Persis),[2] which had previously formed part of the important, though poorly known, kingdom of Elam, centred now on Susa.[3] A linguistically related people, the Medes, located further north in the Zagros and around modern Hamadan (ancient Ecbatana) appear more prominently in the eighth to sixth centuries, since they had begun to coalesce into a state and made some moves towards territorial expansion. This may, indeed, have put pressure on Pārsa and provoked the relatively rapid emergence of a Persian state there. Under its kings Cyrus II and Cambyses II this developing polity incorporated, through conquest and in the space of less than thirty years, the large, highly developed empires and states of western Asia: the great Neo-Babylonian empire (heir to Assyria), Egypt, Lydia, and Elam as well as Media and Central Asia, to the north and east. Elam, Mesopotamia, and Egypt in particular contributed to the emerging formulation of the Persian imagery of power. This can be particularly clearly seen in the Achaemenid royal monuments and iconography, although these traditions were fundamentally and deliberately reshaped in the process of adoption and adaptation.[4] Despite serious upheavals experienced by the empire as a result of this astonishingly rapid expansion, it survived and, indeed, expanded when Darius I added the Indus Valley to the empire. Although his and his son's attempt to add territory in Europe failed to impose lasting direct control there, the empire suffered little territorial loss. By Xerxes' reign, we can describe it as a mature and stable state.[5]

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[1] Rather less clear, although obviously significant, are the political developments in India, where the powerful Mauryan dynasty emerges very rapidly after the end of the Achaemenid empire, to dominate the larger part of the subcontinent (Thapar 1987), but whose roots must be sought in the immediately preceding centuries (Roy 1994).

[2] See particularly Miroschedji 1985, 2003 and Sumner 1994.

[3] See the recent studies focusing on the Elamite elements in Persian culture: Álvarez-Mon and Garrison 2011.

2. SOURCES

The sources for understanding the empire present us with difficulties, not so much because they are sparse, but because they are extremely disparate and exist in a number of different languages and forms.[6]

Before excavation and the decipherment of the early eastern scripts provided new sorts of material, the Achaemenid empire was primarily known through two categories of literary text

First, classical writers, especially the Greek historian Herodotus writing in the later fifth century. As his aim was to celebrate the victories won by Greeks over Persians in 490–478, his valuable information is limited, chronologically, to the early period of the empire. Although Herodotus gives us a sense of the broad geographical sweep of the empire, he treated the imperial regions very superficially, apart from Egypt and the north-western frontier area (i.e. western Turkey), because his focus was the Graeco-Persian conflict. Later classical writers, aside from the Alexander historians, generally exhibit similar geopolitical limitations. One exception is the early fourth-century author, Ctesias, a doctor at the Achaemenid court who wrote a substantial history of Persia. Unfortunately his work largely survives only in a heavily epitomized version made by the ninth-century Byzantine patriarch, Photius. Because of the fascination exercised by the wealth and power of the Persian ruler, many classical writers tend to focus on tales of court corruption and intrigue; this may, indeed, have been one of Photius' preoccupations. As a result, the image of the empire to be gleaned from these sources is lop-sided and partial.[7]

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[4] The seminal study of this remains Root 1979.

[5] The most detailed study of the empire's history is Briant 2002.

[6] A full introduction to and analysis of the sources is Kuhrt 2007; more briefly, Brosius 2000.

Secondly, there is the Old Testament, whence the influential picture of the Persian kings as restorers of the Jerusalem temple and supporters of the Yahweh cult emerged (Ezra, Nehemiah). This alone is responsible for the mistaken notion that the Achaemenid policy of religious tolerance was unique. A Persian court story, comparable in some respects to the classical tales, appears in the Old Testament in the shape of the book of Esther.

The Old Persian script was deciphered in the nineteenth century, an achievement that led in turn to the decipherment of other cuneiform scripts. The surviving texts in Old Persian are largely in the form of monumental royal inscriptions, intended to reflect the unchanging majesty of Persian power (the one exception is Darius I's inscription at Bīsotūn). They are thus not (so far, at least) directly informative on political changes or administrative structures.[8]

To illuminate such aspects, other sources—Babylonian, Egyptian, Aramaic, and Elamite documents—have to be used. These last are exceptionally significant in providing an insight into the intricacies of the heartland Persian bureaucracy. Very important, too, are the Aramaic documents. Use of Aramaic had been widespread in the Near East, especially in the Neo-Assyrian empire, before the Persian conquest, and it was adopted by the regime as the most widely used administrative language. This is why we find it so extensively employed in Egypt, as shown by the Elephantine and Hermopolis papyri and the other contents of TADAE I–IV—including, of course, the Aršāma letters.[9] A measure of its enormous impact is the discovery at Elephantine of popular stories in Aramaic, yet written in Egyptian Demotic script, dating to the early fourth century.[10] And the geographical spread of its use is now dramatically illustrated by the leather documents and tallies from Bactria-Sogdiana, the majority dating from Artaxerxes III through to Alexander III (the Great). They show, unmistakably, that this area was tightly held by the Achaemenids down to the very end of the empire's existence, contrary to some earlier views.[11]

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[7] A solid and reliable edition of all Ctesias' fragments with full introduction and commentary is Lenfant 2004. For a guide to the classical writers (from the fifth century BC to the fourth century AD), consult now Lenfant 2011.

[8] For the fragmentary administrative text in Old Persian found among the Persepolis Fortification tablets, see Stolper and Tavernier 2007.

[9] The Elephantine papyri provide a different and independent perspective on worshippers of Yahweh from that in the Hebrew Bible. See Granerød iii 329–43, Tuplin iii 344–72.

[10] See Vleeming and Wesselius 1985: 31–7.

[11] Naveh and Shaked 2012. For a discussion of their significance see Briant 2009. On the tallies see Henkelman & Folmer 2016. Note also over two thousand Aramaic ostraca from Idumaea dating from Artaxerxes II through to Alexander IV (possibly even Ptolemy I). For summary accounts see Lemaire 2006a, 2006b, 2015: 101–22, 2017a. (But Lemaire's view of the nature of the texts is not universally shared.) A new systematic publication of the material is in progress: see Porten and Yardeni 2014–20.

In terms of archaeological exploration, the area of the empire has been covered unevenly. Most attention has been paid to the great royal centres of Pasargadae,[12] Persepolis,[13] and Susa.[14] But recently the Achaemenid levels of long-occupied sites in conquered territories such as Sardis in Lydia, the Levant, and Central Asia (e.g. Merv and Samarkand) are being examined more closely.[15] One problem is that a number of sites known to have been very important in the period, are covered by extensive modern towns making excavation difficult; this is true of Arbela (modern Erbil in north Iraq) and Ecbatana (modern Hamadan).[16]

3. IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

3.1. Satraps and Subjects

The immense imperial territories were divided into provinces, generally called by the Iranian-derived term, satrapies. Each province was extensive and each was governed by a satrap (governor) who was virtually always a Persian or Iranian noble resident in the satrapal capital. The satrapal centre was in many cases identical with the old capital of the pre-conquest political unit in question.[17] But modifications to this system were introduced, although not all at the same time but in response to particular circumstances. For example, early in Xerxes' reign, the area that had formed the Neo-Babylonian empire was divided into two new satrapies: Beyond-the-River (west of the Euphrates and stretching down to the Egyptian frontier) and Babylonia (the whole of Mesopotamia), Caria and Lycia were organized as a single satrapy in the course of the fourth century, and the new regional administrative district of Idumaea was put in place, again in the fourth century.[18]

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[12] Stronach 1978, Boucharlat and Benech 2002, Boucharlat 2011, Benech, Boucharlat, and Gondet 2012. On nearby Tang-i Bulaghi see various authors in *ARTA* 2009.01-06, Boucharlat 2011, Boucharlat 2014.

[13] Schmidt 1953–1970, Tilia 1972–8. More recently attention has been given to the plain beyond the terrace: Bessac and Boucharlat 2010, Boucharlat, de Schacht, and Gondet 2012, Askari Chaverdi and Callieri 2012, Askari Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013.

[14] See the articles in Perrot 2010.

[15] A flavour of new developments in the early 2000s can be had from Briant and Boucharlat 2005. Since then there is more to report in e.g. Georgia (Knauss 2007, Knauss, Gagoshidze, and Babaev 2010 and 2013), south-east Anatolia (Facella 2009), Seistan (Mohamaddkhani 2012), south-west Iran (Potts 2008, Potts 2009, Henkelman 2012), and the Western Oases of Egypt (Darnell, Klotz, and Manassa 2013, Kaper 2015).

[16] Over thirty years of archaeological investigation at Hamadan has produced little to illuminate Achaemenid Ecbatana, as one can see from e.g. Sarraf 2003, Boucharlat 2005: 253–4, Mohammadifar, Nourouz, and Sharifi 2012, Hozhabri and Olson 2013.

[17] This was the case in Aršāma's satrapy, where, notwithstanding the dynastic importance of Sais, Memphis was the political centre during the Saite period. Aršāma's closest preserved link with Memphis is Saqqara S.H5-DP 434, a report of official proceedings found at Memphis-Saqqara: Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 299–92.

The satrapal capital functioned as the administrative centre of the governor. It is here that tax was collected, stored, or sent on, perhaps like the 'treasure/treasury' (*gnzʾ*) being transported to Babylon on Aršāma's orders in A6.13:5. Satrapal archives were kept here, petitions sent, and royal orders and edicts received. In addition, there were fortified storehouses ('the house of the king' (*byt mlkʾ*), well attested in the Elephantine material) dotted throughout the provinces and their subdivisions.[19] Each satrapal capital contained a palace, used by the satrap himself but also maintained for the king on visits. Such royal and satrapal residences in the provinces are attested, textually, for Damascus, Bactra, Ecbatana, as well as physically in the case of Susa and Babylon. In Egypt, the capital was Memphis, as emerges clearly not only from Greek sources but also from the sad relics of its administrative archives, with business conducted in both Aramaic and Demotic.[20] Despite their ruinous state, Egypt's satrap Aršāma figures here, too, overseeing legal proceedings.[21]

The satrap himself was, within his satrapy, in control of military affairs, such as general mobilization and the garrisons which served to protect the population as well as to maintain order in the province. He also controlled its legal and financial affairs to ensure the province's continued productivity and profitability. The two concerns were closely linked as individuals held land-grants on which military and public service and taxes were owed. The idea that the satrap was a remote figure, unconcerned with mundane details, is nicely undermined by A6.2, showing that the repair of a boat used for government business had to be authorized by Aršāma himself before it could begin. The micro-management involved—accounting for every nail, the salvaging of broken timbers, detailing materials to be supplied by the local storehouse—mirrors that revealed by the Persepolis archives.

3.2. Regional Variation

Despite the unification of so many different areas under the imperial umbrella, there were regional diversities in administration. The transhumant populations of the great Zagros mountain chain, for example, were never integrated into the provincial structure. Its topography made military campaigns difficult; in addition, the highly mobile population was hard to pin down. Here the Persians and these scattered mountain dwellers arrived at a *modus vivendi*. The Persian king regularly presented the local leaders with gifts, creating and renewing a mutually profitable alliance: it allowed the king to draw on their manpower when needed and supplied the administration with the livestock required for sacrifices as well as consumption.[22]

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[18] See Stolper 1989: 292–8, Kleber 2017: 702 (Babylonia and Beyond-the-River), Briant 2002: 706, 1011–12 (Caria–Lycia), Lemaire 1990: 45–54 (Idumaea).

[19] For an exhaustive study of the functions of the satrap, see Klinkott 2005. For remarks on categories of treasury see Henkelman 2017a: 100–1, 107, 109, 133.

[20] For administrative bilingualism see Tavernier iii 75–96.

[21] Smith and Martin 2009: 31–42 (S.H5-DP 434), Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 287–92. The Aramaic administration is represented by the material in Segal 1983 and a range of other documents in TADAE from Elephantine or Memphis/Saqqara. Decision is not always easy, but the following come into consideration: A4.1, A5.2, ?A5.3, A5.5, A6.1–2 , C3.7, C3.14, some of D3.1–26, and perhaps some of the lists in C3.3–4, C3.9, C4.4–8 (Elephantine); A5.1, A5.4, B8.5, C3.8, C3.12, C3.19, C3.21, C3.25–7, D1.32, D2.29–34, some of D3.27–47, and perhaps some of the lists in C3.5–C3.6, C3.10, C4.1–2, C4.9 (Memphis/Saqqara).

Arab groups, on the empire's fringe, enjoyed another kind of relationship with the central authority. In return for help with finding safe routes through the deserts (cf. Herodotus 3.9 for Arab assistance in the Persian invasion of Egypt in 526) and organizing the lucrative caravan trade, they paid no tax but instead presented the king with a regular 'gift' of incense, creating a mutually beneficial relationship (Herodotus 3.97). Again, Arab contingents are attested serving in the Achaemenid armies.[23] Other important frontier groups were the Scythians living in the steppes beyond the Oxus. How precisely the Persian authority managed relations with them is unknown, but they certainly supplied warriors to the Persian army, particularly as marines, which again suggests that a reciprocal arrangement had been set up.[24] It might not be too far-fetched to see relations between the Persian authorities and the Greeks of Europe as conducted on broadly similar lines.

Various provinces, too, reflect differences in the style of imposition of Persian control, indicative of local factors with which the authorities had to deal. In Babylonia, for example, the Persian king acted in accordance with local royal ideology. The king was expected to build and maintain temples and city-walls, confirm the protected status of certain cities, ensure that rituals were performed, authorize divine offerings, and support important ceremonies. At no point were the essential ingredients for carrying out these crucial rituals dismantled or suppressed by the Persians, but it is very probable that the precise pattern of their enactment and associated royal activities were substantially modified.[25] Egypt, too, retained its own very characteristic culture, especially in the realm of artistic expression and production, in styles of architecture and in its belief system, which traditionally assigned a special divine role to the king. As a result, from Cambyses on, Persian kings were hailed as pharaohs, represented as such, and given a pharaonic-style titulary. How this was managed precisely is unclear: important ritual activities, such as the Apis cult, were certainly retained and funded in the name of the king, but the institution of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, immensely important in the centuries preceding the Persian conquest, ceased to exist.[26]

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[22] See particularly on this Henkelman 2005a.

[23] Achaemenid Arabia remains hard to grasp (for an old treatment see Graf 1990), but things of interest to Achaemenid historians do turn up, e.g. a graffito drawing of what Potts thinks is a Persian fast messenger (Jacobs and MacDonald 2009, Potts n.d. 1).

[24] The fundamental study of these symbiotic patterns is Briant 1982. (Note also the case of the Tapyri, discussed in Henkelman 2012, although this works slightly differently). Scythians (Sakā) figure in one form or another in all the lists of subject peoples in royal inscriptions, Darius' invasion of trans-Danubian Scythia is a major (if highly contested) exhibit in Herodotus' account of Persian history, and Scythians are found in textual sources serving in Persian armies and in iconographic ones as characteristic enemies (Tuplin 2020)—and Central Asian Scythians certainly caused trouble to Darius III's successor, Alexander the Great (Briant 1982: 203–30). Vogelsang 1992 argued for the importance of northern nomads in the emergence of the Achaemenid empire, and Briant 2002: 746–7, 1026 offers a view of, and context for, the alliance of Darius III and the Scythian ruler Mauaces (whose tomb Bivar 2006 venturesomely located in a burial mound in Kazakhstan), but a comprehensive historical interpretation of the relationship is still lacking.

Within each satrapy, local conditions varied from place to place because a diversity of political units could all form part of one overall satrapy. Thus, in the province Beyond-the-River, a place such as Jerusalem, with the district of Yehud, retained its sacred laws, priestly hierarchy, and was governed by Jews; neighbouring Samaria was administered by the local family of Sanballat; the Phoenician cities continued under the control of local rulers, while Ammon, east of the Jordan, formed a provincial subdivision under a local governor and, in the course of the fourth century, the Negev region was organized as the separate province of Idumaea. So, while all these divergent entities were answerable to the Persian satrap in Damascus, internally they lived according to their local customs. One can see the pattern repeated in Anatolia. It would be extremely interesting to know more about how the various peripheral groups—in the marshy delta region of Egypt, for example, or the agro-pastoralists living on the fringes of the Nile Valley—related to the central administration of Egypt.[27]

3.3. Central Control

This variation in patterns of rule does not indicate imperial weakness. The varieties of political relationship and domination should rather be seen as a positive element, which made central government more elastic and sensitive in its response to local needs and conditions, while maintaining strong overall control for its own benefit. Notably, the empire endured for over two hundred years, experiencing within that time only one serious prolonged loss, i.e. Egypt, which had seceded by 400/399 and was not repossessed until 343. Here we should be careful in how we interpret the occasional reference to 'revolt' in the Aršāma correspondence.[28] There is no particular reason to see these as nationalistic revolts rather than as an incidence of *anachōrēsis*, i.e. the flight of peasants from the land to avoid conscription and other exactions—a phenomenon well attested in both pre- and post-Achaemenid Egypt. Such instabilities are not unusual and have to be dealt with by all regimes; trying to link it to Egypt's subsequent secession is to force a connection where there may be none.[29] Note, too, that the period of secession was exceptionally unstable and the country was regained in 343, so that loss, though prolonged, proved not to be permanent. Moreover, from Darius I on, the grip of the Achaemenid family on the throne was never broken: despite repeated violent struggles for the succession, its hold on the kingship was never effectively challenged. Aside from the secession of Egypt and chronic problems in frontier regions, such as the Aegean seaboard, all serious revolts from *c.*480 onwards, with the exception of Egypt, took place inside the Persian power structure itself and centred on struggles at court for the throne: i.e. they did not threaten the coherence of the empire but just turned on who should rule it.[30]

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[25] See Waerzeggers 2003–4 and Kuhrt 2014.

[26] For recent discussion of Egypt in the Persian period, see Vittmann 2009 and 2011a; note also Wasmuth 2017a, which focuses on the king. For a redating of the Demotic graffito in the Satet temple at Elephantine, showing that the Median troops referred to there were those of Antiochus IV in 168, and that there was no Persian-period destruction of the temple, see Vittmann 1997 (cf. Briant 2003b).

[27] The statement by Thucydides (1.110) that, following the Egyptian revolt of 464–454, the marshy area of the delta remained beyond Persian control, provides a hint of the diversity of arrangements. Note also the Arab groups of the Sinai (mentioned above) and Inaros, described as prince of a tribal group (Bacali) in the Kharga Oasis (Winnicki 2006).

Despite local variations in the form of Persian rule, control of the various provinces by the satraps was extremely effective. Appointment of Persians/Iranians to these high positions was the almost invariable norm,[31] reinforced by Iranians always holding the highest military commands and the other most important posts in the provinces. At the same time, representatives of the central authority developed close links with local elites in various areas of the empire, which could lead to the recruitment of members from such groups to powerful governmental positions, a phenomenon particularly noticeable in the empire's later phases. There are also indications of intermarriage: Persian nobles married women from the families of local dynasts (e.g. Herodotus 5.21, Xenophon *Hellenica* 4.1.6–7); local dignitaries or soldiers, who had particularly distinguished themselves, are attested receiving a wife from a high-ranking Persian family (Herodotus 6.41). The now famous funerary stele from Saqqara is the striking, but not sole, evidence for this practice in Egypt.[32] Particularly interesting is the chance information that the secondary wives of the kings themselves could be non-Persian, and in certain circumstances their sons might succeed to the throne, as in the case of Darius II (Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F15). Thus, while power was carefully restricted to an exclusive group made up of Persian aristocrats, this group could, and did, incorporate selected individuals from the subject populations, so that the governing circle established a system of kinship ties and alliances that reached right into local society and helped to root its power there and create an identity of interest—a development that becomes particularly noticeable as the empire evolves. Persian dignitaries also developed links with local cults, as shown, for example, by dedications from Coptos, Syene, and Sardis.[33]

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[28] A6.7:6, A6.10:4, A6.11:2, D6.12 (g). See Tuplin iii 63–72.

[29] Note particularly on this the remarks by Briant 1988.

[30] The so-called Great Satraps' Revolt, a series of disconnected and short-lived revolts in Anatolia in the first half of the fourth century, seem to be primarily connected with internecine rivalries among members of the Persian aristocracy (Weiskopf 1989).

[31] Belesys (Bēlšunu) in late fifth century Transeuphratene is a notable exception (Stolper 1995).

[32] Mathiesen *et al.* 1995 (for further discussion, see Wasmuth 2010); perhaps, too, Posener 1936: no.24 (from Coptos): Āθiyavahyā, son of Artāma and the lady Qandjou.

The empire's far-flung territories were connected by a complex road system. Herodotus (5.52–4) describes part of it between Sardis and Susa, but the Elamite documents show that it was much more extensive, linking all the main centres of the empire and guarded by a series of posting stations, which held supplies for travellers of fresh horses, fodder, and food. Entitlement to draw on these supplies was obtained by written authorization issued to individuals by the king, members of the court, and satraps, our sole surviving example being A6.9 from the Aršāma dossier.[34] The Aramaic documents from Bactria, dating to the very end of the empire's existence, testify to the continued functioning of this system through into Alexander's time.[35] He will have depended heavily on these supply points as he progressed along the main imperial routes.

Persian-held estates were located throughout the empire, including Central Asia, and here the Aršāma material is exceptionally illuminating. If one combines Xenophon's vignette of the relatively modest estate of Asidates (*Anabasis* 7.8.8–23) in north-west Anatolia with this, as well as with the evidence from Babylonia (the Murašû archive), Bactria (the Aramaic documents just mentioned), and Persepolis (the Fortification texts), then we can begin to see what a crucial role they played in maintaining imperial control.[36] Not only did the estates yield produce and rents (A6.13), they included a guarded fortified dwelling, and settlements of soldiers who could be used to fend off attacks or levied by the owner in response to larger military threats.[37] The many estates within the provinces thus served to ensure and extend a Persian presence and establish military control throughout the empire.

The king himself (and members of the royal family) also possessed such domains from Lydia to Samarkand, carefully laid out and cultivated—the royal

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[33] Coptos: inscriptions honouring Min of Coptos in Posener 1936: nos. 28, 31, 33–4. Syene: TADAE D17.1. Sardis: on the dedication there of a statue to Zeus by Droaphernes, first published by Robert 1975, see the extensive treatment by Briant 1998b.

[34] Whitehead 1974: 59–68 already compared it to the Persepolis material. For further treatment of the connection see Henkelman ii 192–223 and for Greek literary reactions Almagor iii 147–85.

[35] The chronological problem is discussed by Briant 2012b: 179–80.

[36] There is direct or inferential evidence for elite estates in e.g. Bactria (ADAB A6), Arachosia (DB$_e$ §47), Persis (Tuplin i 154–63); Boucharlat 2014), Mesopotamia (Stolper 1985: 52–69, Stolper 1992, 2006, Tuplin iii 49–52), Egypt (Aršama (A6.3–13), Vāravahyā (A6.14), Virafša (A6.15)), Anatolia (Sekunda 1985, 1988, 1991). Some of the relevant primary material appears in Kuhrt 2007: 806–12, 820–5, with references.

[37] cf. Armapiya and his troops in A6.8, and the *ḫaṭru*-system in Babylonia (Stolper 1985). The wider military environment in Egypt is discussed by Tuplin iii 291–328).

paradeisoi including formal gardens, parks, game reserves, orchards, livestock, and arable fields. Keeping and extending land under production was a prime royal concern.[38] Irrigation projects were particularly promoted by the Persian rulers: in Babylonia the intricate canal system was managed by crown agents;[39] the Bactrian water systems were maintained; a *qanāt* system was fostered in northern Iran (Polybius 10.28.1–4),[40] and this typically Iranian form of water distribution was introduced in the Egyptian oasis of Kharga, and has now been also reported at a site in Bahariya oasis.[41] The most striking landscape transformation is attested in Fars: it has been established archaeologically that in the 400–500 years preceding the emergence of the Achaemenid state the area was sparsely settled, with virtually no large urban centres and a prevailing agro-pastoral mode of land-exploitation, whereas by the end of the empire the region was remarked upon by the early Hellenistic source underlying Diodorus 19.21.2–4 as a veritable Garden of Eden—densely settled, agriculturally rich, shaded by trees, well watered. The hard reality of this change has been established, not only by excavation of the palatial centres of Pasargadae and Persepolis and by the evidence of the Persepolis tablets, but also by surveys in the region, which chart the sudden and massive increase in the number of settlements in the Achaemenid period—cities, large and smaller towns, and villages.[42]

4. THE KING AND ROYAL IDEOLOGY

At the apex of the empire stood the king, who regularly proclaimed himself in the opening formulae of royal inscriptions as king of kings and ruler on this earth, set there by the great god Auramazdā as part of his bountiful creation. He also stressed that he was an Iranian and a Persian, a member of the Achaemenid family, ideally directly descended from his predecessor.[43]

4.1. Succession and Coronation

The king usually chose his successor from among his sons and seems generally to have been expected to choose the eldest. But this was not an unalterable rule—he could, and did, if political considerations so dictated, select a younger son for the position of crown prince.[44] Failing 'legitimate' offspring, by which presumably the sons of primary wives are meant, the sons of secondary wives, bastards (*νόθοι*), had the next best claim to succeed, which happened on occasion (Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F15). Conversely, husbands of royal daughters, i.e. royal sons-in-law, seem never to have been able to claim the throne, although their offspring could become eligible failing male royal children. The matrimonial policies of the Achaemenids were thus carefully guarded as the marriage of royal daughters to members of the aristocracy could eventually lead to another family laying claim to the throne. This potential threat to the Achaemenid monopoly of power led at times to the practice of endogamy, in order to safeguard dynastic integrity.

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[38] Briant 2003c. [39] Stolper 1985: 36–51. [40] Briant 2001b.

[41] Wuttmann and Marchand 2005: 115–16; for the *qanāt*s at Ain Manawir (Kharga), see Wuttman 2001, Wuttman and Marchand 2005: 117–18.

[42] Sumner 1986. For the continued important role played by agro-pastoralists in the economy of the region, see Henkelman 2005a, 2011 .

[43] See the classic studies of Herrenschmidt 1976 and 1977.

On the king's death, it fell to the legitimate successor to convey the body in an elaborately decorated hearse to Persepolis for burial in the rock-cut tombs at or near Persepolis, which, from Darius I on, never varied in their pattern and decoration. This great ceremonial progress provided a major public spectacle, in which the successor was displayed to his future subjects. It seems likely that the royal fires associated with the living king were extinguished on the ruler's demise; certainly a period of public mourning was enjoined on all. The Persepolis texts make it clear that a centrally funded cult was maintained around the king's tombs, as well as those of other members of the royal family.[45]

The coronation of the king took place in Pasargadae, the royal centre laid out by Cyrus the Great. Here the prospective king went through an initiation ritual: he was dressed in the garments of Cyrus before his rise to the kingship, ate bitter herbs and drank sour milk (Plutarch *Art.* 3). Although the ritual is not fully understood, it clearly evoked the origins of the dynasty and connected the new king directly with the founder of the empire. Only after this was he adorned with the royal insignia and revealed to the people in his crowned, royal glory.

4.2. The Dynamics of Absolute Power

Emphasis is placed in several inscriptions and stories surrounding the kings on their military valour and physical prowess. They underwent a special education, shared by the sons of the aristocracy: young boys were taken from their parents at age five and subjected to tough training for twenty years in military and survival skills, as well as being instructed in Persian myths and legends by the *magi* (Str.15.3.18). Learning 'to tell the truth' was another aspect of this training related to the concept of loyalty to the king, who himself was empowered to uphold the god-given order. This 'truth' was expressed through total obedience, actively promoting his personal well-being, and guarding him from physical and political dangers. Individuals who had particularly distinguished themselves in this respect could be raised in rank by royal favour, marked by royal gifts of a special dress, elaborate ornaments, sometimes the revenues of an estate, the right of salutation with a royal kiss, or even marriage to a royal daughter. This system of royal rewards resulted in the emergence of a royally created aristocracy, superimposed on the ranks of the older aristocratic families, effectively limiting their privileges and forcing them to compete with the newer nobility to maintain their position. All thus became the king's 'servants', or rather 'liegemen' (Old Persian *bandaka*).[46] We have no explicit information about Aršāma's antecedents, but his title 'son-of-the-house', i.e. prince,[47] indicates that he belonged to the topmost level of the nobility, and his use of a seal that had once belonged to his namesake, the son of Darius I, makes it very likely that he was descended from him and was thus a member of the royal family. One other observation of relevance to the Aršāma dossier should be mentioned: the constant need to demonstrate loyalty, to preserve one's position in the eyes of the king, inevitably meant that the many royal rituals and ceremonies demanded the presence of satraps and aspiring dignitaries at court.[48] It is this compulsion that may very well explain Aršāma's absence(s) from Egypt and hence perhaps the reason for writing letters to those in his province.

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[44] See, for example, XPf, with Briant 2002: 518–22.

[45] Note the important discussion by Henkelman 2003.

All this demonstrates the absolute power of the king, not subject to legal restrictions but himself the upholder and embodiment of what was right and just, generally thought to be expressed by the Persian concept *arta*, although this term appears only once in the Achaemenid period, and then without precisely that meaning.[49] But something like that strongly informs the messages of the Old Persian royal inscriptions.[50] In this role the king represented a dignified and vigorous moral force, rewarding the 'good' and opposed to all that might threaten this divine order and unleash the forces of moral and political chaos (the 'lie' = OP *drauga*).[51] This royal message was expressed visually by the widely diffused image on the central authority's seals, which showed a kingly hero masterfully restraining a rampant wild animal or monster,[52] and verbally in the statement of royal virtues found in two exemplars of a royal inscription composed in the name of Darius I and Xerxes respectively, and ending with an exhortation to communicate it to others. That this text reflects widely broadcast and high ideals of Persian kingship is shown by four considerations: we have the text written in the names of two different kings, i.e. it is not a personal statement, but a generic one; it was inscribed on different types of monuments;[53] part of the text turns up in Aramaic on a late fifth-century papyrus found in the tiny Jewish garrison at Elephantine;[54] and similar qualities, expressed in a very different literary form, were attributed by Xenophon to Cyrus the Younger: these, according to Xenophon, were the virtues which made Cyrus the most kingly of men and the most fitted to exercise power (*Anabasis* 1.9.1–31).

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[46] See Briant 2002: 302–56.

[47] Aramaic *br byt'*; Akkadian *mār bīti;* OP **visaputhra*; cf. Vittmann 1991–2 for the Demotic evidence. See Tuplin iii 31–8, Tavernier iii 84. The title in itself does not guarantee that he was related by blood to the royal family, as these titles came to reflect ranking within the court nobility rather than describing function or precise position.

[48] Note the article by Waerzeggers 2010 on Babylonian attendance in Susa at New Year. Tolini's discussion of Lahiru's location (2011: 97–105) suggests that at this point Aršāma was in Babylonia, not Elam or Pārsa. But see also Keaveney iii 136–46 and Hyland iii 249–59.

[49] See Henkelman 2005b: 17.

[50] The basic concept is not, indeed, unique to the Persians: compare Egyptian *maat* ('order', 'balance', 'truth') or the way the rulers of the Assyrian empire present themselves as defenders of the divinely ordained order.

[51] See, e.g. DB §§10, 54, 55, DNb §3, DPd §3, XPl §3.

[52] See Garrison and Root 2001.

5. A CONCLUDING OBSERVATION

A final point is worth considering: The Achaemenid empire helped to draw different peoples together much more intimately than had been the case earlier, leading to more intensive interactions in the cultural sphere.[55] It is in this period that elements of Greek style, imagery, and techniques, for example, are found in places such as Babylonia (e.g. seals, Greek coins impressed on tablets),[56] Iran (e.g. building techniques in Fars),[57] and the Levant (e.g. Sidonian sarcophagi),[58] as well as, of course, Anatolia.[59] A hint of this kind of cultural interconnectedness is provided by the Aršāma dossier, where we encounter the sculptor Ḥinzani, a dependant of Aršāma in Egypt, heading a team of craftsmen (A6.12). His name suggests a Syrian, and he sculpts riders (not a type of sculpture attested in the classical Egyptian artistic repertoires).[60] His expertise is in demand, as Aršāma has had him brought to Susa, and is ordering more artwork to be produced by him. What this may have looked like, we do not know, but it is an important reminder of the vitality and complexity of artistic production in the empire, as reflected so impressively in the seal impressions of the Persepolis archives.

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[53] DNb is one of the texts inscribed on the tomb of Darius I (see Delshad and Doroodi 2019 for a new addition to the set); XPl was found out of context, but was obviously intended to serve a non-funerary function (Gharib 1968).

[54] Sims-Williams 1981. The Elephantine text is the address to his 'subject', which only appears in the version found on Darius' tomb. However, its very presence there (along with the Aramaic version of Darius' Bīsotūn inscription) suggests strongly that such kingly declarations circulated beyond the royal cities where they have been found in inscribed form. Compare the fragments of the Babylonian version of the Bīsotūn inscription set up in Babylon, Seidl 1999a and b.

[55] Note the fundamental discussion of adaptations in Root 1979.

[56] Jakob-Rost and Freydank 1972, Bregstein 1993, Collon 1996.

[57] Nylander 1970.

[58] Von Graeve 1970, Stucky 1984.

[59] See, particularly, Miller 2006.

[60] Note the reference to the statue of a Persian satrap at Ilion in 334: Diod.17.17.6.

3.2

Frustrated Frondeurs or Loyal Kings' Men?

Nobles at the Achaemenid Court

†Arthur P. Keaveney

This chapter takes its rise from a period rather removed from that of the Achaemenid: *Le Grand Siècle*. Louis XIV kept the French nobility about himself at Versailles. In part he was motivated by fear. He remembered the rebellion of the Fronde in his youth and was determined that they should be kept in elegant powerlessness while the real business of government was carried out by men of a lower social rank.[1] This leads us first to wonder if Persian kings felt a like fear of their nobility but then to broaden the question and ask what nobles were to be found at the Achaemenid court? Aršāma visited the king in 410 (TADAE A4.5:2–3, A4.7:4–5, A4.8:4) and was away from Egypt during some or all of the period covered by the Bodleian letters: was there a larger pattern to which these facts can be related? Mainly, but not exclusively, we shall be reliant on classical sources to provide an answer.

Our first observations will be on the arrangements made for those who were actually at court at any given time. As the court was peripatetic, nobles will have followed the king around and this will include those occasions when he went to war.[2] When, however, the king settled for a time in one place, then we have evidence that dwellings of the nobility clustered round his palace. As little excavation has been carried out at the relevant sites, archaeology has little or nothing to tell us about these for the moment.[3] Literary evidence is more helpful. When Masistes quarrels with Xerxes, he hurries home to find his wife has been mutilated by Amestris.[4] The clear implication of this is that Masistes' house is close to Xerxes' palace. Diodorus Siculus is even more explicit. In one place he speaks of private dwellings round Persepolis.[5] A little later he speaks of residences on the terrace both for members of the royal family and for generals.[6] For what it is worth Chariton says that when satraps come to Babylon they have lodgings assigned to them.[7]

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[1] Wolf 1974: 269–70.

[2] On the peripatetic court see Tuplin 1998 and for campaigns cf. Hdt.4.84, 7.39.

[3] Briant 2002: 257, Kuhrt 2007: 489 n. 2. For evidence which offers some support for Llewellyn-Jones' suggestion (2002: 32–3) that cities did surround Persepolis, see what follows. Meanwhile archaeological investigation of the Persepolis plain is now gathering pace, and the concept of a 'garden city' is emerging, a vision in which the town of Persepolis alternated densely built-up areas with large green zones hosting aristocratic or royal settlements. For a flavour see Askari Chaverdi,

While they were at court the estates of the nobles will almost certainly have been in the charge of a μελεδωνός.[8] Essentially a μελεδωνός is somebody put in charge of something. Hence we find Xerxes putting one in charge of a splendid plane tree he had richly adorned and Pythius asking for one of his sons to act as a μελεδωνός and look after him in his old age.[9] The specific meaning of 'steward' is clear from the case of Cambyses, who made such an appointment for his household when he set off for Egypt.[10] I would further suggest that Xerxes may have appointed Artabanus to a similar position when he invaded Greece.[11]

But it soon becomes clear that not all nobles resided at court all of the time. We have nobles in the provinces about the king's business and we may make two broad divisions of them.[12]

First of all, there were those sent out on a specific mission or to perform a particular task with defined objectives. As primarily military examples we may cite Datis the Mede, who was sent against Athens and Eretria, and suffered a defeat at Marathon,[13] or Mardonius, who was sent to operate in Asia Minor and northern Greece,[14] or Tiribazus and Orontes, given the task of defeating Evagoras.[15] Besides war, such missions could be for the purpose of reconnaissance, usually with a view

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and Callieri 2012, Askari Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, Boucharlat, de Schacht, and Gondet 2012, Gondet and Thiesson 2013, Gondet 2018.

[4] Hdt.9.111–13.

[5] Diod.17.70.2. Briant 2002: 257 suggests that the house of Bagoas, which Alexander gave to Parmenio, was one of these (Plut.*Alex.*30).

[6] Diod.17.71.8.

[7] 5.1. Chariton has been variously dated between the first century BC and the second century AD: see Jones 1992. Diodorus Siculus is thought to have lived *c.*90–35: Green 2006: 2–7. Thus two possibilities present themselves. Chariton could conceivably have drawn on Diodorus if the later date proposed for him is accepted. Alternatively, if we opt for the earlier, then Chariton may simply be relying on the general body of knowledge about the Achaemenids available in the Hellenistic age. For this see n. 58.

[8] On the estates see briefly Briant 2002: 446.

[9] Xerxes: Hdt.7.52; Pythius: 7.38.

[10] Hdt.3.61. The word μελεδωνός is almost certainly the (or an) equivalent of Aramaic *pqyd*, which we encounter in the correspondence of Aršāma: Briant 2002: 364. For his *puhu* or staff see Henkelman 2003: 133–5 and Giovinazzo 1995.

[11] Hdt.7.52.

[12] How and Wells 1912: 2.9. Klinkott 2008: 222–33 (esp. 228) argues for the strictest differentiation between nobility in the provinces (*Reichsadeligen*) and the nobles at court (*Hofadel*) and holds that both had fundamentally different interests to pursue. I regard this postulated division as altogether too rigid and, as will be seen from what follows, I envisage rather a situation which is much more fluid and detect a marked permeability between court and country.

[13] Hdt.6.95.

[14] Hdt.6.42–5.

[15] Diod.15.2.1–2.

to future conquest:[16] we know of examples involving Africa and India[17] and there is, too, the famous trip to the western Mediterranean which a group of Persians made in the company of the doctor Democedes.[18] Or the purpose might be to resolve a perceived problem and set an existing war back on course, as when Tithraustes travelled to western Anatolia to liquidate Tissaphernes and make life hard for the Spartans by judicious expenditure of cash.[19]

It seems reasonable to assume that those who undertook these missions went out from the court itself. This would seem to be the natural inference to draw from the fact that Datis reported directly to Darius on the completion of his campaign.[20] Further, those who had gone forth to spy out foreign lands also came back to the king to report on what they had found.[21] We should also note that normally such commanders and agents did not take their families with them when they went abroad. I can find no trace of this and I believe it would be rash to argue that the seven noble Persians Megabyzus sent to receive the submission of Macedon were his relatives.[22]

In contrast with these missions of limited duration, undertaken for war or surveying possible new lands to subdue or other purposes, we have those who served as satraps, for a greater or lesser period, in fixed locations in the provinces.[23] Prize examples of this latter type might be that Artaphernes who was governing at Sardis when Aristagoras approached him to seek his aid in conquering Naxos[24] or (in the fourth century) the intriguing figure of Datames, satrap in Cappadocia.[25] But there are, of course, many others.[26]

It has been noted that, although it was not invariable, there was a tendency for offices of this latter type to become hereditary. In consequence some families could take root in the provinces. As we search for instances, we may cite the case of the satrapy of Dascylium or point to Spithridates in Ionia.[27] Briant observes that such satraps usually had their families with them in the provinces.[28] Thus Mitrobates, the satrap at Dascylium, had with him his son Cranaspes when they were both murdered by Oroetes. Datames had his father-in-law with him in Cappadocia.[29]

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[16] For Darius' curiosity about the world see Hdt.3.38.

[17] Hdt.4.43–4, with Corcella 2007: 612–14.

[18] Hdt.3.134–7, with Asheri 2007b: 513–16. I agree with Kuhrt 2007: 186 n. 1 that, despite dubious elements in the story, the essential account of a reconnaissance is acceptable. In my view, Griffiths 1987 and Davies 2010, by emphasizing what they believe to be the folkloric elements in the narrative, neglect to take account of Greeks' tendency to exaggerate their role at the Persian court: see Keaveney 2012: 35–7.

[19] Xen.*Hell.*3.4.25–6, 3.5.1, Diod.14.80.6–8, Polyaen.7.16. Bagaeus (Hdt.3.128) and Megabazus (Thuc.1.109) might be seen as somewhat similar cases.

[20] Hdt.6.119.

[21] Sources in nn. 16–18 above.

[22] Hdt. 5.17. See further my remarks on Orontas below.

[23] See Hdt.3.89–96 with Asheri 2007b: 479–95. These, of course, could also engage in war; see below, where the freedom of action of the satraps is discussed.

[24] Hdt.5.25, 30.

[25] Nep.*Dat.*1; Diod.15.91.2.

[26] Creating a full list of individuals relevant to this investigation is made difficult by the inclarities and ambiguities of Greek sources and the certainty that not all people attested with the title are of comparable status.

[27] Dascylium: Lewis 1977: 52; Spithridates: Bosworth 1980: 111–12. Osborne 1973: 520 points out that the practice was not invariable. See also the remarks of Briant 1987: 26–7, although *pace* his 27 n. 116 the warlike qualities Datames showed in the king's service must have tipped the balance towards invoking the hereditary principle (Nep.*Dat.*1.2).

However, qualifications must immediately be entered. Satraps could leave their satrapies to make appearances at court. Masistes, to whom we have already alluded, was at court when he quarrelled with Xerxes, although he was at that time satrap of Bactria. Aršāma, too, was absent from his post in Egypt between 410 and 407 or 406.[30] Aside from this, Xenophon tells us that the sons of Persian nobility were trained at court and, at it, absorbed fully their nation's *mores*.[31] These youths were often to be found in the king's bodyguard. Datames was one such, serving while his father was satrap in Cappadocia and, even more famously, Darius I was a member of the bodyguard of Cambyses in Egypt while his father Hystaspes governed a province.[32]

This takes us back to the fear of the Fronde with which we started this chapter, for Briant believes that some members of a provincial family could be held at court to ensure the good behaviour of others. He calls our attention to *Anabasis* 1.8.5–6 where Xenophon speaks of Ariaeus, who had held a command under the younger Cyrus but was able to enjoy an amnesty from the king, announced by his brothers and other relatives.[33] I am not convinced the evidence in this particular case will necessarily bear this interpretation. We have here an extraordinary situation, one of civil war, when splits would occur in families and men would of necessity have to decide which side they would have to take. The instances of Syennesis and Orontas serve to underline this point. Syennesis played the equivocator's part. He gave money to Cyrus and under compulsion joined him. At the same time he maintained a correspondence with Artaxerxes. He despatched one son to fight with Cyrus, the other to fight with Artaxerxes.[34] Orontas had been given to Cyrus by Artaxerxes to be his *bandaka* but, by acts of treachery and treasonable correspondence, showed that he wished to be the king's once more. In this regard it is also worth noticing that, when Cyrus put him on trial, he saw the opportunity to bind Orontas' relatives to himself by having some of them among the jurors.[35]

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[28] Briant 1987: 28.

[29] Mitrobates: Hdt.3.126; Datames: Diod.15.91.3. See Briant 1987: 26, who assembles other evidence. Aršāma's putative son Ariyāršā (Tuplin iii 7) would be in place in his father's satrapy.

[30] Masistes: Hdt.9.108–13; Aršāma: Driver 1965: 5–6, Tuplin iii 40–2. For suggestions as to why they were absent see n. 64. Note also that when Megabyzus revolted from Artaxerxes I, he left the court and made for Syria, which Ctesias calls his *χώρα* (686 F 14.40). See n. 37 for the probable meaning of this word.

[31] *An.*1.9.3–5. Persian accomplishments: Hdt.1.136. Plut.*Art.* 3 also says they were schooled in Magian lore.

[32] Hdt.1.209, 3.70, 139; DB §35 (Kuhrt 2007: 146) with Asheri 2007a: 215, Asheri 2007b: 468, 518, and How and Wells 1912: 1.276. Note also that the future Darius III served as an *astandēs*: Briant 2002: 770–2, cf. 370. These are positions of honour: see nn. 77, 78, 79.

[33] Xen.*An.*2.41. Briant 1987: 28, 30.

[34] Xen.*An.*1.1.12, 21–7; Diod.14.20.3; Ctes.688 F 16.63.

At this point something more must be said about both Masistes and Megabyzus. When Masistes decided to rebel, he took his sons with him to Bactria.[36] It is, I suggest, a moot point whether he feared they would be held as hostages or that something much worse might befall them. When Megabyzus retired to his *χώρα* (Syria), his wife remained at court.[37] The mutilated state of Ctesias' text counsels caution. It is possible that she was held as a hostage, although this is not stated explicitly.[38] On the other hand, we should not forget that she was a daughter of Xerxes.[39] This may have granted her a measure of immunity and she is certainly represented as facilitating negotiations between Artaxerxes and her husband.

Thus evidence for fear of the nobility and hostage-taking on the part of the king is, at times, equivocal. By way of contrast, it is worth pointing out that, so far as Greeks are concerned, our sources are definite and clear cut. There are a number of instances of kings, or those who aspired to be kings, maintaining a grip on Greeks in their service.

When Cyrus the younger, who aspired to be king, set off on his campaign, he kept the wives and children of his principal Greek mercenary officers as hostages.[40] Years later when Memnon was appointed to command, he sent his wife and children to Darius III as pledges of his good faith.[41] Arguably the most famous of such hostages is Histiaeus, whom Darius I kept about the court because he had suspicions about what he might do in the provinces.[42] This Persian attitude is surely rooted, in varying measure, in Persian disdain for foreigners, personal experience of Greeks, and visceral dislike of those who had pushed themselves into positions where it was believed they had no right to be.[43]

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[35] Xen.*An.*1.6 with Keaveney 2012: 34. Klinkott 2008: 220 n. 82 thought the seven judges empanelled by Cyrus here corresponded to the Seven of Darius. I would agree but have suggested (2012: 34, 35) that the number seven would resonate with Cyrus in other ways, and I share the scepticism of others (n. 77) about the relative importance of the descendants of the Seven in court life.

[36] Hdt. 9.113.

[37] Ctes.688 F 14.40, 42. Lenfant 2004: 131 n. 559 believes that by *χώρα* a satrapy is meant. See n. 30 above.

[38] Briant's confidence on this point (2002: 577) seems misplaced.

[39] Balcer 1993: 113–14.

[40] Xen.*An.*1.4.8.

[41] Diod.17.23.5; Arr.*Anab.*1.20.3. It has been suggested to me that Memnon may have acted thus because of his previous involvement in revolt: see Diod.16.52.3. Briant 2002: 783 disbelieves the story and thinks Memnon was merely following customary practice (see above) in sending his children to court to be educated, but the context is against this view.

[42] Hdt.5.23–4. What Herodotus has to say about Democedes may also be instructive. According to him (3.135), when Democedes was setting out on his mission, Darius offered to let him take all his possessions. Democedes, however, feared some kind of trap and said he would leave them at court and collect them on his return.

[43] Hdt.1.134, 5.33, 6.30, 7.236, with Keaveney 1988.

Broadly speaking, the king used the same methods to keep control both over those fulfilling special commissions and those who governed as satraps over a defined area. As on virtually every other occasion, the king made his will known by sealed letter and expected his instructions to be obeyed.[44] Indeed Diodorus explicitly says that Persian commanders could do little without the king's express permission.[45] So when Artaphernes wanted to support Aristagoras' attack on Naxos, he had first to clear the matter with Darius.[46] Even as prominent a figure as the younger Cyrus could not deviate from the instructions he had been given.[47] One could expect, too, a change of instruction. As Datames was preparing to attack Egypt, he was told instead to move against Cataonia.[48] Even when some initiative was shown, people were still careful to refer the business to the king. Tissaphernes reported on the terms he had agreed with the Spartans, while Tiribazus, after imprisoning Conon and giving money to Antalcidas, went to have discussions with the king—and apparently discovered that the king did not approve, since he was replaced by Strouthas, who pursued a plainly anti-Spartan agenda.[49] As a kind of coda, though, we may point out that the system was not inflexible. The king could accept advice from an underling. When Memnon decided, as he was dying, to appoint Pharnabazus in his place, Darius III agreed.[50]

In all of this there was, of course, an ultimate sanction the king could apply. If he could appoint, he could also dismiss. Among those on special commissions, Mardonius was relieved of his command when his performance was deemed unsatisfactory. Later, in the fourth century, Pharnabazus was replaced in command against Egypt by Artaxerxes II, who gave the position to Datames instead.[51] Turning once more to those who held the title of satrap, we find that Tissaphernes lost not only his office but his life, because it was believed he had not dealt effectively with the Spartans.[52] An even more spectacular example of what a king could do occurred at the start of the reign of Artaxerxes I. He had a grand clear-out of those satraps whose loyalty to himself he doubted.[53]

We need, though, to be aware that the system did not always work smoothly. We can best see this illustrated in what is sometimes dubbed the Satraps' Revolt. There is much that is unclear and controversial about this episode from the

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[44] There are innumerable examples of such letters in Herodotus. Discussions may be found, for instance, in Van den Hout 1949 and Bucci 1978. If we could be sure the garrison commanders were independent of the king, this might reinforce the message, but it would seem they did not always enjoy such independence. See Lewis 1977: 53 n. 1.

[45] 15.41.5. See Briant 1987: 24–5 and Waters 2010.

[46] Hdt.5.31–2.

[47] Xen.*Hell.*1.5.2–5.

[48] Nep.*Dat.*4.

[49] Xen.*Hell.*3.3.20, 4.8.16. On a later occasion he visited the court to report a naval victory over Evagoras and ask for more financial resources (Diod.15.4.1–2). He got the money, but these signs of favour did not protect him from later trouble (cf. below, p. 145).

[50] Arr.*Anab.*2.13, with Briant 1987: 27.

[51] Mardonius: Hdt.6.94; Datames: Nep.*Dat.*3.5.

[52] Diod.14.80.6–8.

[53] Diod.11.71.1.

360s.[54] But this much may be said: in this period we are looking at weakened central authority and the result was that some satraps obtained a degree of independence that enabled them to indulge in rebellion and disorder.

Our next task is to try and discover the framework into which the data we have assembled may be inserted. We need to see how it fits into a picture of the royal court.

One of the chief ways of getting to court was by royal summons. Two sources are of especial importance here. In the Book of Esther we find a banquet in Susa which lasted one hundred and eighty days. The guests were the court officials, the armies of Media and Persia, the nobility, and the governors of the provinces.[55] In the *Cyropaedia* we are told the ἔντιμοι (i.e. nobles) decided the nobles should always attend court during Cyrus' pleasure and be ready to do his bidding. This custom, Xenophon adds, still continues, as people wait on the courts of Asia.[56] He further observes that Cyrus was anxious that all who had private means should attend court, and took various steps to see that they did. In this way they would behave properly but, if they were absent, they would most likely become self-indulgent, unjust, or careless.[57]

This is not the place to discuss in detail the problems attendant on using the Book of Esther as a source.[58] Nevertheless we can note two remarks made long ago by L. B. Paton. He wondered who was looking after the provinces in the absence of the nobles. He also pointed out that, although it is said Dionysius II of Syracuse once kept a party going for ninety days, it is difficult to imagine one which lasted one hundred and eighty days.[59] One readily agrees with this second point, but the cases of Masistes and Aršāma, to whom we have made reference earlier, seem to indicate that a satrapy could continue to function in the absence of a satrap. All in all, I would suggest that what we have here is an example of the hyperbole and exaggeration that characterize Esther, but that there is behind it a core of reality.[60] This conclusion is strengthened when we consider that the essential point, namely the exercise of royal will and consequent summons, which agrees with the *Cyropaedia*, can be illustrated by specific concrete examples.

The reasons for summons vary. You could, for instance, be summoned on a mere whim as when, according to Ctesias, Cyrus the Great sent for Astyages just because he had a hankering to see him.[61] State business, too, could occasion a call. Cyrus the younger was sent for when his father was dying and according to Plutarch he entertained some hopes of succeeding to the throne.[62] Cambyses sent for Tanyoxarces from his province and Secundianus for Ochus. In both instances this was because the king entertained suspicions about his underling.[63] Sometimes something more pleasant might await you. That, at least, is what happened to Histiaeus. He, of course, was no Persian but was received with honours normally reserved for Persians who stood high in the king's regard.[64] And, if you could be called, you could be dismissed also. Twice Megabyzus was banished and twice restored to favour.[65] Even a queen mother, Parysatis, was banished for a time to Babylon.[66]

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[54] See the detailed discussion in Briant 2002: 656–75.

[55] Esther 1.2–4.

[56] Xen.*Cyr.*8.1.6–8.

[57] Xen. *Cyr.*8.1.16–18. See further the conclusion to this chapter.

[58] The literature is vast but mention may be made of the recent work of Macchi 2005, 2007, which attempts—in my view not with complete success—to deny that it has any independent value, but is dependent on a common Hellenistic body of knowledge about the Achaemenids. On this body of knowledge see (briefly) Keaveney 2003: 65–7.

[59] See Paton 1908: 127, 131. Dionysius II: Plut.*Dion.*7. Note that in Esther it was followed by another which lasted seven days (Esther 1.5).

[60] On the style of Esther see, for example, Gruen 2002: 144–5.

But when Xenophon speaks of people waiting on the courts of Asia, it reminds us that not all who stood at the king's gate were summoned. Some came of their own volition. Often these seem to be opportunistic or desperate foreigners, such as Syloson or Themistocles.[67] But not always. Intaphernes' wife came to beg for her husband's life.[68] Tissaphernes turned up with five hundred horsemen to tell his master the younger Cyrus was revolting.[69] And it will be recalled that, when Tiribazus had imprisoned Conon and given money to Antalcidas, he went in person to report to the king.[70]

How long one waited for the actual interview is a moot point and obviously depended on the will or whim of the king. I do not think it would be fanciful to suggest that people who bore the kind of news Tissaphernes did would receive a swift entrée. Two specific instances which concern foreigners are of some interest here. Callicratidas was kept waiting two days by the younger Cyrus and, judging this incompatible with his dignity as a Spartan, departed in a rage.[71] Themistocles, when he sought an interview, was able to persuade the king to let him wait a year before he made his appearance at court.[72] Speaking generally, Greeks seem to have expected delay before having an audience and the response of Callicratidas was therefore a trifle unusual.[73]

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[61] 688 F 9.6.

[62] Plut.*Art.*2.

[63] Ctesias 688 F 13.11–12, F 15.50.

[64] Hdt.5.24. On the honours a king might bestow, see Wiesehöfer 2010: 515–18 and further nn. 77, 78, 79. Although our sources give no reason for the presence of Masistes and Aršāma at court (n. 30), we are at liberty to speculate. Since Masistes' quarrel with Xerxes began at the time of the king's birthday, we could argue that he had been called to court to attend the celebrations. It has been suggested to me that Aršāma may have been required to come and renew his allegiance. For another sort of explanation see Hyland iii 249–59, with Tuplin iii 69–71.

[65] Ctes. 688 F 14.40–3.

[66] Plut.*Art.*19.

[67] Hdt.3.140; Plut.*Them.*27. The regular traffic of Babylonians to Susa, discussed by Waerzeggers 2010, is not of concern to us since the people involved were not nobles and travelled on business, rather than to see the king and attend court.

[68] Hdt.3.119.

[69] Xen.*An.*1.2.4.

[70] See n. 49. The rhythm which Waerzeggers 2010: 801–2 detects in Babylonian traffic obviously does not apply to these instances.

[71] Xen.*Hell.*1.6.6, Plut.*Lys.*6. Plutarch adds the detail that Callicratidas was told to wait because Cyrus was drinking, and that he replied he would wait until he had finished, a response which caused merriment in his hearers.

[72] Thuc.1.137–8. The historicity of this request has sometimes been doubted, needlessly in my opinion: see Keaveney 2003: 28–35.

Persians of rank would seem to have had an expectation that they would, as a matter of course, be granted an audience. That I infer from the fact that, by not doing so, Smerdis would seem to be violating custom and, in this way, gave rise to suspicions about who he really was.[74] They, too, will have had to wait, as we can see from Darius' granting the privilege of special access to the Seven, a privilege Intaphernes abused.[75] I believe it is worth adding here that, from a practical point of view, it was in the king's own interest to give regular audience. In the absence of any kind of intelligence service, he relied on men coming to tell him of what was afoot in the provinces.[76]

One thing all who came to court desired was to win the king's favour. They wished to draw as close as possible to the king's inner circle, which comprised his family, relatives, and favoured nobles.[77] These were the people who, for instance, took part in the lion hunts, performed a careful toilet when privileged to dine with the king, and (some of them) joined in drinking with him after dinner.[78] They held, too, formal titles such as Cup Bearer and Spear Carrier.[79] But, just as we cannot be certain how long nobles waited for an interview, so we cannot know how long they lingered in their houses before being admitted to favour or, indeed, if they had to wait at all.

Holding the kind of decorative offices we have alluded to in our last paragraph plainly did not preclude obtaining the special commissions and satrapies we described earlier in this chapter. Both must have been sought because they meant one stood high in the king's estimation.[80] One suspects, however, that positions with real power were the more highly prized. If we are permitted to invoke Histiaeus, we can point to a man who received many curial honours but was irked at being deprived of his tyranny in Thrace.[81]

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[73] Ar.*Ach*.80–6.

[74] Hdt. 3.68. Just.1.9.11 thinks his seclusion was to his advantage but this probably rests on an exaggerated view of the seclusion of the king. See Asheri 2007a: 150–1, Asheri 2007b: 466.

[75] Hdt. 3.118–19. Briant 2002: 131 thought this privilege may have been withdrawn as a result of this incident.

[76] See Hirsch 1985: 128–9.

[77] See Briant 2002: 310–12. Klinkott 2008: 218–21 (see also 222–6) believes that there existed a permanent council of nobility in which the Seven and then their descendants were prominent and that this formed some kind of inner council circle. However Briant 2002: 128–37, 283, 901 has argued very strongly for the view that neither a permanent king's council nor panel of judges existed and that to be a descendant of the Seven did not confer exceptional powers, though it was surely a mark of distinction. See also Cook 1983: 144 and Keaveney 2003: 40–1.

[78] Heraclid.690 F 2. Other marks of honour are discussed in Wiesehöfer 2010: 515–18.

[79] On these offices see Henkelman 2003: 117–23.

[80] Tiribazus, whom we have so often mentioned, illustrates perfectly one who belonged to the inner circle at court (although we know of no specific title) and also operated extensively in the provinces. His career is conveniently summarized in Briant 2002: 321–2.

[81] Hdt.5.23–5, 35.

Favour won could be easily lost. The chequered careers of Megabyzus and Tiribazus illustrate this perfectly.[82] Xenophon actually says that when the Persian youth were schooled at court, one of the facts of life they were able to note was how some were honoured and some disgraced.[83] We have observed a little earlier how a fall from grace with the king could result in expulsion from court. Not all suffered this fate. Mardonius seems to have remained there and was so able to repair his position as to become an influential figure in decision making.[84] The issue is even clearer when we come to Tiribazus. In disgrace he was on the fringes when the king and court went on campaign. Then, an opportunity to exercise his diplomatic talents brought him back to favour.[85] But, even when you were favoured and operating in the provinces, you could find yourself slandered by a fellow commander. This is what happened to Tiribazus at the hands of Orontes.[86] Or somebody at court could turn the king against you. Datames, we are told, fell a victim to *invidia aulicorum* (the envy of courtiers).[87] In all of this we may, with confidence, say we are catching a glimpse of the intrigues which went on at the Achaemenid court.[88]

By way of conclusion we may briefly return to where we began: the court of Louis XIV. From what we have seem of the tight grip the Persian king kept over his nobility it would appear that he, like Louis XIV, sometimes feared their potential for making trouble. Indeed there is further proof of this to be found in the *Cyropaedia*. When Xenophon there describes Cyrus' arrangements for his court, the security and safety of the king is one of the objectives of those arrangements.[89] Moreover, as at Versailles, we do have the nobility clustering around the king. In diverse ways he is the centre of their lives and it can be fairly said that the success of those lives was intimately bound up with his will and wish. To him they came when called and to him they came of their own volition too, when they had some business to transact, news to impart, or a request to make. There would appear to be no determined period for a noble's residence at court, but those admitted to the king's favour received titles, commissions, and provincial governorships. And here there is a vital difference between Achaemenid Persia and Bourbon France. The nobles wielded real power. But they were never free of the court, for there their children were educated and to it they might, at any time, be required to return.[90]

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[82] See Briant 2002: 320–2.

[83] Xen.*An.*1.9.3.

[84] Hdt.7.9. Klinkott 2008: 223 says nobles could oppose the king and offers (n. 105) Artabanus' pacific advice to both Darius and Xerxes as examples (Hdt.4.83, 7.10). This might be expanded. Artabanus felt the wrath of Xerxes (7.11) and it was generally recognized that it was hazardous to speak your mind to the king. In Artabanus' case his audience kept quiet through fear (7.10) and when Artemisia offered advice before Salamis her friends feared for her safety while her enemies looked forward to her ruin. Generally, it was a good idea to ask the king first if you might speak freely as Demaratus did with Xerxes (7.101) and Cöes with the considerably less volatile Darius I (4.97). With any autocrat frankness was a hazard and here again we may invoke Versailles. Vauban lost the favour of Louis XIV when he produced a critical pamphlet on the state of the public finances, as Saint-Simon reports in his *Memoirs* (Truc 1953: 771–2, Norton 1967: 327–9).

[85] Plut.*Art.*24.

[86] Diod.15.8, 10–11. The changes were proved false but, while Diodorus says Orontes then fell under the king's displeasure, he does not specifically state what this involved.

[87] Nep. *Dat.* 5.

[88] To detail these intrigues, which could at times be murderous, is beyond the scope of this chapter. See Wiesehöfer 2010: 521–3, Keaveney 2003: 119–29, Keaveney 2010, Llewellyn-Jones 2013: 133–46.

[89] *Cyr.*8.1–6.

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[90] Much of the research for this chapter was carried out during the tenure of a Margo Tytus Visiting Research Fellowship at the University of Cincinnati. I wish to record my gratitude to the late Professor Getzel Cohen for the Fellowship and the University for its hospitality. An earlier version of this chapter was commented on by Christopher Tuplin and it has, I believe, benefited thereby. I alone, however, am responsible for this version.

3.3

The Royal Road from Herodotus to Xenophon (via Ctesias)

Eran Almagor

INTRODUCTION

One of the features of the Achaemenid empire that has captured the imagination of generations since antiquity is the impressively organized and controlled (military) transportation and communication system known as the Royal Road, leading from the periphery to its political centres, and employed by the king, his court, high officials, persons at the service of the royal administration, ambassadors, and travellers with royal or satrapal authorization (*halmi*).[1] The Royal Road has become a symbol of imperial might and of accessibility.[2] It antedated the Achaemenids and was an inheritance from the Neo-Assyrians,[3] although the relationship between the road systems of the two empires is not entirely clear. Later on, it was imitated by the Ptolemies and the Romans.[4] For contemporary Greek observers this network must have been a hallmark of the way vast space was divided and handled in Persia.[5] It is also, of course, a topic that is implicit in several of the Bodleian letters (TADAE A6.12–A6.14) and for which one of them (A6.9) provides a unique piece of evidence.

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[1] Graf 1994: 173–80, Briant 1991, Briant 2002: 357–87, 927–30, Briant 2012a, Kuhrt 2007: 730–62, Colburn 2013, Henkelman and Jacobs n.d. Military: cf. Curt.5.8.5, Briant 1991: 74–5. The sealed authorization: cf. PF 1318, 1404, PF NN 1809, Nehemiah 2.7–9; Koch 1993: 5–58, Briant 1991: 70–2, Briant 2012a: 191–7, Henkelman ii 192–223. On other travellers see Hdt.5.35, 7.239, Diod.11.56.6–8, 14.11.2, Plut.*Them*.26.6. I am grateful for John Ma and Christopher Tuplin for their kind invitation to participate in this publication.

[2] As a symbol the royal 'path' (*βασιλικὴ ἀτραπός*) was used by Euclid in his reply to Ptolemy to imply ease of access (ap. Proclus' Prologue to his *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*, 2.68). For Philo (*Gig*.64), the royal road is a symbol of the reason which leads to God. Among the moderns, see Pierce 1878: 301 on the claim that there is 'no royal road to logic'. S. Freud, in the second edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1909), used this image to portray the access dreams provide to the unconscious: 'Die Traumdeutung ist die *Via regia* zur Kenntnis des Unbewußten im Seelenleben'. See Sherwin-White 2003.

[3] Graf 1994: 181–4, Favaro 2007. It is referred to, for areas east of the Euphrates, either as *ḫarrān šarri* (CAD s.v. *ḫarrān* 1(d)), or, from Middle Assyrian onwards, *ḫūl šarri*, with the Sumerian logogram KASKAL LUGAL. See also Numbers 20.17 (21.22, 33.41–9) with Oded 1970: 182 n. 41. This system of the 'king's highways', providing the king, his officials, and the army with a rapid and trustworthy means of communication across the empire, began with the Hittites (Garstang 1943: 35–6). Perhaps the earliest of these roads was between Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, and central Anatolia: Dedeoğlu 2003: 85. It was revived by the Neo-Assyrians, probably between

In this chapter I shall explore the literary evidence for the Royal Road provided by three Greek authors from the classical era, assessing the character of their reports and seeking to find interconnections between them. These portrayals, connected yet still distinct and fragmentary, are presented as stations or 'stops', as it were, along our road to understanding.

1. HERODOTUS

We begin with Herodotus, writing in the 420s.[6] Two passages come into question: the well-known depiction in Book 5, our first 'stop' here, and another short passage in Book 8 on the royal postal service, to which we shall come in our third 'stop' (below, p. 170).

The celebrated description in 5.52–4 has to be treated with extreme caution, since it appears to be partially tongue-in-cheek. First of all, we should examine the context. The occasion for the list of stations/stages, distances, and the overall picture of the road is a digression within the story of Aristagoras' unsuccessful attempt to persuade Sparta to assist the Ionians in their revolt against Persia

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the reigns of Shalmaneser III (858–824) and Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727). See Kinnier-Wilson 1972: 57–60, Kessler 1980: 183–233, SAA 1.XIII-XX, SAA 6.93: 11', 6.204:7, 12.1:9, 16; 2: r.5. This road network was complete with stations (*bēt mardēti*: SAA 1.177, 10.361) at fixed intervals (possibly a day's distance), which were in fact relay points where chariots and horses could be changed. The Assyrian postal relay system (*kalliu*) may be combined with this system of stations; see e.g. SAA 1.97, 177, 5.277, 10.361: r.3–11, 18.192, and Charpin 2010: 137–41. See Graf 1994: 171–2, Ur 2003. Holmberg 1933: 18–21 connects the Royal Road and the royal stages or stops with the system of relay stations of the Persian postal system (below), whereas Pflaum 1940: 198–205 distinguishes the two systems. There are still many questions concerning this network of roads: Kessler 1997, Wiesehöfer 1996: 76. They were cut to allow wheeled vehicles: Xen.*An*.1.2.21. Some of its segments were probably paved, but this was not typical: Graf 1994: 173, Colburn 2013: 36–7. French 1998 assumes that later Roman, paved provincial roads in Asia, Galatia, and Cappadocia are the lineal descendants of earlier, unpaved roads from the Persian period.

[4] Ptolemies: P.Hibeh 110, P.Oxy. 710, Preisigke 1907, Llewelyn 1993, Llewelyn 1994: 8–13, Hannah 2009: 140–1. The Roman *cursus publicus*: *Codex Theodosianus* 8.5, Ramsay 1925, Holmberg 1933, Pflaum 1940, Casson 1994: 182–9, Mitchell 1976, Kolb 2000, Remijsen 2007: 130–5, Hannah 2009: 142–3.

[5] Graf 1994: 168, Briant 2002: 357. Not only Greeks, but also contemporary Thracians were fascinated by this road: Hdt.7.115.3 asserts they left Xerxes' road unploughed. The decline in this ability to reach all areas rapidly from the centre is deemed a token of the kingdom's weakness: Xen.*An*.1.5.9; Isoc. 4.165; Diod.14.22.2; Curt.3.2.9.

[6] Fornara 1971: 32–4, Hornblower 1996: 19–38, Dewald 1998: x–xi.

(5.49–51).[7] Aristagoras presents the route inland from the Ionian coast to the residence of the king in Susa (ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς … παρὰ βασιλέα) as part of his pitch to the Spartan king Cleomenes.

At first sight, there are correspondences between Aristagoras' portrayal (5.49–51) and Herodotus' own description (5.52–4).[8] They appear to move in the same direction in their depiction of the Persian empire, mention the same places and peoples (except Cyprus and Ionia) and in the same order.[9] With an ethnographer's interest, Aristagoras describes the arms and clothing of the different groups under the Persians, as Herodotus does later on (7.61–80).[10] Yet, Herodotus seems to distance himself from Aristagoras and to undermine his account.[11] First, Herodotus mentions the Royal Road as such while Aristagoras does not explicitly refer to it.[12] Second, Aristagoras emphasizes the ease with which the Spartans could acquire rich areas in Persia (5.49.4), whereas Herodotus underscores the difficulties.[13] These two facts are ironically related: the road is designed to facilitate communication and speed up travel but it is that very road that is eventually made to hamper the conquest of the Persian empire.

The difference between Aristagoras and Herodotus can be seen in the difference between the forms of presentation they each use.[14] Aristagoras brings to his meeting with King Cleomenes a visual aid, a bronze tablet, presumably flat,[15] over which is engraved a map of the whole world (χάλκεον πίνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἁπάσης περίοδος). It has the entire sea and all the rivers (καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες) outlined.[16] While he talks, Aristagoras points to the map (δεικνὺς δὲ ἔλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίοδον, τὴν ἐφέρετο ἐν τῷ πίνακι ἐντετμημένην),[17] in order to show the rich territories that the Lacedaemonians could easily take from the Persians if only they invade Asia.[18] The geographical notions embedded in that map were presumably based on previous models, probably those of the philosopher Anaximander of Miletus (*d.* 547/6),[19] or other Ionian predecessors (Herodotus 4.36.2).[20] Prominent among these previous Ionian models was a map of Hecataeus (*fl.* 500), which supplemented his written geographical work in two books, called by later readers *Περιήγησις*, 'Geographical Tour', or *Περίοδος Γῆς*, 'Circuit of the Earth'.[21] (The work probably followed a circular tour, as can be seen by the affinity to the genre of a coastal round trip, the *Περίπλους*, and the connotation of the *peri-* prefix.)[22]

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[7] On this scene see Dewald 1998: 671.

[8] Rood 2006: 294–6, Pelling 2007: 196–7.

[9] Branscombe 2010: 17, 21–2.

[10] Harrison 2007: 44–5, Branscombe 2010: 11, 17. Also West 1991: 155–6, Armayor 2004: 322–6, Rood 2006: 294–5, Irwin 2007: 70. Both are shown to be 'inquirers' by Branscombe 2010: 10–20, who points out that the relationship between them is a 'complex one' [10].

[11] Dewald 1993: 64, Dewald 2006: 163 n. 26, Branscombe 2010: 15.

[12] Curiously Dilke 1985: 23 believes Aristagoras' map included the Royal Road.

[13] Pelling 2007: 195, Branscombe 2010: 33 n. 94. See also Irwin 2007: 70, Pelling 2007: 189, and Branscombe 2010: 19 n. 50 on Aristagoras' portrayal of the Persians as 'rich and weak'.

[14] Pelling 2007: 198, Branscombe 2010: 28–31 (with references).

[15] And perhaps circular: Dilke 1985: 24. See Hdt.4.36.

[16] This detail is assigned by Branscombe 2010: 4 n. 10 to the Spartans as its source, following Herodotus' words 'as the Lacedaemonians say'. See Macan 1895: 188.

[17] Compare Ar. *Nub.* 206–17. See Barker 2010: 6–9. This demonstrates that it was more than a mere list, *pace* Brodersen 2012: 107–8; see Hornblower 2013: 163.

[18] Pelling 2007: 189.

[19] Nenci 1994: 223–4, Hahn 2001: 202–10, Couprie 2003: 194–201, Naddaf 2003: 48–55, Branscombe 2010: 7 n. 23.

Aristagoras thus uses a direct means of communication. It is addressed to a live audience, namely Cleomenes. The disadvantage of this form of address is that it can be interrupted, as evidenced by Cleomenes walking away from Aristagoras (twice). After Aristagoras shows his map representing the Persian Empire, Cleomenes takes time to consider and responds: 'Guest-friend from Miletus, I defer my answer for three days' (*ἐς τρίτην ἡμέρην*: 5.49.9). This is the first interruption Aristagoras experiences. The second occurs when Aristagoras gives Cleomenes a truthful answer about the length of the journey from the sea of the Ionians to the residence of the king. He admits that it takes three months. As this is too long a period for the Spartans to be away from their homes, Aristagoras is kindly asked to leave. Aristagoras' direct approach is risky, and when he is confronted by Cleomenes' direct question his answer exposes the deception of the map's small scale.[23]

At this point Herodotus inserts his own presentation of the Royal Road system from Sardis to Susa—a *written* annotation of Aristagoras' physical presentation of space, in what amounts to an *ekphrasis* of the silent map,[24] and (by contrast with Aristagoras' approach) a piece of indirect communication.[25] This is a third interruption to the story, and it produces further disruption.[26] For, while agreeing to the general framework of three months, Herodotus in an authorial voice affirms that the road was just a bit longer, by three days, when one adds the section of the road from Ephesus to Sardis (5.54.2).[27]

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[20] Earlier models: Myres 1953: 34–7, Dilke 1985: 23–4, Jacob 1988: 283–9. See Johnston 1967 on the reverse of a fourth-century series of tetradrachms showing the area around Ephesus (where no rivers nor roads are marked). See Branscombe 2010: 7–10. Herodotus could have been aware of a model of a map of the world: Jacob 1988: 284, Briant 2002: 357, Branscombe 2010: 22. This map may have been influenced by Babylonian models: Horowitz 1998: 20–42.

[21] Supplemented his text: cf. Strab.1.1.11. Variation in the title: Jacoby 1912: 2672, Romm 1992: 26–31. The map: Pearson 1939: 27–96. Its relation to that of Anaximander: Agathemerus *Geographiae informatio* 1.1, Kahn 1960: 81–4, Branscombe 2010: 6. See Dilke 1985: 56.

[22] Branscombe 2010: 7. Probably a clockwise tour: Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ὕοψ*, *Μέγασα*, Pearson 1939: 95.

[23] See Syme 1995: 6 on the disadvantage Aristagoras' map brings to his argument; and cf. Purves 2010: 136–7.

[24] Purves 2010: 132–8. In a sense, Herodotus reverses the relationship between the text and map—the map attached to Hecataeus' work presumably illustrated the text; now, Herodotus steps in to fill in missing details in Aristagoras' map.

[25] It is no accident that Herodotus immediately afterwards inserts a digression on writing (5.57–61).

[26] Branscombe 2010: 29 is not strictly correct in saying that 'no one can interrupt Herodotus' written logos but Herodotus himself'. The reading of the text may be broken up by the reader as well.

The framing of this critique is worth comment. In one respect the two accounts are not as different as they may appear. Herodotus' description follows a traveller's route and so in principle entails progressive linear movement, whereas Aristagoras' map is an artefact designed to be grasped at once. But Aristagoras' own elucidation of the map does create some illusion of temporal progress, whereas Herodotus presents his hodological[28] description entirely in parasangs (understood as spatial units of measurement)[29] and staging-posts, not in days of travel, and thus appear to suppress time, as in a map.[30] Only at the end does he (first) reveal that the road has two non-sequential sections (creating an illusion of simultaneity) and (second) convert those units of measurement into time, in order momentarily to confirm Aristagoras (it *is* three months from Sardis to Susa) before then contradicting him (he should have taken account of an extra 540 stades and three days).

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[27] Henderson 2007: 302. Herodotus makes clear that Aristagoras, in his wish to deceive Cleomenes (5.50.2), skips over the journey from the Ionian coast to Sardis, a journey Spartans know already, as readers of Herodotus would recall from a previous passage in the text (1.69.4).

[28] To use the expression of Janni 1984; cf. Purves 2010: 145–7, Barker 2010: 8. See Cartledge and Greenwood 2002: 362, Branscombe 2010: 32, 36.

[29] As a spatial measurement, the parasang is said by Herodotus to equal thirty stades, approximately 5.768 or 5.322 km/3.5 miles, if 1 stade = 1.192.27 m (Olympic) or 1.776 m (Attic). See also Suda *π* 427: *παρασάγγης*. See Cousin 1905: 250–3 (parasang = 5.94 km), Lobdell 1857: 240–1 (4.8 km), Becher 1949: 1375 (5–6 km), French 1998: 20 (4.561 km). See also Paradeisopoulos 2015: 385. The unit was not rigorously fixed in antiquity, as evidenced by Strabo's assertion (11.11.5) that some say the parasang equals sixty stadia, and others thirty or forty. French 1998: 17 believes Herodotus uses a shorter stade (178.271 m). It was probably understood as a measurement of time (the distance covered in a given time). As such it was not fixed, but varied in accordance with the features of the terrain. Hdt. 5.53 claims that a person can cover five parasangs a day (probably on foot). Gabrielli 1995: 110 shows that the soldiers of Cyrus the Younger did *c.*6 parasangs a day. The unit was perhaps conceived as a distance one can traverse in an hour: see Layard 1853: 49–50, Lammert 1929: 2177, Olmstead 1948: 157, 299, Farrell 1961: 153, Frye 1963: 128, Barnett 1963: 1–3, Lendle 1987: 25, Müller 1994: 24, Rood 2010: 52–4, yet cf. Williams 1996: 285 n. 4. See King 1988, Tuplin 1997: 404–6, Sagona 2004: 317. Graf 1994: 184 points out that the Egyptian station called *Pentaschoenum* (P.Ryl. 633 V. 484 twenty miles from Pelusium) may mean 'five walking hours', thereby indicating a Greek interpretation of the Persian parasang. But it may also mean 'five parasangs/schoeni' (from Pelusium). For other discussions see Lendle 1995: 14, 97–8, 262, 334. See Houtum-Schindler 1888 for different measurements of the parasang in accordance with the royal cubit (twenty-four digits, 525 mm—cf. the figure used in the third appendix to Aelian's *Tactica*), i.e. as 12,000 cubits (~ 6300 m), and with the common cubit (twenty-one digits), i.e. 10,800 cubits (~ 5,670 m). The Talmudic equivalent *parsa* (פרסה) seems fixed at four *Mil* = 8,000 cubits (*amot*). According to R. Yochanan (*d.* AD 280), an average person can walk the distance of ten *parsot* a day (Pesachim Tractate 93b, 94a), thus approximately a *parsa* an hour (cf. *Shulchan Aruch* 459:2).

[30] Purves 2010: 136: the *ekphrasis*, 'presents time as circular or simultaneous, its image always remains on a continuum between A and B, a continuum that never "arrives" '. It is an eternal iterative movement. This trait is found in Herodotus' ethnographic descriptions: Purves 2010: 138. Note that, although Herodotus eventually addresses the question of time (5.53–4), the hodological description is in terms of parasangs and staging-posts, not days.

The effect of all of this is to cast authorial doubt on the depiction of Aristagoras, who has apparently not presented all the facts, and to underline the deception being practised upon Cleomenes: the audience, looking from outside and benefiting from Herodotus' indirect communication, can see that he is the victim of Aristagoras' misleading use of direct communication. We may see an analogy between the two disruptions of Aristagoras' presentation: Cleomenes' negative reaction to it and Herodotus' critique. But, whereas Cleomenes' interruption makes sense and is part of the story, Herodotus' disruption is artificial and surely ironic.

The irony of Herodotus' intervention in the presentation of the Milesian Aristagoras can also be seen in his decision to link the Ionian Sea and Sardis through Ephesus and not Miletus.[31] This stands out in particular, since, in the Ionian maps, there was probably a symmetrical presentation between Susa on the Choaspes, facing the eastern sea (the Persian Gulf), and Miletus on the Maeander facing the western.[32]

Another point that marks this description as tongue-in-cheek concerns the distances Herodotus gives for the Royal Road. For the Greek-speaking world, Herodotus usually employs the stade as unit of measurement,[33] but here he employs the 'day's journey'[34] and (as this is specifically a Persian road) the Persian parasang. The use of different units highlights the difficulty of travelling in the Persian empire.[35] This is not the first time the foreign word parasang was used in Greek literature.[36] Herodotus himself employs it earlier in his account of Egypt (2.6), where he claims that the land of the poor is measured in fathoms (ὀργυιῇσι), that of the less poor by stades (σταδίοισι), and those who have much land measure it by parasangs (παρασάγγῃσι). He goes on to define this last measurement unit as equal to thirty stades (δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια)[37] and as the half of the Egyptian *schoenus* (σχοῖνος).[38] Since, as Herodotus claims, the parasang is equal to thirty stades (a Greek measure),[39] it would seem that the Persian space is both really and conceptually larger than the Hellenic one. Yet, since the *schoenus*, which is an Egyptian measure, is said here to equal sixty stades, this would give the impression that Egypt has a space which is even greater than the Persian—which is hardly correct. This is presumably a playful portrayal of non-Greek space.[40]

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[31] Myres 1896: 611 rightly claims that Aristagoras' map would have had a road from Miletus (his hometown) into the interior, up the Maeander valley, which was shorter and better than the one leading from Ephesus to Sardis.

[32] Myres 1896: 613.

[33] Geus 2014: 149. Herodotus probably uses the Attic standard of the stade and foot (one stade equals 600 feet), i.e. 29.6 cm for a foot, a stade being 177.6 m. Other standards were 32 cm (Olympic) or 32.7 cm (Doric) for a foot. See Lloyd 1975–88: 3.43.

[34] This unit also appears elsewhere, in eastern and western contexts, e.g. 1.104.1 (thirty days' journey from Lake Maeotis to the River Phasis and Colchis ~ *c.*500 km, seventeen kilometres per day), 1.179.4 (from Is to Babylon, eight days). See Geus 2014: 150, who also claims that Herodotus uses no fixed conversion ratio between a day's journey and the stade; it is between 150 and 200 stades a day. The Persepolis tablets recording daily rations for travel along this route (PF 1321, 1404) may indicate an original Persian employment of this unit of measurement.

[35] Forbiger 1842: 1551 claims that Herodotus changes his approach because of the different terrain. See How and Wells 1912: 2.24, Geus 2014: 151, and cf. Harrison 2007: 56.

[36] That is, if the fragments of Sophocles and Euripides are any guide. See Eur. fr.686 Kannicht: *παρασάγγης*; Soph. fr.125 Radt: *παρασάγγης*, fr.520 Radt *παρασάγγαι*. See Rood 2010: 54 and n. 13. Although it is a Persian measurement, the parasang is not explicitly so described in Herodotus' first allusion to it. The word probably denotes a marker of regular intervals of length (though presumably not a physical milestone), since it may mean 'indicator' (OIran. **frasanhva-*): Schmitt 1967: 138, Hinz 1975: 97, Huyse 1990: 95. Hesych. *Π* 658 (*παρασαγγιλόγω· οἱ Πέρσαι τοὺς διαγγέλλοντας οὕτω λέγουσι*, 'the Persians give this name to those who carry messages') probably stems from a confusion between two Persian words found in Herodotus, *parasang* and *aggarēios*; cf. Athen. 121f–122a, mentioning *parasang*, *astandēs*, and *aggaros* (see below n. 134).

Herodotus' route, by regions, parasangs, and stations/stages (σταθμοί) is detailed as follows:[41]

Lydia–Phrygia	94.5 (20)
Cappadocia	104 (28)
Cilicia	15.5 (3)
Armenia	56.5 (15)
Matiene	[137] (34)
Cissia	42.5 (11)

The sum of the stages is given at 5.52.6 as 111, and that of the parasangs as 450 at 5.53.1. This requires a correction to be made to the MSS by the insertion of the figure of 137 parasangs in Matiene and an alteration of four to thirty-four stages.[42] Herodotus calculates the entire route from Sardis to Susa as 13,500 stades (5.53), adding that 'if one travels 150 stades each day, ninety days are spent on the journey'. This indicates that, for Herodotus, a stage is close on average, but not equal to, a day's march. Herodotus concludes by adding the Ephesus–Sardis section (540 stades), producing an overall total of 14,040 stades (and ninety-three days).

The distances appear precise—in fact, too precise, with the figure of half a parasang having an excessive aura of exactitude. It is hard to believe that Herodotus means this to be taken seriously. There is a stark contrast between a vague phrase such as 'through Lydia and Phrygia'—ironic in itself[43]—and the exact 'ninety-four and a half parasangs'. The same half measure is given again in Cilicia (fifteen and a half parasangs), Armenia (fifty-six and a half parasangs), and Cissia (forty-two and a half parasangs). Although a measurement close to half a parasang is found in Zoroastrian literature,[44] we may suspect that this description is entirely the product of a mocking Greek frame of mind.

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[37] The point is repeated in 6.42. Rood 2010: 53 suggests that Herodotus' insistence in 5.53 shows that this equation was debated.

[38] The *schoenus* seems to have been a variable unit of measurement, and in some accounts equals a parasang (i.e. 12,000 cubits). See Strab.11.11.5, 17.1.24 (different measurements for the *schoenus* in different cities), Posidonius F203 Kidd–Edelstein, Plin. *HN* 6.124, 12.53, and Diller 1949: 8. And cf. Athen. 121f–122a, with Huyse 1990: 97. Interestingly, Callim. *Aet*. fr.1.17–18 Pfeiffer treats the *schoenus* as a Persian unit.

[39] See above n. 29.

[40] Compare West 1991: 160: 'It is tempting to wonder whether Herodotus' story of Hecataeus at Thebes has evolved from another tale of a snub to Persian pretensions, the Johnny-come-lately empire of the Achaemenids being contrasted with the immemorial civilization of the Nile valley'.

[41] For stations/stages see Cousin 1905: 217, Cawkwell 2004: 58 n. 29. See also Diod.19.92.3.

[42] The correction was already suggested by de la Barre 1733: 341.

There are in fact three roads involved in Herodotus' picture: the Royal Road proper, the one taken by Aristagoras in reaching his destination (namely, his direct approach in order to persuade Cleomenes in Sparta), and that of Herodotus in leading his own audience to the truth (which is indirect).[45] By adding a tract of land to Aristagoras' account of the distance between Sardis to Susa, Herodotus chooses the road not taken by Aristagoras, as it were, and is even more circuitous on his way to the truth. Aristagoras is made to learn his lesson. When he reaches Athens to persuade the Athenians into attacking Persia (5.97), a section which is aptly narrated after long intervening interruptions, he apparently drops the map[46]—and succeeds.

Herodotus' portrayal has several stages: one is the geographical/topographical depiction which Aristagoras displays in his silent map, demarcating the areas and nations. The second is his written account of the road.[47] Corresponding to the real function of the road in speeding up communication, this second stage is brief and easier to comprehend because of the information the readers obtain in the first phase.[48] The third stage is the temporal and spatial addition of the section between Ephesus and Sardis. What Herodotus does here is to echo the character of the Road in a narratological form. This portrayal is a *description in relays*, in a way that suits his own passage on the Royal Mail in Book 8 (see below, pp. 170–1).[49] The manner in which his written account is disrupted mimics the nature of the road with its stations. The upshot is ironic, as movement on this highway is slowed down and after a lengthy depiction it finishes exactly where it started. Herodotus also inserts many borders (οὖρα) and natural obstacles (rivers).[50] Thus, not only does Herodotus' very digression concerning the road breaks up the overall narrative of Aristagoras' search for Greek assistance, but the addition at the end also upsets the west–east movement and sequence displayed so far in the depictions of both Aristagoras and Herodotus. For, in order to correct Aristagoras, Herodotus goes back to Asia Minor and now follows the road from Ephesus to Sardis. Essentially, Herodotus ends up where Aristagoras begins.[51]

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[43] Stoneman 2015: 61 compares Aristagoras' map to a sketch in *Monty Python's Flying Circus* (series 1, episode 9: first aired 14 December 1969) involving a ludicrously vague description of the way to Mount Kilimanjaro: taking the A231 to Rottingdean(s), from Rottingdean(s), 'through Africa' to Nairobi(s). This applies equally to Herodotus' depiction.

[44] Ahura Mazda instructs Yima to construct an enclosure (Av. *Vara*: *Vendidad*, 2.25), two *hathras* on either side. In the commentary of the *Greater Bundahishn* 15a.2, the *hathra* is defined as one quarter of a parasang. It is the distance of 1,000 double paces (*Greater Bundahishn* 25.28).

[45] Schellenberg 2009: 142–3, Branscombe 2010: 37–9. It is probably no accident that Pelling 2007: 179 associates Aristagoras with the Internet, i.e. the Information Super Highway (to mention the popular 1990s term): cf. Barker 2010: 7.

[46] Murnaghan 2001: 70, Pelling 2007: 184, Branscombe 2010: 25–6. *Pace* Purves 2010: 133.

[47] Herodotus seems to be imposing the road on Aristagoras' silent map. Herodotus supplementing Aristagoras' account: Pelling 2007: 196 n. 58. It is important that in this authorial intervention he refers to himself by the first-person personal pronoun ἐγώ (5.54). See Branscombe 2010: 34. This enhancement of his authority is reminiscent of that of the Great King in his official inscriptions. See Almagor 2017, and cf. Fowler 2001: 110.

[48] See Macan 1895: 192. Branscombe 2010: 22: 'when we get to Herodotus' account of the Royal Road, we can better visualize the different regions through which this Road winds'.

[49] Purves 2010: 135.

These 'jumps' are understandable in an *ekphrasis*, where there is no one exclusive direction to follow in the depiction. They reflect Aristagoras' deictic 'jumps'.[52] We find something similar in Herodotus' army list[53] and in the list of the Persian *nomoi* in Book 3, where the sequence is not linear: after *nomos* 6 (Egypt and Libyans: 3.91.3), there is a jump to nations of the far east in *nomos* 7 (Sattagydians and Gandarians from Hindu Kush, Dadicae, and Aparytae: 3.91.4),[54] while *nomos* 13 (3.93.1) embraces the distant regions of Armenia and Pactyice on the border of India (cf. 3.102, 4.44).[55] But a purely mechanical explanation for this arrangement can be proposed—in the written source the names were written in parallel columns, so that the combinations stemmed from an accidental 'jump', or association of adjacent columns[56]—whereas the placing of the start of the road at the end of the description in 5.54 is neither inadvertent nor the necessary product of geographical complexity.[57]

There is ironic failure in all three layers of the story. Aristagoras fails to convince Cleomenes in his own journey. Cleomenes defers his answer for three days and once Aristagoras is asked to leave, he has no chance to mention the additional three days of the journey. In both respects, his presentation is short of three days. Cleomenes is persuaded by his daughter Gorgo to reject Aristagoras' promises of money.[58] Like Aristagoras, who fails to persuade the

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[50] Purves 2010: 144–5. The rivers in Aristagoras' silent map may imply waterways that enable movement and conquest. See Barker 2010: 8.

[51] Histiaeus, the other leader of the Ionian revolt, promises the Great King to subdue Sardinia (5.106, 6.2), as if it is easy to get to *Sardi*nia from Susa, but similarly reaches only as far as *Sardi*s (6.1). See Munson 2007: 163.

[52] Purves 2010: 135. Aristagoras' jumps are largely in one direction, but Cilicia–Cyprus–Armenia (5.49.6) is not quite so.

[53] e.g. Cissians to Hyrcanians (7.62.2) to Assyrians (7.63) and then back to Bactrians (7.64).

[54] Laird 1921: 306, Asheri 2007b: 486–7.

[55] *Pace* Asheri 2007b: 489.

[56] Laird 1921: 315.

[57] The effect resembles that of a slightly over-complete rolling of a cylinder seal, where the same image/ line appears at each end of the impression. Herodotus thus subtly reflects the original form on which this list was presumably found.

[58] The use of Gorgo's name is doubly ironic: she sets a mirror, as it were, before Cleomenes and curbs the potentially devastating influence of the (eastern) Aristagoras. It is Gorgo who immobilizes Cleomenes. Furthermore, with Sparta out of the picture, Gorgo ends up helping the Persians, the descendants of Perseus (cf. 6.54, 7.150.2). See Henderson 2007: 302. Perseus: [Apollod.] *Bibl.*2.4.2–3, Paus.2.21.6. The name Gorgo may also evoke the famous Gorgo's head on Athena's

Spartan king, Herodotus' reader in fact does not reach his destination, but ends up back in Sardis. This presentation foreshadows the revolt[59]—and its failure.

We have seen some ground for suspicion about Herodotus' figures. More needs to be said about these and more generally about the relationship between his description of the Royal Road and Achaemenid reality.

Simple inspection shows that the distances are problematic in themselves.[60] The three stages in Cilicia in particular seem almost as absurd as the claim made earlier (1.72) that Asia Minor is a peninsula with a neck that can be crossed in just five days.[61] In fact, since both involve Cilicia, the two unlikely figures may be related.[62] If we are to save Herodotus' circuitous journey via the Halys, the text will have to be amended to increase the distances in Cilicia to thirteen stages and 50.5 parasangs (reducing the stages in Matiene to twenty-four and the parasangs to 102).[63] But this simply highlights the real problem, which is the route itself.

The course of the road Herodotus sketches in Asia Minor involves a crossing of the Halys river on the way to the Cilician Gates. This is a strange and circuitous route, as it is a path which heads towards north-east Anatolia in order to reach the extreme south-east. Rationally there should either have been a northern course that ran past Gordium,[64] across the Halys and then eastwards to the Euphrates[65] or a southern course through southern Phrygia and Cappadocia to the Cilician Gates.[66] Both routes could, of course, have existed separately as part of a larger network of roads, and we should perhaps not suppose that in

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shield; this anticipates Aristagoras' travel to Athens. It also hints at the similarity between depictions of the world on shields (*Il.*18.478–608) and Aristagoras' map: Purves 2010: 141. According to Herodotus (6.54), the Persians claim that Perseus was an Assyrian who Hellenized. Here Aristagoras attempts to 'easternize' Cleomenes through luxury.

[59] Hornblower 2013: 170–1: 'the present passage looks like an innocent statement of an additional stretch of road, but is at the same time a narrative "seed", anticipating the opening campaign of the Ionian revolt'. The rebels went from Ephesus to Sardis (5.100). Herodotus' route is probably the one through the Cayster valley over Mount Tmolus into the Hermus valley and not the Karabel route (cf. Hdt.2.106) used by Agesilaus in 395: Wylie 1992: 126.

[60] As Calder 1925: 10 writes: 'the first two [i.e. from Lydia–Phrygia to Cappadocia and from Cappadocia to Cilicia] are manifestly wrong, and the third [i.e. from Cilicia to Armenia] absurd'; cf. Macan 1895: 299. Calder notes that Herodotus measures the direct route from Sardis to the Cilician Gates at 718 miles, while it is in fact 511 miles, and the route through the Halys Herodotus gives as 738.5 miles, while it is actually 956 miles. See also Müller 1994: 19–20, 24. Herodotus seems to give a different measure for the distance between Susa and Cissia in 6.119.

[61] Unacceptable: Janni 1984: 154, Geus 2014: 149. See Fehling 1971: 158–60.

[62] Macan 1895: 294, Müller 1994: 18.

[63] Lendle 1987: 33, Müller 1994: 19.

[64] See Young 1963, who holds that Gordium was an ancient convenient meeting-place on an important artery of communications and notes that Agesilaus (*Hell.Oxy.* 24.6 Chambers) and Alexander (Arr.*Anab.* 2.3; Curt.3.1.12–18; Plut.*Alex.*18; Just.11.7) reached Gordium. See Ramsay 1890: 29, Starr 1962. For the existence of an earlier route through Gordium see Birmingham 1961. According to Debord 1995, a branch of the road ran from Abydos through Dascylium to Gordium.

[65] See Dillemann 1962: 147–62, Winfield 1977; and cf. Ramsay 1890: 28–9, 33.

[66] See Ramsay 1920: 89–90, Calder 1925, Williams 1996: 290. See Briant 1991: 68 on the two routes.

reality there was just *one* Royal Road.[67] But in the Greek imagination, it appears, there was only one,[68] and a natural reaction to Herodotus' account is that he has combined parts of two *real* routes to produce an *imaginary* single one.

If that is the case, his portrayal cannot be taken at face value[69] and there is, in a sense, nothing further to be said. But historians and literary scholars alike are still tempted to seek a better understanding of Achaemenid reality and/or the origins of Herodotus' imaginary road by aligning the latter's components with geographical facts and data in other sources.

Reference to the Halys evokes its role as a Lydian–Median boundary in the story of Croesus' disastrous war with Cyrus (1.72, 1.75) and its appearance in the narrative of Xerxes' campaign against Greece, when the king crosses it in the other direction between Critalla in Cappadocia and Celaenae in Phrygia (7.26). If these are reliable historico-geographical indicators we may allow that there *was* an Achaemenid-era high road which crossed the Halys,[70] one western branch of which passed through Celaenae (though there would also be more direct routes to Sardis). If it also crossed the Euphrates it was presumably the road passing through Mazaca (Kayseri) and Melitene (Malatya) to Tomisa (Kömürhan).[71] This was a crossing in the Urartian period[72] and also later.[73] But this means that in order to reach the Cilician Gates there was a second crossing of the Halys, which does not figure in Herodotus' account, and it also makes it very surprising that Cilicia should come into the story at all. These points suggest that the contribution of any real northern route to Herodotus' imaginary Royal Road (at least in Anatolia) ends with the crossing of the Halys.[74] Alternatively, Herodotus could have been completely mistaken, and the real route was a southerly one in Cappadocia and Cilicia,[75] one making for a Euphrates crossing at Samosata or in the Zeugma (Bali?) region.[76] This was a course used from the Persian period onwards.[77] In Herodotean terms that is problematic, since no route from either Samosata or Zeugma to Susa would naturally pass through Armenia. Talk about Armenia suggests, therefore, that we are back with some version of the northern route.[78]

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[67] See Seibert 1985: 18–21, Tuplin 1997: 410, Briant 1991: 74, 2002: 359, 366; 2012a: 186, Debord 1995: 89–90, Kuhrt 2007: 736, fig. 1. The road network extended north and east, which were directions of lesser importance to the Greeks. See Colburn 2013: 31–5. Many of the Persepolis tablets recording daily rations provided for official travellers address travel from Susa and Persepolis to Bactria and beyond, to the Indus river valley (PF 1285-1579, 1953, 2049-2057, PFa 12-23). For the area between Persepolis or Pasargadae and Susa see Stronach 1978: 166–7, Kleiss 1981, Sumner 1986: 17. Also relevant, of course, is the journey of Aršāma's subordinate Nakhtḥor to Egypt (TADAE A6.9): cf. Graf 1994: 179, 181, Tuplin i 147–79, Henkelman ii 192–223. A road from Media through central eastern Asia later became part of the so-called Silk Road: see Graf 1994: 186.

[68] Macan 1895: 296; and cf. Plut.*Them*.30.1.

[69] How and Wells 1912: 2.21–2. On alternative routes see Graf 1994: 171, 175–80.

[70] Perhaps between Ancyra and Tavium: Ramsay 1890: 28–9. See Briant 2002: 358.

[71] Melitene: Kiepert 1857: 134–40. Compare Anderson 1897: 41 and French 1998: 18, 22, 20, 25 n. 54 on Tomisa. See Magie 1950: 788–9; and cf. Strab.14.2.29.

[72] Tomaschek 1898: 137, Salvini 1972: 100–11, Astour 1979: 3, Sinclair 1989: 136–7, Dedeoğlu 2003: 87.

[73] Plut.*Luc*.24.1–7, Tac.*Ann*.15.26–7; and cf. Strab.12.2.1.

[74] And Herodotus certainly means it crossed it: the suggestion (French 1998: 16) that the verbs *διεκπερᾶν* and *διαβάντι* do not mean 'cross', but rather 'go along' or 'pass out through' (as though a corridor) is to be rejected: see Tuplin 2004c: 245–6. Second crossing: Macan 1895: 292, 298. There *could* have been a route from the west passing near the lower bend of the Halys, but Herodotus cannot be said to have described it.

Then there is the problem of Matiene. In an earlier passage (1.72.2), Matiene is located on the Halys. Yet in the portrayal of the road, Matiene is reached only after crossing the Euphrates, and after Armenia. It is thus made to be a huge area, which covers Assyria and Media, two names that are absent in Herodotus' account.[79] (Persian power was predicated on the successive disappearance of Assyrian and Median empires: so the absence of Assyria and Media in the road description may reflect this symbolically, and suggest that Persia is different and not to be conquered as easily). A possible component of this awkward depiction is a confusion (by Herodotus or earlier) between the Euphrates and Tigris and their respective tributaries and branches: Herodotus' claim that there is one river and two rivers 'of the same name' and yet another[80] could apply to the Euphrates (with its tributaries, the West Euphrates and the East Euphrates) plus the Aras (Araxes) just as well as to the Tigris (with the Greater and Lesser Zab Rivers) plus the Gyndes (Diyala).[81] Herodotus' portrayal of the terrain of Persia (beyond the Zagros) appears to be imaginary,[82] and this may apply as well to the territory of Matiene alongside the Zagros foothills.[83] That said, any plausible route for the Royal Road passed down the east side of the

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[75] Calder 1925 believes that Herodotus' route of the Persian Royal Road is wrong and that it did not cross the Halys river at all.

[76] Samosata: Macan 1895: 299–302, following Hogarth's depiction, based on the latter's journey in 1894 (which supplements Hogarth and Munro 1893). See the criticism of Anderson 1897: 43–4. Zeugma: Calder 1925: 11, Lendle 1987: 35–6, Müller 1994: 22–3, 28–9. Zeugma was mainly in use during the Hellenistic period: Isid.Char.*Stath.Parth.*1, Strab.16.2.3, Plin.*HN* 5.86. See Graf 1994: 180.

[77] Dedeoğlu 2003: 87. See Strab.12.2.9, who seems to associate the northern and southern courses, like Herodotus: from Mazaca to the Cilician Gates through Tyana.

[78] It may be that Herodotus confused the Cilician Gates and the gates on the Royal Road at the border of Cilicia and Cappadocia. See Anderson 1897: 41. Macan 1895: 294 n. 1 opposes this suggestion. Alternatively, Herodotus may be following the Ionian maps, where there was an equator passing through Sardis, Pteria, and Susa. See Myres 1896: 609, 611, 613–15, 618–20. (But cf. 2.34.) In this map the Cilician Gates would distortedly move eastwards and the road appears to cross the Halys river once.

[79] Macan 1895: 290, 294. If Myres 1896: 622, 629 is correct, Herodotus is also following a Persian model, in which the line of the Euphrates–Susa road is meridional and not equatorial, as in the Ionian maps. This may account for some of the discrepancies in his account.

[80] *πρῶτος μὲν Τίγρης, μετὰ δὲ δεύτερός τε καὶ τρίτος ὡυτὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, οὐκ ὡυτὸς ἐὼν ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ῥέων . . . ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὔνομα ἔχει Γύνδης*. The MSS locate these rivers in Armenia, that is, as potentially applicable to the Euphrates.

[81] Herodotus seems to conflate the Aras and the Gyndes: Carter 1962: 86 n. 1 with 1.189, 202; cf. Sagona 2004: 322.

[82] Herodotus' description of Persia is 'a tribute to the capacity of artificial notions of what the truth ought to be to take precedence over reality' (Tuplin 1991a: 44).

[83] As Macan 1895: 296 puts it, Herodotus' Matiene is 'a name for the historian's ignorance' (cf. 291).

Tigris and crossed both the Greater and the Lesser Zab—a stretch that is common to northern and southern versions of the Road.[84]

While on the subject of rivers it is worth noticing their role in the overall structure of Herodotus' presentation: it is no accident that it is made up from six regions (since Lydia and Phrygia are taken together), with the half-parasang figures, which insinuate the difficulty of travel,[85] at the beginning and end of each trio and the Euphrates serving as the middle point[86] of a seemingly symmetrical shape. It has the following form:

a-b-a || a-b-a: *94.5* – 104 – *15.5* ; *56.5* – 137 – *42.5*

or (perhaps even better) with the proposed textual corrections in Cilicia and Matiene (see above, p. 156):

a-b-a || a-b-a: *94.5* – 104 – *50.5* ; *56.5* – 102 – *42.5*

Every section that provides such a figure reaches a river (Halys, Euphrates, Choaspes) or a region full of rivers.[87] It is as if the river is mediating between the two areas and fulfils the same function as the interim half-parasang figure.[88] There are in fact seven rivers in nominally seven regions. The Halys was a river whose crossing was historically burdened with a sense of transgression. That resonance may extend more widely,[89] so that Herodotus is not just underlining the material obstacles in the way of what Aristagoras represents as an easy journey. (We may add, though, that if Herodotus' overall route is imaginary, he is in fact deceiving his audience as much as Aristagoras.)[90]

As for the figures for parasangs and stages: scholarly ingenuity can find various ways of trying to fit them to the real world, and freeing ourselves of the idea that they all derive from a single route may provide more flexibility to pick and choose where to apply them. Alternatively, we can follow an approach like Calder's and affirm that they *do* fit a single route (southern in his case) and are in a sense the most reliable reflection of an Achaemenid reality in the whole confection. But whatever approach we take to that question, however we characterize his sources,[91] and whether or not we think he knew the route he presents to be imaginary, it is certain that Herodotus has put his mark upon the data, numerical and otherwise, that define it.

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[84] See Reade 2015: 185, Dilleman 1962: 147, Graf 1994: 179, French 1998: 25 n. 31.

[85] Purves 2010: 144. Ironic halfway points elsewhere in Herodotus: the Persians come only as far as Samos (8.130) and Spartans come only as far as Delos (8.132). See Pelling 2007: 182, 191. For schematic symmetry in Herodotus' world see Myres 1896: 608–9, Harrison 2007: 49.

[86] Macan 1895: 296, Müller 1994: 20.

[87] Stein 1859: 46–7 ad loc. corrected the text to remove four rivers which Herodotus placed in Armenia (the Tigris, the two Zabs, and the Gyndes) and transfer them to Matiene. This correction is accepted also by Macan 1895: 290–1.

[88] Note the 360 channels in 5.52, which refer back to 1.189. The act of digging the channels halted Cyrus for a year. See Pelling 2007: 195 and n. 57.

[89] Herodotean rivers whose transgression is historically momentous: Immerwahr 1966: 84, 163 n. 40, 293, Braund 1996: 43–7, Harrison 2007: 46.

[90] The word he chooses to discard Aristagoras' depiction earlier is *diaballein* (lit. 'put one across', 'deceive'), discussed in Pelling 2007: 183–5. This verb is also used of carrying across bridges (LSJ s.v. διαβάλλω, A.I). Herodotus' portrayal, for instance, of an unrealistic three days' journey through the Cilician Gates to the Euphrates is to be compared with Aristagoras' map and the same number of days that the Milesian chooses to omit in his false presentation. Herodotus is misleading earlier when he portrays Cleomenes as if he holds power solely, ignoring the other king: Hornblower 2013: 162.

A final observation: in Herodotus' own day, parts of the road were already obsolete,[92] and politically Sardis was separated from Ephesus. In accordance with the settlement later know as the 'Peace of Callias',[93] the Great King recognized the autonomy of many political entities along the western coast of Asia Minor, which were now members of the Attic–Delian Confederacy. The intervention of Persian satraps in their affairs was forbidden in the area within three days' march of the Aegean, just as the Athenians were forbidden from military action in the king's land (Diodorus 12.4.5). In his division of the road and in the reference to three days, Herodotus ironically conflates the past with the present and alludes to a Graeco-Persian understanding that hindered Greeks from any attempt to enter the heartland of Persia (three months away)—or indeed the centre of its western periphery (a mere three days away from the coast).[94] Aristagoras' prospect of a Spartan conquest of Susa was now even further away than when he (allegedly) floated it to Cleomenes, and is made all the more ironic by the rhetorical opposition of three days to three months.

2. CTESIAS

Our next 'stop' or station along the road is Ctesias of Cnidus, the personal physician of Artaxerxes II and author of a lost *Persica*.[95] At the very end of the summary of Ctesias' work made by Photius (*FGrH* 688 F 33 = *Bibliotheke* p. 45a1–4), we are told that Book 23 (the last in the work) included a list of distances from Ephesus to Bactra and India in staging-posts, days-journeys, and parasangs (*ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου μέχρι Βάκτρων καὶ Ἰνδικῆς ἀριθμὸς σταθμῶν, ἡμερῶν, παρασαγγῶν*).

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[91] Macan 1895: 292 assumes the source for the Royal Road to be different from that of list of tributes of the *nomoi* (3.89–94) and the army list of Xerxes (7.61–80). Of importance perhaps is the mention of the name of a Cissian station (Ardericca: 6.119.2), 210 stades from Susa, a reference which may indicate a (fuller) written list of the stations. Laird 1921: 305, 316 assumes the source was the same and stresses that the arrangement is predominantly from the Ionian Greek point of view. Wells 1907: 37–8 believes Zopyrus (3.160) to be Herodotus' source, conveying official or semi-official Persian information on the Royal Road. If this is true, it may be echoed in the artistic description of Aristagoras as an informant coming from the east and communicating information with the aid of a map. See also Stoneman 2015: 62.

[92] Syme 1995: 12–13.

[93] Whether the Peace of Callias (449) existed or was merely a *de facto* limit to the empire is irrelevant here. See Eddy 1973.

[94] Of course, we should note the possibility that Diodorus' three days were based on Herodotus. In fact, even the mention of three months may be purely Herodotus' own creative invention. Xenophon (*Ages*.1.10) appears to imply that the road takes half this time. We should be very cautious about drawing conclusions based on Herodotus' description. The picture of Lane Fox 1973: 96, in which 'a royal letter could take three months to go from Phrygia to the Persian Gulf', is surely wrong, as persuasively argued by Colburn 2013.

[95] On Ctesias see Lenfant 2004, Tuplin 2004a, Llewellyn-Jones and Robson 2010, Stronk 2010, Almagor 2012, Almagor 2018: 34–133.

This list is lost, so we cannot comment on its content.[96] But the very existence of such a list is awkward. It is hard to imagine that a colourful author like Ctesias would finish his work with a pedestrian list of distances, which, at the end of a voluminous work, seems a definite anti-climax after the description of Ctesias' heroic departure from Persia (F 30.72–74, F 32).[97] It is alien to an author whose splendid skill in writing was acknowledged in antiquity,[98] and certainly seems to be at odds with the style,[99] tone, and approach of Ctesias as we know it from Photius' summary and other ancient authors.[100]

The fact that the list supposedly appeared at the end of the work draws attention to another problem. Photius seems to imply that the work was based on a division to hexads. The first six books (*Assyriaca*) dealt with affairs prior to the Persians. The next six books addressed the history of Persia till the death of Darius. It would seem that Xerxes' accession marked Book 13 (*FGrH* 688 F 13.24), and this hexad continued till the end of Darius II's reign in Book 18 (see *FGrH* 688 F 15.56, 16.57). The last section (Books 19–23) was to narrate the events during the reign of Artaxerxes II. But these books do not form a hexad. So the ending of the *Persica* is unexpected not only in containing a list that seems out of keeping with Ctesias' literary character but also in coming a book early, implying that the project was unfinished by Ctesias.[101]

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[96] Briant 1991: 69: 'C'est une tout autre image que donnait Ctésias dans un ouvrage, malheureusement perdu . . .'.

[97] Stevenson 1997: 114–15. Ctesias was sent to help Conon the Athenian general, who was cooperating with the Persian king, and escaped to his home town. Some find this story resembles that of Democedes (Hdt. 3.134.5–3.135.2): see Griffiths 1987: 48.

[98] Compared to Herodotus, Ctesias was equally seen as able to combine an acute sense of what happened with the poetic ability to cast his story in an engaging way: Dion.Hal.*Comp.* 10 (*ἡδέως*).

[99] Ps.-Demetrius (*Eloc.*209–12) claims that people 'accuse Ctesias of being a bit of a chatterbox because of his repetitions' (*ὅπερ δὲ τῶι Κτησίαι ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὡς ἀδολεσχοτέρωι διὰ τὰς διλογίας*); he admits that sometimes, but not always, these censors may do so with justice. Otherwise, he claims (216), repetition is needed to create suspense, and 'liveliness' (*ἐνάργεια*) is effected by saying something more than once (*πολλάκις καὶ ἡ διλογία ἐνάργειαν ποιεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἅπαξ λέγειν*).

[100] Photius chastises Ctesias (*Bibl.*Cod.72 p.45a 10–11) for not keeping away 'from mythic stories' (*τῶν . . . μύθων . . . οὐδ' οὗτος ἀφίσταται*). He also speaks of a manner 'close to that of a mythic tale' (*τὸ ἐγγὺς τοῦ μυθώδους*), which is very close to what Plutarch says of Ctesias' writing (*Art.*6.9: *τὸ μυθῶδες*). Portrayal of Ctesias as a poet is explicit in Ps.-Demetrius *Eloc.*215: *καὶ ὅλως δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος—ποιητὴν γὰρ <ἂν> αὐτὸν καλοίη τις εἰκότως* ('this poet—and poet one may call him with reason'). Ctesias is made by Strabo to resemble poetry (11.6.3) or to deal with myth in the guise of history (1.2.35).

[101] One certainly does not sense a well worked-out closure at the end of Photius' summary (*FGrH* 688 FF 30, 33). See Almagor 2018: 59.

But this is still not the end of the matter. According to Photius, the list of stations and distances comes just before *another* list, that of monarchs from Ninus and Semiramis to Artaxerxes II (*κατάλογος βασιλέων ἀπὸ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως μέχρι Ἀρτοξέρξου*).[102] The existence of the second list is perhaps corroborated by Diodorus (2.22.1),[103] assuming he abridges Ctesias' text: for Diodorus' reluctance to write down 'all the names of these kings and the number of years for which each ruled' (*πάντα τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐτῶν ὧν ἕκαστος ἐβασίλευσεν*) because 'they accomplished nothing worthy of mention' may imply that he had before him a list of all the monarchs in question and, if so, it is probably the same list mentioned by Photius.

So, we have *two* lists to explain, both on the face of it inconsistent with Ctesias' normal literary character. To deal with this we really only have two options. Either we must discover that the lists do after all make some sense in terms of *Persica* as a literary artefact or we must face the possibility that they were interpolations in the text, insinuated not just in time for Photius to encounter them in the Byzantine era but before the time of Diodorus in the later first century.

A literary interpretation is not in fact quite impossible. The catalogue of kings from the Assyrian monarchs Ninus and Semiramis to Artaxerxes II does conform to the overall structure of the entire book and might even be seen as its fitting summary. In the first book of Ctesias' *Persica* Ninus and Semiramis were depicted as trying to subdue the Bactrians and Indians. Diodorus (2.2.1) tells us that Ninus desired to control all of Asia and indeed after seventeen years became the master of all except India and Bactria (*πλὴν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Βακτριανῶν*). Diodorus goes on to describe the campaign of Ninus in Bactria (2.6.1–3). Here he tells us that in Bactria there is a prominent city called Bactra (Balkh). After initial hardships, Ninus succeeded in defeating the Bactrians, because of the help of his wife Semiramis (2.6.7–8). After the death of Ninus, the queen launched a campaign against India, which was unsuccessful (2.16–19). An account of the Persian road that eventually leads to the Bactrians and Indians might be seen therefore as a way of alluding to the beginning of the entire volume: the same would, of course, be true of the appearance of Ninus and Semiramis at the start of the list of kings.[104]

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[102] See Marquart 1891/93, Boncquet 1990.

[103] Diod.14.46.6 also mentions the beginning of Ctesias' work with Ninus and Semiramis and its end in the year 398/7.

[104] Photius' association of Bactria and India (*μέχρι Βάκτρων καὶ Ἰνδικῆς*) appears also in Diodorus (2.2.1) and in another fragment of Ctesias (F 11): 'Ctesias says in the tenth book of his *Persica*: "The land of the Dyrbaeans lays to the south extending all the way to Bactria and India"...' (*Κτησίας ἐν Περσικῶν ι· χώρα δὲ πρὸς νότον πρόσκειται Δυρβαῖοι, πρὸς τὴν Βακτρίαν καὶ Ἰνδικὴν κατατείνοντες*) The collocation may reflect official nomenclature, ultimately derived from formal documents, though it is not new, as the two groups are already juxtaposed in Herodotus (8.113, 9.31; cf. 3.102).

If we grant this possibility, then we might also wonder whether the reference to Ephesus (at the start of the Persian road) has something to do with Artaxerxes II, the king who appears at the end of the narrative of *Persica* and at the end of the list of monarchs. There is no mention of Ephesus elsewhere in Ctesias' fragments, and certainly not in relation to Artaxerxes. Yet Ephesus plainly had some significance in relation to Artaxerxes at approximately the date the *Persica* was written, for this was the point where Agesilaus landed at the beginning of his well-known campaign in Asia Minor (Plut.*Ages*.7.1). The narrative of Ctesias' work ends in 398, when the last dramatic events are described. Agesilaus' landing in Ephesus was in 396. The event is strongly felt in the background of the work, regardless of the exact date in which it was written. So, on this line of reasoning, we have two neatly framed literary closures in the account of the Royal Road: from Ninus/ Semiramis to Artaxerxes II, and from Ephesus to Bactria/India—the first two Assyrian kings fought against the Bactrians and were described in the first book of the *Persica*, Artaxerxes clashed with the force coming from Ephesus, and while Agesilaus' campaign was not described in the work, Artaxerxes' reign was. Assuming that the *Persica* was written in the late 390s, it might even be the case that Ctesias witnessed the failure of Agesilaus' campaign (and particularly of his aspiration to penetrate Anatolia and detach the hinterland from Persian control), so that the reference to Ephesus may have an added layer of meaning, making the failure of Persia's foes in Anatolia a sign of the continuing integrity of the empire along the entire length of the Royal Road.[105]

So much for literary interpretation: the substance of the lists can hardly have exemplified Ctesias' narrative qualities (since they were not narratives) or in any real sense integrated into the overall text (in the way in which, for example, the relatively brief treatment of Median kings is integrated into Herodotus' text),[106] but at least their presence might not be entirely random. Is this a good enough counterweight to the possibility of interpolation?[107]

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[105] Ctesias was interested in the theme of imperial fortunes, a concern of Greek authors since Herodotus. Ctesias developed the idea of a series of world empires (forerunner to the *translatio imperii*). It was already seen in Herodotus (1.95, 1.130), but Ctesias developed it as a model with three items (Assyria–Media–Persia). See Almagor 2012: 48 for the view that Ctesias' *Persica* was written after Sparta lost its naval supremacy and the Persian presence in the Hellenic sphere was a basic fact of Greek politics. The question which the *Persica* posed to its readers was whether this situation might change yet again.

[106] In 1.95–106 Herodotus mentions Deioces the founder, Phraortes the failure, and Cyaxares the emperor. They are followed by the last ruler Astyages (1.107–30), whose tyrannical demeanour caused the demise of the monarchy (the Scythian interim period of twenty-eight years is disregarded here). The four kings thus represent different courses of action, highlighted by literary devices. See Asheri 2007a: 147–9. These types match those of the later Persians Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes.

[107] The possibility of interpolation and contamination is real. In the case of the list of monarchs the years assigned to of different empires (Assyrian, Median, Persian) were constantly changing among chronographers: while Diodorus claims that in his list (from Ctesias) the Assyrian empire 'lasted more than 1,300 years' (2.21.8, 2.28.8), the scholia on Aristides *Panathenaic Oration* (p. 310–11 Dindorf) provide a figure of 1,450 years. Apparently the list had

The arguments in favour of interpolation are essentially two in number. One is that the literary justification is not in the end of the right sort. Ctesias' genius was for highly (even over-) developed story-telling and sensationalism. We have no clear evidence that the sort of suggestive textual cross-referencing just postulated would have occurred to him. This is, of course, largely an argument from silence, since, lacking a complete text or even a fragmentary text preserved in the same fashion across its entire extent, we might expect not to see the types of effect that are in question here because they would normally depend on the sort of details in a literary text that get lost in a fragmentary author. There is, therefore, little more to be said on the point.

The other argument turns on Ctesias' interest in roads. The putative king list does at least deal with something in which Ctesias was certainly interested: *Persica* was all about kings (and queens). Does the putative detailed tabulation of a road from Ephesus to the Hindu Kush and beyond resonate with anything else in *Persica*? How much did Ctesias even mention the roads of the Persian Empire? Four items come into consideration, but the evidence is not conclusive.

1. Diodorus 2.22.3 claims that the mythic hero Memnon built the palace in the upper city of Susa and constructed a public highway which still bears the name 'Memnonian' (*κατασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς χώρας λεωφόρον ὁδὸν τὴν μέχρι τῶν νῦν χρόνων ὀνομαζομένην Μεμνόνειαν*). This comes from Diodorus' discussion of Assyria and is usually attributed to Ctesias (688 F 1b). In Greek mythology, Memnon is the son of Eos (Dawn), who assisted Priam and the Trojans against the Greeks, killed Antilochus son of Nestor,[108] and fell victim to Achilles.[109] The post-Homeric epic cycle stresses that he was a prince of the Ethiopians,[110] and later some people confused him with the conquering Egyptian pharaoh Sesostris (Herodotus 2.106). His conquests were gradually expanded to Asia,[111] making him erroneously king of the Assyrians (cf. *FGrH* 688 F 69). Similarly, Memnon is said to have reached Susa.[112] The next step, of picturing Memnon as coming from the East[113] and having him build a palace

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been elaborated by the addition of names. The description of the Royal Road could have been likewise elaborated as time went by.

[108] Hom.*Od*.4.188, 11.522, Hes.*Theog*.984, cf. Hom.*Il*.11.1,*Od*.5.1, *Hom.Hym.Aphr*.218–20, Pind.*Pyth*.6.32. As son of Tithonos, he is Priam's nephew (Hom.*Il*.20.237, Tzetz.*in Lycophr*.18).

[109] Pind.*Ol*.2.83, *Nem*.6.52–5, *Isthm*.5.40–1, Quint. Smyrn.2.542–3, Philostr.*Imag*.2.7.

[110] Reflected in [Apollod.] *Bibl*.3.12.4, Catull.66.52, Ov.*Am*.1.8.4, *Pont*.3.3.96, Paus.10.31.7. See West 2003: 108–18 on Arctinus' lost *Aethiopis.*

[111] Manetho (*FGrH* 609 F 2-3c p. 30) claims that in nine years Sesostris subdued 'the whole of Asia, and Europe as far as Thrace'; cf. Diodorus (1.53.5: subduing Arabia, 1.55.4: crossing the Ganges and reaching the Ocean). See Lloyd 1975–88: 3.19–20, Sulimani 2011: 166, 189.

[112] Paus.1.42.3. Diodorus' claim that Memnon built the palace at Susa presumably incorporates memories of the return of the Elamite gods' images to Susa by Nabopolassar in 625.

[113] Heichelheim 1957, Drews 1969. This belief was already held in the Classical period, if Strabo (15.3.2) is correct in attributing to Aeschylus the notion that Memnon's mother was a Cissite (*φησὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος τὴν μητέρα Μέμνονος Κισσίαν*), i.e. a native of Susa: Snowden 1970: 150–3. See Paus.10.31.7.

in Susa and a highway that ran through the associated *khōra* and perhaps beyond could be attributed to authors like Ctesias. This would not strictly be a Persian road, but it is associated with what became a Persian capital and could be a precursor for the Persian Royal Road.

But there is also a possibility that the description derives not from Ctesias but from a faulty understanding or transmission of Herodotus (5.53). The latter mentions that the palace in Susa was called Memnonian (*ἐς τὰ βασιλήια τὰ Μεμνόνια*),[114] and this observation comes at the end of the description of the Royal Road ('the number of parasangs from Sardis to that which is called the palace of Memnon').[115] In the same section (2.22.1), we recall, Diodorus apologizes for not writing down the names of all the Assyrian kings. This apology seems to mark a break in his use of Ctesias: the physician is not named again until 2.32.4 (*FGrH* 688 T 3, F 5). It is not impossible that Diodorus turned to another text at this point and therefore the passage concerning Memnon—which arises because Assyria's military support of Troy (of which Memnon was the commander) is the only memorable event between Ninyas and Sardanapalus—may not derive directly from Ctesias in whatever form Diodorus had of his text.[116]

2. In 2.13.1–5 Diodorus reports on Semiramis' trip from Babylon to Ecbatana via Bagistanon (*τὸ δὲ Βαγίστανον ὄρος*), Chauon, and Mount Zarkaion. At Bagistanon she creates a *paradeisos* and an inscribed rock-carving, at Chauon another *paradeisos* and several pleasure-palaces, and through Mount Zarkaion a beautifully appointed shortcut, still known as the 'Road of Semiramis'. Bagistanon is, of course, Bīsotūn. The other two places have no such specifically identifiable real-world counterparts (although Zarkaion may allude to the Zagros), but Bīsotūn was definitely on the Great Khorasan road from Babylon over the Zagros mountains to Ecbatana (Hamadan), and the 'Road of Semiramis' might in principle be a reflection of some part of that road. The puzzling thing about the passage is that, although the general evocation of Bīsotūn as a well-watered place at the foot of a cliff has some validity,[117] the rock-carving is (a) said to show the queen and 100 bodyguards (considerably more than the number of figures on the real Bīsotūn relief), carry an inscription whose content has no relation to actuality, and be on a rock that is seventeen stades (!) high and (b)

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[114] cf. Hdt.7.151 (*Σούσοισι τοῖσι Μεμνονίοισι*), Steph.Byz.*Ethn.* s.v. *Σοῦσα*: *Σοῦσα πόλις ἐπίσημος Περσική, Μέμνονος κτίσμα*. On the name *Memnoneia* see Paus.4.31.5 (walls), Ael.*NA* 5.1, 13.18 (*Μεμνόνεια Σοῦσα*).

[115] Forshaw 1976–7: 454. Pausanias 10.31.7 (the Phrygians point out the road through which Memnon led his army) may be based on a misinterpretation of Herodotus.

[116] That Diodorus' account is a garbled combination of several sources is made apparent by the additional version he adduces, according to which Ethiopians near Egypt claim Memnon as an Ethiopian, and by the fact that Memnon's body was taken by the Ethiopians and burned (the remains were brought to his father Tithonus: 2.22.4–5).

[117] The rock is about sixty-six metres above the plain: cf. Luschey 1968: 66. The road: Levine 1974: 100–1, Kleiss 1987, and cf. Xen.*An.*3.5.15.

attributed to an Assyrian queen rather than to Darius I. This time there is no reason to doubt that Diodorus is summarizing Ctesias, but the question might be posed whether Ctesias had ever actually seen the relief or the road to which it was adjacent.[118] The passage does show that Ctesias saw creation of an artificial mountain road as the proper expression of a monarch's desire to leave an 'undying memorial'. But, just because this is a special piece of royal display (like the Bagistanon monument and the places of lethal sexual encounter at Chauon), one may wonder if it is evidence of an appreciation of the contemporary importance of road *networks* strong enough to have prompted composition of a statistically rich description of the road from Ephesus to the far east. The startling detachment of Bīsotūn from its actual Achaemenid creator does not really encourage one to think so.

3. A passage in Plato's *Alcibiades I* (123b) may be evidence for Ctesias' depiction of another road. Plato claims:

> I for one was one time informed by a reliable man, who was present at their court, that he passed through a very large area of outstanding land, almost a day's journey (*ὃς ἔφη παρελθεῖν χώραν πάνυ πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθήν, ἐγγὺς ἡμερησίαν ὁδόν*), which the natives called the girdle of the king's wife, and another which was likewise named her veil.

The suggestion that Plato is drawing on Ctesias here is uncertain, given that Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.4.9) also mentions villages near Aleppo given to Parysatis, the queen mother, 'for girdle-money' (cf. 2.4.27). But the idea that Plato cites Xenophon is also problematic (and Xenophon does not speak of the queen's veil), and it is perhaps more likely that he is using Ctesias—in which case 'a reliable person' (*ἤκουσα ἀνδρὸς ἀξιοπίστου*) could be taken as ironic, given the physician's notoriety as a purveyor of inventions.[119] If Ctesias was indeed the source, its context in the *Persica* was surely the episode of the retreat of the Greek mercenaries found in Photius' summary: 'Clearchus the Spartan retreated with his Greek soldiers during the night and seized one of the cities in Parysatis' domain' (688 F 16.65), unless, of course, Photius' epitome is contaminated by his memory of the *Anabasis*. Whether or not Ctesias himself had ever traversed this particular road, or whether he obtained this information from Clearchus, we are this time dealing with a Persian road. How much Ctesias is interested in the road as such may still be a question. To readers of Xenophon's *Anabasis* it may seem obvious that an account of the army's march must evoke the issue of long-distance travel within the Achaemenid empire. But this is precisely the sort of thing that, in the absence of a full text, we cannot securely affirm of Ctesias' treatment of the story.

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[118] See Nichols 2008: 28, Stronk 2010: 23–4, Almagor 2012: 21. This ascription to Semiramis may be the result of a conflation with Simirria, a later form of the name of the pre-Aryan Kassite goddess Shimaliya: Phillips 1968. Sargon II's description of his eighth campaign, against the Urartu in 714, has a place called Mount Simirria ('the great peak'): Thureau-Dangin 1912: 6–7 line 18, Foster 2005: 792; this may be Bīsotūn: see Almagor 2017: 30–1. Isid.Char.*Stath.Parth.*5 follows the misunderstanding of Ctesias (or Diodorus).

[119] One should mention the issue of the dialogue's authenticity, first questioned by Schleiermacher 1836: 328–36 on the basis of style and structure. Friedländer 1964 argues for its authenticity; cf. Pangle 1987: 1–18. See the surveys in Denyer 2001: 14–26, Gribble 1999: 260–1, Archie 2015: 36–44.

4. The last exhibit is perhaps the most telling. Athenaeus (442b) claims that Baeton, the assessor/pacer (βηματιστής) of Alexander, in his work *The Stations of Alexander's Campaign* and Amyntas in his *Stations* say that the tribe of the Tapyri are so taken with wine that they anoint themselves with it; Ctesias, it is asserted, makes the same claim. Baeton (*FGrH* 119) was a contemporary of Alexander and participated in his campaign.[120] Amyntas (*FGrH* 122) may have been a contemporary of Alexander or may have been a later author who used the work of Baeton.[121] Their respective works seem to have given distances.[122] They both appear to rely on Ctesias for ethnographic information:[123] perhaps they were dependent on his work for distances as well.

The title βηματιστής means 'one who measures by paces'.[124] It may have had some connection with the 'road counters' (Elam. *dattimara*) mentioned in the Persepolis tablets.[125] If there was a road description in the *Persica* and if the information was derived from official records, its use by surveyors accompanying Alexander would be understandable. But it was more likely the other way around. Alexander is said to have had no accurate description of the local routes (including the Royal Road).[126] One would imagine that if a catalogue of distances such as that attributed to Ctesias existed before Alexander's campaign, he would have used it. An obvious conclusion, therefore, would be that the list in the appendix attached to Ctesias' text was the very list of distances that Baeton and the other bematists measured or else derived from it.[127] It this is true, then the road to India and Bactria mentioned in that list was the exact one which Strabo describes (15.2.8, from Eratosthenes), a depiction ultimately derived from Baeton and Amyntas:

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[120] Strab.2.1.6. See Schwartz 1896, Berve 1926, 2.99–100 (no. 198). On the bematists see Tzifopoulos 2013.

[121] See Ael.*NA* 5.14 and Pfister 1961: 35–6. See Schwartz 1897, Berve 1926, 2.413–14 (no. 4). But see Jacoby 1930: 410.

[122] Baeton: from the Caspian gates to the east (cf. Plin.*HN* 6.61-63, cf. 6.44–5). Amyntas: 'Stations of Asia' (Athen.500d) or 'Persian Stations' (Athen.67a: Σταθμοῖς Περσικοῖς), used by Eratosthenes and quoted by Athenaeus and Aelian; cf. Strabo (15.2.8: 'Asian Stations'; cf. 15.1.11).

[123] Pfister 1961: 36. Baeton's picture of a tribe whose feet are turned backwards (Plin.*NH* 7.11) may come from Ctesias (cf. the list in Aul.Gel.9.4.3, 6). In two fragments of Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 FF 53, 54), Amyntas is brought in close proximity to the Greek physician (*FGrH* 122 FF 4, 5). The first occasion is on oil and ingredients on the king's table and the second is on the tribe of the Tapyri, who anoint themselves with wine. Ctesias wrote about the king's dinner: F 39 (=Athen.146c) and (if authentic) F 63 (= Lyd.*mens*.4.14). The description of the Tapyri resembles that in F 1b 2.3 and Aelian *VH* 3.13. The same may be true of the image of Sardanapalus, inherited from Ctesias (688 F 1b 23.1–27.3). Amyntas mentions in his third book (Athen.529e = *FGrH* 122 F 2) the attack of Cyrus the Great and his siege of a city. In order to erect a mound so that he could counter the city's wall, Cyrus dismantled a mound in Nineveh (ἐν τῆι Νίνωι) which formerly belonged to the Assyrian king Sardanapalus.

[124] Hesych. Β 565 βηματίζει: τὸ τοῖς ποσὶ μετρεῖν. See Plin.*HN* 6.61: Baeton is grouped with Diognetus and called *itinerum eius* [sc. *Alexandri*] *mensores*; cf. 7.11. See Pearson 1960: 261.

[125] Hallock 1978: 112, 114–15, Koch 1993: 87, Graf 1994: 169, 174, Tuplin 1997: 406 with n. 65, Colburn 2013: 39.

[126] Arr.*Anab*.1.28.7. cf. 3.17.2 and Curt.8.2.34.

> . . . as far as Alexandria in the country of the Arians, from the Caspian Gates past the land of the Parthians, the same road exists; and from there, one road runs upright line through Bactriana and through the mountain pass into Ortospana to the junction of the three roads from Bactra in the land of the Paropamisadae; another [road] bends to some extent from Aria to the south to Prophthasia in Drangiana, and the rest of it runs back to the borders of India and to the Indus . . . this road . . . is longer, its whole distance being fifteen thousand three hundred stades.[128]

In short, Ctesias may have referred to roads in his work and may have mentioned roads beyond the Herodotean route from Sardis to Susa, not least as part of his typical attempt to provide an apparently fuller and more accurate account than that of his predecessor. But there is nothing that unequivocally indicates a systematic interest in the matter, and it remains difficult to suppress one's initial suspicions about what Photius reports (no doubt accurately so far as regards the copy in front of him) as being the original final components of the *Persica*. A more orderly description of distances traversed in Persia will have to wait for another account, which appears in our final 'stop'.

3. XENOPHON

There are two places in Xenophon's writings at which the Royal Road is an issue, a relatively brief passage in *Cyropaedia* and a much larger amount of material in *Anabasis*.

3.1 *Cyropaedia*

In the *Cyropaedia* (8.6.17–18), Xenophon includes a well-known account of the royal postal service and its efficiency:

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[127] One argument against this would be that the bematists measured in stades (cf. *FGrH* 119 FF 2–3), but they may have originally included parasangs as well.

[128] See also 11.8.9. The road to India through Bactria used by the Achaemenids and perhaps implied in Ctesias' list may thus not be the circuitous route of Isid.Char.18–19, through Herat and Alexandropolis (Kandahar) in Arachosia. But cf. Graf 1994: 186.

> He [Cyrus] observed how far a horse could travel in a day (πόσην ἂν **ὁδὸν** ἵππος καθανύτοι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλαυνόμενος) . . . and built post-stations at such distances and supplied them with horses and persons to take care of them. At each one of the stations he appointed a person to receive the letters that were delivered and to send them out, to receive in the horses and riders that completed their stage and to furnish fresh ones. [18] They say, furthermore, that the night does not (οὐδὲ τὰς νύκτας **φασὶν**) interrupt this courier, but the day-messengers (**ἡμερινῷ ἀγγέλῳ**) are succeeded by the night-messengers in relays. In this manner, they say, this delivery is faster than the cranes (φασί τινες **θᾶττον** τῶν **γεράνων**). Although this is not true, it is clear that this is the quickest human travelling (τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πεζῇ πορειῶν αὕτη **ταχίστη**); and it is of use to have early intelligence of everything, in order to deal with things as quickly as possible.

This passage comes in the context of measures and devices used by Cyrus to handle the physical magnitude of the empire (8.6.21), devices that are employed 'even now', i.e. in fourth century Persia.[129] This specific measure is singled out as a means by which the king could speedily discover distant states of affairs. Immediately before this description, Xenophon dwells on the institution of satraps, garrison-commanders, and citadel-guards (8.6.1, 9), the management of faraway properties that belong to courtiers (8.6.4–5), administration of the satrapal household (8.6.10–11), the organization of cavalry in the satrapies and care of horses (8.6.10–12), and the circuit made by the king's relatives or his official 'eye' (8.6.16), whose task is to set the satrapy right or report to the monarch. Thus, the context of Xenophon's depiction of the mounted courier postal system is the king's efficient means of control of his empire, through rapid delivery of intelligence.[130]

To be sure, this picture of the postal service was made possible by the infrastructure of the Royal Roads.[131] This portrayal is taken as a sign of Xenophon's intimate knowledge of Persia,[132] and indeed this system is mentioned in the Persepolis tablets.[133] But Xenophon's depiction closely resembles another of Herodotus' descriptions (8.98), and may in fact be Xenophon's elaboration of this Greek text. This is what Herodotus writes, apropos of the way news of the calamity at Salamis (480) reaches Persia:

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[129] Tatum 1989: 208, Gera 1993: 298, Bartlett 2015: 151. In this way, Cyrus overcame nature, as it were, and human shortcomings concerning knowledge; cf. *Cyr.* 8.2.10–12. On expressions related to the magnitude of the empire see Almagor 2017: 33–4.

[130] Pflaum 1940: 194, Purves 2010: 175, Talbert 2012: 243.

[131] See Colburn 2013: 43–4 on several of Persepolis tablets (NN 1809, PF 1321).

[132] See Gera 1993: 298 n. 74, Llewelyn 1994: 4; and cf. Lewis 1977: 23 n. 130, 53 n. 21, 74 n. 158 concerning Xenophon's references to the present.

[133] The Elamite *pirradaziš* (PF 1285) has been taken to denote these mounted express messengers (perhaps from OIran. **fratačiš*), 'fast messenger'. See Hallock 1969: 42, Henkelman 2008: 199–200 n. 428, Seibert 2002: 32–5, Silverstein 2007: 9–28, Hyland 2019: 151 n. 2 (with further references).

> [Xerxes] sent an announcement of his current disaster. There is nothing in this world quicker than this system of envoys (*τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι* ***θᾶσσον*** *παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἐόν*). This is how the Persians organize it. It is said (***λέγουσι***) that as many days as there are for the entire course, as many men and horses (*τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες*) are ready, each steed and man for every day's journey (*κατὰ* ***ἡμερησίην*** *ὁδὸν*). These are impeded neither by snow nor rain (*οὔτε νιφετός, οὐκ ὄμβρος*) nor heat nor darkness from completion of their appointed mission as fast as they can (*τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν* ***ταχίστην***). The first rider in the course delivers what he has been given to the second, the second to the third, and thence it is conveyed from one to another, as in the Greek torch-bearers' race to honour Hephaestus. This riding-course is called *angarēion* by the Persians.

Elsewhere, Herodotus implicitly refers to this postal system, when he mentions a bearer of messages (*ἀγγελιηφόρος*: 3.126.2). The name *angarēion* is related to the word *ἄγγα ρος*, which probably meant 'messenger'.[134] Indeed, the Ionian form *ἀγγαρήιος* is found in several MSS of 3.126 in place of *ἀγγελιηφόρος*, and is printed as Herodotus' text in Wilson's OCT. We have independent indications as to the importance of the imperial post in Persia and the official who headed it.[135]

Notwithstanding the later use of Herodotus' description in modern-day postal services,[136] his account is clearly ironic.

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[134] See Hesychius A 374b: *ἀγγάρους*, Suda *α* 164–5: *ἄγγαρος*, Huyse 1990: 96–7, Brust 2008: 17–19. See Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 109, Joseph.*AJ* 11.203 (probably through Nic.Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 4.4–6 = *Exc. de Virt*. p. 330.5 (Büttner-Wobst)). The word appears adjectivally in Aesch.*Ag*.282. (The word *hgr* is used in Hellenistic Demotic papyri for mounted couriers: Graf 1994: 185.) The relation between this word and the Greek *ἄγγελος* (messenger) is not clear: see Frisk 1960: 8 on the one hand and Shrimpton 1993: 78 on the other (*angaros* as a Persian mispronunciation of *angelos*). Possible OP originals (**ham-kāra-*, **ang-āra-*: see Brust 2008: 32–7) could have been broader in meaning, however, with a connotation of rendering service. Herrenschmidt 1993: 5 views the Iranian of *angaros* as **ham/a-gar-a*, 'one who stays awake': one might compare Plato Com. 239 K–A (*angaroi* walking at night beside the walls of a city) and Men. frr. 349, 353 K–T (the *angaros* as stupid functionary): cf. Tuplin 1996: 148, 2011: 47 n. 25. Possible non-Iranian origins are either Akkadian *egirtu*/Aramaic *ʾgrh* ('letter': Kaufman 1974: 48) or Akkadian *agru* (LÚ.ḪUN.GÁ; LÚ.A.GAR; pl. *agrū*, *agrūtu*), 'a hired man, hireling', a word related to *igru*, 'hire, rent' (cf. Arabic : ʾgīr أجير 'hired man'). The former keeps us close to the postal service, the latter would fit the way in which *aggaros* connoted conscripted, requisitioned or compulsory work in later Greek (Epict.4.1.79; cf. the verb *ἀγγαρεύειν*, NT Matt. 5.41, 27.32, Mark 15.21; Joseph.*AJ* 13.52) and Latin (cf. Ulp.*Dig*.49.18.4, Paul.*Dig*.50.5.10.2), a usage also reflected in the Talmud: Gutmann and Sperber 1971, Sperber 1969. See Pontillo 1996.

[135] See Holmberg 1933: 20. See Plut.*Alex*.18.7–8, *Mor*.326e, 340c on the position of Darius III Codomannus *ἀστάνδης*, 'courier'; cf. Pflaum 1940: 197, Graf 1994: 167. On this position see Suda *α* 4220: *Ἀστάνδαι: οἱ ἐκ διαδοχῆς γραμματοφόροι. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἄγγαροι* ('those carrying letters in relays; the same people [were] also [called] *angaroi*') and the variation in Hesych. A 7683 (*ἀσκανδής · ἄγγελος*). See Huyse 1990: 95.

[136] Herodotus' words (unattributed) 'neither snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds' have been on what was previously known as the General Post Office Building in New York City since 1914 and have become the unofficial motto of the US Postal Service.

To begin with, one may note the allusions to Aeschylus' depiction of the communication of the fall of Troy by Clytaemnestra (*Agamemnon* 282–3).[137] Here, a string of beacons, which transmits the news, is explicitly called 'courier fire' (**ἄγγαρον πῦρ**).[138] The image of a torch-race in relays implied in Clytaemnestra's words (312: 'my torch-bearers', *λαμπαδηφόροι*) and the name of Hephaestus (281: 'speeding forth his brilliant blaze') are overtly used by Herodotus as a metaphor.[139] Clytaemnestra uses this image to answer the chorus who are astonished that word could arrive so fast (280). This allusion makes the disaster at Salamis equal the fall of an eastern empire, toying with the Persia/Troy association. But it also marks the Persians as excelling both of the ancient belligerent parties: unlike the Trojans, they survive this calamity and are able to make use of the territory and roads which they indisputably hold; and their communication system is faster than any device used by the Greeks to announce their victory. Ironic also is the tension between the content of the message (defeat at sea) and the method of its transmission (mastery of the land).

Moreover, the broader context is ironic. The story that immediately follows in Herodotus (8.99) describes two immediately successive announcements delivered in Susa: the first, declaring the taking of Athens, causes delight to the Persians, the second, of the disaster at Salamis, causes lamentation and grief.[140] One may note the ironic mirror image of the news reaching the Greeks in two stages: first, of barbarians in Attica (8.50) and then of the takeover of the Acropolis (8.56).[141] In another irony, while the speed at which the messages are received discloses Persian strength and ostensibly reveals the efficiency of the Persian system, the second announcement causes the Persians to lose confidence and fear for their king (8.99.2). The allusion to Homer's depiction of the Elysian Plain (*Odyssey* 4.566),[142] points at the supernatural quality of the Royal Road,[143] in stark contrast with the frailty of the human king.

One should note the verbal echoes between the passage of Xenophon and that of Herodotus. The adverbial accusative *ταχίστην* become Xenophon's adjective ταχίστη.[144] Xenophon's claim that night does not interrupt this service seems to be a comment on Herodotus' depiction. Both Herodotus and Xenophon describe messages moving in an eastward direction. Both mention a day's travel, claiming that stops were made one day's ride apart.[145] Xenophon's stress on the presence of horses in the stations (ἱππῶνας), implying the existence of stables, tallies with Herodotus' emphasis. Xenophon seems here to be mostly derivative and is not providing independent evidence about the Royal Road. If so, his use of the word φασί ('they say') may actually hint at Herodotus. Xenophon's use of Herodotus is seen more clearly against the background of another postal system, which Xenophon does *not* mention. Alongside the system which operated by relays of mounted couriers, there were special emissaries, who carried a letter the whole way from source to destination.[146]

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[137] Bowie 2007: 187–8.

[138] See Tracy 1986.

[139] Munson 2001: 90–1. This is not merely a metaphor: see Ps.-Arist.*Mund.*398a30–5, Diod.19.57.5 on Antigonus (in Asia).

[140] The portrayal in Esther 3.12–13, 8.9–10 of a royal edict and its consequent annulment may in fact be an adaptation of the Greek accounts. The first envoy is the one mentioned at Hdt.8.54: *σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι εὐπρηξίην*, 'Xerxes, having fully taken possession of Athens, sent to Susa a mounted messenger to report to Artabanus the good success which they had' (transl. Macaulay). See Bowie 2007: 187.

[141] See Sacks 1976: 145 on the two reports coming in the same day. Moreover, the fact that it took the Persians three months from the crossing of the Hellespont to reach Athens (8.51) is surely meant to evoke the previous portrayal of the Royal Road.

[142] *οὐ νιφετός, οὔτ' ἂρ χειμὼν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος*, 'no snow is there, nor heavy storm, nor ever rain'. Bowie 2007: 187: 'the evocation of this famous passage contributes to the almost superhuman nature of this service'.

[143] It is no wonder that the Persians, elated by the victory, pay homage to the roads: they cover all of them with myrtle boughs and burnt incense (8.99.1). This act of reverence recalls the respect shown by the Thracians (7.115.3).

But where did the image of the cranes come from? One could imagine that Xenophon knew cranes for their movement as migrant birds,[147] for their use of regular routes for migration with resting stations,[148] and for the (erroneous) claim that they carried a stone when flying.[149] All of these features might evoke the Royal Road and the relay system. But the explanation may also lie elsewhere. It is interesting to observe that according to the *Etymologicum Magnum* (227.51) one of the senses of crane (γέρανος), is ὄμβρος (*LSJ* s.v.V). This is the very word Herodotus (following Homer's metonymy) uses to describe rain. It may be pure coincidence, but there could be a connection in that Herodotus' portrayal of clouds may have inspired Xenophon's imagery of cranes flying through them.[150]

There is thus a possibility that Xenophon's picture in *Cyropaedia* of a messenger system that was dependent on the Royal Road is partially derivative and dependent on an existing written account as well as on autopsy or personal information. This is significant when we turn to the other place where the Royal Road impinges on Xenophon, namely the *Anabasis*.

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[144] On the speed involved see Graf 1994: 167, Gabrielli 2006: 45–62, Colburn 2013: 46–7.

[145] A day is also the unit in the Persepolis tablets dealing with rations to travellers along the Royal Road: Hallock 1969: 6, Miller 1997: 114–17. But the distance between the stations surely agrees more with that covered by a horse in an hour. See Colburn 2013: 45.

[146] This parallel system appears e.g. when Bagaeus carries letters to Sardis (Hdt.3.128), as did Tithraustes to Colossae (Diod.14.80.7–8). In these cases messages reach the periphery and not the centre. For the Roman system see Suet.*Div.Aug.*49.3, Holmberg 1933: 19–20, Pflaum 1940: 196–8. Elsewhere Xenophon presents a fictional case of a letter being delivered with military escort, though not over a long distance: *Cyr.*2.2.6–10.

[147] See *Il.*2.459–61, 3.2–7, Hes.*Op.*448–51, Ar.*Av.*710–11.

[148] Arist.*HA* 596b–597a, Ael.*NA* 2.1, 3.13. See Arnott 2007: 80–2. Aelian actually compares their migration with the Great King's travels round the empire, but he could have been influenced by Xenophon's imagery.

[149] Ar.*Av.*1137, Ael. *NA* 2.1, refuted by Arist.*HA* 597ab.

[150] Indeed, it could be that cranes were visible through the clouds flying in a special V-formation (Plut.*Mor.*967bc, 979a, Ael.*NA* 3.13, Cic.*ND* 2.125, Arnott 2007: 8).

3.2 *Anabasis*

As is well known, Xenophon was one of the Greek mercenaries enlisted in order to install Cyrus the Younger on the Persian throne. In his account of the march, he reports the distances travelled by the army throughout its journey upcountry (the *anabasis*: *Anabasis* 1.1–1.8) from Sardis to Cunaxa near Babylon and then north to the Black Sea (the *katabasis*: *Anabasis* 2–4) and in Asia Minor along the coastline (the *parabasis*: *Anabasis* 5–7). This itinerary is potentially relevant to the Royal Road (in the widest sense of the term) and its literary representation. Xenophon's account should be taken in relationship with literary precursors, actual reality, and personal experience.

The statistics appear in two ways. The dominant one is the regular incorporation in the narrative of statements that the army travelled so-and-so many parasangs and so-and-so many stages between one place and the next: there are over sixty such statements in Books 1–4. But there are also three summaries of distance travelled and time taken (covering Ephesus to Cunaxa, Cunaxa to Cotyora, and the whole journey) whose relationship to the regular statements is problematic.

The units of measurement used in both forms of statistical report are the parasang and the stage (the summaries also use the stade) and the norm is that we are given a figure in both units for each army march in Book 1. The stage corresponds to a day's march[151] and each day the army covers a number of parasangs. Cyrus' army marches from Sardis to Cunaxa in 181 days (including ninety-six days of rest), out of which it actually travels in only eighty-five to eighty-six days. There is no fixed rate in terms of parasangs: the army mostly does five parasangs a day (as in Herodotus),[152] but there are numerous exceptions. Xenophon appears to adopt both the spatial and temporal/variable understanding of this unit of measurement,[153] but why does he employ the parasang at all?[154]

Herodotean Parasangs?

One explanation is simply that it reflects use of the terminology by Cyrus' officers:[155] that is, it is a direct product of Xenophon's experience. But the fact that Xenophon never explains the term parasang[156] rather suggests an expectation that his readers would be familiar with this concept from existing literature;

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[151] Rood 2010: 52, with n. 6.

[152] Paradeisopoulos 2014: 244–5, 2015: 388 n. 74, 389.

[153] Spatial: cf. Agathias, 2.21.7-8. Temporal: Paradeisopoulos 2013: 664 n. 73 and 2014: 241–3 on *An*.1.5.5. Small numbers of stades appear occasionally: 3.3.11 (25 stades), 4.5.4, 4.5.22 (20 stades).

[154] Roy 2007: 67: 'we do not know why Xenophon chose to record distances in parasangs, nor who measured the distances he records'; and cf. Rood 2010: 52.

[155] Tuplin 1997: 411.

[156] He uses it also in the *Cyropaedia*, mostly as a marker of distance between two parties: *Cyr*. 2.4.21, 3.3.28, 4.2.20, 6.3.10. For distances during a march he uses days (*Cyr*. 3.3.24).

perhaps it appeared in Ctesias' work, even without admitting that the physician included a list of distances at the end.[157] But parasangs certainly occur in the famous passage of Herodotus.[158] This prompts the thought that Xenophon may be consciously alluding to Herodotus' depiction of the Royal Road, and may intend his own portrayal of the march in some sense to compete with that earlier account.[159]

There are differences between the two accounts, quite apart from the fact that they only map on to one another imperfectly (Herodotus describes a trip from Sardis—or Ephesus—to the royal palace at Susa, whilst Xenophon in Books 1–4 depicts one from Sardis to the Pontic Greek city of Trapezus). One is that Xenophon's narrative, through the repetitive use of the same marching formula, reflects the actual march,[160] an impression which Herodotus' portrayal only partially achieves. Moreover, as opposed to Herodotus' brief—perhaps too brief—account, seemingly echoing Aristagoras' proposition that the journey into Asia is easy and short, Xenophon's repetitiveness and the mention of numerous stations stress the hardships and the length of the road, without any intention of irony.[161] At the same time, Xenophon's orderly sequence, absent in Herodotus' confused depiction of the two-segmented road, implies that the way to the king's palace is traversable.[162] This impression breaks down, however, in the same way it does in Herodotus' account. Herodotus' addition of three days to his neat scheme from Sardis to the palace at Susa in effect disrupts his portrayal and makes the road's destination almost inaccessible (see above, pp. 155–6, 159–60). Comparably, in Xenophon's story, as Cyrus comes nearer to his goal, he marches for three days in increasing disorder, till the armies meet virtually 'at the gates' of the royal palace of Babylon.[163] It seems possible, therefore, that Herodotus' depiction serves as a model for Xenophon in the use of the parasang and, since the total number of days of actual travel is four or five short of Herodotus' ninety, just as the battlefield of Cunaxa is a little short of the actual palace, there is perhaps a Herodotean resonance there as well.

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[157] Ctesias' use of the word would falsify Tuplin 1997: 405: 'the only previous explanation in a Greek source was that of Herodotus, and Xenophon could not rely on his readers having obtained a non-Herodotean view of this matter from some other familiar source'. This hypothesis is admittedly conjectural. An analogy may be seen in Xenophon's use of the word *paradeisos*. Xenophon employs it in *Anabasis* (1.2.7, 9, 1.4.10, 2.4.14, 16) and *Cyropaedia* (1.4.5, 11, 8.1.38, 8.6.12), and only explains it in *Oeconomicus* 4.13. It would appear that Xenophon assumes his audience knows the meaning of the word, probably because of its appearance in a popular written text. The likely candidate for such a work is Ctesias' *Persica*, which seems to have mentioned gardens at various points (F 1b 13.1–3; F 34a (*paradeisoi*), F 34b (*basilikos paradeisos*), F45.35 (*kēpoi*)). Ctesias mentions distances in days (F 13.21, F 45.17) and he may have supplied parasangs as well. It may be that Ctesias' tongue-in-cheek depiction of oxen in Susa (F 34a+b), carrying exactly 100 buckets of water and refusing to work more than this given number, hints at the Persian system of a fixed figure, known to participants and which can be measured, but is still arbitrary to outside viewers.

[158] Tuplin 1997: 405, Rood 2010: 53.

[159] Tuplin 1997: 414.

[160] Rood 2010: 55: 'The successive steps of the geographical account match the successive steps of the journey.' This imitative feature of Xenophon's text was actually felt by ancient readers; cf. Plut.*Art.*8.1: *Ξενοφῶντος δὲ μονονουχὶ δεικνύοντος ὄψει καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς οὐ γεγενημένοις, ἀλλὰ γινομένοις ἐφιστάντος ἀεὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐμπαθῆ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντα διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν* ('Xenophon brings it all before our eyes, and by the vigour of his description makes his reader always a participant in the emotions and perils of the struggle, as though it belonged, not to the past, but to the present' (trans. Perrin)). See Purves 2010: 162–3.

[161] Rood 2010: 63.

[162] Purves 2010: 170.

But the narrative's count of march-days to Cunaxa is not the only figure provided in *Anabasis* for the time taken by the trip, and that brings us to consider the three summary passages.

The Summaries

In none of the summaries in the *Anabasis* do the figures provided for parasangs and stages match the data provided in the narrative statements about distance travelled.

In the first of them (*An*.2.2.6)—according to which the length of the journey 'from Ephesus in Ionia' (*ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας*) to 'the battle' (*μέχρι τῆς μάχης*) is ninety-three stages, 535 parasangs, or 16,050 stades—certain features can be explained in terms of data in Herodotus. (i) The real number of parasangs from Sardis to Cunaxa is 517. The summary's 535 parasangs represents that figure plus the eighteen parasangs that would correspond to Herodotus' estimate of the distance from Ephesus to Sardis as 540 stades (= eighteen parasangs).[164] (ii) The figure of ninety-three stages is significantly higher than the one given by Xenophon's narrative (eighty-five to eighty-six days). The difference cannot be accounted for by the Herodotean three days from Ephesus to Sardis.[165] Perhaps instead someone added those three days to the Herodotean ninety days for the march from Sardis to Susa—or, put another way, the summary's ninety-three stages from Ephesus to Cunaxa is influenced (quite irrationally, it must be said) by Herodotus' ninety-three days from Ephesus to Susa. (iii) The starting point is Ephesus, not Sardis, contrary to Xenophon's actual parasang count.[166] Other figures in the first summary are not Herodotean. The extra annotation that the distance from Cunaxa to Babylon was 360 stades (i.e. twelve parasangs) is best explained as a misunderstanding of *An*.1.7.1, reporting a march of twelve parasangs through Babylonia *before* Cunaxa and, because the figures for stages and parasangs are generated independently of one another, they do not stand in the Herodotean 1:5 ratio. (At that rate 535 parasangs would make 107 days/stages.[167])

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[163] *An*.3.1.2: *ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις*. So also Isoc.4.149 (*ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις*) and Plut.*Art*.20.1: *ἐξ αὐτῶν μονονουχὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἐσώθησαν* ('virtually rescued themselves from his very palace').

[164] Paradeisopoulos 2013: 653 n. 36, Paradeisopoulos 2014: 246.

[165] See Paradeisopoulos 2013: 653 n. 37, Paradeisopoulos 2014: 246.

[166] Xenophon arrived at Ephesus (*An*. 6.1.23) and presumably other mercenaries did as well.

[167] The 16,050 stades, on the other hand, are a Herodotean equivalent for 535 parasangs.

Herodotean explanations do not work with problems encountered in the second and third summaries.

The second one (*An*.5.5.4) describes the distance between the battlefield and Pontic Cotyora as '122 stages, 620 parasangs or 18,600 stades, and in time, eight months'. Why Cotyora? From the moment the army reaches Trapezus on the Pontus Xenophon does not mention parasangs at all.[168] The number of stages Xenophon does provide for the segment between Cunaxa and Trapezus is lower (104) and, even if we add the number of days Xenophon mentions for the portion between Trapezus and Cotyora (fourteen), we are still short of 122. The figures for stages and parasangs do not stand in a Herodotean 1:5 ratio: 122 stages would imply 610 parasangs (or 620 parasangs, 124 stages), and the actual 104 stages/days of the narrative yields a mere 520 parasangs. Since the narrative in Books 2–4 often fails to record parasang figures, the summary's figure of 620 is greatly in excess of the mere 350 in the narrative. The last of the summaries (7.8.26) marks the length of the entire journey as 215 stages, 1,150 parasangs or 34,255 stades, and in time a year and three months. While the number of the stages is the accurate total of the two previous figures (93+122), the number of parasangs is short by five;[169] this may indicate that the original figure of one of the other two summaries (either the 535 or the 620) was different, but one hesitates to say so, given that the total figure of stades is completely wrong in relation to the number of parasangs at a Herodotean 1:30 ratio (which would produce 34,500—or 34,650, if 1,155 is the number adopted for the parasangs). No amount of even halfway rational manipulation can produce a coherent result.[170]

It is hard to believe that any of these passages was produced by Xenophon and, although the first might have been partly generated from Herodotean figures, that is not true of the other two. The presence of a summary right at the end adjacent to a list of the satraps of areas the army passed through does make one think of Ctesias *Persica* Book 23, especially as the starting point in both cases is Ephesus. The distance summary makes more sense in an itinerary story like the *Anabasis* than in Ctesias' work, whereas the list of monarchs at the end of *Persica* is more understandable than the list of satraps, which seems quite superfluous.[171] So the analogy is imperfect. But perhaps it is enough to suggest the possibility that both sets of interpolation were made at the same time or by the same readers consulting the two works together.

The summaries, then, tell us nothing about Xenophon's statistical reaction to the Persian road network, apart from the inclination to add figures up to produce schematic global totals. The last case is telling: it has 1,150 parasangs, which may be compared with Herodotus' 450, and 'one year and three months' as opposed to Herodotus' three months.

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[168] See Rood 2010: 61, Purves 2010: 161, 172, 185 for the literary reasons for this variation.

[169] Paradeisopoulos 2013: 654.

[170] For example, the closest one can get to 34,255 is 34,200, based on 530 and 610 parasangs (the latter figure actually equals 122 stages, as in the MSS), which was later altered to yield 34,255. If this is true, then the original figure was 1,140 parasangs, amended to 1,150.

[171] Briant 2002: 988, Paradeisopoulos 2013: 652–3 on the satrap list.

Schematism, Lack of System, and more Herodotean Questions

Let us, then, return to Xenophon's actual text and see what further can be said about it and about its relationship to Herodotus, starting with three negative points.

Xenophon's version of the march through what Herodotus calls Matiene manages to lose one of the four rivers that characterize the latter (namely the Lesser Zab) and has a different name for another of them (the Gyndes)—unless indeed that one is also missing. Just as Herodotus' Matiene lacks any figure of stages and parasangs in the MSS, Xenophon does not indicate the route of the Ten Thousand in this part.[172] This striking similarity might suggest that Xenophon relies on Herodotus' description in terms of both content and form, and even follows the same model, with the impression of being lost, immersed in the topography, or disappearing in the interior mainland, far from a measurable space.[173] Xenophon may even slip back to Herodotus' condensed picture of Assyria and Media (see above, p. 158), and this may explain his use of the term 'Media' (~ Herodotus' Matiene) when Xenophon refers in fact to the Assyrian heartland. From a literary point of view, mountains and rivers serve the same purpose for Xenophon and for Herodotus, i.e. they are a natural obstacle, a fact which is reflected in this literary device of inserting gaps in the figures related to the area.[174]

Cyrus' route from Sardis to Tarsus involved a diversion via Ceramon Agora which was probably intended to divert suspicion about his real goal.[175] In making the trip the army covers 222 parasangs. In Herodotus' description the distance between Sardis and the Cilician Gates near Tarsus is 198.5 parasangs. Given that his route is completely different and involves a huge detour to the north to cross the river Halys, it is remarkable that the number of parasangs is lower than that of Cyrus' route which involved a minor deviation.[176] Although not decimally rounded, 222 is quite an elegant number and might in principle have an element of artifice about it. One explanation for these curious facts would be that both authors refer to the same framework, so as to keep within its bounds. Another is that Xenophon appears to reconcile his route with Herodotus' text.[177]

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[172] Lendle 1995: 221, 237, Cawkwell 2004: 55, Brennan 2012: 311–12, 318–19. He also neglects to mention the crossing of the Assyrian Khabur (Reade 2015: 190).

[173] See Purves 2010: 162, 168, 171–2, 174–5, 181, 183, 194–5; cf. *An*.3.2.25 on the allusion to the Lotus Eaters.

[174] Compare Purves 2010: 178 on Xenophon's use of *aporia* in these sections; cf. Tuplin 1999: 340–3, Stoneman 2015: 67–70.

[175] French 1998: 22. Concealment: *An*.1.1.6,9,11. Ramsay 1890: 41: 'this strange detour has always been a puzzle'; and cf. Debord 1995: 95.

[176] French 1998: 19 notes that it is extraordinary that Xenophon's distance figure for the section from Celaenae to Ceramon Agora is seventy-two parasangs, close to Herodotus' distance from Sardis through Lydia and Phrygia (92.5 parasangs) and concludes that Xenophon's figure indicates a detour from the Royal Road.

Xenophon's distances for parasangs between two points are mostly divisible by five.[178] Furthermore, the distances are presented in such a way that two or three close figures sometimes make a total of a hundred (Dardas river to Corsote) or fifty (Sardis to Celaenae, Ceramon Agora to Tyriaeum, Tyriaeum to Lycaonia, Myriandus to the Dardas River, Sittace to Parysatis' villages, Opis to the Great Zab: these last two overlap), though this phenomenon is more common in Book 1, partly because of gaps in the parasang record in Books 2–4;[179] and there are a number of cases of adjacent duplicates: from Lycaonia to Tarsus the army twice covers four stages and twenty-five parasangs, and there are similar cases between Caystrupedium and Tyriaeum, Issus and Myriandus, the Tigris headwaters and the villages beyond the Teleboas, and the Harpasus and Gymnias. The sum total of recorded parasangs between Cunaxa and Trapezus is again divisible by five and fifty: 350 parasangs (93+257).[180] All of this might strike one as bit too schematic to be true—and more schematic than the Herodotean figures with their half-parasangs and decimally inelegant numbers of staging-posts.

Elsewhere, however, a Herodotean flavour of one sort or another can still be detected. Measurements in stages and parasangs occur regularly until the end of Book 4 (Trapezus),[181] but after Book 1 Xenophon is not systematic and, although the passage of stages/days is generally clear, parasangs are quite often missing. In fact, there is an alternation in Books 2–4 between the presence and absence of these figures, which Rood (2010: 60) sees as the reflection of the alternation in Xenophon's narrative between (respectively) regular and disrupted marching. Another way of seeing it would be to say that Xenophon's image of the route fluctuates between highlighting its eastern setting by talking about parasang and adopting the Greek world-view of the soldiers (and readers) by talking only about days (stages). The parasang thus fulfils for Xenophon the same function that the half-parasang does for Herodotus, insinuating Persian setting and difficulty of travel.[182]

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[177] Tuplin 1997: 409: "The knowledge that it is 450 parasangs from Susa to Sardis and of the lengths of the component parts of the road allows anyone to estimate how long all or parts of the journey would take for e.g. a horseman or an army". One should probably resist the temptation to make anything out of the fact that 222 is twice the number of staging-posts from Sardis to Susa in Hdt.5.52.

[178] Only seven or so are not. Paradeisopoulos 2013: 670 raises the possibility that Xenophon rounded up distances in multiples of five parasangs.

[179] So there are fifty parasangs between the Harpasus and the Colchian–Macronian boundary, but they do not account for the whole journey, there being five days without a parasang figure immediately before Mount Theches. Single traverses of fifty parasangs appear from Thapsacus to the Araxes (1.4.19) and through Chalybian land to the Harpasus (4.7.15).

[180] Assuming five parasangs' march per day, Paradeisopoulos 2014: 246–8 adds the missing parasangs to the text. Therefore, eighty-five parasangs should be added to the section as far as the Carduchians, and ninety (Paradeisopoulos, based on Diod.14.29.1–3, adds 140) to the section as far as Trapezus. The sum total of the parasangs for the entire retreat would be 525 (175+350), a figure which is suspiciously close to that given for the march to Cunaxa.

[181] Rood 2010: 59-61.

Xenophon does apparently have Herodotus in mind at a couple of points during the retreat, even in parts where the Ten Thousand are not said to travel on the Royal Road.[183] When Tissaphernes portrays the mercenaries' predicament in his conversation with Clearchus (2.5.18), he mentions the rivers are not crossable without the assistance of the Persians, who would carry them over (by a ferry).[184] This arguably echoes Herodotus' description of the Sardis–Susa route (5.52.4), where the four navigable rivers in Matiene have to be crossed by ferries.[185] And when Xenophon evokes the Greeks' situation after the seizure and the execution of the generals near the Greater Zab River (3.1.2) as 'being distant from Greece not less than ten thousand stades', the figure is consistent with and might be based (by reasoned rounding down) on Herodotus' estimate of the complete journey Sardis to Susa as 13,500 stades (5.53).

Another Herodotean resonance may sound in a famous passage earlier in *Anabasis* (1.5.9):

> It was possible for one who observed closely that the king's empire was strong in the extent of territory and number of inhabitants, but was weak in the length of its roads (*μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν*)... in case someone should be swift in making war upon it.[186]

Herodotus' depiction of the Royal Road and (despite its ironies) his account of the imperial postal service both invited the view that the size of the empire was something that the Persians were able to control by virtue of its road network. In *Cyropaedia* Xenophon bought into a similar view. Here, however, his proposition is that the roads are a point of weakness. It is true that, whatever geographical interpretation we put on the Herodotean Royal Road, Cyrus almost entirely avoided using it, presumably precisely because it was well-guarded and monitored;[187] and his choice of the left bank of the Euphrates as a way to approach Babylonia is in particular generally seen as deliberately taking him away from those parts of the network most relevant to surveillance and high-speed official communications.[188] So perhaps Xenophon's remark (made precisely in the context of the journey along the Euphrates) is an acknowledgement—albeit a tacit one—of the general mismatch between his own journey and the Herodotean model for access to the heart of the empire.[189]

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[182] See Higgins 1977: 95, Purves 2010: 168.

[183] Compare *An.* 2.2.11, where Ariaeus advises the Greeks to follow longer routes. The mercenaries' reliance on local guides (e.g. 3.1.2, 3.2.20, 4.1.20-28, 4.6.1-3, 4.7.19) indicates that they are not on the clearly demarcated Royal Road. See Stoneman 2015: 64-66.

[184] ***εἰσὶ*** *δ' αὐτῶν* [sc. *ποταμοὶ*] *οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παντά**πασι** διαβαίητε,εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς **διαπορεύοιμεν**.*

[185] *ποταμοὶ δὲ νηυσιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ῥέουσι, τοὺς **πᾶσα** ἀνάγκη **διαπορθμεῦσαι ἐστί**.*

[186] cf. Diod.14.22.2.

[187] *An.*1.2.21: rather, he uses a wagon road (*ὁδὸς ἁμαξιτὸς*). Occasionally, Cyrus does not follow any road at all: Brennan 2005: 153–4. Monitored: Kuhrt 2007: 730: Hdt.1.123–4, 5.35, 7.239.2–3; and cf. Briant 1991: 73.

[188] *An.*1.5.1–8, with Joannès 1995: 182–6.

But there *were* also points during the retreat when Xenophon's description seems to indicate that the Ten Thousand were momentarily on or near the Herodotean Royal Road. The route (2.4.12–24) through (*εἴσω*) the wall of Media, across a fixed bridge and two canals, Sittace (actually perhaps Opis),[190] and another pontoon bridge (of thirty-seven boats) may be part of the Great Khorasan Road linking Babylon and Ecbatana.[191] At Opis (actually perhaps Sittace: 2.4.25), the Greeks cross a river (the Diyala?)[192] before they proceed to march along the Tigris. It is there that they encounter a Persian force headed by the bastard brother of the king, which arrived presumably along the same road, but in the opposite direction. Xenophon describes the army as coming 'from Susa and Ecbatana' (*ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων*), a phrase that probably betrays the fact that this place was the junction between the road to Ecbatana and the Herodotean Royal Road to Susa. This Persian army appears again north of Mespila (3.4.13) and presumably was marching speedily along the Royal Road, while the Greeks made a westerly diversion from it for whatever reason.[193] Further north, the Greeks notice barbarians on the other side of the river, retreat (perhaps to a place close to Silopi),[194] and enquire of their prisoners about the area and their options (3.5.14–15). From their answers the Greeks gather that going south would be the road towards Babylon and Media, to the east would lead to Susa,[195] and to the west would take them to Lydia and Ionia.[196] Perhaps Xenophon is aware that the Greeks were at another junction on the very same road Herodotus mentions—assuming we interpret his description as implying a route that enters the lowlands of northern Syria west of the Tigris.[197] It has also been suggested that on the northern bank of the Aras (Araxes), the army marched for seven days on a paved Royal Road (4.6.4).[198] If so, this might also relate to the Herodotean road, but this time on an interpretation of that road involving a northern trajectory.[199]

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[189] Tuplin 1997: 417, Tuplin 1999: 341–2, 355.

[190] Lendle 1986: 204–19, Tuplin 1991a: 51–4.

[191] See Reade 2015: 186–7.

[192] Reade 2015: 186, 190.

[193] Reade 2015: 192, 194.

[194] Reade 2015: 197–9.

[195] *Pace* Reade 2015: 199, who believes that the reference to Ecbatana indicates a less familiar pass through Zakho and Amadiya and across the Zagros to the Iranian plateau, Xenophon's phrase 'to Susa and Ecbatana' should not be pressed too much, as it is probably a repetition of the one referring to the brother's army earlier.

[196] *τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι᾽ ἧσπερ ἥκοιεν, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἕω ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάτανα φέροι, ἔνθα θερίζειν λέγεται βασιλεύς, ἡ δὲ διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι.*

[197] Tuplin 1991a: 51.

[198] Sagona 2004: 307, 309–10: 'the Median high road'. They were perhaps going east, in the mistaken belief that the Aras (Araxes) was the Colchian Phasis: Paradeisopoulos 2013: 661–3, 665–6, 2014: 234–5. The seven-day march also appears in Diod.14.29.2.

[199] Herzfeld 1968: 302, Sagona 2004: 320–1.

The remarkable thing in all these cases, as indeed in the traverse of Anatolia, is the absence of any explicit hint of the relationship with Herodotus. Does Xenophon leave it to the reader to figure it out without further assistance? That is, is he assuming that, confronted with the rich narrative of an attempt to invade the Persian empire, his reader will inevitably think of the famous counterfactual thought-experiment about a Spartan invasion of the empire in Herodotus Book 5 and be constantly on the look-out for intertextual links between the two? Sparta played a role in Cyrus' enterprise and not longer afterwards a Spartan king supposedly harboured aspirations of eastern conquest: given that and given the broader background of fourth-century Panhellenist discourse, perhaps such an assumption would not have been unreasonable.

Finally, the spectre of schematism, even invention, has been invoked in relation to Xenophon's parasang figures. What *are* we to say about their source and reliability?

One suggestion sometimes advanced is that Xenophon derived them from Ctesias' account of the roads of the empire.[200] That would be ruled out if, as suggested above, Ctesias did not write this section. But, even if Ctesias' list did exist by the time Xenophon wrote and Ctesias used the measurement unit of parasangs, it dealt with a road from Ephesus to Bactra and India, and was most likely focused on a version of the Herodotean Royal Road—something which (as we have seen) was only tangentially relevant to the soldiers' march and retreat.

The natural assumption, of course, is that Xenophon had notes or a diary that recorded all the relevant figures (including those for rest days),[201] since otherwise he could not possibly have remembered them all when he eventually came to write the story of the *Anabasis*.[202] The parasangs in particular came either from distance markers or milestones along the road[203] or from local informants or Cyrus' officers.[204]

Some scholars, however, reject the supposition that Xenophon wrote a diary during the march, either claiming that doing so was technically difficult, if not impossible, or asserting that it would not have occurred to him to do it anyway, as he did not start out with the idea of writing the history of the march and had no other reason to keep a record.[205] While it is true that Cyrus' mercenaries had an interest in keeping track of the journey as a basis for argument about how much money was owed to them,[206] it should be remembered that this need probably arose when it was clear how much money was at stake—that is, after it was obvious that (a) the promises of Cyrus for payment were above average and (b) the campaign was going to be of exceptional character and immense importance. Any pressing practical need to keep track of the journey would arise only after it was clear that they were not just chasing bandits in Pisidia, that Cyrus was not going to pay the soldiers off in the immediate future, and that the long-term prospects (for those who survived) were rather good. In other words: only after Thapsacus or at the earliest Tarsus. Another view might be that it was not until after Cyrus' death and the growing concern about security that it caused that it became urgent to keep some track of the distance travelled.[207] In both cases, most of the distances till Cunaxa were only computed retrospectively and not during the march. It would not, therefore, be surprising to find that some of them seem schematic.[208]

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[200] Cawkwell 1972: 22, 2004: 56, Lendle 1995: 486.

[201] Tarn 1927: 5, Barnett 1963: 1, 25–6, Breitenbach 1967: 1649–50, Tuplin 1991a: 46, Lendle 1995: 338, Stylianou 2004: 75–6, Roy 2007: 67, Purves 2010: 161.

[202] Date of *Anabasis*: MacLaren 1934: 244–7, Delebecque 1957: 199–206, Breitenbach 1967: 1641–2, Perlman 1976/77: 245 n. 10, Wylie 1992: 131, Stevenson 1997: 8 n. 11 (late 380s or early 370s), or Körte 1922: 16, Dillery 1995: 59, 94, Cawkwell 1972: 16, 2004: 48, Stylianou 2004: 72 n. 13 (360s). But see Rood 2004: 307.

[203] See Wiesehöfer 1982: 11, Tuplin 1997: 417: 'the "milestone hypothesis" may in the end be the least bad explanation…'. See also Henkelman 2017a: 63–77.

[204] Rennell 1816: 323, Høeg 1950: 159–60, Stylianou 2004: 77, Rood 2010: 54, 63.

[205] Cawkwell 2004: 54–59, cf. Brennan 2012: 311–12 with n. 16.

The analysis would, of course, be more cogent if the Cunaxa–Trapezus record were less schematic not only in the presence of gaps in the parasang record and other imperfections (e.g. poor definition of start and end points)[209] but also in the arithmetic of the parasang figures that are present—which, as it is, remains strongly inclined to be divisible by five. Xenophon *was* open to empirical agnosticism: he was prepared to admit uncertainty about distances (e.g. the distance between Cunaxa and the final stage before the battlefield: 1.10.1),[210] he made no effort to figure the distances in parasangs and stations in some difficult areas (e.g. the land of the Carduchians: 4.1–3),[211] and he abandoned practice entirely in the final three books. But Xenophon may have been creative with some of the distances in his work:[212] he attempts to infer approximately the distances of the march when the Ten Thousand are not on the road[213] and in the desert.[214] It would seem fair to suggest that Xenophon attempts to match his own description with a source outlining distances on *main* roads (most likely Herodotus). His occasional understanding of the parasang as a fixed spatial distance that is equal to thirty stades (as in Herodotus' account) appears to imply this fact.[215] He uses it in his description of caravan roads,[216] and, interestingly, also in areas where no roads are used.[217] In the end, the truth may be that some parasang figures were more evidentially robust than others, and some may have been spatial while others were temporal—and we are perhaps unlikely ever to be able to tell systematically which are which. While no global answer for Xenophon's use of parasangs can be reached, it would seem that his description of the march and this particular use of the measurement unit are influenced by Herodotus' portrayal of the Royal Road. Herodotus provides the model and the outline for this depiction.[218] Xenophon may have noted down the days and estimated distances in a diary and readjusted them when he began writing, but this register was not complete and not systematic.[219]

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[206] Tuplin 1991a: 47–8, cf. 1997: 409–17, Tuplin 1999: 342–7.

[207] Rood 2010: 63. In any event, 'it is difficult to think of any good reason why the mercenary army—either before or after Cunaxa—would want to measure the distances it was covering' (Tuplin, 1997: 416–17).

[208] Tuplin 1991a: 48.

[209] Tuplin 1997: 412: 'no named terminus'. The distances in Isidore's list are given between cities.

[210] See Tuplin 1997: 412-413 on the rare use of *elegonto* here. Could Xenophon use at least two sources throughout?

[211] Tarn 1927: 12, Tuplin 1997: 410, Cawkwell 2004: 58, Rood 2010: 60. Parasangs are missing in 2.2.15–17, 2.3.1–17, 2.4.12, 3.4.2–7, 24–37, 4.1.7–8, 4.3.2, 4.4.8–4.5.1, 4.5.9–22, 4.6.1–2, 4.7.20–1, 4.8.9–21. Stages and parasangs are missing in *An*.4.7.21.

[212] Tuplin 1997: 412: 'if he was starting with something no more detailed than Herodotus 5.52…then *Anabasis* 4.4.1–4.8.22 must have a considerable element of artificiality (for how could Xenophon possibly have *known* what the figures the document provided had to do with the route he had followed?)'. Cf. ibid.415.

[213] Breitenbach 1967: 1651, Rood 2010: 64. For example, the stretch of the road between Thapsacus and Pylae looks like such an inference. See Cawkwell 1972: 42; and cf. Tuplin 1991a: 47, Tuplin 1997: 412.

[214] See Cawkwell 2004: 58 n. 29. Yet Tuplin 1997: 406 cites Assyrian documents with measurements in desert areas, like Esarhaddon's Bazu-country campaign (Heidel 1956, prism iii.11–36), so this does not in itself exclude the existence of an external document based on official records.

CONCLUSION

We do not know whether there was an early list of distances and stations/stages along the Royal Road which circulated in Greek before Herodotus.[220] The language he uses in 5.52–4 certainly echoes the style of geographical works like that of Hecataeus.[221] This might indicate that Herodotus relied on Hecataeus in describing the Royal Road.[222] But there has to be room for doubt, given Herodotus' attitude to Hecataeus elsewhere[223] and his implicit rejection of the type of map Aristagoras presents.[224] It is similarly not known whether Herodotus relied on Hecataeus for the parasang as unit of measurement;[225] having converted Hecataeus' nautical measurements (cf. *FGrH* 1 F 196) into stades (4.86) for the first time, he could have done the same for his parasangs. But whatever Herodotus' sources may be, there is much innovation too, as we have seen, and we are invited to consider the bearing of the Royal Road on the difficulty of subduing Persia.

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[215] Paradeisopoulos 2015: 386, 388.

[216] See Ainsworth 1844: 143, Layard 1853: 61, Sagona 2004: 317 and n. 118, Paradeisopoulos 2013: 655–7, 659, 665, 667–8. Yet this road network is interrelated: the southern caravan highway intersected with the Royal Road at Melitene (above). Note also the road in *An*.4.2.8.

[217] See e.g. *An*. 1.5.1–5, 2.4.27–8, 3.4.10, 13.

[218] Herodotus may have also influenced the content of the depiction: the identity of the Scytheni at 4.7.18 (~ Hdt.7.64) and the shields of a hostile tribe at 4.7.22 (~ Hdt.7.79). Compare the description of the area north of the Euphrates as Arabia at 1.5.1 (~ Hdt.2.141, cf. Tuplin, 1991a: 48–50). See Sagona 2004: 322, Tuplin 2004b.

[219] Tuplin 1991a: 45.

[220] Murray 2001: 36; cf. Nenci 1994: 231–2.

[221] Clarke 2003: 75 n. 17, Rood 2006: 295, Pelling 2007: 195.

[222] See Cawkwell 2004: 57. Heidel 1935 and Jacoby 1913: 439, 1923: 371–2 discuss Herodotus' debt to Hecataeus. See also Porphyr. ap. Eus.*PE* 10.3.466b, with Fowler 2006: 34–6. The author is well known to Herodotus' readers. See West 1991: 145. In terms of language, see Branscombe 2010: 32 n. 93, who points at *FGrH* 1 F 169 as similar to Hdt.5.52–4. See Lloyd 1975–88: 1.138, West 1991: 159, Fowler 1996: 85, 2001: 115 for Herodotus' independence; cf. Marincola 1987: 130 n. 22. When Herodotus does refer to Hecataeus (2.143, 6.137.1–4), it is with criticism; cf. *FGrH* 1 F 20. See Jacoby 1923: 366–8 on Hdt. 2.5, 19–23 (cf. Diod. 1.37.3), Asheri 2007a: 129 n. 160, Lloyd 2007: 231–2.

[223] Herodotus may refer to Hecataeus in his criticism (4.36) of the maps which have Oceanus flow around the earth and the two continents Asia and Europe equal in size. If so, Herodotus includes Hecataeus in this group of maps, which he calls *γῆς περίοδοι*. See Jacob 1991: 43–4.

The information in Ctesias' lost *Persica* is even more slippery. There is no place in the narrative fragments in which distances in parasangs are given or strongly implied. We are also not certain how much Ctesias himself travelled on the Persian road network, at least in its eastern parts.[226] Fragments which attest Ctesias' interest in roads within the Persian empire are inconclusive. We have tried to show that it is unlikely that the list of distances between Ephesus and Bactra which appeared at the end of the *Persica* was authentic. If Ctesias included any mention of roads in his work, this was probably nothing more than an incidental part of the narrative.

It is therefore also hard to say whether Ctesias may have influenced Xenophon's *Anabasis*. According to Photius' epitome (F 16.63–5, F 27.68–9) and to Plutarch (*Art.*13, 18), Ctesias mentioned (a) the alliance of the Cilician Syennesis with both Cyrus and Artaxerxes, (b) the addresses of Cyrus and Artaxerxes to their armies, (c) the clashes of Meno and Clearchus and the deliberations of Cyrus with Clearchus, (d) the retreat of the army headed by Clearchus to one of the cities of Parysatis, (e) the negotiations with Phalinus, (f) Tissaphernes' betrayal of the generals. This means there was some overlap between Xenophon's itinerary and events in Ctesias' work, which included not only the march upcountry, but also part of the retreat (as far as the Greater Zab). It may be that Ctesias also included some distances in this section, or at least noted the names of some of the places.[227] The apparent combination of

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Herodotus' use of the word 'I laugh' (γελῶ) may allude to Hecataeus ap. Ps.Demetr.*Eloc.*12 ('the tales of the Greeks are laughable' (γελοῖοι)). See Lateiner 1977: 176 n. 9.

[224] Munson 2001: 209, Branscombe 2010: 8. Hecataeus, like Aristagoras, mentions the vastness of the Persian empire as a historical agent (Hdt.5.36.2–3, 5.125) and fails to persuade. Hecataeus' failure is despite this information, Aristagoras' failure is due to it. See Benardete 1969: 151–2, Pelling 2007: 199–200. See West 1991: 155–7. Hecataeus' role as (failed) advisor may have been invented in a comparison with the failed Aristagoras. See Greenwood 2007: 142 and West 1991: 157 n. 74 on Diod.10.25.4. Ironically, Hecataeus with a real knowledge of geography fails to persuade.

[225] Herzfeld 1968: 288-297, Hewsen 1983: 125-126; and cf. Sagona 2004: 322.

[226] *Pace* Tuplin 1991a: 43 who believes Ctesias was in Persepolis (the *Persai* of 688 F 36) and Llewellyn-Jones and Robson 2010: 15–16, who offer a very interesting and useful way of contextualizing this list with the assumption that Ctesias did in fact travel the road and knew a great deal about it.

[227] For instance, Ctesias should be considered as a plausible source for the name Mespila (*An.*3.4.10), since he was interested in local names (Bagistanon: *FGrH* 688 F 1b ~ Bīsotūn; Cunaxa: Plut.*Art.*8.1). Xenophon describes as Mespila a place that appears to be Nineveh/Ninus. This may stem from a misunderstanding of Ctesias' 'other river'. Ctesias probably strongly denied that Ninus was on the Tigris: attempting to correct Herodotus (1.193.2, 2.150), Ctesias meant the Khosr, but

memories, personal notes, and interaction with written works (Herodotus, Ctesias)[228] that characterizes other parts of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (mostly in Book 1) has a bearing on the distances he provides until the end of Book 4.

We are still not on the Royal Road to the truth concerning most of our difficulties related to the king's highway and its ancient descriptions by contemporary authors. But the literary significance of allusions to the Royal Road in the Greek texts is clear. The narratological function of the Royal Road may indeed be the strongest reason against the authenticity of the list of distances appended to Ctesias' lost *Persica*. In the two extant works, Herodotus' brief but influential description and particularly Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the road serves as a symbol of the unity of the vast Persian empire and of the omnipresent authority of the Great King. This political and practical fact seems to be employed by both writers as a device to enhance the position of the respective narrators. Through their interventions in the text, both utilize the Road to establish and highlight their own authority with relation to the reader. This is the reason why the respective narrators mention the road, describe its course, choose particular starting and end points, include distances (in parasangs)—and also leave something out.

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was apparently misunderstood by Diodorus (2.3.2–4, 2.7.2). Given Ctesias' apparent strong denial, Xenophon probably assumed that the place he passed through on the Tigris was not Ninus, but rather another place that Ctesias named as Mespila. (This may be Mosul on the west bank of the Tigris, a view held by Barnett 1963: 26, among others, but cf. Tuplin, 2003: 372.) Xenophon's Larissa (*An.*3.4.7) is another name he may have found in Ctesias' text.

[228] That Xenophon relied on Hecataeus as well is suggested by Cawkwell 2004: 53. One should immediately discard the notion that a source for the distances or the route was Sophaenetus' alleged *Anabasis*. *Pace* Manfredi 1986: 14, see Jacoby 1930: 349, Westlake 1987: 269, Stylianou 2004: 70–4, Almagor 2012: 28–9, and cf. Tuplin 1997: 209–10.

4

Economics

4.1

Aršāma the Vampire

John Ma

> In those unfortunate countries, indeed, where men are continually afraid of the violence of their superiors, they frequently bury and conceal a great part of their stock, in order to have it always at hand to carry with them to some place of safety, in case of their being threatened with any of those disasters to which they consider themselves as at all times exposed. This is said to be a common practice in Turkey, in Indoostan, and, I believe, in most other governments of Asia.
>
> Adam Smith, *Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book 2, chap. 1

1. TOWARDS ACHAEMENID ECONOMICS

The New Achaemenid History, which has unfolded over a generation or more, in several stages, produced transformative findings, insights, and models in a variety of historical fields: administrative history, the history of power, local and regional history, cultural history. One dimension that has long been lacking in this historiographical landscape is a real economic history of the Achaemenid world.[1] By this, I mean not (or not only) a study of the tributary economy or the royal economy, concepts which have been explored in detail as part of the history of Achaemenid power, but rather a history of production, exchange, and consumption. This history should also be a history of prices, labour and wages, capital and rents, credit, institutional and legal incentives, and growth, quantified if necessary; furthermore, it should attempt to a be a history of aspirations, of values and value. This history should show a sense of commodities, geography, and ecology; of shape, sizes, and proportions—all of these things considered within the space ruled over by the Achaemenid state and its elites, as now familiar through the study of political and administrative facts. This gap is now being addressed through research aiming to cover both the underlying economy of material conditions (in other words, living and making a living in the Achaemenid world) as well as the political economy of extraction, consumption, and privileges (in other words, the economic basis of the Achaemenid state and the men who inhabited its structures and lived by it). The tricky part is to hold both these economies in the focus of our historical gaze. The underlying economy supported imperial superstructure; conversely, the empire's institutions shaped the space within which material and economic activities took place.

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[1] Briant 2002: 804 notes the absence of a general history of Achaemenid economies. The attempt at such a history in Bedford 2006, the chapter on the Achaemenid world, in Scheidel, Morris, and Saller 2006, is of limited usefulness because of its restricted scope (the Near East rather than the whole empire) and its neglect of imperial extraction and exploitation—as noted in Briant 2009. (On imperial structure, see now the essays in Jacobs, Henkelman, and Stolper 2017, for instance Henkelman 2017a on 'imperial paradigm', or Jursa and Schmidl 2017 for a test case of imperial extraction.) But the general volume by Scheidel, Morris, and Saller can stand in for the conceptual breakthroughs that allow for an economic history of the ancient Near East, within which Achaemenid economic history fits; on which general history see Baker and Jursa 2005, Graslin-Thomé 2009, Jursa 2010 (with particular interest in the long sixth century of Neo-Babylonian

To evoke institutions in economic terms is to remind ourselves that this emergent economic history of the Achaemenid empire has been driven by, and initiated a conversation with, the recent debates about the ancient economies. After the breakdown of debates about modernism and primitivism, notably under the impact of ecologically aware models placing connectivity and trade at the centre of the ancient economies, attention has shifted to new paradigms, where the paramount questions concern economic performance and growth within conditions shaped by social, cultural, and political institutions—the so-called New Institutional Economics.[2] To replace the Achaemenid economies within the current explosion of work on ancient economic growth and performance is especially fruitful, because of debates on the nature of the economic performance in various types of institutional set-up—debates which offer many points of contact with a potential Achaemenid economic history. Notably, the Aegean world of the Greek cities (it has been argued) functioned as a vibrant, integrated, modernist economy of peer-to-peer, low transaction-cost, exchanges, enabled and protected by efficiency-generating institutions.[3] This world operated on the edges of the Achaemenid empire: what were its interactions with regions, communities, and individuals living under Achaemenid control? The North Aegean regional economy, at the interface between the

growth), the essays republished in Vargyas 2010, and the collected papers in Moreno García 2016; earlier recent works on Achaemenid or post-Achaemenid economies include Stolper 1985, Van der Spek 2011, Kozuh *et al.* 2014, Altmann 2016, Kleber and Pirngruber 2016, Pirngruber 2017.

[2] Horden and Purcell 2000, Scheidel, Morris, and Saller 2006, Bresson 2007a: 2015.

[3] Ober 2010, Ober 2015, Bresson 2015; on the ecological determinants and constraints, see already Horden and Purcell 2000.

Aegean and the Balkanic landmass, gives an idea of the prosperity generated by the coexistence of networked city-states and extractive polities.[4] There are further areas of ferment in ancient economic history with which the study of Achaemenid economies can enter into fruitful debate. The Hellenistic world, which succeeded the coexisting Aegean and Achaemenid economies, prolonged this coexistence of institutionally and ecologically diverse economies, in a multi-polar set-up.[5] The questions of the mechanisms of interface between royal and civic economies, between agrarian economies and market economies (if the dichotomy is correct), and between different regional and institutional economies, are the same as for the Achaemenid world, reflecting the way in which the Hellenistic world was structurally affected by its origins as the continuation, as well as the transformation, of Achaemenid realities.[6] Finally, the economic history of the Roman empire, which from the late second century onwards succeeded, took over, and transcended the Hellenistic frame, raises issues of extraction, rentier class, state presence, market exchanges, and overall growth on a vast scale and across time, in ways that might prove illuminating for the Achaemenid historian.[7]

Some difficulties of a big history of Achaemenid economies are obvious: they are inherent to the vast project of Achaemenid history itself. The size and diversity of the empire entail an enormous range of skills, to cover the diverse evidence, textual and material. An Achaemenid economic history has to cover a core territory including the populous and interconnected Bactrian settlements, the centralization and intensity of extraction and control in Persis (the 'Persepolis economy' vividly documented under Darius I), the farmlands of northern Mesopotamia, the estates, temples, and cities of Babylonia, the Levantine façade and the Nile valley, inland Anatolia, the Black Sea coast, the Aegean coast of Asia Minor and its immediate hinterland—as well as peripheral territories around the empire: the Greek world, the Black Sea, Ethiopia, the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf, Central Asia, the Indus Valley. Just collecting and studying the unevenly retrievable evidence or data is a huge challenge, let alone treating this data spatially or quantitatively—or trying to understand the 'world economy' question of connections between these regional economies and the whole Achaemenid entity. Before answering questions such as 'what were the population, the GDP, and the taxation rate in the Achaemenid empire?', there will be a host of smaller questions and soundings worth investigating.

Perhaps less obvious, but equally weighty, is the ideological dimension of the study of the Achaemenid economy—a dimension already implicit in the act of comparing the Achaemenid with other economies. Was the Achaemenid economy an inert, primitivist mass based on extraction and thesaurization (rather than growth and development), in contrast with the zippy, freedom-and-rule-of-law economies of the Mediterranean, lumbering along in expectancy of the liberating awakening of Hellenistic innovations (such as coinage) and connectivity? To frame the question this way is ideologically loaded, predestined to fall into an Orientalist trap, which the New Achaemenid History has worked hard to point out, to denounce, and to transcend; the comparative study of the Achaemenid economies should not let the Orientalist biases back into the debate. In any case the terms of the question have been dismantled at both ends. The state economies of the Hellenistic age were based on tribute, rent, and estate-giving, in the 'oriental' mode, and most of the wealth of Persepolis after Macedonian takeover seems to have been thesaurized by private actors in Macedonia and the Aegean.[8] Conversely, the economy of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Lower Mesopotamia was very sophisticated, with legal institutions and various instruments for exchange, including weighed fine silver.[9]

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[4] Archibald 2013.

[5] Rostovtzeff 1941 (still), Archibald, Davies, Gabrielsen, and Oliver 2001, Archibald, Davies, and Gabrielsen 2005, Archibald, Davies, and Gabrielsen 2011.

[6] Descat 2006a, Van der Spek 2011.

[7] See e.g. Hopkins 1980, Andreau 1997, Bang 2008, Lo Cascio 2009, and Bowman and Wilson 2009, 2011, 2013.

But this defence (invoke the Orientalist spectre, primitivize the Hellenistic economy, point to the sophistication of Near Eastern economies) is itself a trap if it prevents us from exploring the Achaemenid economies with an analytical and even a critical eye. More generally, dispelling the Orientalist mirage has brought in the risk of celebrating empire, since (in this particular case) to critique empire is supposedly to fall prey to Hellenocentric and westernizing myths. Such a move obscures the central issue of the Achaemenid economy as an *imperial* economy, with control, exploitation, and extraction at its heart. This means that the study of the Achaemenid economy, and the interaction between imperial and underlying economies, precisely because it lies in an ideologically uneasy zone, where scholarly reaction to Orientalist or Hellenocentrist cliché risks hardening into defensive celebration, in fact offers the occasion to bring back in another great missing dimension of the New Achaemenid History—an awareness of oppression, exploitation, violence, and suffering.[10] Such an awareness has been severely diluted in the response to Hellenocentrism, Orientalism, and Declinism that powered the New Achaemenid History—amidst the struggle against all those -isms, what risked getting lost was the sense of the Achaemenid state as organized violence and theft, an awareness of the despoiling involved as part of the tributary mechanisms, but also as a consequence of the existence of a military-rentier ethno-class whose lifestyle was guaranteed by the Achaemenid state, and indeed was its

[8] Mileta 2008 on royal land, de Callataÿ 1989, 2006.

[9] Vargyas 2010: 121–9, Jursa 2010, Briant 2016: 279–85.

[10] Lincoln 2007, Colburn 2011. As a parallel, see Deger-Jalkotzy 1996, for a critical reading of the Mycenaean palatial system.

very point. At the very least to think about Achaemenid economies as generating violence and oppression is an invitation to read across the grain of the sources, rather than just explore and articulate their messages, as the history of imperial ideologies risks doing, again and again.

2. ARŠĀMA AND ACHAEMENID ECONOMICS

The world of Aršāma in its economic implications—within the context of the lifestyle and power enjoyed by a member of the Achaemenid elite, at the top of an imperial formation, in the particular context of his 'house' (*byt*) or estates (*bgy*ʾ) managed in Upper and Lower Egypt by the *pqyd* Nakhtḥor—offers a particular angle of approach to both of the themes outlined above (economic history and an awareness of oppression), and their interaction, namely the exploration of a micro-historical case and its implications. My sense of this possibility took shape during the AHRC-funded research project centred on the Bodleian letters of Aršāma that constitute the focus of this publication. The first point arose during the initial handling of the artefacts in the 'Nakhtḥor archive' in the closed basement rooms of the Radcliffe Science Library, where the Rare Books section of the Bodleian had been relocated—the letters as leather objects, the sealings. All the parties involved (Christopher Tuplin, Lindsay Allen, Wouter Henkelman, Mark Garrison) immediately singled out the peculiar impression of very high quality that emerged from the materiality of the objects, across two and a half millennia. The leather is fine, the clay of the sealings is homogeneous and free from inclusions; even the string seems noticeably well-made (and it may have been dyed to make it look more distinguished and impressive). Mark Garrison further made observations on the impressive size and quality of the seal itself. The assemblage of material belonging to, or related to, Aršāma, lost the delight and the exclusively miraculous character of time capsule from a very remote past which had determined the atmosphere of our collective work on it and suddenly reassumed its nature as a set of objects that reflected and made visible the wealth and status of a very rich and very powerful man. The tastefulness and quality of the objects regained their social sting, their power to make palpable power hierarchy, wealth differential, and the arbitrary, unjust fact of inequality—all effects that were the original and painstaking point of these objects. This impact was reinforced by the fact that the other, less spectacular sealing in the cache probably belongs to a letter written on a (admittedly very skilfully) mended piece of leather, written by a less highly placed member of the Achaemenid elite (A6.15).[11]

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[11] On the objects and their materiality, see Allen 2013, Garrison & Kaptan ii 1–45, 167–71, Garrison & Henkelman ii 46–51, 63–5. On the mend cf. Tuplin iii 24.

After this revelation, two of the Aršāma letters took on their full force. The first concerns the artist *Ḥnzny* (Ḥinzani), put on rations as a retainer, but also commissioned to produce works of art (A6.12). Aršāma consumes luxury art objects, commissioned with typical Achaemenid catholicity from an artist with a Semitic name who seems to be residing in Egypt, but after having undertaken trips to Susa. (Art here plays the typical role of exotic luxury goods in making visible the geographical extension of empire.) The letter ends with a sense of impatience. The art works are to be dispatched *ʾpryʿ lʿbq wlʿbq* 'immediately, quickly and quickly'—Aršāma felt the need to say this three times, in a particular, syncopated rhythm of urgency. The other relevant letter is the document addressed to Nakhtḥor and his colleagues, about the management of his estate (A6.10). Aršāma insists that *his* estate should suffer no loss, and indeed must enjoy continual increase—just as the estates of other lords; he speaks of 'workers and other property', and orders Nakhtḥor to go out and acquire people and things. This process of acquisition will not take place on the market, but involve theft and press-ganging, in the name of the estate-holder who not only belongs to the ruling class but is the power-holder representing the imperial state. The process culminates with people being branded in the courtyard of the satrap's house, an actual physical embodiment of the power wielded by this particular economic actor.

These two letters are striking, instructive, and uniquely vivid as historical documents, in their tone and immediacy. For these reasons, they are also singularly unpleasant in what they picture and what they imply. The point here is not whether Aršāma the man was petulant, competitive, and greedy (though I daresay he was). It is that he belonged to a particular class, the 'sons of the house', lordly members of the Achaemenid ruling house, a small privileged core within the Iranian dominant ethno-class (they are mentioned in A4.7 as a class of men one should court, alongside the king himself). There are many such lords, with whom Aršāma unhappily compares himself and the performance of his own steward and staff. One of these lords, Vāravahyā, writes to Nakhtḥor to ask for help in ensuring that his estates' rents should be sent (along with an errant *pqyd*) to Babylon (A6.13–14). The Aršāma dossier concerns a member of the very elite of empire: that sort of social bias is often a hindrance in the study of ancient history (it is always harder to find sources about the bottom of the social spectrum, let alone ones that emanate from it), but in this case it offers a way into the workings and the rationale of the Achaemenid economy. For instance, the commission to Ḥinzani is a direct product of the availability of surplus, extracted by the lord, and also of a multi-cultural empire. In this way, the peculiarities of the Aršāma dossier—small-scale, intense focus on elite affairs, geographical narrowness combined with odd glimpses of the whole depth of Achaemenid space from Egypt to Babylonia—can be made to ask questions, and perhaps yield insights, about the workings and nature of the Achaemenid empire as an economic entity. This is not an exercise in theoretically informed model-making and big questions (for these see Bresson iii 209–48), but an exploration of the economic implications of the Aršāma dossier.

3. TRIBUTE, RENT, KING, ESTATE-HOLDERS: ACHAEMENID POLITICAL ECONOMY

Economically, the world of Aršāma is based on 'rent' collecting, the institutional situation where the powerful take over, in organized ways, the produce of the work of the weak, through non-market mechanisms of state compulsion. The expression 'rent', however, is perhaps too broad, and sends us back to the 'tributary economy'. We should distinguish between 'tribute' and 'rent'—the first being payment of a political nature to masters as a result of domination, the second payment to landowners based on property rights (wielded by 'private' individuals but also by the Great King himself). The distinction appears in the Aršāma dossier. In A6.1, the 'share (*mntʾ*) that is given in the province' is tribute, paid monthly and in kind, since it is organized by type (*zn zn*) when handed over to some person in power, the author of an order concerning these payments, perhaps Aršāma himself. The mobilization of officials to implement the order which is addressed to multiple branches throughout the whole depth of the administration, the follow-up order, all hint to the instruction being a state or 'public' affair (in a way reminiscent of the later collection of tribute by *nomoi* attested as being preserved by Alexander). This is the king's share, sent to storerooms for accumulation and disbursement to the king's officers and kinsmen, as part of a tributary economy. Herodotus (3.91.3) claims that Egypt paid 120,000 measures of grain for the support of the Persians at Memphis and their non-Persian auxiliaries—in other words, to be paid out as rations.

On the other hand, the *dšnʾ* 'given by the king and by Aršāma' (A6.4) is a plot of land granted to an individual. This could be a grant of royal land, and one made by the king, the satrap's grand expression 'by the king and by me' referring to the satrap's administrative role; alternatively, the grant is given by Aršāma out of estates which he has from the king: in which case, the ultimate recipient, Aršāma's own steward, holds a sub-fief within Aršāma's own land grant on royal land (this is perhaps what is meant by *bgyʾ*):[12] a pyramid of nested grants. The plot was awarded to Aršāma's steward to exploit as a benefice, a source of emolument; it is likely that it was encumbered with payments to the landlord, Aršāma, as well the king (as rent).[13] This is a feudal economy of grants and rents, distinct from the tributary economy. Payment to the landlord is clearly seen in the case of the *bg* given by Aršāma to his servant Peṭosiri, the 'plenipotentiary', in succession to his father Pamun, as long as the estate has not been reabsorbed into Aršāma's domain, and as long as Peṭosiri pays or renders the *hlkʾ* to Aršāma's house just as Pamun did (A6.11)—whatever that is (rent or even services); there is no trace of payment to the king, which probably should not be understood to imply that Peṭosiri is free of such payments, rather than that they were understood as inescapable and not within the purview of Aršāma's grant.

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[12] See further A6.4:1(3) n., A6.4.2(3) n. On estates in ADAB, see Briant 2009.

[13] This is probably the *mndt mlkʾ*, 'rent of the king', appearing in a fragmentary letter from Bactria: ADAB A8:2.

Aršama hence operates an sort of mini-royal economy. He probably receives rations from the king (this is not attested explicitly in the Aršāma letters, but is likely on the basis of the Persepolitan system and of the presence in Egypt of stocked tribute in kind), and he extracts surplus on his own (technically rent on his lands—some probably granted by the king, some held privately—but acting like a private tribute), which he stores and which allows him to mobilize and profit from labour of various kinds, some in the form of the work of unfree labourers (the personnel [*grd*] of Aršāma's house, those branded and made over to his household), some in the form of the services of free men retained as *ʿlymyʾ zyly*, 'my servants', against the payment of rations. This coerced or employed labour produces the services and the goods consumed by the satrap. Ḥinzani and his own household are put on the books of Aršāma's ration system, to be directly and indefinitely maintained out of Aršāma's revenue. This system is, of course, best known in the case of the royal economy in the heartlands of Persis, as documented from the bureaucratic material from late sixth- and early fifth-century Persepolis.[14]

The other type of payment on land grants was made in what we might call cash, to simplify, as in the case of the share or payment (*mndh*) on Vāravahyā's estates (A6.13–14), collected from multiple tenants, with arrears, and convoyed to Babylon, along with Aršāma's treasures (*gnz*), which must also be (or included) the accumulated rents.[15] Since *mndh* and *gnz* are transported over vast distances, they cannot be payments in kind, but must be fine silver in various forms (Athenian tetradrachms with proof-cuts, cut coins, ingots, fragments and blobs of bullion), as found in Egyptian hoards.[16] Though not attested directly in the Aršāma dossier (one item of which mentions tribute in kind, as mentioned above: p. 195), it is well known from literary and documentary sources that tribute in silver was paid to the Great King, at least part of which was convoyed to the centres of Achaemenid power—Susa, Ecbatana, and especially Persepolis, where it was accumulated, as the king's *gnz*. In Egypt, Herodotus mentions a figure of 700 talents for the tribute of the whole satrapy (in addition to a tax on the fisheries of Lake Moeris). In other words, just as Aršāma's household system of rent in kind accumulated and paid out as rations mirrored the royal system, Aršāma's cash rents were patterned on royal tribute in cash and its handling. The Aršāma letters thus directly or indirectly show us various elements in the Achaemenid economy, in the specific case of the satrapy of Egypt. The concrete forms of royal dominion (namely payments to the king in kind and in silver, ration disbursements from the royal stores, and royal land grants) generated a mirror economy of payments in kind and in silver to estate holders, who disbursed rations to their households and accumulated treasure in silver. Most importantly, the Aršāma letters show the articulation of these various transactions. These can be traced out to produce, if not a model, at least a partial map. Such a map provides a sense of the elements at work—but what still needs elucidation is their relationship. For instance, it is clear that the private economy of the great Achaemenid rent-collectors is an integral part of the royal economy; yet both 'public' tribute and 'private' rent must have competed for proportions of the same surplus.[17] In addition, the economy in kind and the cash payments must have had some reciprocal effect. In other words, the sense of a single political economy should not obscure the complexity of its working parts.

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[14] The importance and generalized nature of the ration system vividly appears in a fragmentary letter from Bactria (ADAB B2), where the writer complains about the poor quality of a shipment of flour (probably using a Persian loanword), *zy mndʿm ptwʾ lʾ yhwh ly*, 'to the point that I shall have no ration (*pithva*)'.

[15] See the material collected in Tuplin i 233–41.

[16] Van Alfen 2004/5a (on bullion silver in Egypt), Vargyas 2010: 156–76, 191–204, 247–55, and Agut-Labordère 2014 (silver as guarantee for transactions in kind), 2016a (castor oil traded for silver in the Kharga Oasis).

4. ARTICULATING THE MIXED ECONOMIES OF EMPIRE

The Aršāma letters imply a mixed-economy at work in Achaemenid Egypt, because of the close relation between royal tributary economy and rent extraction, and, especially, because of the coexistence of payments in kind and in 'cash'. The latter element—tax and rent in cash—implies a whole economic world of its own, beyond those attested in the letters, namely a market economy generating the cash for tribute and rent payments. Since Aršāma leases out some of his land against rent paid in silver, tenants have to obtain this by exchange, by some mechanism—selling produce or labour, sub-leasing in exchange for silver, borrowing silver against future repayment in kind and burdened with interest. The feudal economy of land grants generates a market economy, which exists in a symbiotic relation to it. The same must apply for the tribute in cash to the king or to taxes paid in cash, such as the silver payments made by the fisheries of Moeris. Furthermore, it is possible that recipients of payments in kind turn to the market to monetize this—this applies for the recipients of rations from the king (for instance the Persians at Memphis) or from Aršāma, but also to the recipients of tribute or tax in kind (that is, Aršāma and the king himself). Our initial map of economic relations in the world of Aršāma can hence be expanded with multiple turns to the market, out of necessity or opportunity.

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[17] Hopkins 2002: 224–5, on the Roman empire: 'Taxes and rents . . . were both complements and rivals'.

The existence of this market need not surprise us: trade existed in ancient Egypt, and there clearly was a sector of the Egyptian economy, under Achaemenid rule, attuned to notions of investment, market transactions, and profit generally, as shown by wisdom literature and the contracts passed by the business-minded gooseherders of Hou.[18] It is worth teasing out the ramifications of the position of the market in the economic world attested or implied in the Aršāma letters. How do we suppose the market to have worked in combination with the extractive economy? How do we go beyond supposing a theoretical box labelled 'the market' with agricultural surplus being fed into one end and 'cash' coming out of the other ?

There are a variety of models available to conceptualize the market in imperial economies. In a classic essay concerning an analogous case, the Roman Empire, Keith Hopkins supposed that the need for cash to pay taxes and rent stimulated urban economies and trade, especially long-distance. In the case of Egypt, we would have to suppose local markets (actual or abstract) where producers sold surplus for cash—this surplus then being in turn either brought directly to markets for long-distance trade (grain) or used to procure other desirable goods for such markets (such as natron, linen, papyrus, ebony). This long-distance trade would provide the silver for the ultimate use as tribute and rent payment by the producers, specifically in the form of coinage from the Aegean economies (especially Athenian tetradrachms or 'owls'),[19] in the absence of local sources for silver. In practice, this trade provided an additional source of fiscal income in cash: the well-known fifth-century papyrus customs register shows that the Achaemenid state imposed duties on imported goods (which were ultimately a form of extraction imposed on Egyptian consumers), levied a poll tax on individual traders, and seems to have refrained from levying duties on the export of most goods from Egypt, thus encouraging long-distance trade and confirming its importance for the provision of cash.[20]

Another model has been proposed for the Seleucid empire by Makis Aperghis, positing that cash flowed in a mainly closed circuit, from producers to royal state as tribute, from royal state to soldiers as pay, and from soldiers to producers as payment for agricultural produce, in a largely self-sustaining cycle.[21] Beyond the correctness of the model for the Hellenistic period (the subject of lively debate), its interest here lies in the possibilities it raises for Aršāma's world and its interpretation. Is Aperghis's model applicable to Achaemenid Egypt? The garrison at Elephantine was certainly paid in silver as well as in rations in kind; the same might have held true for other military forces in the satrapy (for instance the Persians, of uncertain status, at the White Fort in Memphis). Likewise, part of the tribute of Cilicia was spent on the local cavalry forces, according to Herodotus (3.90.3). But did Aršāma himself, a recipient of rent in cash, pay cash as well as rations to retainers in his household or private employees? Judging from the tiny sample of the letters, he preferred to have coerced or retained labour on rations. But it is possible that he spent cash on consumption, for instance of luxury objects: we see the artist Ḥinzani being put on rations, but that might be a mark of favour, and the artist's status as a kept man might not have precluded him receiving separate payment in silver from his patron-customer, a transaction handled separately from Ḥinzani's enrolment in the household ration system; Ḥinzani would then have spent this payment in turn. Furthermore, it is worth wondering about Aršāma's request for rents and treasure to be sent to him in Babylon. Why did Aršāma need his silver? He cannot have wanted for subsistence, as a rich landowner in Babylonia, and as a 'son of the house' he might have been able to draw rations in the whole empire. The answer might be that he had local economic needs that could only be satisfied in silver: perhaps consumption of luxury goods—or some other type of monetized transaction.

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[18] Vleeming 1991, Agut-Labordère 2014.

[19] Van Alfen 2012, doubtful about any large scale grain trade (following Moreno 2007), and favouring a diverse trade feeding consumer consumption in Aegean societies; and Van Alfen 2016 on consumer goods.

[20] TADAE C3.7, with Briant and Descat 1998: 78, 86. See also Bresson iii 214–20.

An example of the sort of complexity involved in the interdependency of royal economy and estate-holders is provided by Achaemenid Babylonia with its business firms, such as the Egibi (trading in commodities derived from the estates) or the Murašû around Nippur.[22] In the latter case, we see the holders of royal land grants work with middlemen who lease the land, and (via sub-leasing as well as selling produce) come up with cash for multiple uses: tribute for the king, rent for the estate-holder, salaries for substitute labour and military service, and the middlemen's own profit, thus occupying a niche between agricultural production, royal taxation, and private tenure. In Aršāma's Egypt, the payment of cash as tribute to the king and as rent to Aršāma as estate-holder might, therefore, have encouraged the rise of Murašû-style middlemen—who would have been dependent on the existence of market venues to sell produce, and indeed on the influx of silver from the Aegean.

In addition to management and the disposal of agricultural produce on the market, the Murašû lent money to estate holders: could Aršāma's insistence on having his rents available be linked to the sphere of lending and credit? For instance, Aršāma might have needed to repay debts incurred (e.g. in the course of estate management) or even been involved in lending out some of the proceeds of his rents while in Babylonia. That this lies in the realm of possibility is shown by the business activities of the governor of Babylon (and future governor of Ebir-Nari), Bēlšunu (continued by his son and successor): his managers were active in lending out silver at interest in Babylon (as well as subletting land for a profit) during his tenure as governor.[23] Bēlšunu, a Babylonian from a family with commercial interests, came from a different background from Aršāma's, but it is still suggestive to see a member of the Achaemenid state elite engaging in business dealings.

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[21] Aperghis 2004.

[22] Abraham 2004, Stolper 1985, Jursa 2014a, Pirngruber 2017: 47–66, 73 (on loans to fulfil fiscal obligations by tenants).

Since Aršāma was usually in his satrapy of Egypt, where he had access to his rents and his treasures, an extension of this line of speculation would be to ponder whether Aršāma might have lent out some of the cash proceeds from his rents in Egypt itself, in a market economy where cash was needed—precisely to meet the demands for tribute and rent in cash from the Achaemenid state and the Achaemenid power-holders. This picture of interaction between tribute, tax, and market is inspired by yet another model of the economies of empire, Michael Crawford's reconstruction of the need of Greek communities to raise money for tribute to Rome during the middle and late Republican eras—by trade (in art or slaves), by alienating land to Italian settlers or rich senators, or by borrowing money from Italian financiers.[24] This might seem too modern a parallel for our Achaemenid elites. However, it seems at least very possible that the imperial stores in Bactria made loans in kind or in silver, attested by the tally sticks reinterpreted by Wouter Henkelman and Margaretha Folmer as part of a system of credit.[25] Money-lending elites could have imitated the royal state or simply responded to the same needs and opportunities, created by the presence of surplus silver.

In fact, Henkelman and Folmer hypothesize that loans by the Achaemenid state in Bactria might have financed middle- and long-distance trade in Central Asia, on the analogy of investment by Neo-Babylonian shrines in trade ventures.[26] This would then have been another productive and profitable outlet for the capital Aršāma gathered through rent-extraction: lending to long-distance traders in Egypt. If this general hypothesis (formulated in three different venues, Central Asia, Babylonia, and Egypt) is correct, if the Achaemenid state and its privileged power-holders created the need for cash by its multiple requirements (tribute, rent, labour), the Achaemenid state and its elites were also involved in mechanisms that provided this cash to subjects, by money-lending but also by underwriting the trade activities that procured the cash to provincial economies. The Achaemenid state and its elites hence made a profit at both ends of the transactions of the royal economy.

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[23] Stolper 1995.

[24] Crawford 1977; on the debt of Greek cities and its explosion in the first century, see Migeotte 2014: 330–2. See also Hyland iii 254 for another possibility: investment in overseas trade.

[25] Henkelman and Folmer 2016: 195–6.

[26] Graslin-Thomé 2009: 399–401, 434, adduced by Henkelman and Folmer 2016: 196.

The sketch above posits a number of market relations created by the demand for tribute and rent in cash: market venues for agricultural produce, bigger trading towns for long-distance trade to procure Aegean silver, some sort of circuit for silver to pass from the big markets to the smaller local markets, the purchase of food by soldiers and officials using their cash pay, consumption by Achaemenid elites, middlemen, and managers monetizing the agricultural surplus of Achaemenid land-holdings, the operations of credit, perhaps money-lending by Aršāma himself either directly to meet rent demands or to finance profitable trade ventures. All these activities are not mutually exclusive—the more sophisticated rely on the existence of the simpler venues for the disposal of agricultural surplus against cash. It is also true that some are more likely than others, which is to say that some are not documented at all for Achaemenid Egypt: the operation of long-distance maritime trade is illuminated by the papyrus document recording customs transactions for part of a single year, but there is no evidence for Murašû-style middlemen or credit, let alone Roman-style involvement of high elites in money-lending to meet tributary requirements or to generate profit through long-distance trade.

Various elements in this model are not attested in the evidence; conversely, actors that *are* well attested in the Achaemenid Egyptian evidence, such as the temples and priestly elites, are not accounted for in this model. But, all the same, the model is an attempt at articulating the structural necessities of what was unarguably a mixed economy of empire; the challenge is finding the place for the specific realities of Achaemenid Egypt, starting with the producers themselves, who may have been entrepreneurial and profit-oriented, like the gooseherders of Hou, even though or precisely because they were burdened with requirements for tribute and rent payments in cash. In this picture, we should see entrepreneurial peasants providing a pervasive buzz of market activity, rather than look for the market itself as a discrete site or 'box' of exchange of goods for cash.[27]

Imagining an Egyptian equivalent to the Murašûs is a thought-experiment: it also brings back one of the problems which I mentioned at the opening of this chapter, namely the nature and potential unity of the Achaemenid economies. The case of the Murašûs shows one type of response to the pressures of Achaemenid domination, control and extraction—to which the actors in Achaemenid Egypt had to devise their own response. In turn, the evidence of the Aršāma letters in Egypt affords brief but vivid glimpses of the satrap's household, workforce, rations, and cash revenues from land grants, which it is tempting to interpret in the light of the mechanisms we see at work in the Murašû archive. If we posit the same sort of multi-level, mixed economy, between royal tributary, royal feudal, private tributary, private feudal, and market, across the Achaemenid space, then we should be thinking of, and looking for, two things. The first is a system of markets to transform surplus into cash. We should therefore be looking harder at the Achaemenid towns: big cities such as Ephesus, Tyre, or Nippur, but also the mysterious satrapal capitals of Sardis and Dascylium (did they have economic functions beyond the residential, administrative, and representational?), the towns mentioned by Xenophon, an eye-witness, during Cyrus' march eastwards,[28] or the settlements which appear in the cache of fourth-century letters from Bactria.[29] Market exchanges even appear in a discreet form in the heartland of empire, Persis, where, in the shadow of the Moloch of extraction and redistribution, there existed some form of truck and barter between the state holdings and private farmers and pastoralists: surplus was exchanged for chattel animals or perhaps even sold for silver.[30]

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[27] On rural Mesopotamia and Egypt as being mainly outside circuits of ration redistribution, Vargyas 2010: 191–204.

The second is a network of feudal land-holders, and the biggest such land-holder, the satrap himself and his household. The Aršāma dossier helps us imagine the 'houses' of western satraps such as Tissaphernes or Pharnabazus (ravaged or threatened by Spartan troops in 401–394) or of Achaemenid barons such as the Asidates ransomed by Greek mercenaries in Lydia in 399, or the dispersed holdings of Axvamazdā in Bactria.[31] As suggested by Aršāma's Egypt, the landscape of Achaemenid control in western satrapies and perhaps all over the empire might have been taken up by large land-holdings by Achaemenid lords and smaller holdings by military colonists, which needed and sustained a secondary economy of appropriation, needs, pressures, and transactions (notably in cash), in the countryside and in the towns. In the case of the western satrapies, a crucial role might have been played by the Greek *poleis* of the Troad, Aeolis, Ionia, and the cities of Caria; trade in grain, slaves, and wine might have crossed the frontier between the Achaemenid space and the Aegean networked polities, to generate necessary surpluses.[32] This is a satrapal economy quite different from that evoked in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica* (where the emphasis lies on the local collection of imperial revenue)—but likely to have been a crushing, massive, determinant presence.

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[28] *An.*1.2, with Descat 1995.

[29] Naveh and Shaked 2012: 22 give a list of place names; it is true that no picture of monetization or market economy appears in the Bactrian letters, with their shipments of grain, land conveyance against goods, or conveyances of donkeys (B2, B3, B4, B6).

[30] Henkelman 2005a (the all-encompassing Moloch image is on p. 152, with thoughts on how misleading this image, derived from the Persepolis archive, might well be).

[31] Xen.*Hell.*3.2.1, 3.2.12, 3.4.5, 3.4.12, 3.4.26, 4.1.15, 4.1.33, *An.*7.8.9–16; Naveh and Shaked 2012: 22–3.

[32] Sekunda 1985; see Roosevelt 2009 on the possibility that Lydia was deeply impacted by Achaemenid rule and the distribution of estates.

Structural uniformity of imperial or satrapal presence and local response in terms of production and market raises the question of the actual unity of the Achaemenid economy, as a world economy, above the multiple regional economies across the empire. In addition to structures of control and exploitation, the Achaemenid empire offered at least political unity, infrastructure, and some measure of law and order.[33] It kept or negotiated the peace (if only to facilitate tribute collection); furthermore, it underwrote local rules, for instance by registering contracts against a fee in Babylonia (the precursor to the Seleucid-era *chreōphylakion*)[34] or by guaranteeing the authority of local law (in Egypt) or community decisions and their enforceability (as visible in the case of land invested as a foundation for cultic purposes at Xanthos in 338).[35] The Achaemenid empire also fostered the spread of Neo-Babylonian law, and the use of Aramaic as an official but also as a business *lingua franca*.[36] These empire-wide institutions interacted with the underlying economies: to focus on a currently fashionable question, did they lower overall transaction costs? In addition to lowering transaction costs, the Achaemenid empire's political economy might have stimulated growth, by encouraging long-distance trade: this might have been favoured by the need for cash to pay tribute and rent, but also by the multiple points of availability of cash as capital for commercial ventures—offered in the form of credit by middlemen, Achaemenid elites, or even perhaps the Achaemenid state itself (see above, p. 100). All these factors can be seen as favouring the 'aggregate growth potential' of the whole Achaemenid world as a integrated single royal economy.

To explore this question, one avenue would be to explore the ramifications of tribute, economic growth, and accumulation in the heartlands of empire, between Susa, Ecbatana, Pasargadae, and Persepolis (see Bresson iii 209–48 and, less directly, Garrison and Henkelman ii 46–166, Henkelman ii 192–253). The importance of these heartlands, and especially Persepolis, is paralleled by the role of Italy and the metropolis of Rome in the Roman empire, as emphasized by Hopkins; the existence of an urban settlement at Persepolis, as well as the palace complex, is particularly suggestive.[37] Here I wish to focus on another instance of integration which, again, mirrors the imperial accumulation at Persepolis, namely the presence of the lordly class of 'sons of the house'. Aršāma owns estates in at least two regions of the empire, can draw on resources in kind to transport a group of men from Susa to Egypt, and, conversely, can expect his

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[33] Henkelman 2017a: 59–61 pinpoints the spread of the camel on Levantine land routes as an effect of the existence of the Achaemenid order.

[34] Briant 2008. The slave sales in Samaria before the satrap and his prefect presumably incurred fees as an equivalent of officialization fees. (The formula is universal in the presentation of the documents from Wadi Daliyeh in Gropp 2001, but in fact mostly restored, as noted by Dušek 2007.) The documents are briefly studied in Pastor 2010.

[35] Egypt: Tuplin 2015: 102–4; Xanthos: Briant 1999.

[36] Gropp 2001 on the Samarian papyri from Wadi Daliyeh.

[37] Hopkins 1980. Persepolis: Diod.17.70, Askari Chaverdi and Callieri 2017, Keaveney iii 136–7.

(and his fellow prince Vāravahyā's) rent income to be transported from Egypt to Babylonia. The activities, resources, and interests of this empire-wide elite directly contributed to economic integration, just as its consumption of luxury goods may have caused or stimulated the transition to cash payments, and hence the need for market transactions, which may have further have provided the venue for the acquisition of goods by the elite. But it is clear that this factor of integration was also a factor of distortion, because of the lordly class's privileged access to state power and infrastructure, and its exploitation of situational advantage for profit. Hopkins's model, positing that tribute and rent competed for tranches from the same surplus, can be expanded by John Hyland's insight that Aršāma and the sons of the house pursued their own profit in Egypt to the detriment of Achaemenid foreign policy during the Ionian War (iii 249–59). Of course, to call this distortion is to neglect the fact that the point of this political economy is to enrich a small imperial elite.

5. THE ECONOMICS OF GREED AND INJUSTICE IN ARŠĀMA'S WORLD

Questions of growth, monetization, and integration within the Achaemenid economy are naturally inseparable from questions of political inequality which constitute the second great challenge of Achaemenid economic history, alongside its nature. Here, too, the Aršāma dossier provides invaluable evidence. Aršāma's guiding principle that his house should never suffer decrease and loss (hence his orders to find more sources of coerced labour), his displeasure at the news that the 'house' of his fellow princes has been increasing while his has suffered during the unrest, and Vāravahyā's eagerness to collect his rent at the same time as Aršāma, are not simply the signs of the existence of a particular elite class, but also reflections of this class's acquisitiveness and competitiveness. This characteristic explains the expansion of the two constituent forms of the mixed economy, coercion and cash, as seen so vividly in the Aršāma letters. The market sector of the economy (itself closely connected with an economy in kind) is the consequence of elite acquisitiveness, as well as an enabling mechanism for it.

The presence of the lordly class may have determined the whole shape of the Achaemenid economy. The political economy of the Achaemenid empire was a racket run to support acquisition and consumption by the imperial elite, namely the Iranian dominant ethno-class as well as the dynasty. Though the king's share, huge in absolute terms, and materialized in extensive ownership of land, allowed him to run the state infrastructure of violence, control, and extraction, and maintain an immense household-style pyramid of dependants, it likely was low in proportional terms, thus leaving many spoils for the Iranian ethno-class, starting with the very top members of the elite such as Aršāma.[38] Instead of speaking of the state and elites competing, dysfunctionally, for local surplus, we should recognize that low rates of central state taxation and predation by entrenched imperial elites are part of the same economic and political system, one which ensured state functions but also closely bound Iranian elites to the empire as stake-holders. Aršāma's cries for his house to grow like those of the other lords are the whole point of the Achaemenid empire.

The purpose of empire was the maintenance of an inegalitarian status-based social system of domination that profited a tiny elite of 'sons of the house'. This is visible in Aršāma's privileged access to public infrastructure and the advantages of wealth on a world scale—and also in the prevalence of violence. Overt, top-down violence appears in Aršāma's capacities as a power-holder in the Achaemenid elite, for instance in ordering people press-ganged or his slaves recovered. The fate of the Murašû firm, which had dealings with Aršāma (the latter leased land to the firm) but ended up being taken over by him, as shown by the Murašû's *paqdu* appearing in Aršāma's service,[39] must also be the result of some violent process, which is likely linked to Aršāma's need for cash or involvement in a cash economy. More generally, Aršāma's world is one where lower-level bosses hold power, but only subject to, and restrained by, those of higher status. At Elephantine, the impact is clearly demonstrated in the disorder created, in the absence of Aršāma, by competition between locally authoritative actors. The possibility (at least) of corruption and bribery is one impact of the prevalence of status, access, and privilege, as seen in the Elephantine documents.[40] It is possible that one of the Bactrian tally-sticks baldly records a gift to an Achaemenid official, to obtain or facilitate a loan in silver from an imperial treasury.[41] Another impact is the presence of winner-takes-all violence by those who enjoy status and access, as glimpsed in our documents, for instance in the case of the patronage enjoyed by the Murašûs, the way in which Aršāma's private bailiff can draw on Achaemenid military forces to carry out his business, occasional high-handedness on the part of Nakhtḥor, the non-delivery of slaves to Miçapāta implying the difficulty of enforcing agreements except by appeal to high-status protectors.[42] This pattern is paralleled by the mingling of private business and state instruments of power in the correspondence of Axvamazdā in fourth-century Bactria.[43]

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[38] On the low level of tribute, see Descat 1985 (on the basis of the Mnesimachus inscription).

[39] Stolper 1985: 22–4, 64–6; Tuplin iii 49–50.

[40] A4.5, A4.10, with Fried 2010, Fried iii 282–3, Granerød iii 338–40.

[41] Henkelman and Folmer 2016: 189–93 on ADAB D2 (where they interpret the 'white radiant' commodity as silver).

[42] Stolper 1985: 154–6; A6.8 (military means), A6.15 (Nakhtḥor seizing goods, difficulty in enforcing agreements).

[43] ADAB A2, A6. All this is perfectly compatible with an ideology of royal beneficence and care to provide a rules-bound environment (as documented by Tuplin 2015).

The Achaemenid elite's behaviour can be seen in two guises. On the one hand, it needed cash for a lifestyle of display and competitive consumption but perhaps also profit-oriented money-lending, thus encouraging, intensifying, and feeding into monetized market exchanges and transactions—in other words, increasing the volume of trade, local and regional, and generally shaping the very nature of economical activities. On the other hand, it put inequality, elite greed, and acquisitiveness served by state violence at the heart of the Achaemenid order: economic and generally social transactions reflected the privileged status and power of that elite, with concomitant effects of violence, corruption, and disruption. The first type of behaviour might have worked as an expansionary factor and stimulated economic growth, trade (local and long-distance), economies of scale and sophistication; the second factor might have burdened underlying economic life at a local and regional level, because of the inegalitarian, exploitative nature of the Achaemenid empire, as the product and the materialization of a system of imperial discrimination, and because of violence and uncertainty. These conditions should have imposed high transaction costs depressing steady aggregate economic growth.

What was the outcome of these two contradictory factors, stemming out of the same socio-political situation? The question of the double and contradictory impact of the Achaemenid super-elite can only be answered against the broader economic landscape evoked above: the tributary royal economy in kind and in cash, the pyramid of land grants, the unified political space of empire as a potential diminisher of transaction costs, the diversities of the underlying local economies, the opportunities offered by access to power-holders, and the very long and resilient economic history of the Near East, Aegean, and Egypt during antiquity.[44] But a specific test case, the well-documented one of late Achaemenid Babylonia, suggests that the political economy of empire ended up dragging down economic performance and conditions in multiple ways. Precarity of ownership and the grip of state-privileged rentiers led to short-term maximizing in the absence of incentives for surplus storage; inequality produced accumulation and more inequality; the desirability of silver led to high interest rates. The general picture is one of brittleness, price volatility, vulnerability at the lower end of society. The long-term impact of Achaemenid coercion on the vibrant Neo-Babylonian economies was elite capture and economic sclerosis,[45] which at least is suggestive of the shape the Achaemenid economies in general might have assumed, under the stress of empire.

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[44] Briant 2002: 769–816, intent on showing that there was economic growth, for instance in Arachosia (but this picture is overdetermined by the historiographical protest against any declinist image of the Achaemenid empire); Jursa 2007, on the impact of Achaemenid rule on the Neo-Babylonian state; Tolini 2011 on the heavy demands, especially in labour, placed on the Babylonian temples; and Jursa 2014a on the impact of the absence of tributary influx and the demands of the Achaemenid state.

[45] Jursa 2014a, 2016, Pirngruber 2017: 25–70. On the basis of the Wadi Daliyeh papyri, Pastor 2010 suggests exploitation by Samaritan elites and debt crisis leading to enslavement.

6. EMPIRE, VAMPIRE

At the end of this exploration of the implications of a tiny, yet extraordinarily vivid and instructive sample of documents from the Achaemenid empire, the prospect of an Achaemenid economic history seems as daunting as ever. At least three features are clear. First, the imbrication of the tributary, the feudal-patrimonial, and the market-oriented seems plain. Secondly, the specifically Achaemenid variant on the 'Hopkins equation', in which low taxation goes together, not with local elites collecting rent, but with a large share being taken over by the imperial diaspora of the Iranian ethno-elite. Thirdly, the essential link of Achaemenid economies of empire with violence and injustice, on which the Aršāma dossier sheds light, both startling and matter-of-fact.

Thus we see Aršāma the vampire: collecting state tribute, 'given' and reorganized by type and by time, hence breaking down local particularity into the pleasures of imperial accountancy; impatient to enjoy the beautiful baubles that are the fruit of his position at the top of an extractive pyramid; competitively and resentfully comparing his estate with that of his peers; coldly enjoining his men to grab other men and brand them, in a set of brisk orders which generated scenes of press-ganging and torture. The wallowing in wealth is concomitant with a world of suffering, exploitation, and violence which permeates the whole social scale. Eilers called Aršāma 'Politiker und Kapitalist in einem', comparing him to a modern Iranian *arbâb* and noting his ferocious, almost colonialist acquisitiveness in the pursuit of his self-interest;[46] more elaborately, Dupont-Sommer noted the luxuriousness of his life-style—'Arshâma suit de près les questions relatives à ses propres biens et à ses propres esclaves; il est cupide, vorace, il aime les richesses, les trésors, le luxe: un authentique satrape!'[47]—and the connections with power and injustice.

Awareness of violence and injustice in the practice of empire by its elites and their enablers is not simply a matter of a political and critical history, but also unlocks the relationship between the social structure of empire, its political institutions, and its economic life. Aršāma's care for the management of his 'house' boils down to two principles—protection and growth, since the 'house' must never suffer decrease—and represents an attitude that might be extrapolated to the whole Achaemenid structure: for instance, it underlies the way in which Herodotus imagines Persian expansionism and acquisitiveness (7.8–9), a conception which itself corresponds to manifestos of just conquest and extensive power in Persian royal discourse.[48] The private matters treated by the letters to Nakhtḥor shed light on the concrete manifestations and consequences of the central position of vampire elites in the Achaemenid empire. Apart from determining the shape of economic life, and structuring the political economy of the Achaemenid world (notably the proportion of taxation and the capture of rent by the Iranian diaspora), elite acquisitiveness was directly reflected in the grandeur of imperial imagination. Vampire acquisitiveness lies at the heart of Achaemenid (as of any) imperialism, a truth that bears repeating, even if Aršāma made it perfectly explicit.

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[46] Eilers 1954–6: 330.

[47] Dupont-Sommer 1978: 761.

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[48] Harrison 2015, especially 19–23.

4.2

Silverization, Prices, and Tribute in the Achaemenid Empire

Alain Bresson

Between 700 and 300, both the Greek world and the kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean and beyond experienced a process of 'silverization', that is an increase in the role of silver as a monetary instrument, a process that in turn contributed to modifications in their social, economic, and political organization.[1] In the Greek world (defined here as 'the West'), the impact of silverization, linked to the development of coinage, was clearly massive.[2] In the world of the eastern Mediterranean ('the East'), things are less clear-cut. The Persepolis Fortification tablets show that in the early fifth century there still existed in the heartland of the Achaemenid empire an autonomous world of transfers and accounting procedures that, if not entirely disconnected from the world of silver transactions,[3] primarily operated in kind. But in the most dynamic regions, such as Mesopotamia, using silver as money was commonplace, and decisive progress has been made recently in our detailed understanding of the wider setting: more specifically, analysis of cuneiform sources has made possible an investigation of price trends in the Mesopotamian world between the end of the seventh century and the Hellenistic period, and this now allows us to see the impact of silverization in the east in a way that moves well beyond the information provided by Classical authors such as Herodotus, Thucydides, or Xenophon.[4]

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[1] The term 'silverization' was introduced by D. O. Flynn and A. Giráldez (1995, 2000, with Flynn 2015) to refer to the massive introduction of silver in the Chinese economy in the seventeenth century. (On this topic, see also von Glahn 1996a and 1996b.) It has been applied to the Achaemenid and Seleucid empires by Bert van der Spek (2011).

[2] The literature on the question is considerable. The contributions in Metcalf 2012 provide an abundant bibliography on the phenomenon of coinage in the Greek world. For research on its the quantitative aspect, see various publications by de Callataÿ (1997, 2003, 2005, 2011), as well as Bresson 2005b, Flament 2007a and Flament 2007b.

[3] Tamerus 2016.

A comparative study of the forms, phases, and depth of silverization in the two worlds would require a study of its own. But, as a preliminary, it is necessary to investigate for the East the impact on the process of silverization of tribute levied by the state. After 526, there remained in the East only one big state, the Achaemenid empire, which reached its largest extent under Darius I (522–486), stretching from Thrace and the Danube in Europe as well as Cyrene in Africa to the Indus valley and to Bactria and Sogdiana in Central Asia.[5] One of the main obligations of those who were subject to Achaemenid rule was to pay tribute to the king. Herodotus (3.89–96) has left a famous account of the tribute paid in gold and silver to Darius by the various provinces, including those in Europe. If imperial subjects were obliged to pay tribute in precious metal (primarily silver) and everyone was therefore forced to acquire precious metal in order to pay his (or her) taxes, it would seem to follow that Achaemenid tribute was a major agent, if not of economic growth, at least of silverization.[6] Is this hypothesis correct?

The answer is more complex than it might at first appear. For a long time Herodotus seemed to provide an incontrovertible source on the topic of the tribute. But in recent years increasingly serious warnings have been uttered about the reliability of his testimony. Lately, the Achaemenid administration's ability to establish a list of tribute in amounts of gold and silver has even been called into question—a radical challenge that has added to mistrust of Herodotus' testimony. As will be shown below, a re-examination of the relationship between gold and silver in the Herodotean list only increases perplexity about the use that can be made of it. This does not mean, however, that tribute should be left aside when analysing silverization (the tribute paid to the Achaemenids undeniably played a role in that process), and the new data on price evolution in Mesopotamia help us to provide a new answer to this old question.

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[4] Jursa 2011, 2015, Van der Spek 2011, Van der Spek and Van Leeuwen 2014, Hackl and Pirngruber 2015, Pirngruber 2017, Monerie 2018. For the penetration of silver in Egypt, see Muhs 2015.

[5] On the Achaemenid empire and its structures, see Briant 2002, Wiesehöfer 2009: 5–102, and Kuhrt iii 123–35.

[6] According to Keith Hopkins's model of 'tax and trade' (Hopkins 2002), taxes would have had the paradoxical effect of triggering production increase, by forcing those who were taxed to produce more. See also the model of rent extraction by the state developed by Peter Bang (2008) for the Roman empire and the parallel he makes with other traditional states like the Ottoman or the Mughal empires.

SILVERIZING THE EAST

The normal image of the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia in the second and first millennium is that while the West was rich in precious metal (gold, certainly, but above all silver), the East, with the exception of Egypt and India which produced gold—in the latter case in extraordinarily large quantities, if we believe Herodotus (3.94.2, 102.1–3, 105.1–2)—was poor in precious metal, and especially in silver.[7] But, if in the *longue durée* we observe an almost constant flow of precious metal from west to east, these transfers have a complex history when viewed in more detail.[8]

The General Setting

Western Anatolia, with its gold and silver mines, was certainly the source of the silver sold to Assyrian merchants at Kanesh in the early second millennium.[9] In the western Aegean, gold (since the Bronze Age) and silver mines were exploited in Thrace and on Siphnos (starting at least in the Early Bronze Age, with a peak and quick decay in the late Archaic period and early Classical period).[10] The silver mines at Laurion were already exploited (at a low level) in the Final Neolithic (4200–3100) and the Early Bronze Age (3100–2650). Traces of exploitation there have also been discovered for the sixteenth century and the early Geometric period, but it is only in the late Archaic period that production massively increased.[11] Admittedly, in the second millennium, the tablets of Knossos, Pylos, and other Mycenaean palaces reveal a system of domestic accounting that operated exclusively in kind.[12] But this does not mean that precious metals were unknown there, nor that they were not already an object of international trade. On the contrary, there are reasons to think that this was the case and that silver from the Mycenaean world (especially from the Laurion) was already being exchanged against Egyptian gold.[13]

For the early first millennium, we do not have large bodies of documents (equivalent to those from Kanesh for the Bronze Age) to reveal the mechanisms of precious metal import by long-distance trade. Despite this lack of sources (which may correspond to a different organization of the trade in precious metals), there is no reason to rule out traffic by land routes between western Asia Minor and Mesopotamia during this period. Before its destruction by the Cimmerians, the Phrygia of 'King Midas' (the king who transformed everything he touched into gold) may have acted as a go-between between the mines of western Anatolia and markets in Mesopotamia. Phoenician traders also played a role in the import of silver into the Levant. The dense cluster of *Hacksilber* hoards from this region dating to the Early Iron Age is based on imports of metals for which the Phoenicians were responsible. Metallurgical analyses of some of this *Hacksilber* point to an origin for the metal in the western Mediterranean, Sardinia, and southern Spain, a result that invites us to locate the famous Tarshish of the Bible somewhere in that region.[14] Later, some of the silver minted in Sicily was imported from Spain, which shows that, although most of their silver came from the Aegean, the Greeks may have had access to more distant sources of metal, in all likelihood through the Phoenicians.[15]

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[7] See below, pp. 225–30 on gold from India and Herodotus.

[8] Bresson 2016: 263–4, 347, Duyrat 2016, 440–8. For the detail, see below, pp. 220–5 and 241–3.

[9] Veenhof 1997, 2003, Michel 2001, Barjamovic 2011: 1–38.

[10] Thrace: see below, n. 16. Siphnos: Hdt.3.57–8 refers to the existence of both gold and silver mines; on these mines, see Bent 1885, Wagner *et al.* 1980, Matthäus 1985, Georgakopoulou 2005: 47–9, Sheedy 2006: 51–3.

[11] Van Liefferinge 2019.

[12] Perna 2004.

[13] Kelder 2016.

The abundance of locally produced gold and silver was a driving force for the development of coinage in the Lydian kingdom and in the Greek cities of the coast of Asia Minor, a process that began in the form of electrum coinage as early as *c.*650. As for the western shores of the Aegean, a massive intensification of gold and silver mining in Thrace and northern Greece began in the late Archaic period.[16] There were fluctuations, of course, but by the Classical period, it is possible to envisage an average yearly production in the order of 1,000 to 1,500 talents (26 to 39 tons) of silver equivalent in the western Aegean region (Laurion and Thrace–northern Greece), and during periods of heavier exploitation, as in fifth-century Laurion, the total will have been higher.[17] (There were also, of course, periods of declining production or even of severe contraction in output, notably at the end of the fifth century.) If one takes into account European gold production and the gold and silver from western Asia Minor, one can postulate an average annual output of *c.*2,000 talents of silver equivalent from western Asia Minor, Thrace and northern Greece, and the Laurion. Nor is this the end of the matter, for the Achaemenid empire had access to other sources of precious metal (much of it gold): Egypt, Bactria, India, and perhaps (thanks to trade with nomads, although this still has to be proved) Siberia.[18] Given that we know that the West was by far the most productive region in terms of precious metal, let us propose a total of 500 talents in silver equivalent for these regions. On that basis an average grand total of *c.*2,500 talents of precious metal was available annually to the Greek world and the Achaemenid kingdom. This is of course an approximation, but it is a reasonable one.

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[14] Thompson 2003, 2011, Thompson and Skaggs 2013.

[15] Rutter 2016: 294.

[16] Treister 1995: 184–6, Archibald 2010: 336–7, Millett 2010: 477, 485.

[17] Bresson 2016: 263, 277–8. For its period of highest production in the fifth century, it has been envisaged that the Laurion could produce yearly at least 1,000 talents: Flament 2007b: 246–7. See also Flament 2011: 47 n. 53 for a discussion of the volume of Attic coins and of the share of the metal coming from the Laurion in this production.

[18] On the production of gold from Egypt, Bactria, and India, see below, pp. 227–30.

Whether through trade or tribute, precious metal reached the eastern Mediterranean both as raw metal and (after the introduction of coinage) as coin. Once there, it was re-used in various forms: to focus only on monetary use, this might be as *Hacksilber* or *Hackgold*, as western coins in their original forms, or as locally minted coins produced from melted-down imports: metallurgical analysis of the local coinage of Philistia and Edom from the second half of the fifth century and on into the fourth century points to the metal being of mixed origin, primarily the Laurion (presumably by the melting down of Athenian owls), but also Thasos, Chalcidice, and Asia Minor.[19] And then, again whether through trade or tribute, the metal might reach the heartlands of the imperial states (Assyria, Babylon, and finally Achaemenid Persia) to which the Phoenicians successively had to submit.

This is the general trend. In detail, the picture must be nuanced, especially for the first millennium. If we cannot quantify or specify the levels of imports of precious metal, we can observe the result of the process in terms of the 'silverization' of Mesopotamia. The eighth and seventh centuries were still a period of limited silverization in southern Mesopotamia, as evidenced by the fact that only high-level payments were made in silver. A first period of price increase can be observed in southern Babylonia in the late seventh century, accompanied by a generalization of payments in silver, even for low-level transactions. This was the beginning of a *longue durée* process of 'silverization' that went through several phases.[20] Given that the region does not produce silver, external sources must be hypothesized for the observed increase in the money supply starting at the end of the seventh century.

'Silverization' in general can only be the result of an increase in the silver supply. De-hoarding can explain temporary outbursts, but it cannot explain sustained increase in the *longue durée*. Even with a low rate of attrition of perhaps 1.5% per year (the inevitable result of gradual reduction in the metal supply through usage, loss, or destruction), after one hundred years there would remain only 22% of the initial silver supply. To compensate for this attrition a constant additional flow of precious metal, produced by mining, is necessary, if the money supply is to be maintained at constant level. The western sources of silver and gold for the Achaemenid empire are better known than the eastern ones.[21]

In the Archaic period and before the upsurge in production at the Laurion and in Thrace in the second half of the sixth century, western Asia Minor remained the main provider of precious metal both for Asia Minor in general and for Mesopotamia. In the seventh century this region certainly saw the start of a new rise in the production of precious metals, both gold and silver. It is in this context that the minting of the first electrum coins began, around 650 or a little later.[22]

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[19] Gitler, Ponting, and Tal 2008, Ponting, Gitler, and Tal 2011.

[20] See below, pp. 234–48 for the detail.

[21] For the eastern sources of precious metal, see briefly below, pp. 228–9. For contextual analysis of Herodotus on the Achaemenid tribute see pp. 225–34.

[22] Kroll 2010 and the chapters in the volume *White Gold* (Van Alfen and Wartenberg 2020).

The sources of precious metal were the rivers of western Anatolia, such as the famous Pactolus, the river of Sardis, but also the mines of north-western Anatolia, in Mysia and the Troad. Control of these two sources of precious metal proved to be vital for the development of the Lydian kingdom, and certainly helped it to establish its dominion in the whole western part of Asia Minor, from the Halys to the Aegean.[23] The switch to separate minting of silver and gold under Croesus (with the famous Croeseids) in the 570s and 560s may reflect a new phase (increased production?) in mining activity in western Asia Minor.

When Achaemenid expansion created an imperial state whose boundaries went far beyond what any eastern power had previously reached, the sources of silver could be both inside and outside the frontiers of the empire. It is remarkable that Cyrus' first target, and catch, was the kingdom of Lydia, which was proverbially rich in precious metals.[24] It is no less remarkable that, after his conquest of Lydia, Cyrus and his son Cambyses kept on minting the gold and silver Croeseids. It was only later in the century that Darius switched to the minting of gold darics and silver *sigloi*.[25] It is also easy to understand why the control established by Darius over the even richer mines of Thrace in the late sixth century was another *coup de maître*.[26] The mines must have been a significant source of profit for the Achaemenids. (This does not imply that the king's exploitation of mines in territories under his control was direct: in all likelihood, he simply levied a tax on the annual production.[27]) As early as 479, however, with the defeat in Greece, the mines of northern Greece were permanently lost. As for north-western Asia Minor, friction with the Athenian empire in the region of the straits throughout the fifth century was certainly motivated in a large part by rivalry over access to mines in the Troad and other parts of the region. But between 386 and 336 Achaemenid control over western Asia Minor remained almost unchallenged, at least by foreign powers. The large quantity of silver *sigloi* and gold darics minted in Asia Minor (the former predominantly of fifth-century date) and the comparably substantial production of Lycian and Cyzicene coinages in all likelihood indicate that, under the Achaemenids, western Asia Minor was still a region of intense mining activity.[28]

An Egyptian Customs Document

An Aramaic customs document from Egypt shows one way in which precious metal might reach the eastern Mediterranean.[29] The great majority of the traders in this document were 'Ionians', i.e. Greeks (this is the case for thirty-six of them), but a few, six in number, come from *Kzr*, almost certainly to be identified with Gazara (Tel Yaʿoz), a site south of Jaffa with dense occupation layers from the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.[30] For their import cargoes, the traders from *Kzr* were taxed in kind only, whereas the Greeks were taxed both in precious metal and in kind. All the duties, in cash or in kind, went to the 'house of the king', that is the royal treasury.

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[23] Cahill *et al.* 2020.

[24] Parke 1984, Bassi 2014.

[25] See n. 74 for the question of the date and reality of Darius' monetary reform.

[26] See Sprawski 2010: 134–9, on the Persian presence in Macedon and Thrace.

[27] Briant 2002: 404–5. See Ps-Aristot. 2.1.4 (1345b34–5) in the sources of income of the satrap, the revenues from the mines are second after those from agriculture.

[28] Konuk 2011: 65. On Achaemenid coinage in general, see Alram 2012.

[29] Porten and Yardeni 1986–1999: 3.82–193 (C3.7). There is a re-edition of the text in translation in Kuhrt 2007: 681–703 (14.10). See also Yardeni 1994 and Briant and Descat 1998.

There has been hesitation about the date of the document.[31] It is dated to the eleventh year of a king who can be either Xerxes I (giving a date of 475) or Artaxerxes I (454). In fact, only the date of 475 can be accepted. The important point is that the Greek traders are defined as *ywny psldšy*. Briant and Descat's suggestion that we should see here a reference to Phaselitans makes perfect sense:[32] they rightly quote the parallel of Thucydides' reference to 'the ships from Phaselis', *τῶν ὁλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φασήλιδος* (2.69.1). Yet, they still hesitate about the date of the text and leave open the possibility that it could be 454, and this hesitation is reflected in subsequent literature.[33] But the fact that the Greeks merchants are from Phaselis can only correspond to the period when the Phaselitans were the only Greeks traditionally trading in Egypt who were still under Achaemenid rule. In his *Life of Cimon* (12.3–4), Plutarch provides us with a crucial piece of information: until the early 460s, when the Eurymedon campaign took place, Phaselis was still on the Persian side. The city first resisted the intense siege of Cimon and of the allied fleet, before finally surrendering and joining the Athenian empire. By 454, then, Phaselis had left the Achaemenid empire. At that time, the general state of war between Greeks and Persians and the specific operations taking place in Egypt make it unthinkable that Phaselitans were trading in Egypt. The Aramaic phrase *ywny psldšy* translates the Greek *Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Φασήλιδος*, which must have been the Greeks' answer to the question posed about their origin when they arrived in Egypt. We cannot compare this document with earlier or later Achaemenid documents and determine whether the civic identity was commonly added to the ethnic one. But, in the present case, the gloss 'from Phaselis' was absolutely necessary, given that the Phaselitans were probably almost the only Greeks not at war with the king. Of course, in time of war it was unthinkable for merchants to trade in the ports of a state with which their own state was at war.[34] Thus everything vindicates the date of 475 for the customs document.

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[30] Fischer, Roll, and Tal 2008, 155, Tal 2009.

[31] Briant and Descat 1998: 60–2, Kuhrt 2007: 681, 700 n. 1–2, Hyland iii 251–3.

[32] Briant and Descat 1998, 63. Porten and Lund 2002: 267, describe פסלדשי as 'unclear', which is not appropriate; and the doubts of Kuhrt 2007: 700 n. 4 about whether we should read *dalet* or *resh* in PSL$^{D}/_{R}$ŠY cannot be maintained: *dalet* makes perfect sense, *resh* makes none. Annalisa Azzoni (pers. comm.) regards the link between PSLDŠY and Phaselis as entirely convincing; the only surprising thing is the *šin* at the end, but this can perhaps be explained as palatalization of *śin* before *yod*.

[33] Kuhrt 2007: 681, 700 nn. 1–2.

From the customs document we see that, on their arrival in Egypt, Greek ships had to pay a tax in kind of roughly one-fifth of their cargo and a flat tax in gold and silver. For the tax in precious metal, there were two rates for Greek ships, one for large ships (nineteen in number), another for small ones (seventeen in number).[35]

A large Greek ship like that of Symenos/Somenes paid twelve staters of gold, the equivalent of one *karsh* and six *ḥallurs*, or 84.62 g, itself the equivalent of 1,128 g of silver at the ratio of 1/13$^{1}/_{3}$ current in this period.[36] It also paid in silver fifty *karsh*, twelve *ḥallurs*, and two quarters of silver, or 4,160.62 g.[37] In addition there was a tax defined as 'silver of the men', perhaps a poll tax, of five shekels, fifteen *ḥallurs*, and two quarters (0.1 g), or 45.05 g. The total in silver of the various taxes on a large ship entering Egypt was thus 5,333.67 g, or 1,231.8 Attic drachmas, or almost 308 Attic tetradrachms. For a single ship, this was a considerable amount of money, roughly one-fifth of a talent, to which should be added *ad valorem* taxes in kind on the goods imported.

A small Greek ship paid ten staters of gold, the equivalent of eight shekels and fifteen *ḥallurs*, or 69.84g, itself the equivalent of 931.15 g of silver at a ratio of 1/13$^{1}/_{3}$, or almost 233 Attic tetradrachms. No 'silver of the men' was levied on the Greek small ships.

The total of the tax in silver equivalent paid by the Greek ships was more than 1,136 *karsh*, or 94,70 kg, the equivalent of 21,670 drachmas or roughly 3$^{2}/_{3}$ talents.[38]

All the ships leaving Egypt, both the Greek ones and those from *Kzr*, had to pay a tax in silver, but, given the state of preservation of the document, the detail and total amount are difficult to establish. The Greek ships paid an export tax on one commodity only: natron. (The identity of any other goods that were exported, for instance high-value goods such as textiles, remains unknown to us.[39]) This tax was proportionate to the value of the natron, the quantity of which varied from one ship to another. A small ship could, for instance, pay eight *karsh*, five shekels, and ten *ḥallurs*, whereas a big ship only paid six *karsh*, six shekels, and $26^1/_2$ *ḥallurs*. In addition, all the ships pay a 'silver of the shipping', the amount of which remains unknown.

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[34] See detailed demonstration in Bresson 2000: 67–73 and 2007b: 42–3: some goods could always cross the border, but not the men, at least officially. A fifth-century Aramaic papyrus from the region of Memphis (ATNS 26) that refers in very hostile sense to the Ionians and the Carians—they have to be stopped and arrested, and, despite the *lacunae* in the papyrus, in all likelihood the references to ships, to chains, and the qualification of 'rascals' also applies to them—might well belong to the period of the disastrous end of the Athenian and allied expedition in Egypt in 454, the last stage of which takes place precisely at Memphis. The word for ship ספינה (line 16) could seemingly apply to various types of large ships, merchantmen like those in the customs document of 475, but possibly also warships, for which (to the best of the knowledge of the present writer) no specific word seems attested in Aramaic. A small boat or bark would have been referred to as אלף. On the various types of ships see Milik 1967: 551, 554–5 and Kaufman 1974: 48–9 n. 86. (We owe these references to Annalisa Azzoni.)

[35] For the detail, see Briant and Descat 1998: 73–9.

[36] Tuplin 2014b: 137–8.

[37] Units of weight: one *karsh* (83.36 g) = ten shekels (10 × 8.33 g) = forty *ḥallurs* (40 × 0.21 g) = 160 quarters (160 × 0.052 g), with one stater = 7.05 g. See Yardeni 1994: 70, and Porten 1968: 66, for the weight of the *karsh* ('83.33–83.36 g'), the weight of 83.36 g being retained here: this roughly fits with the weight of a daric at 8.36 g, which had the weight of one shekel.

[38] Yardeni 1994: 294 (table 3).

This export tax was also paid by the *Kzr* ships, the larger of which pays a flat tax of two *karsh* and five shekels, and a 'silver of the men', of one *karsh*, one shekel, and five *ḥallurs*.

On this basis, if we suppose an average amount of seven *karsh* and five shekels for each of the thirty-six Greek ships, the tax on natron would raise 270 *karsh* or 22,507.2 g of silver, the equivalent of 5,198 Attic drachmas, to which should be added an unknown amount for the 'silver of the shipping'.

For the *Kzr* ships, the total for each big ship would be three *karsh*, six shekels, and five *ḥallurs*, or 301.13 g, and for the three of them 903.39 g or 208 Attic drachmas. All in all, the amount of the tax in silver for the export must have been more or less one talent, if we suppose that the 'silver of the shipping', the amount of which remains unknown, was of moderate amount.

The estimated total export tax is thus 5,406 drachmas of silver. The estimated annual income from customs duties for the port in question in the papyrus is accordingly as shown below (see Table 4.2.1). The total tax income in silver, 27,076 drachmas, was over four and a half talents—in reality, probably around five talents, given the figures that are missing. This fits perfectly with the estimates made by Van Alfen.[40] The much lower level of export taxes may be understood as an incentive to export.[41]

Of course, what was paid in tax need not represent all of the gold and silver that ships such as this brought to Egypt. It is quite likely that the merchants also carried a certain amount of additional gold and silver to make it easier to trade in the country. This was definitely the case later on: Greek traders who came to Ptolemaic Egypt brought supplies of coined gold and silver which they had to exchange for local currency in order to be able to do business.[42] They could also

Table 4.2.1. The tax in silver on the foreign traders in the customs document of 475

Tax in silver	Amount in Attic drachmas	Percentage
Import	21,670	80
Export	5,406	20
Total	27,076	100

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[39] On the large range of goods exchanged between the Aegean and the Levant, see Van Alfen 2016.

[40] Van Alfen 2012: 18.

[41] See Ma iii 198 for the suggestion.

[42] See P.Cair.Zen. 59021 (258), with Bresson 2015.

sell gold and silver at a profit, since the value of precious metals was much higher than in the Greek world.

Five talents in precious metal (to which, as we saw, should be added the tax in kind on imported good at a rate of 20%), almost all of it paid by the people from Phaselis, represented a large sum from the perspective of an individual merchant. In addition, they must also have paid both royal and civic taxes when they left Phaselis. If they were so eager to trade in Egypt despite the high level of taxation, it is, of course, because they expected the profit on the goods they shipped out of Egypt to be large enough to compensate them for the loss represented by customs duties in precious metal and in kind: this is revealing evidence about the profitability of long-distance trade. To get a sense of scale, one can compare the tax burden with the amount of tribute paid by Phaselis as a subject of the Athenian empire.[43] In 454/3, and possibly until 451/0, the city paid six talents. In 450/49 the tribute was lowered to three talents. After 441/0, the city is absent from the lists but, when it reappears in 432/1, its tribute is once again six talents. (The amount for Phaselis in the assessment of 425/4 is lost.[44])

Admittedly, if the tax burden was heavy from the point of view of the traders of a single city, from the Achaemenid administration's point of view the amount involved remained very small. But it should be stressed that this low figure corresponds to a date (475) at which the traders of Phaselis were the only Greeks admitted to Egypt. The customs document helps us to understand the reluctance of the Phaselitans to leave the empire at the time of the Eurymedon campaign. Quite apart from the question of the balance of power in Asia Minor, the Phaselitans derived large profits from doing business in Egypt, which remained firmly under Achaemenid control. The place where the tax was levied was certainly Thonis, a port at the mouth of the Canopic branch.[45] This was the mouth that gave access to Naucratis, the place where the Phaselitans (and other Greeks) had traditionally done business. Before the Ionian revolt of 499, again after the failure of this revolt from 493 to 479, as well as from the Peace of Callias in 449 until the official Egyptian secession of 405/4, there were many more cities whose traders were able to do business in Achaemenid-controlled Egypt—in the first instance, all the nine cities of Asia Minor that were traditionally members of the Hellenion of Naucratis (Chios, Teos, Phocaea,

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[43] On the tribute of Phaselis, see in detail Keen 1998: 233–4.

[44] 454/3: *IG* I^3 259.IV.24; 451/0: 226.I.2; 432/1: 259.II.35; 425/4 (*phoros* assessment): 71.I.129.

[45] See Briant and Descat 1998: 91–2. The likelihood that Thonis is the city to which the customs document of 475 refers has been much reinforced by the discovery there of a second copy of the stele of Nectanebo I, which provides for one-tenth of the tax on imports by sea to be dedicated to the sanctuary of Neith at Sais (von Bomhard 2012 and 2015, with already Bresson 2000: 17). As shown by von Bomhard (2015: 104–7), customs are properly mentioned only in the Thonis text, not in the Naucratis one. Besides, one should underscore the perfect continuity between the fiscal categories of the Thonis stele (gold, silver, timber, processed wood, and 'all things coming in from the Sea of the Greeks') and those of the customs document of 475. But for a different view see Vittmann iii 268, citing Carrez-Maratray and Defernez 2012: 40–3.

Clazomenae, Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis, and Mytilene), but also in addition Samos, Miletus, and Aegina, all of them cities known to have traded in this *emporion*.[46] There were thus at least twelve cities with long-standing trading links with Egypt,[47] and they may have been joined by people from Greek cities in Cyprus and elsewhere, even if in smaller numbers. One can thus imagine that in peace time the revenue of the tax levied at Thonis could easily have been at least fifteen times higher, reaching at least seventy-five talents and perhaps much more.

This figure is perfectly in line with the few references in literary sources to the volume of customs duties from a single port or region in the Aegean or the eastern Mediterranean during the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[48] In the late 360s, when the Athenian exile Callistratus reorganized the finances of the kingdom of Macedon, the revenues from port taxes were raised from twenty to forty talents.[49] Athens auctioned the right to levy the *pentekostē* (a 2% tax on import and export) for thirty talents in 402/1 and thirty-six in 399;[50] but this was a time of low activity (the period of the recovery following the Peloponnesian War) and later, in the 330s, the auction seems to have raised *c.*300 talents.[51] Between 414 and 410, the Athenians replaced tribute by a 5% tax on commercial traffic in their empire: its amount is unknown, but it must have produced several hundred talents to compensate for abolition of the tribute.[52] In the Hellenistic period, before the creation of the free port of Delos in 167, the Rhodians drew one million drachmas (almost 167 talents) from customs duties levied in their port. After that date, Roman punishment caused the amount to fall to 150,000 drachmas (twenty-five talents), that is a volume 6.5 times lower than before the crisis provoked by Roman sanctions.[53] This is a valuable indication of the huge variations in volume of trade and customs income that could occur, mainly because of political circumstances. In wartime, income from customs duties could drop brutally, but it could also shoot up again quickly in more favourable circumstances.

On a more impressionistic level, what we know to have been the intense activity of the ports of the Canopic branch of the Nile (Thonis and Naucratis) fits a model in which it had been a linchpin in the commercial traffic between Egypt and the rest of the world since the Archaic period.[54] Despite the deficient character of our data, the customs document of 475 thus provides a rare quantitative insight into the significance of trade for the parties involved.

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[46] On the secession of Egypt at the end of the fifth century, see Ruzicka 2012: 36–7. According to Diodorus (13.46.6), in 410, when 'Pharnabazus' (i.e. Tissaphernes) learned that 'the king of the Arabs and the king of the Egyptians' were preparing an attack against Phoenicia, he had to divert there the fleet of 300 ships he was about to launch against the Athenians in the Aegean. The insurrection might have started a few years earlier. The 'king of the Egyptians' is certainly the Amyrtaeus 'the Saite' of Manetho (fr. 72abc Waddell, *FGrH* 609 F 2–3c p.51), which is an indication that the insurrection was in the tradition of Dynasty XXVI and of the revolt of Amyrtaeus I in the western Delta in the mid-fifth century (on which see Ruzicka 2012: 32–3). Amyrtaeus proclaimed himself Pharaoh in 405/4.

[47] Bresson 2000: 13–64, with map (39).

[48] See the comments in Bresson 2016: 295.

[49] Ps.-Arist.*Oec.*2.2.22 (1350a16-23).

[50] Andoc.1.133–4.

[51] See Woolmer 2016: 70, following Amemiya 2007: 97.

[52] See Kagan 1987: 259 for the debate on the chronology of the tax.

[53] Polyb.30.31.12.

Outside Egypt, we have few explicit traces of coastal customs stations in the Achaemenid empire, among them two items from Asia Minor: an unfortunately mutilated inscription from Xanthos mentions a concession made by the Achaemenid satrap Pixodarus (340–335), relating to a tithe on trade in four Lycian cities (Xanthos, Tlos, Pinara, Kadyanda);[55] and another inscription mentioning a decision by Pixodarus, this time about the Carian coastal city of Pladasa, refers to a grant of exemption from local taxes, but makes it explicit that royal taxes still had to be paid.[56] But, despite the paucity of evidence, we must assume that there was a string of customs stations along the coast of the empire, from Asia Minor to Phoenicia and Egypt, except when some of these regions separated from the empire (for western Asia Minor, this was the case between 479 and 386, for Egypt from *c.*405 to 343). At these stations, duties had to be paid to the Achaemenid king and, if necessary, also to local authorities: the latter was the case if the territory benefited from *polis* status and thus saw its fiscal autonomy recognized—a system of double customs duties, to be paid both to the king or empire and to local authorities, that remained common in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[57] The bottom line is that customs duties were a major source of precious metal revenue for the Achaemenid empire.

Coins

There is no doubt that coins formed a large part of the silver imported to Egypt. The customs document of 475 itself contains an oblique allusion to the Greek form of money, i.e. coinage, in that it refers to payment of the sums owed in terms of gold staters.[58] In the papyrus, the stater is a unit of weight of *c.*7 g—certainly a legacy of the seventh and sixth centuries, when the Milesian standard, with its (apparently double) stater at 14 g, was current among the Greeks of western Asia Minor and served as a common standard for Greek traders coming to Egypt.[59] This also fits with the massive presence of Greek coins in hoards from Egypt, the Levant, and southern Asia Minor in the late Archaic and Classical period, a phenomenon that, with various phases, can be observed until Alexander's conquest, whoever ruled Egypt,[60] and which is without doubt mainly the result of the activities of Greek or Phoenician merchants.[61]

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[54] Both Thonis and Naucratis were active from the Saite to the Ptolemaic period. For the ceramics of the two sites, see respectively Grataloup 2015 and Bergeron 2015. For the institutions of Naucratis and for trade, see Bresson 2000: 13–14, Bresson 2005a, von Bomhard 2015, Villing 2015, Thomas 2015.

[55] Bousquet 1986 (*SEG* 36.1216), lines 3–4: δεκάτην τῆς ἐμπο[ρίας τῆς] οὔσης [ἐ]ν τῆι πόλει.

[56] I.Labraunda 42 (*HTC* 48), lines 15–16: Δ̣ί̣ω̣ν̣α̣ κα̣ὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνου̣ς̣ ἐ̣λ̣[ε]υ̣θ̣έ̣[ρ]ο̣υ̣ς καὶ ἀτελεῖ̣ς̣ εἶν[αι] / [τὸν ἀεὶ χ]ρ̣ό̣νον, τὰ δ̣ὲ̣ βασιλικ[ὰ] τέλη τελ̣εῖν.

[57] Corsaro 1985.

[58] See Yardeni 1994: 70, and Porten and Lund 2002: 245, for the many occurrences of the word in the papyri of Egypt, with Kitchen 1965: 46, on the incontrovertible fact that the word stater was borrowed from the Greek.

After *c.*450, it is famously Attic money that becomes the main coinage reaching these areas. In the Aramaic archive of Elephantine, three papyri of the last decade of the fifth century refer to the stater, and in one of the three the stater is defined as 'of the silver of the Yavan (Ionia)'.[62] From 412 to 377, in the remote oasis of Kharga, ten Demotic ostraca also refer to the stater, one of them adding that this will be an 'Ionian stater'.[63] These Ionian staters are Attic tetradrachms, and perhaps also some eastern imitations. The best explanation for the presence of Attic staters at Kharga is certainly trade between the oasis and the Nile valley, where these coins circulated in increasing numbers.[64]

In the first half of the fifth century, Athens is not so prominent, and (as Table 4.2.2 indicates) the proportion of coins in Egyptian hoards coming from territories that were under Achaemenid control before 470 is commonly well over 50%, especially in hoards that antedate 479. Hoards like this reflect a specific 'Achaemenid moment' in the history of trade and other forms of circulation in the Mediterranean. From the end of the sixth century to 479, with the exception of central and southern Greece and the islands, the whole eastern Mediterranean was under Achaemenid control. From Cyrene and Cyprus to Asia Minor and the northern Aegean, a large number of coastal Greek cities, which were also minting cities, were under Achaemenid authority. The Persian empire controlled almost all the resources of the eastern Mediterranean, with very rich provinces like Egypt, as well as two of the main sources of precious metal, north-western Asia Minor and the northern Aegean. Finally, those Greeks who were the most active traders, the Greeks of Asia Minor, were now under its dominion. The only large trading city that was not in that position was

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[59] See the comment of Briant and Descat 1998: 76–7 on the question of the Milesian standard.

[60] For Egypt, see Van Alfen 2004/5a, 2004/5b, Muhs 2016: 191–2. For the Levant, with a focus on the circulation of the coins of Thasos, Picard 2011: 80–4 and Picard 2012, and with a focus on 'greater Syria', Duyrat 2016: 24–73 (catalogue), 300–27 (analysis), especially 308–9 on the very low proportion of *sigloi* in Syrian hoards; this confirms Porten 1968: 62–3, who made the same observation for all Achaemenid territories except western Asia Minor, which is all the more interesting in that he defined the *siglos* as mainly a coinage aiming at paying soldiers in an Asia Minor context.

[61] Picard 2011: 80–4 and 2012 prefers to see in the movement of coins from northern Greece to Egypt the movement of soldiers coming back home.

[62] Porten 1968: 64.

[63] Chauveau 2000, with Agut-Labordère 2014 and 2016b; mention of the 'Ionian stater' in O.Man.4158 (see www.achemenet.com), dated to 402.

[64] Agut-Labordère 2014, *pace* Briant and Descat 1998: 76 n. 62, who thought only of weight standard.

Table 4.2.2. The provenance of the Greek coins in the main hoards from Egypt, *c.*520–460

Hoards	Number of coins	Date	% N. Greece	% Ach. territories before 479	% Non-Ach. territories
Mit Rahineh IGCH 1636[1]	23+ AR, 73 kg, *Hacksilber*	*c.*500	21	61	39
Demanhur IGCH 1637	165 AR, 2 ingots, legible 148	*c.*500	42	81	9
Delta IGCH 1638	30 AR	*c.*500	23	87	13
Egypt 1971/72 CH II 10	9 AR + 5 ingots	*c.*500	44	89	11
Sakha IGCH 1639	72+ AR, frag.; legible 63	*c.*485	30	68	32
Benha el Asl IGCH 1640	77+ AR; legible 60	*c.*485	38	87	13
Asyut IGCH 1644[2]	837 AR	*c.*475–470	24	53.5	46.5
Zagazig IGCH 1645	84+ AR, 18 dumps and bars	*c.*470	26	44	56
Fayum IGCH 1646	15 AR	*c.*460	26	74	26

[1] The information we have on this hoard is very limited and, although they do not formally contradict what we know of coinage circulation in the period, the percentages provided must be read with special caution. For a general list of coin hoards in Egypt for the period 500–333, see Duyrat 2005: 31–32.

[2] See also *CH* II 17, IV 11, VIII 44, IX 680 and X 435.

Aegina on the western shores of the Aegean—which does not mean that the Aeginetans did not trade with the Achaemenid world. The situation provided a unique opportunity for trade, and the Greeks of Asia Minor, along with the Aeginetans, were the perfect go-between linking northern Greece, Asia Minor, the Greek world in general, and Egypt. This is why coins are such a large and diverse presence throughout the whole of the eastern Mediterranean. New data allow us to provide a more detailed picture, but on this point the observations and conclusions of Schlumberger in 1953 remain fully valid.[65] The eastern Mediterranean was now an Achaemenid lake and, as a consequence, coins from cities under Achaemenid rule provide the majority of items in almost all the hoards, with only one exception.

Nonetheless, the proportion of coins coming from non-Achaemenid territories always remains significant. In fact, the Egyptian hoards of this period provide a good reflection of a pan-Mediterranean community of traders, who brought coins from all provenances, if inevitably mostly from cities under

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[65] Schlumberger 1953: 18–19.

Achaemenid authority: this was the case for northern Greece, but also for Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Cyrenaica. In passing, it is worth observing that in the late Archaic–early Classical period the coins of Phaselis are well represented in Egypt (four hoards) and the Levant (two hoards), in the eastern Mediterranean (one hoard), in Bactria (one hoard), and in western Asia Minor (five hoards), always in small quantities.[66] The distribution of the coins of Phaselis between the Aegean, Egypt, and the Levant in the late Archaic and Classical period illustrates the role played by the traders of this city as connectors between west and east, a role that is well attested for the Classical and Hellenistic period in various literary and epigraphic sources.[67] A decrease in the import of Greek coins in the 460s and 450s is not the result of the fiasco of the Persian campaign in mainland Greece in 480–479, but of the fact that northern Greece was lost to Persia, the Greeks of Asia Minor and Cyprus had sided with Athens, and war was raging in Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Egypt.[68] In these conditions, trade was almost at a standstill, and this is the situation that can be observed in the customs document of 475.

But if the Achaemenid moment gives a special character to the import of coins into Egypt, Achaemenid overlordship over the eastern Mediterranean does not *per se* explain the import of coins into Egypt or the Levant. In other words, it is not a political factor that justifies the import of coins. The resumption of the import of Greek coins after 449 is instructive here. If northern Greek coins were the major component in the beginning, their proportion decreases over time. This reflects the fact that increased production from Laurion was slightly delayed as compared with its northern Aegean counterparts. When in the first two decades of the fifth century output from Laurion became really massive, Attic and Aeginetan coins began to outshine those of northern Greece. But this time no political reason could be adduced to justify the import of these coins into Egypt. Another argument in favour of the commercial origin of Greek coins coming to Egypt is that three of the somewhat later Egyptian hoards come from Naucratis, the main Greek trade hub in the country (*IGCH* 1647 (450–425); 1648 (fifth century); 1652 (360)).

Our hoard data provide us only a small snapshot of the very large quantities that were imported. The 308 tetradrachms-equivalent paid for a single large ship in the customs document of 475 (233 for a small ship) far exceed the total number of coins in most Egyptian hoards, the exceptions being the Mit Rahineh hoard from near Memphis (*IGCH* 1636 (*c.*500)) with its 73 kg of metal (equivalent to 4,215 Attic tetradrachms) and the Asyut hoard with its 837 coins. It is remarkable that in the Asyut hoard, as in numerous other hoards of the late Archaic period or of the fifth century from Egypt or the Levant, many of the coins are chiselled, which proves (if proof were needed) that they were treated as bullion.[69] The presence of *Hacksilber* or raw silver ingots in several Egyptian hoards of this period (Mit Rahineh, Demanhur, Asyut, and Zagazig) also fits perfectly with the impression created by the customs document, where it is still the weight of the precious metal that matters. Things only began to change in the late decades of the fifth century when, as observed above, an embryo coinage-based system of exchange begins to appear.

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[66] See Heipp-Tamer 1993: 31–5 (who had six hoards only but rightly emphasized that all the coins in the hoards were from series 1). The hoards are: for Egypt, Demanhur *IGCH* 1637 (1 stater), Benha El Asl *IGCH* 1640 (1 st.), Asyut 1644 (9 st.), and Zagazig *IGCH* 1645 (1 st.); for the Levant, Homs *CH* V 4, with *CH* VI 5, *CH* VII 12, *CH* VIII 45 (6 st.); Jordan *IGCH* 1482 (1 st. + 1 fragment st.); for the eastern Mediterranean, the Uncertain Eastern Mediterranean hoard *CH* VIII 19, with *CH* IX 347 (1 st.); for Bactria Balkh *IGCH* 1820 (1 st.); coins of Phaselis are also present in various hoards from western Asia Minor: Asia Minor *CH* V 2 (1 st.); Caria *IGCH* 1180 (1 st.); Western Asia Minor *IGCH* 1182 (1 st.); Western Asia Minor *CH* VIII 10 (3 fractions); Rhodes *IGCH* 1185 (1 st.).

[67] See Bresson 2016: 280–5, 315, 319–21, 377.

[68] See already Picard 2012 on this point.

Finally, the question of the form in which gold was imported to Egypt should not be overlooked. It was certainly partly in the form of ingots: in the early fourth century, the Tell el Maskhouta hoard (*IGCH* 1649) contained 6000+ Greek coins, but also gold and silver ingots (and perhaps a silver plate). But some of the gold must also have come in the form of coins. The 'sixth-century' Egypt hoard (*IGCH* 1632) has four gold Croeseids. In the fourth century, a series of hoards conventionally dated to 330 have gold coins. Two only have gold staters of Nectanebo II, the last independent pharaoh (Egypt (*IGCH* 1657) and Mit Rahineh (*IGCH* 1658)). But others have coins of various provenances—the Greek world (Philip II, Lampsacus) and territories under Achaemenid control (Cyprus, darics), as well as Nectanebo II (Demanhur (*IGCH* 1654), Alexandria environs (*IGCH* 1655), Garbieh (*IGCH* 1656)). Darics circulated in fairly large quantities in the Greek world and were familiar both to traders and political leaders.[70] It is remarkable that, in the fourth century, the independent pharaoh Tachos (in a small volume, for only a single coin is known) and Nectanebo II (in a larger one: 100 coins are known from three obverse dies) struck gold coins on the standard of the daric, although the gold they used was not pure.[71] (These issues were certainly intended for the payment of Greek mercenary soldiers.) Adoption of the daric standard leaves open the possibility that this coinage had already been the benchmark for the gold coins in Egypt before the secession and that the independent pharaohs of the fourth century were merely following an existing trend. A parallel might be found in the imitation Attic silver coins minted in Egypt as early as the second half of the fifth century and then on into the fourth century: this corresponds to a situation in which Athenian coins had already been circulating massively in the country for decades.[72] But we would need more data (i.e. coin hoards with darics) to validate the hypothesis.

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[69] Asyut: Price and Waggoner 1975; Massyaf hoard (*IGCH* 1483, Levant, 425–420): Duyrat 2016: 303; northern Syria hoard: Buxton 2009: 7–9.

[70] Lewis 1989, Baslez 1989.

[71] Nectanebo II: Bolshakov 1992, Faucher, Fischer-Bossert, and Dhennin 2012 (die analysis), with Faucher 2015 for the metal composition: gold 92.29%, silver 6.47%, copper 1.17%, plus traces of other metals.

Summary

In any case, if most of the precious metal that came to Egypt and the Levant was brought by traders to pay import and export duties or as an object of trade in its own right, it is evidently because, despite taxation, they made huge profits. They and their cities certainly suffered a great deal from the period of war with Persia between their revolt in 479 and the peace of 449. If the Greeks of Asia Minor actively supported the Athenians in their efforts to detach Egypt from the Achaemenids, it is because they hoped that victory would permanently reopen the markets of Cyprus and Egypt.[73] As it turned out, they had to be satisfied with the peace of 449, but even that must have been very favourable to their business operations. But the Achaemenid empire also benefited a great deal from periods of peace, and from the profits generated by customs duties and the other imports of precious metal that came through international trade.

The picture needs a final touch. Frontiers were not immutable. Under Darius, the empire reached its largest extent. Precious metal was moved around by subjects of the empire and most of that metal came from within the empire: merchants simply transferred it from one satrapy to another, to the benefit of the satrapies of the eastern Mediterranean. After the Second Persian War, the empire lost its European satrapies, with their rich resources in precious metal, as well as its dominion over the trading cities of Asia Minor, which were not recovered before 386. Transfers of precious metal, mainly but not only in the form of Athenian tetradrachms, were now net imports. In both situations, however, the question remains of the relation between these imports and the tribute paid to the king.

ACHAEMENID TRIBUTE AND THE LIST OF HERODOTUS

Herodotus famously provides us with a list of the contributions paid by the empire's subjects (3.89–94). For this purpose the empire was divided into twenty districts (*nomoi*), each comprising one or more ethnic groups. Some of the tribute was in kind, but most of it was in precious metal. The system was the result of a major reform introduced by Darius: before him there was only a system of (apparently more or less regular) 'gifts'. Herodotus' exposition was long taken at face value and regarded as a valuable source for the history of the Persian empire. More recently, however, the value of the information he provides has come under increasing criticism, so much so that today we can speak of an almost total rejection of his testimony.[74]

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[72] Massive penetration of Athenian coins in Egypt and the Levant: Fischer-Bossert 2008b, Buxton 2009, Van Alfen 2011 (synthesis), Duyrat 2016: 307–25 (global survey for the Levant). Imitations of Athenian coins in Egypt, Van Alfen 2011: 66–73, Van Alfen 2012. For a parallel situation in the Levant, see Gitler and Tal 2006 and 2009, Fischer-Bossert 2008a, Van Alfen 2011: 77–9, Duyrat 2016: 316–25.

[73] The epigram *IG* XII.6.1 279 tells how the Samians, fighting against the Medes at Memphis, captured fifteen Phoenician ships. On the Egyptian campaign, see Meiggs 1972: 95, 101–8.

Herodotean Error

O. K. Armayor insisted on the lack of correspondence between the lists in Herodotus (the army list in 7.61–87, 89–96 as well as the tribute one) and those we know from authentic Achaemenid monuments. He also suggested that the numbers provided by Herodotus are conventional, the total owing more to arbitrary calculations than actual summation of real amounts of tribute. He concluded, therefore, that both the grand total and the distribution among the districts are unreliable. For him, the Herodotean lists are a Greek construct to be read against the background of Homer's Catalogues of Greeks and Trojans.[75] There has also been debate about whether Herodotus (or rather one of his sources) could have had access to data on tribute coming from the highest level of Achaemenid administration—always supposing such data existed. While Briant accepted that this was possible, Klinkott rejected the idea, insisting also, like Armayor, on the strongly Greek perspective of Herodotus.[76] As for Darius' supposed reform, Jacobs has questioned its very existence: he points to the mismatch between the satrapies and the tribute districts, the former being much more numerous than the latter (twenty only in number), and observes that Herodotus' combination of regions logically entails the existence of a financial administration entirely distinct from the satrapal ones—which is an inconceivable arrangement.[77] Conscious of the problem of the *nomoi* but also of some of the indications we have for tribute levels in the Hellenistic kingdoms, Tuplin suggested that we might keep the grand total, but not its distribution among the districts.[78]

In the spirit of this sort of critique, it is possible to take another step forward and, focusing on the question of gold in the list, to try to reconstruct at least part of the process by which Herodotus' list was created.

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[74] Jacobs 2003 and 2011, with Kleber 2015: 4, for a global assessment of the historiography of the question.

[75] Armayor 1978 (see already Laird 1921 on the structure of the list).

[76] Briant 2002: 392 (and 388–415 on the Achaemenid tribute in general), Klinkott 2005: 106.

[77] Jacobs 1994: 93–6.

[78] Tuplin 1987: 141, 2011: 54.

The reason why the total amount of tribute reported by Herodotus long seemed acceptable is that, if compared with the tribute paid to later kings or rulers in the same region, the figure of 14,560 Euboic talents of silver paid to Darius does not seem unrealistic. It is about half the 30,000 talents Alexander got from an empire of more or less the same extent and after the capture of the treasures kept in the Achaemenid capitals.[79] It is also commensurate with the income of 11,000 talents that Antigonus Monophthalmus received in 316 from a kingdom that did not include Europe or Egypt.[80] There is, however, a risk of circularity here, insofar as later writers might have found inspiration for their numbers in the roughly 15,000 talents found in Herodotus. But the real problem with Herodotus' grand total is that it is completely unacceptable on internal grounds. The key to understanding this is what is said about gold.

Gold

According to Herodotus (3.95.1), the tribute in silver amounted to 9,540 Euboic talents.[81] In addition 360 Euboic talents in gold came from the Indian district (3.94.2), which was equivalent to 4,680 talents of silver value. (Herodotus is using a gold/silver value ratio of 1/13.) On this basis, he provides a total of 14,560 Euboic talents of silver (3.95.2). Herodotus' calculation of the silver value of the 360 talents of gold is correct. But, notoriously, his grand total is wrong: it should be 14,220 talents, not 14,560 talents. The total is too high by 340 silver talents. Moreover, there is also a problem with the figure for the silver component (9,540). The total (not provided by Herodotus) in Babylonian talents of the sums paid by the nineteen district is 7,740 Babylonian talents. On his own account (3.89.2), the Babylonian talent was the equivalent of 70 Euboic *minae*. This means that the Babylonian talent was in a ratio of 7/6 with the Euboic talent. The total of the silver tribute in Euboic talents should thus be 9,030, not 9,540. Very many solutions have been proposed to solve this enigma.[82] There are obviously mechanical errors involved, but they are rooted in a more fundamental difficulty that ruins the reliability of the Herodotean grand total.

It should be clear from the start that the information about the amount in gold, 360 Euboic talents or 4,680 talents in silver value, cannot be trusted. According to Herodotus, this was the tribute paid by the twentieth district, India.[83] On his own account, this figure represented 49% of what was paid by all the other provinces (9,540 Euboic talents) and 32% of the grand total (14,560 Euboic talents). This is extraordinary. If we accept Herodotus' numbers, the Indian contribution is almost four times higher than his own figure for Babylonia, the richest province of the Empire (1,000 Babylonian talents are the equivalent of 1166.66 Euboic talents), and 5.73 times higher than the payment in silver of Egypt (700 Babylonian talents or 816.66 Euboic talents). It is all the more surprising, since the seventh district, that of the Sattagydians, Gandarians, Dadicae, and Aparytae, which corresponds to the upper Indus valley, only paid 170 Babylonian talents, or 198.33 Euboic talents. The Achaemenid *dahyu* (district) of *Hi*^{n}*dush* is located in the middle and lower Indus valley,[84] and it is natural to identify Herodotus' India with precisely that region. The upper valley is known for being richer in agricultural production than the middle or lower valley (the region of the Sind is mostly arid, except for the irrigated Indus valley). But if we locate Herodotus' India in the middle and lower valley, that region would be paying a tribute 23.59 times higher than that of the upper valley. Given the nature of the two regions, this would have to be almost entirely because of its gold production.

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[79] Just.*Epit*.13.1.9.

[80] Diod.19.36.5. See Billows 1990: 256–9, Callataÿ 2004: 31, Aperghis 2004: 248.

[81] Tuplin 1987: 141 n. 117: all MSS have 9,540, save one, where the total of 9,880 is provided *in rasura*.

[82] See the review and analysis in Keyser 1986: 238–42.

[83] On the Achaemenids and Herodotus on India, see Puskás 1983, Bivar 1988, Vogelsang 1990 and 1992: 200–6.

The figure of 360 talents (3.94.2) corresponds to 9,360 kg of gold. Herodotus does provide two pieces of information that may seem to vindicate this miraculous figure. First, he glosses it by commenting that India is the most populous of all nations. Secondly, he famously refers to the remarkable way in which Indian gold was acquired, namely by stealing it from giant ants (3.102.1–3, 105.1–2): the extraordinary total is perhaps meant to be justified by the extraordinary means of acquisition. But, back in the real world, the difficulty is that, while goldmining is known to have been practiced in the upper Indus valley (in Gandhāra and other neighbouring areas), no source of any kind or any period (including the present) makes any mention of gold production in the middle or lower Indus valley, which is where most scholars locate the India of Herodotus.[85]

Modern *comparanda* provide some perspective on gold production in northern India. In the nineteenth century, when the British empire exercised overlordship over northern India, the local Kashmiri authorities received tribute from the tribes of Dardistan, a vast region north of Srinagar. The main item was gold to the amount of 0.9615 kg (i.e. roughly one kilogram).[86] As in Herodotus, the tribute was paid in gold dust. Of course, if this was the amount paid as tribute, gold production as a whole must have been significantly higher, though by how much is difficult to say. But the gap between this figure and the more than nine tons of gold in Herodotus is sufficient to discredit his narrative. A desperate solution (which would still not solve all the problems) would be that Herodotus believed Darius to have conquered the whole northern part of India as far as the Ganges valley. But no scholar seems to have envisaged this, and rightly so, for nothing proves or even hints that Achaemenid control ever reached beyond the Indus.[87] In fact, the existence of the twentieth Indian district itself has sometimes been put in doubt.[88]

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[84] Jacobs 1994: 243–7.

[85] Vogelsang 1990: 206.

[86] Vogelsang 1989: 163–4. This total is calculated by adding up the amounts of tribute provided by Vogelsang for the various valleys (with one *tola* = 11.3 g): thirty-five *tolas* = 395.5 g, and 20 oz. = 566 g (for the district of Hunza).

A. D. H. Bivar has proposed that 360 talents was actually the silver value of a tribute that was paid in a much smaller weight of gold: Herodotus' mistake was simply to take the figure as the amount in gold.[89] Bivar's suggestion cannot be proved but remains very attractive. It would help to explain the arithmetical mistake mentioned above: finding in his source for the Indian district an estimate of 340 talents in silver but paid in gold, Herodotus first 'adjusted' the sum to 360 talents in the Babylonian way, then wrongly took for actual gold the estimate in silver of the sum paid in gold, and finally, when producing his grand total in silver, counted the 340 talents again, but this time in silver.

The emphasis on India as a gold-producing nation *par excellence* deserves further comment. It should not be doubted that gold from northern India may have been paid as tribute.[90] Neighbouring Bactria is named by Darius alongside Lydia as a source of gold for the decoration of his palace at Susa.[91] Ctesias refers to the silver mines of Bactria.[92] These references are confirmed by later evidence. In the Hellenistic period, the Greek kings of Bactria minted a series of heavy gold coins, in parallel to their abundant silver coinage: King Eucratides even minted a coin of 169.2 g, the heaviest known in antiquity.[93] The massive Tillya Tepe hoard of the Kushan period (first century BC–early first century AD) also shows that local elites had comparatively easy access to gold.[94] But other regions also produced gold. In the eastern part of the Empire, according to Alexander's companion Onesicritus, gold was found in a river in Carmania.[95] More importantly, in the western part of the Empire, Egypt had produced gold since pharaonic times, and western Asia Minor was traditionally rich in gold: Lydians (and Greeks) had minted electrum coins since the mid-seventh century, and the first pure gold coins, the Croeseids, which had been created by Croesus, went on being minted by the Achaemenids until Darius introduced the daric.[96] Yet Herodotus makes no mention of the gold resources of these regions and represents both as paying tribute in silver. The inevitable conclusion is that anything actually paid in gold was converted into silver value for the sake of clarity.

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[87] Darius' conquest of India: Hdt.4.44, with Briant 2002: 140 for the date (518).

[88] Vogelsang 1992: 204.

[89] Bivar 1988.

[90] For Vogelsang 1992: 206 this north-Indian gold was in fact directly tapped as a tribute by the Bactrians or the Achaemenids in Bactria.

[91] Kuhrt 2007: 492 (11.13i § 10).

[92] Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F 45 (26) = Kuhrt 2007: 708 (14.19).

[93] See Bopearachchi 2015: 60–83, 300–86.

[94] Hiebert and Cambon 2007.

[95] Strab.15.2.14 = Kuhrt 2007: 708 (14.18).

[96] Alram 2012 notes that the date of the introduction of the daric is still disputed, the dates proposed varying between 522 and 490. Kroll 2010 favors a date around 515. More recently, Bodzek 2014: 60–1 (with summary of the debate) favors a date in the period 515–510.

It is only in the case of the Ethiopians, whom Herodotus (3.97.2) explicitly defines not as tribute-payers but as gift-givers, that we have another reference to a resource in gold. Every other year (3.97.3), they provide two choenices of raw gold, 200 logs of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty large elephant tusks. The gold is the equivalent of an annual offering of one choenix (1.087 litre) or exactly 21.00 kg, less than one talent of gold (0.80 talent, to be precise). On the basis of a gold/silver ratio of 1/13, this was the equivalent of 273 kg of silver or 10.5 silver talents. In any case, we are a long way from the 360 talents of gold supposedly paid by India. If we believe Herodotus, the Ethiopians paid 450 times less gold annually than the Indians.[97]

Gold also appears in another perplexing episode in the *Histories*: an enormous gift made by the Lydian Pythius.[98] In 481, Xerxes and his army moved across Asia Minor in their march against Greece. Coming from Cappadocia they reached Phrygia at Celaenae. There a Lydian, Pythius, came to the king and offered to put all his riches at his service (Herodotus 7.27–9). Pythius, son of Atys, is introduced to Xerxes as being the richest man in the empire after the king himself. Because of the name of his father, which is the same as that of the son of Croesus, it has been proposed that he was no other than Croesus' grandson, but this hypothesis remains questionable.[99] According to Herodotus, the sum that Pythius offered amounted to 2,000 talents of silver and four million daric staters of gold, lacking only seven thousand. Struck by the generosity of this host, Xerxes asked Pythius to keep his money and even gave him the missing 7,000 darics. The anecdote provides a redoubled illustration of Xerxes' generosity (the gift of 7,000 darics is probably an additional twist to an original story in which Pythius had 4 million darics from the outset) and displays the enormity of the sums he already had at his disposal: he could refuse Pythius' gift because he did not need the money.

Herodotus does not specify whether the silver talents were Euboic or Babylonian (or on some other standard). One may assume that addressing a Greek audience he was implicitly referring to Euboic talents. As for the gold, the enormity of the amount has led some to assume that the daric was here a unit of measurement only.[100] With a daric at 8.36 g, the four million units correspond to 33,440 kg or (with a Euboic talent at 25.980 kg) 1287.14 Euboic talents of gold. With a gold/silver ratio of $1/13^1/_3$ at the time, this would correspond to 17,161.82 talents of silver, significantly more than one year's tribute from the whole Persian empire as reported by Herodotus (14,560 Euboic talents), itself in any case a spurious figure, as we have seen. In value, the gold offered by Pythius represented an amount 8.58 times higher than that of the silver, and the silver would represent only 10.43% of the total value of the gift (19,161.82 talents, adding silver to gold).

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[97] See Huyse 1999 on the relations between the Ethiopians and the Persian empire.

[98] On the *logos* of Pythius, see Lewis 1998, Thomas 2012, Vanotti 2013, Bresson 2019: 286–7.

[99] Ivantchik and Adiego 2016: 297.

[100] Price 1989.

In view of the rarity of gold, the ratio between gold and silver in the gift of Pythius contradicts anything that could have been expected. Admittedly, according to Herodotus (7.27.2), Xerxes' Persian courtiers emphasized that Pythius had already offered to his father Darius a gold plane-tree and vine and that, after the great king, he was the richest man in the empire: Pythius was the 'man of gold' *par excellence*. But the gigantic quantity of gold at stake is perplexing. One must suppose once again that an amount in silver value has been wrongly taken for an amount in gold. On this view, the supposed amount in gold, 1,287.14 talents was originally 1,287.14 talents in silver value (33,440 kg of silver), corresponding to 2,508.00 kg of gold at the ratio of $13^1/_3/1$ applicable in this period, that is, exactly, 300,000 darics. The precision of the round number is almost miraculous and should not deceive us, even if the figures in the calculation (for the weight of the daric or for the weight of the talent) are conventional ones for the weight of the daric and for the Attic drachma (the basis of calculation for that of the Euboic talent). The result must be taken *cum grano salis*: the result of the computation might have been slightly above or below 300,000. But it is a strong indication that the number of darics in Herodotus' original source was 300,000, not 4 million. Seeing an amount in silver that corresponded already to a conversion of a figure in darics, the author of the mistake converted it back again into gold and darics. The outrageous size of the resulting figure in turn justified calling Pythius the second richest man in the Empire.

Does this mean that, after introducing this correction, we should accept that Pythius made a gift in silver of 2,000 talents, and in gold of 300,000 darics? This would be almost fifty-two tons of silver and 2.5 tons of gold (instead of 33.44 according to Herodotus), which still represents a large accumulation of wealth. It would suffice to establish the reputation of Pythius as a super-rich man. But, given that we cannot cross-check our sources, even this re-calculated figure must remain questionable.

The Herodotean Tribute List Debunked

Herodotus thus offers two stories involving enormously large amounts of gold. In both cases (the Indian tribute of 360 talents of gold and Pythius' gift of nearly four million darics) what he says must be wholly rejected. Given that the two items are not directly related, it seems likely that there were originally two different sources, one for the tribute (which provided amounts in silver only) and another for the Pythius episode (with amounts both in gold and in silver, that in gold being represented by a silver equivalent in Euboic talents). The parallel creation of fictitious amounts of gold on the basis of original numbers in silver can only be the work of Herodotus himself. In both episodes, he provided his audience with gigantic numbers that could make them dream about the riches of the Persian empire and the hubris of its rulers, and by contrast enhanced the courage of the Greek warriors who had defeated the gigantic invading army. But if the total for gold in the tribute list is worthless, should we at least save the total for silver? Or, even with the subtraction of the Indian gold, should we think that the Herodotean Achaemenid tribute list is as fictitious as the catalogue of the troops in the army of Xerxes—a total over five million according to Herodotus (7.184–7), half of them soldiers, the rest servants and followers, a grand total in which no one can believe?[101]

As we have seen, fundamental doubts have been raised about the both the authenticity and the validity of the Herodotean tribute list.[102] One thing that might be said in its favour is that the distribution of amounts among the twenty districts shows an awareness of the relative level of prosperity of different parts of the empire.[103] The highest amount (in Babylonian talents) is for Babylon and Assyria, that is Mesopotamia, with 1,000 talents, which is not surprising. Then comes Egypt with 700 talents. The three western Asia Minor districts (first to third districts) together paid 1,260 talents, which reflects the production of gold and silver in this region: in terms of tribute this region was the most productive in the empire. Those who paid the lowest amount were the people of the seventh district (northern India), with just 170 talents: that is also perfectly understandable. In other words, the ratio between the districts seems to make sense. But what about the actual amounts? For instance, how can we be sure that the tenth district (Media) paid 450 Babylonian talents? We have absolutely no way to verify or falsify these numbers.

But a more radical criticism seems lately to have delivered the *coup de grâce* to Herodotus' testimony. In the light of cuneiform archives from Mesopotamia, Jursa has emphasized that the main contributions asked by the state took the form of labour requisition or military service, and that, if contributions in silver money were asked (and indeed they were), they were immediately injected back into the local economy.[104] For Jursa, it is impossible to conceive how the Achaemenid administration could have turned the various forms of contribution (including in silver) that were required locally into a silver-equivalent figure for a whole satrapy (let alone for one of the supposed tribute districts). Moreover, he also emphasizes that we have very limited evidence for the transfer of silver from Mesopotamia to the Achaemenid capitals (Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatana). It is not just individual figures, therefore, but the whole process of accumulation described by Herodotus that should be called into question.

Jursa concludes that the figure of 1,000 talents in silver for Mesopotamia offered by Herodotus is totally worthless. Given that Mesopotamia was located at the core of the Achaemenid empire and was its richest province in terms of agricultural production (surpassing even Egypt, if we are to follow Herodotus), this casts a shadow, to say the least, on the validity of the whole list. If the same argument is applied to all the *nomoi*, the credibility of the Herodotean tribute list vanishes. As we saw, we have every reason to think that Herodotus could access a pre-existing list that provided amounts of tribute for each *nomos*, but, if we accept Jursa's reasoning, we also have every reason to believe that this list cannot be trusted to represent the tribute paid locally to the Achaemenid king, because this total was never calculated and because it could not be. In Jursa's logic, it is the very notion of a tabulation of *phoros* in silver that is exploded once and for all.

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[101] Tuplin 1997: 368–9, Briant 2002: 526–7.

[102] See above, pp. 225–6.

[103] See Ruffing 2011: 87–8.

[104] Jursa 2011, Jursa and Schmidl 2017.

One might add another argument, this time from a macro-economic perspective. We saw earlier that the average yearly production of precious metals of both the Greek and the Achaemenid worlds in the Classical period was of the order of 2,500 talents in silver equivalent. If, as Herodotus tells us, Mesopotamia had suffered a yearly drain of 1,000 Babylonian talents or 1166.66 Euboic talents, and if, more broadly, the provinces of the empire had suffered a yearly drain of almost 10,000 Euboic silver talents that for the larger part was not recirculated, the consequences would have been dire. Payment of taxes in silver (the privileged form in the Achaemenid system) would soon have been impossible, and, given the increasing dependence of economic activity in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Bactria (and, of course, in the western part of the empire) on credit and payments in silver,[105] the money supply would quickly have dried up. In short, the 'new economy', started in the second half of the seventh century and now based on silver exchange, would have been paralysed. This consequence can perhaps be evaded by supposing that Herodotus has made another mistake, taking the figures that his Greek source provided as estimates (converted into silver) of the taxes of each *nomos* for the sums actually transferred to the Achaemenid central treasuries. (Only in one case, Cilicia in 3.90.3, does he say that some of the silver tribute of a district remained there, while the rest was 'paid to Darius', so he certainly wants us to believe that his figures normally designate sums transferred to the centre.[106]) But, even if we take this line, Jursa's critique remains unaffected.

One should, it is true, be cautious about dismissing the individual figures provided by Herodotus' source as intrinsically absurd. Thucydides, who is less readily suspected of careless statements than his predecessor, states that the Thracian king Seuthes received a yearly tribute of 400 talents in gold and silver, as well as gifts in precious metals and in kind (2.97). We have here a figure that is of the same order of magnitude as those provided by the list used by Herodotus, figures that might well also include estimates of the silver value of corvées and taxes paid in kind. This does not make the figures provided by Herodotus more reliable in any specific case, but it makes them less absurd than they may seem at first look. But it remains the case that, if we take Herodotus literally and if we think that the tribute income was physically transferred to the Achaemenid capitals, the figures he provides must be rejected.

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[105] Stolper 1985, Jursa 2010: 469–753.

[106] Egypt is different because what stays in the district in that case is taxation in kind. (The silver revenue of Lake Moeris, which is unquantified, is not said to remain in the district.)

At this point, it may seem tempting to throw in the towel and become at best agnostic about the existence of a tribute in precious metal and its possible impact on the money supply. We might even conclude that there was no significant drain of precious metals toward the Achaemenid capitals and that any drain that did occur had a negligible impact on the money supply. But this turns out to be wrong.

PRICES, TRIBUTE, AND THE MONEY SUPPLY

New quantitative data on price evolution in Mesopotamia in the *longue durée* between the end of the seventh century and the second century allow us to investigate the question of silverization and the tribute in a quite different perspective from that offered by Herodotus.

Price Fluctuation and Inflation

We can observe three periods of price increase in Mesopotamia during the period in question. The first one can be dated to the end of the seventh century and early sixth century. It is followed by a period of significant price decrease in the first half of the sixth century. The second one covers the second half of the sixth century and is especially impressive. Between 510 and 500 prices temporarily stabilize, before dropping significantly in the first decade of the fifth century, until 485 when our information disappears.[107] The price situation in the fifth century is poorly known. We have data for 420/19 only, when prices fluctuate at very high level similar to the peak of the increase in the late sixth century under Darius.[108] In the fourth century, although our information is incomplete, prices seem to decrease from medium to low levels.[109] The third period follows Alexander's conquest in 332, when prices increase massively until the early third century. After a further period of decrease, prices become generally stable under the Seleucids.[110]

There is general agreement that the three periods of price increase must be seen as periods of inflation: that is, whatever the explanation for the phenomenon, we are dealing with a loss in value of money and a fall in its purchasing power. But the origins of these bouts of inflation are debated.

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[107] Jursa 2010: 443–68, 576–94 (mainly).

[108] Pirngruber 2017: 95.

[109] Pirngruber 2017: 95–106.

[110] Pirngruber 2017: 93–163.

So far as the period of inflation in the second half of the sixth century is concerned, although a moderate price increase can already be observed in the 540s, there is a strong correlation with the Achaemenid takeover of the Babylonian kingdom in 539.[111] But how should we characterize that correlation and thus explain the price increase?

For both the late seventh–early sixth century spell of inflation and the late sixth century one, Jursa and Pirngruber have emphasized monetary factors and rejected explanations in terms of modifications in supply and demand (understood as consequences of demographic growth),[112] and it is certainly clear that the looting of the Assyrian capitals at the end of the seventh century, followed by the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar and later by those of the first three Achaemenid kings, had major consequences for the money supply in Mesopotamia.

More recently, however, Jursa and Schmidl have proposed a more nuanced approach: this still keeps modification of the money supply as the primary factor but adds other perspectives:

> One root of the price increase of the price inflation is monetary; it is the result of a huge influx of silver into the Babylonian economy that began with Nebuchadnezzar and continued until the fall of Babylon to the Persians, if not, to some degree, beyond this point (as some public building projects, which were the main conduit for this influx of silver, were continued under Persian rule).[113]

A second factor is a drier climate: a series of bad harvests significantly and negatively impacted the level of food supply, provoking a price increase, especially for barley. A third possible factor is demand. This is not a matter of internal demand (for instance because of demographic growth), for in that case the price of labour would have fallen, whereas it actually trebles in the fifty years between *c.*560 and 510. What provoked the price increase, it is suggested, was external demand, that from the Achaemenid palaces, which reduced the local supply.[114]

The switch here to non-monetary factors as an explanation for the late sixth-century spell of inflation is not complete, but it remains very significant, and has been echoed by others: while keeping in mind the huge accumulation of precious metal provoked by the conquests of the first Achaemenid kings, Monerie has also insisted on the public work policy of those kings and the increase in the velocity of money that it would have provoked as a major factor in the inflation of the late sixth century.[115]

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[111] Briant 2002: 40–4, for the date.

[112] Jursa 2010: 745–53, Pirngruber 2017: 93–5 and 2018: 21, graph 1 for synthesis.

[113] Jursa and Schmidl 2017: 733.

[114] Jursa and Schmidl 2017: 733.

[115] Monerie 2018: 64–5.

At the level of detail, it is quite possible (and indeed likely) that factors not directly linked to the money supply marginally accentuated the tendency to inflation. But it should remain clear that the three big spells of inflation all correspond to phases of massive de-hoarding provoked by the looting of treasures accumulated during decades and centuries. If we need no other explanation than a brutal de-hoarding to make sense of the massive and relatively short spell of inflation that follows Alexander's destruction of the Persian empire (forty years, between 330 and 290), we do not need other explanations to make sense of the two previous ones.

The new dimension introduced by the creation of the Achaemenid empire was that for the first time a kingdom based east of the Euphrates was able to exploit the precious metal resources of the West, because under Cyrus and then Darius it was able to seize both western Asia Minor and southern Thrace. As we have seen, the first kingdom destroyed by Cyrus was Lydia, which allowed him to seize the reserves of Croesus, and then to exploit the precious metal resources of Lydia in the *longue durée*. If the looting of Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt is also taken into account, we can postulate levels of accumulation that easily explain the extremely high price levels reached under Darius. The very modest Mesopotamian inflation of the period 550–540 could be explained by military preparations to face the Persian threat and, after 547, by the spillover of a small quantity of the precious metal that reached the Persian core territory after the destruction of the Lydian kingdom.[116]

The three phases of inflation correspond to periods of brutal de-hoarding. When we see the massive inflation that takes place under the first Achaemenids and especially under Darius or under Alexander and its first successors, it is clear that a large part of what had been looted was immediately injected into the economy, initially of course to satisfy the needs of the king and the aristocracy. What, then, about the phases of deflation experienced in Mesopotamia from 600 to 550, in *c.*500–485, and finally in the fourth century until Alexander's conquest? De-hoarding supposes previous hoarding. Given that the third spell of inflation is based on the de-hoarding of the Persian treasures, what has to be interrogated now is the form of that hoarding, and the role of tribute in the process.

The Hoarding of Tribute and Physical Transfer of Precious Metal

At this stage it is necessary to re-open an old dossier on the link between tribute and phases of inflation and deflation in the Achaemenid empire. In his posthumous 1948 synthesis on the Persian empire, Olmstead depicted the impact of the empire on the economy of the regions controlled by the Achaemenids in very gloomy colours.[117] Taking at face value the numbers provided by Herodotus, he argued that 'little of this vast sum was ever returned to the satrapies'.[118] For him, the lack of money supply was temporarily checked by resorting to credit, but in the end this could not counterbalance the pressure of taxes exacted in silver. Finally, 'credit increased the inflation, and rapidly increasing prices made the situation still more intolerable'.[119]

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[116] Van der Spek 2014: 256, for the date of the fall of Sardis, the killing of Croesus, and the plundering of his treasures.

The notion of Persian economic stagnation initially received some approval.[120] But nowadays Olmstead's views are wholly discredited. First, in their 1963 analysis of the Herodotean tribute lists, and although not directly arguing against Olmstead, Altheim and Stiehl concluded that no more than $^1/_{19}$ of the yearly tribute could reasonably be supposed to have been stored in the Persian royal treasuries.[121] Their view, and its implicit contradiction of Olmstead, remains well-regarded.[122] In 1985, Stolper proposed an even more sweeping criticism of Olmstead.[123] He insisted that there was no evidence of a *longue durée* price evolution that could provide a base for Olmstead's view (which at the time he wrote was perfectly correct), especially for any kind of silver scarcity in Babylonia. Above all, he emphasized the major flaw in Olmstead's reasoning: the drain of silver caused by the Achaemenid authorities should have triggered a deflation, not inflation. Finally, although very cautious about the value of the Herodotean tribute lists, he retained Altheim and Stiehls's idea that only *c.*5 % of the tribute reached the central treasuries, while also stressing that this figure was not really meaningful as long as the sources of the precious metal, the rate of production and the means of circulation in the empire remained unknown.

In his study of taxation in Babylonia, Jursa proposes a radically different, bottom-up approach. To start with, he separates direct and indirect taxation.[124] For direct taxation, he shows that temples, holders of land tenure, and individual households were taxed by the royal administration. So temples, for example, were requested to provide manpower for royal building projects or for the itinerant court and royal palaces. Preferably and increasingly, the payments had to be made in silver rather than directly in kind or labour. Meanwhile indirect taxation (levied by tax farmers) is well attested and consisted in taxes on real-estate transactions, slave sales, and transports of goods at harbours, bridges, and gates. Next, Jursa insists that we have proof that a large part of the tribute collected, including the tribute in silver, was directly re-injected into the economic life of Babylonia, to fund royal projects on the spot. What is lacking in our documentation is the proof of large-scale transfer of silver to the royal centres. Instead, what we observe in our sources is three categories of movement to Susa: (1) many Babylonian 'businessmen' (among them tax contractors) went to the capital at the time of the celebration of the New Year, (2) other visitors to Susa included soldiers and workers put to work in Elam on royal palaces, and (3) goods (especially foodstuffs) were transported there in substantial amounts. In the case of the first category, in particular, we have plenty of evidence for the financial activities of Babylonian businessmen visiting Elam, especially interest-free credit transactions, sometimes for very large amounts.[125]

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[117] Olmstead 1948: 291–301 ('Overtaxation and its results'), especially 297–9.

[118] Olmstead 1948: 298.

[119] Olmstead 1948: 298.

[120] See the references gathered by Stolper 1985: 144 n. 50.

[121] Altheim and Stiehl 1963: 120–37, especially 134–5.

[122] See below, pp. 241, 245 on Altheim and Stiehl's numbers.

[123] Stolper 1985: 144–6.

[124] Jursa 2011.

As far tribute is concerned, Jursa's conclusion is as follows: 'Some thesauration [hoarding] obviously must have taken place, but the bulk of taxation-related transactions took place *within* the Babylonian economy and did not result in a substantial withdrawal of specie from circulation within the province.'[126] Moreover, Jursa insists on our inability to quantify direct transfers. Of course, the yearly visits of Babylonian financiers to Elam are a serious indication that they went to the capital to transfer some of an amount in silver corresponding to the tribute paid by Babylonia. But accounts that would record how much was paid to the royal treasury are missing.

Given that we lack the crucial documents that would permit direct investigation of the amounts entering the treasuries of Achaemenid capitals, it may seem tempting to minimize the accumulation of precious metal there, and even to imagine that the impact of transfers of precious metal was neutral to the money supply. But this conclusion would be too hasty and we should turn to another approach to investigate the issue. Three sets of evidence are of immediate interest in this connection.

1. The best explanation for the inscribed green chert objects of the Persepolis Treasury is that they correspond to transfers of value (themselves corresponding to tax amounts) from Arachosia to the capital of the empire, carried out under the authority of local treasurers.[127] Admittedly, this is not a transfer of silver. But, as analysis of hoards from the eastern satrapies shows (see below), there was plenty of silver in these regions. Moreover, the Cabul hoard contains an intriguing silver ingot inscribed in Elamite—a language used by the Persepolis bureaucracy that is also encountered in the east at Kandahar.[128]

2. The Aršama dossier offers more explicit evidence about transfers of precious metal from provincial contexts to the centre of the empire. In general terms the

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[125] Waerzeggers 2010.

[126] Jursa 2011: 444.

[127] Henkelman 2017a: 102–9 and King 2019. For other aspects of the Achaemenid presence in the eastern satrapies see also Henkelman 2017a: 50–63, 150–86, and Henkelman ii 192–223.

[128] Hulin 1954 (I owe the reference to R. King). For the Elamite administrative tablets at Kandahar see Henkelman 2017a: 169–75.

Bodleian letters reveal how Aršāma took care of his economic interests in Egypt and was willing to resort to rather robust methods in doing so. But two documents (A6.13–14) are particularly important in the present context, because they refer to transfers of money, in cash obviously, from Egypt to the centre of the empire. In the first (A6.13), at the request of the prince Vāravahyā, Aršāma orders that the revenues of the former's domains in Egypt should be brought to Babylon along with the revenues of Aršāma's own domains. In the second (A6.14), Vāravahyā himself refers to his request to Aršāma and works out the details with local administrators. Aršāma had economic interests both in Egypt and Mesopotamia.[129] It is easy to understand that great Persian landlords, with estates in a variety of locations, might wish to accumulate their wealth by the physical transport of cash. What was possible for a prince like Vāravahyā and for a satrap like Aršāma was, of course, possible also for the Great King. We may imagine, for instance, that the customs duties in gold and silver recorded as entering the 'house of the king' in the customs document of 475 could be transferred to the centre of the empire. A detail from the Susa foundation charter that has seemed perplexing is relevant here.[130] Darius refers to Egypt as a source of silver for the decoration of his palace. But Egypt did not produce silver. The document of 475 provides an explanation: it was processes such as the collection of customs dues that 'produced' the silver. So we must certainly accept that each year there was some physical flow of precious metal from Achaemenid provinces (primarily those in the west) to Susa, Persepolis, or Ecbatana.[131]

3. The map of coin hoards provides further testimony to the eastward flow of precious metal. Although we cannot know in what circumstances and by whom (merchants, landlords, soldiers, or administrative personnel) they were accumulated and lost, the many coins hoards from Egypt, southern Asia Minor, and Syria (especially northern Syria) map out the route to Babylonia and beyond.[132] Some of the northern Syrian hoards are extremely large: the Carchemish hoard (3,000 coins) and North of Aleppo hoard (10,000 coins) are notable examples.[133] The late Archaic and Classical Greek hoards from Mesopotamia, Iran, Bactria, and today's Afghanistan and Pakistan illustrate cash transfer from the west into the heartland of the Achaemenid Empire.

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[129] Stolper 1985: 64–6.

[130] Kuhrt 2007: 492 (11.13i § 11). See the perplexity of Kuhrt 2007: 708 n. 2.

[131] For communications within the Achaemenid empire, see Briant 2012a and Colburn 2013. TADAE A6.9 details the organization of the travel (delivery of rations) for a group of servants of the house of Aršāma on their way from Mesopotamia to Egypt through Damascus: Tuplin i 147–79, Henkelman ii 185-6, 199–201, 218–23.

[132] See Duyrat 2016: 316–25, 545–6, maps 4–5 (Syrian hoards with Athenian coins only, not including the Carchemish and North of Aleppo hoards, on which see immediately below).

[133] Carchemish hoard: Fischer-Bossert 2008b: 17 and n. 12, Duyrat 2016: 309. North of Aleppo Hoard: Buxton 2009, Duyrat 2016: 309.

Table 4.2.3. Coin hoards of the Archaic and Classical periods (up to 330) east of the Euphrates

Mesopotamia	
	Mesopotamia, 390–385, 23+ AR, 'with AR and objects'; *IGCH* 1747; Monerie 2018, 75–8.
	Warka (Uruk), 335–330, 4 + AR, *IGCH* 1748.
	Tigris, 250, 24+ AR, 'with immense quantities of ingots of silver' Jenkins; *IGCH* 1762.[1]
Iran	
	Persepolis, before 511 (Apadana deposit), 8 AU, 5 AR; *IGCH* 1789; *CH* IX 343; *CH* X 205.
	Malayer (Media), *c.*375, 394 + AR; *IGCH* 1790.
	Persia, 4th c.; 10+ AR; *IGCH* 1791.
Bactria	
	Kerki, 500, 33+ AR with *Hacksilber*; *CH* X 206.
	Balkh, *c.*390–380, 170 AR; *IGCH* 1820.
Afghanistan–Pakistan	
	Shaikhan Dehri, before 380? Bopearachchi 2017: 17–21, 14 kg in silver ingots and locally minted bars, with at least one early Attic tetradrachm.
	Cabul, *c.*380, 115 AR; *IGCH*, 1830.

[1] See in detail Jenkins 1964. The earliest coins are two octodrachms of King Getas in the Edoni, dated *c.*480–460, with Classical-period coins from Athens and other Greek cities, Lycia, and Phoenicia (Byblos, Sidon, Tyre). These coins were obviously accumulated in the Classical period. It is only in the final phase that coins of Alexander and the early Seleucid kings were added.

The number of hoards (a total of ten) is admittedly limited,[134] and the frequent presence of *Hacksilber* illustrates the fact that, east of the Euphrates, coins were treated as bullion, not properly as coins. But the contents of the hoards fit remarkably well with what we know of the typical composition of hoards in a given period: thus coins from Thrace and northern Greece predominate in the Kerki hoard and there is not a single Athenian coin, whereas later, for instance in the Malayer or Cabul hoards, Athenian coins are, as expected, well represented.[135] If the major 'importer' of coins east of the Euphrates was the Great King (by way of the tribute) and if (as Herodotus explains) all precious metal reaching Persian treasuries was systematically melted down and transformed into ingots, there is nothing surprising in not finding large quantities of Greek coins in the hoards of these regions.[136]

The problem remains, however, of how to get a fair approximation of the final accumulation in silver equivalent in the treasuries of the Achaemenid capitals. Thanks to the recent studies of price evolution in Mesopotamia, a province which was in the heartland of the empire, we can test the impact on the money supply of the three phases of de-hoarding and re-accumulation, and, on this basis, it is possible to provide a new conceptual framework: in place of the traditional approach (which sought to determine the proportion of the figures given in Herodotus that went to the central treasuries), the key question now becomes to determine the ratio between (a) accumulation by the central treasuries and (b) the total amount of precious metal entering the money supply of the Achaemenid empire, be it from looting in non-imperial territories, mine exploitation in Achaemenid territory, or trade (by way of customs duties or of net imports by traders of precious metal seen by them as profitable export goods).

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[134] See Meadows 2005: 187.

[135] Kagan 2009 for the Archaic hoards.

[136] Monerie 2018: 72 (with 74–8) is right to underscore that hoards certainly reveal very little of the large quantities of *Hacksilber* that were actually circulating in Mesopotamia. See also Tamerus 2016: 288–90 and Bopearachchi 2017, 15–24 for an analysis of the presence of small silver bent bars in Afghanistan and the northern and north-western part of the Indian subcontinent.

A New Approach to Achaemenid Hoarding

The starting point is the Achaemenid reserves in 336, before Alexander began hostilities. On the basis of Greek literary sources, Altheim and Stiehl calculated the amount seized in the various reserves of the Achaemenid kings between 334 and 331 to be 235,600 talents.[137] This figure includes most of what was seized by Alexander in the course of his campaign,[138] but we need to add the 800 talents seized in Egypt, which was not included in Altheim and Stiehl's calculation.[139] We thus reach a figure of 236,400 talents. The next step is to recognize that the war against the Macedonian invader entailed considerable expenditure, even if the king should probably have mobilized his financial and military reserves much more quickly. Of course, Alexander made speed of movement a major strategic tool precisely to prevent his opponent having time to mobilize his huge financial resources, a strategy that proved perfectly successful: if the crucial phase of the war had not been so short—just three and a half years (spring 334 to autumn 331)—the equation would have been quite different, and far less favourable to Alexander. But even in this short lapse of time, the Great King's expenditure must have been of a high magnitude.

Mobilization evidently began before 334: the first direct Macedonian threat was in 336, with Parmenion's campaign in western Asia Minor, and at that point it was already clear that Alexander represented an unprecedented threat to the Persian empire. Darius III then had to mobilize three immense armies, those that fought at Granicus, Issus, and Gaugamela.[140] He assembled a huge fleet of 400 ships.[141] He also subsidized his Greek allies, though, interestingly, with increasing difficulties when the connections with the Achaemenid centre were cut.[142] Admittedly, the cost was shared by people who were under Achaemenid control and had to provide both men and money: this was the case, among many others, for the kings of Cyprus or those of the Phoenician cities, who had to mobilize their fleets to fight in the Great King's interest. But the length of the mobilization and of the military operations was such that royal contributions were also unavoidable. It follows that the contents of Achaemenid treasuries, both at the centre of the empire and in the various satrapies, at the time at which Alexander captured them cannot correspond to the total reserves of the Empire in 336.

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[137] Altheim and Stiehl 1963: 120–4.

[138] Callataÿ 1989 has an amount of 180,000 talents for the amount of the Macedonian reserves stored at Ecbatana in 330 (this is the amount in Diod.17.80.3 and Strab.15.3.9, the total being 190,000 talents in Just.*Epit*.12.1.1).

[139] Curt.4.7.4, with Arr.*Anab*.3.1.1–2. See also below, p. 242, for the case of Egypt.

[140] Briant 2002: 817–42.

[141] Arr.*Anab*.1.18.5, with Briant 2002: 819–20.

The problem faced by the Persian empire was that its crucial central reserves were not in ready-to-use cash, but in the form of ingots. If we are to believe Herodotus (3.96.2), the gold and the silver collected by the empire was melted down and poured into ceramic vases. The earthenware was disposed of and the king could then break into pieces the precious metal as he wished. Evidently, at the approach of Alexander's army and in the new conditions where mercenary soldiers (the elite of the army) wanted payment in coins, large quantities of coins must have been minted at record speed at the time of the mobilization against Alexander. This explains why large quantities of coined precious metal were found in the treasure seized by Alexander at Damascus: 2,600 talents in coin and 500 in raw metal.[143] The same observation can be made for the treasure seized at Susa, for, if the descriptions from ancient authors vary, that of Diodorus seems the most precise and accurate: 40,000 talents in raw metal but also 9,000 talents in gold darics.[144] According to a well-established practice, Achaemenid satraps also minted silver coins to fund the war, as was the case for instance with Mithropastes, Orontobates, and Hydarnes at Sinope.[145]

A good case is provided by Egypt. The 800 talents seized in Egypt in 332 were evidently what was left from the money spent by the satrap Sabaces to mobilize the army with which he joined Darius at Issus in 333 and (after Sabaces' death there) by his successor Mazaces to defend Egypt, *inter alia* against the renegade Macedonian Amyntas.[146] The funds available before 333 must have been very considerably in excess of 800 talents. Sabaces minted coins in his own name, and so did Mazaces, although some of them might have been minted later, when he was in the service of Alexander in Babylon.[147]

How much was spent in the Achaemenid war effort that started in 336? Unfortunately, we can only guess. But, given the scale of the war, it seems quite possible that a total of some 30,000 talents was spent between 336 and 331. This estimate may seem arbitrarily high. But it can be validated by comparison with later military expenditure. For example, on the basis of the production of the Alexander coins following Alexander's conquest, Callataÿ has suggested that 200,000 talents were coined over a period of forty years, at an average of 5,000 talents per year.[148] In the specific context of the Macedonian threat, an expenditure by the Achaemenid authorities of the same order (6,000 talents per year for five years) seems perfectly reasonable.

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[142] Briant 2002: 826, 832

[143] Curt.3.13.16.

[144] Diod.17.66.1–2, Just.*Epit.*11.14.9, Plut.*Alex.*36.1, Arr.*Anab.*3.16.7, Curt.5.2.11.

[145] Briant 2002: 831. See Van Alfen 2011 and Bodzek 2014 on the coinages of the satraps.

[146] See n. 150 on the question of the accumulation of gold and silver in Achaemenid Egypt.

[147] Van Alfen 2011: 71–2.

To these (estimated) 30,000 talents we must add the sums that were left to Darius III or still to be found in the various satrapies not under Macedonian control at the end of 331. We know that in the spring or summer of 330 Darius III left Ecbatana in haste with 7,000 talents.[149] So at least 37,000 talents should be added to the initial 236,400 talents, giving a total of 273,400 talents, or (in round figures) approaching 275,000 talents. If what was accumulated in the various satrapies amounted to something like 20,000 talents,[150] this means that 93% of the empire's reserves were in its central treasuries. These figures, both as absolute numbers and proportions, should be taken for what they are, that is approximations. But we have every reason to believe that they can be trusted—which makes them crucially different from the ones in Herodotus.

Following Alexander's conquest, the brutal de-hoarding of the empire's reserves and subsequent minting of coins on a massive scale triggered the third bout of high inflation. The usual slope was towards the Levant and Egypt, where the price of precious metal was higher than in Greece, but after Alexander's conquest the flow temporarily reversed, and gold and silver migrated from east to west.[151] This explains why this period of inflation was not confined to

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[148] Callataÿ 1989.

[149] Arr.*Anab*.3.19.5.

[150] When Alexander reached Egypt, there were only 800 talents in the treasury (n. 139). In 323, after less than ten years ruling Egypt, Cleomenes of Naucratis had accumulated 8,000 talents (Diod.18.4.1; see Le Rider 1997). However, this happened at a time when inflation was already at a peak following the plundering of the Persian treasuries, with large quantities of precious metal arriving from the East. Between 333 and 300, there is an exceptional series of twenty large hoards in the country, thirteen silver only, five gold only and two mixed gold and silver (Duyrat 2005: 33–4, with map 3); by contrast in the very much longer period from *c*.500 to 333, we only have a total of thirty-one hoards (one gold only, thirty silver). Especially impressive is the Demanhur hoard (*IGCH* 1664, *CH* X 446) of *c*.318, with more than 8,000 coins, a majority of them Alexanders, of which a large majority (if eastern Asia Minor is included) was minted in the eastern Mediterranean (Duyrat 2005: 22–8). This leaves open the possibility than before the start of the war with Alexander there were only perhaps 3,000 talents in the satrapal reserve in Egypt. In western Asia Minor, where *sigloi* and darics were minted in large numbers, there must have been a significant accumulation of coined metal at Sardis and Dascylium. Babylon certainly also had a significant reserve of several thousand talents. 20,000 talents is a reasonable but nonetheless very rough estimate for the amount of silver accumulated in all of the satrapal treasuries. In any case, it was certainly not in the best interest of the Great King to leave large quantities of metal in the satrapal capitals. If the estimate is correct, the total represents less than one tenth of the central reserves.

[151] Bresson 2016: 263, 347, Duyrat 2016: 442–8.

Mesopotamia and the eastern parts of the former Achaemenid empire but affected both West (Greece) and East.[152]

On the basis of hoard evidence and a number of die studies, Callataÿ has proposed that between 150,000 and 250,000 talents of Macedonian gold and silver coinage was produced over the period of forty years between 330 and 290, an average of 5,000 talents per year if the total was 200,000. (This total includes the production of the mines over the same period but, following the massive expenditure of Alexander and his successors, this must have been very negatively impacted by the low prices of precious metals.[153]) A figure of this sort perfectly justifies the high inflation of the early Hellenistic period. If the amount produced was in fact 200,000 (with all the uncertainty previously mentioned), the difference between that figure and the estimated 275,000 talents in the Achaemenid central treasuries in 336 can easily be explained by the coinage struck and circulated to pay the army before the empire's final collapse and by subsequent re-hoarding in the form of vessels and other precious metal objects both by individuals and sanctuaries. In other words, we have no reason to doubt the existence of an enormous accumulation of precious metal by the Achaemenid kingdom.

Having reached this conclusion, we face two possible scenarios: either the final amount corresponds to what was initially plundered by Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius and then remained static over two centuries; or, starting from a certain level of accumulation corresponding to the plundering of capital cities and treasuries by the first Achaemenids, over time, from the reigns of the first two Achaemenid kings (not necessarily only starting with Darius I) to 336, the total amount increased more or less regularly. The first scenario is totally unrealistic, if only because in the reign of Cyrus and Cambyses the large outburst of silver and gold production of the end of the sixth and early fifth century was still to come.[154] So it can safely be assumed that the extraordinarily high level of Achaemenid accumulation originated in money supply coming from the West, which saw a peak (with ups and down) from the end of the sixth century to the 430s. Although the actual figures proposed by Herodotus are absurdly high, the scenario of an increase in the reserves by way of the tribute in precious metal remains valid.

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[152] For Greece, Bresson 2016: 327–28, 423.

[153] Even if this is not the only reason, it is remarkable that production at Laurion obviously collapsed in this period. If not an absolute proof, a hint at this is provided by the decline in number, and then disappearance, of inscriptions recording mine leases in Athens at the end of the fourth and the turn of the fourth–third century: see Hopper 1953: 216. In the third century, in a period of comparatively small production, at least some coin series were not minted using metal from Laurion but from other sources: see the analysis performed on the *quadrigité* tetradrachms in Nicolet-Pierre and Kroll 1990: 32–5. (The chronology of this series is disputed: see Flament 2010, Flament 2013, Kroll 2013. Nicolet-Pierre and Kroll 1990 and Kroll 2013 favour a date in the post-Chremonidean War period, starting *c.*285, when, according to Plut.*Mor*.851E, Athens received a total a 200 talents of silver from various kings.)

[154] See below, p. 246.

Tribute and Money Supply

The impact of tribute on the money supply is impossible to deny: given that the massive de-hoarding following Alexander's conquest provoked a massive inflation, it is clear that, if a significant part of this accumulation had been progressively recirculated at an earlier date, the evolution of prices would have been significantly different. But, of course, as Herodotus himself acknowledges, we should not imagine that when precious metal entered Achaemenid treasuries (especially the central ones) it never came out again. The question is that of the average balance.

On the basis of a two-hundred-year accumulation of reserves in the central treasuries of 275,000 talents in 336, and assuming that the Achaemenids started from a basis of 20,000 talents inherited from the Medes and 25,000 talents plundered at Sardis and Babylon, this means that *c.*230,000 talents were accumulated over *c.*200 years. That is an average yearly positive balance of 1,150 talents, which was quite sufficient to create the gigantic accumulation that we eventually observe in 336. If the estimate of 2,500 talents for the value of yearly production of gold and silver between the Aegean and Bactria is correct, this means that 46% (almost one-half) of the gold and silver produced inside and outside the empire ended up in the central Achaemenid treasuries. Given that the Great King frequently used his own resources for various purposes (e.g. prestige building or war), the yearly input of precious metal into the treasuries of the Empire must have been at least of the order of 1,500–2000 talents. Of course, as observed above, these figures only reflect what was transferred to satrapal or imperial capitals, while other imperial levies, direct or indirect, in cash, in labour, or in kind, were re-used locally.[155]

This estimate of the annual positive balance in the central treasuries may seem not very far from the 1,215 talents calculated by Altheim and Stiehl for 189 years.[156] However for them this figure represents the amount of tribute that made it to the centre, whereas the 1,150 talents in question here represent the balance between the inflows and outflows of the Achaemenid treasuries. Moreover, their estimate that $^1/_{19}$ of tribute income (as recorded by Herodotus) was stored in central treasuries was actually flawed, first because (as we have seen) Herodotus' figures do not make sense, and second because they wrongly differentiated between the Euboic and the Solonian-Attic talent and therefore supposed Herodotus' figures to imply that the tribute amounted to 24,266.7 Attic talents.

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[155] Klinkott 2007b: 273–4 identifies the *phoros* with the surplus of all the taxes and sources of revenue that were not re-invested into the local economy.

[156] Altheim and Stiehl 1963: 134–5.

Intermittent episodes of massive de-hoarding and the regular withdrawal of money from circulation because of tributary payments are not, however, sufficient factors to explain the evolution of the money supply in Mesopotamia, measured by price trends and the value of precious metals. Price evolution in Mesopotamia was the result of three main factors: (a) first and foremost, trends in the production of precious metal during the period, (b) phases in hoarding or de-hoarding by the state or individuals (although the latter remains totally unknown to us), and, finally, (c) political events that had an impact on the continuity of the flow of silver from the west.

As for the first factor, the curve of silver-mining production can be established by new research on lead concentration from Greenland ice cores.[157] The authors of this new study concentrate on the Spanish mines and Phoenician Mediterranean expansion as an explanation for the increase in lead emissions starting after 1000, and they show convincingly that the various phases of expansion starting in the second half of the fourth century are linked to the Carthaginian and Roman exploitation of the Spanish silver mines. But they also acknowledge in passing the role of northern Mediterranean mines and, in fact, these mines (that is those of western Asia Minor, Thrace and northern Greece, and the Laurion) must be the major factor in the evolution of the emission curve from the eighth century onward (which does not mean that before that their role was negligible). The curve shows a peak of production in the mid-seventh century, and, despite a period of low production at the end of that century (reflecting disruption provoked by the fall of the Assyrian empire in 612?), indicates that that high level of production was maintained until the first quarter of the sixth century. This is followed by a period of low and decreasing levels of production until the 540s, which see the start of a new and intense expansion culminating in the first two decades of the fifth century. Then, despite a marked but short period of recovery after 450, the trend is one of progressive decline until roughly the 330s, when the Spanish mines begin their phase of expansion.

The high prices that were apparently maintained in Mesopotamia in the second half of the fifth century (though our information about this is unfortunately very poor) can be correlated with new massive imports of precious metal coming from the West, now mainly in the form of Athenian tetradrachms, a development that reflects both expansion of production at the Laurion and an initial period of peace and renewed contacts between the two worlds after 449. The deflationary trend of the fourth century is the result of a complex process in which declining levels of metal production, political factors (a complex sequence of war and peace), and the burden of tribute each played a role. So far as tribute is concerned, it may be suggested that in periods of massive precious metal imports its impact was negligible. But when the trend of precious metal production reversed and imports weakened, as was the case in the fourth century, the failure to re-inject some of the accumulated precious metal into the economy and the continuous drain of precious metal because of tribute payments accentuated the process of deflation. It was not the yearly amount of the tribute *per se* that was problematic. It was the fact that probably the larger part of it was regularly, and definitively, withdrawn from circulation.

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[157] McConnell *et al.* 2018.

The second factor, the three phases of de-hoarding linked to invasions and the plundering of the reserves of former empires, has already been discussed.

The third and final factor is that injection of new silver into the system by way of imports from the West (Greece mainly) might vary in detail because of the impact of political events. Decreasing prices in the early fifth century might well correspond to the Ionian revolt (499–493), the troubles linked to the subsequent campaigns against Greece (492, 490), and finally the revolts in Egypt (487–486) and Babylon (484): all of these were episodes that must in various ways have had a negative impact on the flow of precious metal coming from the West.[158]

The consequences were clearly felt. In the fourth century, interest rates in Mesopotamia rose to 40%, whereas they were around 20% at the end of the sixth century.[159] It is hard to imagine that this was a favourable environment for the economy.[160] The Achaemenid policy of hoarding precious metals, which aimed at maintaining a huge, and ever greater, financial imbalance between the king and his potential rivals, was obviously blind to these possible financial and economic consequences.[161] There was, however, one good side to this policy.

The usual slope of precious metal was towards the Levant and Egypt, where the price was higher than in Greece. By contrast, the reason why the coastal regions of western Asia Minor did not import coins from Athens in the fifth and fourth century was that in this region, given the circulation of Achaemenid and other coinages based on the production of local mines, there was no profit to make from importing coins from Greece. It is thus clear that the prices of precious metals not only were not the same as between Aegean Greece and the eastern Mediterranean but also as between different regions within Achaemenid empire. In not importing silver from the western Aegean and not exporting its *sigloi* to the east (or only doing so in negligible quantities), western Asia Minor was midway between the low prices of the western Aegean on the one hand and the high prices of Egypt and the Levant on the other.[162] As for tribute proper, against the background of the absence of mines in Egypt (at least for silver), the Levant, and Mesopotamia, the accumulation of precious metals in

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[158] Egypt: Briant 2002: 525. Babylon: Waerzeggers 2003–4.

[159] Jursa 2010: 752, Monerie 2018: 67.

[160] *Pace* Monerie 2018: 78–9 on this point.

[161] For the logic of this policy, see Bresson 2016: 266–7.

[162] For Asia Minor, with its lack of imports of Athenian owls and its minimal exports of *sigloi* towards the eastern Mediterranean, see Konuk 2011.

Achaemenid treasuries maintained an artificially high price for gold and silver in these regions as compared with mainland Greece. The result was that, while precious metal was certainly withdrawn from circulation and sterilized in the Achaemenid treasuries, this drain amplified the flow of precious metal entering from the west by increasing the incentive for Greek merchants to take an arbitrage position and to bring precious metal to these regions.

This was probably an unintended consequence of Achaemenid policy. But the result was for a long time very favourable, as it triggered a limitless expansion of Persian imperial resources. One result was that Darius II could easily fund the Spartan war effort in the late fifth century. This provoked the collapse of Athens and her Empire in 404, an exceptional success. The paradox was that the mass of Athenian silver that reached the empire in the previous decades, and especially between 449 and the 410s, in the end turned against Athens. In other words, it was probably in large part with silver from the Laurion mines that the Achaemenids were able to fund the fleet and armies that finally defeated Athens. Alexander understood this situation and the financial imbalance between himself and the Achaemenids, and that is why he decided to knock out the kingdom of Darius III quickly, before it could fully mobilize its cash reserves.

CONCLUSION

In order to make any new progress in investigating Achaemenid tribute it is necessary to put Herodotus (or at least a literal reading of Herodotus) decisively to one side. New results about *longue durée* price evolution in Mesopotamia provide an invaluable resource because they allow us to identify phases of inflation (in the second half of the sixth century) and deflation (in the fourth century). But to make sense of these phenomena, it is also necessary to move beyond Mesopotamia and take account of financial processes in the Achaemenid empire as a whole. In fact, it is necessary to go even further: it should now be clear that one must conceptually integrate the financial history of the Greek world (and even beyond, since some Spanish silver traded by the Phoenicians also reached the Levant) and that of the Persian empire. Despite their deep structural differences (a point that obviously will have to be re-examined in detail), in economic terms the fates of the two worlds were much more intermingled that has hitherto been envisaged. It is impossible to make sense of the evolution of prices in Mesopotamia if one neglects developments taking place in the mines of northern Greece or the Laurion or evidence about the flow of precious metals from the Aegean, such as the custom document of 475 or the large hoards of silver coinage that map the route toward Iran and beyond. A new common history of the worlds of the Mediterranean and of western Asia is still waiting to be written.

4.3

Aršāma, Egyptian Trade, and the Peloponnesian War

John O. Hyland

Aršāma's letters highlight his cultivation of private wealth, but by their nature do not directly address the satrap's role as guarantor of imperial income in one of Persia's most lucrative provinces. One of these revenue streams was overseas trade, presented by the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica* as a pillar of satrapal economies.[1] Networks of maritime exchange linked Egypt to other regions of the Mediterranean, generating wealth for the Great King's treasuries through customs collection. Despite the dossier's silence on this topic, it is likely that maintenance of the tolls on overseas trade ranked among Aršāma's more significant responsibilities. This duty was complicated by Egypt's economic entanglement with Athens–its chief source of silver, but also Persia's principal opponent in multiple conflicts on the Mediterranean frontier.

Despite Egypt's contribution to Xerxes' invasion of Greece, and Athens' doomed expedition on behalf of Inaros' rebellion, Egyptian–Athenian trade revived and flourished in the age of Aršāma, allowing the Persian authorities to benefit from taxation of commerce with their former foes. But Persia's intervention in the Peloponnesian War from 412 to 404 imperilled their complex three-way relationship, as Spartan fleets, maintained by Persian funds, threatened the merchantmen that plied their trade between Athens and Aršāma's satrapy.

A few scholars have noticed the likelihood of the Peloponnesian War's impact on Egypt, but, because of the scarcity of sources, none have explored the issue in detail.[2] Yet the Aramaic documentary testimony—above all the Customs Account from Elephantine, as well as the Aršāma letters—permits further contextualization of the few Greek references to the war's Egyptian dimensions. This chapter attempts to tease out some of the implications, and proposes that the renewal of Achaemenid hostility to Athens brought unintended and detrimental consequences for Persian Egypt, forcing a shift in its patterns of overseas trade shortly before the collapse of Achaemenid authority at the end of the century.

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[1] Ps.-Arist. *Oec.*2.1.4. On imperial income and overseas trade see also Bresson iii 209–48.

[2] Bresson 2005a: 140–1, Möller 2005: 185, Ruzicka 2012: 36–7.

EGYPT'S TRADE WITH GREECE AND THE ELEPHANTINE CUSTOMS ACCOUNT

The roots of Graeco-Egyptian trade preceded the Achaemenid empire, stretching back to the Saite period and beyond.[3] It is unlikely that the initial Persian conquest impeded it for long. Herodotus implies that Naucratis, the Ionian *emporion* in the western Delta, lost its pre-Persian monopoly on Greek mercantile activity inside Egypt, which now spread to other sites including Memphis.[4] Shipping lanes connected the land of the Nile with numerous Aegean ports and this traffic continued, despite Egyptian revolts and Persian–Greek warfare in the first half of the fifth century.[5]

Contrary to older theories of a fifth-century Ionian malaise based on the absence of new monumental building, recent scholarship has demonstrated the continuation of vibrant economic exchange across the eastern Aegean, and it is likely that Egypt maintained close connections with Ionian trade networks in the period of the Athenian *archē*.[6] The regularity of such contacts is nicely illustrated by a decree from Rhodian Lindos, probably dating to the third quarter of the century, which honours a Greek residing in Egypt, probably at Naucratis, and rewards his benefactions towards the Lindians with an exemption from export and import duties, both in war and in peacetime.[7] The Asyut coin hoard, probably dating between 475 and 460, contains a diverse array of north and east Aegean issues, and the Zagazig hoard from one or two decades later includes coins of Chios, Samos, and Rhodian Camirus, among others.[8] Yet Attic tetradrachms predominate in both collections, and Athens' vast increase in mid-century minting as well as its expanding Aegean hegemony helped it to become Egypt's pre-eminent Greek trade partner.[9] It may have begun to exert an aggressive economic magnetism, drawing Egyptian shipping away from other ports and into the expanding harbours of the Piraeus; this explanation has been proposed for an apparent decrease in the number of merchant voyages from Egypt and Libya to Crete.[10] Piraeus housed a community of Egyptian expatriates by century's end and cults of Ammon and Isis attested there in the fourth century may have roots in this period as well.[11] The Athenian comic poet Hermippus mentions Egyptian 'rigged sails and papyrus' among the commodities available in Piraeus' markets, and the anonymous pamphleteer known as the Old Oligarch includes Egypt in a list of distant regions whose goods flowed in on account of Athens' naval power.[12] In addition to papyrus, the Athenians had a particular, if not exclusive, interest in Egyptian grain (which Black Sea exporters supplied in greater quantities), and probably sought a variety of other exotic goods including ivory.[13] In return, Egypt received wine and oil as well as Attic silver, prized on account of the absence of local Egyptian sources.[14]

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[3] Roebuck 1950, Lloyd 1975–88: 1.30–2, Salmon 1981, Miller 1997: 64, Möller 2000, Smoláriková 2002, Moreno 2007: 323, Bissa 2009: 163–5, Pfeiffer 2010.

[4] Hdt.2.179, cf. Carrez-Maratray 2000, Möller 2000: 123–4, Bresson 2005a: 139, Pfeiffer 2010:18. Smoláriková 2002: 30, argues that a temporary decline in Attic pottery at Naucratis *c.*525–500 was a consequence of the Persian conquest, but notes its recovery at the start of the fifth century (despite the Ionian and Egyptian revolts and the Persian–Greek wars). For Memphis's role in overseas trade, see Lloyd 1975–88: 1.31, Briant 2002: 385, Cottier 2012: 59.

[5] Cottier 2012: 60.

[6] For maritime trade and the fifth-century Ionian economy, see Kallet-Marx 1993: 139–43, Osborne 1999, Carlson 2013, Lawall 2013.

[7] *Lindos* II 16 App. (Blinkenberg 1941). See Bresson 1980, Bresson 1991, Möller 2000: 190, Bresson 2005a: 135–6, 140, Möller 2005: 185, 188–9, Pébarthe 2005: 158–70.

[8] Flament 2007a, 165–7, 209–10.

Greek texts are silent on the meaning of Athenian–Egyptian trade for Egypt's Persian masters, but a celebrated Aramaic document can contextualize its importance. The Elephantine Customs Account, discovered on a papyrus palimpsest and published by Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni in 1993, details the procedures for Persian toll collections in Egypt.[15] The record dates to an unnamed ruler's eleventh year, either 475 (Xerxes) or 454 (Artaxerxes I).[16] Despite its find location at Elephantine, it originated at a customs station in Lower Egypt, almost certainly a Delta port where seagoing traffic could be subject to the most effective oversight. Recent finds have confirmed Thonis at the Canopic mouth as the tolling station of Egypt's early fourth-century monarchs, making this site the best candidate for the Persian customs centre as well.[17]

The Customs Account lists fees collected from thirty-six 'Ionian' and six Phoenician ships within a single year. Multiple duties from incoming and outgoing ships flowed into a royal treasury, referred to as the 'house of the king' (*byt mlkʾ*). This income included three principal types of levies: a fixed-rate toll (*mndh*), referred to by the same word used for some of Aršāma's Egyptian rents, the Akkadian version of which translates as 'tribute';[18] a tithe of the entire cargo, applied instead of the *mndh* tax to certain types of larger vessels; and an additional, fixed sum called the 'silver of the men' (*ksp gbryʾ*) charged on the larger Ionian ships, on top of the *mndh* and tithes.[19] The outgoing ships pay taxes on only one commodity, natron, although non-extant documents might have recorded additional revenues connected to the shipment of other products such as grain or papyrus.[20] Despite the limitation of the export records, we can see that overall income totals were substantial, including large amounts of timber, wool, clay, iron, tin, wine, oil, and precious metals. A sample of revenues collected from inbound ships gives a sense of scale: 919½ jugs of wine, 195 jars of oil, 5,100 *karsh* of iron, almost 400 gold staters, thirty-three *karsh* of unworked gold, and more than 1,100 *karsh* of silver (about thirty Babylonian or thirty-six Attic talents).[21] The silver alone was comparable to the totals Athens collected from a two per cent toll on Piraeus shipping a few years after the end of the Peloponnesian War.[22]

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[9] Van Alfen 2002: 181–8, Flament 2007a: 197–214, Van Alfen 2004/5a: 13, Van Alfen 2011: 59–66. On the unprecedented scale of Athens' maritime trade, see Kron 2016.

[10] Erickson 2005: 651–5, Erickson 2013: 74–80. Piraeus' growth as a commercial harbour is traditionally dated to the middle of the century, but Gill 2006: 14–15 places the relevant Hippodamian improvements in the 430s.

[11] See Miller 1997: 83–4, Möller 2000: 189, Garland 2001: 134.

[12] Hermipp.fr.63 K.-A., Ps.-Xen.*Ath.Pol.*2.7.

[13] Lloyd 1975–88: 1.30–2, Salmon 1981: 221–30, Miller 1997: 64, Möller 2000: 210–12, Moreno 2007: 323, Van Alfen 2012: 17.

[14] Kraay and Moorey 1968: 228, Briant and Descat 1998: 77–8, Figueira 1998: 31–5, Möller 2000: 208–9, Ogden 2000: 170–1, Van Alfen 2002: 182–5, Van Alfen 2004/5a: 29, Kroll 2009: 204–5, Van Alfen 2012: 20.

[15] C3.7. See Briant and Descat 1998, Cottier 2012, Bresson iii 214–20, Vittmann iii 267–8.

[16] Briant and Descat 1998: 61–2, Cottier 2012: 53.

[17] Briant and Descat 1998: 91–2, Goddio and Clauss 2006: 312, Pfeiffer 2010: 19, Cottier 2012: 59.

The account does not testify explicitly to contact with Athens (the term 'Ionian' designates Greeks or perhaps even coastal Anatolians in a generic sense, and suggested connections with Rhodes or Phaselis remain somewhat speculative).[23] This is hardly surprising, since either date would place the Customs Account before mid-century. But it is safe to assume that the same procedures continued throughout the period of increased Egyptian–Athenian trade in the following decades, since Nectanebo I employed similar tolls even after the Persians' expulsion at the end of the century.[24] The end of Persian–Athenian combat and the consequent expansion of Athens' Mediterranean economy, then, should have led to corresponding increases in Aršāma's Egyptian toll revenues.

One might challenge this hypothesis by connecting Egyptian–Athenian trade with the persistence of semi-autonomous rulers in the western Delta after Inaros' revolt, and situating it in a milieu of resistance to Achaemenid authority. Astrid Möller, for example, has doubted Persian effectiveness in controlling Naucratis by the later fifth century.[25] But even in situations of reduced territorial control, it seems unlikely that the Persians would willingly surrender their customs posts. Both possible dates for the Customs Account illustrate a tolling infrastructure maintained (or restored) in the aftermath of rebellion—if placed in 475, it would record collections less than a decade after the rebellion against Xerxes, and if in 454, either three years after, or directly contemporary with, Inaros' suppression.[26] In the latter case, the Phoenician fleet might have re-established control over the river mouths, facilitating the resumption of tolling at Thonis, even if rebels still held scattered bases in the interior of the Delta.[27]

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[18] See A6.13:3(2) n.

[19] Lipinski 1994: 63, Yardeni 1994: 70–2, Briant and Descat 1998: 73–9, Briant 2002: 385, Kuhrt 2007: 700–3, Tal 2009: 1, Pfeiffer 2010: 18, Cottier 2012: 55–8, Carlson 2013: 18–19.

[20] The proposal that other exported goods were not taxed (Cottier 2012: 58) is based on their absence from the Customs Account. Alternatively, it is possible that taxes on certain commodities of unique importance such as Egyptian grain required separate documentation.

[21] C3.7 GV2: 1–10.

[22] Andoc.1.133–4; cf. Kron 2016: 357–8.

[23] Lipinski 1994: 66–7, Briant and Descat 1998: 63, Bresson iii 215.

[24] Briant and Descat 1998: 88–90; cf. Möller 2000: 207–8, Pfeiffer 2010: 19–20. Tolls on imports and exports at Alexandria remained a major source of revenue for the Ptolemaic and Roman regimes (Cottier 2010: 141–2), as did customs collection on Red Sea trade at Heroonpolis (Collins 2012: 240–2).

This helps to contextualize a famous incident of Egyptian–Athenian interaction, the donation of 30,000 or 40,000 *medimnoi* of grain to the Athenian demos by an obscure King Psammetichus (Psamtek) in 445/4.[28] Given his Saite royal name, some scholars have characterized his gift as a bid for renewed Athenian support against Persia.[29] Yet it is unclear how a hostile Psammetichus would have arranged such a large shipment without the danger of Persian interference. One of the scholia citing Philochorus for this episode describes him as a Libyan, implying a base in the western Delta, and therefore making the Canopic branch the most likely route for the grain ships' travel to the sea. The size of the cargo indicates the need for convoy transportation—even at the 125-ton capacity of the following century's grain ships, Psammetichus' gift would have required eight to twelve vessels, and transport on smaller vessels such as those attested in the Customs Account would have entailed many more.[30] It is doubtful that so many ships could have smuggled the grain past the Persian toll station at Thonis, and more plausible that the Persians permitted Psammetichus' activity, just as they allowed Thannyras, son of Inaros, and Pausiris, son of Amyrtaeus, to rule parts of the Delta after their fathers' suppression.[31] It was unnecessary to impede the shipment, which was likely to encourage further (taxable) interaction with a grateful Athens, especially if the king had agreed to a state of peace with Athens around 449.[32] Herodotus reports Persia's taxation of Egyptian grain to support the Memphis garrison, and the application of fees to outbound grain cargoes offered one plausible means of collection.[33]

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[25] Möller 2000: 191; cf. Kienitz 1953: 73, Hornblower 2008: 851, Ruzicka 2012: 36.

[26] The revolt against Xerxes ended in 484 (Hdt.7.5.1): see Rottpeter 2007: 14–16. The end of Inaros' revolt is usually placed in 455/4, but Kahn 2008: 429–30 argues for a higher date of 458/7.

[27] Note the destruction of an Athenian squadron at the Mendesian mouth sometime after the capture of Prosopitis (Thuc.1.110.4); cf. Briant 2002: 576.

[28] Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 119, Plut.*Per*.37.4. Philochorus' 30,000 *medimnoi* would equal more than 50,000 Persian *artabas*, 1.5 million litres, or 1,080 tons, although the scholion preserving the passage points out a computational error in Philochorus' claim that this provided five *medimnoi* each for 14,240 individuals. Plutarch increases the total to 40,000 *medimnoi* (1,440 tons), without resolving the problem in Philochorus' mathematics. See Garnsey 1988: 125–7, Stadter 1989: 337.

[29] Kienitz 1953: 73, Eddy 1973: 248, Ehrhardt 1990: 190, cf. Ruzicka 2012: 243 n. 3. The name had been used by the leader of the rebellion against Xerxes, appears as Inaros' patronymic, and may have been taken as a throne name at the end of the fifth century by Amyrtaeus (Ruzicka 2012: 38–39) or one of his rivals (Ray 1987: 80).

[30] One might compare the Cypriote grain convoy at Andoc.2.21, including an initial group of fourteen ships and a second, unquantified group following shortly behind. For the capacities of fourth-century cargo ships, see Casson 1995: 183–4. Briant and Descat 1998: 68 estimate the average cargo of the Customs Account ships as forty tons for smaller and sixty for larger vessels; cf. Carlson 2013: 18–19, comparing the ships in the Customs Account with the mid fifth-century Tektaş Burnu wreck.

In the following decades, it is likely that Aršāma paid due attention to Egypt's Athenian trade as a regular source of profit for the satrapal treasury and so for the king.[34] The satrap's correspondence with Nakhtḥor illustrates a fierce concern for the protection and augmentation of personal wealth, and outrage at his steward for falling behind in this regard.[35] One would expect this zeal to be matched by equal or greater diligence in the collection of royal revenues, the decline of which would be fraught with political danger. Darius II might have come to power with Aršāma's assistance, but he showed an early fondness for purging princes and Thucydides reports his application of financial pressure to Aršāma's colleague Tissaphernes at Sardis.[36] The continuation of maritime customs income would have helped Aršāma to demonstrate his diligence in royal service.

Finally, it is not impossible that Aršāma, or some of his subordinates, acquired additional stakes in overseas trade by investing in Egyptian merchant voyages. Individuals with Iranian names appear in several relevant documents—one Spantadata traffics grain with Egyptian partners in an early fifth-century letter, and a Spitaka captains an Ionian ship in the Customs Account.[37] Private attachments could only have increased the satrap's interest in the health of Egyptian–Athenian exchange.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR AND EGYPTIAN–ATHENIAN TRADE

The outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 did not immediately curtail Egyptian–Athenian trade, which may have contributed to the spread of the plague between Egypt and Piraeus in 430.[38] Sparta encouraged allies to attack Athenian shipping along the south-west coast of Anatolia, but was unable to send a fleet to contest control of the region, and Athens' retention of Rhodes and other island bases would have helped to offset the effects of small-scale piracy.[39] In 424, the Athenian seizure of Cythera off the Laconian coast permitted the redirection of additional Libyan and Egyptian shipping from the southern Peloponnese to Piraeus.[40]

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[31] Hdt.3.15.3; see Lloyd 1975–88: 1.49, Tuplin 2018a: 102–3. For Psammetichus' identification with Thannyras or another son of Inaros, see Meiggs 1972: 268–9, Stadter 1989: 336.

[32] Meiggs 1972: 269, for further discussion of Achaemenid perspectives on the Peace of Callias, see Briant 2002: 580–2, Cawkwell 2005: 140–1, Hyland 2018: 16–34.

[33] Hdt. 3.91.3, cf. Ruzicka 2012: 33–4.

[34] See Cottier 2012: 58, taking import patterns attested in the Customs Account as possible evidence 'that the type of commodities imported also responded to a demand from the Persian authority in Egypt'.

[35] A6.8, A6.10, A6.15.

[36] Thuc.8.5.5.

[37] A3.10, C3.7 KV2:16 (cf. Briant and Descat 1998: 65). One might compare the case of a man named Darius, a century later, who lost money on a maritime loan to agents of Cleomenes of Naucratis involved in the Athenian trade (Ps.-Dem.56, with the name preserved in a scholion by Libanius: see Cohen 1997: 165–6, Bers 2003: 92–4). On Persian entrepreneurial activity see Ma iii 189–208.

The true threat materialized after Athens' Sicilian disaster in 413, which permitted Sparta to launch a direct challenge to Athens' Aegean naval dominance, and coaxed the Persians into involvement. In the winter of 413/12, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus offered to subsidize the Peloponnesian fleets in the name of Darius II, and starting in the fall of 412, Tissaphernes provided wages to his new allies at Miletus. The diplomatic quarrels and funding shortfalls that followed are better reserved for separate discussion, but it is important to note that Sparta's early strategy for defeating Athens included interference with its economic resources, as indicated in the first treaty draft between the Spartans and Tissaphernes:

> Whatever came in to the Athenians from these [Ionian] cities, either money or any other thing, the king and the Spartans and their allies shall jointly hinder the Athenians from receiving either money or any other thing.[41]

Eventually, Spartan navarchs would focus on cutting Athens' Black Sea grain route at the Hellespont, but their initial concentration between Miletus and Rhodes may have aimed at a similar purpose in relation to the Egyptian trade, with negative implications for ship owners and toll collectors seeking profit in that endeavour.[42]

Darius II issued no sanction against trade between Athens and Persia's Mediterranean possessions, but Persian officials lacked direct command or oversight of the empire's Peloponnesian allies. Civilian voyages through the war zone risked seizure or destruction, regardless of the vessels' origin in Achaemenid ports.[43] Thucydides illustrates the problem in the account of a naval skirmish off the Carian Chersonese in December 412. The Spartan commander at Miletus, reinforced by twelve new triremes, ordered their captains 'to leave half their squadron to guard Cnidus, and with the rest to cruise around Triopium and seize all the merchant ships arriving from Egypt'.[44] Dorieus of Rhodes, the most prominent officer with the squadron, was a natural choice for the assignment, presumably familiar with the frequency of Egyptian traffic in his home waters.[45]

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[38] Thuc.2.48.1.

[39] Thuc.2.69.1.

[40] Thuc.4.53–4. Cythera stayed in Athenian hands until 413 (7.57.6).

[41] Thuc.8.18.1.

[42] Hornblower 2008: 851.

[43] For the continuation of wartime trade between Greek combatants, see MacDonald 1982. It is also worth noting Xerxes' alleged refusal to disrupt grain shipments from the Black Sea to the Peloponnese on the eve of his Greek invasion (Hdt.7.147.2–3).

[44] Thuc.8.35.2.

The passage implies that Sparta anticipated the travel of valuable cargoes from Egypt to Athens or its Aegean fleet, despite the time of year.[46] Although winter storms encouraged a cautious approach to the ancient sailing calendar, the Customs Account shows at least six ships inbound and four ships outbound, including several en route to Ionia, in the month of Mesore (November/December).[47] If the cargo was valuable enough, bolder merchants were not to be deterred by weather alone, and might have expected higher profits from Athenian buyers made desperate by wartime. Andrewes proposed that the season implies a special convoy, comparing a naval arms shipment intercepted in the Rhodian War of 396/5, and most scholars have assumed that Athens sought Egyptian grain to replace agricultural losses inflicted by the Spartan garrison at Decelea.[48]

The Athenians responded aggressively to the effort to cut off the shipping lane, dispatching a force from Samos that captured six of the enemy triremes, while failing to take Cnidus by storm. It is unclear whether Dorieus' ships succeeded in taking any prizes on this occasion, but Thucydides' subsequent silence does not imply that threats to the trade route subsided.[49] The next month, in January 411, the entire Peloponnesian fleet sailed to Rhodes, a key port-of-call on the Athens–Egypt trade route, and brought the island into the anti-Athenian coalition. An eighty-day sojourn there almost certainly offered further opportunities for interference with passing vessels.[50] The heightened danger of Spartan naval attack was likely to discourage merchants and reduce the overall volume of trade, even if contact did not cease entirely.[51] One might compare an anecdote preserved by Andocides, recording the temporary halt of a grain convoy in Cyprus, requiring covert negotiations before it resumed its course for Piraeus. Although this particular case ended happily for the Athenians, it is doubtful that all such blockages found similar resolutions.[52] Egyptian ship-owners were likely to share the worries of their Cypriote counterparts about running the south Aegean gauntlet.

The Spartan acquisition of Rhodes had dire implications for Persian toll collectors in Egypt. Any serious decline in Athenian maritime traffic would have resulted in lower customs income, and individual ships lost to Spartan interdiction, even if already taxed on their outward journey, would have been unable to complete return voyages that might have brought in new cargoes and corresponding duties. Neither ship owners nor satrapal officials were likely to receive reimbursement under such circumstances. Despite this negative impact on his province's income, Aršāma had no role in the Persian–Spartan negotiations, and went unrepresented, in contrast with the Anatolian satraps, in the formal treaty of alliance concluded in the spring of 411.[53] By early summer, as a royal fleet of 147 triremes sailed from Phoenicia towards the Aegean, Persian officials in Egypt could expect the disruption of customs revenue to worsen. Neither an extension of the war nor Athens' decisive defeat, the predicted outcome of the Persian ships' arrival, stood to Aršāma's benefit. As it turned out, the war did not end in 411, as the Phoenician ships stopped at Aspendos and returned home at the end of the summer, causing the Spartans to accuse Tissaphernes of sabotage and transfer their operations to the Hellespont.[54] But despite the fleets' movement away from southern Aegean waters, Rhodes remained firmly in the Spartan camp, posing a continuing danger to Egyptian–Athenian trade throughout the subsequent years of conflict.

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[45] Thuc.8.35.1, cf. Xen.*Hell.*1.5.19.

[46] For the fleet as destination (as opposed to Piraeus), see Ruzicka 2012: 243 n. 3.

[47] Lipinski 1994: 66, Moreno 2007: 341.

[48] Andrewes, Dover, and Gomme 1981: 78, Erickson 2005: 650, Moreno 2007: 341, Hornblower 2008: 851, Ruzicka 2012: 243 n. 3.

[49] Thuc.8.35.3.

[50] Thuc.8.44.

[51] Garland 2001: 41, Erickson 2005: 655, Scheidel 2011, 24–29.

[52] Andoc. 2.20–21, cf. Moreno 2007: 341, Bissa 2009: 163.

RESPONSES TO DISRUPTION?

This raises the question of Aršāma's reaction to interference with Persia's Egyptian toll income. The Aršāma letters show an imperial aristocracy deeply sensitive to the loss of valuable commodities: consider the satrap's anger at Nakhtḥor's lack of initiative in augmenting his estates and labour force, or Virafsha's complaints over the non-delivery of promised slaves and alleged thefts from his property.[55] One would expect foreign allies' seizure of resources meant for the King's House to provoke a similar or greater outrage. Demands for compensation, even calls for retribution, were likely to follow.[56] One might conjecture that Aršāma's travel outside Egypt afforded opportunities to pursue such counter-measures through direct contact with the royal court.

Aršāma left his province sometime between January 411, when he issued the instructions for repair of a boat at Elephantine, and the summer of 410, the date of the Elephantine temple crisis.[57] The timing permits a connection with the Aegean conflict, and although this need not have been the only reason for his journey, it is tempting to compare the case of Pharnabazus, who visited

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[53] Thuc.8.58. [54] Thuc.8.58.5–7, 59, 87.2–6. [55] A6.10, A6.15.

[56] One might also compare a fourth-century Bactrian letter in which the satrap chastises a district governor for illegally taxing camel-drivers in the king's employ (ADAB A1: Naveh and Shaked 2012, 68–75).

[57] A6.2, A4.5:2–3, A4.7:4–5, A4.8:4. For full discussion of the chronology, see Tuplin iii 39–45.

Artaxerxes II in 398 to complain of Tissaphernes' failure to protect his satrapy against Spartan marauders.[58] If Aršāma believed that Persian action against Athens was diminishing royal revenues, it would make sense to acquaint Darius with the problem and seek redress in person.

Might Aršāma have advised the king against committing the Phoenician fleet to its Aegean campaign? Diodorus alleges an Egyptian dimension to its recall, reporting a Persian claim to have sent the ships home in response to a plot by unnamed Egyptian and Arab kings against Phoenicia.[59] D. M. Lewis famously connected this passage with the Aršāma letters' references to unrest, positing the outbreak of a Delta revolt sufficiently serious to prompt the fleet's transfer.[60] A number of important studies have accepted his theory;[61] but others remain sceptical because of Diodorus' questionable reliability and doubts about the scale of the unrest attested in the letters.[62] A better explanation for the naval campaign's cancellation may be found in royal anger at Sparta's tolerance of Ionian attacks on Persian garrisons in the summer of 411.[63] But this would not rule out Darius' consideration of other supporting factors including the Egyptian situation. It is possible that Aršāma petitioned the king to redirect some of the ships to strengthen Egypt's security against potential dangers, or lobbied for a cautious approach to the Greek war to avoid a complete shutdown of the Egyptian–Athenian trade routes.

Darius never resumed a direct naval campaign on Sparta's behalf, and waited several years before providing the fresh infusion of funds, delivered by Cyrus the Younger, that restored Spartan naval fortunes between 407 and 405. In the meantime, Egyptian–Athenian trade was fraught with risk. One of the consequences may have been a partial transfer of Egyptian trade from Athens to Rhodes, which synoecized its original three *poleis* around 407, and quickly began to issue its own silver coinage in considerable volume.[64] Egypt and Rhodes already shared meaningful economic ties, illustrated by the epigraphic evidence for diplomatic relations between Naucratis and Lindos pre-dating the synoecism.[65] If their trade levels increased during the final years of the war, this had the potential to offset some of Persia's revenue losses from the interruption of Athenian–Egyptian voyages, although it still involved some danger in the form of sporadic Athenian counterattacks such as Alcibiades' Rhodian raid of 407.[66] If some Egyptians still hoped for a restoration of profit through Athenian naval recovery, which looked possible for a few months after the ephemeral victory at Arginusae, encouragement of alternative trade connections remained the safer course for Persian authorities.[67] Rhodes contributed numerous ships to Sparta's fleets in 406 and 405, thereby earning some of Cyrus' subsidies and participating in the eventual destruction of Athenian naval power.[68] After the capture of Athens' fleet at Aegospotami, the siege of Piraeus and Athens between autumn 405 and spring 404 would have ended any remaining traffic with daring Delta merchantmen.[69]

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[58] Just.6.1.3–6; cf. Hyland 2008: 22–4.

[59] Diod.13.46.6.

[60] Lewis 1958: 394–7.

[61] Andrewes, Dover, and Gomme 1981: 290, Ruzicka 2012: 36, Tuplin ii 63–72.

[62] Bleckmann 1998: 50, Briant 2002: 597, Cawkwell 2005: 154, Hornblower 2008: 1004–5.

[63] See Hyland 2018: 81–91.

[64] For the synoecism, see Diod.13.75.1; for increased Rhodian minting, see Ashton *et al.* 2002: 136.

[65] See n. 7 above.

[66] Diod.13.69.5.

The sources are too limited for speculation on any connections between the collapse of Egyptian–Athenian trade and the breakdown of Persian control in Egypt, but the independent pharaohs of the early fourth century took rapid steps to re-establish trade with Greek partners. Nectanebo's decrees tithing the exports at Naucratis and Thonis offer telling examples. No longer preying on Egyptian shipping to harm the Athenians, Sparta tried to cultivate a philo-Egyptian policy, starting with Lysander's visit to the oracle of Ammon in 403, and escalating with a proposal of alliance for Nepherites during the Spartan–Persian naval war of the mid- 390s. Nepherites responded with a convoy with supplies for 100 triremes and a large donation of grain to the Spartans at Rhodes, only to see it intercepted by the Persian fleet, commanded by the exiled Athenian admiral Conon, which successfully wrested Rhodes from Spartan control.[70] In the long run, Sparta would not make the grade as a naval power, and Athens' partial military recovery would coincide with Piraeus' spectacular commercial rebirth by the middle of the fourth century, leading to a revived Athenian–Egyptian trade that outlasted both Egyptian independence and Achaemenid imperial power.

The study of the Persian–Egyptian–Athenian triangle does not lend itself to certain conclusions, given the scanty nature of the sources. But the surviving evidence offers tantalizing hints at the connections between war, trade, and empire in the age of Aršāma. Egyptian voyages to Aegean ports and Persia's ability to profit by taxing trade with Athens are reminders that the territorial limits of the Achaemenid empire did not restrict economic contact across the eastern Mediterranean world. The downfall of Athens had consequences for its overseas partners, and events in one Persian satrapy could impact others. The economic and political history of Classical Greece, Aršāma's Egypt, and the larger Achaemenid world are intrinsically interrelated, and they must not be viewed in isolation.[71]

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[67] Ruzicka 2012: 36–7.

[68] Xen.*Hell.*1.5.1, 1.6.3, 2.1.15, Paus.10.9.9.

[69] Xen.*Hell.*2.2.9–10.

[70] For Lysander and Ammon, see Plut.*Lys.*20.4–6, Diod.14.13.5–7. For Sparta, Nepherites, and Conon, see Diod.14.79.4–7, Just.6.2.2. Diodorus refers to 500,000 units of grain but does not specify the unit of measure. If he means *medimnoi*, this would result in something on a far larger scale than Psammetichus' donation to Athens, but Justin's divergent figure of 600,000 *modii* (equivalent to 10,000 *medimnoi*) might point to a lower order of magnitude.

[71] See also Bresson iii 209–48. I am grateful to those who attended the 2011 Arshama conference for stimulating discussions, and, in particular, I wish to thank Christopher Tuplin, John Lee, and Brian Rutishauser for valuable feedback on subsequent drafts of the chapter.

5

Egyptian Perspectives

5.1

The Multi-Ethnic World of Achaemenid Egypt

Günter Vittmann

INTRODUCTION

In the inscriptions on his famous statue in the Vatican, the Egyptian chief physician Udjahorresnet reports that 'Cambyses came to Egypt, the foreign peoples of every foreign land being with him'.[1] In fact, manifold sources attest the presence of different ethnic groups in Achaemenid Egypt: written documents in Egyptian and non-Egyptian scripts, archaeological evidence, and the testimonies of the Classical authors, first and foremost, of course, Herodotus. With the exception of the Persians themselves, along with Medes and members of other Iranian tribes such as the Hyrcanians, nearly all foreign groups could already be found in Egypt during the Saite dynasty (XXVI), or in certain cases even earlier (Vittmann 2003). On the other hand, the establishment of indigenous dynasties (XXVIII–XXX: 404–340/339)[2] in the six decades between the two periods of Persian rule did not, of course, entail the disappearance of all foreigners. For this reason, sources on ethnic diversity in pre- and post-Achaemenid periods should equally be taken into account. Considering material from the time between the middle of the sixth century and the end of the fourth may help to avoid the risk of ignoring sources that cannot be firmly dated to the Persian Domination but cannot in any case be far removed from it.

Ideally, we ought to distinguish between people who came to Egypt only for a limited period and foreigners who settled in Egypt, founded families, and stayed in the country together with their descendants (see e.g. Kaplan 2003). In practice, however, it is not always possible to decide to which of these two

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I am grateful to Allister Humphrey for kindly revising my English.

[1] Posener 1936: 6–7, Lichtheim 1973–80: 3.37, Kuhrt 2007: 118 (4.11 (c)).

[2] For this date see Depuydt 2010. (It is a controversial alternative to the normal dating to 343.)

groups an individual mentioned in a given case belongs. In official documents from Achaemenid Egypt (as was also the case in the Ptolemaic period), the ethnicity or provenance of the parties involved is often stated, the Aramaic documents offering a wide range of gentilics (Porten and Lund 2002: 439–41, Siljanen 2017: 133–9). With regard to ethnicity in Achaemenid Egypt, Janet Johnson (1999: 211) stated:

> We must start by distinguishing between ethnicity as a definition of self vis-à-vis other(s), that is, a social distinction which is made and accepted by people themselves, and the formal official use of ethnicity as a category by which to make distinctions among 'citizens' and 'subjects'. The former may have slippery boundaries because the differences that are considered important may change through time or when an individual or group deals with more than one 'other'; the latter must have a carefully defined, somewhat inflexible list of 'character traits' by which to make or impose distinctions.

We must, however, also reckon with the possibility that non-Egyptians are not recognizable as such if they appear in the documents with Egyptian names and without any outward sign that would hint at their origin. Mixed marriages between foreigners and Egyptian women will have fostered acculturation and assimilation, and in that case, after a certain time lapse which might have varied from one family to another, the question of ethnic origin would have become more or less meaningless and practically irrelevant. What really mattered in traditional Egyptian society was not race or ethnicity (cf. McInerney 2014) but the foreigner's giving up his 'otherness' and his adaptation to Egyptian civilization. It goes without saying that in the period we are concerned with here not every person of non-Egyptian origin saw the necessity for assimilation.

PERSIANS

Given that Dynasty XXVII lasted for more than 120 years and that the higher levels of the administrative and military infrastructure were mostly occupied by members of the Persian *ethno-classe dominante* (Briant 1987), it is surprising that Persians do not appear quite as frequently in the documents as one might expect: out of sixty-three Iranian names recently collected from hieroglyphic and Demotic sources (Schmitt and Vittmann 2013), only about half belong to non-royal individuals of the Achaemenid period. Although the index of proper names in Porten and Lund 2002: 316–424 contains nearly 130 non-royal Iranian proper names, a number which was raised to as many as 178(!) by Siljanen (2017: 142) on the basis of additional sources, it is important to appreciate that most of the evidence for Persians in Egypt is restricted to Aramaic and Demotic documents from Memphis, the seat of the satrap and his administrators,[3] and from the military colony of Elephantine at the southern border of the country.[4] Both places had a multi-cultural society, and we find individuals coming from various Iranian peoples: Bactrians, Caspians, Chorasmians, Hyrcanians,[5] Medians, Persians, Margians, and perhaps even Sakans.[6] With regard to Elephantine we know that Iranians lived next door to Egyptians and Judaeans (Vittmann 2017: 243, fig. 21). The presence of officials of the Persian administration in Memphis is also attested by seal impressions with non-Egyptian imagery (Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright 1910: pls. 35/36, nos. 22–39), but this does not mean that we should assume an Egyptian origin for seal impressions found in Persepolis with Egyptian personal names written in hieroglyphics and Achaemenid or Babylonian iconography.[7] A Memphite workshop of coroplasts which was active in the fifth century produced several terracotta heads of Persians (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974).

A papyrus dating from the last phase of the military colony of Elephantine around 400 contains instructions by Spantadāta, obviously a Persian, to two men with Egyptian names.[8] The sender, who together with another Persian holds shares in a boat, addresses the two men politely as his 'brothers'. As was usual in correspondence between Persians and Egyptians, and also in juridical documents of that period concerning two parties at least one of whom was non-Egyptian, the letter was written in Aramaic, not in Demotic. It may be surmised that Egyptian officials in Achaemenid service like Nakhtḥor, the steward of the estates of the satrap Aršāma in Egypt, knew Aramaic: Thompson (2009: 398) credits him with having been 'fluent in the conqueror's language, in this case Aramaic, which he used in correspondence with the satrap'.

There are several reasons for the scarce attestation of Persians outside of Memphis and Elephantine. First, with the exception of Memphis and Ain el-Manawir in Khargeh Oasis, there is exceedingly little hieroglyphic and Demotic evidence that can be dated to the period after the death of Darius I. Second, members of the Persian aristocracy generally preferred to maintain their own cultural identity, including in terms of religion. Third, even in the time of Darius I, the available non-royal sources in Egyptian script(s) mostly concern matters that intersect poorly or not at all with the world of the conquerors. To take a famous example: the well-known Demotic papyrus Rylands 9 (Vittmann 1998) deals with the misfortunes of a priestly family in Middle Egypt that had risen in status in the early years of Dynasty XXVI but soon saw itself deprived of its financial privileges by the machinations of the local priests. In 513, Peteese, a namesake of his ancestor, drafted a petition to the Persian authorities in the hope of getting back the lost priestly prebends. All the actions reported by Peteese during a period of more than a decade from the beginning of the Persian Domination until 513 took place in an almost exclusively purely Egyptian milieu, not a single Persian individual being mentioned by name or with a foreign title. This is not surprising, as the cultic and administrative positions of a temple, as is to be expected, were usually held by members of Egyptian priestly families, not by foreigners—even if the Persian authorities had the last word when filling some of these positions.[9] There is only indirect mention of 'the Lord of Egypt', most probably the satrap, as the supreme juridical instance (2.17).

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[3] Segal 1983, Smith and Martin 2009, and many items in TADAE. See Tuplin iii 15–18

[4] Very many items in TADAE (of which a selection is presented in EPE), Lozachmeur 2006. See Tuplin iii 15–18.

[5] Also attested in Demotic in Smith and Martin 2009: 60 (*Wrgny*).

[6] The hapax *sky* (Porten and Lund 2002: 441 'Sukkian(?)', 239 'sharp implement(?)') could well have this meaning; cf. now also Siljanen 2017: 136–7.

[7] Giovino 2006, Vittmann 2009: 106–7, Garrison and Ritner 2010.

[8] A3.10. See also EPE B12, Kuhrt 2007: 863 (17.34). Unless otherwise indicated, Aramaic texts cited in this chapter are to be found in TADAE.

Only very rare cases are known in which we find Persians engaging with Egyptian customs and religious conceptions. During the reign of Artaxerxes,[10] a troop commander at Syene dedicated a shrine to a deity whose name is too badly preserved to be fully intelligible but which seems to be Egyptian (D17.1; Vittmann 2009: 114–15, Tuplin iii 372). The brothers Āθiyavahyā and Aryāvrata, who directed several expeditions to the quarries of the Wadi Hammamat in the first half of the fifth century (Posener 1936: nos. 24–35), placed their enterprises under the protection of Min, and the younger brother took the additional Egyptian name Djedḥer. A small and much discussed funerary stela from Saqqara which belonged to a man with the Egyptian name Djedḥerbes, who was apparently the product of a mixed marriage between a Persian (Artāma) and an Egyptian (Taneferher),[11] is probably of a later date. It may be assumed that the mother played a particular role in imparting to her son some knowledge of Egyptian manners and customs, religion, and (last but not least) the spoken language. The decoration of the stela, clearly a product of foreign craftsmanship, gives a sense of the biculturality of the family. Unfortunately, we are not informed about the position of Djedḥerbes or the identity of the person in Persian dress in the lower register, but it is a logical and natural assumption that it should be the deceased himself.

GREEKS

Before Alexander, there were mainly two groups of Greeks in Egypt: soldiers and merchants. Psammetichus (664–610), the first pharaoh of Dynasty XXVI, rallied the military support of Ionian and Carian mercenaries and assigned them an area near Bubastis called Stratopeda (τὰ στρατόπεδα, i.e. 'the camps': Herodotus 2.154.1), a site which has not yet been identified (Carrez-Maratray 2000: 160–3, Leclère and Spencer 2014: 9–10). At the same time, a guard-post (φυλακή) was established at Daphnae (Herodotus 2.30.2), and it is plausible that Greeks also served there. This is not inconsistent with the realization that the main building at Daphnae (whose remnants form the so-called *qasr*) was an Egyptian sanctuary and not, as formerly believed, a fortress and so a relic of the *stratopeda*. Under Amasis (570–526), the *stratopeda* were evacuated, the whole colony being transferred to Memphis (Herodotus 2.154.3), where there was a 'Hellenomemphite' necropolis (Gallo and Masson 1993). The *phylakē* of Daphnae was, as Herodotus (2.30.3) remarks, still active in his time, i.e. the mid-fifth century. 'Timarchus the Daphnaite', who left a Greek graffito in the temple of Abydos, and a Phoenician woman expressly connected with *Tḥpnḥs* (i.e. Daphnae) in a letter from Saqqara (KAI 50), lend support to this (Carrez-Maratray 2000: 165). During Dynasty XXVII, when Naucratis was no longer the only *emporion*, Daphnae and Migdol may also have fulfilled this function, considering the numerous finds of imported pottery there (Carrez-Maratray and Defernez 2012: 40–3). We must remember, however, that finds of Greek ceramics do not necessarily prove the presence of Greeks at the site in question; they rather testify to international commercial relations (Leclère 2008: 2.522).

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[9] P.Berl.Dem.13539–13540 (EPE C1, C2), Kuhrt 2007: 852–3 (17.30), Lippert 2019.

[10] Normally identified as Artaxerxes I, but Lemaire 2015: 88 argues for Artaxerxes II.

[11] Mathieson *et al.* 1995, Kuhrt 2007: 870–2 (17.38), Wasmuth 2010, Wasmuth 2017b.

The famous *emporion* of Naucratis had also been founded during Dynasty XXVI and was under the control of the state.[12] During the reign of Amasis it had a monopoly on trade, but it lost this exclusive status under the Persians (Carrez-Maratray 2000, Carrez-Maratray and Defernez 2012). Several temples and sanctuaries for Greek gods were jointly built there by various cities, the most famous being the Hellenion (Herodotus 2.178–9; Höckmann and Möller 2006); the large amount of Greek pottery of varied provenance essentially confirms Herodotus' report. Naucratis was not a purely Greek city (Spencer 2011), but the degree of interaction between Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks has been difficult to assess so far. A curious find is a fragment with the inscription 'Gorgias loves [Ta]munis, and Tamunis lov[es] Gorgias',[13] where Tamunis (*Ταμυνις*) is clearly a rendering of the Egyptian personal name *Ta-ỉmn* 'She of Amun'.

It is only in recent years that the important role of the sister town Thonis[14] has been elucidated. This city, also known as Heracleum and situated at the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile, 'seems to have been the very first port of call where trade goods were taxed on behalf of the Egyptian state' (Villing and Schlotzhauser 2006: 5). A damaged Aramaic papyrus from Saqqara (ATNS

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[12] Möller 2000, Leclère 2008: 1.113–57. For a comprehensive bibliography, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_research_catalogues/ng/naukratis_greeks_in_egypt/bibliography.aspx (last accessed February 2020).

[13] Bernand and Bernand 1970: 705 no. 638, Villing 2013: 87 (with colour plate).

[14] Hdt.2.113.3 (who tells a story about Helen of Troy in which Thonis is the name of an official in charge of the Canopic mouth, not of a city), Diod.1.19.4.

26) mentions Ionians and Carians, ships, and the 'gates of the sea'. This must be seen in conjunction with the terribly mutilated Aramaic Customs Register from the fifth century, a document of utmost importance for our knowledge of trade relations between Persian Egypt and the Mediterranean world.[15] From it, we learn that out of forty-two foreign ships, thirty-six came from Phaselis in Ionia, while the remainder were Phoenician. Imported commodities were wine, oil and 'Samian earth', whereas natron was exported. The name of the harbour town where the custom duties for the entering trade ships were collected is not preserved. It has been assumed that it is Thonis, but Carrez-Maratray and Defernez (2012: 40–3) have made a strong case for an *emporion* at the Pelusiac branch of Nile.

Outside Naucratis and Thonis, Greek temples and sanctuaries of pre-Hellenistic date are hardly known but they must have existed: in the 1990s some fragments of a small sacral Dorian building from the fifth or fourth century were unearthed in the precinct of the great Temple of Bubastis (Tietze 2003: 95–100, Pfeiffer 2005: 164). We should also recall the case of a certain Ariston, who according to a Demotic papyrus was involved in some way or another in the organization of the burial of the sacred ibises at Hermopolis during the early Persian period.[16]

Greeks, like Carians and other foreigners, occasionally donated bronze statuettes to Egyptian sanctuaries, especially in Memphis and other sites in Lower Egypt (Weiß 2012: 511–15, 957–67 *passim*). For some items of this sort a Persian date has been suggested, e.g. an Apis figure dedicated by Socydes to the otherwise unattested god Panepi, a statuette of Isis with the Horus child donated by Pythermus, and an Osiris bronze presented by Zenes son of Theodotus to Selene(!).[17] On another bronze statuette of the Apis bull, dated about 400, the name of the dedicator, Artemon son of Lysis, is additionally given in hieroglyphs, a practice also well known from Carian monuments but rather uncommon with Greeks of the pre-Hellenistic period (Vittmann 2011b: 339–41, 347–8, figs. 2–3).

It is common that the inscriptions on such objects do not indicate the position of the person making the dedication, but since, unlike a sarcophagus, they were probably not too costly, the social status of the donors need not have been extremely high. We do not know much about the motives or occasions of such dedications, but it is likely that they would have taken place at certain festivals or, in the case of the numerous Apis statuettes, at the enthronization of a new animal. There is reason to believe that non-Egyptians were also granted access to religious processions, as can be seen from a wooden sarcophagus panel

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[15] C3.7: Briant and Descat 1998, Kuhrt 2007: 681–704 (14.10), Bresson iii 214–20.

[16] Zaghloul 1985: 23–5 (who, however, dates the document to Dynasty XXVI), Vittmann 2003, 207–8.

[17] Masson 1977, Vittmann 2003: 231–3.

(Vittmann 2003: pl. 24b), surely an example of the integration of non-Egyptians in an authentic Egyptian religious sphere.

CARIANS

Most of the archaeological evidence about Carians is dated to Dynasty XXVI, but their presence did not stop with the Persian conquest.[18] The bulk of the extant material comes from the area between Memphis/Saqqara and Abusir, which is easily understandable in light of the above-mentioned resettlement of Ionians and Carians from the eastern Delta to Memphis. Caromemphites lived there in a separate quarter, the *Καρικόν*, which is also indirectly known from a Demotic legal document of the Ptolemaic Period (Thompson 1988: 93–5, Martin 2009: 116, 129 (xxxi)). As already noted above, ATNS 26 explicitly mentions 'Ionians and Carians', and since Carians played an important role as boatmen and ship-builders (Herda 2013: 447–52), it is not astonishing that they also appear in the so-called boat-repair papyrus from Elephantine (A6.2:8 (EPE B11)). So it is reasonable to assume that some of the archaeological material from Saqqara and elsewhere could date to the post-Saite period. Under Cambyses and Darius I, and even earlier, an unspecified number of Carians were deported from Egypt to Babylonia, a fate they shared with many Egyptians (Waerzeggers 2006).

Besides the Carians' nautical (and military) skills, some other aspects also merit attention. First, as is seen from votive offerings, Carians showed reverence to Egyptian gods and perhaps also (in Naucratis) to Greek deities (Williams and Villing 2006). Second, there is pictorial confirmation for Herodotus' report (2.61.2) about the typically Carian mourning custom of cutting oneself in the forehead with a knife, a custom that shows a remarkable merging of Egyptian and Carian customs (Vittmann 2003: 170–3). Third, Egyptian linguistic elements, apart from personal names (Nitocris, Psamtik, and several others), are occasionally found in the inscriptions: in two instances we even seem to have Egyptian titles applied to Carians, 'the prophet of Amun' (*pntmun* = *p3 ḥm-nṯr n Jmn*?) and 'the astronomer' ('hour priest', *únuti* = *wnwtj*).[19] Fourth, Carians seem always to have been particularly prized as interpreters. Herodotus (2.154.2) says that Ionians and Carians taught Egyptians Greek, Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.2.17, 8.12) reports that the interpreter of Cyrus the Younger was called Pigres, another Carian appears as a dragoman (*tirgumanu*) in a late Babylonian text, and a fine bronze statuette of the Apis bull with a bilingual inscription was dedicated by a

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[18] Vittmann 2003: 155–79, Adiego 2007.

[19] Vittmann 2001: 46–9, Adiego 2007: 400, 429.

Carian translator, who revealed the Carian term for his job: *armon*, Egyptian *wḥm* (Vittmann 2001: 50–2, Herda 2013: 468–71).

JUDAEANS

According to Jeremiah (44.1, 46.14), Judaeans settled in Migdol in north Sinai (the sites of Tell el-Qedwa and from *c.*500 Tell el-Herr: Marchi 2014), Taḥpanḥēs/Taphnas[20] in the eastern Delta, Noph (Memphis), and Patros ('Southern Country', probably including Elephantine), and the 'letter of Aristeas' from the Hellenistic period mentions two waves of Judaean immigrants, one under Cambyses and another one in the preceding period.[21] We have no philological evidence to prove the presence of Judaeans in pre-Achaemenid Egypt, but archaeology might be of help: finds of pottery in Migdol, Tell Dafna, and Tell el-Maskhuta point to 'a scattered Judaean diaspora, presumably isolated small groups or families' (Holladay 2004: 423). The first Judaean mercenaries may have arrived as early as the middle of the seventh century, which, in Lemaire's view (2015: 63–4), could explain some specific aspects of their culture, especially the lack of reference to a written law.

From a letter now dated by Porten to the first half of the fifth century (A3.3 (EPE B8)) we learn that the addressee served in Migdol (Tell el-Herr), where his father Ošea', the sender of the letter and the son of a man with the Egyptian name Pete[…], lived. The son had set out to Elephantine on some undefined business but was expected to come to Memphis; this is a nice but by no means unique example of the mobility of Judaean (and Aramaean) soldiers.

If we can trust the famous letter to Bagāvahyā, the Persian governor of Judah,[22] the temple of Yahu at Elephantine already existed when Cambyses invaded Egypt in 526, and unlike the native Egyptian sanctuaries, Yedanyah and his colleagues alleged, it had not been destroyed at that time. The hypothesis of Becking (2011: 405) that we are dealing here with a case of 'invented tradition' and that the Judaeans of Elephantine were only recruited under the Persians is not plausible: would the leaders of the Judaean community really have risked, in an official document, making a statement that could have been proved wrong by the Persian authorities (Vittmann 2017: 232 n. 18, Lemaire 2015: 63 n. 130)?

The number of members of the Judaean garrison of Elephantine has been tentatively calculated at 2,500 to 3,000 individuals or even more (Granerød

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[20] *Ταφνας* is the designation in the Septuagint. The traditional identification with Herodotus' Daphnae = Tell Dafna has been contested: see Peust 2010: 32, with references.

[21] Vittmann 2017: 232. On Judaeans in general see Rohrmoser 2014, Siljanen 2017, Kratz 2019.

[22] A4.7–8: Kuhrt 2007: 855–9 (17.32), EPE B19–20.

2016: 25, Tuplin iii 300). From the documents we get the impression that they did not seal themselves from the world around them. We already mentioned their living close to members of various ethnicities. A still unpublished Demotic papyrus from Elephantine mentions a person with the Yahwist name *Yhyḥy* (*YHWYḤYH: Vittmann 2017: 250), who is greeted together with somebody else by an Egyptian. Although personal names are rarely reliable for determining the ethnicity of the bearer (Gzella 2008: 736–7), it seems certain that the name in the present passage, given the particular geographical and chronological context, refers to a Judaean. Some documents show them engaged in business transactions with non-Judaeans, e.g. B3.4 (EPE B37) from 437, a sale of property by two Caspians to ʿAnanyah, servitor of Yahu. The scribe, judging by the Yahwist name Šemaʿyah, was a Judaean, while the four witnesses were Caspians and Persians. Three years later, ʿAnanyah bequeathed the aforementioned house to his wife Tamet (B3.5 (EPE B38)), a woman of presumably Egyptian descent, who at that time still had the status of a servant or slave.[23] The scribe of the papyrus was a Judaean, and the transaction was witnessed by four individuals, two of whom were Judaeans, while the other two were Iranians. Some members of Judaean families had Egyptian names, which in certain cases might have been due to mixed marriages. The Judaeans' veneration of Yahu as the principal god did not prevent them from occasionally swearing by other gods or by sending greetings in the name of foreign deities (Becking 2017b, Granerød 2016: 244, 264–8, Tuplin iii 362–4) or simply in the name of 'all the gods'. Essentially, they were monolatrists but not monotheists, and thus 'had no problems in recognising the cults of other deities for non-Judaean people' (Lemaire 2015: 62). In the documents, there is not the least hint of the Torah, let alone of the law promulgated by Ezra; Jewish identity did not develop prior to the Hellenistic period (Becking 2011, Grabbe 2013). In spite of the more liberal attitude of the Judaeans of Elephantine, however, possible cases of syncretism (Rohrmoser 2014: 126–52, Granerød 2016: 245–58) must perhaps be explained differently (Lemaire 2015: 60, 61). It will not come as a surprise that the Judaeans, unlike members of other ethnicities, apparently never went so far as to adopt elements of Egyptian religion and burial customs.

The temple of Yahu at Elephantine was apparently the only such temple in pre-Hellenistic Egypt. Archaeological investigations have proved that, having been destroyed in 410 for reasons that are not yet fully clear, it was in due course rebuilt.[24] But the new building was probably only in use for a few years, since the soldiers were obviously withdrawn with the end of the First Persian Domination, the last document dating from about 399 (TADAE A3.9; Kuhrt

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[23] See below, pp. 275–6. For the genealogy see Vittmann 2017: 246.

[24] Vittmann 2017: 248 (with references), Granerød 2016: 95–104. See also Granerød iii 329–43, Tuplin iii 344–72.

2007: 392 (9.59)). Afterwards, we hear no more from Persians, Judaeans, or Aramaeans at Elephantine.

ARAMAEANS

With the Aramaeans we face the problem that it is frequently impossible to say whether individuals mentioned in Aramaic texts are 'fully fledged' Aramaeans, descendants of mixed marriages, members of different ethnicities speaking and writing Aramaic, or none of these: depending on the circumstances, Egyptian names in an Aramaic text could refer to Aramaeans, among whom such names were widespread, but, for example, also to Carians, and of course also to 'true' Egyptians. Similar observations are valid for linguistically Akkadian and, albeit to a lesser degree, Iranian names.

Following the *communis opinio*, the earliest dated Aramaic document from Achaemenid Egypt is the so-called Bauer-Meissner papyrus from Corobis near Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt (TADAE B1.1). This was written in year 7 of King Darius, giving a date of 515, assuming that the king in question is Darius I. (This view has been disputed by Garbini 2006: 150, who assigns it to Darius II and so dates it to 417.) The document is a land lease between Padi son of Daganmelek, and Aḥo son of Ḥepiêu. The most natural assumption is that we have a contract between Semites (Philistines?) and Egyptians, and the even distribution of Egyptian and Semitic names between the ten witnesses is perhaps no coincidence. It is also possible, though less likely, that all the witnesses, and even the second party, were Semites.

An archive of the early Achaemenid period is constituted by the Hermopolis letters (A2.1–7 (EPE B1–7)), which were written by members of the garrison of Memphis to their families in Luxor and Aswan but, for unclear reasons, never reached their destination. Whereas the contents of these letters concern matters of everyday life that might likewise occur in the documents of any civilization, in terms of religion and personal names we experience a world that is very different from that reflected by the Aramaic papyri and ostraca from Elephantine. Unlike the Judaeans, the addressees of the Hermopolis letters did not worship Yahu but various divinities whose sanctuaries were located on the east bank of the Nile, in modern Aswan: the documents mention the temples of Bethel, of the Queen of Heaven, of Banit, and of Nabu. The latter is also mentioned in a leather fragment from Elephantine inscribed in Aramaic writing but, as it seems, Egyptian language (D6.2: Vittmann 2003: 117–19). Consequently, Yahwist names with YH-, -YH are unusual; instead, we find names such as Makkibanit ('Who is like Banit'), Nabushezib ('Nabu has saved'), and many more Egyptian names than in Judaean families. This abundance of Egyptian name-giving is also typical for other Egyptian-Aramaic sources and sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish 'real' Egyptians from Aramaeans and other non-Egyptians.

Unlike Judaeans, Aramaeans adopted many elements of Egyptian art, religion, and funerary creeds (Porten and Gee 2001). A series of inscribed clay coffins were unearthed in the Aramaean necropolis of Saqqara South (D18.1–15: Sabbahy 2013–14). There is also a very similar uninscribed coffin lid in Brooklyn said to be 'from a Jewish cemetery at Tura', south of Cairo (Bleiberg 2002: 20, fig. 18). For the region of Aswan, we have a number of anthropoid sarcophagi imitating Egyptian style, some of them with short Aramaic inscriptions.[25] An offering table and some funerary stelae combining Egyptian and Aramaic elements are mostly, perhaps even completely, of Memphite origin.[26] They are all obviously produced by non-Egyptians and testify, to some degree, to the acculturation of Aramaeans (and speakers of Aramaic) to Egyptian civilization in a similar way to that of the Carians. One of these stelae (D20.3), formerly in Berlin, is dated to 482. It has short texts in hieroglyphs, perhaps written in collaboration with, or with the consultation of, a native Egyptian, and a longer Aramaic inscription that specifies the provenance of the deceased and his family as *Ḥstmḥ* (*Ḫ3st- ṯmḥw*), the native name of Marea in the western Delta. Marea was one of three frontier garrisons mentioned by Herodotus (2.30.2), the other two being at Daphnae and Elephantine (Pétigny 2014, Tuplin iii 314, 319, 322, 325). Many of these stelae show the eminent importance of Osiris for foreigners (see also below, p. 274).

The lack of literary manuscripts in Persian Egypt written in hieratic or Demotic is partly made up for by Aramaic sources (Quack 2011b). A tomb in Sheikh Fadl (Köhler 2017) contains a long but unfortunately rather badly preserved *dipinto* with a story apparently belonging to the cycle of Inaros and Petubastis, two historical figures of the Third Intermediate Period (D23.1). Interestingly, this *dipinto* predates the Demotic versions by several centuries. A fragmentary papyrus contains the remains of a story about the magician Ḥor son of Punesh (C1.2: Porten 2004), who also makes his appearance in later Demotic stories (Vittmann 2017: 261). Much better preserved is the Aramaic version of the *Words of Ahiqar*, a combination of a frame story with a historical setting and wise sayings,[27] but this time without a clear connection to Egyptian wisdom literature. The difficult 'psalms' and other compositions of P.Amherst 63, a lengthy papyrus of unknown origin presumably written in the latter half of the fourth century in Demotic script, but in Aramaic language, remain outside of the scope of this chapter.[28]

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[25] D18.16–18: Porten and Gee 2001: 273–9, Vittmann 2003: 113–14.

[26] D20.1–6: Porten and Gee 2001: 279–301, Vittmann 2003: 106–12 and colour plates 11–13a.

[27] C1.1: Niehr 2007, Weigl 2010, Granerød 2016, 308–20.

[28] Lemaire 2015: 67 n. 156, Holm 2017, Holm n.d., Van der Toorn 2018b.

PHOENICIANS

Phoenician presence in Egypt (Vittmann 2003: 44–83) is attested epigraphically from the early sixth century onwards: the soldiers of Psammetichus II (595–589), who on their way to the south left several inscriptions on the colossi of Ramses II in Abu Simbel, were Greeks, Carians, and Phoenicians, but never Aramaeans and Judaeans. Phoenician pottery has been discovered at various sites across the whole country, though in some cases jars were imported from Phoenicia proper (i.e. from outside Egypt) with trade goods such as wine. For Memphis, Herodotus (2.112.2) mentions the existence of a Phoenician quarter, the *Τυρίων στρατόπεδον*. It is to be assumed that some of the votive statuettes dedicated by Phoenicians to Egyptian sanctuaries come from Memphis. A bronze figure of Harpocrates was donated by a certain Abdeshmun, who traces his genealogy back over five generations with mostly Egyptian names.[29] In the eastern Delta, at Tell el-Maskhuta, a stone sarcophagus of the Phoenician type representing a woman was adapted for a man, who according to the hieroglyphic inscription had an Egyptian name (Djedḥer), as did his mother, whereas his father bore a Phoenician name (Germelqart).[30]

Many Phoenician graffiti, along with some in Greek, Carian, and Aramaic, were scribbled by visitors at the temple of Sethos I in Abydos from the fifth to third centuries (KAI 49). Most of them restrict themselves to giving only the names of the writer and his father, but some others specify profession and/or provenance, e.g. no. 13 by a man from Citium, no. 17 by an interpreter (*mlṣ*), no. 22 by a perfumer (*rqḥ*). An unusually lengthy graffito is no. 34, which reads 'I am Paalubaste ("Bastet has made") son of Sidyaton son of Gersid, the Tyrian, an inhabitant…of Egyptian Heliopolis, in the freedom(?) of (= manumitted by?) Abdmelqart the Heliopolitan'.[31] The purpose of these visits is stated in the Aramaic graffiti at this same place and elsewhere (D22.9–27 *passim*; see also D20.2, D20.4): the 'pilgrims' sought to be 'blessed before (i.e. by) Osiris', who had always been the principal deity of Abydos (Rutherford 2003: 172–81). A little Aramaic papyrus in Madrid (D24.1) tells us that in year 7 of Darius II (417) two brothers from Sidon came to Abydos 'before Osiris, the great god'; unfortunately, however, its authenticity is more than doubtful, and the editors of TADAE present it as the first of several *Aramaica Dubiosa*.[32]

An isolated Phoenician graffito in the quarry of Abdel Gurna in Middle Egypt (Cruz-Uribe 2004: 7, 23) begins with *ʾlk* instead of *ʾnk* 'I am'. This phenomenon, already known from the above-mentioned pilgrims' graffiti and, as it seems, only attested in Egypt, has been interpreted as the result of Egyptian–Phoenician language contact (Calabro 2015: 101–4). The inscription is difficult to read and should be studied by a specialist.

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[29] KAI 52: Vittmann 2003: pl. 7b, Vittmann 2017: 267. On the 'Tyrian camp' see Tuplin iii 306, 307, 313, 321.

[30] Vittmann 2003: 71, 73, pl. 6, Capriotti Vitozzi 2012.

[31] The translation of the passage between 'inhabitant' and 'Abdmelqart' is doubtful; for a totally different proposal see Krahmalkov 2000: 63, 395–6: (I, Paalubast, etc.) 'a resident of Akko, came to Egypt *at the invitation* of Abdmilqart the Onite'.

[32] See also Vittmann 2003: 115.

Imported Phoenician pottery has been found in various regions of Egypt (Vittmann 2003: 61–3, 65–6); the vessels served to transport much appreciated commodities such as wine and oil. Jar inscriptions from Elephantine also contain several Phoenician personal names (D11.4–17 *passim*), but the complete absence of such names, or the appropriate gentilics, in the Aramaic papyri and ostraca from Elephantine suggests that there were no Phoenicians resident there (Röllig 2013: 200).

ARABS

In the eastern Delta, at Tell el-Maskhuta,[33] a set of fine silver bowls with Aramaic inscriptions attests the presence of an Arab tribe, the Qedarites, who in about 400 dedicated these bowls to the shrine of their goddess Han-'ilat, a name simply meaning 'the goddess' (D15.1–4; Sperveslage 2019: 180–5).[34] According to Herodotus (3.88.1), the Arabs facilitated the invasion by Cambyses and were therefore considered friends and allies of the Persians. If Rabinowitz (1956: 9) is right, the Qedarites were garrisoned at Tell el-Maskhuta under Darius I in order 'to guard the Egyptian frontier and to police the canal-zone'. Phoenicians lived in the same area (see above, p. 274).

Four Minaean inscriptions of the fourth century mention mercantile missions to Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia (Robin 1994: 286–90), one of them alluding to the troubles in the course of the second Persian conquest of Egypt and to the author's safe return home. The traders would certainly bring incense and myrrh, which were needed for cult purposes, as is expressly stated by the inscription on the sarcophagus of Zayd'il, a Minaean who was buried in Memphis/Saqqara in the Ptolemaic period (Robin 1994: 291–6, Vittmann 2003: 184–5).

SLAVES

A group of people that continued to exist in Persian Egypt are slaves (the Egyptian term *b3k* can also be translated as 'servant': on this and other terms see Loprieno

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[33] Tjeku/Per-Atum in Egyptian, the biblical Pithom, called Patoumos by Herodotus: Leclère 2008: 2.541–74. On the Arabs here see Tuplin iii 307, 315, 321.

[34] Garbini 2006: 159 n. 1 considers them to be fakes, but this opinion seems to be isolated. The dating 'of around 400' is also upheld by Lemaire 2015: 100 (without reference to Garbini).

2012), who are attested both in Demotic and Aramaic documents (Loprieno 2012: 12–13, Granerød 2016, 279–91, Tuplin i 72–6). We find them frequently in Egyptian households, as (for example) in the case of the eight runaway slaves of ʿAnkhoḥapi in the Aršāma correspondence (A6.3). Of interest for our topic is the presence of slaves with Egyptian names in non-Egyptian, especially Judaean, households. The best known representative is Tamet/Tapmet, daughter of Patou—both names are Egyptian ('She of the staff', 'He of the two countries')—who was the 'servant woman' (*ʾmh*) of Mešullam. As was common practice in Egypt, she was branded on her right hand as the property of her lord. It was only many years after her marriage with ʿAnanyah that she and the daughter who originated from this marriage were manumitted (B3.3, B3.6 (EPE B36, B39)).

Another case is that of the brothers Peṭosiri, Belle, and Lilu, and their mother Taba: the first two of them were apportioned between two brothers, the sons of Mibṭaḥyah who inherited them from their mother (branded with the words *lMbṭḥyh*). The allocation of the third brother and the mother was planned for the future (B2.11 (EPE B33)). In Egypt, the hereditary transmission or sale of slaves was common. Two Demotic papyri from the early Persian period (P.Tsenhor 7–8) concern the sale of a slave (*b3k*), together with his children and all his belongings, to another person 'forever and ever'—thus asserting that he would never be able to become free. Such examples are to be strictly distinguished from other cases where an individual became the temporary slave of another person for the liquidation of debts (Lippert 2008: 164).

Although non-Egyptians would sometimes also assume an Egyptian name, it is nonetheless very possible, of course, that slaves with Egyptian names who lived in non-Egyptian households were Egyptians, especially in Judaean families in which Egyptian proper names were less common than with Aramaeans. As the members of the garrison at Elephantine enjoyed a privileged status, perhaps in some way comparable to the specialized craftsmen who had settled six hundred years earlier in Deir el-Medineh, and were probably better off than many poor Egyptians, it is entirely conceivable that a well-to-do Aramaic-speaking household (or indeed one in which some other foreign language was primary) would take advantage of them as a source of labour, by inheritance, sale, or even self-sale.

In A6.7, Aršāma asks Artavanta, a Persian official in Egypt, to release thirteen Cilician slaves who had been arrested by the authorities because they had been kidnapped by rebels and were consequently considered to be collaborators. These men had previously worked on the estates of Aršāma in Egypt. An Aramaic fragment from Saqqara mentions a branded Cretan slave (B8.3). Another document of the same provenance (B5.6, dated to the end of the fourth century), is a deed of sale regarding a slave woman, branded with the seller's name, and an Aramaean slave, who are conveyed to a third party.[35]

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[35] On the branding (or possibly tattooing) of slaves and other distrained labourers see Tuplin i 189–95. Kidnapped Cilician slaves: see Tuplin i 111–30.

CONCLUSION

Altogether, with the exception of the conflict between Judaeans and the priests of Khnum, relations between Egyptians and non-Egyptians seem to have been normal and peaceful, without any clear hints to fanaticism or intolerance. Although according to the traditional ideology Egypt was immensely superior to her neighbours and foreigners were considered enemies, this attitude, as far as we can recognize from the sources, does not seem to have played a decisive role in everyday life.

5.2

Aramaic Texts and the Achaemenid Administration of Egypt

Lisbeth S. Fried

The goal of the present chapter is to use the wealth of Aramaic documents available to us to investigate the mechanisms by which the Achaemenids governed their empire and particularly Egypt.[1]

IMPOSITION OF A PERSIAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Life in Egypt was drastically changed after the Persian conquest. For the first time civil, military, economic, and judicial power was concentrated in the hands of a foreigner, the Persian satrap, with key positions held exclusively by Persians (Sternberg-el Hotabi 2002: 120). An early letter to Aršāma (A6.1) provides titles of some officials in the satrapal hierarchy and hints at their functions:

> To] our lord Aršāma [w]ho is in Egypt, [from] your servants Haxāmaniš and his colleagues the heralds, Ba[gadana and his colleagues][2] the judges, Peṭeisi and his colleagues the scribes of the province of Pamunpara/ Nasunpara, Ḥarudj and his colleagues the scribes of the province of . . . (A6.1)

It should be noted that the herald, Haxāmaniš, and the judge, Bagadāna, were both Persian, as were their colleagues, the rest of the heralds and judges. Indeed, in both the Elephantine archives and the Aršāma dossier, nearly every named judge in Egypt was Persian.[3] There were no Egyptian judges for the Egyptians, nor Judaean judges for Judaeans.[4] These judges were either royal appointees (called 'judges of the king': B5.1:3) or satrapal appointees (called 'judges of the province': A5.2:4, 7).[5] Except for one Babylonian, they were all Persian.[6] The Persian judicial system is also revealed in two other texts from fifth-century Egypt:

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[1] I thank John Ma and Christopher Tuplin for inviting me to participate in the Oxford conference on the Aršāma Archive, July 4–7, 2011.

[2] This phrase is restored from another part of the letter.

> To my lords Yedanyah, Maʿuziyah, Uriyah and the garrison, [yo]ur servant. [May all the gods] seek after [the welfare of our lords] at all times. It is well with us here.
>
> Now, every day that . . . he complained to the investigators (*ptyprsn)*. One Jīvaka complained to the investigator (*ptyprs*) . . . we have, inasmuch as the Egyptians gave them a bribe. And from the . . . which the Egyptians before Aršāma, but they act thievishly. (A4.2)

The word translated 'investigator' here is the Persian word **patifrāsa*, meaning 'investigator', 'examiner'.

The following are the last two lines of a judicial request:

> הן אזד יתעבד מן דיניא תיפתיא גושכיא זי ממנין במדינת תשרתס
> יתי[דע] למראן לקבל זנה זי אנחנה אמרן

> If inquiry be made of the judges, police, and hearers who are appointed in the province of Tshetres, it would be [known] to our lord in accordance to this which we say. (A4.5:9, 10)

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[3] Examination of the Aramaic documents from Hermopolis and Elephantine reveals only one Egyptian who gave his son a Persian name: Bagadāta son of Psamšek (B4.3:24; B4.4:20); one Aramaean: Varyazāta son of Bet'elzabad (B3.9:11); and one Jew: Arvaraθa son of Yehonatan (B4.4:21). Also, if Vištāna is the physical brother of an 'Anani in Judah (A4.7/8:18), then a second Jew had an Iranian name. Lozachmeur 1998 reports a graffiti, לבגת בר חורי, 'to Bagadāta son of Ḥori'. Thus, a second Egyptian gave his son a Persian name. This is out of thousands of names, strongly implying that those with Persian names were Persian (B. Porten, pers. comm.).

[4] Most situations which we would consider legal did not involve a judge. Sales and inheritances of goods, land, and offices were handled through contracts written by Egyptian or Aramaean scribes writing in Aramaic. See Seidl 1968, Muffs 1969, Gross 2008, Botta 2009.

[5] The distinction between royal and provincial judges refers to the mechanism of appointment. According to Herodotus (3.31) 'royal judges are a picked body of men among the Persians, who hold office till death or till some injustice is detected in them'. The judges for the satrapy are royal judges and appointed by the king; provincial judges are appointed by the satrap. In Babylonia, beginning with Hammurabi's reign, judges for the major Babylonian cities and the areas around them were appointed by the king. They were called 'judges of the king', and their seals titled them 'servant of King PN'. Judges for the smaller cities were appointed by the royally appointed provincial governors. See Harris 1961, Postgate 1992: 277.

[6] Judges appeared regularly in the contracts as one of the three parties before whom a complainant might bring a suit or register a complaint, the other two being lord and prefect (B2.3:13, 24; B3.1:13, 19; B3.2:6; B3.12:28; B4.6:14; B7.1:13). In a case involving an inheritance they are called 'judges of the king' (i.e. royal judges) (B5.1:3) and in a petition seeking redress of grievances they are 'judges of the province' (A5.2:4, 7). When named, they were almost always Persian—Paisāna (A3.8:2), Bagadāna (A6.1:5–6), Dāmidāta (B2.2:6), Bagafarnā and Nāfaina (A5.2:6); only one has a Babylonian name, Mannuki (Porten 1968: 136 n. 19).

The word used for inquiry is *ʾzd,* and is Persian; the word for 'police', *typtyʾ*, is from the Old Persian **tīpati-*; the word for 'hearers' is *gwškyʾ*, from the Old Persian **gaušaka-*. These are the 'King's Ears', i.e. the intelligence officers known from classical sources (Porten 1968: 50 n. 83, Porten 2011: 138 n. 26). The use of Persian loanwords throughout reveals a completely Persian judicial system, with Persian investigators, judges, police, and intelligence officers, all appointed by Persian satrapal officials or by royal envoys. This was not a local judicial system, and there was no local autonomy or local control within the legal system.

The heralds too, were high officials in the bureaucracy, well known in Akkadian administrative texts as the *nāgiru* (*CAD* s.v. 116–18, Tadmor 2006: 104). Their job included travelling from town to town to announce royal and satrapal edicts, and to recruit soldiers and workers for the corvée. These heralds had a contingent of soldiers with them, since they were responsible for the enforcement of the edicts, as well as for recruitment. They too were Persian. The only Egyptians listed in A6.1 above are the provincial scribes, Peṭeisi and Ḥarudj. Egyptian scribes were used to enable communication with the local population. Except for the scribes, and the chief accountant, the *ḥry-ib-tpy*, of whom we shall hear more later, there were no Egyptians among the officials of Achaemenid Egypt. Even the Egyptian Khnemibre, chief of public works of Upper and Lower Egypt under Pharaoh Amasis, was supervised by the Persian Āθiyavahyā from the sixth year of Cambyses to the twelfth year of Xerxes (Posener 1936: nos. 24–35, Bongrani, Fanfoni, and Israel 1994).[7] The total reliance on Persian officials indicates the complete lack of local autonomy in Egypt under Achaemenid rule.

CONTROL OVER LOCAL TEMPLES

Imposition of Local Taxes

This lack of local autonomy is especially evident within the temples.[8] Column C on the *verso* of the so-called Demotic Chronicle includes a report of Darius' purported 'codification' of Egyptian *hpw*. Whatever these were, they were not local sentencing guidelines, since these were never recorded and not tracked (Nims 1948: 243–60, Wiesehöfer 1995: 36–46, Bontty 1997: 62–73, Redford 2001: 135–59). What is actually at stake is the codification of the procedures, mechanisms, and titles of personnel involved in running those Egyptian institutions, like the temples, that were productive of wealth (Cruz-Uribe 2003: 47–50).[9] These enabled the Persian satrap and the provincial governors to know, for example, who among the temple personnel were responsible for the management of the finances and who would be responsible for the temple's payment of taxes.

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[7] Āθiyavahyā held the title *saris*, an interpretation of the Egyptian *srs*, which must go back to the Akkadian *ša reši šarri* and refer to a representative of the Persian king at the satrapal court.

[8] It must be remembered that Egyptian priests were not a separate caste, and did not live apart. All upper-class Egyptian men participated in the priesthood and lived in the temple for one month out of every four (Fried 2007), so that the life of the temples and their management was crucial to the relationship of Egyptian elites to their Achaemenid overlords.

Satrapal control over temple funds was new with the Achaemenids, since prior to the Persian conquest temples paid no taxes. In Pharaonic Egypt, in fact, the kings supported the temples and donated lavishly to them. The reverse of this Egyptian norm is revealed in the official correspondence between the priests of Khnum at Elephantine and various officials of the satrapal hierarchy (Spiegelberg 1928, Hughes 1984, Zauzich 1983, Zauzich 1993, Martin 1996: 290–5). One letter (P. Berl.Dem.13536) dated to Darius' 24th year (498), is addressed to the *lesonis* priest of Khnum, that is, the high priest and administrator of the temple. It was from Khnemibre, the *ḥry-ib-tpy,* the satrapal accountant, a position which originated only with the Persians. This office was charged with tracking the wealth of Egypt, both divine and private, for the king's benefit (Yoyotte 1989, Quaegebeur 1989, Chauveau 1999). According to the letter, the *lesonis* priest was required to present to the *ḥry-ib-tpy* a report of temple accounts for the previous three years. The purpose was to determine the amount of taxes owed the king and the situation illustrates the dramatic change that came with the Achaemenids. According to the letter, the *lesonis* had not responded to the previous three requests, suggesting an attempt to resist imperial control.

Appointment of Temple Personnel

Perhaps more important than the imposition of taxes on temples was satrapal control over the appointment of temple personnel. Two letters from the time of Darius elucidate this. The first is a letter to Farnadāta, satrap of Egypt, from the Priests of Khnum, written on 25 December 493 (P.Berl.Dem.13539 = EPE C3). The letter informs Farnadāta, the satrap, that the priests of Khnum had appointed a new *lesonis* priest more than four months earlier. The letter stresses that it is 'we', the priests, who replaced the previous *lesonis*, 'we', the priests, who caused the new *lesonis* to follow the previous one, and 'we', the priests, are in agreement. 'He', that is, the *lesonis*, and he alone will cause his duties to be carried out.

A few months later on 21 April 492, the priests of Khnum received their response from Farnadāta (Berlin 13540 = EPE C1). In the letter the satrap, speaking in the name of Darius, claims the sole right to appoint the *lesonis* priest, the head of the temple. Any candidate for the position had to be brought before the satrap for his approval. The one in charge of conducting him to the satrap was none other than the *ḥry-ib-tpy*, the one to whom the *lesonis* had to report his temple's financial affairs. This official would necessarily have had to approve of the nominee himself, or he would not have presented him to the satrap. Even with this prior recommendation, however, satrapal approval was not *pro forma*. According to the letter, Farnadāta had already rejected the first two candidates brought before him.

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[9] Darius' collection of this type of data is corroborated in the Murašû archives (Kuhrt 1988: 132, Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987: 76, Stolper 1985, Joannès 1990a: 179–80).

The priests of Khnum had submitted two names, and the satrap had rejected both of them—the first because he had fled (and why would a man nominated for the highest position in the temple flee?), the second, because he was 'a servant of another man'. The 'other man' whom the second candidate served may have been a political opponent of the satrap (Zauzich 1983: 426). If this were true of the first candidate as well, the fear of being found out would explain the flight. Indeed, Eskhnumpemet, who finally became *lesonis*, may also have been in service to this other man. We have no indication that he was ever brought before the satrap.

That Eskhnumpemet remained as *lesonis* is confirmed by a letter to him with his title (P.Berl.Dem.13572 = EPE C2) dated to 7 June 492, just a few weeks after the letter from Farnadāta. An earlier unpublished letter (P.Berl.Dem.23584) was sent to Eskhnumpemet from Raukaya, the Persian garrison commander at Elephantine, also addressing him by the title *lesonis*, and so confirming his status (Zauzich 1971: 119). It is not likely that in the fifteen days between the time that Farnadāta's letter arrived at Elephantine and the date of the letter from Raukaya, that Eskhnumpemet was marched down to Memphis, presented to the satrap, and confirmed by him. Yet, he is recognized by the Persian garrison commander as the legitimate head of the temple. The Khnum priesthood had successfully defied Darius' intention to monitor strictly the appointments and the functioning of the great temples (Chauveau 1999: 271). As Farnadāta's letter suggests, such defiance was not normal, and we may conclude that Persian oversight of temple appointments was required in Achaemenid Egypt.

In fact, required Persian approval of temple offices was not limited to the *lesonis*. A receipt dated to the period 21 July–19 August 487 (P.Berl.Dem.13582 = EPE C35) records payment of a total of two *deben* of silver to Farnavā, the Persian provincial governor, from Paibes son of Petiese to secure the appointment of his son, Djedḥer, as second-priest of Khnum. The position of second-priest of Khnum was not purchased from the satrap, but from the governor, the Persian Farnavā. The letter confirms the bribe required by the governor to obtain his approval for the appointment of the second-priest at Khnum. The Persian governor evidently had veto power over the candidates for the office of second-priest, just as the satrap had over the appointment of *lesonis*. In this way, the Persian hierarchy tightly controlled high-level temple personnel.[10]

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[10] It may be that only the priests of the top echelon required official Persian approval. Two additional contracts from the temple of Khnum at Elephantine show that temple offices of scribe

CONTROL OVER LAND OWNERSHIP AND INHERITANCE

Lack of local control over land is also illustrated in the Aršāma correspondence. These documents reveal the vast amount of land that Aršāma owned in Egypt, land that could only have been acquired by its confiscation from the indigenous Egyptian nobility (Dandamaev 1967). According to one letter (A6.11), a certain Peṭosiri complained that he did not inherit his ancestral land when his father died during the 'unrest'. He appealed to the satrap, and Aršāma ordered the tax accountants and land registrars in Egypt to assign the father's lands to his son, Peṭosiri, if and only if they had not already been *made over to his own estate* or *if he had not already given them to another servant*. Aršāma had total discretion over his lands in Egypt; he could keep them himself or give them as rewards to another as he wished.

The Mnesimachus inscription from Sardis (*c.*306–301), to be discussed further below (p. 288), tells the same story.[11] It was written when Antigonus the One-Eyed was the self-proclaimed king of Asia Minor, that is, in 306–301. In spite of the early Hellenistic context, the system of land ownership, conveyance, and taxation illustrated in it has been shown to have originated in the Achaemenid period.[12] The inscription commemorates a donation of lands and villages to the temple of Artemis from one Mnesimachus who had earlier been given them by Antigonus in exchange for services. Mnesimachus' donation to the temple was to pay back to the temple a loan of 1,325 gold staters. According to the inscription, like Aršāma, Antigonus could, at any moment, take the lands and villages back from the temple and either allocate them to whomever else he pleased or keep it for himself. In the inscription, Mnesimachus promises that, if it is taken back on account of something that he himself had done, then he would refund to the temple the total amount owed.

A similar situation can be seen in the funerary inscription of Eshmunezer, king of Sidon, dated to the last year of Darius I, 486 (*ANET* 662). According to the inscription, land within the satrapy Beyond-the-River was added to the borders of Sidon in return for favours done the Great King. The land that the Persian king had given to Sidon must have been taken from someone else. The Great King had the ability to transfer land from one person to another, from one province to another, at will.

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and 'ship's scribe' were bought, sold, and bequeathed between priests apparently without Persian intervention (P.Wien D10150 = EPE C28, P.Wien D10151 = EPE C29).

[11] The inscription was discovered in 1910 engraved on a wall of the temple of Artemis in Sardis and was intended, as it seems, to demonstrate publicly the temple's ownership of several estates in the area (Buckler and Robinson 1912: 11–82, Atkinson 1972: 45–74, Descat 1985: 97–112, Dusinberre 2003: 123–5, 237–8).

[12] Debord 1982: 245–7, Descat 1985: 97–112, Briant 2002: 394, 401, 411, 417, Thonemann 2007: 435–78, Thoneman 2009: 385–9.

CONTROL OVER ONE'S OWN PERSON

It was not only temple funds and personnel that the satrap controlled, and not only the land of Egypt; he also controlled the independence of the average Egyptian as well. Upon order from Aršāma (A6.10) individuals could be captured, branded with Aršāma's mark and enslaved to serve in his court. The biblical description of the ways of a king (1 Samuel 8.11–18) may really be describing the Persian king, not the Hebrew monarch:

> [11] God said, 'These will be the ways of the king who will reign over you: he will take your sons and appoint them to his chariots and to be his horsemen, and to run before his chariots.
> [12] and he will appoint for himself commanders of thousands and commanders of fifties, and some to plough his ground and to reap his harvest, and to make his implements of war and the equipment of his chariots.
> [13] He will take your daughters to be perfumers and cooks and bakers.
> [14] He will take the best of your fields and vineyards and olive orchards and give them to his courtiers.
> [15] He will take one-tenth of your (remaining) grain and of your (remaining) vineyards and give it to his officers and his courtiers.
> [16] He will take your male and female slaves, and the best of your cattle and donkeys, and put them to his work.
> [17] He will take one-tenth of your (remaining) flocks, and you shall be his slaves.
> [18] And in that day you will cry out because of your king.

The random capture and enslavement of personnel illustrates the complete absence of personal freedom in Achaemenid Egypt.

THE ROLE OF THE GARRISON

Nature and Composition of the Garrison at Elephantine

Persia enforced its edicts, and the satrap enforced his desires, through the presence of foreign troops garrisoned throughout the empire (Tuplin 1987: 167–245). At Elephantine the garrison commander (*rab ḥayla'*) was always Persian, whereas the leaders of the detachments, *degelin*, were either Persian or Babylonian—there were no Egyptian, Judaean, or Aramaean officials in the garrison, nor were there Egyptians among the men. The men who made up the troops of the garrison on Elephantine were foreign, Judaean or Aramaean. While the presence of Persians does not surprise, neither should the presence of Babylonians in responsible positions. The Persepolis documents indicate the large number of Babylonian officials who operated within the highest echelons of the empire's central bureaucracy (Stolper 1984: 299–310). Of a particular set of twenty-nine important officials named at Persepolis, about one-third had Babylonian or West Semitic names. These men were instrumental in the written transmission in Aramaic of orders given by the most senior officials in the Persepolis economic system, and, since there would be no reason for Iranians to have taken Babylonian names, these names can only indicate their bearers' origins.[13] It should not surprise anyone, therefore, that Babylonians would be counted among the detachment commanders in a garrison whose members were Aramaic speakers, nor should it surprise anyone that among the Babylonians, an occasional Babylonian of Judaean descent should appear.[14]

The Chain of Command

According to Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 8.6.1), garrison commanders of *akra* garrisons, such as at Elephantine, were responsible only to the king, not to the satrap; but this statement cannot stand. We know from a letter in the Yedanyah archive (A4.7/A4.8) that Vidranga, the provincial governor or *frataraka,* ordered his son Nāfaina, then the garrison commander, *in writing*, to demolish the temple of YHW. Thus, the garrison commander took his orders from the governor, and since the order was in writing, and was official, this would have been the case even if they had not been father and son (Briant 2002: 342). That letter also claims that Aršāma did not know anything about the temple's destruction (lines 28–9). It is not likely that Aršāma would not have known about these events or that he had not in fact commanded them, since the archive reveals the extent to which he controlled the minute details of events in his satrapy, even down to the number and sizes of nails for a boat repair (A6.2). According to a memorandum of a conversation between Bagāvahyā, governor of Judah, Delayah, governor of Samaria, and Yedanyah, the priest of YHW at Elephantine (A4.9), Yedanyah was to appeal to Aršāma for redress of grievances. This makes it impossible that Vidranga had taken his orders directly from the king, since in that case Aršāma would have been powerless to allow the temple to be rebuilt. At the same time, it is not likely that Vidranga would have ordered the temple of a Persian garrison destroyed on his own without orders from above, and there is evidence that he did not: for, if Vidranga had been acting on his own, perhaps as a result of bribes from the priests of Khnum, and without orders from the satrap, then Yedanyah and the Judaeans would have appealed to Aršāma directly, and would not have needed to send to Judah and Samaria for advice and help.

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[13] The figures are based on Tavernier 2008: 77–83. Further work on the PFA means that more texts are now known than were available to Tavernier, but the essential situation is unchanged. Tavernier's treatment superseded earlier discussions (e.g. Stolper 1984: 305), in which the figures are slightly, but not significantly, different.

[14] One of the *bʿly ṭʿm* (or viceroys) in Egypt, ʿAnani (A6.2:23), was likely a Babylonian of Judaean descent. What has not often been recognized is that in the Achaemenid empire satrapal administration included intermediate levels of government between the satrap and the provincial governor. The official intermediate between the satrap and the governor had the same title in both Aramaic and Akkadian (*bʿl ṭʿm, bēl ṭēmi*). In Egypt one such intermediate seat of government seems to have been at Thebes (A4.2). For a different view of the significance of the description *bʿl tʿm* (or *bēl ṭēmi*) see Tuplin i 273.

We may consider then that Vidranga received his orders from Aršāma. Evidence from an archive of Aramaic letters from fourth-century Bactria supports this understanding of the chain of command from satrap to provincial governor to garrison commander. The Aramaic of these documents and their epistolary style are identical to that utilized in the Aramaic documents from Egypt, even though these are from the extreme other end of the empire. Eight of the documents in the archive appear to be chancellery copies of official letters from Axvamazdā, satrap of Bactria, to Bagavanta, governor (*pḥh)* of a province in northern Bactria.

One letter from Axvamazdā to Bagavanta, dated 21 June 348 (ADAB A4), is especially revealing. In this letter, Axvamazdā responds affirmatively to a previous request by Bagavanta to release the troops at his disposal from building the city wall of Nikhšapaya, a city in the extreme northern end of Bagavanta's province, and to use them instead to gather in the harvest before the locusts consumed it. It is clear first of all that the governor had troops at his disposal, i.e. that as governor he commanded the garrison, and second, that he was using the troops to build a city wall and moat. It is also clear from this letter, and similar ones in the archive, that the Persian governor had no autonomy whatsoever. He could not decide by himself to halt the wall-building efforts and to collect the harvest before the locusts ate it. He had first to request permission from his satrap and then to await his satrap's reply. It is also clear that he received his orders from his satrap, not from the king. If he had no authority in so minor a situation, how much less power would he have had to tear down the temple of a local Persian garrison on his own initiative?

Managing Satrapal Agricultural Lands

A second Bactrian letter (ADAB A6) from the same satrap to the same governor details the latter's role more fully. According to this letter, a local official had complained to the satrap that the governor Bagavanta was derelict in not using the troops at his disposal to repair the roofs on two of the satrap's buildings, and moreover was not bringing the satrap's grain and sesame to the storehouse. Axvamazdā, like Persian satraps throughout the empire, owned extensive domains in his satrapy and relied on local provincial governors and the troops at their disposal to manage them. There was thus no separation between the satrap's personal domains and those of the satrapy. The governor had to use his troops to carry out the satrap's orders, whether this included repairing roofs on the satrap's estates or building a defensive city wall.

The relationship among satrap, governor, and local (native) officials that is exhibited in the Bactrian letters is also revealed in Achaemenid Egypt (TADAE A6.8). Psamšek, a local Egyptian official on one of Aršāma's estates, complained to Aršāma that a certain Armapiya was not listening to him (Psamšek) and was not using the troops that Armapiya had at his disposal as Psamšek wanted. Like Bagavanta, Armapiya was supposed to use his troops to manage Aršāma's Egyptian estates. Like Bagavanta, he ignored the orders of the local Egyptian official until the satrap himself intervened.

Protecting the Populace

The garrison's major role was to protect the populace and we may suppose that building a city wall was part of that protective role (ADAB A4). The garrison at Elephantine also provided military escort for shipments in transit up and down the Nile at least as far as Abydos (A4.3). This included defending property from brigands (P.Loeb 1 = EPE C4). A letter dated to the 36th year of Darius I (Payni, day 17 = 5 October 486), addressed to the Persian governor, Farnavā, from the Egyptian Khnumemakhet, advises Farnavā not to permit Atarpāna (perhaps the Persian garrison commander: an alternative interpretation of the name is Atarbānuš) to leave a shipment of grain unguarded on the wharf for fear of bandits, but to bring it immediately to the storage facility in the house of Osirouer (Uṣer–wer). The soldiers from the local garrison were thus responsible for guarding grain in transit. This letter reveals a chain of command identical to that depicted in the Bactrian letters and in the Aršāma letters. The Egyptian Khnumemakhet could not give an order or even a request to Atarpāna, the garrison commander, himself; it could only come from Farnavā, the governor. The same control that the satrap has over the governors is exerted by the governor over the garrison commander.

Collecting Taxes and Tribute

A third role of the garrison was to collect the taxes. A long customs account found at Elephantine (TADAE C3.7) indicates that foreign ships entering and leaving the Nile paid customs and imposts in kind and in silver to the local garrison which were then made over to the royal storehouse.[15]

The Bactrian evidence also shows that the governor used his troops to collect taxes and tribute from the inhabitants. In a letter (ADAB A1) from the satrap Axvamazdā addressed to the governor Bagavanta and the judges (*dyny*ʾ), the satrap reiterates a complaint that he has received from a certain Persian Vahuvaxšu. According to the complaint, Bagavanta and the judges with him had seized and imprisoned a group of camel-drivers who worked for this Vahuvaxšu and who were guarding the camels of the king. Bagavanta and the judges with him were demanding a tax from the drivers, but Vahuvaxšu refused to pay it. The tax in question is the *hlkʾ*, or *ilku*, tax: it is corvée service or a fee to pay someone else to provide the service. Since it was the king's camels that the camel-drivers were guarding, Vahuvaxšu may have complained that no further fee should have been required from the drivers. The satrap upheld his version of the case.

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[15] These so-called customs and imposts were really rents paid to the king for the use of the Nile river (see Fried 2015: 159).

So, in addition to his other duties, Bagavanta collected the taxes and tribute owed in his province. The soldiers at his disposal as well as the judges with him were the means by which he collected them. The complaint was not that Bagavanta was collecting taxes at all, but rather that Vahuvaxšu was not required to pay that particular tax. The reference to the judges with Bagavanta suggests that the animal-drivers were tried in a court of law and then imprisoned. Those who managed the land and its cultivation and those who collected the tribute owed on it were not separate from those who supervised the military and manned the garrisons.

The role of the garrison in collecting taxes is also visible in the Mnesimachus inscription at Sardis (*c.*306–301), discussed briefly above (p. 283). According to the inscription, Antigonus had assigned the villages designated in the document to Mnesimachus. In spite of the wealth of the land he received, Mnesimachus needed cash, which he had borrowed from the temple of Artemis in Sardis. The temple wardens now wanted the money back, and, since Mnesimachus did not have the funds, he transferred the property to the temple. The temple was now obligated to pay the taxes on the produce of these villages, and these were to be collected by the chiliarchs, that is, the garrison commanders, in their respective provinces. The bulk of the inscription is a list of the towns and villages, the amount of taxes due on each, and the location of the chiliarch (that is the Persian garrison commander) who was to collect the taxes.

Serving as Police

The Elephantine papyri suggest a fourth use to which the soldiers of the garrison were put, and that was to act as the local police force. A petition against injustice (A5.2) reveals that after a trial in which Nattun appeared before several judges (two Persian and one Babylonian), the foremost (soldiers?) of Nāfaina, the garrison commander, came to Nattun's field and took . . . (something) . . . from Nattun. These soldiers would have been carrying out the decision of the Persian judges.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN A PERSIAN GARRISON

Each of the foreign ethnic groups that comprised the garrison at Elephantine brought with them their own gods and erected temples to them in Elephantine and Syene. In addition to a temple to the Judaean god YHW, there were temples to the Aramaean gods Bethel (A2.1), Eshembethel (C3.15:127), Anatbethel (C3.15:128),[16] and to the Queen of Heaven (A2.1), as well as to the Babylonian gods Banitu (A2.2, 2.4) and Nabu (A2.3). I assume there were fire-altars to Auramazdā as well for the Persian officers. One wonders how the presence in Elephantine and Syene of all these temples to foreign gods affected the local Egyptian people. The presence of a temple to YHW was certainly a source of friction on Elephantine.

The presence of the several temples dedicated to the various gods of the members of the garrison at Elephantine/Syene in fact explains the Xanthos trilingual inscription (Dupont-Sommer 1979, Metzger 1979, Teixidor 1978, Fried 2004: 140–54). That inscription commemorates the establishment in Xanthos (in Lycia) of an altar to the Carian god known as King or Caunian King. The new altar was erected for the benefit of the newly installed Carian garrison and Carian garrison commanders. Debord asks how great the margin of manoeuverability would have been for people under a Carian satrap, a Carian *arkhōn* (governor), and a Carian *epimeletēs* (garrison commander) with his certainly Carian garrison to refuse to establish a Carian god in their sanctuary (Debord 1999: 67). It is not likely that the Lycians could have refused to accept the Carian god in their midst. That the Xanthos document reports the establishment of this foreign cult as the idea of the Lycians themselves is typical of inscriptions of conquered Greek cities that pretend to be free and independent (Jones 1998: 95–112).

The so-called Passover Letter (A4.1) should be seen in the same light as the Xanthos inscription. The letter is fragmentary, but in it Darius II apparently permits the Judaeans who are manning the Persian garrison at Elephantine and Syene to observe the Festival of Matzoth between the 15th and 21st of Nisan. If they were also being permitted to observe the holiday of Passover on the 14th of Nisan, at twilight, then they were really being permitted to sacrifice a ram, the icon of the god Khnum. The letter like the Xanthos inscription illustrates Achaemenid support of the customs of the men of the foreign garrisons billeted throughout the empire, even if it comes at the expense of the local customs and concerns of the conquered peoples.

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[16] On these deities see Van der Toorn, Becking, and van der Horst 1999: 141, 157, 174.

CONCLUSIONS

The Aramaic and Demotic documents from Achaemenid Egypt, especially Elephantine, plus the newly published Aramaic documents from Bactria reveal some of the mechanisms by which the Achaemenids governed their empire. They ruled primarily by means of the foreign soldiers of the garrisons that were installed in every major city throughout the empire, and by the installation of a completely Persian judicial system, with Persian judges, investigators, and hearers, i.e. intelligence officers. Through these institutions the Persian satrap controlled the allocation of lands, of persons, and the appointment of temple personnel.

5.3

The Military Environment of Achaemenid Egypt

Christopher J. Tuplin

Aršama's satrapy existed by virtue of military conquest (and reconquest after rebellion). The military dimension is an inescapable aspect of his world. The aim of this chapter is to provide a reasonably systematic presentation of the evidence about this aspect, paying due attention to the identity of the datasets that provide it and to the patchiness of the material.

THE ARŠĀMA DOSSIER

The Babylonian, Demotic Egyptian, and Old Persian components of the dossier provide nothing military apart from the anonymous Calasirian in P. BM EA 76274.1 ii 3, whose role is unclear (see below, p. 293 n. 4).

The Greek components are at first sight more helpful. But in two of the passages the military material is either tangential (Aršāma arrives as satrap *after* the suppression of Inaros' rebellion) or at best implicit (Aršāma supports Darius in 424/3, but what that involved is unstated and any military perspective entirely conjectural). The third passage—Polyaenus on Arsames' attack on Barca—is another matter. Here we do have an actual military operation. But (a) it is at least arguable whether the passage refers to *our* Aršāma or, indeed, offers a genuinely independent piece of historical information, (b) the narrative is, to say the least, unspecific about the nature of the forces in use, and (c) the point of the story is the use of a deceptive non-military stratagem to get hold of the city. So, even if the passage is actually part of the dossier or at least pertinent to the military environment of Achaemenid Egypt, we are going to learn little from it—save perhaps that Arsames' forces were insufficiently strong or skilful to capture Barca *without* treachery.

The Aramaic parts of the dossier are more productive. Sometimes, it is true, their contribution is at best conjectural:[1] the equestrian images in A6.12 *could* be military, the protection and enhancement of Aršāma's estate in A6.10 surely entailed organized physical force (cf. below), and the journeys between Babylon and Egypt in A6.9 and A6.13 (the latter explicitly with 'treasure') were hardly accomplished without protection, though there is no positive reason to categorize the ten servants and horses accompanying Nakhtḥor in A6.9 as security personnel.[2] (Any such people with them may have been fed of a different subsistence account and therefore be invisible in Nakhtḥor's travel document.) But in all these cases any soldiers remain off-stage, and (cf. n.1) there is no certainty that shield-bearers (*wršbr* = **varçabara*-) stand before us in the persons of Kosakan and Peṭosiri, so the premier military texts in the Bodleian correspondence are A6.7 and A6.8.

In A6.8 we meet Armapiya who has a *ḥayla* and is disinclined to use it on the (unidentified) 'business of my [Aršāma's] estate'. Perhaps Armapiya was being asked to help Psamšek to assist in estate-enhancement (cf. A6.10). Armapiya has an Anatolian name meaning 'given by the moon' and is likely to be a Lycian (A6.8:1(2) n.) We have Babylonian-named *degel* commanders at Elephantine, as well as Aramaean- or Babylonian-named centurions (nn. 17, 25, 27). Perhaps in certain contexts they could have been alluded to as 'PN and the *ḥayla* with him' or spoken of as having the *ḥayla* 'in hand'—in which case Armapiya could be seen as the commander of mercenary troops in some part of the satrapy's garrison establishment. But the idea has also been mooted that, since (a) Aršāma's estate contained *garda* and (b) so-called *gardu*-troops are found in Babylonia (CT 22.74) and, conceivably, *kurtaš* soldiers in Persia,[3] Armapiya might be in command of people of that sort. One might, of course, call this an unwarranted conjecture based upon what is anyway a scantily attested and opaque external parallel, but it is hard to be sure. If the conjecture is accepted, then deployment of these people on estate business may be categorically unproblematic, the *ḥayla* being Aršāma's private force; otherwise we have what looks like a diversion of state resources to private purposes—if the distinction is meaningful when the private individual in question is the satrap. One is tempted to compare ADAB A2. But the blandness of the description in the Egyptian document and the obscurity of the detail in the Bactrian one make assessment difficult.[4]

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[1] And some conjectures are unwarranted. Fried's suggestion (2004: 90) that Artavanta was the Memphis garrison commander is perhaps one such. Again, although *mhḥsn* is used of the property-holding status of people who have a military character (n. 24), there is no strong cause to attribute that character to Peṭosiri (his title *wršbr* does not have to be interpreted as **varçabara*- = 'shield-bearer': A6.5:2(2) n., A6.11:1(4) n.) or—elsewhere in the Aršāma dossier—the boat-owners in A6.2. The closest we get to military boats in Egyptian evidence is the *degelin* on 9 March 471 in the Memphis Shipyard scroll (C3.8): but all the boats are non-military (the commonest function being fishing). The battered state of ATNS 26 prevents us from seeing whether the boats there are military: even if the text refers to Thonis (n. 104), they certainly do not have to be. (But cf. Bresson iii 216 n. 34.) The boat in A3.10 is for grain transport, even if the Iranian names in the story—Spantadāta, Arma(n)tidāta—suggest an official context; and the Customs Document (C3.7) only envisages commercial shipping. (Of course, a customs point was hardly without some military presence.)

[2] The recorded travel groups in treasure transport and other related documents in the PFA are often small or very small: cf. A6.13:5(3) n.

[3] NN 1202, NN 2356, in the light of PF 1812; NN 0425, NN 0458, NN 0543, NN 1100, NN 1202, NN 1745, NN 2071, NN 2356.

From A6.7 we learn that a response to rebellion was for the *ḥayla* (otherwise undefined) to retreat behind fortress walls, while in A4.5 it was for Judaean soldiers in Elephantine to 'remain at their posts' when Egyptian *degelin* rebelled—which might mean much the same. The same document provides another instance of the Iranian term *handaiza* which A6.7 uses to describe the *ḥayla*'s response: in July 410 Egyptians blocked a well from which the *ḥayla* would drink when *handaiza*.[5] Perhaps one such occasion was precisely during the Egyptian rebellion. The word recurs in B2.7 (17.11.446). Here Maḥseyah consumed goods belonging to his daughter while *handaiza*. He now gives her a house to pay off the debt. This too could refer to a time of emergency, though it does not have to.

Two further observations. First, one *could* interpret A6.7, and perhaps A6.8, in terms of the 'protection of agricultural land with fortresses' model encapsulated in Xenophon's story about Armenia and Chaldaea in *Cyropaedia*[6] or in his report about Asidates' *tursis* and the military presence in the Caicus Valley (*Anabasis* 7.8.12–19).[7] Aršāma's Cilician slaves were, after all, supposed to have sought refuge in the fortress (A6.7). Second, the combination of *ḥayla* and fortress in A6.7 (and perhaps of foreign commander and *ḥayla* in A6.8) resonates with documents in the Aršāma dossier that relate to Syene-Elephantine—part of a larger set of texts famous for what they reveal about a community of soldiers. That brings us to the broader evidence about the Egyptian military environment under Persian rule.

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[4] By contrast, deployment of troops in A4 during a locust attack involves a situation whose severity transcends issues of public and private. The Calasirian in P.BM EA 76274.1 ii 3 is another soldier mentioned in connection with (what might be) Aršāma's estate business, but the nature of the link remains opaque. He is unlikely to be a figure comparable with Armapiya.

[5] Blocking the well parallels destruction of a royal barley-house: the Egyptians were trying to deny the Judaeans food and drink. **Handaiza* is distinct from **handēsa*: Tavernier 2007a: 452.

[6] 3.2.17–25, 3.3.1. A garrison (unstated ethnicity) under a Median commander uses a fort to police the Armenian–Chaldaean deal (an *epimakhia* of free parties, who enjoy *epigamia, epergasia*, and *epinomia*). The aim is safe productive use of agricultural land; but the element of international relations (Chaldaea was outside the incipient empire) makes the model unusual.

[7] But the inclination to hide behind fortress walls contrasts with the local forces' behaviour in the latter case. See Tuplin 2014a: 675.

SYENE-ELEPHANTINE: THE ARŠĀMA DOSSIER AND BEYOND

The Syene-Elephantine garrison is explicit or entailed in eight items in the Aršāma dossier (A4.1, A4.2, A4.5, A4.7–4.10, A5.2), but also in a much wider range of documents—largely ones whose primary concern is the private business of Judaean residents.[8] I make some rapid observations about what emerges, some of which take one also to Egyptian evidence from outside Syene-Elephantine.[9]

We are dealing what is officially the Syene garrison, part of which is on the small island of Elephantine:[10] A4.10 designates Yedanyah and others as 'Syenians who are property-holders in Elephantine the fortress'. Nāfaina in A5.2 is '*rab ḥayla* of Syene'. (Contrast Herodotus' location of a garrison simply at Elephantine.[11]) The garrison is ethnically mixed. At the top we see Iranian governors and commanders.[12] Below that we see a variety, both collectively (the Egyptian *degelin*;[13] the Judaean *ḥayla*) and individually: Judaeans, Aramaeans, Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Medes, Caspians, Chorasmians, Bactrians.[14] We also find a Caspian (C3.8 IIIA r.6), a Chorasmian (D3.39 (b)), some Hyrcanians, one with an Egyptian mother,[15] and unit-commanders with Semitic names (B8.4, B8.6) in Memphis-Saqqara.[16] Back at Elephantine the apparent Babylonians include men with either fathers or sons who have Iranian names, and we also encounter Egyptian-named individuals with Iranian patronyms (remarkably two appear among the list of members of the Judaean *ḥayla* who give money to YHW), a man with Iranian name and Egyptian patronym and examples of mixed West Semitic/Iranian naming:[17] the military community

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[8] Brief evocations of the issues involved can be found in Porten 2011: 75–89, Porten and Yardeni 1986–99, 2.xiii–xiv, or Porten 2003a. Essentially we have conveyance (B2.1–4, 7–11, 3.2, 4–7, 9–12, 5.1–6), obligation documents (B3.1, B3.13, B4.1–6), judicial oaths (B7.1–4), and documents of wifehood (B2.5–6, B3.3, B3.8, B6.1–4). Only five out of 130 witnesses in such documents do not sign their own name (Knauf 2002: 182): this was a quite literate community. Despite use of Aramaic, the procedural formulae of the relevant documents have a markedly Egyptian character: see Ritner 2002, Botta 2009, Botta 2013. Lippert 2008: 85 suggests that Darius' legal codification might have had some impact on this and Schütze 2017: 500 concurs. (The social respectability in such documents is a one-sided picture. There were prostitutes in Elephantine too: CG J4.) In view of the way that Becking 2017a: 829 and Kratz 2019: 169, 171 have recently linked the Bodleian documents with Elephantine (Kratz even describes Nakhtḥor as Aršāma's administrator in Syene) it should perhaps be re-iterated that there is no solid ground for such an association.

[9] Fifty years of textual and historical scholarship have not dulled the lustre of the classic account of the Judaeans of Elephantine in Porten 1968.

[10] Elephantine is 1.6 km long, 450 m wide, and about 46 ha in area (Müller 2016: 214).

[11] On this see Tuplin 2018: 116–17. The suggestion there that Herodotus was not entirely clear about the relationship between Syene and Elephantine recalls Lloyd's hypothesis that he managed to confuse Philae with Tachompso (Lloyd 1975–88: 2.119–20).

[12] *Frataraka* B2.9 (Ramnadainā), A4.5, A4.7//A4.8 (Vidranga). The *frataraka* in ATNS 27:5 is probably not the one from Tshetres. Examples of the term outside Egypt do not necessarily designate a person of similar status (Tuplin 2017a: 638–9). *Rab ḥayla* (*rb ḥylʾ*): n. 35. The term is occasionally written as a single word (A3.1: *verso* 5, A4.7:7, B5.1:3).

[13] Those who attacked the Judaean temple in 410 were 'Egyptians with the other *ḥayla*'. It is unclear whether this signifies 'Egyptian *ḥayla* and other *ḥayla*' or 'the Egyptians [priests and other inhabitants] and the rest of the *ḥayla*'—i.e. the parts that were not Judaean. Either way, and in view of rebellious Egyptian *degelin* in A4.5, we may postulate Egyptian troops in Syene. See also nn. 14, 132.

[14] Mede: Ātarfarnā son of Naisāya the Mede (B3.6: witness). Caspians: B2.7 (witness), B3.4 (*degel* member), B3.5 (contract-party), B3.12 (*mhḥsn* in Yeb). Bactrian: D2.12 (*degel* member). Chorasmian: B2.2 (*degel* member). (Whether the Carian boatmen of TADAE A6.2 were strictly speaking part of the garrison-community is impossible to tell: cf. n. 63.) The presence of people from Iran and Central Asia is clearly due to the Persian conquest. But the Judaeans and Aramaeans

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are generally assumed to have been at Elephantine since Saite times, though there is debate about when they arrived (see Porten 1968: 8–16, 105–22, Knauf 2002: 183–4, Porten 2003b, Zauzich 2012: 409, Rohrmoser 2014: 73–81, Siljanen 2017: 45–53, 135, 296), the latest usually suggested date being after the fall of Jerusalem. (The view of MacLaurin 1968 that they were the remnants of the pre-Exodus Jewish community cannot be seriously entertained.) Some believe they did not all arrive at the same time: see e.g. Van der Toorn 1992. Becking (2003, 2011: 404–5) is unusual in discarding the claim of A4.7:13–14//A4.8:12–13 as 'invented history' and asserting that the Judaeans arrived after 526, either from Judah or Judahtown in Babylonia. The *Letter of Aristeas* (13–14) postulates new Judaean arrivals under the Persians, which is not impossible, but does not, of course, authorize the idea this was their first arrival, especially as the same text asserts that Judaeans already came in the time of King Psammetichus. (Both were precedents for further arrivals under Ptolemy, also attested in Joseph.*AJ* 12.1–10, *Ap*.1.186–7 [Hecataeus], 210 [Agatharchides] and, von Recklinghausen 2005: 149–53 claims, in the Satrap Stele, a view shared by Schäfer 2011: 108–10, 123–31.) The absence of pre-500 evidence can be seen as a product of the accident of survival of particular Aramaic archives and the lack of interaction between Demotic sources and the Judaean/Aramaean population (the only exceptions seem to be P.Berl.Dem.23616 and 23592: Vittmann 2017: 249–50, Müller 2016: 233). An Aramaic jar-inscription from Elephantine containing Yahwist names (Röllig 2013: no. 32) dated *c.*520 on palaeographic grounds is a reminder that other types of text might raise the date of earliest attestation (though still not to the Saite era). Aramaic is attested at Saqqara as early as *c.*600 (Aimé-Giron 1931: 4–5 (no. 2)), though Judaean names are rare in Saqqaran documents (Vittmann 2017: 253, 255–6). The fact that the Elephantine 'Aramaean quarter' houses date from the Persian era (Tuplin iii 346 n. 8) does not prove that their inhabitants are new arrivals, though (if not) it does suggest a re-organization of the garrison and/or fortress in the new dispensation (Schütze 2012: 300). Houses of similar date and type appear at Syene, which was also the object of fresh development at this time (presumably for similar reasons): von Pilgrim *et al.* 2008: 315–18, 325–6, von Pilgrim and Müller 2013/14: 2–3, von Pilgrim, Marée, and Müller 2014/15: 6–8, von Pilgrim *et al.* 2015/16: 3–13, von Pilgrim *et al.* 2016/17: 2–13. That Elephantine Judaeans are Aramaic users in all of our evidence (a palaeo-Hebrew lapidary fragment apparently discovered at Elephantine in 1918 is now lost: Lemaire 2017c: 243–6) is consistent with any reasonable hypothesis about the community's origins (cf. Lemaire 2015: 65), granted the local presence of non-Judaean Aramaic speakers. (On the Hebrew–Aramaic shift among Judaeans of Palestine see Schniedewind 2006.)

[15] *Ṣhh* = *Saxva: B8.3:3; Wennefer (a cavalryman), son of Merega and Tawaret (Egyptian mother but perhaps Iranian father): Smith and Martin 2009: no. 17. (The latter text is assigned to the fourth c., but, whether or not it belongs in 343–332, I think it can fairly be cited in the present context.) It is conceivable that the deceased on the Berlin funerary stele AM 23721 (von Bissing 1930) was another horseman who had both an Iranian and an Egyptian identity: Colburn 2020: 268–72.

[16] *Krtk* in B8.3:1 is taken by Tavernier 2007a: 426 as **kāratāka-* = 'traveller', a word some associate with the term Cardaces. But (a) it is a further, and undesirable, leap to treat the term as an (Iranian) ethnic and (b) *krtk* could also be 'Cretan' (as Tavernier assumes at 2007a: 534).

[17] Babylonian-named *degel* commanders: Nabukudurri (408–399; son with Iranian name), Iddinnabu (446–413): see A6.8:1(5) n. Babylonian name/Iranian patronym: Mannuki son of Bagaiana (B3.2, witness). Egypto-Iranian: Bagadāta son of Psamšek (B4.3–4, witness); Ḥori son of Vana (C3.15:43, in collection list); Pamet son of Sugudiya (*Sgdy*: C3.15:72, in collection list). Is Gwzy son of Pṭḥnm (CG 252) another case? (Pṭḥnm is Egyptian, Gwzy might evoke *Gauza-.) West

thus displays a degree of onomastic assimilation to the ruling power. There is on the whole an association of Judaeans with Elephantine (where documents sometimes virtually identify garrison and religious community, perhaps reflecting an official Persian decision)[18] and Aramaeans with Syene.[19] The phrase 'whose place is in Yeb' used of two or three Iranians and taken by Porten 1968 as a sign of semi-permanence may hint that Iranian troops properly belonged at Syene, even if Judaean units had Iranian commanders. Evidence about the soldiers' pay/maintenance involves a taxable *mnt* (literally 'share'),[20] ration-distributions at various rates (*ptp*),[21] and *prs*, probably normally in

Semitic name/Iranian patronym: Hošea son of Sugudiya (C3.15:64). Iranian name/West Semitic patronym: Syāmaka son of Mešullam (C3:15,27, in collection list); Varyazāta son of Bethelzabad (B3.9:11, witness); Rauxšna (*Rwḥšn*) son of Nergal(u)shezib (B3.9:9, scribe); Arvaraθa son of Yehonatan (B4.4:21, witness); Psgz son of Vanya: (D9.10). There are two Magians in B3.5 (witnesses).

[18] Notably A4.1 ('Yedanyah and his colleagues the Judaean garrison'), A4.2 ('Yedanyah, Maʿuziyah, Uriyah, and the garrison'), C3.15. In the first two texts the named persons are priests of YHW (cf. A4.3, A4.7//4.8), and one may guess that the obscure conflict in A4.2 had a religious dimension. Priests also appear in non-priestly contexts: B3.8, B3.11 (Yedanyah), B2.9, B2.10, B3.5, B3.8, B3.11, B4.6, B6.4, B7.1, C4.6, D3.17 (Maʿuziyah, in many cases as a scribe and in some simply as the patronym of his son Natan). One should not perhaps simply assume that priestly status dispensed them from military activity. (On the other hand, the description of Yedanyah and other priests as *bˁl Yb* in A4.7:22—the only place in the letter where Elephantine is *not* labelled as a fortress—taken together with the formulaic distinction between *bˁl qrhy* and *bˁl dgl* in B2.1:9, B2.7:10, B6.3:7 *could* imply that priests were not members of *degelin* and so not soldiers.) In C3.15 donations to YHW are from the 'Judaean garrison', even though the list includes two people with entirely Iranian names (Bagafarnā son of Vačaxaya and Vačaxaya son of Zara(h)māra), one with Iranian name and non-Iranian patronym (Syāmaka son of Mešullam) and three with Iranian patronyms (Ḥori son of Vana, Pamet son of Sugudiya, Hošea son of Sugudiya): presumably some Judaeans were adopting Egyptian and Persian names. It also includes (Judaean) women, so the 'garrison' embraces the soldiers' families (cf. p. 298 on *degelin*). Kottsieper 2002 (followed by e.g. Granerød 2016: 36) holds that 'Judaean garrison' is not a *de facto* self-identification but an official designation, whose bestowal by the Persian authorities exacerbated inter-ethnic tension. Another interesting appellation is *Yhh ṣbʾt* (YHW of the armies) in CG 167, 175 = J8, 186, perhaps a First Temple-period tradition whose survival was due to the Judaeans' military status (Lemaire 2015: 54).

[19] Rohrmoser 2014: 7 questioned this, but see Vittmann 2017: 240. Three sandstone sarcophagi of Egyptian aspect from Aswan whose occupants are named in Aramaic (D18.16–18, Porten and Gee 2001: 273–9, Vittmann 2003: 113) are perhaps another reflection of the Aramaean part of the garrison. There is, incidentally, no justification for reading C3.14:41–2 as indicating the existence of something called the *ḥayla* of Tshetres (*pace* Siljanen 2017: 175).

[20] B5.1: a *mnt* is adjudged to two women by the *rab ḥayla* and royal judges: perhaps a land allotment (Grelot 1972: 76–7). The nature of the *mnt* in A6.1 is obscure. Cowley 1923: 55 rendered it neutrally as 'contribution' (cf. 'share' in TADAE), but Grelot 1972: 281 thought it a 'portion (de vivres)', on no very clear grounds. The *mndt* of the *ḥayla* in C3.5 (Elephantine) and ATNS 24 (Saqqara) is different—'tax' or perhaps 'rent'. In ATNS 24 it comes close to a reference to three *karsh* (252 g) of silver—modest compared with the 20,300 *artaba*s (600,000 kg) of Aswan alabaster and 130 *homer*, two *griw* (over 58,000 litres) of a commodity whose name is lost that also appear in this fragmentary text; the quantity of eastern natron, now lost, was perhaps comparably huge. Perhaps, like C3.5, this is an account text covering disparate income streams.

[21] C3.14: rations (*ptp*; glossed as *mkl* = food) for fifty-four individuals of the Syene garrison (22 at 1 *artaba* per month, 2 at 1.5 and 30 at 2.5—so the majority get more than the basic Persepolitan ration, though the sourcing of the cereals from Tshetres and Thebes means we have an Egyptian parallel to the redistribution of locally sourced commodities via storehouses we see at Persepolis.

silver,[22] the latter two coming proximately from the 'royal house' or 'royal store'. (Regular provision of both silver and food to soldiers is not exactly paralleled in documents from elsewhere in the empire. But this may be a function of the lack of a precise parallel for the Elephantine dataset.[23]) How, if at all, the occasional references to individuals or collectives as *mhḥsn*, a technical term of

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(See n. 84 for a further parallel within the purely Egyptian military.) B5.5: a woman refers to 'the silver and the *ptpʾ* which is mine from the "royal house" (*byt mlkʾ*)'. B3.13: when PN has got his *ptpʾ* (two or more *artaba*s per month) from the *ʾwṣr mlkʾ* ('royal store' = *byt mlkʾ*) he can repay a loan of emmer. Perhaps B4.3 = B4.4, where corn is distributed to centuries at the royal house and before the treasury (*ʾwṣrʾ*) scribes: Grelot 1972: 268 restored *ptpʾ* here but TADAE does not. (The rate is $2^{2}/_{3}$ *artaba*s.) An ostracon found on the temple site reads 'give him his ration (*ptp*), barley' (Porten 2003a: 82). Smith and Martin 2009: no. 18 (Saqqara), which lists quantities of uncertain cereal opposite 'Arabs', 'men-of-the-fortress', 'Nubians', 'men-of-Aswan' (?or 'men of Daphnae'), and 'Medes', might belong in a similar context, though it could be Ptolemaic (and is not earlier than Second Domination) and so not directly relevant. Figures of 36, 90, and 100 deben are mentioned. (For 'man-of-GN' as a designation of soldiers cf. La'da 2007: 369–80. In Ptolemaic times at least, such persons were fiscally privileged by virtue of their occupation.) ATNS 25:2–3 (also from Saqqara) allegedly reads 'these are your provisions [*trsytk*] at YNBx; it is that…to him month by month, year by year'. Since YNBx could include Egyptian *ỉnb* = 'wall, fortification', there is a conceivable military allure. But the word for 'provisions' (*trsyt*) is otherwise unknown in Aramaic (Segal ad loc. adduces an alleged early Syriac analogue), and, although it is accepted without comment in DNWSI s.v., it seems odd that a document about a soldier's pay would not use a more normal word. The implicit suggestion in Siljanen 2017: 177 that the expression 'members of the table' in C3.27:22 has some connection with food distributions to the Elephantine-Syene garrison should be regarded with caution, since all the recipients have Egyptian names and the document (probably from Memphis and certainly not from Elephantine) is assigned a fourth-century date in TADAE.

[22] B4.2: a loan (silver) will be repaid out of (monthly) *prs* from the *ʾwṣr* (store): see also below. B4.4: *prs* due from *byt mlkʾ*, along with a house, will go to the other contract party if the speaker does not fulfil his obligations. D 7.9: 'when you will hear (them) saying: "we have begun giving out *prs* at Syene", send word to me' (implying that payday was not firmly fixed). CG X11: a list of Judaeans receiving *prs*. CG 29, 148, 162, 170, 235, 255 also mention *prs* in unclear contexts. A2.3: payment of *prs* apparently received on behalf of another person at Memphis and forwarded to his family in Syene (Porten 1968: 272). A3.3: *prs* is owed at Migdol to Shelomam, absent in Elephantine, and will not be paid until his return. (Officials [*pḥwt*] and scribes are involved.) All of these are or could be silver; and the silver in B5.5 (previous n.) could be *prs*. But in C3.26 (Saqqara) *prs* refers to the distribution of emmer (at seven different rates): the recipients include children, a *šwšn* (perhaps an institutional dependent labourer: Tuplin i 74), 'the dogs of Pasi', Bagābigna, Pasa (or Pasi) the boatman, and (the woman) Taret, and it is hardly entirely parallel to other texts. (That the same word has different meanings in different places is no surprise. There is no linguistically intrinsic link between *prs*—'portion'—and silver.) Some of the name-lists mentioned below (pp. 298–9) might theoretically be connected with distributions of pay of one sort or another. In B4.2 Gemariah is to make monthly payments from his *prs* to discharge an initial debt of just 3.5 shekels (though subject to a monthly 5% interest charge). Siljanen 2017: 179 infers that the *prs* cannot have been large. Perhaps this is not out of line with Jursa's suggestion that in Babylonia monthly military-related payments might range from two to ten shekels (2009: 259).

[23] Payment in both silver and food does occur in the Persepolis Treasury documents, though the recipients are not soldiers and we cannot assume that the representation of silver as a substitute for food had an analogue at Elephantine. In the light of Henkelman's remarks on treasuries in the Persepolis region and elsewhere (2017a: 100, 106–7), one might identify the Elephantine one as the treasury for Tshetres province. (It would make sense for it to be there rather than in Syene, given the greater security of an island location.)

property-holding, fits into the system remains opaque,[24] but we can reasonably describe the men as mercenaries.

Both at Elephantine and Saqqara soldiers were organized in *degelin*[25] and (less frequently attested) centuries.[26] There are no attestations of decarchies, and potential indirect evidence from documents containing bald lists of from three to fifteen names is not very persuasive.[27] In these documents the onomastically

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[24] On *mhḥsn* see A6.11:2(3) n. The term did not apply to all *degel*-members: D2.12, a contract involving Yedanyah the *mhḥsn* and Barzanarava son of Artabarzana *alias* Patou ‘whose place is in Yeb’, guarantees this. Possible collective *mhḥsn* appears in A5.2 (*degel* holding a field), A5.5 (the *ḥayla* leasing something), and, at Saqqara, B8.10 (both *degel* and *ḥayla* appear): none of these texts is lucid. Putative evidence for military property at Saqqara in ATNS 31 (the treasury receives something—Wesselius 1984: 705 arbitrarily postulates *mdntʾ*—from the fields of the *ḥayla*) and ATNS 46 (the *ḥayla* receives so-and-so-many *artabas* of ‘*ll*—‘produce’, ‘income’: cf. Akkadian *hallatu* = ‘dues, tax’ (CAD H 43)—in a text that also mentions an estate [*bg*]) is debatable, as are the implications of the *ḥayla* paying rent (n. 20). In ATNS 75a we have both *mndt* and *mhḥsn*, but not in a visibly military context. One occurrence of *qšt* (bow?) in CG 59 should not over-hastily evoke thoughts of Babylonian fiefs, for all that the same word in WDSP 11 *verso* 3 (Dušek 2007: 270) has been so interpreted. (In EN 39–40 it is tentatively taken to mean grove; and cf. TAOI Concordance.) Given the absence of arable land along the Nile valley for 65 km to the north of Syene-Elephantine (Müller 2016: 232–333, after Manning 2003: 31, 73; and cf. already Porten 1968: 300), army land may not be a significant issue. Vegetable-gardening and livestock-pasturing are visible (A2.2, B7.3,D7.1, D7.8, D7.16; Lozachmeur 2006: 88, Granerød 2016: 278–9), but perhaps occurred only on the island itself. Nutkowicz 2017 does not address this issue directly, but she notes the role of fish in the diet and of Nile boats in commercial interaction. Outside Egypt it is equally debatable whether ADAB A4 entails soldiers owning/having use of land *qua* soldiers.

[25] Attested frequently at Elephantine, mostly in the former case in legal documents (especially contracts) that label individuals as of the ‘*degel* of PN’ and in a preclusion clause about ‘members of *degel*, members of *qryhʾ*’, marking the distinction between soldiers and civilians: not everyone in Elephantine is a soldier. *Degel* of PN at Memphis-Saqqara: B8.4, B8.6, C3.8 IIIA r.7–9, IIIB v.35–6, C3.19, D3.39, ATNS 63, 113. We hear of a *degel* commander (*rb dgl*) in B.8.5 (Elephantine), perhaps the equivalent of a *degel* eponym in legal formulae. (His name is *Bwpy* or *Bzpy*. Tavernier 2007a does not list this as Iranian; what it is I am unsure, but it is hardly Babylonian.) The *degel* also appears at Sheikh Fadl (D22.7 = D23.1 XVIB:1: Aramaean eponym), in Arad 12 (*d.* of ‘Abdnanai) and 18 (with improved reading by Bezalel Porten: D/Raui of the *degel* of Qoshair). Egyptian troops were organized in *degelin* (A4.5). Other non-formulaic allusions: A5.2, B8.10, CG 42, 140, 179, X16 (Elephantine), B8.10, ATNS 15 (Saqqara).

[26] B4.3//4.4, C3.13 col.5.54, C3.15.

[27] In what follows I include items with three or more male names. (D9.13 and CG 266 mention women as well as men, so I put them to one side.) Ethnic categorizations refer to the principal names, not the patronyms—which sometimes do not match and so problematize actual ethnic identity. Semitic names are normally Aramaean or Hebrew. C4.1 (4 Egyptian), C4.5 (9 Semitic), C4.6 (13 Semitic, 2 Egyptian), C4.7 (14 Persian), C4.8 (5 Egyptian, 3 Semitic, one lost), C4.9 (6 Egyptian), D9.3 (5 Semitic), D9.4 (3 Semitic), D9.5 (1 Egyptian, 2 Semitic), D9.9 (12 Egyptian), D9.10 (5 Semitic, 1 Egyptian, 1 Persian), D9.11 (3 Persian, 6 unidentified), D9.12 (4 Semitic, 1 lost), D9.14 (8 Semitic, 2 Egyptian, 2 lost), CG 183 (5 Semitic), CG 267 (1 Persian, 2 Anatolo-Hurrite, 1 lost), CG 275 (3 Persian, 1 Semitic, 7 ‘Caspian’), CG 252 (4 Semitic), CG 96 (7 Semitic, 1 lost), CG 143 (4 Semitic), CG 177 (4 Semitic, 1 lost), CG 181 (5 Semitic), CG 208 (4 Semitic), CG 250 (5 Semitic), CG X2 (10 Semitic), CG X4 (6 Semitic), perhaps AO 25431 (3 Persian, 4 ‘Caspian’, ?2 Semitic, 4 uncertain). From Saqqara: C4.3 (7 Egyptian, 4 Semitic, 9 lost). CG 267 and CG 275 resemble D9.11 and AO 25431 in type, writing (esp. AO 25431 and CG 275), and onomastics. Only CG X2 contains precisely ten names; and only C4.7 contains a (complete) preponderance of Iranian names. (On Anneler’s use of this document see n. 32.) Egyptian names are absent from CG items (ostraca from a different part of Elephantine from the papyrus documents). Lists of this sort

Iranian presence is even more modest than the Egyptian one: perhaps this says something about the Elephantine rank-and-file, but, since we do not know for certain that we are dealing with lists of soldiers or (if so) on what criteria the names are included, it is hard to be sure. More telling is the fact that, in the list of rations for members of the Syene garrison (C3.14), only one surviving name is Iranian (Varda), and, as his father Zutiya has a name of unidentified origin, he may not actually be Iranian. *Degel*-commanders are normally Iranian, but occasionally Babylonian or (in Saqqara) West Semitic.[28] The few attested century-commanders are all either Aramaean or Babylonian, so perhaps Iranian commanders were characteristically only encountered at the highest level. We can tell nothing about the '*ḥayla* captains' optimistically detected by Segal in a Saqqara document.[29] Females can be labelled as belonging to a *degel*; so it is a quasi-social as well as a military unit—hence its use to designate people in private legal documents.[30] People sometimes move from one *degel* to another, perhaps not always because the first *degel* ceases to exist. As the evidence stands, people with Iranian ethnics are never found in the same *degel* as non-Iranians, but that may be accidental. Less accidental, presumably, is the absence of any reliable sign that the members of a single *degel* could include both persons settled in Syene and persons settled in Elephantine.[31] We do not *know* how many Syene-Elephantine *degelin* there were at any one time (eight are attested

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can be contrasted with C3.14 (Syene rations: 54 individuals), C3.15 (Judaean capitation: well over a hundred), and CG X11 ('these are the Judaeans who have received *prs*': four preserved Semitic names), where we do know what is going on—and there is in all cases a military connection, even if C3.15 is not a military document, although, according to Porten 1992: 453, it may have been written by the same scribe as C3.14. (Incidentally, the groups of thirteen and eleven individuals from the centuries of Sinnidin and Nabuakab credited with donations in that text are also the wrong size to represent decarchies within each century—even leaving aside the fact that some of the individuals are women.) Also slightly different from plain name-lists is C4.2, a list of names (9 Semitic, 5 Egyptian, 7 lost), in which the individuals are sometimes said to be 'with PN', the PN on one occasion being Iranian (Bagafarnā). Entirely different are the wholly Egyptian household lists in C3.9–10, though they may be a sign of bureaucratic control in their own right: Thompson 2011b: 399. The Demotic lists in Smith and Martin 2009: nos. 8, 14, 18 all contain more than just names. (No. 14 may not be specifically military.)

[28] Iddinnabu (B2.6, B2.9, B3.6, B3.8, B6.1, B7.1), Nabukudurri (B3.12, B3.13, B4.5, B4.6, B7.2), Nabushezib (B8.4: Saqqara), Bet'elsagab (B8.6: Saqqara). Naqman (D22.7 = D23.1 XVIB:1: Sheikh Fadl). Outside Egypt in the Arad ostraca we find Semitic ('Abdnanai: Arad 12) and Arab (Qoshair: Arad 18, with improved reading by Bezalel Porten) *degel*-commanders.

[29] ATNS 76:2. The word rendered 'captains' literally means 'thirds', i.e. third-in-rank (comparing Hebrew *shalish*)—hardly a certain understanding of an isolated line that reads 'for the *ḥayla* thirds 8'.

[30] B2.8:2–3, B3.4:2, B5.5:1–2. Compare the women who are part of the 'Judaean garrison' (above n. 18).

[31] In B2.1 and B2.2 Maḥseyah b. Yedanyah is variously a Judaean of Elephantine and an Aramaean of Syene in the *degel* of Varyazāta, other *degel*-members being Aramaeans of Syene. This is plainly empty *variatio*; and the same must be true of Zakkur b. Mešullam, an Aramaean of Syene (B3.8), in the degel of Iddinnabu, whose other known members are Aramaeans or Judaeans of Elephantine. For a recent discussion of use of the labels 'Aramaean' and 'Judaean' in documents from Elephantine see Kratz 2019: 176–84.

in total but no more than four need have co-existed)[32] or how many men each contained—guesses vary from 120 to 1,000.[33] Estimating the overall size of the garrison is accordingly difficult.[34]

At the head of the military structure the *rab ḥayla* was always Iranian.[35] He normally appears in legal contexts involving members of the Judaean garrison community.[36] Demotic evidence shows authoritative interaction with the priests of the temple of Khnum.[37] Only the attack on the Judaean temple in 410 involves a *rab ḥayla* leading troops into (a species of) battle (A4.7//A4.8); and in general the *military* activity of the Syene garrison is invisible in Aramaic documentation.[38] (If, as Porten suggested, women appear in the temple capitation document (C3.15) as part of the 'Judaean *ḥayla*' and even specifically attributed to centuries because the man of the household was absent on military duty, that is at best oblique evidence for military operations.) The Demotic documentation does offer P.Loeb 1. The narrative in this letter of 486 from Khnumemakhet to Farnavā, who combined the roles of governor (**frataraka*) of Tshetres[39] and *rab ḥayla*,[40] is rather opaque,[41] but what is at stake is protection of a consignment of grain, perhaps during transhipment round the cataract,[42] and the letter conveys an impression of the garrison's essentially defensive military posture in response to an established threat from brigands.[43] One should note that the soldiers involved are apparently Egyptian (both Ma/Meshwesh and *rmt qnqn* are mentioned: see below, pp. 304, 309, 311, 312), and there is no sign of the Aramaeans or Judaeans familiar from the Aramaic documents, though they were certainly well established at the First Cataract long before this date. Different datasets tell us about different things, but the tendency for soldiers not to be seen doing really military things is rather common—and not only in Egypt.

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[32] Anneler 1912: 56–7 identified six *degel* eponyms in the evidence available to her, noted that one of the names (Artabānuš) recurs in a name-list document (C4.7), inferred that the other thirteen names in that list were also *degel* eponyms, and concluded that there was a total of nineteen *degelin*. But the inference about C4.7 is quite insecure, even though the Iranian onomastic presence is stronger than in most name-lists. Two distinct *degelin* came within the bureaucratic ambit of the Arad ostraca (cf. n. 28). One of the documents mentions a province (*mdynh*), so perhaps Idumaea had at least two *degelin*.

[33] 120–200: Knauf 2002: 181, Becking 2005: 43. 1,000: Porten 1968: 31.

[34] Porten's inferred garrison of 3,000–4,000 men matches Roman practice, for what that is worth. Knauf 2002 reckoned a total Elephantine military population of 2,500–3,000 (and Lemaire 2017b: 175 suggests no more than 1,500 of them might be Judaeans). Siljanen 2017: 138, 173–4, 297, 303 follows Knauf, though at 176 he apparently envisages a rather higher figure. Beside speculation about *degel*s, there are two other more or less directly pertinent pieces of information. (1) The annual tally of grain for the Syene garrison in C3.14:32–45 would feed some 250 men for a year, if their rations followed the same pattern as those of the fifty-four men in lines 1–31. But the tally figures are imperfectly preserved (and could be much higher than now appears) and the document need not refer to the entire garrison. (2) The 318 shekels of C3.15:125 presuppose payments of two shekels by at most 159 individuals, although only 128 are listed by name (Knauf 2002: 181): so there could be 159 households (some represented by a woman in the absence of the man: cf. 301) and at least 159 Judaean soldiers. But whether C3.15 is an exhaustive account of the community is hard to say (see also Tuplin iii 362 n. 64). Going beyond Syene-Elephantine, the 120,000 unspecified measures of grain for the Persians of the White Fort and for their mercenaries (Hdt.3.89) would be enough at basic rates for slightly under 10,000 or slightly over 15,000 recipients depending on the measure. (120,000 *artaba*s = 120,000 × 30 QA = a year's ration for 9,863 men at the basic Persepolis rate of 1 QA per day. 120,000 *medimnoi* = 5,760,000 choenices = a year's ration for 15,780 at the rate of one choenix per day given in Hdt.7.187.) How either figure divides between the Persians and their mercenaries and whether the mercenaries are those just for Memphis or for the whole of Egypt are difficult questions to answer.

[35] Farnavā: P.Loeb 1, P.Berl.Dem.13582. Rauka or Raukaya (Aramaic and Demotic forms diverge): B5.1:3, D7.24:15, P.Berl.Dem.23584, 23594. Vidranga: A3.9:7, A4.3:3–4, A4.5:4, A4.7:5–6, 16//A4.8:5–6, 15, A4.9:6, B2.9:4, B2.10:2,4, B3.9:2–3. Nāfaina: A4.7:7–8//A4.8:6–7, A5.2:6–7. Name lost (but no reason to suppose not Iranian): A3.1, D17.1.

[36] He operates alone (B2.10, B3.9), with the *frataraka* (B2.9), and with royal judges (B5.1). The situation is unclear in A5.2, but it may be that the *rab ḥayla* acts *via* a **frataka*. Maʿuziyah's arrest at Abydos (A4.3) is at least quasi-judicial.

[37] P.Berl.Dem.13582 (EPE C35: Farnavā), 23584, 23594 (Raukaya). (Money changes hands, going into the 'box of Raukaya' or the 'box of Farnavā'.) Also religious is the stele (D17.1) on which an unnamed *rab ḥayla* dedicates a *brazmadana* ('holder of devotion': Tavernier 2007a: 438) to an Egyptian-named divinity [Wenn]ofernakht, 'Wennefer/Onnophris [i.e. Osiris] is strong'—previously unattested, but of a type (heroized mortal) appropriate to the Late Period (an observation I owe to Sandra Lippert).

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[38] The account of the temple attack does not suggest that the Judaeans (some of whom *were* soldiers) attempted to resist: but thorough looting and destruction of the site cannot have happened instantaneously and there should have been time to respond even to a surprise attack launched early or late in the day. Is this because A4.7//A4.8 chooses (falsely) to construct them as helpless victims? Or is it actually true that there were sufficient *non*-Judaean forces in Syene-Elephantine to overface any possible opposition? Anneler 1912: 135–7 produced a story in which there was a siege of the Elephantine fortress caused by Judaean resistance to Vidranga's plan to hand the fortress over to the Egyptians. During the siege the Judaeans build a new wall to compensate for their enemies having breached the main fortress wall but are forced to surrender because the blocking of the well meant they had no water. But this presupposes a reference in A4.5 to a wall-breach that does not survive in modern editions, and seems to misunderstand the reference to wall-building that *is* in the text.

[39] Tshetres is a province south of and distinct from Thebes: Tuplin 2017a: 643, Schütze 2017: 492. (Contrast the view that Tshetres and Thebes were administratively synonymous: Porten 1968: 43, Van der Spek 2015: 111, Van der Toorn 2018a: 265.) It resembles *t3-št(y)-rsy-Nỉw.t* = 'the southern district of Thebes', attested in P.Turin 246 and 248 (= Malinine 1953: nos.9, 18) in 634 and 617 (an area stretching some 200 km. along the Nile), and is distinct both from the Southland (*p3 t3-rsj*) embracing the whole of Middle and Upper Egypt (from the South Watchtower of Memphis to Elephantine) encountered in P.Ryl.Dem.9:5.15,18, 6.7 (and perhaps intended in Biblical and Neo-Assyrian references to Pathros or Paturisu/i) and the more restricted Southland running from Hermopolis to Elephantine implied in P.Ryl.Dem. 9: 1.1–2, 7.13. See Vittmann 1998: 2.278–280. It is impossible to define the area described as *t3 št3-rsy* in a document from 498 (P.Berl.Dem. 3110 = Malinine 1953: no. 5).

[40] P.Berl.Dem.13582 (EPE C35): 'he of Tshetres, to whom the fortress of Syene is entrusted'. See Tuplin 2017a: 643. This is preferable to the view that he was just *rab ḥayla*, the phrase 'he of Tshetres' signifying only that he was a subordinate of the governor of Tshetres (Fried 2003: 86). The combination of the two posts is unattested later and is *prima facie* dissimilar to the separation of civil and military roles in Heracleopolis in 513 (n. 69) and in the second half of Amasis' reign (P.Ryl.Dem.9:19.8–20). But Smoláriková 2008: 26 claims the roles of civil mayor (*ḥ3ty*ʿ) and military commander (*jmj-r3 mš*ʿ) were regularly combined in the (early) Saite era. Only two explicit cases are alleged by Pressl 1998: 126 (one is Semtutefnakht, the Great Shipmaster of P.Ryl.Dem.9: 10.4–7, 16–17, 11.1, 6, 20, 12.3, 14.12, whose statue inscriptions show him to have been *ḥ3ty*ʿ of the Heracleopolis region and general of Heracleopolis). But Pressl's wider contention is that civil titles such as *ḥ3ty*ʿ are rare in Saite times because their functions were absorbed by 'generals' (*jmj-r3 mš*ʿ): in other words explicit use of both titles is not to be expected. This reflects an era in which military titles are the most commonly attested type, the title-sets (*Titelsequenzen*) of individual officials normally include military as well as civil ones, and it seems that the administrative class is largely recruited from soldiers (1998: 82–3, 95–6, 126–8). So the situation in 490s Elephantine might have been a Saite norm from which Achaemenid practice later diverged.

[41] But less so than other items in non-Greek texts. Among documentary texts I have in mind the 'battle' in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 5 (n. 56). A provisional suggestion that S.71/2-DP 130 refers to an unidentified pharaoh besieging Memphis in the first year of his reign does not survive in the final publication of the document in Smith and Davies 2014: 291–3. In non-documentary texts Udjahorresnet's reference to 'disorder' in 526 (Posener 1936: no. 1) and Darius' 'I seized Egypt' (DZc) are the shadow of military narratives, like the Egyptian captives in Camb.334 and NBC 6156 (Stolper 1998: 143). The elusive references to war in fourth-century texts associated with

OUTSIDE THE ARŠĀMA DOSSIER

Moving away from Syene-Elephantine (and from the Aršāma dossier) in search of the Persian military establishment elsewhere, we may note, first of all, that purely material reflections are scarce: apart from some pieces of military architecture (whose status is not always very clear, but most of which is Egyptian rather than Persian: see below, pp. 313–18), all we have that has a distinctively Iranian allure are some so-called 'Persian riders',[44] an ivory figure of a man in Persepolitan garb with an *akinakēs*,[45] a funerary stele showing the deceased in Iranian riding gear,[46] a couple of sealstone images of Persian warfare,[47] just over

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Wennefer = Onnophris (von Kaenel 1980), Semtutefnakht (Perdu 1985; Kuhrt 2007: 458–9 (10.38)), Petosiris (Lefebvre 1923–4, Lichtheim 1973–80: 3.44–54, Briant 2002: 860–1), and Nekhtnebef (Urkunden II 24–26, Engsheden 2005) are only slightly better.

[42] I owe this observation to Peter Knapton.

[43] Tuplin 2014a: 673–4.

[44] Rehm 2006: 506. The riders appear amidst much other material of varying date in Petrie 1909a: 17, pl. xl (43, 45–6), Petrie 1909b: 17, pls. xxviii-xxxiv (70–132), Petrie, McKay, and Wainwright 1910: 46, pls. xlii–xlvi (133–88). On this general category of material (not peculiar to Egypt but, by contrast with other areas, perhaps first found there after the Persian conquest) see Moorey 2000, Tuplin 2010b: 107–8. Vertienko n.d. claims that the examples from Memphis specifically refer to Sakan riders in Artaxerxes III's army in 343 and were made for use in a magical procedure designed to harm the Persian invaders. If so, they are not evidence about the First Domination military establishment, and their presence in the Second Domination (the magic not having worked) might only be temporary.

[45] Stucky 1985: 12, pl. 3.5.

[46] Berlin 23721. It cannot be certain that he is specifically presenting himself as a cavalry soldier (no weapons are present). One does not infer from the regal figure on the Djedḥerbes stele (Kuhrt 2007: 870–2 (17.38), with fig. 17.11) that Djedḥerbes is presenting himself as a king.

[47] Impressions of Aršāma's seal ended up in Egypt (Garrison & Kaptan ii 1–45); Egyptian features in the design of Newell 453 (von der Osten 1934: no. 453, pl. 31; Schmitt 1981: 34–5 (SA^{3}a), fig. 4) may suggest a closer relationship with the country. Neither item, of course, says anything about military infrastructure.

twenty arrow-heads,[48] thirty-three pieces of scale armour,[49] an *akinakēs* blade, an *akinakēs* sheath, an *akinakēs* pommel and seven or eight *akinakēs* chapes, and a number of sword or knife handles.[50] The chapes, knife handles, and perhaps the sheath were made in Egypt and represent luxury equipment.[51] In these circumstances, we remain largely dependent upon textual evidence, and for convenience of exposition this evidence can be sorted into six categories.

1. *Named individual Iranian soldiers*. The only more-or-less straightforward item is the letter of Pediamun to Miθraxa or Čiθraxa, 'the one who is over the army' (*p3 ḥry (n) p3 mšʿ*), in which he claims he has sent fifteen lances to Miθraxa/Čiθraxa, having first given them to the chief lance-bearer.[52] (That title is wholly restored, so one must be wary about making links with Persepolitan and Babylonian lancemen.[53]) The position of Miθraxa/Čiθraxa in the wider system is unclear, but he is a reasonably certain military official. By contrast another Saqqara document's supposedly Iranian 'guardian of the seventh' or 'commander of the seventh' (a title also once assigned to the Elephantine *rab ḥayla* Vidranga) is somewhat conjectural,[54] while the interpretation of

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[48] Erdmann 1973: 40, 44, 50, 53 provides seventeen items from Memphis and Abusir. Andrashko 1991 offers four more from Dynasty XXVII levels at Elephantine (19210i [a–c], 19218b), as well as a fifth item of Persian allure (18209a) but found in a Ptolemaic level. The arrow-heads from Tell el-Herr (below, p. 316) apparently belong to the post-First Domination fortress, and Erdmann assigns items from Daphnae a Saite date (contrast Baitinger 1999: 128 with Erdmann 1973: 40). Leclère and Spencer 2014: 46 seem to envisage much later dates.

[49] Petrie 1909b: pl. 16 (twenty-seven items from Memphis), Leclère and Spencer 2014: 46, 73–4 (six items from Daphnae).

[50] Blade: Leclère and Spencer 2014: 46, 73 (EA 23946). Sheath: Bernard 1976: 233 no. 8; Curtis and Tallis 2005: no. 432. Pommel: Stucky 1985: pl. 8.14, Curtis and Tallis 2005: no. 433. Chapes: Bernard 1976: 231–4, 246, some also illustrated in Stucky 1985: pl. 8.17–22 and Curtis and Tallis 2005: nos. 434–5. Handles: Stucky 1985: 34–6, pl. 10.30–7.

[51] Incidentally, Herodotus' claim that Persians copied the Egyptian corselet is rather hard to validate: see Tuplin 2018: 101 n. 12.

[52] Smith and Kuhrt 1982, Smith and Martin 2009: no. 10.

[53] Klinkott 2007a detects a travel pass, and thinks the lance-bearer a travel-companion as in various texts in the Persepolis Fortification archive (Henkelman 2002). The ethnic identity of the men despatched by Pediamun is opaque, but his Egyptian name makes it unwise to assume they were Iranian.

[54] Smith and Martin 2009: no. 11 (a document about a house sale). He is *ḥry ḥṱḫ*: the second word is thought to be a defective writing of Iranian **haftaxva* = 'seventh', so the whole equates with Aramaic *hptḥpt* = **haftaxvapātā* = 'guardian of the seventh' (Tavernier 2007a: 425) or **haftaxva-pati* = 'lord/chief of the seventh' (Vittmann ap. Smith & Martin). Vidranga: B3.9 (*hptḥpt*). ATNS 63 (*hptḥ*) has been seen as another defective writing of the same thing (in a text with Iranian names and the word *degel*). Such a title might be in any case be honorific: the reference is supposed to be to a sevenfold division of the world (see recently Silverman 2013: 205–7). The supposition that the man in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 11 is a 'garrison commander' (Agut-Labordère 2017a: 683, Schütze 2017: 491) perhaps trades over-heavily on the case of Vidranga, who was both garrison commander and guardian/lord of the seventh. (*Pace* Schütze, Tuplin 1987: 124–5 did not propose that *hptḥpt* is the Old Iranian equivalent of *rb ḥylʾ*.)

Posener 1936: no. 36 is completely so.[55] It is also not clear whether the untitled Atarpāna in P.Loeb 1 should be classified as the Iranian commander of Egyptian militiamen. (See n. 90.) Sadly, unlike Bactria (ADAB C1, Hyland 2013), Egypt has not yet provided us with an elite *karanos*/*krny*.

2. *Anonymous Iranian soldiers*. There are isolated occurrences of 'Medes' in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 5 and a 'man of Persia' in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 19 in what may be military contexts—but are certainly obscure ones.[56] There are also some inter-related but essentially illusory items that need to be mentioned.

- *Md.w* = 'soldiers' has been read in P.Loeb 1 (above, pp. 301–2). But the real reading is probably Ma/Meshwesh,[57] and there is in any case no cause to make a link with Medes.
- *Mḏ3j.w (Medjay)* described non-Egyptian people from Upper Egypt/Nubia used as a police force in pharaonic times.[58] It is unattested in Achaemenid-era documents (and barely attested for a considerable time before 526), and to postulate its unrecorded use on the grounds that currency of the word facilitated confusion of 'Mede' and 'soldier' (see below) seems desperate, if not entirely impossible.
- 'Mede' is used to mean 'soldier' in the Chehab stele (third century) and in literary texts of Ptolemaic or Roman date—an account of the Horus myth at Edfu and of the Inaros myth in Papyrus Krall, where Monthbaal, son of Inaros, comes from Syria as a Calasirian (Egyptian soldier: below, pp. 308–13) with several hundred 'Median' followers.[59] The relationship between this usage and the presence of 'Median' soldiers in First and Second Domination Egypt is plainly debatable.

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[55] Pišiyauθna, 'chef(?) supérieur de la grande caserne (ou camp militaire) de Xerxès' (Posener) *or* 'Cithr-…, der Oberste Anweiser—[das ist] der oberste Chef—der Strasse am königlichen Hof des Xerxes / der Strasse des Königs Xerxes' (Klinkott 2007a). I am uneasy about both versions. Problems are caused by the text's strange hieroglyphic writings and the possibility or necessity of postulating Aramaic or Iranian calques.

[56] The first text (489 or 432) has an 'army commander' (*mr-ms*ʿ) looking at something/someone in a text that also mentions Pharaoh, a battle, and 'Medes'. Everything is uncertain here. The second probably refers to an army (*mš*), perhaps even to someone/something coming under its authority, before mentioning the 'man of Persia' two lines later. Here too everything is (even more) uncertain.

[57] See Vittmann 1998 ad P.Ryl.Dem.9:12.9, Vittmann 1999. See below, p. 312.

[58] Gardiner 1947: I 73*–89*, II 269*–272*, EPE A5:3, A8:25, Posener 1958, Andreu 1982, Pétigny 2014: 30.

[59] Chehab stele: Thompson 2012: 91, pl. V. Literary texts: Chassinat 1931: 214–15, P.Krall XIX 16, 18 (Bresciani 1964). In P.Cair.50099 (reign of Achoris) a Mede (*Mty*) whose name starts Ps- (so not Iranian) makes a contract. He does not have to be an early example of 'Mede' = soldier.

- Ptolemaic-era texts refer to individuals who, because of their fiscal status, are labelled (in Demotic) as 'Medes' or 'Medes born in Egypt' (these are people with Egyptian personal names) or (in Greek) 'Mede of the *epigonē*' (a man with a Greek name).[60] These recall the much more common use of *Persai* or *Persai tēs epigonēs*—the apparent Demotic equivalent of which is 'Greek born in Egypt'.[61]

One view of the *Persai* labels is that they indicate (descendants of) Greeks settled in Egypt during the Persian era, presumably as soldiers. On that basis, and helped by the separate proposition that 'Mede' *can* mean 'soldier', the fiscal 'Medes' could also be the afterglow of Persian military arrangements, this time (perhaps) involving Egyptians. In any event, nothing here involves real Medes or Persians: the terminology is at best a shadowy reflection of the *non*-Iranian element of the Achaemenid military set-up. What it can tell us about that phenomenon is debatable. The geographical distribution of the terminology and comparative infrequency of the Median variety might repay further thought. The fact that Greeks are putatively involved *would* be significant: there is little or no evidence for their use in Egypt by the Persians during the First Domination (see immediately below), but the Second Domination is another matter.

3. *Greeks, Carians, and other non-Egyptian non-Iranians*. Two groups that could be expected to be prominent, given their prominence in the Saite era, are Greeks and Carians. This expectation is falsified, at least in the First Domination. Plenty of Greeks ended up in Egypt during the independent dynasties of the fourth century,[62] but it is remarkably hard to find any sign of the military use of either Greeks or Carians in the pre-fourth-century Persian dispensation. I have discussed this matter elsewhere and will not expatiate upon it here.[63] The

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[60] Medes: Budapest E 56.58 I x+5 (Vittmann 2004: 156); P.Count. 2.458, 506, 48.4, 53.3, 54.17 (Clarysse and Thompson 2006); O.IFAO Edfu 1001 (first-century BC: Devauchelle 1989); P.Lille Dem.98 *verso* IV 4 (de Cenival 1977: 18–21). Medes born in Egypt: P. Lille Dem.1 (Sottas 1921), 35+44, 43 (de Cenival 1973). Medes of the *epigonē*: P.Tebt.815 fr.2 R iii 53–4.

[61] See Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 158–9, Vandorpe 2008, Thompson iii 382.

[62] And not only in Greek literary sources: see e.g. the Cypriot mercenaries at Karnak in Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson 1981 (*SEG* 31.1549).

[63] Tuplin 2018: 117–18. Items of evidence that do not individually establish continuing employment of Greek or Carian mercenaries after 526 include: Hdt.3.26, 139, Diod.11.74, Timarchus of Daphnae (Perdrizet and Lefebvre 1919: no.614), [....]ppos at Tell el-Herr (Carrez-Maratray 2000: 170–1), Kobon Sakou at Tell Nesebeh (Wagner 1973), and other epigraphic Greeks at Naucratis, Leontopolis, and Memphis (Carrez-Maratray 2000: 168–72), Ariston (n. 69), ATNS 26 (the guards in 26:7 are precisely not Greeks or Carians), TADAE A6.2, the Carian warship graffito (Masson and Yoyotte 1956: 20–7 (MY F), Labudek 2010: 408–9 (Stele E2)), putative representations of Carian soldiers (Lloyd 1978 (ostracon of Ptolemaic date), Petrie 1909b: 17, pl. XXVIII no. 71 (head)), association of Carians or Greeks with the Apis cult (Vittmann 2006: 574, Höckmann and Weiss 2018), self-identification of Carians as *mdaýn* = 'foreigners' (Adiego 2007: 267–71, 381, against the view of Carruba 2000 that it means 'Medes'). The idea that the Carian cemetery in Memphis was trashed *c.*400 because of Carian cooperation with the Persians during the First Domination (Smith 1978: vii, Fischer-Bovet 2014: 35) is arbitrary. All we know is that the damage occurred before 343 (Smith loc.cit.).

possibility must be considered that the specific association of Graeco-Carian troops with the Saite dynasty was so strong that their continued use was a potential source of insecurity.[64] (Things *might* have been different in the brief Second Domination, ushered in by a reconquest involving many Greek combat troops.) In any event, the source material with which I am primarily concerned here does not disclose them, unless (which I think unlikely) there not only *is* an argument to be derived from the *Persai tēs epigonēs* (see above) but it is one that is effective in relation to the period before 400. It should be stressed, of course, that Herodotus is perfectly well aware that the Persians had mercenaries of some sort in Egypt: the *nomos* list reports (3.89) that tax-generated *sitos* fed the Persians of the White Fortress and their *epikouroi*.

As for other non-Egyptian non-Iranians, once one has left the Syene-Elephantine dataset, there is not much to show: *Trkmnh*, a Pisidian 'chief' (*rbh*), who appears in two Aramaic graffiti at the Abydos Memnoneion (D22.25, 27);[65] Wennefer the Egypto-Hyrcanian horseman in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 17 (above, n. 15); the occupants of the Tyrian *stratopedon* in the southern part of Memphis, if this was still an active military site (Herodotus 2.112);[66] the Arabs and Nubians in Smith and Martin 2009: no.18;[67] the Arabs at Tell el-Maskhutah

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[64] Some Egypto-Carians certainly ended up in Babylonia shortly after 526: Waerzeggers 2006. (Waerzeggers suggests they may still have been in use as soldiers. Pearce and Wunsch 2014: 3 n. 4 regards them as privileged defectors. The two views are not necessarily inconsistent.) A *ḫaṭru* of Carians is known near Nippur in 524 (ROMCT 2.27 rev.3) and there is a good deal more evidence for Carians in that region in cuneiform sources (Zadok 2005). References to Carian villages (Diod.19.12.1), transplanted Carians (Arr.3.8.5) and a Carian at Cunaxa in 401 (Plut.*Artox.*10) may be part of the same dossier (see Potts 2018). Whether these people were originally of proximately Egyptian origin is uncertain. The *ḫaṭru* (above) first appears just after the conquest of Egypt but the earliest Carian attestation in OECT 10.402–6 dates from 527/6, just before the conquest. For another recent discussion of the Carian villages see Scolnic 2015. The idea that the Egypto-Babylonians of the Susa marriage texts (Joannès 1984, 1990b, Tolini 2011: 1.479–88, 2.166–9, 205–6, 213–16) descend from people deported from Egypt in 526 (on the ground that wife-initiated divorce appears both in these texts, notably TEBR 93–94 = Roth 1989: no. 34, and in Egypt, both among the Judaeans at Elephantine and as a hypothetical situation in P.Berl.Dem.3078, P. Lonsd.1, P.Libbey, P.BM 10593 (Pestman 1991: 60)) is probably unsustainable (cf. Porten 1968: 262–3, Azzoni 2013: 48–9, 60, 70–2, 77, Nutkowicz 2015: 125–6). There is in any case no ground for supposing that any Elephantine Judaeans suffered deportation, nor any reason to connect the Judaeans in Achaemenid Babylonia (now freshly illuminated by Pearce and Wunsch 2014) with Egypt. For eastward deportations of Egyptians after 526 cf. Ctes.688 F 13(10), Diod.1.46 and perhaps Hdt.3.14 (with Lenfant 2004: lxxi, Henkelman 2017a: 121).

[65] We should not casually assume that other First Domination visitors to Abydos who left Aramaic, Phoenician, and (rarely) Greek graffiti were mercenaries. When they identify their profession, they are not: some could be in place in a military community (Vittmann 2006: 582) but that is not quite the same thing, and the Phoenicians could in any case come from the Memphite *stratopedon*, so the conjecture would not add much.

[66] Schmitz 2010 sees it as a spin-off of Phoenician participation in Psammetichus II's Nubian campaign. Such signs as there are of Phoenicians actually at Elephantine (not everything rehearsed in Becking 2017a: 830–9 satisfies that condition: but add Röllig 2013) do not require that any of them were part of the garrison community proper.

[67] African military figures on Attic vases perhaps reflect Persian use of Nubian soldiers in invasions of Greece (Morkot 1991: 327–8, 333, Wasmuth 2017a: 48), though some of the images

(TADAE D15.1–4: see pp. 315, 321); and the Aramaeans in Mareotis (see below, p. 314).[68] The ethnicity of the gate-guards to be appointed in ATNS 26:7 is unknown.

4. *Egyptian commanders*. Egyptian-language evidence gives us up to four named Egyptian commanders. One, Ankhouibre, is a military official (*mr mš‘*) at Heracleopolis in 507 who is asked (in a Demotic letter) to help some priests with the transport of the body of a sacred ibis.[69] The other three (Khnemibre, Aḥmose, Udjahorresnet son of Ḥor) appear on hieroglyphic monuments from a similar era[70] and, although Khnemibre is also linked with craftsmen, architects, and public works, there is currently a disposition to see the first two at

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pre-date those invasions and pictures of Nubians in Greek fighting gear are not a straightforward documentary record. These images appear on alabastra (ARV^{2} 1.267–9) and elsewhere: Berlin 3382 (Snowden 1970: pl. 16), Harvard 1960.327 (Bindman and Gates 2010: pl. 164), Louvre G93 (Snowden 1970: pl. 17, Bindman and Gates 2010: pl. 158), BM (no number) (Bindman and Gates 2010: pls. 156–7). How regular a deployment of Nubians within Egypt we can postulate is moot. (For a remarkable early fifth-century Anatolian depiction of a non-military African on a tomb relief from Gökçeler in Lydia see Çevirici-Coşkun 2018.)

[68] A postulated Achaemenid-era Judaean military establishment (‘land of *Jht*’) at Memphis (Lloyd 1975–88: 3.45, after Aimé-Giron 1931: 60; see also Vittmann 2017: 237 for the toponym) or in the eastern Delta (Jos.*AJ* 14.133, *BJ* 1.191 (*Ioudaiōn stratopedon*); *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Judaeorum castra*)) seems less compelling, for all that Berlin 2118 (the Chehab stele) locates a ‘general’ there in the third century. The officer of the Jews (*p3 ṯs n n3 Yhytw*) in an unpublished Saqqara papyrus (Zauzich 2012: 410) is probably post-Achaemenid. I am not particularly happy with the suggestion that Cercasorus (Hdt.2.15, 17, 97) is a Syrian fort or that we can militarize other Syrian toponyms at nearby Heliopolis (Louvre C119 = Spiegelberg 1929: 107–12; for the location cf. Yoyotte 1962, 83–9) or further afield in Upper Egypt (P.Cair.30641, P.Berl.Dem.3116 (Gebelein); BM 10425 = Spiegelberg 1918: 115 (Coptus)). The fact that a Semitic quarter in Hellenistic Memphis was called *Syropersikon* is striking (contrast plain *Karikon* and *Hellenion*) but may add nothing new, given the *Turiōn stratopedon* in the same area (n. 97)—though, admittedly, one should not too casually assimilate Tyrians and Syrians. See also Vittmann 2017: 235.

[69] He is one of three persons asked for help in parallel letters (P.Mallawi 480, 482, 484), the others being Ipi and Ariston. The other addressees are untitled, and it is no more than a conjecture that Ariston is (civil) governor of Heracleopolis. Agut-Labordère 2017a: 689 pictures Ankhouibre as a police officer in command of Calasirians, presumably by analogy with conditions in P.Ryl. Dem.9. See n. 40 for comparison between Heracleopolis and Elephantine.

[70] Khnemibre: Posener 1936: nos. 11–14, 17–19: *hrj-mš‘* and *hrj-pḏwt*, variously ‘commandant des soldats, commandant de la troupe’ (Posener) or ‘Oberster des Heeres, Oberster der Bogentruppen’ (Vittmann 2011a: 389). He boasted twenty-one generations of traceable ancestors (no. 14). Aḥmose: Posener 1936: nos. 6–7: *jmj-r3 mš‘* and *jmj-r3 mš‘ wr*, i.e. ‘general’ and ‘great general’. I wonder if ANE 89585 (Giovino 2006), a seal with a master-of-animals image in Persian style but inscribed in hieroglyphics with the name Aḥmose and bearing an un-Persian image of a seated archer, belonged to this man. Giovino ascribes it to ‘Amasis the Maraphian’ (Hdt.4.167, 201); but he was a Persian and, as the date is very early for a senior Persian to have taken an Egyptian name (especially that of a king who suffered some *damnatio memoriae*), ‘Amasis’ probably represents an Egyptianization of a name such as *Amasri-, *Amazata-, *Ameča-, *Masaya, *Masiya-, or even *Masišta (Tavernier 2007a: 104–5, 242). König 1972: 82 also suggested Damāsa-, which seems less plausible. Udjahorresnet: Louvre C317: ‘royal scribe of the two treasuries in the house of gold, the beautiful place’ (*sš nsw prwy-hḏ m pr-nb st-nfr(.t)*), recruits (*sš nsw nfrw*), cavalry (*sš nsw t(3)-nt-n3-ḥtr*), transport ships (*sš nsw n ‘ḥ‘w*)’. See Chevereau 1985: 149 (no. 222), with Perdu 1998: 179 and Vittmann 2009: 101–2.

least as genuine high-rank commanders of Egyptian troops.[71] Udjahorresnet, by contrast, is perhaps a high-rank military bureaucrat rather than an actual soldier. Meanwhile, the ethnicity of the anonymous army commander in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 5 is unstated.

5. *Egyptian soldiers*. That Egypt could produce plenty of campaign soldiers is clear from Greek literary texts.[72] Another such text (Herodotus 2.164–8) also gives a general description of the source of such soldiers, the so-called *makhimoi*—a hereditary group, defined by geography (Hermotybians in the western Delta, Calasirians in the central/eastern Delta as well as the Thebaid), privileged land-holding and exclusive devotion to military function.[73] The privilege consists in size of the land-allocation (twelve *arourai*) and its being tax-free. As the king's personal bodyguard 2,000 had further privileges, at least in the pre-Persian dispensation.[74] They are rarely explicitly mentioned in narratives: their participation in the Greek war in 480/79 and the resistance to Artaxerxes' invasion in 343 are notable exceptions.[75] It is a nice question whether Thucydides' assertion that Amyrtaeus maintained his independence in the Delta because 'the men of the marshes are the most warlike (*makhimōtatoi*) of the Egyptians' (1.110) is a deliberate allusion to the Herodotean *makhimoi*.[76] We are twice told

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[71] Vittmann 2009: 99, Vittmann 2011a: 389. Other Egyptians with high-level military titles in the sixth to fourth centuries probably or certainly were only active before 526, during 404–343 or after 332. One contrast between Khnemibre or Aḥmose and comparable Saite-era individuals is that they are not said to command foreign soldiers: Aḥmose puts the fear of Apis into all foreigners in Egypt (Posener 1936: no. 7), but that is another matter.

[72] Hdt.4.167 (the 'whole army of Egypt' in Cyrenaica), 9.32 (Hermotybian and Calasirian *makhairophoroi* in Mardonius' army), Diod.15.92 (80,000 infantry), 15.43 (numerous soldiers at Pelusium; 3,000 infantry and cavalry at the Mendesian mouth), 16.47 (60,000 *makhimoi*), Xen.*Ages.*2.28, Plut.*Ages.*38 (100,000 men: see n. 74). The rebellions of 486–484 (Psammetichus IV), 460–454 (Inaros), 338 (Chababash: Burstein 2000, Ruzicka 2012: 199–205), and events after Cambyses' death (Tuplin 2018: 111–16) presuppose Egyptian troops too, though Inaros at least also hired 'foreign mercenaries' (Diod.11.74) and summoned Athenian allies. Herodotus' description of Egyptian military equipment (7.89) and Xenophon's reports of large shields (*An.*1.8.9, *Cyr.* 6.2.10, 6.4.17, 7.1.32) are hard to validate from rare Late Period Egyptian pictorial representations, including the tiny figure on ANE 89585 (Giovino 2006; cf. n. 70). Egyptian textual sources mention lances (P.Ryl.Dem.9:11.11, Smith and Martin 2009: no. 10), shields (P.Ryl.Dem. l.c, P Berl. Dem.13615+13696+15824), archers (in the titles of Khnemibre and Aḥmose: above). P Berl.13615+13696+15824 col.iii 11f, v 2f (Zauzich 1992) apparently contains a reference to shield-bearers = *rmt sbhy* (Amasis' Nubian expedition in 529).

[73] The last point recurs in Isoc.11.17–19, Plat.*Timae.*24B and Hecat.Abd. 264 F25 (= Diod.1.28, 73), who locates the *makhimoi* in a quite un-Herodotean tripartite social structure, though still one in which there is a link to land-ownership. (The two Diodoran passages are inconsistent in their picture of the relationship between *geōrgoi* and *makhimoi*, but that is perhaps the fault of Diodorus, not Hecataeus.)

[74] Their special quality is perhaps reflected in the Agesilaus–Tachos narrative by the idea that the Mendesian pretender can only deploy *migades kai banausoi* (Plut.*Ages.*38), albeit 100,000 of them. Herodotus explicitly says Hermotybians do not engage in *banausiē*, though Lloyd 1975–88: 3.199 suspects the influence here of a Spartan model.

[75] Hdt.9.32, Diod.16.47.

[76] Briant (2002: 576) presumed so, suggesting that tolerance of semi-independent rulers in the Delta marshes was dependent on their providing Hermotybians and Calasirians to the Persians.

about the rebellious quality of *makhimoi* in pharaonic times (Herodotus 2.40,141), and we may wonder about their role in the mutinies that toppled Apries in 570 and Tachos in the late 360s.[77] We actually hear about rebellious Egyptian *degelin* in a document written in *c.*410 (A4.5)—though they are not explicitly *makhimoi*. Herodotus' statement that there were 160,000 Calasirians and 250,000 Hermotybians is not claimed to be valid for the fifth century and was perhaps imagined as applying in the distant past, when Sethos attempted to confiscate their land (2.141).[78] How extensive that land had been or was in Herodotus' time has been variously assessed; and his claim that individual allotments were twelve *arourai* in size has been questioned.[79]

Egyptian soldiers of the Persian era are implicit in the hieroglyphic titles of the Egyptian generals mentioned above (which refer to archers), but pre-Hellenistic Egyptian sources for such soldiers are mostly documentary in nature (hence written in Demotic), and are neither very numerous nor mostly militarily very illuminating.[80] *Rmt qnqn* ('armed men')[81] are found at Teuzoi (P.Ryl. Dem. 9: Saite) and Elephantine (P.Loeb 1: 486), Calasirians in Saqqara (Smith and Martin 2009: no. 8: 430?), the Fayum (P.Lille Dem.26: Achoris' reign), Teuzoi (P.Ryl.Dem.9: Saite), Asyut (P.Cair.50060: Cambyses' reign), Thebes,[82]

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[77] Apries: Hdt.2.161–3. Tachos: Ruzicka 2012: 145–50.

[78] 240,000 *makhimoi* supposedly deserted during Psammetichus I's reign (Hdt.2.40). I do not know whether Herodotus imagined they were replaced or even thought of the question.

[79] Menu 1970, 107–10; Lloyd 1975–88 *ad loc.* Fischer-Bovet (2013: 217–19) substitutes a scheme in which 800 high officers with 200 *arourai*, 8,000 medium officers with 100, and 70,000 ordinary soldiers with five, occupy under twenty per cent of Egyptian arable land, whereas in Herodotus we have 410,000 individuals occupying two thirds of it. See n. 88 below for a document associating Hermotybians with thirty-*aroura* plots. Some brief remarks on Ptolemaic military land grants: Thompson iii 383–5.

[80] I largely exclude Hellenistic attestations, to focus on what is known about the Achaemenid era and in case Fischer-Bovet 2013 is right to query continuity in Dynasties XXVI–XXX and the Ptolemaic era. Ruzicka 2012: 100 suggests that during fourth-century Egyptian independence Chabrias created Greek military settlements modeled on the *makhimoi* principle. Fischer-Bovet 2014: 31 assumes that Saite Greek mercenaries had land allocations comparable to those of *makhimoi*.

[81] The formal equivalent to *makhimoi* in the Rosetta Stone. Fischer-Bovet 2013 maintains that *makhimoi* in Herodotus is not a technical term as it was from the third century on (first attested in 261). As Greek was not an official language of Achaemenid Egypt, that is perhaps analytically true. But the word *makhimos* (in no way peculiar to Egyptian contexts) certainly identifies people whose function is fighting (whether by inclination, capacity, or institutional dictation) and who are distinguished as such from other groups, and that does recall the *rmt qnqn* in Darius' Law Codification document (p. 312). The suggestion (Fischer-Bovet 2013: 215) that Herodotus wrongly attached *rmt qnqn* = *makhimoi* (picked up from literary story-telling) to the categories of Calasirians and Hermotybians is not obviously correct, though it is true that documentary sources speak of Calasirians and Hermotybians much more frequently than *rmt qnqn* and that no text unequivocally uses *rmt qnqn* of persons also designated as Calasirians or Hermotybians. (It is not certain that the *rmt qnqn* of P.Ryl.Dem.9:12.9 are the Calasirians of 11.11, though both are commanded by the chief of Ma. See p. 312.)

[82] P.Louvre 7833, 7844 (Amasis: Vittmann 1999: 120), P.CattleDocs.7 (Darius), P.Loeb 41 (Darius), P.Tsenhor 16 (Darius), BM 10486 (Achoris). The man in P.Tsenhor 16 is the recipient of funerary cult.

Heracleopolis (perhaps: P.BM EA 76274.1 ii 3, 76281 front iv), and Elephantine (Farid 1990: Nectanebo II's reign), Hermotybians in Saqqara (P.Cair.31238), Heracleopolis (P.Ashm.1984/87, P.BM EA 76281 front iv 12, v 1), Teuzoi (P Ryl.Dem.9: Saite), Hou (P.Hou 6, 9), and Elephantine (P.Berl.Dem. 13615+13696+15824: Amasis' reign).[83] Some Calasirians (but no Hermotybians) are described as 'of the district (*ḳhy*)' or 'of the region (*tš*)' or 'of Amun's estate'.[84] It is interesting in the light of Herodotus' information that Calasirians but not Hermotybians are found in Thebes. On the other hand, the presence of both categories outside the Delta shows that his (unexplained) assignment of Calasirians and Hermotybians to predominantly Delta nomes must refer to e.g. land-holding, not place of service—a conclusion that is hardly surprising.

We encounter many of these people as individuals or unquantified groups. But we have fifty *rmt qnqn* in P.Ryl.Dem.9, perhaps fifty and certainly fifteen Calasirians in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 8, and as many as 2,200 Calasirians in P.Meerman-Westreeianum 44. That any of the Calasirians or Hermotybians are weapon-bearing soldiers is only explicit in P.Ryl.Dem. 9:11.11 (Saite: Calasirians with shield and lance).[85] A Calasirian on horseback appears in P.Lille Dem.26 (Achoris).[86] The relevant texts often simply record business transactions or other private matters.[87] There are hints of land-holdings in P.Cair.50098+50102 and P.Ashm. 1984/87 (Hermotybians).[88] How close this gets us to the Herodotean model is debatable: the latter text—if correctly understood—refers to land that is in Heracleopolis (not the Delta), comes in thirty (not twelve) *aroura*-parcels, and is subject to tax (not tax-free): there are Ptolemaic parallels for the size of the parcels (in the holdings of infantry cleruchs), the tax rate (in the harvest tax at Thebes), and the phenomenon of soldiers turning out not to be as tax-privileged as they were once thought to be.[89] The bald list of Calasirians in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 8 evokes the name-list documents from Elephantine (pp. 288–9) but its context is unknown. For something closer to explicit military functions one may look to P.Loeb 1 (486: *rmt qnqn* potentially guarding a grain consignment; there may also be a reference to Ma/Meshwesh—unique in the Persian era),[90] P.Ryl.Dem.9 (Saite: Calasirians guard the house of a murder victim's mother and search for fugitives; a Hermotybian takes a letter to a military commander in Heracleopolis), P.Louvre 7833/7844 (Amasis: Calasirian assistance with tax collection), P.Berl. Dem.13615 (Amasis: a Hermotybian guide involved in Amasis' Nubian campaign). Depressingly for the Achaemenid historian all but one of these are pre-Achaemenid. The locution 'Calasirian of district/region/Amun's estate' may entail the Calasirian's duty to protect the entity in question, and the 200 'men of the path' in P.Meerman-Westreeianum, who (like the 2,200 Calasirians in the same document) are 'registered for food from the nome' and so have a regional association, have been thought to constitute a military patrol or a cadre from which such patrols might be drawn. The role of the single Calasirian in P.BM EA 76274.1 ii 3 is unstated: he might conceivably be providing protection to the official and his colleagues alongside whom he is mentioned.

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[83] For P.Berl.Dem. 13615+13696+15824 see Zauzich 1992. The context is an expedition against Nubia in 529—an episode, incidentally, of which the Judaeans of Elephantine must have been well aware and in which some might even have participated. There is a chance that Aramaeans are mentioned (as *ʾIswr*) in the still not properly published Demotic source material.

[84] *Ḳhy*: P.Ryl.Dem.9 (Saite). *Tš*: P.CattleDocs.7, P.Loeb 41, P.Tsenhor 16 (Darius). Amun's estate: P.Loeb 41 (Darius), BM 10486 (Achoris). Apart from P.Ryl.Dem.9, these are all texts from Thebes. In P.Westreeianum 44 some Calasirians are 'registered for food in the nome' (strangely reminiscent of Syene-Elephantine soldiers consuming cereals from Tshetres and Thebes: n. 21). One may also compare e.g. P.Lille 99 (Ptolemaic) for a Calasirian *tou Herakleopolitou* or the temple connection implicit in 'Calasirian of Amun's estate' compare P.Cair.50060 from Asyut (Cambyses), which on one view involves Calasirians receiving rations as temple personnel (Winnicki 1986, Vleeming 1991: 114). I am not clear that Jelinkova-Reymond 1955 (*editio princeps*) took the same view.

[85] There are shield-bearers in P. Berl.Dem.13615+13696+15824, but there is no necessary association with the individual Hermotybian in that document.

[86] For Egyptian cavalry cf. e.g. Diod.15.43, Udjahorresnet's titles (n. 70). One of the two cavalrymen in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 17 (legal transaction about provision of loaves of bread against payment of silver: cf. n. 15) is a 'Hyrcanian' (albeit with an Egyptian name and Egyptian mother), but the other might be Egyptian. Assyrians had valued large 'Kushite' horses for chariot use (Dalley 1985), but, whatever was the case in the eighth–seventh centuries, there is no particular reason to suppose that the cavalry of Achaemenid Egypt had to source mounts from Nubia. (There was certainly not the same need for military chariot-horses.)

[87] P.CattleDocs.7, P.Loeb 41, P.BM10846, P.Lille Dem.26 (his daughter is the contracting party), Farid 1990, P.Hou 6, 9, P.Moscow I, 1d 419 (Devauchelle 2002: 134–5). The categories include animal or property purchases and a funerary endowment.

[88] In the former text (dated 390) we encounter land that was meant as 'revenue (*ʿk*) of a *rmt-dm* (Hermotybian)', *ʿk* being a term later associated with *katoikos* settlements (Vleeming 1991: 78). In

There is a further complication. There is widespread agreement that both Calasirians and Hermotybians started out as foreign groups, the foreigners in question normally being thought to be Libyans, though Nubian or Semitic elements have also been postulated (Winnicki 1998, Winnicki 2009: 92–3), recalling in the first case the *Medjay* mentioned earlier (p. 304). This all lay well in the past by Achaemenid times, and would be of merely distant historical interest here, save for two things. (i) Diodorus' account of the war of 343 shows 20,000 Libyans recruited alongside 60,000 *makhimoi* in the national army (16.47.6): so the intrusion of Libyan elements into the Egyptian military environment

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the latter (*c.*522/521) '30 *arourai* at 44 (sacks of) emmer (for) one person (each)' is allotted to three Hermotybians, wherein the forty-four sacks represent a tax rate of four to five *artaba*s per *aroura* and show (*contra* Herodotus) that Hermotybians paid tax: Fischer-Bovet 2013: 213, Vittmann 2015: 440. Ptolemaic harvest tax: Vandorpe 2000: 196.

[89] See Monson 2016. The Calasirians and Hermotybians encountered in the new British Museum papyri (Smith, Martin & Tuplin i 296) are associated with much more modest land plots.

[90] It is conceivably implied that Ma/Meshwesh would be less militarily effective than *rmt qnqn*. (Orders are issued to the Ma by someone with an Iranian name, Atarpāna. He is given no title, and his precise status and normal relationship to the Ma, or indeed the *rmt qnqn*, is hard to judge.)

was not an extinct phenomenon.[91] (ii) P.Loeb 1 may refer to the Ma/Meshwesh, and the Third Intermediate Period Libyan Meshwesh dynasty (Dynasty XXII) is seen as the era in which the Hermotybians and Calasirians came into existence. This is the only time the term Ma/Meshwesh appears in Achaemenid-era sources. For the closest earlier occurrences we have to go back to P.Ryl.Dem.9, where (in Psammetichus I's time) the 'chief of the Ma of the district' uses the Calasirians of the nome to guard a house in Teuzoi and is later found deploying fifty *rmt qnqn* to recover fugitives from as far as 100 km away (n. 81), and to other texts from the same reign.[92] The association of Calasirians and Ma in P.Ryl.Dem.9 clearly resonates with the putative one-time equivalence of Meshwesh and *makhimoi*, and it would resonate with P.Loeb 1 as well, were it certain that the Ma of that text count as *rmt qnqn* and that *rmt qnqn* are Hermotybians or Calasirians: but, strictly speaking, neither of these conditions is fulfilled.

In the light of such scrappy indications, it is understandable that Winnicki 1977 saw Hermotybians and Calasirians as little more than policemen. But, at least on the face of it, this must be only part of the picture. *Makhimoi* could wage war when that was needed (Herodotus and Diodorus prove that), and their status as a part of the human landscape is remarkably attested in Darius' Law Codification document,[93] where the *rmt qnqn* are a major social category, like priests and scribes—as capable as them of including 'wise men', and presumably as interested as them in e.g. the law of property.[94] We can only escape this conclusion if we suppose that there were substantial numbers of Egyptian soldiers who were *not* Hermotybians or Calasirians, and that it was these other soldiers (the *rmt qnqn* = *makhimoi*) who were led by the likes of Khnemibre or Aḥmose (p. 307) and who engaged in serious warfare. Fischer-Bovet invites us towards some such conclusion (n. 81), but I am not sure that we forced to follow her (or to follow far enough for it to make any substantive difference), whatever our unease about the numbers in Herodotus 2.165–8, the conception of Egyptian social categories in 2.164, or the quasi-Hellenic disdain for banausic activity in 2.167.

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[91] The rebel Inaros was Libyan and his native troops (*enkhōrioi*: Diod.11.73) might have included Libyans.

[92] P.Ryl.Dem.9:11.11–14, 12.6, Goedicke 1962: 33–44, Ritner 1990: 106, Patane 1998. This follows the suppression of the independent power of the Great Chiefs of the Meshwesh by Psammetichus I, a dynastic founder who was himself of Libyan origin (Winnicki 2009: 380–96).

[93] Spiegelberg 1914, Kuhrt 2007: 125 (4.14(b)).

[94] This echoes Herodotus' division of society into seven professional classes, inauthentic as they may be. Hecataeus of Abdera has a different tripartite division (n. 73). A third-century commentary on a law compilation contains a section about recruitment of Calasirians (P.Berl.23757 *recto* A2.18–24, Lippert 2004: 41–4), in which service is precluded for the sons of (a) 'enemies of Osiris' (apparently people with a skin disease), (b) those who have committed an offence against the pharaoh or public order, and (c) deserters. If the law compilation ultimately goes back to Darius (as Lippert envisages), this both illuminates the role of *rmt qnqn* in the Codification document and (with its concentration on sons) interacts interestingly with Herodotus' conception of a hereditary profession. The suggestion noted by Lippert (41) that the king had an interest in Calasirian recruitment also perhaps favours the view that they are more than just policemen.

6. *Fortresses*. Elephantine-Syene was a major fortified garrison point[95]—though textual evidence specifically about fortifications is elusive.[96] We have (diverse) reasons to say we know directly about other Achaemenid-controlled military centres or forts of varying size in Memphis,[97] Daphnae,[98] Miṣpeh (A6.7), Demanhur (ATNS 33b: 'the guard'), Migdol (A3.3),[99] the anonymous *Persarum praesidia* of Curtius 4.1.28–32 (331), the anonymous location of

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[95] Both Elephantine and Syene are designated *byrtʾ*, though with differing frequencies (71% of references to Elephantine, 23% of references to Syene).

[96] *Mnṭrh* in A4.5:1 does not have to be so interpreted. The claim that *ḥsny* ('fortifications') appears in A4.5:11 (Cowley, reiterated by Kottsieper 2006: 368) is denied by Porten and Yardeni, so the case is uncertain. Lozachmeur detects a wall in CG 53:4—presumably reading *mṣrt*, instead of *mṣdt*, producing a feminine equivalent of OA *mṣr* = 'siege rampart with wall' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 s.v.). A possible reference to the *ḥayla* in the next line may give colour to this, but it adds nothing reliable to the architectural topography. As for archaeological evidence, von Pilgrim 2012 has identified part of the Saite- (and presumably Persian-) era fortifications of Elephantine in the south-west quarter of the island, while at Syene there are pertinent remains in the city itself and at a separate fort immediately to its south (in both cases with signs of Persian-period work) as well as in the form of a seven km long wall of some antiquity protecting the road next to the cataract (Jaritz and Rodziewicz 1996: 233–49, von Pilgrim *et al.* 2008: 313–15, 318, 325, von Pilgrim, Müller, and Werlen 2011: 135–7, von Pilgrim 2012, von Pilgrim and Müller 2013/24: 2–3).

[97] *Teikhos, khōrion*: Hdt.2.112, 3.91, Thuc.1.104, Diod.11.74. *Byrtʾ*: ATNS 73. White Fort: ATNS 25. *Ḥayla* or *degelin*: B8.4, B8.6, B8.10, C3.5, C3.8 IIIA r.7–9, IIIB v.35–6, C3.19, ATNS 15, 17, 23, 31, 46, 63, 65b, 76, 113. The Tyrian *stratopedon* (Hdt.2.112), perhaps associable with the Hellenistic *Syropersikon* quarter south-west of the city centre (Thompson 2012: 10, 12), might be an associated structure. There is also the archaeological evidence of the so-called Palace of Apries (perhaps the White Fortress of written texts). Just south of Memphis a dam allegedly created by Min is something that the Persians keep a close eye on (Hdt.2.99: *en phulakēisi megalēisi*—an unusual phrase) and that Diodorus 1.50 (after Hecataeus of Abdera, so reflecting Hellenistic perceptions) thought Min intended to be like 'an acropolis against external enemies'. Perhaps it was literally under guard. See also n. 108. The 'wall of Amasis' constructed at Memphis in year 42 of Amasis (Corteggiani 1979: 133–4), though doubtless extant in the Persian period, need not have had a specifically military character.

[98] Hdt.2.30. The strategic status of the place in Saite times is variously clear from O.Karnak LS 462.4 (as re-dated in Chauveau 2011), the Apries Year 7 stele (Abd el-Maskoud and Valbelle 2013) and Jansen-Winkeln's interpretation of the Amasis Year 1 stele (2014). The archaeological evidence is tantalizing (see Leclère 2008, Smoláriková 2008: 77–83, Leclère and Spencer 2014). The overall *enceinte* is much larger than would constitute a reasonably defensible fort and, in Leclère's view (2008: 1.137 n. 120, 2.509, 511–12, 524, 528–9), the casemate building within it (the only thing that could possibly count as military architecture) is perhaps explicable as a ritual adjunct to the temple whose existence is suggested by satellite imagery. (This is one example of a larger issue about casemate buildings in Lower Egypt: cf. n. 112.) Smoláriková 2008: 87–8 remained sure that what Petrie called the *Kasr* was indeed a fort, but the latest treatment of the site as a whole (Leclère and Spencer 2014) defines it as 'a classical Egyptian temple town functioning as a frontier post'. That said, the amount of material (essentially ceramic) evidence for post-526 occupation is apparently sparse, though this could be because only a small part of the site has ever been excavated.

[99] Based on the meaning of the name and the presence of a *prs*-receiving Judaean from Elephantine (A3.3). But one should not necessarily assume that the denomination was recent and related from the outset to Saite- or Persian-era use, since the word is already attested in Egyptian from the Middle Kingdom onwards: Burke 2007: 31, 35, 37.

Armapiya's *ḥayla* in A6.8, the anonymous location of Xerxes' 'great barracks *or* camp', should Posener chance to have been right about interpretation of the text in question (n. 55), the unidentified location of a *byt mšry* (perhaps an army-camp) in ATNS 43a,[100] and the anonymous fortress in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 18 ('men of the fortress'), if that is a pre-Hellenistic text (cf. n. 21).

I have not initially included Marea in this list, because it presents a problem. Herodotus writes:

> In the time of Psammetichus (I) guard-posts (*phulakai*) were established in Elephantine to deal with the Ethiopians and another in Pelusian Daphnae to deal with the Arabs and Syrians and another in Marea to deal with the Libyans. And still in my day there are Persian guard-posts as there were in Psammetichus' time. For the Persians maintain garrisons (*phroureousi*) in Elephantine and Daphnae. (2.30)

The normal explanation for Marea's apparently deliberate exclusion is that the neighbour-Libyans and Cyrenaica were firmer parts of the empire than the neighbour-Ethiopians or the Gaza-Sinai Arabs (Marea lay on an internal frontier in a way Elephantine and Daphnae did not), and one might adduce the semi-detached tributary status of neighbour-Ethiopians and Arabs in Herodotus' tribute system as a reflection of this.[101] But, after Inaros' revolt, which began at Marea (Thucydides 1.104) and was a significantly Libyan enterprise, a different view ought to have prevailed. In other words, as a picture of *contemporary* arrangements, Herodotus' statement seems a little implausible. Moreover, it is debatable as a statement of pre-Inaros circumstances, for one explanation of a gravestone dated May–June 482 is that the Aramaean-named individuals thereon (one of whom had an Egyptian-named father) who came from Khastemeḥi, i.e. *ḫ3st Ṯmḥw* ('the desert region of Tjemehu') *alias* Mareotis, were from a mercenary garrison-community.[102] One might also mention that Strabo 17.1.6 affirms that the kings of Egypt before Alexander maintained a *phulakē* at Rhacotis (later part of Alexandria), though since he also says they did this to exclude foreigners, especially Greek traders, one may feel that he has in mind Saite rather than Persian predecessors (shades of Herodotus on Naucratis). But, on balance, Marea (or some site in the Mareotis) should probably be added to the list.[103]

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[100] It is 'before *Pylh*', but there is no ground for identifying that as Philae, and it might perfectly well be part of the Memphis complex. The meaning of *mšry* is inferred from much later Nabataean and Palmyrene texts (see Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 s.v.).

[101] Marea was a real frontier region in Saite times: cf. Waḥibre 'overseer of the frontier, commander of the troops of North and South, overseer of sanctuaries' (BM 111: Lloyd 1975–88: 2.87).

[102] D20.3; Yoyotte 1995, Vittmann 2003: 14, 2011: 396. (It is admittedly slightly disconcerting that Khastemeḥi is described as a city (*qryt*) rather than a *byrtʾ*.)

[103] The perception that Egypt had three or (if Syria and Arabia are distinguished) four major external frontiers is reflected in pre-Persian official titles with both customs and military implications: cf. Chevereau 1985: 268–9, Pressl 1998: 70–3, Fabre 2008: 233–3, Somaglino 2010, Agut-Labordère 2013: 1002–6, Bassir 2016. Zauzich 1987: 88 claimed that the fourth-century

In addition to places directly attested one might conjecture military centres in various other cases, prompted by textual and/or archaeological evidence. For example:

- Pelusium and other places in the eastern part of the Delta (including the Mendesian mouth) used by Egyptians resisting Persian attack could have been Persian centres too.[104]
- Tell el-Maskhutah, if this explains the Arab presence there attested by dedications to Han-'ilat (D15.1–4). That is by no means certain, though the Egyptian element in their onomastic may be significant.[105] (But, of course, it may be rational in any case to postulate guarding of the route of Darius' canal.)
- Heracleopolis: if Ankhouibre really was the local military commander (p. 307), his presence presupposes troops, whether or not they were in a fortified site—and Calasirians and Hermotybians are indeed attested there (pp. 309–10). The place is strategically significant in relation both to the Nile valley and to access to the Fayum, the oases, and Libya (Mokhtar 1983: 18–26).
- Cercasorus, if the name be interpreted as a location associated with 'Syrians', or Babylon (opposite Gizeh), if the name be thought to validate Josephus' claim (*AJ* 2.315) that it was founded by Cambyses and that such a foundation would have a military character. In both cases there are some grounds for scepticism (Tuplin 1987: 189), though Babylon (Old Cairo) is admittedly a historically strategic site.[106]
- Teuzoi means 'their wall', and the place was perhaps a fortress in Saite times.[107]

P.Cair.31169 iii 21–4 (nos. 79–82) lists four fortresses (*mktl* i.e. migdol) at four outer frontiers of Egypt (south, north, east, and west), but this is rejected (without comment) by de Cenival & Yoyotte 2012: 261–3, for whom all four forts belong in the Delta.

[104] Diod.15.42, 16.46, 49, Strab.16.2.33, Plin.*HN* 5.68. It seems unlikely that there was no military presence at Thonis, the presumed site of the customs point entailed by C3.7, but that is purely conjectural: the assignment of ATNS 26 to Thonis (Vittmann 2017: 260, after Yoyotte 1994: 683, Briant and Descat 1998: 93–4) still does not strictly speaking provide direct evidence of soldiers there. The location and status in Persian times of the one-time Ionian–Carian *stratopeda* in the eastern Delta (Hdt.2.154) are problematic. We cannot confidently classify them as distinct Persian-era military sites. See Oren 1984, Carrez-Maratray 2000: 163, Verreth 2006: 865–70, Smoláriková 2003. On Pelusium see Aufrère, Golvin, and Goyon 1991: 294–7.

[105] Pétigny 2014: 28 pictures the Persians permitting an Arab enclave in the vicinity.

[106] Aufrère, Golvin, and Goyon 1991: 333–9. The (perhaps adventurously) postulated Persian community at Leontopolis (Wasmuth 2017a: 218) has no known military allure archaeologically speaking; and it would be a *petitio principii* to claim that a Greek attested there epigraphically (Alexiades and his Egyptian wife Tabo, late fifth-c. dedicators of statues of Osiris and of Isis: Carrez-Maratray 2000: 170) was the tip of a mercenary iceberg, given the uncertainty about Persian use of Greek mercenaries during the First Domination.

[107] Szubin and Porten 1992: 72. The site has impressive walls dating from the Third Intermediate Period.

- The South Watchtower of Memphis is attested before and after the Persian era,[108] so might reasonably be assumed active during it. One then wonders about comparable places attested only in the Ptolemaic era, particularly the North Watchtower of Memphis,[109] but perhaps also Hermopolis (Strabo 17.1.41), given its regional status as a major site on the border of Lower and Upper Egypt.[110]
- Tell Kedoua and Tell el-Herr, just south of Pelusium: Achaemenid-era official and/or fortress sites known purely archeologically,[111] though some believe one or other them to be the Migdol of A3.3 (see above, n. 99) and/or Jeremiah 44.1.
- Various places with casemate constructions that are architecturally analogous with (though normally much smaller than) the so-called Palace of Apries at Memphis (i.e. a putative fortress): examples that enter the discussion because they might have been in existence in the Persian era (though of Saite origin) are found at Sais, Diospolis-Balamun, Daphnae, Mendes, and Buto.[112]

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[108] P.Ryl.Dem.9:5.15,18, 6.7 (Psammetichus I, year 4): the Southland stretches from the south watch-station/fortress of Memphis to Asswan, and is controlled by the *P3-dj-3s.t* (Shipmaster). SB IV 7451 lines 81,105 (third c.): Hauben 1985: 185. A *phulakē* south (and within one day's sailing) of Memphis. The place was *c.*60 km. from Memphis at the border with the Heracleopolite nome (Yoyotte 1972: 5).

[109] P.Louvre E3267, P.Louvre E3266 (De Cenival 1972), P.Innsbruck 8 (Yoyotte 1972: 6), various Ptolemaic sources pertinent to *hē hupokatō Mempheōs phulakē* in Hauben 1985: 184. Location postulated as Tersa, 11 km NNE of the Serapeum.

[110] But the discovery of Aramaic letters there (A2.1–7) is not an indicator: they were found sealed for despatch but the contents argue an origin in Memphis (repeated references to the god Ptah; and cf. A2.2:3), so it seems they were simply mislaid at Hermopolis while in transit between Memphis and Syene (A2.1–6) or Luxor (A2.7). But, if this interpretation should be false, there would be a strong case for identifying Hermopolis as an attested military centre.

[111] See e.g. Oren 1984, Aufrère, Golvin, and Goyon 1991: 291–4, Valbelle 1998, Smoláriková 2008: 48–54, Valbelle, Nogara, and Defernez 2011. Tell el-Herr apparently succeeded Tell Kedoua; it was then abandoned (even demolished) in the mid-fifth century and not reconstructed until the fourth century—a strange story for which no easy explanation is forthcoming. Despite presumed military purposes, the current fashion is for stressing the urban and emporic character of these and other Delta sites. A third site in the same area, Tell Abu Sefeh, is claimed as a Saite/Persian (?) fort by Smoláriková 2008: 83, but (for the moment) on much more shaky evidence—the remnants of casemates (see immediately below) and some Saite- and Persian-era pottery (Oren 1987: 113). The site is not discussed in Leclère 2008.

[112] Information can be found in the discussion of the various sites in Leclère 2008 and Smoláriková 2008. (Examples at Naucratis, Tanis, and Tell el-Maskhutah are Hellenistic according to Leclère, though Smoláriková seems inclined to acknowledge Saite fortification at Naucratis and notes that Tanis had Saite city-walls: 2008: 70–7, 87.) Views differ about their classification. The fact that Daphnae is not archaeologically straightforward (n. 98) is just one aspect of the problem. The Sais example (uniquely of comparable size with the Palace of Apries) may be a palace, though whether a militarily fortified one is unclear. In the case of Diospolis-Balamun the facts that the casemate building is in the corner of the larger *enceinte* (as at the Palace of Apries), that Balamun was also known as the '*sbḫt* [defensive barrier] of the North' (Thiers 1997: 256–7, Pétigny 2014: 23) and that a cliché phrase describing Egypt as stretching from Elephantine to Balamun attests the latter's importance on a countrywide scale do give some countenance to the possibility that we have a fort (one which

- Wadi Hammamat: the overlap of military and worker-management titles in Khnemibre's texts (p. 307) makes one think that the stone quarries and those who worked in them (and travelled back and forth from the Nile valley) deserved protection.[113]
- Northern Sinai: archaeological survey claimed many Persian-period sites here, but details are hard to come by.[114] General assertions are made about a network of forts, Tell el-Herr—mentioned above—being an example, though presumably an exceptionally big one. Such a network might be regarded as the ultimate successor to the forts of the 'Walls of the Ruler' (Middle Kingdom) and 'Ways of Horus' (New Kingdom) systems. The latter began at Tjaru (Hebua I), some 15 km WSW of Tell el-Herr.[115]
- Western oases: people assume that there should have been some protective presence here, citing a Roman fort near Manawir, the place that has produced an archive of documentation about agricultural exploitation and a series of irrigation *qanāts*.[116] But the archive is silent on the point,[117] and there is no other actual evidence: certainly the Samians of the Aeschrionian tribe 'who have (*ekhousi*) Oasis' (*alias* the Isles of the Blessed: Herodotus 3.26) cannot reasonably be seen as an active mercenary garrison or even as settled ex-mercenaries. Still, evidence for the importance of the Western Oases in Saite and Persian times does make it hard to imagine that there was no military infrastructure.
- Dorginarti: there was an island fortress here (the Second Cataract counterpart to Elephantine), and, established in the seventh century (and perhaps earlier), its use probably stretched chronologically into the Persian period.[118] But things are not straightforward. (i) Published discussions are

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Pétigny would evidently like to associate with the fort on the Mendesian mouth in Diod.15.42): Smoláriková 2008: 65–70 accepts Balamun as a 'secure citadel', but Leclère 2008: 288–94 remains sceptical and Leclère and Spencer 2014: 21 declare the casemate building to be a storage place. Leclère 2008 is non-committal about function in his discussion of the examples at Bouto (211) and Mendes (328–239), though at 1.137 n. 126 he implicitly classifies the Bouto example as a religious edifice. A military, or at any rate administrative and non-religious, explanation of this class of buildings is favoured in Spencer 1999.

[113] Rohrmoser 2014: 362 suggests the Syene-Elephantine garrison guarded the local quarries—and even that those based in Syene also worked there (2014: 49, 71; so too Granerød 2016: 28). EPE C24 records a quarrymen's strike a generation before the Persians arrived.

[114] Oren 1998 gives a partial synthesis. He speaks of a network of forts along the coastal route and a strategy of defence based on detachments of soldiers and desert police recruited among local Arabs. The examples of the network cited are Qatifa, Y-1, R-54, Ras Qasroun (M-41), T-291 (near Romana), and Tell el-Herr.

[115] On the 'Ways of Horus' Gardiner 1920 is fundamental. See recently Hoffmeier 2014.

[116] Briant 2001a, Chauveau 2008.

[117] A governor of Douch (*p3 sḥn n Gš*) appears in O.Man.6857 (Agut-Labordère 2017a: 688), but, on the analogy of Heracleopolis and Syene-Elephantine (n. 40), he would be non-military and it is anyway uncertain that the text belongs in the First Domination.

[118] See Heidorn 1991, 1992, 2013.

> inconsistent about the lower terminus of use, and one version does not take us very far beyond 526.[119] (ii) A striking feature of the site is that, after a fire, a smaller fortified building of quite different design (and apparently with a different profile of small finds) was constructed inside the central part of the existing fortress. This represents the latest stage of the site (Level II), but what date or historical interpretation we should give to this development remains unclear. (iii) Any role Dorginarti played in defending Persian interests was properly speaking an aspect of the empire's claim to Kush. Still, the Persians' only access to Kush was via Egypt and the practicalities underlying a claim to suzerainty there were part of the management of Egypt, so, despite its geographical location, the site is not in principle irrelevant to the present discussion. But the fact remains that we cannot be sure whether those occupying it after 526 did so under the Persian aegis. Speculation about this readily becomes entangled in a vicious circle of argument about the actual state and status of Lower Nubia. A story could certainly be told about Cambyses' Ethiopian venture, Darius' eventual claim to rule Kush, Herodotus' conception of Ethiopians as gift-giving semi-subjects and even the deployment of Nubians during the invasion of Greece (n. 67) which would permit Dorginarti a role in the defence of the empire.[120] But it would be nice if there were stronger objective indications than the discovery of a single Aramaic ostracon, and an alternative model has been proposed in which those in the place are essentially autonomous agents in a space of ill-defined political affiliation.[121]

This is a mixed bag of evidence, and some of it involves a certain amount of what is essentially guesswork. If one simply argued back from Ptolemaic phenomena one could add other items, having regard to e.g. the network of *phulakai* or the courier system of P.Hib.110 (not that that is explicitly military).[122] But going any distance along this route simply begs the question. Meanwhile attempts to bolster perfectly understandable *a priori* ideas about protection of travellers by detecting militarily protected caravans beneath the surface of Achaemenid-era Aramaic texts (A2.3, A3.3, A4.3, B4.4) are entirely conjectural.[123]

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[119] Contrast Heidorn 1991: 205 (late fifth c.) with Heidorn 2013: 293 (end of the sixth c.)

[120] In some versions of such a story it is conceivable that the South Land (Tshetres), governed from Elephantine, actually included the land as far as the Second Cataract (cf. Heidorn 1992: 146).

[121] Heidorn 1992: 63–4, 146. Török 2009: 365–6 envisages Persian domination in Lower Nubia, but also sees Herodotus' account of land beyond Elephantine as a poorly informed description of an area that has returned to Kushite control.

[122] Direct evidence about the road system in Achaemenid Egypt is scarce, though note the 'men of the path' on p. 311 above. Klinkott 2007a finds reflections in Posener 1936: no. 36 and Smith and Martin 2009: no. 10, but, even if so (and his reading of the evidence is admittedly speculative), we get nothing that reveals way-station guard-posts or the like. Evidence about a pre-Persian system is uncertain. Diod.1.45.7 is a difficult text to handle and (*pace* Klinkott) so too is P.Anastasi III 5.5.–6.2 (Caminos 1954: 91–2). Better is the comparison (P.Chester Beatty I 9.1.1–4) of a lover's journey to his beloved with the royal courier system (involving staged exchange of horses). On the Ptolemaic system see Preisgke 1907, Van't Dack 1988, Llewelyn 1993, Remijsen 2007.

One thing we can say is that, whereas Piankhy's Victory Stele refers to at least nineteen fortified towns in Middle Egypt and Delta in the eighth century (evoking the possibility of multiple centres of resistance), narratives of major military events in the Late Period suggest that the Egyptians had little ability or appetite to resist an invader fortress-by-fortress. One confronts him in the eastern Delta (with fortifications and inundations: the latter figure in 373 and probably 351).[124] If that succeeds, well and good. If not, one flees to Memphis. It does not sound as though there was a complex infrastructure of effective fortified places throughout the country either before 526 or in 404–343.[125] Did the Persians do things differently? Perhaps not: Herodotus 2.30 suggests that (serious) garrisoning happened only at the edges—and even there the latest view of Daphnae means that we have a major Persian garrison in a place with nothing that could be called dedicated military architecture and there is no proof that things were any different at Marea—and as far as one can tell the Inaros revolt swept all before it until it reached Memphis. Or are the narrative sources misleadingly simplifying? In a text of uncertain date (Louvre A88) the General Ḥor boasts of repelling enemies from Heracleopolis.[126] Was this some temporary success in the context of what ended up as the disaster of 343? Artaxerxes III reportedly demolished the walls of the *axiologōtatai poleis* after the 343 reconquest (Diodorus 16.51.2): did these include places away from the eastern frontier which had caused trouble, even if the Diodoran narrative neglects the fact? It is hard to know. The urban archaeology of some parts of Egypt gives the impression that cities were apt to be unfortified, with only the temple enclosures offering potentially defensible spaces.[127] It is possible that it was the wish to use the Neith sanctuary at Sais as a military base that caused the trouble Udjahorresnet prides himself on resolving,[128] and even that confrontations at some other temple sites during the initial invasion and occupation of the country contributed to claims that Cambyses plundered or destroyed temples—though it is hardly the whole explanation.

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[123] Porten 1968: 41–2, Granerød 2016: 28, 47, 74, 275. For an entirely different type of investigation of citadels in the Late Period (as a matter of Egyptian mentality, reflected in wisdom literature) see Agut-Labordère 2011.

[124] Diod.15.42, 16.44, Isoc.5.101. Chababash's survey of Delta defences (Ruzicka 2012: 200) is in line with this general strategic approach.

[125] At least, effective against a serious army. Badawy 1977: 194 notes that the lack of natural defences in most of Egypt made it in principle natural for settlements to be walled rather than entirely open.

[126] A place for whose (Egyptian) military official we have evidence some sixteen decades earlier: p. 307.

[127] Vleeming 1987: 161 notes that the word *rsi.t* (fortress) can also apply to the wall of a temple precinct (P.Leid.Dem. I 379).

[128] Kuhrt 2007: 118 (4.14 (e)).

In all areas there have to be means for controlling local disorder, violence, and brigandage. Historically Egypt was as prone to that as anywhere: in pharaonic times there was an expectation of low to medium level lawlessness in rural areas and problems around tax-gathering.[129] Pharaonic and Ptolemaic sources provide a variety of what modern literature sees as 'police' officials, with Egyptian or Greek titles. Strictly speaking this overlaps with Achaemenid-era evidence only insofar as (a) *Md̲3j.w* (*Medjay*) were in use (which we need not believe: above, p. 304), (b) *phulakitai* and *phulakai* may go together and the putative continuity of use of the South Watchtower of Memphis creates a presumption. (The distinctive necessity for fluvial or desert policing is not reflected in surviving Achaemenid-era evidence about boats.[130]) But the truth is that most of what we *do* dimly see or can rationally hypothesize of the military environment in the Achaemenid era, once we get away from the few narratives of major events (revolts and invasions), inevitably falls into this same area of control of low-level problems. If we had proper narratives of rebellions in particular (and there were plenty of opportunities) things might look different. But, as things stand, there is on the face of it little to suggest that in most of Egypt (any more than anywhere else) there was heavy armed presence or a strong sense of foreign military occupation.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We do have quite a lot of data and there is a richer diversity of sources (particularly Greek, Aramaic, hieroglyphic and Demotic Egyptian) than presents itself if one attempts a similar investigation of Babylonia or Persis. But richer diversity does not immediately yield a more systematic picture. Having more official texts from within the administration might help, especially if they were of the sort to give a sense of overall structure and of the hierarchy of persons, places, and institutions. (There is no guarantee that official documents touch on the military at all, of course, as we are reminded by the satrapal letter about boat-repair and the Customs Document.[131]) But the chances of such things turning up are remote. The question is whether the different strands of evidence already available intersect well enough to transcend the particularities of the individual items of evidence. There are certainly plenty of intersections to be detected, and, by way of conclusion, I draw attention to a number of these.

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[129] I am indebted to Christopher Eyre for advice on this point. See also A6.10:6–7 n.

[130] See Rossi 2016, Hennig 2003. It is hard to believe there were no boats dedicated to military or policing use at Elephantine, but they left no trace on the surviving documentation. (We see such things in Necho's time, though even then perhaps only as a temporary presence ahead of an incursion into Nubia: Müller 1975, Junge 1987: 66–7, Jansen-Winkeln 1989, Török 2009: 360.)

[131] A6.2, C3.7. There is no reason to see the boat as military (*pace* Siljanen 2017: 168–9); and the Customs Document has no occasion to mention the military presence that may well have existed. Pamunpara (a province whose scribes are among the addressors of A6.1) lay in the

First, there are intersections of different strands around one place or theme.

The mass of Aramaic documentation for Syene-Elephantine is joined by P. Loeb 1, so the presence there of both Egyptian soldiers and Judaeo-Aramaean mercenaries is clear not only from the reference to the former in A4.5 but from the conjunction of distinct datasets. P.Berl.Dem.13582 (EPE C35) also supplies us with a Syene fort-commander and provincial governor both similar and dissimilar from figures seen in Aramaic texts.[132] It remains the case that the dataset is greatly skewed towards the Judaeans of Elephantine.

The status of Memphis as a military centre is clear from Greek, Aramaic, and Demotic texts. The fragmentary state of the latter two sets produces a rather patchy effect,[133] but we can still discern a picture of senior Iranian officers (Miθraxa/Čiθraxa; perhaps the mysterious *p3 ḥry ḥth̭* and the even more mysterious subject of Posener 1936: no. 36), a *ḥayla*, payment of *prs*, non-Iranian *degel* commanders and general ethnic diversity that recalls Syene-Elephantine, and, on an optimistic reading Herodotus' Tyrian *stratopedon*, could evoke a military community reminiscent of the Judaeans of Elephantine—we might even *mutatis mutandis* compare their relationship to the sanctuary of Aphrodite *xeinē* (around which they live: Herodotus 2.112) with that of the Judaeans to their temple.[134] (The fact that the Arabs at Tell Maskhutah catch our attention making dedications in a sanctuary has probably encouraged the belief that they are part of a group permanently present in the vicinity for military purposes.) Memphis is also a place where there is some intersection with archaeological evidence in the shape of the Palace of Apries as a presumed fortified site (and one in which elements of weaponry were found). In general, however, strictly archaeological indications of the military that marry with textual evidence are rather elusive (as indeed are those that do not). Daphnae, prominent in Herodotus, is problematic on the ground, it is not certain that Tell Kedoua/Tell Herr go together with Migdol (A3.3),[135] and the recognition of military architecture is a matter of controversy. At a much smaller scale, if ANE 89585 *were* the seal of the Aḥmose attested in Posener 1936: nos. 6–7, we should discover something about how he saw himself

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eastern Delta and conceivably embraced Daphnae (Tuplin i 166 n. 227). But, if there was a military dimension to the 'share' (*mnt*') that is the subject of A6.1, what is left of the letter casts no light on it.

[132] And see nn. 40, 69 for a possible intersection between Syene-Elephantine and Heracleopolis.

[133] The letters found at Hermopolis are not, of course, fragmentary, but their personal focus means they do not say much about the Memphite military set-up.

[134] Judging by the Hermopolis letters, the Aramaeans of Syene did not have a single focal temple, three different ones being named in the opening greetings of A2.1–4. (The author of A3.3, written from Migdol to Elephantine, greets the temple of YHW.)

[135] Granerød 2016: 6 (in passing) identifies Migdol as Pelusium.

from his Perso-Egyptian glyptic choice. But the chances that the marriage of man and seal is correct must be accounted slim.

In broad terms Herodotus' report on the *makhimoi* intersects with Egyptian evidence about *rmt qnqn*, Hermotybians, and Calasirians, even if some of his details are questionable. Of course, the focus and type of detail provided by Egyptian documents is very different from that in Herodotus, and, if Fischer-Bovet is right, there is actually a major misconception in his presentation of the facts, namely the collapse of distinct categories of Egyptian soldiers into a single entity. In any event, the contribution of Egyptian military resources to the maintenance of internal order is not something with which he is concerned.

For Herodotus internal order is a matter of Persian garrisons, though what he says about Marea in this connection is problematic because what looks like a deliberate Herodotean silence does not intersect easily with the indications of a possible (but speculative) piece of specific evidence (an Aramaic funerary stele) and the dictates of *a priori* reasoning (itself underpinned by intersection with pre-Persian-period evidence). Meanwhile the apparent deployment of Syenean troops to Memphis (A.2.1–6) cross-cuts with the presence of Elephantine Judaeans at Migdol (A3.3) and of the 'men of Aswan' (or 'men of Daphnae') at Memphis-Saqqara in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 18. There is clearly a repeated phenomenon here: military personnel were not immobile, and someone must have been making decisions about temporary redeployments for reasons that we cannot now recover.[136] It is interesting that the issue of pay turns up when soldiers are away from their base. That is true at Memphis and Migdol (references to *prs* in A2.3 and A3.3), while the 'men of Aswan/Daphnae' in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 18 appear in what looks like a payment document. The existence of such a thing in Demotic—and ibid. no.8 and no. 14 might be other examples—is, of course, another intersection between datasets. And, both in that general context and more specifically in the context of people away from home, it is also worth recalling the indication that Calasirians were provided with subsistence, an equivalent of the *ptp* of the Syene-Elephantine texts. Even if, as a class, they were economically underpinned by land allotments, that would not feed them when on service at some place remote from their allotment. That they were a class economically underpinned by land allotments is, of course, a proposition heavily dependent on Herodotus. As we have seen (n. 24) it is actually difficult to nail down evidence for soldiers (whether Egyptian or not) individually or collectively holding land by virtue of being soldiers or being soldiers by virtue of holding land: that is a thematic intersection between datasets that remains elusive.

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[136] If Smith and Martin 2009: no. 18 is evidence about Persian Egypt, it belongs to the Second Domination, which had its share of disturbances (Chababash). Vittmann 2006: 583 identifies the author of an unpublished Aramaic graffito at El Kab ('Blessed is Petechnum, son of [...]') as 'ein Besucher aus der...jüdisch-aramäischen Militärkolonie von Elephantine'. His Chnum-derived name may disclose an onomastically acculturated Aramaean from the garrison community, though whether he was in El Kab on military business is a matter for speculation. The fact that the putative Aramaean soldier from Marea (p. 314) was buried with his wife in Memphis-Saqqara also raises the question of mobility. But we cannot assume that the priest of Nabu from Syene buried there (D18.1) was also a soldier. Honigman (2003: 86–106; 2004: 282; 2009: 120–5) has advanced onomastic arguments in favour of a more permanent Judaean presence at Edfu in Persian times (cf. also Fitzpatrick-McKinley 2017: 403–6). If so, they may have originated in Elephantine.

There are other hard cases. There are naturally Iranians in all strands of our evidence. But how many? It is challenging to assess the incidence of actual Iranians (especially Persians) in the military system in Egypt. The evidence surveyed here does not present us with a huge number of firm examples, especially bearing in mind that the mixed onomastics of some individuals raise questions about their actual origin. Across the whole Aramaic documentation from Egypt Iranian names belonging to people active in Egypt probably represent only about 10% of the onomastic record.[137] Is that a fair indication of the proportion of Iranian administrators, officers, and soldiers? I do not know.[138]

Nor is this the only difficult quantification. We can process information in Herodotus and from the Syene-Elephantine dataset to derive respectively figures for Persian mercenaries (? in Memphis ? in Egypt) and for military groups at the First Cataract. But the results are inconclusive (n. 34), and the Greek and non-Greek evidence can only be said to intersect in the most general sense: it would be more accurate to say that they are adjacent and non-touching.

At the start of this chapter we met the *ḥayla* of Armapiya. We not know how numerous its members were (of course), but we also do not know what sort of task Psamšek wanted them to perform or how close it might be to a narrowly military one—the exertion of potentially lethal force to maintain order or enhance the power of the state. Documentary texts across the different strands of evidence do not often describe events of that sort: one may mention the possibility implicit in P.Loeb 1 (protecting resources from brigands) or A6.7 (a *ḥayla* defending a fort from insurgents), and the actuality represented rather perversely by a Perso-Egyptian attack on the Judaean temple in 410 (A4.7// A4.8); by contrast the battle in Smith and Martin 2009: no. 5 is quite obscure. But they do not often evoke activities at the entirely opposite end of the spectrum either, except inasmuch as we are dealing with the entirely private affairs of individuals who just happen to be soldiers. Soldiers of some sort were presumably involved in or present at Maʿuziyah's arrest in Abydos (A4.3). Egyptian soldiers can be associated variously with quarrying (n. 113), ceremonies surrounding the burial of an Apis bull (Posener 1936: no. 7), convoying of ibis corpses,[139] support of tax collection, and general protection of locality, temple property, or road. There is comparatively little *certain* sign of soldiers engaging as an official group in activities with no relevance to what might reasonably be perceived as the state's or community's interests. But the shading of military into other kinds of work-service (see elsewhere) does make this a potentially grey area.

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[137] Segal 1983: 8 reckoned 12% of names in the Saqqara documents were Iranian, not a high figure for documents from the vicinity of the satrapal capital—and not a lot higher than the 9–10% I reckon for the rest of the Egyptian Aramaic material. (This is a very rough-and-ready estimate based on the list of proper names in Porten & Lund 2002—with deductions made for items already in Segal and for such irrelevancies as kings' names or the names in the DB narrative—and the material in Lozachmeur 2006. But the calculations need to be re-done more accurately, especially if one wished to check whether Memphis-Saqqara is different from Syene-Elephantine. An even more rough-and-ready investigation based on the list of Iranian names in Aramaic documents given in Porten 2003 suggests that distinct Iranian names appear at Syene-Elephantine, Memphis-Saqqara, and elsewhere in proportions roughly comparable with that of the distribution of documents (see Tuplin iii 16 n. 39); but the Iranian onomastic richness of the unprovenanced Bodleian letters boosts the score for elsewhere, and Memphis-Saqqara is slightly below par.)

[138] One may add that it is impossible to know how many elite estate-holders like Virafša (A6.15) and Vāravahyā (A6.13–14) there were and that nothing we know about Egypt matches the model sometimes postulated for Anatolia in which estate-holding grandees have subordinate (equestrian) military colonists.

The cases discussed so far involve intersection between different strands of evidence. Sometimes there are interesting intersections within a strand, as we can see starting from two items from the Bodleian letters mentioned in the previous paragraph.

The putatively Lycian Armapiya may or may not correspond to a Babylonian *degel* leader; but he certainly recalls the Pisidian *Trknmh*. It is tantalizing that we cannot be sure of the relation of either of them to the official infrastructure, but their accidental appearance in two quite different sorts of Aramaic text (satrapal letter and Abydos graffiti) leaves us free to imagine (if we will) that there were many other people of their sort.

The *ḥayla* in A6.7 is described as **handaiza*. This is a Persian army technical term, shared between the Bodleian letters and another part of the dossier (A4.5). This does perhaps make it quite likely that the *ḥayla* in A6.7 was standardly associated with the fortress Miṣpeh in a fashion resembling that of the Judaeans and Elephantine. There is no guarantee **handaiza* is only an emergency situation as it is in A6.7: the Elephantine evidence does not strictly require that. But, in any event, it is an arrangement with enough formality and difference-from-default for a foreign technical term to be used. Whether it is a type of arrangement that actually arrived in Elephantine (and Miṣpeh) with the Persians or was only re-badged by them one cannot tell. But the badging is striking.

Mutatis mutandis we might have similar thoughts about the term *ptp* (**piϑfa-*), found in the Bodleian Letters (A6.9, A6.12), other parts of the Aršāma dossier (n. 21), and elsewhere,[140] in both military and non-military contexts.

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[139] The Hermopolis priests look for help from officials at Heracleopolis, which lies on the route to and from the Fayum. We not know whether they also asked the authorities in Hermopolis for assistance.

[140] ADAB B2:2, C4:10, 42, C5:8, PFAT 018, 027, 187, 212, 272; cf. **pithfakāna* (ration-distributor) in C1:47, C4:10, 25.

The need for soldiers or other servants to have food to eat is more fundamental and universal than whatever precisely is connoted by **handaiza*, but that does not diminish the significance of the recurrence of a specific Iranian word: this is a piece of technical terminology, and it is used by the recipients of rations as well as by the official secretariat. It is the mark of a rather fundamental principle of commodity redistribution, and one that transcended the distinction between military and non-military consumers—a distinction more important to us than in a world where the boundary between different kinds of service to the state's interests could seem rather porous: one may recall the difficulty of telling soldiers and workers apart in some types of Mesopotamian and Persepolitan documentation. Although Iranian borrowings are not infrequent in Aramaic documentation, not everything is affected. The recurrence outside Egypt of more generic military (but non-Iranian) terminology such as *byrt*, *ḥyl*, *dgl*, or of description of an officer having troops 'in his hand' does make for some connective uniformity between different parts of the Achaemenid military environment, but it is not as substantively telling.[141] One absent Iranism is perhaps quite striking: Iranian **piϑthfa-* for food payments is not matched by an Iranian term for silver payments, described at Syene-Elephantine with the generic Aramaic word *prs*—so generic, indeed, that the word that can also be used at Saqqara for food allocations.

The fort Miṣpeh is linked to Elephantine in respect of **handaiza*. We have already seen the connections between Elephantine, Migdol, and Memphis (in personnel and payment). This multiplication of forts raises the question of the hierarchy among them. The pertinence of **handaiza* or silver-*prs* at different places does not guarantee that they are of the same size. If the South Watchtower of Memphis *was* in use under the Persians (as before and after them), is it likely to have been an establishment of the same order of magnitude as Syene-Elephantine? Where would Migdol fit in? Between Syene-Elephantine and Miṣpeh? Returning to Greek evidence, might Herodotus still be good evidence for proposition that Syene-Elephantine and Daphnae were exceptional for being (a) not Memphis (which Herodotus took for granted was protected) but (b) of substantial in size? Were the centre and edges of the satrapy seen as requiring special protection, everything else being comparatively at a lower level? Might it even be that in those terms the north-western edge was seen as less important, and that that is why Herodotus ignores Marea? But this attempt to discern a sort of hierarchical pattern still runs up against the archaeological elusiveness of Daphnae and the feeling that in the 450s and later the view of things on the Libyan frontier should have been different.[142]

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[141] *Byrt*: Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 s.v. *byrh.* See Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1987, Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1995. Their dataset has been extended by ADAB A8. *Ḥyl*: PFAT 051, 054, 055, 186, 260; and *rab ḥayla* in PFAT 206, 210; ADAB A2, A4, A7, B1. (In the last of these, *pace* Naveh and Shaked 2012: 135, the force is being counted, not 'anointed'.) *Dgl*: ADAB B5, PFAT 014, Arad 12, 18. In hand (*lyd*): ADAB A2:5 The apparent absence of *prs* (salary) or *mnt* (nn. 20, 22) in ADAB or other texts outside Egypt may be accidental. I do not know whether the use of *prs* in different senses/contexts even within Egypt (n. 22) suggests it is a less-established technical term.

Another postulated local fortress is Teuzoi. Here an intersection between Saite and Persian-era evidence about the same place is perhaps worth comment. Both bits of evidence come from P.Ryl.Dem.9, the long account of the troubles of Peteese and his ancestors. One crucial difference between events in 634 and in 513 in this story is that at the latter date no one intervenes with force to protect Peteese's interests or arrest anyone, whereas at the former date the Shipmaster (the local high authority) orders military intervention and, even before that, some Ma and Calasirians have already weighed in. This is evidently because in 513 Peteese and his family lack the clout or connections to cause any such thing to happen. This says something of the reality of 'keeping the peace' in Achaemenid Egypt—though not perhaps anything much different from what was the case before and always would be.

Finally, some intersections with a particular dataset outside Egypt. The evidence for the military environment elsewhere in the empire is not my primary concern, but the generic similarity between the Bodleian Letters and the Axvamazdā correspondence invites a couple of comments.

The invisibility of specifically military figures in A6.9 (a document authorizing receipt of rations at various places on a lengthy journey) is a product of the same documentary tunnel-vision that makes soldiers as such equally invisible in ADAB C1 (a document listing rations actually supplied at a particular place), although neither Nakhtḥor's nor Bessus' trip can have been undertaken without military accompaniment. Characteristically, in a way, in ADAB C2 we *do* hear about a military grandee, Vištāspa the *karanos* (Hyland 2013): it is the rank and file who are liable to be missing.

On the evidence of Aršāma's correspondence the distinction between private and public spheres may be somewhat fuzzy when it comes to military resources: these will be deployed on the business of the satrap's estate, even if the military commander in question may initially resist the idea. A similar slippage between official and estate-related business has been claimed in the Axvamazdā documents in A2, where there is talk of removing sand/vinegar from Axvamazdā's house (*byt*). But the uncertainty about what is being removed means that, even if *byt* denotes Axvamazdā's private estate, the nature of the situation remains opaque: is Axvamazdā offering a contribution to the needs of what might be official travellers? Or is he requiring the use of soldiers to clear out a bit of private property? That a generic concern to protect productive land takes on a special character when the land is that of members of the royal family would not, of course, be odd. But it is also of a piece with the overlap between military and civil governance. The Syene-Elephantine garrison commander was at least once identical with the regional governor; and, even when he was not, he is still found dealing with the affairs of the local Egyptian temple (and even doing so in what looks like a corrupt fashion). A world in which the garrison commander can be the son of the regional governor is not one in which a rigid distinction of military and civil spheres of activity is likely to a reality.

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[142] Could one address the Daphnae problem (and wrap into it the questions that surround Herodotus' north-east Delta Saite-era *stratopeda* as well) by suggesting that Herodotus did not wholly grasp that Daphnae was used to designate a frontier sector rather than just an individual site and that (in Saite and Persian dispensations) military presence was spread across the sector, not concentrated in a single centre?

The Bodleian letters provide no military or paramilitary narratives as detailed (even if still obscure) as those in the letters of Axvamazdā, in particular ADAB A2 (just mentioned) and A4 (wall-building and locust attack): the content of Armapiya's instructions is unstated, and the circumstances of the **handaiza* are only specified in very general terms. The difference is not so much a function of the fact that Aršāma's correspondence is about the satrapal estates: after all, in A6.7 he is writing to Artavanta and in A6.8 he writes directly to Armapiya, not to Psamšek. Rather it is a product of different ideas about the amount of background detail that needs to be rehearsed (given the habit of repeating the incoming message before replying, this is really a fact about Bagavanta as much as Axvamazdā: our ignorance of Armapiya's precise crime is proximately down to the brevity of Psamšek's quoted complaint) and of the comparative complexity of the instructions that have to be issued: 'let them not be punished and return to work' (A6.7) and 'do what Psamšek tells you or face the consequences' (A6.8) are simpler instructions than 'redirect the soldiers temporarily from building duty to locust duty and, when that is finished, get them back to building duty' (ADAB A4) or 'let one set of troops come to me on 10 Marevshan, while the others go to move provisions and sand/vinegar' (ADAB A2). Accidental differences produce misleadingly different results.

To end I return to Egypt and (eventually) to Aršāma. The battening-down-of-the-hatches approach in A6.7 recalls the defensive posture of P.Loeb 1 but also reflects the general strategic pattern of imperial behaviour (Tuplin 2014a). The military presence intended to support the Achaemenid system was on several occasions insufficient to contain rebellion before it got out of hand. (Herodotus' account of the Cyrenaica expedition tends to denigrate Achaemenid Egyptian military resources in an expeditionary context too, but there is some clear misrepresentation here.[143]) The pattern was set early when Cambyses' departure for the east left the way clear for the revolt of Petubastis IV—a revolt that had resonances as far away as the Khargeh Oasis (and quite substantial ones, since building work is in question) and is of uncertain duration: it is not impossible that order was not fully restored until the visit of Darius in 518/17.[144] Darius' final illness and death again caught the Persians on the hop, and (again) the king himself had to intervene personally and reportedly very harshly. But a generation later, when Inaros attempted to establish a Libyan dynasty, the satrap Achaemenes was overwhelmed at Papremis by a superior rebel army: that, at least, is one possible inference from Herodotus' report that Inaros 'slaughtered' (*ephoneuse*) his adversary.[145] This time the White Fort seems to have held out for some time and perhaps until Persian authority was restored—though we cannot perhaps be sure that silence proves that that was not true on the earlier occasions. Restoration of order was again achieved by an army coming from outside, albeit not one led by a king. Of the circumstances of the termination of the First Domination at the end of the fifth century we have no proper record: the Persians mounted no resistance that caught the attention of Greek observers—which may mean nothing, though it does make the situation resemble that in 522/1 and 488/7. So far as Aršāma is concerned, however, it is more interesting to note the revolt that did not happen. Egyptian defection generally accompanied the (sometimes messy) succession of one Achaemenid king by another, even if that of Inaros was a little delayed. But of such a thing there is no trace in or around 425–423, the era of the upheavals that made Darius II the eventual successor to Artaxerxes I. Aršāma was satrap of Egypt at the time and a supporter of Darius. Had his tenure of the satrapy been accompanied by improvements in military control and general governance that diminished the inclination to cause trouble and increased the capacity to control it? Did the concession of autonomy to Delta princes (often cited as a commonplace Persian practice) actually represent a novelty that had some real beneficial effect? Of course, especially on conventional dating of the Bodleian letters, there was some disorder in later fifth-century Egypt, but the evidence can be read to make it comparatively small-scale and contained by internal action.[146] Perhaps Aršāma's achievement was merely to delay dissident responses to upheavals in the imperial heartland, as (we may speculate) Achaemenes had done initially after the murder of Xerxes. But, even so, Achaemenes succumbed to a Libyan insurrection within not much over half a decade, whereas there is nothing comparably destructive of Persian authority after 424 for some two decades. So we might still say that Aršāma did a better job. Or we might think that it is more prudent not to indulge in such speculations. After all, the Bodleian Letters provide us with only the most transient (and formally undated) glimpses of any larger situation, while the only part of the military infrastructure that we see in any sort of rich (if largely non-military) detail sits at the First Cataract, far from the area that will have mattered most.[147]

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[143] See Tuplin 2018: 103–5. Note also the 'Arsames' story in Polyaenus (p. 291).

[144] The evidence is puzzling: see Tuplin 2018: 111–16, 122–3, Wijnsma 2018a.

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[145] Tuplin 2018: 108.

[146] A6.7, A6.10, A6.11. But A4.5, A5.5 provide independent evidence. See Tuplin iii 64–72.

[147] A remoteness that later made Elephantine an ideal location for Alexander's political prisoners: see Thompson iii 376.

5.4

The Passover and the Temple of YHW

On the Interaction between the Authorities and the Judaean Community at Elephantine as Reflected in the Yedanyah Archive

Gard Granerød

1. INTRODUCTION

The theme of this chapter will be Achaemenid religious policy, and we shall focus in particular on the 'Judaean garrison' (*ḥyl' yhwdy'*) in Elephantine. The two main questions will be:

1. What do the ten documents of the Yedanyah communal archive (A4.1–10) say about the involvement of Achaemenid officials in Judaean (religious) affairs?
2. How should influential theories on Achaemenid religious policy vis-à-vis the Judaeans be assessed in light of the Yedanyah archive?

The papyri dealing with the Judaean garrison at Elephantine represent a corpus of texts that potentially sheds light on the workings of the religious policy of the Achaemenids. In particular, the Yedanyah archive is potentially informative because it gives us glimpses of the ritual and material dimensions of the religion of the Elephantine Judaeans: the Festival of Unleavened Bread, probably connected to the Passover, and the temple of YHW, 'the god who dwells in Elephantine'. Common to these two dimensions of the religion of the Elephantine Judaeans is that the Achaemenid administration affected them in ways to be discussed below.[1]

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[1] Note that I use the term 'Judaean', and not 'Jew' or 'Jewish'. As Kratz (2011: 421–4), among others, has shown, there are religio-historical arguments against the conventional use of 'Jewish'

In a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural empire (and especially one in which royal ideological discourse had a distinctive religious colour) the interaction of the ruling power with the religious culture of its subjects is an inescapable matter of discussion. The explicit role of Persian authority in the development of post-exilic Judaism that is alleged in the Hebrew Bible has always made the Jewish case one of peculiar interest—albeit also one of peculiar difficulty, in view of the problematic historical and literary character of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Elephantine provides a salient independent dataset for students of this topic, and the role of the Yedanyah archive within that dataset means that the Aršāma dossier has a special contribution to make.

2. THE INVOLVEMENT OF ACHAEMENID OFFICIALS IN JUDAEAN RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

2.1. The So-called Passover Letter

In the fifth regnal year of King Darius II (419/18) a certain Ḥananyah wrote to the Judaean garrison (*ḥyl*ʾ *yhwdy*ʾ) in the fortress of Elephantine. The fact that Ḥananyah addressed Yedanyah and the other leaders of the Elephantine community as 'my brothers' (A4.1:1, cf. A4.1:10 'your brother Ḥananyah') suggests that Ḥananyah was on an equal footing with them.[2] The body of the letter is only partially intact. Ḥananyah refers to a decree that King Darius has sent to Aršāma (A4.1:2). Unfortunately the wording of the royal decree is lost. In the light of the assumed width of the papyrus, the lacuna has been estimated to consist of some ten words (Porten 2011: 127 n. 13) or thirty-seven characters (Kottsieper 2002: 151). In the extant text of the lines following the lacuna (A4.1:3–8) there are several injunctions imposed upon the Judaean community.

We can identify the instructions in the letter on the basis of the inflected verb forms. Each one of the injunctions is represented by either an imperative or a negated jussive. In the surviving text it is possible to identify the following injunctions. First, the Judaean community (ʾ*ntm*, 'you') is instructed to 'count' (A4.1:3 *mnw*). The object governed by this verb is only partially intact: … ʿ*rb* …, 'four …'. The following line (A4.1:4) contains the phrase 'from the 15th day until the 21st day of …' It is therefore likely that Yedanyah and his colleagues are instructed to count days. Moreover, the next intact injunctions come in A4.1:5 and are represented by the two imperatives 'be pure!' (*dkyn hww*) and 'beware!'

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as a designation for these representatives of non-biblical Judaism. I prefer to render the Aramaic word *yhwdy* as 'Judaean', which is probably less biased than the alternative 'Jewish'.

[2] See A6.3:1(1) n.

(*ʾzdhrw*). Immediately following these two commands the extant text reads ‘work no[t…]’. Furthermore, the next extant injunction comes in the form of a negated jussive: ‘do not drink’ (A4.1:6). Finally, the last two extant injunctions are ‘bring into your chambers and seal off between the days’ (A4.1:8).

Ever since German archaeologists discovered the letter at Elephantine in 1907, most scholars have assumed that it contains instructions about two feasts that are also attested as important in the Hebrew Bible: the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Consequently, since then scholars have followed the lead of W. R. Arnold (1912) and commonly referred to the letter as ‘the Passover letter’, although the word *psḥʾ* is not found in the surviving text.

(a) Purpose

What was the purpose of Ḥananyah’s letter? Two ostraca from the first quarter of the fifth century (D7.6 and D7.24) refer to Passover. It seems that Passover was already known at Elephantine. Therefore, whatever the purpose of Ḥananyah’s letter was, it was not to introduce a new festival to the Judaean community there. Although the evidence is scant, it is nevertheless tempting to read Ḥananyah’s letter against the background of D7.6:8–10. There, the writer asked a certain Hošaʿyah to inform him ‘when’ he would ‘make Passover’. It was not a question of whether or not Passover should be celebrated, but rather of ‘when’ (D7.6:9 *ʾmt*). In contrast, it is likely that the purpose of Ḥananyah’s letter was to introduce a fixed date. One might assume that, for one reason or another, towards the end of the fifth century someone considered it to be necessary to regulate calendric issues for the Judaean community at Elephantine. Although there is a lacuna in Ḥananyah’s letter and the wording of the royal decree is lost, it nevertheless seems clear that King Darius II was involved in the regulation of a religious festival celebrated by the Judaean garrison.

(b) Who Was Ḥananyah and What Was His Role?

A4.1 raises several questions about the Achaemenid administration of Egypt and Achaemenid religious policy. Who was this Ḥananyah, and what was his role with regard to the Persian authorities and the Judaean garrison?

As far as Ḥananyah is concerned, the Elephantine papyri offer an additional document in which a person with an identical name is found: A4.3, which is also part of the Yedanyah communal archive. In this undated letter to Yedanyah and other leading figures of the Judaean community (most likely written before the destruction of the temple of YHW in 410), a certain Maʿuziyah bar Natan writes about the aftermath of his imprisonment in Abydos, where he had been charged with theft. Maʿuziyah states, ‘For to you it is known that Khnum is against us since Ḥananyah has been [or: “was”] in Egypt until now’ (A4.3:7).

As far as I can see, it is not possible to tell whether or not Ḥananyah is still in Egypt at the time Maʿuziyah writes the letter. In any case, by combining the two documents mentioning Ḥananyah (A4.1 and A4.3) we can extract some pieces of information about him:

A. He came from somewhere outside Egypt (A4.3:7).
B. His coming provoked the priests of the Egyptian god Khnum (A4.3:7).
C. He communicated to the Judaeans of Elephantine an order issued by King Darius to Aršāma the satrap of Egypt (A4.1:2).
D. The contents of the royal instruction were probably connected to the date of the Festival of Unleavened Bread and the Passover (A4.1:3–9).

(c) Ḥananyah, Ḥor, and Vidranga

We can say more about Ḥananyah's role and status by focusing on his servant Ḥor. A servant with this name occurs in two contexts in Maʿuziyah's letter to the Judaean leaders of Elephantine. In the second occurrence Maʿuziyah writes, 'Ḥor is a servant of Ḥananyah' (A4.3:8). However, a few lines above this, Maʿuziyah writes that Ḥor is one of ʿAnani's servants (A4.3:4). Assuming that Maʿuziyah is speaking of one and the same person, the chronology becomes unclear. Was Ḥor the servant of both Ḥananyah and ʿAnani at the same time, or did one of them for some reason succeed the other as Ḥor's master? In any case, provided that Maʿuziyah speaks of just the one servant called Ḥor, this servant played an important role in the release of Maʿuziyah, who had been imprisoned in Abydos by the garrison commander (*rb ḥylʾ*) Vidranga (A4.3:3). Maʿuziyah writes that the servants Ḥor and Ṣeḥa 'intervened' (*ʾštdrw*) with Vidranga (and Ḥornufi) 'with the help of the God of Heaven' until they 'rescued me' (*šzbwny*) (A4.3:4–5).

The verb *šdr* occurs once in Biblical Aramaic too. According to Dan. 6.15 (English translation 6.14) 'King Darius the Mede' (cf. Dan. 6.1 (English translation 5:31)) 'made every effort [*hăwāʾ mišttaddar*] to rescue' Daniel from the lion's den. In the context of Daniel, the verb *šdr* denotes the activity of reversing a judicial process or a verdict. In the case of Maʿuziyah's imprisonment, it seems that the servant Ḥor was in a position which allowed him to intervene with Vidranga on behalf of Maʿuziyah. By deduction, one gets the impression that Ḥananyah, who had been or still was Ḥor's superior, must have had a superior position to that of Vidranga.

In the undated letter from Maʿuziyah, Vidranga has the rank of garrison commander (*rb ḥylʾ*). This is the same rank as Vidranga held in a contract which has been dated to the fourth year of Darius' reign (420) and in which another man called Ramnadainā is governor (?) (*prtrk*, B2.9:4; cf. Porten 2011: 193 n. 10), and in another document from year 9 of Darius' reign (416) where Vidranga is entitled '*rb ḥyl*' of Syene' (B2.10:2). Moreover, in a document dated to year 8 of Darius' reign (earlier in year 416), Vidranga is presented both as *hptḥpt*' and as '*rb ḥyl*' of Syene' (B3.9:2–3). According to Henning (1968: 138, 144), *hptḥpt*' is a word loaned from the Persian which means 'protector of the seventh-part [of the world]'.[3] In the hierarchy of the Persian administration, Henning contends, the *hptḥpt*' held the administrative rank below the *prtrk*, who in turn was below the satrap. In A4.5:4 (*terminus post quem*: year 14 of King Darius, i.e. 410: cf. A4.5:2) and A4.7:5/A4.8:5 (dated to year 17 of King Darius, i.e. 407, and referring to the destruction of the temple in 410), Vidranga appears as governor (*prtrk*) and his son Nāfaina is entitled 'garrison commander [*rb ḥyl*'] of Syene'.

The documents show that Vidranga's career advanced. Unfortunately, A4.3 and Ḥor's intervention on behalf of Maʿuziyah cannot be placed exactly during Vidranga's career. At the time he was definitely garrison commander (*rb ḥyl*ʾ). Perhaps he was also 'protector of the seventh-part' (*hptḥpt*ʾ), although the text does not explicitly say so (cf. B3.9:2–3), but he was probably not (yet) governor (*prtrk*).

The release of Maʿuziyah caused by the intervention of Ḥor, the servant of ʿAnani and Ḥananyah, may suggest that Ḥananyah was in a position to interfere with Vidranga's business. As far as the role of Ḥananyah is concerned, Kottsieper (2002: 157–8), who is followed by Kratz (2011: 430), argues that Ḥananyah regulated Judaean matters in Egypt in the capacity of a Persian official or commissioner, or at least in agreement with and with the support of the Achaemenid central administration. His mission implied an official recognition by the Achaemenid authorities of the Judaean community as a religious community in Egypt, a recognition that the community did not officially have until then. In favour of Kottsieper's theory is its explanatory force: it is capable of explaining the hostility of the Khnum priests that coincided with the coming of Ḥananyah to Egypt (A4.3:7, A4.5).

(d) What Was the Content of the Royal Order in Ḥananyah's Letter?

The actual wording of King Darius' instruction (A4.1:3) is lost once for all. Nevertheless, the tiny word *kʿt* in A4.1:2–3 may be the key. On the basis of an analysis of the structure of A6.15, which is part of the correspondence of Aršāma, Kottsieper (2002: 152–3) argues that the particle does not necessarily introduce a new topic. Rather, the particle *kʿt* typically denotes either the conclusion or the continuation of what is said immediately before. Therefore, it is a reasonable conjecture that there is actually a relationship between the now lost wording of the instruction issued by Darius to Aršāma on the one hand, and Ḥananyah's instruction to the Elephantine Judaeans on the other.

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[3] On this title see also Tuplin iii 303 n. 54.

Nevertheless, we cannot say whether the instructions found in the extant text were formulated by Ḥananyah himself, perhaps on the basis of a more general permission from the king to celebrate the festival, or the king's permission was as a matter of fact concerned with such details as the question of the exact dates, the measures to be taken in that connection, and so forth.

The absence of parallels in the sources relating to the Achaemenid period speaks against the assumption that the Great King was actually concerned with such details. If King Darius II was as a matter of fact concerned with calendric questions and the cultic purity of a geographically remote Judaean garrison, then there are no clear analogies. The biblical books of Ezra and Nehemiah come closest. The decree which Cyrus issued, according to Ezra 1.2–4, and which is repeated by Darius in 6.3–5 (cf. 2 Chronicles 36.23), is about the (re-) building of the temple of 'Yahweh, the God of Heaven', in Jerusalem, and the resumption of the sacrificial cult. Moreover, according to the so-called Artaxerxes firman in Ezra 7.12–26, Artaxerxes invested Ezra with the task of making inquiries about Judah and Jerusalem 'according to the law of your God, which is in your hand' (7.14). But the historical status of these documents is not uncontested.

2.2. The Documents on the Rebuilding of the Temple of YHW

The so-called Passover letter is not the only Elephantine papyrus that sheds light on how Achaemenid officials were involved in Judaean religious affairs. About half of the ten documents of the Yedanyah archive deal with the temple of YHW, 'the god who dwells at Elephantine', and, in particular, the Judaean community's attempts to rebuild the temple after its destruction.[4] Moreover, they present the Judaean version of the course of events before, during, and after the destruction of the temple of YHW:

A. The Judaeans of Elephantine claimed that the temple was built before Cambyses subjugated Egypt (before 526), 'during the days of the kings of Egypt' (A4.7:13–14, A4.9:5).

B. The temple was destroyed in the 14th year of King Darius (410; A4.7:4) when Aršāma had left Egypt to see the king.

   1. Those who were responsible for the 'crime' (A4.5:3 *dwškrt*) were the Egyptian priests of Khnum and the Persian Vidranga, who is presented as the **frataraka-* (*prtrk*, A4.5:4; A4.7:5/A4.8:5).
   2. According to the Elephantine Judaeans, the initiative to destroy the temple came from the Egyptian priests of Khnum (*kmry*ʾ *zy ḥnwb*); the

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[4] See also Tuplin iii 344–72.

agreement between them and Vidranga (A4.5:4 *hmwnyt*) involved a bribe paid by the former to the latter (A4.5:4, A4.8:5).

3. Vidranga's son Nāfaina, the garrison commander (*rb ḥylʾ*) in Syene, completely destroyed the temple together with 'Egyptians and other forces' (A4.7:9–12).

C. By the 20th of Marḥeshvan, year 17 of King Darius (25 November 407), the temple had still not been rebuilt (A4.7:30, A4.8:29).

(a) The Letter to Bagāvahyā (A4.7/A4.8)

In 407 Yedanyah and the priests who were his colleagues wrote a petition to Bagāvahyā, asking for his support for the rebuilding of the temple of YHW in Elephantine, in a letter of which two drafts have been found (English translation in Porten 2011: 141–9). As far as actual Achaemenid religious policy is concerned, this letter is intriguing for several reasons.

First, Bagāvahyā is clearly addressed in his capacity as a Persian official. He is addressed as *pḥt yhwd*, 'governor of Judah', and in the epistolographic salutation the Judaeans pray for his success before King Darius and the 'sons of the house' (A4.7:2–3). Second, the Elephantine Judaeans inform Bagāvahyā that they have previously contacted not only him but also several other dignitaries in Jerusalem: Yehoḥanan the High Priest and his colleagues, Vištāna the brother of 'Anani, and the nobles of the 'Judaeans' (A4.7:19)/'Judah' (A4.8:18). Regardless of the exact content of the earlier letter, it bore no results for the Elephantine Judaeans, as is evident in their remark: 'a single letter one did not send us'. I believe that the perfect verb *šlḥw* (*pe῾al* perfect 3 masculine plural) probably expresses an impersonal subject. In this way the writers are able to describe the reality ('no letter') and at the same time to avoid accusing Bagāvahyā of not having answered their first request. Third, the Elephantine leaders inform Bagāvahyā that they have sent an identical letter to Delayah and Šelemyah, sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria (A4.7:29). Fourth, the Elephantine Judaeans stress that the satrap Aršāma was unaware of what had been done to the temple of YHW (A4.7:30). In other words, when addressing the question of the rebuilding of the temple of YHW, the Elephantine Judaeans contacted religious as well as secular authorities outside Egypt.

(b) Purpose of the Letter to Bagāvahyā

Obviously, the Elephantine Judaeans hoped to receive support. But it is noteworthy that the letter to Bagāvahyā was no begging letter: there is no word about *economic* support. What kind of support were they asking for, then? Moral support? Or was a recommendation from the authorities of Judah, Jerusalem, and Samaria believed to be a prerequisite for any building permission from the satrap? The fact that the Elephantine Judaeans wrote twice (cf. A4.7:18–19) suggests that the latter alternative should be considered. If that is the case, then the jurisdiction of the leaders of Judah, Jerusalem, and Samaria was not confined by territory alone but included the members of the garrison at Elephantine as well. Or, at least, that was what the Elephantine Judaeans thought. The correspondence suggests that the Elephantine Judaeans considered the destruction of the Judaean temple in Upper Egypt and the question of its rebuilding to be the concern of the authorities of Judah, Jerusalem, and Samaria.

The correspondence between Elephantine and Jerusalem, and in particular the fact that there were two addressees of the first and unanswered letter (A4.7:18–19: to the governor Bagāvahyā and the high priest Yehoḥanan), suggests that the Elephantine Judaeans at the end of the fifth century assumed there to be a kind of dyarchy at the head of Judah (Lemaire 2002a: 218). Numismatic material from Judah from the last decades of the Persian period suggests the same. Two coins, which according to Lemaire (2002a: 216) are almost contemporary, have the following Hebrew inscriptions respectively: *yḥzqyh hpḥh*, 'Yeḥizqiyah the Governor' and *ywḥnn hkhn*, 'Yoḥanan the High Priest'. The fact that the Jerusalem high priest, and not only the governor, struck coins suggests that he did not only have a religious role (Barag 1985, Barag 1988, Lemaire 2002a: 216–18). Fried dates the coin minted by *ywḥnn hkhn* approximately thirty years earlier than do Barag and Lemaire (Fried 2003). She boldly suggests that the Yoḥanan (*ywḥnn*) who minted coins was identical with the Yehoḥanan (*yhwḥnn*) mentioned in A4.7:18. According to Fried, Yehoḥanan's/Yoḥanan's tenure as high priest may have lasted until 368.

The Book of Ezra offers a vague analogy to a case of extraterritorial jurisdiction. According to the so-called firman of Artaxerxes (7.12–26), Ezra was commissioned by the Great King to appoint magistrates and judges 'who may judge all the people in [the satrapy] Beyond-the-River, [i.e.] everyone who does not know the laws of your God (*dātê ʾĕlāhāk*)' (7.25). Admittedly, the exact nature of Ezra's mission can be discussed (see the contributions in Watts 2001). And, to be sure, Ezra's mission was limited to but one satrapy, although this nevertheless consisted of several traditional political entities. In any case, Ezra's mission offers an analogy to a case where the Achaemenid king commissions someone with a particular responsibility for questions pertaining to the worship of the god of the Judaeans. It is tempting to surmise that the Elephantine Judaeans attributed a similar legal competence to the leadership of Judah and Samaria.

The ultimate goal of the letter to Bagāvahyā is reached in A4.7:23–25b:

> (…) If it please our lord, take thought of that Temple to (re)build (it) since they do not let us (re)build it. Regard your obligees and your friends who are here in Egypt. Let a letter be sent from you to them about the Temple of YHW the God to (re)build it in Elephantine the fortress just [as it was formerly built. (…)].
>
> (Porten and Yardeni 1986–99: 1.71)

There are some obscurities. First, exactly who were those who did not allow the writers to rebuild the temple? In the Aramaic text a participle in the plural is used (*lʾ šbqw ln lmbnyh*). Was the intention to let the participle express an impersonal subject, so as to obscure the real identity of the one(s) who refused to allow the rebuilding (Rosenthal 1983: 56 (§ 181))? Moreover, the writers asked Bagāvahyā that a letter should be sent 'to them' (*ʿlyhwm*) in the matter of the rebuilding of the temple. Who were the recipients of the requested letter?

One possibility is to identify 'them' on the basis of the context of the letter itself. A group that fits the preposition 'they' is mentioned a few lines above: Yehoḥanan the high priest, his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, Vištāna the brother of ʿAnani, and 'the nobles of the Judaeans'/'the nobles of Judah', to whom the Elephantine Judaeans had previously sent a letter but from whom they had received no answer (A4.7:18–19).

Another possibility is to identify the recipient of the requested letter from Bagāvahyā on the basis of the context of the Yedanyah archive as a whole, and in particular by considering the memorandum of the joint statement of the governors of Judah and Samaria (A4.9). The memorandum contains the words that the governors authorized the anonymous envoy to 'say in Egypt before Aršāma about the altar-house of the God of Heaven'.

The problem with Aršāma as the intended addressee of the requested letter from Bagāvahyā is the lack of congruence in number (Aršama: singular; 'to them': plural). I propose a harmonizing explanation. At the outset, the Elephantine Judaeans wanted Bagāvahyā to write a letter to the Jerusalem priesthood and the nobility in Judah. However, in the end Bagāvahyā (and his counterparts in Samaria) redirected the letter and sent an oral message to Aršāma.

In any case, Bagāvahyā could expect to benefit from a rebuilding. In a few lines that let us to catch a glimpse of the operational theology of the Elephantine Judaeans, they promise to make an offering in Bagāvahyā's name in the re-established temple (A4.8:25). In addition, they say they will all pray for him constantly. If the temple was eventually rebuilt, Bagāvahyā would achieve tremendous merit (*ṣdqh*) before YHW, exceeding sacrifices worth one thousand talents of silver.

It is not known what a talent (*knkr*) in Elephantine was equivalent to. Perhaps we can imagine the value of one thousand talents of silver by calculating their weight on the basis of biblical data. According to Exodus 38.25–6, there were 3,000 shekels to the talent (Scott 1959: 32). If these measures apply to Elephantine, one thousand silver talents would have equalled 3,000,000 shekels. According to Lindenberger (2003: 172), one Elephantine shekel equalled 8.76 g. Therefore, one thousand silver talents equalled 26,280 kg of silver. By comparison, Herodotus reports that an annual tribute of 700 talents of silver was paid to Persia by Egypt and the neighbouring regions in the days of Darius I (3.91). Therefore, we should consider one thousand talents of silver as a hyperbolical figure.

(c) The Memorandum of the Statement of Bagāvahyā and Delayah (A4.9)

In the context of the Yedanyah archive, the request addressed to Bagāvahyā (with a copy to Samaria, cf. A4.7:30) finds its continuation in the memorandum (*zkrn*) of the statement of the governors of Judah and Samaria (A4.9). The memorandum is undated. We can assume that the date of A4.7/A4.8 (407) is the *terminus post quem*. On the other hand, the memorandum presupposes a situation where the temple has not yet been rebuilt. A contract dated to Artaxerxes' fourth regnal year (402) uses the temple of YHW as a fixed point in a boundary description (B3.12:18–19). Therefore, the date of the memorandum should be placed in the period between 407 and 402.

Bagāvahyā and Delayah authorize the anonymous envoy (Yedanyah?) to impart to Aršāma in Egypt certain points concerning the altar-house of the God of Heaven in Elephantine.[5] The condensed text of the memorandum stresses the antiquity of the temple (Granerød 2015). The root *qdm* ('before') appears four times in adverbial phrases denoting time. The 'altar-house' was there formerly, before (A4.9:5: *qdm* × 2) Cambyses' time, it is to be rebuilt 'on its site just as it used to be formerly' (*bʿtrh kzy hwh lqdmn*, A4.9:8), and the offering of meal-offerings and incense is to be resumed as formerly (A4.9:10). Paradoxically, the statement fails to mention the resumption of burnt offerings.

Whatever reasons the two Achaemenid governors had for approving the rebuilding of a temple outside their provinces, their arguments reflect a noticeable degree of antiquarianism. We may assume that such antiquarianism found resonance in the rhetoric of royal Achaemenid ideology. For example, Darius I boasts of having re-established cult-centres and people in the Bīsotūn inscription (DB §14: Kuhrt 2007: 143). Moreover, comparable cases of antiquarianism in the ancient Near East are found in Cyrus' decree to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem 'on its site' (*ʿal-ʾatreh*, Ezra 6:7), in the Cyrus Cylinder (Kuhrt 1983: 88), and even further back. As Beaulieu shows on the basis of textual and archaeological evidence (Beaulieu 1994, Beaulieu 2013), it was crucial for the Neo-Babylonian kings that a temple was rebuilt on the very same foundations that had been laid previously: otherwise the deity would be angry.

(d) Bribe for the Warrant to Rebuild the Temple of YHW (A4.10)

It can be assumed that one of the chronologically latest documents of the Yedanyah archive (if not the latest) is the draft letter A4.10. Although undated, this probably stems from some time after the letter to Bagāvahyā and after the memorandum of the statement of the governors of Judah and Samaria. It does not have any *praescriptio* and is probably a draft or copy of a letter, which was kept for reference.[6] The letter is written to a person called 'our lord' who is not otherwise identified in the extant text.

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[5] On the identity of the envoy see Tuplin iii 364.

Cowley (1923: 124) suggested that 'our lord' could be Bagāvahyā because (the anonymous) 'our lord' is offered bribes in A4.10:12–13 and Bagāvahyā is explicitly offered (spiritual) bribes in A4.7:25–8/A4.8:25–7. However, in the light of the memorandum A4.9 a more probable option is Aršāma (Porten 2011: 53 n. 10). In any case, 'our lord' is an Achaemenid official.

The document is written by a group of five individuals, headed by Yedanyah, who present themselves as 'Syenians and *mhḥsnn*' (= 'hereditary property-holders'?) in Elephantine.[7] In my view, the conditional clauses in the text reflect how the group of leading Judaean figures negotiated and bargained with representatives of the Achaemenid rulers.

(i) First Conditional Clause

The statement of the five-strong group starts with a conditional clause (A4.10:7):

> *kn ʾmrn hn mrnʾ* [...]
>
> (The five Syenians and hereditary property-holders) say thus: 'If our lord [...]'

The condition itself is partly lost. Yet, looking at the extant text it is evident that the protasis was about the rebuilding of the temple of YHW (A4.10: 8–9). As I read it, the consequent clause is found in A4.10:10, marked by a 'waw of apodosis' (Muraoka and Porten 2003: 323–4, 327 (§ 84a, b, r)):

> *wqn twr ʿnz mqlw* [*l*]*ʾ ytʿbd tmh*
>
> and [then, consequently] sheep, ox, and goat are [no]t made there as burnt-offering

The Judaean leaders explicitly state that only (*lhn*, 'except for') incense and meal-offerings are to be offered (A4.10:11).

(ii) Second Conditional Clause

In my view, there is a second conditional sentence in the last three fragmented lines (A4.10:12–14). The condition (protasis) is not marked formally, but may be recognized on the basis of the general context:

> *wmrʾn ʾwdys yʿb*[*d*……..]
>
> And should our lord ma[ke] a statement …

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[6] Cowley 1923: 124; cf. Vogelstein 1942: 89, Porten 1979: 100–1, Grabbe 2001: 103, Fried 2004: 102, Porten 2011: 152–3.

[7] On *mhḥsn* see Szubin and Porten 1982, Tuplin iii 56, with A6.11:2(3) n.

The consequent clause (A4.10:13–14) stipulates the considerable bribe that the Judaean group is willing to offer to 'the house of our lord'. The conditioned payment comprises silver and 1,000 *ardab*s of barley. To put the offer of barley into perspective, it is worth comparing this amount with the ration of barley that a garrison stationed in Syene received (C3.14:26–31). According to the account of the disbursements, the fifty-four-strong garrison received 100 *ardab*s of barley, which was probably meant to cover a month. More specifically, according to the account, twenty-two men received 1 *ardab* each, two men received 1.5 *ardab*s each and thirty received 2.5 *ardab*s each. The period it was meant to cover is not specified. However, this was probably a monthly ration. The reason is that 1 *ardab* = 3 *griw* (*seah*) = 30 handfuls (Porten 1968: 70–3). The proposal is based on the premise that one handful equalled a minimum daily ration for a single individual. If this is correct, the amount of barley that the Elephantine leaders offered to 'the house of our lord' could feed 540 men for a period of one month. Any Achaemenid official would probably be interested in enhancing his revenues. Hospitality and generosity were not only virtues but were also one of the (expensive) mechanisms through which Achaemenid kings and officials exercised power and influence (see e.g. Nehemiah 5.14–18). Administrative documents show that Aršāma owned several estates throughout the Persian empire (e.g. A6.9). This did not restrain him from wanting more. For instance, he accuses his servant Nakhtḥor of not enhancing his estate (cf. A6.10:9–10).

(iii) A Contract Proposal?

A4.10 is often understood as draft letter because it lacks both date and *praescriptio*. However, more important than the question of genre is the question of content. According to my reading the document appears to be a contract proposal, written by five leading Judaeans from Elephantine to the anonymous person they call 'our lord'. The body of the text is structured around (probably) two conditional sentences. The two parties are obviously not on an equal footing. The document is written from the perspective of the Judaeans, who are subordinate to this anonymous 'lord'. Therefore, they were not in a position to stipulate any sanctions if the other party broke the assumed agreement. The communicative situation that A4.10 seems to presuppose is some sort of *dialogue*, or perhaps rather *negotiation*. The communication is not between equal parties but there nevertheless seems to be a two-way communication. Requests concerning cultic issues are put forward from a subordinate party to an Achaemenid superior on the basis of the principle *do ut des*. In this respect negotiation about religious matters was probably no different from that about other topics of concern to imperial subjects.

3. THE YEDANYAH ARCHIVE AND THEORIES ON TEMPLE–PALACE RELATIONS

3.1. Background

The wider context of the questions that are provoked by the so-called Passover letter (A4.1) and the documents dealing with the rebuilding of the temple of YHW can be summarized in the phrase 'temple–palace relations in the Persian empire', which also happens to be the subtitle of L. S. Fried's monograph *The Priest and the Great King* (2004). Fried's monograph is part of a debate in which one would be justified in speaking of two opposite poles. If Fried's position can be identified with one of these poles, the opposite pole is represented by P. Frei's essay 'Zentralgewalt und Lokalautonomie im Achämenidenreich' ('Central power and local autonomy in the Achaemenid empire': Frei 1996). Since the publication of the first edition in 1984, this essay has been a focal point in the debate on temple–palace relations in the Achaemenid period (see, for example, Watts 2001).

Frei addressed the influence of the Persian authorities on the promulgation of Jewish (Frei: 'jüdisch') law in what biblical scholars traditionally refer to as 'the post-exilic period' (from the time of Cyrus onwards). On the basis of various epigraphic materials and biblical texts, Frei argued that the Persians authorized local legislation in different parts of their empire. When a local law was authorized, it became imperial law. The system of imperial authorization of local laws implied that the local communities were in fact self-governing within a federal framework. In Ezra 7.12–26 we read that Artaxerxes authorized Ezra's law book. In Frei's view this expresses the typical Persian religious policy, the imperial authorization of a local law.

At the other end of the scale we find Fried's position. In her monograph she argues that the Achaemenid religious policy is best described by means of a bureaucratic model of imperial control. The idea is that the Achaemenid empire exercised strict control over its territories in order to let the resources be directed from the periphery to the centre. The Achaemenid rulers did not permit local elites to accrue power or to control local resources.[8]

3.2. Assessment

How should these influential theories on Achaemenid religious policy vis-à-vis the Judaeans be assessed in the light of the Yedanyah archive?

[8] See also Fried iii 278–90.

(a) The So-Called Passover Letter

In my view, the so-called Passover letter (A4.1) is inconclusive with regard to the theories about temple–palace relations in the Persian empire. One problem is the lacuna in A4.1:3, which covers the exact wording of the royal decree. Another pertains to the communicative situation of which the document forms a part. Fried admits that the letter is quite fragmentary. Nevertheless, she contends, its purpose is still clear: 'to permit—nay, command—the Jews to obey the Passover traditions' (Fried 2004: 89). However, in my view, we cannot tell for sure whether Darius unilaterally commanded the Elephantine Judaeans to observe certain festivals or Ḥananyah, on the basis of Darius' authority, permitted the Judaeans to do so in response to an earlier request.

(b) The Documents Dealing with the Rebuilding of the Temple of YHW

Whereas the communicative situation of the so-called Passover letter remains obscure, the documents about the rebuilding of the temple of YHW disclose a little bit more, both about the background against which they were written, and perhaps even about the Persian religious policy as well.

Formally, the prerogative to permit a reconstruction lay in the hands of the person that the Elephantine Judaeans called 'our lord' (A4.10), who should probably be identified as Aršāma (cf. A4.9:3). The case of the temple of YHW suggests neither a 'one-way communication' nor a unilateral initiative from the side of the Persian authorities. It appears that it was the religious community in question that took the initiative to rebuild the temple of YHW. The fact that the Judaean leaders agreed to refrain from animal offerings in the rebuilt temple suggests that they were flexible and able to adapt their former practice to a new situation. It remains an unsolved question why animal offerings were not to be made in the rebuilt temple of YHW, and various explanations have been given in the literature on the Judaean community in Elephantine. For a brief outline see Kratz 2006: 261–2; and for a discussion of how the Judaeans could accept the veto on animal offerings within the framework of their theology of sacrifice see Granerød 2016: 147–50.

The Elephantine Judaeans obviously assumed that the Jerusalem priesthood and the governors of Judah and Samaria had some sort of power in their case compared with the Achaemenid administration of Egypt (cf. A4.7:17–19). We should assume that the Elephantine Judaeans had a better knowledge of the Persian administration in general than modern historians have. Even if the Persian authorities officially followed a policy of strict control, the Yedanyah archive suggests that the actual situation was different. Nevertheless, the nature of the power of the authorities of Judah, Jerusalem, and Samaria remains undetermined. Were they perhaps formally entitled to have their voice heard in questions pertaining to the worship of the god Yahweh (YHWH)?

The documents dealing with the rebuilding of the temple of YHW do not give the impression that there was either an official procedure that was fixed for all time or fixed official channels that members of local religious communities within the empire could use in questions affecting their own religious practice. Rather, one gets the impression that the local inhabitants actually had to use a wide range of means to see to it that their request was taken into consideration. Among these means we find recommendations of either a formal or a more informal nature from high-ranking officials (both secular and religious), bribes/gifts, references to the antiquity of the cult, and a continuous pressure on the (local) authorities for as long as the matter remained unaddressed.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In my view, the Yedanyah archive gives the impression of an Achaemenid religious policy—at Elephantine at least—that was *ad hoc*. I admit that my approach to the question of the Achaemenid administration is narrow, being made on the basis of limited material.[9] Nevertheless, I cautiously conclude by borrowing the words L. L. Grabbe (2001: 103) uses about the Aramaic correspondence concerning the rebuilding of the temple of YHW: 'This confirms that the Persians responded to the requests and complaints of the local peoples, including those relating to cultic practice, rather than initiating such decrees themselves.'

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[9] For a broader contextualization see Tuplin iii 367–72.

5.5

The Fall and Rise of the Elephantine Temple

Christopher J. Tuplin

EVENTS

The starting point lies in an Aramaic letter written by the victims of attack:

> In the month of Tammuz, year 14 of Darius the king, when Aršāma had departed and gone to the king, the priests of Khnum the God who are in Elephantine the fortress, in collusion with Vidranga who was *frataraka* here, said: 'The Temple of YHW the God which is in Elephantine the fortress let them remove from there'. Afterwards that Vidranga, the wicked one, sent a letter to Nāfaina his son, who was *rab ḥayla* in Syene the fortress, saying: 'The Temple which is in Elephantine the fortress let them demolish'. Afterwards, Nāfaina led the Egyptians with the other troops. They came to the fortress of Elephantine with their implements, broke into that temple, demolished it to the ground, and the pillars of stone which were there—they smashed them. Moreover, it happened that the five gateways of stone, built of hewn stone, which were in that Temple, they demolished. And their standing doors, and the pivots of those doors, (of) bronze, and the roof of cedar-wood—all of these (which, with the rest of the fittings and other things, were there) they burned with fire. But the basins of gold and silver and the other things that were in that Temple—all of these they took and made their own.
>
> (tr. Porten–Yardeni, with slight adjustments)[1]

What is affirmed in this document from the archive of the Judaean priest Yedanyah is clear. An alliance between Persian officials and Egyptian priests led to the complete destruction of a temple of YHW. That the temple was rebuilt emerges from its curt appearance in the boundary definition of a property transfer document dated 13 December 402 (B3.12:17–20).[2] Some have wondered if reconstruction ever really happened. This document is perhaps consistent with reconstruction still being in progress, but, given the emotional nature of the episode, it is inconceivable that it would read as it does if the rebuild had been definitively stalled; and anyway archaeologists now claim to have found the southern enclosure wall of the new temple. As we shall see, reconstruction *could* have started as early as 406 and there is no reason to believe it was not complete before December 402. In the longer run the story ended badly. By the 350s the site was buried under the extended temple precinct of the god Khnum, but well before that the Judaean temple had gone out of use and was housing the animals whose dung was recovered by modern archaeology—though it must still have had its restored roof to protect those animals from the sun (Rohrmoser 2014: 266).[3]

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[1] A4.7:4–13 (25 November 407). Note that A4.7 exists in a second draft (A4.8), differing in many minor details (Porten 1998). I often cite just A4.7 in what follows. An earlier version of this chapter was presented as the Magie Lecture at Princeton in 2013, an opportunity for which I thank the Princeton Classics Department and particularly Michael Flower.

Let us identify dates, sites and parties more exactly. The year was the 14th of King Darius II, i.e. 410. The month was Tammuz—ominous for Jews as that in which Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem. Normally Tammuz would have started in June; but there was an intercalary thirteenth month in 411, so this Tammuz did not start until 14 July. Nāfaina the *rab ḥayla* is commander of the Elephantine-Syene garrison; his father Vidranga had held that role but was now *frataraka*, i.e. governor of Southland, the province stretching north from Elephantine towards Thebes. These are the top Persian officials of the region, answerable to the satrap in Memphis.[4] The Judaean temple was an elongated building in a walled enclosure adjacent to a residential district in central Elephantine.[5] Immediately to its south-east lay the northern enclosure wall of a precinct belonging to the temple of Khnum, the principal deity of Elephantine. There is more to say about the precise amount of space between the two (see below, pp. 356–7), but in any event, since it was the priests of Khnum who instigated destruction of the Judaean temple, we are dealing with a literal as well as metaphorical clash between neighbours. The priests of Khnum of 410 were the latest in a line that went back far into history, but (under rules established by Darius I)[6] the senior ones owed their positions to positive vetting by the Persian authorities.[7] The Judaeans were another comparative novelty. Their presence is documentarily proved from at least 495 (B5.1), but their temple allegedly pre-dated Cambyses' conquest in 526 (A4.7:13–14), and most scholars have them arrive in the early sixth or mid- to late seventh century.[8] In the fifth century they are a community whose men are soldiers, part of a garrison that also included Aramaeans, Iranians, Babylonians, and Caspians; and it is normally assumed that soldiers is what they had been since they arrived. In a couple of documents of religious content the community is labelled as 'the Judaean *ḥylʾ*', suggesting a rather strong identification of ethno-cultural and official status.[9]

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[2] In this document we also uniquely encounter 'YHW the god (who) dwells (*škn*) in Elephantine the fortress' (B3.12:2) instead of the normal 'who (is) in Elephantine the fortress' (B3.3:2) or 'in Elephantine the fortress' (B3.5:2, B3.10:2, B3.11:1–2) or 'in Elephantine' (B2.2:4, B3.4:25). Perhaps the writer wished to stress that there was again a temple for Yhw to dwell in: so Rohrmoser 2014: 110. (For the turn of phrase cf. 1 Kings 6.13, 2 Chron. 23:25, Zech. 2.14–15, 8.3, Ps. 74.2.) Pre-destruction references to the temple in boundary definitions occur in B2.7:14, B2.10:6, B3.4:9–10, B3.5:10. At Elephantine the divine name is written either YHW or (almost all on ostraca) YHH. YH is found once (B3.24:5). YHWH never occurs.

[3] There was still a Judaean in Elephantine to receive A3.9, apparently referring to Amyrtaeus' replacement by Nepherites in 399. For later signs see Thompson iii 377

[4] One wonders if any of their Judaean adversaries were aware that, rather appropriately, Vidranga means 'through and through bold, audacious' (Tavernier 2007a: 347) and Nāfaina (inheritor of his father's office) means 'the familial' (Tavernier 2007a: 255).

[5] Rosenberg 2004. It is already mentioned in D7.18 (500/475) and A3.3:1 (475–450) and in a boundary definition in 446 (B2.7:13). At 30 × 20 m the space was large enough to contain a shrine the size of Solomon's temple (1 Kings 6.2–3). There is remarkable concordance between documents in the Judaean archives and archaeologically recovered features: see Porten 2003a: 73–84 on the development of topographical understanding of the site.

In the long run we need to explain why the temple was destroyed, why it was rebuilt, and what the episode says about the political/religious environment of the Empire.[10] A first move is to describe other events from before and after the destruction that bear on (our understanding of) the behaviour of one or other party. There are ten items in this category.

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[6] P.Berl.Dem. 13540 (EPE C2): 4–5 (21 April 492). The dossier about their relations with the satrap in the early fifth century suggests that they were not always cooperative. Lippert's recent discussion (2019: 147–55) does not entirely negate that impression, even though it may be true that the satrap was not seeking to do anything more than insist upon the application of well-established rules.

[7] The authors of A4.5 and A4.7//A4.8 write the divine name as *Ḥnwb* rather than *Ḥnwm*. This variant 'results from a dissimilation of /m/ after the long vowel [u]; cf. Gk *Χνουμις*, *Χνουβις*' (Muchicki 1999: 179 n. 4). The Khnum priests are *kmryʾ* (the normal Aramaic word, attested now also at Persepolis: PFAT 0390, 0619, epigraph on PFUTS 0019*) and thus lexically distinguished from the Judaean priests in Elephantine and Jerusalem (*khnyʾ*). The same distinction between pagan and Jewish priests occurs in the Bible.

[8] On this topic see e.g. Porten 1968: 8–16, 105–22, Knauf 2002: 183–4, Becking 2003, Kahn 2007, Tuplin iii 294 n. 14. Rohrmoser (2014: 89, 92, 101) observes that, if the temple was on the same site before 526, those who used it may have lived elsewhere, as the architecture of the houses in its immediate vicinity shows that they were built in the Persian period (Krekeler 1990: 214–17, Krekeler 1993: 177, 179, Krekeler 1996: 109). If they arrived before the fall of Jerusalem, the question arises whether they built their temple while the First Temple still existed; but any answer is in danger of begging questions.

[9] A4.4:1, C.3.15:1. It is not certain that an ostracon (CG X11c) listing Judaeans who received the 'share' (*prs*) is a sufficiently official document to demonstrate anything about the official status of the description 'Judaean'. See further below, pp. 358–9. I agree with Vittmann 2017: 231, Granerød iii 329 n. 1 (and many others) in using the term 'Judaean', not 'Jewish', to avoid anachronistic presuppositions.

[10] The episode has attracted an enormous bibliography over the last hundred years and more. I make no attempt to incorporate this systematically into what follows. Among relatively recent publications, primarily or partly devoted to the topic, I note Briant 1996a, Bolin 1996, Kottsieper 2002 and n.d., Fried 2004: 92-106, Rottpeter 2004, Joisten-Pruschke 2008, Nutkowicz 2011, Schütze 2012, Rohrmoser 2014, Granerød 2015, 2016, Granerød iii 329–43. All provide further references to earlier literature.

(1) In 419 one Ḥananyah wrote to Yedanyah and the Judaean *ḥayla* (i) reporting that a message had come from Darius to the satrap Aršāma and (ii) giving instructions about Passover and (especially) the Feast of Unleavened Bread.[11] One assumes the giving of instructions reflects royal authorization, though the link is lost in a half-line gap in the papyrus.[12] If so, we have official Persian engagement with Judaean religious practice in Elephantine. Nothing is said about why this arose.[13]

(2) There are indications of troubled times in the shape of an allusion to rebellious Egyptian troops in A4.5 (which recalls talk of rebellion or disturbance in the broadly contemporary Bodleian archive of Aršāma letters: A6.7, A6.10, A6.11)[14] and three letters (A4.2–A4.4) which speak of Judaeans being arrested at Abydos (by Vidranga) and at Thebes and houses being broken into at Elephantine, and complain about Egyptian bribery of Persian officials. A fourth letter mentions the imprisonment of Egyptians (A4.6). Dates are speculative, and it is not easy to extract an overall narrative, though Van der Toorn 2018a has recently made the attempt. But it is not unreasonable to think that at least some of these events are precursors to what happened in July–August 410.[15] Aršāma is mentioned once, in A4.2, but his role and attitude are not clearly articulated in that document. (On Van der Toorn's reading the Judaeans involved in the affair of the precious stone had initially benefited from the intervention of ʿAnani—presumed to be the *bʿl tʿm* of A6.2 and a figure with influence at Aršāma's court—but then found their situation deteriotating when Aršāma left to visit the king and they were unable to present their case before him.)

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[11] A4.1. Most of the document is about the latter. There is no likelihood that the complete gaps in the first half of lines 3 and 9 contained anything that fundamentally undermines this proposition. Kottsieper 2002: 151 demonstrates that one *can* find a supplement in 3–4 that avoids the word Passover—'Zählt vier[zehn Tage für Nisan und bis zum 14 Nisan verrich]tet [jegliche Arbeit]'—but, since Passover was already known in Elephantine (D7.7, D7.24), this seems unreasonably self-denying.

[12] Kottsieper 2002: 152–3 infers from the way in which *wkʿt* and *kʿt* are used in official letters that there was a substantive link between the king and Ḥananyah's message. Van der Toorn 2017: 605 sees the burden of the lacuna as 'let the Jews observe the rites of their religion'.

[13] Granerød iii 331 thinks the purpose was to establish a fixed date, while leaving open the possibility that, in doing so, Ḥananyah was interpreting a more general directive from Darius.

[14] See Tuplin iii 63–72.

[15] Kottsieper 2002: 158, Nutkowicz 2011, Van der Toorn 2018a. Nutkowicz also includes CG 44 here. Porten–Yardeni (TADAE D7.10) date this ostracon to 500–475 (and understand the first part of the letter differently), so although the addressee is one Yedanyah, on their view there can be no *direct* connection with events in 425–400. There is also no actual reference to Egyptians. Meyer 1912: 90 associated (what he knew of) A4.4 with the breakdown of order at the end of the First Domination. Van der Toorn's narrative (which involves A3.6–A3.8 as well as A4.2–A4.4) is heuristically interesting, but necessarily involves a number of assumptions and brave textual supplements. The location of the dossier in 411/10, putting it very soon before the temple's destruction, depends on a rather arbitrary judgment that A4.2 belongs at a time when Aršāma was absent from Egypt. See Tuplin iii 42, 63 n. 215.

(3) As of July–August 410 Aršāma was not in Egypt, as he had gone to the king (A4.5:2–3, A4.7:4–5). Perhaps it is implied he had only recently gone. There is no evidence of him being back in Egypt until 407–406. Why he went we do not know (Tuplin iii 69–71, Hyland iii 249–59). The Judaeans are only interested in his absence and alleged ignorance of the July–August 410 episode. It is not even certain they see his departure as an enabling trigger for the *émeute*.

(4) Immediately after the temple's destruction Yedanyah and others wrote to 'our lord', to Yehoḥanan the High Priest and other priests in Jerusalem,[16] and to Vištāna, brother of ʿAnani, and the nobles (*ḥry*) of the Judaeans (A4.7:18–19 // A4.8:17–18).[17] 'Our lord' is normally taken as a reference to the addressee of A4.7//A4.8, i.e. Bagāvahyā, governor of Judah. An alternative view (Kottsieper 2002: 163, Kratz 2006: 254) is that 'our lord' is Aršāma or his deputy (Kratz specifies ʿAnani, the *bʿl tʿm* of A6.2) and that the letter in question is actually A4.5 (see the next section). Separating 'our lord' from Bagāvahyā does have the merit that the writers of A4.7//A4.8 are not actually saying that their current addressee had failed to answer an earlier letter,[18] and one might claim that by writing simply 'our lord' they circumspectly avoid naming *any* imperial functionary as guilty of ignoring the report.[19] Whoever the recipients were, the letter (or letters) received no answer, and on the normal view we know nothing of the contents.

(5) We do, however, have a (damaged) letter (A4.5) from 410 intended for an unknown recipient ('our lord') who is presumably in Egypt. On the alternative view of A4.7:18–19//A4.8:17–18, this is the letter referred to in that passage. The papyrus is formally eccentric, having two columns on the *recto* and single column (oriented at right angles) on the *verso*, and there are four three-line gaps on the *recto* and half the *verso* is missing. The preserved *recto* refers to: Egyptian rebellion and Judaean loyalty; Aršāma's departure; the Khnum priests giving

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[16] On one view this High Priest is the person named on a rare Judaean coin issue (Fried 2003, Fried 2004: 228–30, Lemaire 2015: 95). This entails his having held office until well into the fourth c., a view endorsed in Dušek's exhaustive discussion of the priestly succession (2007: 549–98).

[17] The same word (in Hebrew guise) appears in Nehemiah (2.16, 4.14, 19, 5.7, 6.17, 7.5, 13.17), alongside references to *sgnym* and priests. Note that the only recipients specifically located in Jerusalem are the priests. Although (if Nehemiah is historically reliable) Jerusalem had now replaced Mizpah as the capital of the province, the governor probably resided at Ramat Raḥel, and the physical extent and population of Jerusalem were small. (Lipschits 2012: 161 errs in saying that the letter to Bagāvahyā describes Jerusalem as a city.) See also n. 72. On ʿAnani see A6.8:4(1) n.

[18] Granerød iii 335, taking 'our lord' to be Bagāvahyā, finds another way of mitigating any embarrassment by arguing that 'they sent' (*šlḥw)* is to be read as having an impersonal subject ('no letter was sent'). Kottsieper 2002: 164 suggests that the rephrasing of A4.7:18 in A4.8:17 (replacing *w* with *ʾp* between 'our lord' and Yehoḥanan) is meant to make the observation about not receiving a response apply less clearly to the lord.

[19] But making the earlier addressee Aršāma himself creates difficulties with Aršāma's ignorance in A4.7:30 // A4.8:28-29 and is perhaps best avoided. (Kottsieper 2002: 163 seems to claim that the statement asserts that Aršāma knew nothing of the destruction but leaves open whether he knew anything about subsequent developments.)

Vidranga silver and goods and acting in collusion with him; their demolition of part of the royal barley house and the building of a wall in the middle of fortress Elephantine; and their blocking of a well used by the garrison.[20] The addressee is invited to check the truth of all of this with judges, 'police' and 'hearers' of the Southland. On the battered *verso* words or phases such as 'meal-offering', YHW, 'brazier', 'the "fittings" they took and made their own' and 'demolished' are visible, and three successive sentences begin 'if it please our Lord'. It is tempting to detect an allusion to the temple's destruction and certain that the addressee's help is requested. Since there is no verbal continuity between *recto* and *verso* and since they are in a formally peculiar relationship, there is some question about their articulation: it might even be that the two sides are preliminary drafts for *different* documents. In any case, it is odd that the invitation to seek confirmation from local officials precedes any visible reference to the temple. Is this because the events on the *recto* are new ones, prompting report and complaint, whereas the temple affray (on the *verso*) is something already reported and validated?[21] Or should we imagine that the *recto* once spoke of the temple destruction in the six lines missing between its two columns? On that view (and assuming that an apparently full narrative of all outrages was chronological) the blocking of the well followed the temple destruction, but the demolition of the barley house and building of a wall preceded it. Or are we deceived in detecting the temple's destruction in the *verso* text? Has it not yet happened, even if something *has* happened that makes the writer speak of YHW and meal-offerings? What is at stake is our precise reconstruction of events in July–August 410. Demolishing a temple is one thing; demolishing a royal storehouse, building a wall, and blocking a well is another. They are unlikely to be unconnected. But what order they came in is not an empty question. It will be clear that these uncertainties about what the document(s) represented by A4.5 said when they were intact make identification of A4.5 with the letter to 'our lord' in A4.7:18–19//A4.8:17–18 less than wholly straightforward.

(6) Whatever we make of A4.5 and wherever it belongs in the summer of 410, the destruction of the temple must have prompted not just the letter(s) mentioned in A4.7:18–19//A4.8:17–18, but also a complaint to authorities closer to home. I stress this lest the Judaeans' later statement (A4.7:30//A4.8:28–9) that Aršāma knew nothing of what happened suggest otherwise.

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[20] The letter is quite rich in Iranian loanwords. Whatever one says of the appearance of titles and technical terms, the use of Iranian words to characterize the priests' action and their cooperation with Vidranga seems notable (A4.5:3–4). Were these terms just part of the normal and unconscious Iranized idiolect of Elephantine Judaeans in Persian service? Or are they used deliberately to underline the corrupt Iranian input into the Egyptians' misdeed?

[21] Believing this (which is what is implicit in von Pilgrim 2003: 307 n. 11) is dependent on believing that 'in year 14 when Aršāma went to the king, this is the evil that the priests did' could be used to introduce anything but the great outrage (as in A4.7) or (as on the second view) a narrative that would in due course encompass the great outrage at its right moment amidst all the others. And this is a bit difficult.

Aršāma was outside Egypt but, if he really knew nothing, it must be because officials in Egypt (but outside Elephantine) told him nothing, not because those officials had been told nothing. The impression created by other Aršāma documentation (and by the letters of the Bactrian satrap Axvamazdā)[22] is that the world of satraps was prone to micromanagement and obsessed with information flow, so I find it hard to believe no one told Aršāma anything at any stage.[23]

(7) For the Judaeans temple demolition led to an era in which they made no sacrifices, wore sackcloth, fasted, and abstained from oil, wine, and sexual intercourse (A4.7:15, 19–22). That is a relatively straightforward response to disaster.[24] They also prayed to YHW, and this is less straightforward, not in itself but for what comes next (A4.7:15–17). In Porten–Yardeni (which reflects the traditional view) what comes next is that dogs take the fetters from Vidranga's feet (understood as a reference to honorific jewellery, despite the complete lack of evidence for Achaemenids wearing ankle bracelets), he loses all the goods he had acquired, all those whose sought evil for the temple are killed, and YHW lets the Judaeans gloat over both them and Vidranga. In other words, something bad has happened to the Judaeans' adversaries.

Is this true? In favour are two things: Vidranga is called 'wicked' in the otherwise sober narrative of temple demolition (A4.7:7), which was perhaps not wise if officially his reputation remained unimpaired; and his status as *frataraka* (and his son's as *rab ḥayla*) are in the past tense ('Vidranga who *was* the *frataraka* here').[25] Against are considerations of grammar and rhetorical structure.

As to grammar, some feel that to consign YHW's avenging action to a dependent relative clause is odd and that it is better to see the words as the content (not the outcome) of a prayer to YHW. Hence the translation proposed by Lindenberger:

> …and (we) prayed to YHW the lord of heaven: 'Show us our revenge on that Vidranga: may the dogs tear his guts out from between his legs! May all the property

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[22] Naveh and Shaked 2012.

[23] David Taylor has raised the possibility that *ʿbyd ln* (A4.7:30 // A4.8:29) could mean 'done *by* us', not 'done *to* us', the reference being to the sending of an appeal to Jerusalem, but conceded that there is no Official Aramaic example of past-participle + *l* (of the agent). The location of the statement makes it a procedural annotation: having finished the actual letter, the authors add three notes: (1) a parallel copy has gone to Delayah and Šelemyah, (2) Aršāma knows nothing, (3) the date. Taylor's alternative translation suits this: note (2) stands in fairly direct contrast to note (1) and effectively means that a notification has *not* gone to Aršāma. With the normal translation the writers are deliberately casting a rather substantive fact as though it were simply procedural—a rather ingenious rhetorical gambit.

[24] Porten 2011: 144, Rohrmoser 2014: 227–36.

[25] For interplay of *zy* + perfect and *zy* + unspoken present (as in A4.7:4–6) cf. A6.4: 'who was *pqyd* in my estates which (are) in Upper and Lower Egypt'. The name Vidranga appears in a broken context in a letter sent to Elephantine from elsewhere in Egypt (perhaps Memphis) in 399 (A3.9:7: cf. above, n. 3), but there is no telling whether it is the same Vidranga or (if it is) what his current situation is or even if he is alive.

> he got perish! May all the men who plotted evil against that temple—all of them—be killed! And may we watch them!'[26]

Its viability depends on the verbs: *prima facie* they are perfects, i.e. expressive of completed action, so the alternative view entails the precative use of the past tense—essentially that one seeks to ensure the success of a prayer by phrasing the aspiration as though it had already happened. There are no examples in imperial Aramaic, but the usage has been claimed in Hebrew (and Syriac), not least in cases where, as here, some of the verbs *could* morphologically be imperatives.

For the inexperienced Aramaist, assessment of such a matter is hard. Rhetorical structure is easier, and the alternative translation has merits here. If lines 15–18 are merely an aspiration, then Bagāvahyā is asked to intervene in a situation of unrelieved gloom (destruction of a temple that survived Cambyses, sackcloth, abstinence, as-yet-unanswered prayer) and it is the unrelieved quality of that gloom that is to touch his heart—a simple rhetorical posture. On the traditional reading a tactical *victory* is slipped into the middle of the gloom. That victory has not caused restoration of the temple but one *would* expect it to be deployed as a reason for Bagāvahyā to help: destruction of the temple, suspension of sacrifices, and abstinence are hard, but Vidranga and his associates have suffered and this is an encouragement to believe that with Bagāvahyā's help restoration of the *status quo ante* can be secured. In other words, what happened to Vidranga and his associates ought to come just before the direct appeal to Bagāvahyā.

But there are answers to this. One is that Vidranga and his associates were not victims of official punishment (as I have been tacitly assuming) but of violent counter-attack by the Judaeans.[27] That might account for some evasiveness (and attribution of credit to YHW) and would not have advanced the cause of temple restoration. But it is a very extreme scenario. A better answer is to read the rhetoric differently. Straight after the initial bad event we actually have *two* good signs—(a) the temple's survival in 526 (a positive thing in itself, not just a foil to the negativity of the eventual destruction) and (b) the sufferings of Vidranga and his associates—before the gloom sets in, starting with the *lack* of response to the first letter to Jerusalem, to which the appeal for a response now corresponds at the climax of the letter. This is perhaps a less obvious rhetorical approach, but feasible.

In deciding what happened, then, we are pitting grammar against the other hints that Vidranga's (and Nāfaina's) status had changed, and specifically against Vidranga's designation as 'wicked', since the putative fact that he and Nāfaina were no longer *frataraka* and *rab ḥayla* might in theory have a non-drastic explanation. The refusal of local officials to permit reconstruction (cf. ‘they do not let us rebuild it’ in A4.7:27)[28] proves nothing, of course, since punishment of perpetrators does not guarantee restitution to victims—and it is anyway conceivable that, despite the Judaeans’ perspective, they were primarily punished for some other malfeasance. I do remain tempted by Lindenberger’s approach;[29] and, if one is swayed the other way by Vidranga’s advertised ‘wickedness’, there is another problem to be confronted. The Judaeans claim Aršāma knew nothing of what was done to them (A4.7:30//A4.8:28–9). We now have to believe not only that claim but also that Aršāma knew nothing of the punishment of a provincial governor, a strategic garrison commander, and others. The Bodleian archive shows he kept an eye on his personal estate when outside Egypt. Did he entirely remit state business to a deputy? We do not know enough of the *mores* of absentee satraps to infer that Vidranga and the rest remained unscathed. But it is an additional loose end in the traditional view.

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[26] Lindenberger 2003: 75. (The disagreement about what the dogs did/should do is of secondary importance here.) For the argument in favour of this rendering see Lindenberger 2001.

[27] This was the view of Van Hoonacker 1915: 45.

(8) The Judaeans’ first letter to Jerusalem (whether it went both to the governor and to the Second Temple priests, Vištāna and the nobles, or only to the latter group) produced no response. In November 407 they tried again (A4.7//A4.8)—but with a difference: this time the addressee in Jerusalem is certainly and only the Persian governor Bagāvahyā,[30] but they also sent the same message to Delayah and Šelemyah, the sons of Sanballat, Bagāvahyā’s counterpart

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[28] Rottpeter 2004: 75 takes this as a reference to religious authorities (the Khnum priests or those in Jerusalem) and not necessarily local ones. But the local secular authorities must have had a say.

[29] Rohrmoser 2014: 284 follows Lindenberger.

[30] Vištāna, one of the addressees of the earlier letter, is a Judaean with a Persian name, but this need not be true of Bagāvahyā, and the chances are quite strong that he was a Persian. This turns essentially on one’s attitude to Joseph.*AJ* 11.298–346. I follow the view that it is a chronologically displaced narrative of events that belong in the fifth century. In the second half of the fifth century a Bagāvahyā appears in Deutsch and Heltzer 1994: no. 35, inscribed on a bowl from a major cult site in the central Sharon plain: ‘this which ʾTḤ gave (offered) to Bagohi, for the life of his soul, to the ‘Astars (gods)’ or ‘this which ’TḤ gave (offered) to (for) Bagohi, for the life of his soul, to the (the god) ‘STRM’. The offering-formula has Arabian associations (as well as an analogy on a pre-Achaemenid Luristan bowl) and ʾTḤ has an Arabian name, though that is not true of those responsible for other similar bowls from the same site. The deity/deities is/are Phoenician, reflecting the history of Sidonian and (then) Tyrian control of the region. (For further remarks on the site and the wider context see Kamlah 1999 and Lemaire 2015: 18–19.) Deutsch and Heltzer 1994: 85 conceive that ʾTḤ was showing loyalty to the Persian system by offering for the life of the soul of a Persian: in the parallel items people make gifts of bowls for the life of their own soul. (An alternative interpretation in Lemaire 1995b: 148 makes ʾTḤ simply a servant of Bagāvahyā.) They do not comment on whether it might be *the* Bagāvahyā, and perhaps it would be hazardous to make such a claim. The same goes for (i) the Bagāvahyā who may appear on a Tell Nimrin ostracon (Dempsey 1993, with Lemaire 1995b: 148), especially as Dempsey’s dating to late fifth or early fourth century might be too early (see contrasting views in Laperrousaz and Lemaire 1994: 264 and Lemaire 1996: 18 n. 43) and (ii) the [*Bg*]*why* = Bagāvahyā postulated by Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004: MGI 27.2. (Becking 2008: 45 n. 25 is understandably sceptical of the reading, and the date is unlikely to fit with our Bagāvahyā.)

in Samaria.[31] The letter exists in two drafts. The second differs in forty-eight details of vocabulary, phrasing or orthography (Porten 1998), bespeaking great concern to produce a perfectly formulated petition, but both say substantively the same, and both are dated 25 November. After a gushing greeting (Tuplin i 66 n. 15), its burden is the temple's destruction, the sad situation of the Judaeans (sackcloth, teetotalism, celibacy), the request that Bagāvahyā support rebuilding of the temple, and a promise that, should he do so, meal-offerings, incense, and holocausts will be offered in his name, there will be constant prayers for him, and he will have more merit before YHW than one who offers holocausts and sacrifices worth 1,000 talents—a sum the Athenian empire would have struggled to raise in tribute at this time.[32] This extravagant conclusion is followed by two important notes: a similar letter has gone to Delayah and Šelemyah; and Aršāma knew nothing of what had happened to the Judaeans. By contrast with A4.5, this letter concentrates on the temple and ignores storehouse, wall, and well. This does not prove those issues have been settled but merely that the authority of Bagāvahyā and the Samarians would most usefully be deployed on what was for the Judaeans the most important issue.[33]

(9) The result appears in A4.9, a fifty-six-word memorandum of the reply from Bagāvahyā and Delayah that the writer is to report to Aršāma in Egypt. The contrast with the elaborate and obsessively redrafted rhetoric of the appeal is stark, though in alluding to the temple's antiquity and describing Vidranga as 'wicked' it repeats bits of that rhetoric. The content is a recommendation that the temple be restored to its previous state and that meal-offering and incense be offered on the altar as formerly. Two things leap out. First, this is a recommendation to Aršāma in Egypt.[34] So Aršāma will be in Egypt when the messenger gets there. One wonders whether his actual or expected return prompted the

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[31] The form Sanballat (for *Sn*ʾ*blt*) follows the pointing in the Hebrew Bible (Nehem. 2.19 etc.). The name is probably Sinuballit, and his Biblical description as 'Horonite' misrepresents the label 'Harranite' (Lemaire 2001: 103–4). The name (which on some interpretations of the Wadi Daliyeh papyri recurs in later generations) keeps alive the family memory of an ancestor's eighth-century Assyrian deportation. Heltzer's discovery of Sabbalaṭi/Sanballaṭi (putatively meaning 'of the family of Sanballat') in an inscription on the base of a fifth or early fourth-century alabaster cup of uncertain provenance (2000) is rejected by Lemaire 2006c: 194.

[32] Presumably these promises were kept when the temple was eventually rebuilt. Frey 1999: 179 n. 54 speculates that the satrap and even the king might also have been beneficiaries of cultic offerings as well. It is a nice question whether the letter's silence is good evidence that the Judaeans had not been praying blessings on the king before summer 410.

[33] Fales 1987: 467 compares the essential framework of A4.7 with ABL 152, in which a priest complains to the crown prince about the actions of an official who has deprived him of property, and infers that there was standard letter model for complaint to a high official about injustice suffered at hands of lesser authorities. This highlights the exceptionality of the remarks about the punishment of Vidranga and the promise of recompense for Bagāvahyā—and this arises because the agent of both is a transcendent third party (viz. YHW).

[34] The complex palaeography of the opening lines (cf. Porten 1979: 96–100) does not suggest any doubt about this at any stage.

renewed appeal to Jerusalem and Samaria. The note about his ignorance of the case (A4.7:30) functions as an implied assurance to Bagāvahyā and Delayah that he has no view from which they might be in danger of dissenting. The point would be more pertinent if everyone knew Aršāma was going to be in a position to intervene personally. (By the same token the claim needed to seem plausible, which puts extra pressure on the conundrum about Vidranga's punishment, especially if that were supposed to be recent.) The second thing that stands out is that Bagāvahyā and Delayah do not give the Judaeans what they want. The *status quo ante* involved meal-offerings, incense, and holocausts. The recommendation only authorizes meal-offerings and incense.

(10) That this is not an inadvertence is guaranteed by a final document (A4.10)—another formally odd one.[35] A list of five names, summarized as 'five persons in all, Syenians who are *mhḥsn* in Elephantine the fortress'[36] is followed by a statement to an unnamed 'lord'. After mentioning the rebuilding of the temple, the absence of burnt-offerings of sheep, cattle, and goats, and the presence of meal- and incense-offerings, this offers silver and 1,000 *artaba*s of barley to 'the house of our lord', if he makes a formal pronouncement (the term is Iranian: **avadaisa*).[37] This is far removed from the epistolary rhetoric of the appeal to Bagāvahyā and Delayah, and the designation of the writers as Syenians and *mhḥsn* evokes the language of formal contracts. Judaean garrison-members were based in Elephantine, non-Judaean ones in Syene, but the overall commander is associated with Syene, and they were probably technically all part of the 'Syene garrison'. Judaeans who call themselves Syenians (especially using a quasi-Iranian linguistic form)[38] are accommodating technical niceties to ensure they make a good impression.[39] In any case, what we have is a blunt offer: you do so-and-so, we give your estate a substantial payment. (1,000 *artaba*s would be ten months' rations for the group of fifty-four men encountered in C3.14, and a month's rations for a 1,000 men at basic Persepolitan rates.) All that the unnamed lord (presumably Aršāma) has to do is sign off the agreement to rebuild. And what he gets for doing so looks uncommonly like a bribe.[40] The document does not prove the deal was accepted, but, in the absence of contrary indications, we naturally suppose that it was.

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[35] For further discussion of this document see Granerød iii 338–40.

[36] On this term see A6.11:2(3) n.

[37] Tavernier 2007a: 447. This is presumably the technical term for a relatively well-defined procedure.

[38] The ending of *Swnknn* makes it an Iranian gentilic form. See Ciancaglini 2012: 95.

[39] cf. Kottsieper 2002: 169. See also above, p. 349 n. 20.

[40] Some believe the gold mentioned in A4.7:28 (but absent in the second draft at A4.8:27) already hints at a corrupt offer to Bagāvahyā: Beyer understands the passage as meaning 'Und Gold (als Bestechung?) betreffend, in Bezug darauf haben wir (bereits vetraulich) Nachricht geschickt (und) Mitteilung gemacht'. But in any case A4.10 makes the accusations about Vidranga and the Egyptian priests (A4.5:4, A4.8:5) a trifle hypocritical. There is a further accusation of Egyptian bribery of Persians in A4.2. See also Ma iii 205.

To summarize: In the background we have Egyptian 'rebellion', Persian authorization for Judaean religious celebrations, and signs of trouble between Judaeans and Egyptians (also involving Persian authorities). In July/August 410 the temple was destroyed and other architectural interventions occurred. Appeals to secular and religious authorities in Jerusalem and to Persian officials in Egypt produced no result. That Vidranga and co-conspirators suffered for what they had done before November 407—whether officially or otherwise—is possible but not entirely certain. Nearly three-and-a-half years after the attack, an appeal to secular authorities in Palestine, coinciding with Aršāma's return to Egypt, produced a better, but not perfect, result, and only at some expense. From some date in 406 the Judaeans were free to start rebuilding, and the job was done before late 402.[41] Such are the apparent facts. How do we explain them?

EXPLANATIONS

In 410 we are a decade from a full reassertion of Egyptian autonomy that would last until 343;[42] and rebellion by Egyptian soldiers lies in the background (A4.5:1). Action by Egyptian priests against servants of the Persian state *might* have a nationalist or revolutionary overtone.[43] But they can hardly have presented it thus to Vidranga and Nāfaina, and we cannot start by assuming Persian officials took a bribe explicitly to damage their own state interests.[44] One would actually be on stronger ground suggesting that those officials were seeking to *mitigate* Egyptian hostility to Persian occupation by co-operating with the priests.

One recent approach (promoted by Pierre Briant and Cornelius von Pilgrim) seeks an explanation in topography and property law.

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[41] Porten 1968: 294–5 suggested that definitive permission did not come until after Artaxerxes' accession in spring 404 and was connected with the need to bolster Judaean loyalty at a time when Amyrtaeus' eventually successful revolt had already begun. It is not clear to me that the contrast between boundary definitions in B3.10:8–11 (November 404) and B3.12:17–21 (December 402) necessarily puts the date of rebuilding in 404/3 or later.

[42] See Tuplin iii 65 n. 219.

[43] Bresciani 1985: 512 took such a view, speaking of 'the ferment taking place in the Delta' as the background. (Nothing is said of Vidranga's role: cf. next note.)

[44] Anneler 1912: 137 nonetheless believed that Vidranga in effect joined an uprising against Persian power, of which the temple destruction was essentially a mere side-effect (cf. Tuplin 301 n. 38); the uprising was suppressed and Vidranga was punished for his treachery. But one would expect the author of A4.7//A4.8 to make this clear: instead, the only Egyptian rebellion mentioned in the relevant texts lies in the past (A4.5:1). Rottpeter 2004: 81 reckons that it does not make sense for the attack on the Judaeans to be a political act against Persian rule except in the context of a widespread rebellion for which there is no evidence as early as 410. (Anneler took A4.5 to be that evidence.) Fried iii 286 supposes that Vidranga acted on the orders of Aršāma: one can see that, if so, the Judaeans' letter would not advertise the fact, but her supposition that Vidranga could not have acted as he did except on satrapal orders begs too many questions.

Current archaeological evidence indicates that the enclosure walls of the Judaean and Khnum temple precincts (M500 and M329) ran parallel with virtually no intervening gap.[45] It also indicates that, after the Judaean temple was destroyed, a new wall (M495) was built parallel to the Khnum precinct wall but slightly further north; and, when the Judaean temple was reconstructed, its new enclosure wall followed roughly *that* wall's line rather than the original one. Meanwhile, it will be recalled, the Khnum priests were accused of demolishing part of a royal storehouse, building a wall in the middle of Elephantine, and blocking a well (A4.5:5, 8). We know the storehouse was close to the temple, separated by just a single block of houses. In 420 it abutted this block (B3.7:7). But in 404 and 402 a 'covered wall' *alias* 'way of the god' lay between them (B3.10:8, B3.11:3–4) and, since there was a small shrine on the north side of the houses (first attested 404: B3.10:9), the 'covered wall'/'way of the god' was perhaps an access to that shrine along the eastern edge of the houses. It is therefore claimed that creation of this 'covered wall'/'way of the god' is what caused partial demolition of the storehouse. It is also claimed that it is part of the 'wall in the middle of fortress Elephantine' and that another part is wall M495. Because the term 'covered wall' *might* also be rendered 'defence wall',[46] it is further suggested that the wall was meant to block off the temple site and the houses to its east and north, 'protecting' other parts of Elephantine from the Judaean community living in those houses. To put it emotively, the Egyptian priests stand accused of creating a walled ghetto. If we had the missing six lines in the middle of A4.5 we *might* find the Judaeans making a similar accusation, though the fact that the papyrus *recto* breaks of with the words 'Moreover, we are separated...' hardly guarantees it.

But there are problems. First, the sole known well on Elephantine lay to the east, outside the putative walled area. So why block it, if the Judaeans could not get at it anyway?[47] Second, no evidence is claimed of a 'defence wall' north of the shrine to hem the residential quarter in from that direction. And third, historically (if not demonstrably in 410) non-Judaeans lived in the relevant residential quarter. *Prima facie* the putative wall would have ghettoized all sorts of garrison members, not just Judaean ones—and indeed people who were not garrison members at all. So I think we should put a question mark against this aspect of the archaeological-historical reconstruction. (This is where it is particularly vexing that the current state of A4.5 means we cannot be sure of the chronological relation between wall-building and temple destruction. The archaeologists' reading requires the wall to come second, whereas *prima facie* it was the other way round.)

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[45] See von Pilgrim 2003, with his figs. 1–2.

[46] The crucial word *hnpnʾ* is an Iranian loanword, **hanpana-* (Tavernier 2007a: 439) or **ha(m)-nipana* (Shaked ap. Porten 2011: 237 n. 18).

[47] One might claim that the blocking consisted simply in denial of access: von Pilgrim 2003: 303. The Aramaic word *skr* is perhaps related to Akkadian *sēkēru* (Vittmann ap. von Pilgrim 2003: 303 n. 2; the word is not noted in Kaufman 1974), which is principally used of damming, closing, or clogging watercourses, though also of the blocking of body parts (e.g. intestines). Babylonian Aramaic *skr* similarly refers to the damming up or blockage of a waterway, canal, window, tube, or mouth. Outside A4.5, Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 register *skr* only in KAI 224:2–3 (apparently meaning 'surrender') and Deir 'Alla 1.8 of the 'bolts of heaven'. Von Pilgrim's interpretation is perhaps defensible linguistically.

We also know nothing of the shrine's character. It is sometimes claimed that Judaean objections to its (planned) creation ignited the whole dispute:[48] but it might already have existed before 410 and, if it did not, the plan to create it next to a Judaean house and/or putative Judaean objections may be a symptom of existing tensions not the cause of new ones. Further comment is difficult.

What can attract comment are the near-abutting enclosure walls of the two temples. The claim has been made (by von Pilgrim) that the southern side of the Judaean temple had encroached upon a historic main route across Elephantine, and that the temple's removal was justified by application of a law attested only in a Hellenistic document but perhaps originating in a codification of pharaonic law ordered by Darius I.[49] This law dealt with buildings erected on someone else's land. Since the term King's Road is used of streets round the Judaean temple and since the temple encroaches on the line of the historic cross-island route, its presence might be regarded as breaking the law against building on another person's land (the other person being the king). If so, its destruction was legally justified, and the event of July–August 410 simply executed a legal judgment.[50] Perhaps this is formally true. But: the temple had been there since before 526, so if it encumbered a 'historic' royal road it had done so for over twelve decades; and, when the temple was demolished a new wall was built (M490), which left a gap of two metres north of the Khnum precinct, but *did not restore the putative historic highway*. From these facts I infer that any reference to royal highways and/or property law was window-dressing and can tell us little or nothing about real motives.[51]

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[48] This is one feature of an influential treatment of the whole episode in Briant 1996a.

[49] This is another feature of the treatment in Briant 1996a. On this Hellenistic material see Martin n.d.

[50] Pestman 1985: 118–29, with parallel texts of Hermopolis Code VI 3–11 (Mattha) and P. Oxy.3285 fr.1:13–23, the evidence for discussion of what happens when someone builds on another's land. Both documents show that, if the builder loses the case, he may remove the construction himself (Hermopolis VI 10–11; P.Oxy.3285 fr.1: 14–17, 22–3). If there had been a legal process, the Judaeans (as losers) did not exercise such a right. But we could not infer from their partial account that they had not been offered it and, presumably, in the event of the defeated party taking no action the victorious party must eventually have been permitted to take direct action. Involvement of the Persian authorities in that direct action could doubtless reflect the fact that the king's property rights were theoretically at stake. Schütze 2012: 299–300 argues that any legal process resulted in Judaean *victory*, which is why Vidranga had to be bribed to take action.

[51] Ingo Kottsieper has made a similar point in an unpublished paper. The discussion of the archaeological data in Rohrmoser 2014: 161–76 does not change the basic situation. Schütze 2012: 300–1 thinks it impossible to tell what the priests' real motives were.

The clearest statement about hostility (as opposed to report of specific hostile action) is the remark in a pre-410 letter that 'Khnum has been hostile to us since Ḥananyah was in Egypt' (A4.3:7). This is a religious proposition—one about the god or, if it is metonymic, at least about the temple and it priests, not just (or at all) about Egyptians in general.[52] The Ḥananyah in question was inescapably the homonymous author of the letter about Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (A4.1)—i.e. a religious document. Why might *that* have caused problems with Khnum?

Although the Feast of Unleavened Bread is not previously attested, Passover was not new to Elephantine, and, other things being equal, any Egyptian objections to the story's anti-Egyptian character ought by 410 to have been mitigated by habituation.[53] The eventual restoration of the Judaean temple was accompanied by a ban on animal burnt-offerings, and one possibility is that this reflects the Khnum priests' objection to the sacrifice of sheep and rams, Khnum being a ram-headed god.[54] (Oddly enough, the Exodus narrative actually includes the idea that Jewish sacrifices offended Egyptians: 8:23–4.)[55] Passover celebrations might not have affected this (if, as is possible, they did not take place in the temple), but the Feast of Unleavened Bread presupposed temple sacrifices involving rams and lambs[56]—as indeed did the general calendar of sacrifices in Numbers 28. So, if Biblical texts are a valid guide and if ram sacrifice is a potential problem, then the Passover letter is not the limit of that problem. Yet Ḥananyah's arrival is a watershed for bad relations between Khnum and Judaeans. So perhaps his mission had a wider remit than the Passover letter and caused offence either for reasons wholly unrelated to ram sacrifices or because it tended positively to promote ram sacrifices. There were certainly holocausts before 410, and A4.10:10 ('there shall be no sacrifice of sheep, ox, or goat') implies they included sheep (as Biblical indications would suggest), so the first option is only available if there is something else Ḥananyah might have done to upset Khnum and if we believe that Khnum priests did not care about other people sacrificing rams. Kottsieper 2002 has sought that 'something else' by identifying Ḥananyah as a Persian official regulating the affairs of the Judaean community and arguing that this implied the (first) official recognition of that community as a religious group.[57] Such recognition offended Khnum—not for any particular content (Kottsieper leaves unclear what official recognition as a religious group means) but because they resented a foreign minority being given special status. It will be clear that such an open-ended reading is not inconsistent with my second option, viz. that—whatever else happened—Ḥananyah did something to promote ram sacrifice. That would, of course, raise questions about the *status quo ante* and what Ḥananyah did/said. Had Judaeans *avoided* such sacrifices before? Was Ḥananyah radically changing things, e.g. by urging the adoption of (what we know as) Biblical norms?

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[52] Rottpeter 2004: 81 insists on the lack of independent evidence for Egyptian hostility to the Judaeans beyond the confines of Khnum priesthood. Van der Toorn's specific narrative of Egyptian–Judaean conflict (2018a) is not in practice inconsistent with that, though (apart from the comment in A4.3:7) the documents are not explicit on the issue.

[53] Joseph. *Ap*.1.74–92, 227–87 is cited by Porten 1968: 281 as evidence for negative Egyptian reactions during the Hellenistic era to the Jewish account in Exodus. The pertinence of this material (which is informed by Manetho on the Hyksos: frr. 9, 12 V–W = *FGrH* 609 FF 8, 10a) to fifth-century conditions cannot perhaps be taken for granted. The Persians could theoretically have looked askance at a story about liberation from oppressive rule (cf. the role of the Passover in celebration of the end of the Babylonian captivity in Ezra 6.16–22), but there is, of course, no evidence that they did—and another perspective is that the Exodus story and the associated demonization of Egypt are informed by Persian imperial conditions in ways to which Persians could not reasonably object: see e.g. Fantalkin and Tal 2012, Schmid 2017.

[54] Hdt.2.42, 46 represents the sacrifice of sheep or goats as a matter that divided Egyptians, so that (e.g.) devotees of Theban Zeus and inhabitants of the Theban nome in general sacrifice goats but not sheep, while those with a sanctuary of Mendes or who come from the Mendesian nome sacrifice sheep but not goats—a phenomenon he connects with the theriomorphic representations of the relevant deities (though his treatment is perhaps not in all respects Egyptologically robust). Comparable Biblical passages list the sacrificial animals as oxen, sheep, goats (Lev.7.23, 17.3, 22.27, Num. 18.17) and bulls also come before rams and lambs in Ezra 6.9. Does the order in A4.10:10 conceivably reflect the special importance of sheep in the episode?

[55] Wajdenbaum 2012 even suggests that this reflects events at Elephantine, Exodus being a book whose final recension is of fourth-century date. The strange blending of the Jews and the Hyksos that appears in Manetho fr.12 V–W = *FGrH* 609 F 10a involves the 'unclean' inhabitants of Avaris led by Osarsephos (*alias* Moses) making a point of sacrificing all of the animals considered sacred by Egyptians (as well as killing them in other contexts). Outside a Jewish context, Ian Rutherford draws my attention also to P.Giss.99, which contains a complaint that, in a cult of Apollo at Hermoupolis, hymns were sung in a foreign tongue and sacrifices of sheep and goats performed in a fashion 'most opposite to that of native Egyptian rituals'. (The papyrus is said to be of second to third-century AD date, but at one point cites two stelae set up in front of the temple that dated from 80–79.) For a suggestion that Judaean mercenaries at Elephantine played a role in creating the image of Moses as military leader (Diod.40.3.3–8 [? Hecataeus], Artapanus ap. Euseb.*Praep.Evang.*9.27.3–10) see Wright 2011: 513.

I do not know, but I do think we should accept that religious issues underlay the demolition of the temple and that they stemmed from change to the *status quo* associated with the outsider Ḥananyah. Ḥananyah's activity is plainly

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[56] Num. 28.16–25, Ezek. 45.23–4.

[57] This idea is also countenanced by others: see e.g. Kratz 2011: 430 (Ḥananyah was a royal ambassador, comparable to Nehemiah), Vittmann 2017: 248, Van der Toorn 2017: 605, Granerød iii 333. (Kottsieper 2006: 360 also believes that the ʿAnani of A4.3:4, 10–11 was Ḥananyah's successor. Van der Toorn 2018a: 260 is agnostic on this point, while being sure that he is identical with the ʿAnani encountered in A6.2:23, where he is described as *bʿl tʿm*, and that a reference to Ḥananyah in A4.3:8 is a scribal error for ʿAnani, prompted by the appearance of Ḥananyah in the previous line.) That Ḥananyah is a Persian official is consonant with the formal character of A4.1, which *prima facie* follows the model for a letter from a highly placed addressor issuing an order consequent upon a particular situation (A5.5, A6.2–15, ADAB A1–2, A4, A6) and, more particularly, to the version in which the addressee is treated respectfully and the situation is framed in terms of a report reaching the addressor (A5.5, A6.2–3, A6.6, A6.8, A6.11, A6.13, A6.15, ADAB A1, A4, A6), though the lacuna in 2–3 prevents us from seeing exactly how this works, i.e. how a missive from Darius to Aršāma becomes a report to Ḥananyah. There *are* features more proper to non-official letters—Ḥananyah addresses the recipients as brothers and the external address line included his patronymic—but they do not compromise the basic fact that Ḥananyah is a powerful figure issuing an order. (The situation is unusual because the addressees are co-religionists and the subject matter is, precisely, religious.)

Persian-approved, given that the Passover letter involves royal authorization. Some current views take it that the Jerusalem temple authorities were active or passive partners as well, though there is no positive ground for such a view.[58] That would mean that the post-419 situation in Elephantine was in principle acceptable to those authorities. If, on the other hand, Ḥananyah had nothing to do with Jerusalem but was a Babylonian Judaean associated with the royal court (like Nehemiah) undertaking a religious mission to the Judaeans of Egypt, no such inference would follow.[59] Either way in 410 the Elephantine Judaeans might believe (whether on positive evidence or the absence of negative evidence) that the Jerusalem authorities would be sympathetic and they are therefore included (along with secular notables) in the first appeal. The non-Judaean governor Bagāvahyā is included (if he is) because his *imprimatur* would carry weight with officials in Egypt.

In the event there was no response. The letter may have arrived at a bad time. From Josephus *AJ* 11.298–346 we learn that the High Priest Yehoḥanan was in dispute with Bagāvahyā, who had wished Yehoḥanan's brother Yešuʿa to have the office. At some point Yehoḥanan murdered his brother inside the temple precinct and as a consequence Bagāvahyā imposed punitive taxation on temple sacrifices. One view, neither provable nor disprovable, is that the murder and the arrival of the 410 appeal roughly coincided (Albertz 2003), but whatever the chronology, cooperative action by Bagāvahyā and Yehoḥanan was liable to be difficult—and, even if Bagāvahyā was not an addressee of the first letter, the Jerusalem community might not have been in the mood for an intervention in the affairs of Elephantine, whatever its views on the question itself.[60]

Perhaps it was their belated discovery (through other channels) of this situation that led the Judaeans to exclude the Jerusalem priests and notables from their second appeal in 407. Instead they appealed to Bagāvahyā (again or for the first time) and (in parallel) to his counterpart in Samaria—or to the sons of his counterpart: Sanballat himself was presumably known to be out of action for some reason—a sign that the appellants know more about the situation in Palestine than is explicit in the letter. Why these addressees? And why separately?

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[58] See Van der Toorn 2017: 608–9, who notes sardonically that the allied speculation that Ḥananyah was the brother of Nehemiah mentioned in Nehemiah 1.2, 7.2 does not deserve the status of fact that some confer upon it.

[59] Like Nehemiah in being a Persian emissary: Van der Toorn 2017: 607–10 rightly warns against taking the comparison too far (and even less one with Ezra). Ḥananyah was carrying an endorsement of practical religious identity, but his focus is ritual activity, not doctrine, social behaviour, or politics.

[60] Siljanen 2017: 235 suggests that silence might not signify hostility as much as a disinclination to be seen taking a view either way. Given the subsequent exclusion of the Jerusalem temple and secular authorities from the Elephantine story it is fortunately unnecessary to broach discussion of the formal relationship between Persian governor and priesthood or the institutional nature of governance in the province of Judaea.

As to the second question, presumably to obviate the danger of appearing to give precedence to one or the other. And that is part of the answer to the first question. Bagāvahyā's primary claim lay in being Persian: that would still matter in influencing the Persian authorities in Egypt. He was also a governor with direct experience of a Yahwist temple. The Samarians' primary claim lay in their being Yahwists—though they are also (by proxy) of governor status, and are certainly not priests: the appellants wish to forestall the risk of division between secular and sacred authorities.[61]

To shift the appeal from the Yahwists of Jerusalem to those of Samaria was not an entirely neutral act. One of the things in the background that has not been mentioned so far is that, on current understanding of the archaeological and textual evidence, there was already a Samarian temple on Mount Gerizim and, indeed, it had only relatively recently come into existence.[62] The men of

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[61] We do not have to factor in the Bible's picture of sharp tension between Sanballat and Nehemiah, whatever one thinks of Finkelstein's claim that these details are a Hasmonean addition (2015). I do not find the interpretation of the term 'son of Sanballat' in Nodet 2015 persuasive. It is hard to know what light the assertiveness of loyalty to Persia in fourth-century Samarian coinage (replete with Persian imagery) casts on fifth-century relations. The Wadi Daliyeh papyri (and their diverse sealstone repertoire) are also strictly only relevant much later. But nothing here bespeaks Yahwistic exclusivism.

[62] Magen 2007. Mor 2011: 98–9 is sceptical, but Magen's view is endorsed in varying degrees in Lemaire 2004: 266, Knoppers 2005: 8–12, Kartveit 2009: 206–8, Dušek 2007: 546–7, 603, Nodet 2011: 122, Zangenberg 2012: 406, Dušek 2012: 3, Gudme 2013: 52–6, Dušek 2014 (arguing also against there having been any pre-fifth-century precursor), Pummer 2016a: 80, Altman 2016: 151, Weingart 2017: 174, Hensel 2018a. Dušek 2014: 115–16 puts the establishment after 424, using information in Josephus but detaching it from his chronological setting. Lemaire 2015: 83 notes that it might have been created precisely in the time of Sanballat the Horonite, Nehemiah's rival. Archaeological evidence for a sacred precinct over 9,000 m^2 in area is not accompanied by specific archaeological evidence for a temple within that precinct, and some believe that there was only an altar for occasional open-air use (e.g. Zangenberg 2012: 407). Pummer's review of the issue (2016b) makes clear that this view is not cogently sustained by any other considerations. Considering the place's later history of destruction and re-use, the archaeological lacuna is of debatable weight, and I proceed on the assumption that there was a temple, which (moreover) may have physically imitated the one in Jerusalem. (But, even were that not so, the Samarian emplacement is plainly a significant factor in the situation.) Aside from Jerusalem, Samaria, and Elephantine, there is no strong reason to believe that any other Yahwist temples come into the discussion as of 407. (1) There is no hint of any such thing in the texts from 'Judahtown' in eastern Babylonia (Pearce and Wunsch 2014), where the strongest sign of retained Judaean identity is onomastic. Like others in Babylonia, the inhabitants till the land, build houses, pay taxes, and render services to the king, and in that respect are not unlike those in Elephantine—though there is only a 30% overlap in Yahu-names between the two places. (For other onomastic comparisons see Siljanen 2017: 154–8.) For a useful brief overview of cuneiform evidence about Judaeans in Babylonia see Lemaire 2017b: 179–85. (2) Aharoni 1975: 9, 11 maintained that there was Yahwistic worship at Lachish in the fifth–fourth centuries, but a review of the issue in Knowles 2006: 44–8 underlines disagreement about which building is the potential sanctuary site, concomitant disagreement about whether the rituals there included animal sacrifice, and disagreement about the date of creation. (3) A boundary description (AL 283) apparently puts a temple of YHW in the immediate vicinity of temples of Nabu and the Arabian deity 'Uzzah at Makkedah. There is disagreement about whether it is described as being in ruins (Porten and Yardeni 2007: 77, Yardeni 2014: s.v. *ḥybl*) or not (e.g. Lemaire 2002b: 149, 2004: 271, 2006b: 416–17, 2015: 118–19, 2017a: 173, Becking 2008: 40, 50, who translate *ḥybl* as 'line', 'bande', or 'corde', with Lemaire 2002b: 248,

Elephantine were therefore not just appealing to another group of fellow-Yahwists but to one that some might regard as a transgressive group. This is not irrelevant since some might also regard the Elephantine people as a transgressive group.

Assessing possible Palestinian Judaean reactions to the Elephantine appeal is hampered by the difficulty of knowing what counted as canonical to whom in the late fifth century.[63] Given the right circumstances there could have been objections to their having any temple or their having a temple in which holocausts were offered (definitely unacceptable under Deuteronomic centralization) or their deviations from monotheism—a capitation list of the Judaean *ḥayla* benefits the Aramaean deities Eshembethel and Anathbethel as well as YHW (C3.15:123–8);[64] community members not only swear by YHW, but also

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adducing parallels in AL 250 [*ḥbl*] and AL 268 [*ḥbwl*] that are not recognised in Yardeni 2014), but its operative existence in 407 must in any event be an open question. The scarcity of Yahwist names in the Makkedah onomasticon makes for scepticism (Porten and Yardeni 2014: xxi). Edelman 2012: 356 presumes it disappeared as a consequence of the Jerusalem temple's re-establishment. Hensel 2018b: 221–2, on the other hand, takes it to be still in existence. (4) The possibility that Casiphia (Ezra 8.17) was a temple site has been both endorsed (e.g. Williamson 1985: 117, tentatively), envisaged (e.g. Blenkinsopp 2001: 51 n. 26), and denied (e.g. Leuchter 2009: 182). Ezekiel 11.16 and Jeremiah 41.4–5 have been claimed to refer to temples in Babylonia and Mizpeh respectively (see Lemaire 2004: 267–8, with further literature), but, even if so, the places need no longer be extant in the late fifth century. (5) Even if there was a Judaean settlement at Edfu in the Persian period (Tuplin iii 322 n. 136), we do not have to infer that there was a temple.

[63] The reconstructed history in Ezra and Nehemiah gives the Jerusalem community an exclusivist character that may overstate fifth-century reality: cf. Kratz 2006, 2007, 2011, Granerød 2019 (stressing that Elephantine and Āl-Yaḫūdu provide as good evidence as the bible about Persian-era Judaism); see also Weingart 2017, for whom Judaean–Samarian relations are a case in which religious issues (arising from the foundation of the Gerizim temple) result in contentious constructions of ethnic identity: Samarians and Judaeans were not in fact culturally distinct groups (cf. Knoppers 2006, Levin 2012). Zangenberg 2012: 409 and Altman 2016: 151, 298–9, 303 express (in different forms) the idea that there might initially have been an element of cooperation between Jerusalem and the founders of Gerizim. Hensel (2018b: 224–5, 2019: 17–42) warns against ideas of competition. At the same time, judging from Chronicles, there was a strand of thought that, while it might reject the rigour of Nehemiah, still insisted that Jerusalem took absolute precedence (Knoppers 2005, Marsh and Levin 2018). It is typical of the hermeneutical problem that successive chapters in Becking 1999 take the view (1) that Judaism is a post-Maccabean creation, the Jerusalem temple was rebuilt for largely politico-economic reasons and acquired a sense of uniqueness as an accident of the small size of the province of Judah, and other gods than Yahweh were worshipped in fifth-century Judah (Niehr 1999: 234–46, 249) and (2) that there is an archaeological argument (admittedly *e silentio*) for the onset of significant monotheism in Judah and Samaria at the start of the Persian period in sharp contrast to the pre-586 world of multiple Houses of YHW, worship of Asherah, and an environment of Yahwistic paganism (Stern 1999).

[64] Some scholars (e.g. Sachau 1911: 80, 82, Van Hoonacker 1915: 74–6, Joisten-Pruschke 2008: 94–5, Lemaire 2015: 61–2) question whether C3.15:123–8 (= col.7.1–6), with its summary figures for silver for YHW, Eshembethel, and Anathbethel, belongs integrally with the list of individual contributions to YHW in 1–122 and 129–35, from which it is marked off by horizontal lines. If that is correct, it might not be the case that Judaeans provided the money for the two Aramaean divinities. In assessing reactions in Jerusalem, the putative role of a Bethel sanctuary at Mizpah as an alternative to the Jerusalem temple (Blenkinsopp 2017: 48–60) might also be kept in mind.

by Herembethel (B7.2) or Herem and Anathyahu (B7.3:3) or even the Egyptian Sati (B2.8:5),[65] and their epistolary greetings speak of 'all the gods' (A3.7, A4.2), Bel, Nabu, Šamaš, and Nergal (D7.30), and even in one ironic case YHH (the alternative writing for YHW) and Khnum (D7.21). These may, of course, only be matters of social vocabulary and/or the consequence of getting involved in contractual relations with people of other religious traditions,[66] and some say that collection of money for Eshembethel and Anathbethel was not a sign of communal Judaean worship of Aramaean deities and/or the adoption of such deities as surrogates, hypostases, or subordinates of YHW and/or protective deities of the *marzeah*, but simply a piece of Judaean goodwill towards their human Aramaean neighbours in Elephantine and Syene.[67] Anathyahu, however, continues to look like a syncretistic entity, perhaps reflecting worship of Queen of Heaven by Jewish women before and after emigration to Egypt (Jeremiah 7.18, 44.15–30).[68] But, in any case, to those minded to draw barriers (and suspicious of an open society: n. 66) such accommodations, social or otherwise, could matter. So could the fact (if fact it be) that the stone pillars smashed during the temple's demolition were physical representations of the divine.[69] Less concretely, the totality of Aramaic documentation from Elephantine (a large number of items, even if many be highly fragmentary ostraca) is consistent with a community that was not heavily religious and was e.g. fairly relaxed about the Sabbath. Meanwhile, some Palestinian spectators might even have wondered whether the curses heaped by Jeremiah upon the Jews of Egypt (42.18, 44.12–14) actually applied to those in Elephantine. In these circumstances, it is (of course) peculiarly vexing that we cannot be absolutely sure whether Ḥananyah came to Elephantine from Palestine and what exactly was the scope of his activities when he got there.

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[65] But Aramaean deities are not a feature of the Judaeans' day-to-day ostraca messages.

[66] Rottpeter 2004: 71. But he shares Knauf's view that the Elephantine Judaeans were not monotheists, and that their ancestors in the Levant had not been either (Knauf 2002: 183–4). Lemaire 2015: 65 judges them monolatrous. Becking 2017b: 43 sees the willingness of individuals to name other people's gods in blessings or oaths as a sign of an 'open society' (39) and of 'mutual acceptance of both the variety and unity of the divine in Elephantine in the fifth century' (43). A similar attitude of mind may be reflected in the presence of a woman-and-child shrine plaque in the Aramaic quarter in Elephantine (Cornell 2018).

[67] See variously Porten 1968: 174–5, Porten 1969: 120–1, Frey 1999: 175, Becking 2005, Grabbe 2013: 127–8, Siljanen 2017: 220–5, 277–9. Anneler 1912: 83–8 took it that 'Judaean *ḥayla*' was the official designation for something that included non-Judaean Aramaeans. (Contrast Kottsieper's view that the term came into existence precisely to designate something that was distinctively Judaean: above, p. 359.) *Mutatis mutandis* one might compare Stoebe's view (1995: 626) that non-Judaean Aramaeans used the Judaean temple. (There were apparently at least four temples in Syene, dedicated to Banit, Bethel, Nabu, and the Queen of Heaven.)

[68] Van der Toorn 1992 traces the Bethel/Yahu identification back to Aramaeans in Samaria in the late eighth century, but (97) allows the relevance of Jeremiah's report.

[69] This is mooted by Becking 2011. The case for divine images in the Elephantine temple is presented in Cornell 2016 (cf. also Rohrmoser 2014: 149, 191, 197), but the arguments are inconclusive. Having such images would go beyond the mere acceptance of others' visual representation of the divine that may be implicit in the plaque mentioned in n.66. It is irritating that the writers of A4.7//A4.8 refer to the burning of 'fittings' (*ʾšrnʾ*= OP **āčarna* = 'furniture, equipment': Tavernier 2007a: 437) and 'the other things that were there'. The same Iranian word appears in A4.5:18 (in what may or may not be another reference to precisely the same thing: see pp. 348–9 for the uncertainties around the *verso* of A4.5) and its range of possible referents is hard to delimit from its use elsewhere in Egypt, in Bactria, and at Persepolis. Knauf 2002: 186 thinks that, if the temple had contained ritually important religious texts, the writers would have said so explicitly and infers that there were no such texts—which has implications for where the Elephantine Judaeans sit in relation to developments in other Yahwist communities. The claim that 'the other things that were there' is a coy allusion to divine images (Cornell 2016: 300–2) is not persuasive.

By any reckoning the Elephantine Yahwists were outliers with a history that entirely or partially disconnected them from the experience of Exile and Return so important to the people of Judah. That disconnection was something they shared with Samarians. It does not necessarily follow that the Samarians—carving out religious claims of their own within the historical Promised Land[70]—would see it that way. In addressing their appeal to authorities in both Jerusalem and Samaria, the Elephantine Judaeans *were* indirectly acknowledging the status of the two Yahwistic temple sites in Palestine and indeed suggesting that they were of equal status one with another.[71] But any implicit claim that the Elephantine temple was also of equal status was debatable. Until its destruction the Elephantine temple had, of course, been in existence longer than the current ones in Jerusalem and Samaria:[72] but the destruction left a *tabula rasa* and what happened next remained a matter for negotiation from the perspective of the other parties, and especially the one whose own status was (marginally) historically weaker.

There are various things to say about the eventual response.

Bagāvahyā and Delayah do not reply separately, so there has been consultation, and the decision was surely based on more than the data in A4.7. It might have included the data in the unanswered letter of 410 and recollection of any discussion at that time. But it should also include questioning of the carriers of the 407 letter. Examination of the handwriting shows that the memorandum of response was written by one of those involved in writing down A4.7/A4.8.[73] So this person travelled from Elephantine to Palestine. We should not see him as a mere scribe (some think it was Yedanyah himself), and he will not have been alone. Many details of the events of 410 lost to us were available to Bagāvahyā and Delayah; and they would have foolish not to have sought more explanation of the original event.

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[70] And perhaps political ones too, since the arrival of a Yahwist governor in Judah presumably had an impact on the situation (Frey 1999: 185), especially if Nehemiah's appointment marked the creation of the province of Yehud, though that is debatable (Lipschits and Vanderhooft 2011). Levin 2012 offers a useful overview of the different historical experience of Judaea and Samaria since Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian times.

[71] Dušek 2014: 118.

[72] The community using it might also have been larger than that in Jerusalem: Lemaire 2017a: 175. Fifth-century Jerusalem was dominated by the temple and otherwise probably a rather modest place with a limited population (Keel 2007: 2.953, Lipschits 2012, Altman 2016: 166–7, 176).

[73] The writer of A4.9 also wrote A4.7:12–30 and all of A4.8. A4.7/A4.8 are only drafts, so the writer of A4.9 was involved in the planning and composition of the Bagāvahyā/Delayah/Šelemyah appeal, and is not simply a fair-copy scribe.

The response speaks of the altar-house of the God of Heaven. Altar-house is an unusual phrase, whose choice suggests the respondents were thinking specifically about sacrificial matters. The substitution of God of Heaven for YHW is consistent with occasional Elephantine Judaean usage (it occurs e.g. in the greeting to Bagāvahyā in A4.7), but also contributes to a certain neutrality of language. Taken as a whole the phrase avoids both the appellants' temple of YHW and the Samarian designation of Gerizim as the House of YHWH, and *might* even be an implicit hint that Samarians did not like the idea of temples outside Palestine.[74]

Above all there is the omission of holocausts.[75] Some say this was caused by Persian hostility to burnt sacrifice.[76] It is true that, while it is clear that Persians sacrificed animals, there is little unequivocal sign of them offering burnt sacrifices; and, although Margaret Root has written that Persepolis Fortification seals offer 'abundant representational evidence…for altars where fire is burning for the performance of a sacrificial (burnt) offering of an animal' (Root 2010: 174 n. 34), in terms of published material this comes down to a couple of items, neither of which actually shows an animal being burned.[77] On the other hand, there is no reason to think Persians generally hostile to others doing it (an early fifth-century letter implicitly indicates it acceptability in the Khnum temple),[78] so there would have to be a particular provocation in this case, and the provocation could only have come from the other parties. The fact that the ban extends beyond ovine sacrifice suggests that it is not just the priests of Khnum who matter, though they may have had a negative view and this may have been known to Bagāvahyā and Delayah. So the crucial hindrance must be from Palestine. The Jerusalem priests are not directly relevant in 407–406. But perhaps Samaria also wanted limits. Whatever the implications of 'altar-house', it need not only be Jerusalem that wanted a monopoly (or near-monopoly) on YHWH temples. All the considerations making Elephantine Judaeans look 'odd' could apply in Samaria as well as Jerusalem. And the very novelty of the establishment of their own temple as a typologically distinct counterpart to that in Jerusalem might actually underline a tendency to exclusivism. Countenancing a *non*-holocaust sanctuary in the Upper Nile would be a suitable compromise—specially sweet if Samarians entertained some competitive feelings about the Jerusalem temple and had reason to suppose that the priests there would not have countenanced it at all, but equally fine as an expression of a shared Palestinian perspective: we do not *have* to factor in a version of later Jewish–Samaritan hostility to explain the outcome.

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[74] 'House of…' is also used, of course, in reference to the Jerusalem temple. (Edelman 2012: 355 argues that 'House of Sacrifice' was a Persian-era label for it.)

[75] See Kratz 2006: 261–2. In Granerød's view (iii 342) the reason for the ban remains elusive.

[76] Kottsieper 2002: 172, 174.

[77] PFS 0075: Garrison 2008: 219, fig. 8. PFS 0111: ibid. 234, fig. 48.

[78] P.Berl.Dem.13539 (EPE C1): 3–4 (25 December 493).

This joint Persian–Samarian recommendation was acceptable to the community in Elephantine[79]—and was eventually accepted by Aršāma as well. There were pragmatic reasons: it would make their Judaean soldiers happier and perhaps restore revenue (temples can be tax-generating entities, though there is admittedly no evidence about that aspect of the Judaean one in Elephantine). But I suggest there was also a default acceptance that a well-defined community with a long history was entitled to have an appropriate place of worship—especially when that place itself had a long history. (The recurrence of Cambyses in the memorandum reflects stress on that in the full Bagāvahyā/Delayah judgment.[80]) Bagāvahyā's support deserves special note. A Persian official who had had considerable trouble with the Yahwist temple in his own backyard might have been expected to be prejudiced against such places. Of course, the whole process took time. *Prima facie* reaction on the issue was effectively stalled until Aršāma returned to Egypt (and *perhaps* until the disappearance of Vidranga and Nāfaina). And, even then, there was a delay before Aršāma gave full authorization. Perhaps the king needed to be consulted (the same possibility has been mooted *à propos* of the Gerizim temple) but in any event the Judaeans felt palm-greasing was called for. But bribes may be needed even if they do not change what happens (this episode and the strange formalism of A4.10 are in fact interesting sidelights on Achaemenid back-hander culture, about which we generally see far less than one might expect—and perhaps than we should)[81] and, all things considered, this is a story with an element of affirmative religious tolerance. The fact that there is also an element of compromise does not alter that—indeed, in a sense, it enhances the point.[82]

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[79] Granerød 2016: 147–50 discusses the theological acceptability of the ban on animal sacrifice.

[80] Kratz 2006 observes that reference to a past Persian king (Cambyses: A4.7:13–14//A4.8:12–13) and affirmation of loyalty (A4.5:1–2) are features of the temple-reconstruction narrative of Ezra as well: he uses this (and the Nehemiah/Ḥananyah analogy: cf. n. 57) to underline the historical unreliability of the highly elaborated Biblical narratives. But Becking 2011: 405 is minded to see even the reference to Cambyses as invented tradition. Although the truth about Cambyses and Ethiopia is hard to recover, Herodotus says that the king went beyond Thebes (3.25), and we cannot rule out the possibility that the Judaeans' ancestors had seen him at Syene-Elephantine.

[81] The corruption involved here differs in character from the structural corruption identified by Crawford 1978 in the lower levels of Ptolemaic bureaucracy, which may well have had its analogues in the Persian era as well, but outside the view of sources now available to us. See also Ma iii 205.

[82] The affirmation arises, of course, in response to the negative action of the Judaeans' opponents. It need not negate Kottsieper's assessment that historically the Persian attitude was one of passive acceptance (2002: 159–60, 175–6).

THE WIDER PERSPECTIVE

The Judaeans had reason to expect something of the sort. The construction of Palestinian history in Ezra and Nehemiah pictures Persia as benign and, though those books were finalized later, they need not enshrine a view entirely different from the contemporary one. Of course, there could be difficult moments (e.g. Bagāvahyā's problems with Yehoḥanan or Persian complaisance to the Samarian temple): but objecting to the murder of a priest in the Jerusalem temple and supporting religious self-expression in Samaria (as well as Jerusalem or Elephantine) do not redound to Persian discredit. Strict monotheism will have been odd for most Persians, but they could handle it. And there is no evidence of an Egyptian Judaean perception that Persian religion was hostile: the belief that the writer of an Elephantine letter (A4.2:6) once contemptuously labels a troublesome Persian official as a 'Mazdaean' is misguided; the man was simply called Mazdayazna.

Nor is any of this too surprising in the larger perspective.[83] The Persians were polytheists. This is evident wherever one looks. Greeks certainly knew it. Persian royal inscriptions, for all their focus on Auramazdā, also speak of 'other gods' or 'all the gods' and, in the fourth century, explicitly of Anahita and Mithra.[84] The world of the Persepolis Fortification archive is full of gods (nineteen can be identified, among whom Auramazdā does not enjoy a status commensurate with his importance in royal texts; and then there are eleven mountains and five rivers which may also be deemed divine) but, in a bureaucratic environment, there is so little concern about precise identity that very many sacrifice allocations are made without identification of the divine beneficiary, while others are just for 'all the gods'.[85] Epistolary greeting formulae speak of the good will of plural gods. Personal onomastics encode many divine names—familiar (e.g. Mithra), unfamiliar (e.g. Vata or Naryasanga) and otherwise unrecorded (Tir–, the god of writing)—and yet still entirely miss others

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[83] On which see also Kuhrt 2013. The principle that members of one ethnic group can engage ritually with or otherwise acknowledge deities normally associated with another group that Becking 2017b invokes in reference to the inhabitants of Elephantine applies to Persians as well, there and elsewhere.

[84] Auramazdā the greatest of the gods: DPd §1, DPh §2 = DH §2, DSf §3, DSp, XE, XV, A^2Hc. Auramazdā and the other gods who are: DB §§62–3 (a high-profile passage). Auramazdā with all the gods: DPf (Elamite); DPd §3 (14, 22, 24), DSe §6. Auramazdā with the gods: DSt §2, XPb §3 = XPd §3 = XV §3 = XSc §2 [= A^1Pa §4], XPc §3, XPg, D^2Sa. Auramazdā associated with Mithra/ Anahita: A^2Hb, A^2Sa §3, A^2Sd §2, A^3Pa §4.

[85] See Henkelman 2008. Attested deities (italicized items are not Iranian): *Humban* (26 texts), Mišebaka [= 'all the gods'] (12 texts), Auramazdā (10 texts), *Napiriša* (10 texts), *Adad* (7 texts), Ispandaramattiš (6 texts), Mišdušiš [= 'giving reward'] (6 texts), Mariras [= sunrise]: (4 texts); Turma (3 texts); Pirdamakiya (= 'he who fulfils wishes') (3 texts); $^{\text{AŠ}}$KI$^{\text{MEŠ}}$ (Earth) (2 texts); Narišanka: (2 texts); Irdanapirrutiš (2 texts); Minam (1 text); Šetrabattiš (1 text); *Halma* (1 text); *Nahhunte* (1 text); *Nabbazabba* (1 text); *Šimur* (1 text); Anturza (1 text).

(Anahita).[86] Persepolitan sealstones offer various divine images: the winged disk figure, the bust-in-circle, a goddess in a nimbus,[87] at least two cult-statue types (male and female),[88] and the deities represented by omnipresent moons and stars. Moreover the religious landscape is not just plural but diverse. The gods of the homeland are Indo-Iranian, Elamite, and Babylonian in origin, even if they populate a single religious landscape at the end of a long process of Elamite–Iranian acculturation. Glyptic images offer two types of altar (with distinct iconological syntaxes and, presumably, religious significance)[89] and cult-statues that are associated with neither, not to mention numerous representations of Babylonian worship (actually much more common than scenes of Persian worship).[90] Textual evidence offers various types of religious officiant, not just the *magi* familiar in Greek sources: and the *magi* of Persepolis (and Babylon) arguably have a distinct profile from other officiants, even if we cannot readily map it on to the Greek perception of a group with non-standard religious beliefs and practices.[91] The unevenness with which data about gods sits across the whole range of written and iconographic evidence reflects a divine demography for which pantheon, with its implications of system, is absolutely *not* the right word. And when the landscape is so uneven, we certainly cannot assume that all Persians had the same mental religious map, let alone that any of them were closed maps. Perhaps I over-labour the point, but it is important to grasp that the intimations of mono- or henotheism in royal inscriptions are *entirely* misleading. Persians had no reason to find the variety and varieties of polytheistic religion in the empire a religious problem.

This would not stop them inferring from imperial success that the divine force was largely on their side and that their gods were at bottom stronger than other people's. Kings certainly believed that, as is clear from royal inscriptions, which assert divine favour, make a special link between king and Auramazdā (mostly starkly in the proposition 'I am Auramazdā's, Auramazdā is mine') and encode a theology of power in which royal action is framed by cosmic creation and eschatology, disorder is a product of the Lie, and Susa can be assimilated to the 'wonder' or 'renovation' proper to the Last Days.[92] But this is not a wholly monotheist vision (textually or pictorially),[93] and it neither requires subjects to worship Auramazdā nor even treats doing so as a metaphor for political obedience.[94] It simply explains the king's power and provides a transcendent ideological framework for his actions *qua* king. The Persian *ethno-classe dominante* was doubtless aware of this, but it was no more normative for their personal religious behaviour or wider religious perspective than it was for anyone else's.

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[86] See Tavernier 2007a: 539–43.

[87] PFS 0038, PTS 0021 (Garrison n.d. figs. 47 and 51).

[88] Briant 2002: fig. 37a; Ghirshman 1964: fig. 563.

[89] Garrison 2011: 52–4.

[90] There are nearly forty examples in Persepolis Fortification glyptic: Root 2003: 274. It remains to be seen what connection there is between this phenomenon and a recently discovered Babylonian-style building at Persepolis: see Askari Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, Askari Chaverdi, Callieri, and Matin 2017, Basello 2017.

[91] Incidentally, there were *magi* in Elephantine (B3.5).

[92] Lincoln 2012. Susa: DSa§2, DSf§14, DSo§2, DSz§13.

[93] i.e. on the Naqš-e Rostam tomb façades.

Persians *might* act violently against other people's religious sites and/or their contents. The reasons (when they go beyond the accidents of war) vary in clarity. Temple-burning in Chalcedon was revenge for Chalcedonian destruction of an altar that Darius had erected; a whole set of instances in Asia Minor and Greece responded to Greek destruction of the Cybele sanctuary in Sardis.[95] But the *precise* circumstances of Gaumata's destruction of *āyadanas* and Xerxes' of *daivadānas* are unknown (the latter are *not* explicitly ones of revolt).[96] The truth about the temples of Egypt in 526–522 or (especially) Babylonia in 484 is contentious.[97] A Hellenistic Egyptian trope celebrated Ptolemaic recovery of statues removed from Egypt by the Persians, but the details and truth value of such removals are opaque.[98] It remains worth insisting that, perhaps paradoxically, some such actions can be seen as an affirmation of the value of foreign deities rather than a proof of religious contempt or simple irreligiosity. One could justify taking statues of enemy gods on the grounds that those gods were angry with the misdeeds of their people and need 'rescuing' (the same rescue principle applies to royal statues: hence the removal of Darius' statue from Heliopolis to Susa—and perhaps of a Xerxes statue from the Bel-Marduk temple);[99] and an enemy's affront to one's own deities (even deities by proxy) can reasonably invite condign revenge.

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[94] In DB §§72, 75 'they did not worship Auramazdā' is not a statement of dissidence. In these passages it is the statement that the Elamites/Sakā were *arika* that really says this. Their non-worship of Auramazdā is a foil to the fact that Darius does worship him and therefore enjoys the sort of favour that ensures that he defeats them; and the generalizing statement in DB §§73/76 about the benefit of worshipping Auramazdā is a statement about the advantage Darius gets from doing so, not a suggestion that defeated subjects (or any subjects) should worship Auramazdā—and therefore get benefits too. (The fact that only the Elamites are said actually to have rebelled makes no difference to the main point about the significance of Auramazdā.)

[95] Chalcedon: Ctes. 688 F 13(21). Anatolia, Greece 499–479: Hdt.6.19, 31–2, 96, 101, 8.32, 33, 53–6, 109, 143, 144, 9.13, 65, Aesch.*Pers*.809–10, Isoc.4.155–6, Plut.*Per.*17, Cic.*Leg*.2.10, *Rep*.3.9,14, Strab.634, Paus.1.16.3, 8.46.3.

[96] Āyadana: DB§14. Daivadāna: XPh§5.

[97] Egypt 526–522: Thebes (Diod.1.46.4, 49.4, Strab.17.1.46, Bernand and Bernand 1960: 29.8; Hecat.264 F 19a), Heliopolis (Strab.17.1.27). Diodorus and Strabo also speak of general destruction/looting, as does A4.7. Cambyses' *paranomia* towards temples in Diod.1.95 (which prompted a different attitude from Darius) is unidentified. Removal from temples of silver, gold, and ancient documents was predicated of Artaxerxes III in 343, but the loot is supposed to have been returned almost immediately (Diod.16.51.2). Babylonia 484: George 2005/6, 2010, Allinger-Csollich 2011, Heinsch, Kuntner, and Rollinger 2011, Henkelman, Kuhrt, Rollinger, and Wiesehöfer 2011.

[98] Statue-restoration trope: Winnicki 1994, Devauchelle 1995, Agut-Labordère 2017b: 149–62. P.Vindob. D10,000 II.23-III.1 (Zauzich, P.Rain.Cent. 165ff.) is a literary reflection. Ladynin 2014a suggests that the principle of removing gods was extended in 343 to the priests of Sokhmet.

When Artaxerxes erected Anahita statues in principal cities and taught people to worship her (Berossus 680 F11), he was being proactive, but with an Iranian cult. Persians did not characteristically interfere *pro*actively in non-Iranian cults—though the nature of their *re*action in reactive cases may not always be well recorded. They seem suspiciously easy to manipulate in the Ezra-Nehemiah story; and we do not know what is behind Ḥananyah's mission to Egypt or a supposed Persian-era reconfiguration of the Cybele altar in Sardis.[100] The Xanthos Trilingual, where the satrap is guarantor for the protection of a new local cult, shows how a satrap might be drawn into a cultic matter—though the Carian identity of the satrap and the cult may make this case unusual.[101] An odd story in Justin 19.1.10–13 about the Carthaginians accepting Persian instruction to stop sacrificing children (and eating dogs) is just that—an odd story.[102]

Persians could deal robustly with religious institutions in terms of resource management and personnel: we see this in Babylonian archives, Cambyses' Egyptian temple decree, positive vetting of Egyptian priests (above, n. 6), the intrusion of Persian temple-managers in Ephesus and Carian Amyzon, and, on a massive scale, in the sidelining of a traditional class of priestly families in post-484 Babylonia.[103] They also took Iranian gods with them into the diaspora, though the visible effect is generally small and can be very uneven (it was substantial in Cappadocia-Pontus, significant in Lydia in the shape of Anahita—and negligible in the rest of western Anatolia). Nonetheless we have various signs of what might be loosely called religious acculturation.

How much personal royal engagement with diverse religious environment is entailed by the notorious Cyrus Cylinder or the Egyptianized identity of Persian kings as pharaohs might be debated. But another Babylonian item is worth note. When an abbreviated version of Darius' Bīsotūn monument was erected in Babylon, Bel was substituted for Auramazdā in the text and a star of

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[99] Hdt.1.183 speaks of the removal of an *andrias*. Might it have been a royal statue? We now know there was a statue of Darius in the Ebabbara temple at Sippar in 485/4: Waerzeggers 2014a (BM 72747).

[100] Dusinberre 2013: 234.

[101] FdX vi (translation of all versions: Kuhrt 2007: 859–63 (17.33)). See Briant 1998a.

[102] For further comment on this story—and on a number of other matters relevant to the issue of Persian attitudes to non-Persian religion—see Tuplin 2019.

[103] Cambyses' decree: Lippert 2019: 156–7 (after Agut-Labordère 2005) pictures the decree as intended to empower the temples, but it would not be surprising if not everyone saw it that way, at least in the short term. Ephesus: Xen.*An*.5.3.6 (Megabyzus *neōkoros* of Artemisium). A number of later texts indicate the existence of a person named/entitled Megabyzus at the sanctuary at various dates. I assume that all of this reflects the insertion of an Iranian official into temple management under the Achaemenid dispensation. Amyzon: Robert and Robert 1983: nos. 2, 18. Babylon 484: Waerzeggers 2003–4, Baker 2008.

Ishtar for the winged disk in the icon.[104] This is much more remarkable than the Cyrus Cylinder—precisely because we *know* Darius had created a new religious-ideological template that was now being locally changed, whereas we *know* nothing about the relation between the Cyrus Cylinder and Cyrus' ideological discourse in Elam-Persia.[105] We cannot possibly believe the Babylonian Bīsotūn monument was not officially 'approved'—the more so as this sort of image was not part of the visual landscape of Neo-Babylonian kingship in Babylon[106]—and we are entitled to follow Bruno Jacobs in viewing this local configuration as a sign of Darius' belief that 'in foreign lands the local gods are powerful'.[107] Exactly the same is true of Darius' attitude in the letter that warns Gadatas not to upset the priests of Apollo.[108] Xerxes' belief in the same proposition is visible when the *magi* make offerings not only to the wind (a good Iranian deity) but also Thetis and the Nymphs (Herodotus 7.191) or when he himself sacrifices to Athena at Troy (7.43), not as an avatar of an Iranian deity but precisely as the goddess of Troy. That she was also *the* goddess of Athens (where in due course he got Athenian exiles to sacrifice to her: 8.54) and *a* goddess of Sparta (where he hoped Spartan exiles would do the same) is not irrelevant.[109] The principle involved is what underlies Darius' anger at the fate of the Sardis Cybele temple (5.102). She was a powerful deity in a satrapal city: an offence against her was genuinely a religious offence against the imperial power which was both protective of and protected by her.[110] Nor is it only kings. There was a Cybele shrine in the satrap's palace at Dascylium (Bakır 2007: 170–1), Datis showed extravagant honour to Apollo (6.97) and—if the Lindian Chronicle is credible—Athena Lindia,[111] the younger Cyrus makes Orontas swear an oath of loyalty at the altar of Artemis,[112] Tissaphernes sacrifices to Ephesian Artemis and rallies troops to defend her from Athenian attack,[113] one Miθridasta or Miθridašta, son of Miθrāta (*Mitridastas Mitra*[*talis*]) used his own property to establish a trust fund (controlled by a body of executors) for the maintenance of a temple of *Qldans* and Artemis Ephesia in Sardis,[114] men called Baradates and Farnavā created cults of Zeus at Sardis (again) and in Cappadocia,[115]—and a mid-fifth-century Syene garrison commander erected an altar to an Egyptian-named divinity and a novel one at that: not just acculturation but innovation.[116] Persian engagement with Greek religion underlies the Greek concept of 'magic'.[117] More mundanely, a man of Iranian origin turns up as a *wab*-priest at Saqqara[118] and perhaps some of those Persians with Babylonian worship-scene seals actually worshipped Babylonian deities.

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[104] Kuhrt 2007: 158, fig. 5.4; Seidl 1999a, 1999b; Garrison n.d. (p. 48). Given the winged-disk figure's significance as a royalty marker, it does not really matter whether it symbolizes Auramazdā or something else. A similar substitution has been mooted as the explanation for ADAB C1:37–9, which lists a substantial 'libation for the temple, to Bēl' (Naveh and Shaked 2012: 36, 184, 261). Tavernier 2017a: 104 probably rightly prefers to take the entry at face value—making Bactria another *locus* of (officially funded) religious diversity.

[105] Given the strongly Assyrian character of pre-Darius material (and of the language of PFS glyptic) one might say that the Cyrus Cylinder was quite at home—all the more so if the Babylonian building at Persepolis (see n. 90) might conceivably have been built in Cyrus' reign.

[106] Ehrenberg 2008: 109—though admittedly from another point of view it is not wholly dissimilar to the Neo-Babylonian royal stelae.

[107] Jacobs 2014: 398, 'in fremden Ländern die dortigen Götter mächtig waren'. *Mutatis mutandis* the appearance of *kiten* in XPh$_e$ (where Xerxes 'placed *kiten*' upon the *daivadāna*—i.e. was able to deploy a divine power normally associated with Humban against them) represents a different theology of royal power from the Mazdaean one prevalent in Persian royal inscriptions: another sign of religious diversity. On the interplay of Humban and Auramazdā see Henkelman 2017b.

[108] *ML* 12. On the issue of authenticity see Briant 2003a, Tuplin 2009.

[109] Xenophon enshrines the principle in *Cyropaedia* when Cyrus engages with the tutelary heroes of Syria (8.3.11–12, 24) and gods and heroes of Assyria (3.3.22).

[110] See Tuplin 2019: 29.

[111] *FGrH* 532, I; Kuhrt 2007: 224–5 (6.42).

Things like this (some of them rather remarkable—more so than their familiarity may make them seem) show the possibility of real religious engagement. Whatever this means at the level of personal religion, it invites us to take seriously the idea that Persians acknowledged the existence, identity, and power of deities other than their own. It was not just that, as polytheists, they had no necessary religious problem with their subjects' polytheistic religions. It was that they might reasonably wish the gods of those religions to be a source of benefit, even if, in the event of a clash, they were less powerful than their own gods—and in the event of clash between two lots of non-Iranian gods (as at Elephantine) difficult decisions might have to be made. Their view was that, if the gods of the Babylonians or Egyptians or Greeks or Judaeans are not against us, they can be/must be for us. The reasons for protecting the interest of foreign gods are not just pragmatic—better tax revenue; avoidance of upset to subjects—but religious. It is, I suggest, in *that* spirit that an accommodation was eventually sought at Elephantine. And it is in the reverse of that spirit that, when the Persians disappeared from the scene, the rebuilt temple ended up as living quarters for animals.

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[112] Xen.*An.*1.6.7. Perhaps this was the archaeologically recovered altar that has been described as a Graeco-Iranian hybrid (Dusinberre 2013: 226–7).

[113] Thuc.8.109, Xen.*Hell.*1.2.6.

[114] Gusmani 1964: nos. 23–4, Dusinberre 2003: 230–1. In Tuplin 2019: 31–2 I have speculated that he could have been its *neōkoros*.

[115] Zeus of Baradates: Robert 1975, Kuhrt 2007: 865–6 (17.36 (i)). Zeus of Farnavā: Aydaş 2002, Ricl 2003: 97 n. 133, Mitchell 2007.

[116] D17.1. See Vittmann 2009: 114–15. The honoured divinity is perhaps called Wennofernakht ('Wennefer is strong' or 'strong Wennefer') and is to be understood as a heroized mortal (with an Osiris name)—a phenomenon appropriate to the Late Period, as Sandra Lippert has kindly drawn to my attention. See also Hoffmann 2009 on the possibly fifth-century deification of Espmetis-Osiris at Elephantine, with further bibliography on the phenomenon (208 nn. 12–14).

[117] Bremmer 1994: 84–97, Bremmer 1999.

[118] Dh-hr, son of Vispāmithra (P.Saqqara S.71/2-DP 140 rº2 = Schmitt and Vittmann 2013: 100–1 no. 61).

5.6

After Aršāma

Persian Echoes in Early Ptolemaic Egypt

Dorothy J. Thompson

> On the 18th, first hour. Theochrestos delivered to Dinias three letter-rolls from upriver: two rolls for King Ptolemy, one for Apollonius the chief finance minister (*dioikētēs*).[1] Dinias passed them on to Hippolytos.
>
> On the 18th, sixth hour. Phoinix the elder son of Herakleitos, a Macedonian settler with 100 *arouras* in the Herakleopolite nome belonging to the first (troop) of E…, handed over one letter-roll to Phanias. Aminon passed this on to Timokrates.
>
> P.Hib. I 110 *verso* 65–74 (*c.*255)

From midway through the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, this extract of a papyrus register is testimony to the continuation of an important feature of Persian-period Egypt—a regular postal service that, with a network of royal roads and official couriers, had linked the different parts of the Great King's empire.[2] The texts of the Aršāma letters in the Bodleian Library which date from the late fifth century were penned on leather and probably contained within two leather pouches.[3] Given its local availability, however, papyrus formed the main writing material in the administration of the Ptolemies, and in the register above papyrus letters were detailed as grouped in bundles or rolls (*kylistoi*) for ease of transport. Nevertheless, in this record of correspondence carried up and down the Nile, most often by water but also by road, we gain a glimpse of the underpinning of a complex and developed administration.

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[1] The post of *dioikētēs* (Egyptian *senti*) probably originated in the reforms of Amasis before the first Persian conquest: Yoyotte 1989: 79–80. Apollonius will re-appear later in this chapter (pp. 375–6, 383–4).

[2] For the earlier Persian system, cf. Hdt.5.52–4, Briant 2002: 428, Kuhrt 2007: 754–5, Jursa 2011: 439.

[3] The two pouches acquired with them may well have formed part of the original find: see Tuplin iii 21–2. Other Aramaic and Demotic texts associated with Aršāma (see Tuplin iii 5) were written on papyrus.

In this short study my aim is to identify some of the ways in which the experience of Persian rule, both from the period of Aršāma and more generally from the two periods of Persian occupation (526–404 and 343–332), may be traced in the early generations of Graeco-Macedonian rule which followed Alexander's conquest of Egypt in 332. There are many topics that could be investigated in such an undertaking. The various roles of the king and his courtiers are perhaps the most obvious. Court hierarchies, royal wives and friends, the manner of royal entertainment (the royal table and sponsorship of festivals) and other pastimes (especially hunting), royal tents and palaces (including gardens and zoos), royal acts and activities (amnesties, for instance, or the response to petitions), all form interesting points of comparison. Here, however, taking my cue from the contents of the Aršāma pouches, I concentrate on two aspects only: on the different non-native groups within the population of Egypt and on the ownership of the land.

Before continuing with this investigation, we should note what was probably the most important difference between these regimes—where the new rulers of Egypt had their base. Both Persians and Macedonians took Egypt by military force but the former thereafter ruled the country from afar, as did later the emperors of Rome, while the latter ruled from within. And this seems likely to have affected the degree of penetration of the new ruling power within the society of Egypt. Yet both new sets of rulers were faced with a land of great antiquity with strong indigenous, and above all religious, traditions, a land where the potentially unifying flow of the Nile did not always result in unity. The knot which traditionally kept Upper and Lower Egypt tied sometimes came undone and local pockets of trouble, like those experienced by Aršāma[4] continued to challenge later rulers. Similarity of experience, however, does not add up to influence, and the difficulty remains of characterizing and explaining common features of Persian and Ptolemaic rule. Echoes or continuation of experience in similar circumstances may be more helpful terms for our understanding than is the influence of one regime upon another.

NON-NATIVE SETTLERS

Like Egypt of the age of Aršāma, the Ptolemaic kingdom was one of many peoples. In addition to the new immigrants who arrived with the conquerors there were many different groups already resident in the country. In pre-Persian Egypt, for instance, there were Ionians and Carians, who had earlier fought as mercenaries under Psammetichos I (664–610) in his struggle for the throne. Originally settled near Pelusium in the Delta, these settlers were later moved by the Saite king Amasis (570–526) to the old urban centre of Memphis,[5] which came to serve as capital for the Persians once Cambyses seized the throne.[6] Here they formed their own distinctive communities, as had the earlier Greek settlers in Naucratis.[7] Alongside other immigrants, Ionian and Carian settlers had their own living areas, with temples at their heart: the Hellenion for the Ionians and the Karikon for the Carians.[8] Known under the Greeks as Hellenomemphites and Caromemphites, under both regimes these settlers continued to live their lives within the wider Egyptian community of the city. Generally well integrated in both military and civilian occupations, they are documented in texts from both periods. And as is to be expected within any group, some elements of disorder are also known; 'rascals' is how some Ionians and Carians may be described on a fragmentary Aramaic text from the city dating from the period of Persian rule.[9]

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[4] A4.5 *recto*:1–3, A6.7:6–7, A6.10:1, 4, A6.11:2, 4; cf. Polyaen.7.11.7, set during the satrapy of Aryandes. On the nature of these troubles (in no way nationalist revolts), see Briant 1988: 143; he compares this form of unrest to later instances of *anachōrēsis*.

Under Alexander and the early Ptolemies, settlers from both Naucratis and Memphis proved themselves important contacts for the new rulers and a source of expertise. Greeks like Cleomenes from Naucratis supported Alexander, providing advice based on local knowledge as they furthered their own careers within the new administration. Cleomenes himself had an influential career until he lost his post (as also his life) under Ptolemy I. In Alexander's settlement of Egypt before he left for further east, Cleomenes had been placed in charge of the eastern Delta ('Arabia') around Heroonpolis, with responsibility for relations with the native rulers (nomarchs) and for the collection of dues. He proved a keen financial administrator and, by the time that Ptolemy took Egypt in 321, his success in raising revenues, even if by somewhat dubious means, had resulted in a healthy reserve of 8,000 talents.[10] The use by Alexander and his successors of existing Greek and other immigrant residents was a widespread phenomenon. So under Ptolemy II, when his finance minister Apollonius was granted gift-estates in the Fayum and the city of Memphis, a Carian input can be traced both in the personnel employed to run these estates and in his overseas contacts. Zenon, the local manager on Apollonius' Fayum estate, was himself from Carian Caunus. Connections with Caria were close; both men and goods came into Egypt from here[11] and the whole western coast of Asia Minor, including Phoenicia to the south, formed an area of contact for Ptolemaic Egypt even before its inclusion in the Ptolemaic empire under Ptolemy II. So settlers originating in earlier periods of immigration remained important under the Ptolemies.

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[5] Both the Persians and Ptolemy II undertook work on Memphis' surrounding dyke, Hdt.2.99.3, *PSI* V 488 (257). Similarly, both Darius and Ptolemy II worked on the canal linking the Red Sea to the Nile, Hdt.2.158 and 4.42.2, Diod.1.33.8–12, with Tuplin 1991b: 237–56, Briant 2002: 384, 477.

[6] Hdt.2.112; 152–4. For the date of Cambyses' conquest (526), see Quack 2011a.

[7] Hdt.2.178.

[8] Thompson 2012: 77–8, 87–90.

[9] ATNS 26:17 (interpretation far from certain); cf. Segal 1983: 3–4, on the dating of these texts. Phoenicia and Ionia are recorded as the origin of ships listed with their captains and cargoes in C3.7 (Kuhrt 2007: 681–703 (14.10)), dating from 475 or 454. 'Boatholders of the Carians' appear at Elephantine in A6.2, one of them with an Egyptian name. See Thompson 2009: 397–9, for yet other immigrants to Persian-period Egypt.

[10] Arr.*Anab*.3.5.4; Ps.-Arist.*Oec*.2.2.33 (1352a17–b26), raising cash, corn dealing (cf. [Dem.] 56.7), relations with priests; Paus.1.6.3, his position and fate; Diod.18.14.1, 8,000 talents. See further Burstein 2008, Baynham 2015.

Another case of a continuing presence is that of the Jewish and other incoming settlers in Upper Egypt. Brought in, it appears, by the Saite kings of Dynasty XXVI,[12] under Persian rule these immigrants constituted a garrison of troops for the guard of Egypt's southern frontier. With their families settled close-by, the Jewish mercenaries of the small island of Elephantine and of Aswan on the mainland retained their own customs and laws together with their religion. The lives of different groups and families from among these settlers are found recorded in Aramaic and Demotic texts from this area, where they evidently intermarried with locals and formed a long-lasting community.[13] Their commanding officer and the local governor were, not surprisingly, Persians.[14] Normally, however, soldiers will owe their loyalty to whoever provides their pay, and following his conquest of Egypt Alexander seems to have worked through local contacts to secure the southern border and the transferred loyalty of these troops.[15] So, according to Arrian, when rebel leaders from Chios were sent to him in his newly founded city of Alexandria, rather than return them home for judgement Alexander dispatched them under a strong guard for safekeeping to Elephantine, as far from the Aegean as possible.[16] He had no time to journey south in person but he must have had confidence in the loyalty of the troops already stationed there.

Further immigrants soon joined these earlier settlers and, in the aftermath of Alexander's conquest, there were clearly opportunities upriver for Greek military immigrants. Amongst the earliest surviving papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt, comes a group of family contracts preserved in a jar from the island of

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[11] For Carians in Apollonius' circle, see Pestman 1981: s.v. *Καρία*, *Καύνιος*, Orrieux 1985: 116–20, Thompson 2012: 88. Imports: PSI VI 616.2 (third cent.), a headrest; P.Cair.Zen. I 59110.24, 35, IV 59547.3, 59548.41, 59680.23, dried figs.

[12] Briant 2002: 66, Tuplin iii 294 n. 14.

[13] Porten 2011: texts B1–52 (ed. B. Porten), C1–37 (ed. C. J. Martin). See now Lemaire 2015: 45–68, for a recent overview of the relevant Aramaic material, and Pétigny 2014, on the wider use of foreigners as frontier guards. Tuplin iii 291–328 presents the general military environment.

[14] Porten 2011: 82, Briant 2002: 351.

[15] Somewhat surprisingly, among the appointments made before Alexander left the country (Arr.*Anab*.3.5.2–7) no mention is made of garrison commanders for the forces on the southern border. Maybe this was the responsibility of the four officers designated for the mercenaries (3.5.3).

[16] Arr.*Anab*.3.2.7.

Elephantine. P.Eleph.1 is a marriage contract dating from the fourteenth year (311/10) of the satrapy of Ptolemy (*Πτολεμαίου σατραπεύοντος*) in which Heracleides from Temnos is joined in marriage to Demetria from Cos.[17] Named as the six witnesses to this contract are three further Temnians, another Coan, Cleon from Gela in Sicily, and Aristomachus from nearby Cyrene. Later texts in the group, from late in the reign of Ptolemy I, record further origins for members of this Elephantine community.[18]

At the same time, however, the Jewish and other foreign communities of the southern border remained in place and flourished. A receipt from Elephantine, written on a piece of broken pot and dated as late as 252, records the payment to a tax-collector named Joseph by a certain Simeon of the salt-tax for himself and his wife.[19] From more than two generations after Alexander's conquest, this ostracon was written not in Greek but in Aramaic, so illustrating the continuing strength of this community, now established in the area for almost three hundred years. From elsewhere too in Upper Egypt comes good evidence for the continued use of Aramaic, in both spoken and written form, well into the Ptolemaic period.[20] In this case, as in that of the Phoenicians in both Persian and Ptolemaic Egypt,[21] the presence of non-Egyptian rulers in charge of the land had little immediate effect. These were regimes that refrained from interference in local language use or customs. The degree of change was limited. Changes in personnel that did take place tended to be in central rather than local government appointments, in the higher echelons of the administration. For most official purposes, use of the new rulers' language, whether Aramaic or Greek, was only to be expected. In both eras, Egyptian scribes soon learned to retool, and bilingualism became standard within the existing scribal class.[22]

So far this discussion has been mostly concerned with minority groups in Egypt rather than with the new ruling class, who are mainly, but not exclusively, to be traced through their nomenclature. At the top, however, was the new pharaoh whether resident or located far from the borders of Egypt. The Saite notable Udjahorresne(t), who spent time at the Persian court under Cambyses (as later that of Darius), in the course of the long biographical inscription on his statue records with pride his role in the composition of an Egyptian titulary for the Persian Great King:[23]

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[17] The transliterated word for satrap is found in Egyptian Demotic in a fourth-century text from Saqqâra, Smith 1988: 184–6. Whether the man named there and Petisis appointed as nomarch by Alexander (Arr.*Anab*.3.5.2) may be identified remains unclear; the latter is reported to have declined the office.

[18] P.Eleph. 2 (285/4): Temnos, Cos, Arcadia, Crete, Maronea; P.Eleph. 3 (282): a Syrian woman, men from Arcadia, Phocis, Alexandria, and Rhodes; P.Eleph. 4 (283): a Syrian woman, men from Arcadia, Cyrene, Aegina, Sidon, and Magnesia.

[19] D8.13 (23 March 252), with Thompson 2011a: 101.

[20] Clarysse 2002: 8.

[21] For Phoenicians, in the Persian and Ptolemaic periods, see Segal 1983: 9–10, 139–145, Vittmann 2003: 65–76, Thompson 2012: 81–7.

[22] Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 6; cf. Thompson 2009, Clarysse 2010, Tavernier iii 175–96.

> I composed his titulary in his name of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mesutire ('Offspring of Re').

Such an official set of Egyptian titles was probably desirable in the eyes of Cambyses' new subjects, and especially the priests.

The importance of a titulary was also recognized by Alexander later. From the oasis of Bahariya, which he possibly visited on his journey back to Memphis from the oracle temple of Amon in Siwa, a bilingual inscription with the Greek dedication 'King Alexander to Ammon, his father', now for the first time records, in its longer hieroglyphic text, a full set of five pharaonic titles for the conqueror.[24] In the composition of this titulary, Alexander clearly accessed some expert and imaginative advice. His first (Horus) name is 'king of kings over the entire world' and his final personal (son of Rê) name is 'beloved of Amon, Alexander'. Amon is then expanded in the form familiar from neighbouring Siwa. As an Egyptian royal title 'king of kings' was uncommon and, with its strong Persian echoes, might seem to reflect the wider aspirations of Pharaoh Alexander. An incoming ruler may aim for acceptability either by adopting or by openly rejecting the shadow of his predecessors. Here Alexander was perhaps laying claim to the Great King's role.[25] Alternative (perhaps later) Horus-names proclaimed him 'protector of Egypt' and 'he who drives out foreigners', titles which would connect him to the last native pharaoh, Nectanebo II.[26] Such a connection would resonate with his Egyptian subjects, and in the later *Alexander Romance* Nectanebo appears as father to Alexander. Alexander's successors in Egypt naturally followed his lead, adopting similar pharaonic credentials, sometimes explicitly in contrast to the Persians. So, on the so-called Satrap Stele from before he was king, Ptolemy son of Lagus boasts how he brought back to Egypt cult objects taken by the Persians, and restored to the sanctuaries of Buto land they had lost under Xerxes.[27] Alexander was portrayed as pharaoh on temple walls, most notably in the Luxor temple;[28] so too were his successors. The Macedonians recognized, as had the Persians before them, that in Egypt a ruler needed to be seen as pharaoh.

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[23] Kuhrt 2007: 118 (4.11 (c)); cf. 127 (4.15), titulary on an administrative seal from the same reign.

[24] Bosch-Puche 2008, Bosch-Puche 2013, a pedestal; Schäfer 2011: 13 (quoting Winter), a barque-stand rather than a regular stele. For detailed discussion of this titulary, see Bosch-Puche 2013 and 2014.

[25] See however, Bosch-Puche 2013: 137, against such an interpretation. Since this title had been held by Nectanebo I, a more straightforward Egyptian connection is perhaps more likely.

[26] Moyer 2011: 87–8; cf. Ps.-Callisth. 1.7, for Nectanebo with Olympias.

[27] See Schäfer 2011: 31–203; translation by R. K. Ritner in Simpson 2003: 392–7 (311). On the *topos* of looted statues, see Winnicki 1994, Briant 2003b: 176–84.

[28] See Schäfer 2007 (a detailed study of Alexander as pharaoh in the context of Egyptian religion), Lloyd 2011: 86–9, Ladynin 2014b: 221–6. Hölbl 2001: 306 conveniently collects similar material for Ptolemy I.

Active support of native cults was expected of pharaohs. The Persian king Cambyses receives a negative coverage in Greek reports. Herodotus has him mocking the sacred Apis bull of Memphis before he struck it on the thigh; the bull later expired.[29] A similar story is ascribed to Artaxerxes III Ochus.[30] Such accounts appear to reflect a one-sided attempt to denigrate Persian rulers and surviving monuments from the time do not lend them much support. A hieroglyphic stele from the Apis vaults names Cambyses as personally involved in the burial of an Apis bull, and a bull sarcophagus records the same ruler's dedication.[31] Darius followed this lead. Credited with putting up a reward of 100 gold talents in the search for a new Apis bull, according to Polyaenus he hoped to win over Egyptians, who were then in revolt because of the vicious behaviour of the satrap Aryandes.[32]

The Apis bull cult developed as one of the key cults of Late Period Egypt and was recognized by incoming rulers, both Persian and Greek. Early on, in the course of his invasion, in Memphis Alexander sacrificed to Apis and the other gods; he may even have celebrated a coronation there.[33] His successor in Egypt, Ptolemy I, showed further concern for the cult when he furnished a loan of fifty silver talents towards the cost of burial of the bull which died in 299.[34] The outlay hardly matched the earlier generosity of Darius; nevertheless, it marked the start of a continuing connection between the Ptolemies and Apis.[35]

A similar reaction to the challenge of rule may be found in the use that was made by both incoming Persian and Ptolemaic pharaohs of the existing Egyptian elite. Amongst those who served the Greek regime were a couple of descendants of the last native pharaohs, Nectanebo I and II.[36] And at the highest levels local notables now appear in the service of new masters. Just as Udjahorresne(t) claimed to be of importance to the Persian ruler,[37] so later under the early Ptolemies similar claims were made by men of influence. Petosiris, owner of a finely decorated tomb complex at Ashmunein, which probably dates from early in the reign of Ptolemy I, in the course of his long biographical inscription, recorded how[38]

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[29] Hdt.3.27–30.1, Plut.*De Is. et Os*. 44, cf. 31. In Hdt.3.37 Cambyses mocks the cult of Ptah (Greek Hephaestus).

[30] Plut. *De Is. et Os*. 31 (citing Deinon), Ael.*NA* 10.28.

[31] See Kuhrt 2007: 122–4 (4.12–13), with discussion, and Thompson 2012: 99, 179.

[32] Polyaen.7.11.7. Aryandes, appointed by Cambyses, was dismissed by Darius, Hdt.4.166. For discussion of the story, see Tuplin 1989, Van Alfen 2004–5a, Tuplin 2018a: 104, 112–15, 122–3.

[33] The recent publication of a full royal titulary for Alexander (n. 24 above) undermines one of the objections of Burstein 1991, but a coronation is only attested in Ps.-Callisth.1.34.2; the timetable would have been very tight. Ptah-names appear in royal titularies only from the reign of Ptolemy III.

[34] Diod.1.84.8; see Thompson 2012: 265, for the bull involved.

[35] Thompson 2012: 106–17, 177–92.

[36] Lloyd 2002; 2011: 94–5, Moyer 2011: 87.

[37] Kuhrt 2007: 118 (4.11 (d)–(e)), 'I caused his majesty to recognize the greatness of Sais'; 'I carried out the command of his majesty'.

> I was favoured by the ruler of Egypt.
>
> I was loved by his courtiers.

There were others too who laid claim to a role at the Greek court. The hieroglyphic inscription from the Memphite sarcophagus lid of a certain Onnophris similarly described his well-connected pursuits:[39]

> I was a lover of drink, a lord of the feast day,
>
> It was my passion to roam the marshes.
>
> I spent life on earth in the King's favour;
>
> I was beloved of his courtiers.

Such well-connected members of the military and priestly elite retained a sense of their value and importance to the new regime. They and others like them had at least some role to play.[40]

Outside court circles but within the wider administration, many of those in post when the Greeks arrived seem likely to have retained their positions. Regime change rarely involves a wholesale change of personnel. In his detailed arrangements for the administration after leaving Egypt Alexander named two native nomarchs with responsibility for the country divided between them. Upper and Lower Egypt were, one assumes, the age-old divisions in question. Backed up by Greeks in charge of the garrisons and border areas to the east and west, these two native nomarchs were instructed to manage their nomes or districts 'in the traditional manner' (*καθάπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ*); all taxes, however, were now to be paid to Alexander.[41] Alexander had supplanted Darius III as recipient of Egypt's taxes, but the division of the administration on the ground seems likely to have followed that of the Persian period.

The use of papyrus for both Greek and Demotic only becomes widely visible in the surviving record under Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Some texts were kept together, preserved in boxes or jars like the early Elephantine papyri already mentioned, whilst many from the early Ptolemaic period owe their survival to their reuse in the making of mummy-casing. As more texts are published, we can chart those in post in the early years of the Ptolemaic administration.

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[38] Translated by Lichtheim 1973–80: 3.44–54, at 48. For the tomb, see Cherpion, Corteggiani, and Gout 2007; for the date, see Menu 1998: 250 (under Alexander), Baines 2004: 45–47 (early Ptolemy I).

[39] Cairo no. 29310 = Gorre 2009: 281–4, no. 58, translated in Lichtheim 1973–80: 3.55.

[40] See Quaegebeur 1980: 79, on Vienna stele 5857 = Gorre 2009: 228–30, no. 47.4–5 (230–220), where a mother, Tathotis, boasts of her son Beniout and grandson who 'in the service of the Lord of the Two Lands transmitted reports to the magistrates. They preceded all the courtiers in approaching the king for each secret counsel in the palace.'

[41] Arr.*Anab*.3.5.2, 4. Petisis' resignation probably came later.

Nevertheless there remains an evidentiary gap between the period of Alexander's initial conquest and the reign of Ptolemy II. During this period it is clear that modifications were made in the administration of the nomes and the developing system of government. Hieroglyphic inscriptions together with the Classical historians still constitute our main evidence for the reign of Ptolemy I. After the accession of Ptolemy II in 285/4 the picture starts to change and the widespread use of papyrus (with ostraca too, though mainly in Upper Egypt) shows us the functioning of a bilingual (Greek and Egyptian) administration with—to judge from their names—mainly Egyptian scribes. Familiar with both Greek and Egyptian, such scribes did not always change their writing implement from rush to reed as they switched from Egyptian to Greek (and vice versa). This indeed is how they may be traced.[42] Further up the administrative hierarchy more Greek names appear; and on the whole such names signify an immigrant background. However, the use of double names or the adoption of Greek names by Egyptians, as visible in bilingual texts or monuments, serves to caution against any automatic equation of name with nationality.[43]

In Aršāma's Egypt, Iranians held a privileged position. It therefore comes as no surprise that, in the early generations of the Ptolemaic regime, Greeks were similarly privileged in terms of employment opportunities and also in taxation. Still termed Ionians (*Wynn*) in Egyptian Demotic, all those recognized as Hellenes received exemption from the obol-tax that was otherwise levied on most adult males. Though such an exemption appears more of a token gesture than of any real economic significance, it may have been accompanied by further privileges, in terms of trade or other taxes. It was the designation as 'Hellenes' of those involved in making a success of the new regime that was important; and even some of Egyptian background could gain Hellenic status through the jobs that they held within the police force or the administration.[44]

Before Alexander took Egypt in 332, except for an interlude of some sixty years in the fourth century (404–343), the country had formed part of the Achaemenid empire for almost two hundred years. During this time, as already noted, many immigrants had arrived. Many no doubt stayed on, making a permanent home in the country, intermarrying and over time adopting the ways and customs of Egypt, as illustrated, for instance, on a funerary stele from the first period of Persian rule that may be found illustrated in the fine sourcebook of Amélie Kuhrt.[45] There the Persian-style imagery of the lower register is in striking contrast to the more traditional funerary scene above; the father of the deceased bore a Persian name, his mother's name was Egyptian.

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[42] Clarysse 1993, Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 6–9.

[43] For Persians adopting Egyptian names, see Briant 2002: 482; for control of name-changing in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 146.

[44] Thompson 2001, Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 138–47.

[45] Kuhrt 2007: 870–2 (17.38), from the Memphite necropolis. See also Vittmann iii 266.

In the early years of Ptolemaic rule, however, Persian names are not often found.[46] From this same period tax registers record an interesting category: a second group of privileged persons enjoying the same obol-tax exemption as did Hellenes.[47] The earlier Mede/Persian distinction had by now disappeared, and in Demotic these privileged males were known as *Mdy* while in Greek they were *Persai*. But who exactly were these 'Persians', and why should they receive any privilege from the state? First, we should note that their numbers were small. In one administrative area for which figures survive (the Fayum), they numbered just 0.3 per cent. A second striking feature of this group is their predominantly Egyptian nomenclature. No immediate Persian connection is visible in the record. Finally, this privileged group of Persians was relatively short-lived, at least as a tax category. The obol-tax ceased to be levied after early in the reign of Ptolemy III. Later Persians in Ptolemaic Egypt seem different; they are generally military men, either members of an ethnic Persian unit or, still later, military reservists.[48] Perhaps the earlier 'tax-Persians' were those of Persian descent involved in the administration who, despite the change of rulers, remained in Egypt, finding employment under the Ptolemies. These early Ptolemaic 'Persians' form an intriguing group; their identity still eludes us.[49]

LAND OWNERSHIP

As we move from the population to the land, comparisons between the two periods become clearer. The use of the fertile land of Egypt to cement ties between a pharaoh and his people was nothing new when the Persians took over in 526. Already under Amasis, Herodotus reports that plots of twelve *aroura*s were given to Egyptian soldiers to guarantee their stake in the regime;[50] land-grants were made to those in government service from far earlier periods.[51] Aršāma himself is documented as holding landed estates granted him by the Great King,[52] and when military grants are recorded under the Persians,[53] this might be seen as the continuation of traditional Egyptian practice. Such an interpretation would probably be misguided. Similar grants are known from elsewhere in the Persian empire.[54] In Egypt, therefore, such estates seem more likely to represent the extension to their new territories of an existing Persian tradition of land grants. Granted to loyal servants of the Great King, estates like these might even be inherited.[55] That such practices were already familiar in Egypt was perhaps an added advantage. Egyptians will not have been surprised; this was not an innovation.

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[46] Persian names in the texts may be identified through 'people' on www.trismegistos.org.

[47] Arabs too enjoyed this privilege: Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 159–161.

[48] La'da 2002: 229–71, Vandorpe 2008, Vandorpe 2011: 305–6.

[49] On Persians in early Ptolemaic Egypt, I have nothing to add to Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 157–9.

[50] Hdt.2.168; cf. Diod.1.73.7–8.

[51] For details, see Lloyd 1975–88: 3.199, commenting on Hdt.2.168.

[52] A6.4:2–3, A6.5:2, A6.6:3, A6.7:5–6, A6.8:2, A6.10, A6.13, A6.14. For similar estates, cf. A6.10:3–5 (in Lower Egypt), A6.15:7 (of Virafša).

[53] A5.2 (under Artaxerxes I): cf. Briant 2002: 417–18 (noting that El-Hibeh, Teuzoi, in the Nile valley is different from Hibis in the Kharga oasis), 472.

A similar difficulty of gauging influence applies in the Ptolemaic case. Was it to Egyptian, Macedonian, or indeed Persian precedents that the first Ptolemies looked, as they used their new territory to their own ends as a means of ensuring loyalty and commitment to new homes from their immigrant compatriots on whom their future relied?[56] Or was this merely a common-sense solution? The early introduction of land grants for Ptolemaic cavalry, and later for infantry too, proved a successful policy in the competitive world of military dynasts that followed Alexander's death. In 306, for instance, when Ptolemaic troops on Cyprus were taken prisoner by Antigonus' son Demetrius, in large numbers they preferred to make their own way back to Egypt, where their homes and families lay, rather than accept secure employment in the army of their captor.[57] Settled as cleruchs with plots of land in the fertile valley of the Nile, Ptolemaic troops formed a force of reservists ready for enlistment whenever the need arose. 'Ownership' of cleruchic land depended on military service and was closely tied to military structures in both its original grant and continued tenure. Such land was exempt from certain rents or taxes, and Greek cleruchs formed a privileged group in comparison with the Egyptian farmers amongst whom they lived and managed their lands. Over time the institution became more entrenched. Plots were no longer returned to the crown on the death of their holders but passed to cleruchs' sons or even their daughters. And from the late third century Egyptians too might be admitted to the cleruchy, as members of various police forces or as infantrymen.[58]

The largest grant for a Ptolemaic cavalryman was a nominal one hundred *arouras* (27.5 ha); occasionally an individual acquired more but more often grants were smaller, and grants for Egyptian soldiers smaller still (five, seven or ten *arouras* for infantrymen). In contrast, land grants made to important members of the Ptolemaic administration, as *dōreai* or gift-estates, were on a much larger scale.[59] Of these gift-estates, the best known, from the survival of the so-called Zenon papyri, is that of Apollonius, chief finance minister under

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[54] Bow-land (for archers), horse-land (for cavalry), and chariot-land (for charioteers): see Kuhrt 2007: 716 (14.31 (iii)) with n. 5; cf. 680 (14.9), 709 (14.20 (ii)), 820 (16.66 (ii)), 821–2 (16.67).

[55] A6.4:3–4, A6.11.

[56] See Rathbone 1989: 163–4.

[57] Diod.20.47.4. In response to their attempted desertion, Demetrius forcibly shipped them off to Antigonus.

[58] See Thompson 2014; cf. P.Haun. IV 70.37–40 (119–118), for an important Egyptian cavalryman/local official with cleruchic land in the Edfu nome.

[59] Briant 2006: 349 suggests a possible comparison with the satrapal estates of Aršāma.

Ptolemy II. Apollonius' estate consisted of 10,000 *aroura*s (2,750 ha) centered on the new town of Philadelphia in the north-east Fayum, an area earlier known as the Lake District (*Limnē*) but renamed the Arsinoite nome under Ptolemy II in honour of Arsinoe II, his sister-wife.[60]

In 256 Zenon, son of Agreophon from Caunus, succeeded Panacestor as local manager of this estate. Approximately 2,000 papyri from his archive have been published. Scattered among collections in Europe and North America, these texts provide a lively picture of the activities of land reclamation and agricultural innovation in the development of the estate.[61] For this gift-estate formed part of a major new reclamation project in the area. Some reclamation had taken place earlier during Dynasty XII, especially under Amenemhat III (1831–1786), but the Ptolemaic project was both more thorough and more extensive. With the construction of new canals and dykes, the large-scale destruction of scrub and marshes, and the planting of crops well suited to marginal soils, vast new areas of land became fertile and ready for further development.[62] The settlement of cleruchs in the area contributed to this Ptolemaic project, in which Macedonian expertise in drainage was added to the long experience of locals in the management of the annual flood of the Nile. Under the Persians earlier, in contrast, the western oases formed the area that had primarily benefited from the technology with which the new rulers were familiar—the underground transport of water down long tunnels excavated through the sandstone of the desert that exploited the natural gradient of the land.[63]

If, therefore, an overall concern for the maximization of cultivable land was common to the two regimes, how this was actually put into effect differed according to prior experience. Under the Persians, land in the valley was employed for land grants while the western oases benefitted from the *qanāt*-technology that the new rulers brought with them. Under the Ptolemies, the reclamation of an entire basin area (the Fayum) that was previously sparsely settled meant that there was sufficient land together with that in the valley to reward both soldiers and loyal courtiers, on whom the new rulers relied.

Zenon, whose papers bring to life the trials and tribulations of the new settlers, the challenges they faced, their vision and achievements too, might at first sight seem to represent a reincarnation of Nakhtḥor, whose job was to look after Aršāma's landed interests. The tone, however, used by their superiors to address these two managers is very different. Nakhtḥor appears not to have enjoyed the confidence of his overlord Aršāma, who addressed his lower-rank employee with orders and rebukes:[64]

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[60] Philadelphia was named after the same divinized, brother-loving queen. Persian precedents for royal brother–sister marriage were more recent than those from Egypt, cf. Hdt.3.31.6, for Cambyses, with Kuhrt 2007: 132 n. 1.

[61] Orrieux 1985, Clarysse and Vandorpe 1995. As in the Aršāma archive, official and private texts are included together among Zenon's papers.

[62] Thompson 1999, Manning 2006: 261–2, 267.

[63] For the system of *qanāt*s east of the Caspian gates, see Polyb.10.28.2–6. On waterducts in the western oases, Chauveau 2001; 2006, Wuttmann 2001, *O.Douch.dem.* and *O.Man.*

> Guard my personnel and goods carefully so that my estate will not suffer any loss. Look elsewhere for personnel—craftsmen of all types; bring them into my courtyard; mark them with my mark and attach them to my estate as did my earlier stewards.... If anything threatens my personnel and other goods, if you do not search elsewhere for them and attach them to my estate, you will be held accountable and you will become liable to a harsh reprimand.

Zenon, in contrast, was himself caught up in the excitement of the *dōrea*-project, directed by the *dioikētēs*. Others shared this enthusiasm, like his farmer Horos, engrossed in the planting of new crops for oil:[65]

> Horos to Zenon, greetings. By 12 Choiach there will be 120 *aroura*s planted with poppy. Come if you please so you can feast your eyes on the sight.

Zenon was the man on the spot on whom Apollonius clearly relied—until 248 that is, when problems arose and he lost his position.

It was not simply different personalities and modes of behaviour that were involved here but also significant differences in the way these estates were run. In each case ample revenues must have been the aim, but the modes of exploitation differed greatly. On Aršāma's estates slaves probably made up the labour force, some of them possibly Cilician slaves. The use of slaves is rarely free from trouble. 'Let them be released. Let them do my work as formerly', Aršāma wrote to Artavanta when eleven such workers were caught up in troubles 'when Egypt rebelled'.[66] These slaves, if slaves they were, were marked with their owner's mark[67] and, as foreigners to the country, they will not have been familiar with either irrigation agriculture or herding on the desert edge.

There were troubles too on Apollonius' estate, where Egyptian farmers were directly employed or else farmed the land under lease. Those peasants who worked the newly reclaimed land of the Fayum were often settlers attracted to the area from elsewhere; their origins and the patterns of their settlement can be traced in the names of the new villages that they came to live in.[68] Such movement of populations is a feature of many regimes.[69] Egyptian peasants, however, seem to have had more freedom than did slaves. When they disagreed their criticism could be outspoken, as when a group of peasants from the

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[64] A6.10:5–10, with the translation of Kuhrt 2007: 819–20 (16.65); cf. A6.15, for further rebukes. The status of the 'personnel' (*grdʾ*) is far from clear; the mention of marking favours a slave status. See A6.10:1(3) n.

[65] P.Cair.Zen. II 59243.1–8 (252).

[66] A6.7:9. Briant 1988: 143 follows Cazelles in translating A6.7:2 as 'agricultural workers' ('agriculteurs', 'jardiniers') rather than Cilician slaves, but see A6.7:2(2) n. The term *ʿbdn* here translated 'slave' is a general one, but see n. 64.

[67] A6.10:7.

[68] Clarysse 2007.

[69] So earlier under the Persian empire, Briant 2002: 505–7.

Heliopolite nome complained (in Greek) directly to the estate's owner Apollonius:[70]

> There are quite a number of mistakes being made in the 10,000 *arouras* since there is no one experienced in agricultural practices.

There was, of course, no guarantee that this appeal ever reached its intended recipient. A further text records a similar appeal made by the same group of peasants and addressed to the *oikonomos* of the nome 'for the third time'.[71] Both appeals were found among the papers of Apollonius' manager and the absence of any official docket suggests that they never reached their target. Their tone, however, is strikingly different from anything that survives from among the papers of Aršāma, where the voice of the workers on his estates is never heard.

As so often in the ancient world, the glimpses we get of ordinary lives are infrequent; it is rarely the case that like can be compared with like. In the estates of Aršāma and Apollonius, similarities may then be identified in the general role such grants could play in the policies of a king. On a closer look, however, the details of estate management and the mode of their exploitation at times seem significantly different.

CONCLUSION

There appear, then, to have been significant common features in the successive regimes of Persians and Ptolemies in Egypt. As incomers, both faced similar problems. In many respects, as we have seen, their reactions to these were comparable. The Persians ruled Egypt for over 130 years, the Ptolemies for nearer 300. There were other differences too. As already noted, the Persians controlled Egypt as a colonial power from afar while for the Ptolemies Egypt was home. Probably as a result, the effects of Ptolemaic rule went deeper. The longest lasting effect perhaps was that of their language, and Greek remained the language of the administration until, and even after, the Arab conquest a millennium later.[72]

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[70] P.Lond. VII 1954.7–8 (257).

[71] P.Lond. VII 1955.2 (257).

[72] For Greek still in use until the end of the eighth century AD, see Sijpesteijn 2009: 452–3. I have profited greatly throughout from the helpful comments of Amélie Kuhrt.

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