

Image and Voice in Saite Egypt

Self-Presentations of Neshor Named
Psamtikmenkhib and Payeftjauemawyneith

Hussein Bassir

University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition
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Cover design by Noreen Doyle; (front) photograph of theophorous statue of Neshor presenting three statuettes of the triad of Elephantine, Louvre A 90; (back) photograph of naophorous statue of Payeftjauemawyneith presenting an image of Khentyamentt (Osiris) in a shrine, Louvre A 93 (both courtesy © 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)

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IMAGE AND VOICE IN SAITE EGYPT:

Self-Presentations of Neshor Named Psamtikmenkhib and Payeftjauemawyneith
by Hussein Bassir

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To

Hend, my wife,
and
Abdallah, Adam, and Farris, my sons

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PREFACE

A passion for art and literature is the main reason behind writing this book. Since I am a novelist interested in literature and literary criticism, especially narrative, I would like to present my work through narrative.

I was born in the Egyptian Delta, very close to Mendes, which is not far from Hermopolis-*bʿh*, and the Saite capital, Sais, the likely birthplace of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith.¹ When I studied Egyptology at Cairo University, I fell in love with Late Period Egypt. After graduation and starting my career at Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities (now the Ministry of Antiquities), I focused on the Saite Period, with special emphasis on Egypt's Western Desert, particularly on Bahariya Oasis, because the literature of that period, along with its visual representations, offers many opportunities for conducting more extensive research to achieve that goal. Later, at Johns Hopkins University, I hoped to work on a topic satisfying my interests in art, language and literature, religion, history, archaeology, late Saite Egypt, and the Egyptian Delta. My topic, *Self-Presentation of the Late Saite Nonroyal Elite*, fulfilled my wish. This topic represents my window into the period and its culture.

I found in the texts and monuments of Neshor named Psamtikmenkhib (hereafter, Neshor) and Payeftjauemawyneith a corpus rich in views and ideas about the late Saite non-royal elite self-presentation. This corpus sheds light on the reign of Apries and the transition to that of Amasis. Therefore, it is very much about Apries and his times. Payeftjauemawyneith represents the civil face of Egypt's administration in the period, while Neshor its military face. In this work, I have attempted to reconstruct the "fragmentary identity" and "self-image" of these two non-royal individuals through their few preserved texts and monuments. This book demonstrates the "text and beyond approach," a methodology that can be applied to non-royal material from other Egyptian periods as well.

My favorite writer and friend, the late Naguib Mahfouz, the Egyptian Nobel literature laureate, once said: "Words are full of meaning." Literature and language are composed of words. Literature and language, as two sisters, are born in history to explore art and archaeology. As I have said at the beginning, passion for the arts and the belle-lettres is my motivator to work in literature and Egyptology, and on this book.

¹ I use this restored form of his name, Payeftjauemawyneith, herein, although it is not the exact orthographical form of this official's name. Earliest publications included drawings of the self-presentations and statues of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith. For more on them and their monuments, see Hussein 2009. In recent years, scholars have translated all or parts of their texts as parts of anthologies or for specialized discussions. For a survey of previous scholarship, see below.

This book represents the core of my doctoral dissertation, completed in 2009 at Johns Hopkins University. It has been expanded slightly in scope and thoroughly reformulated in the intervening years, so that the conclusions presented here are in some cases very different from those of the earlier dissertation. It explores the self-presentation of some elite members of late Saite Egypt. To achieve this, the study examines the biographies and statues of these two individuals, very principal members of the late Saite non-royal aristocracy. The overarching approach is to integrate images, monuments, and texts with the places, participants, and broader historical environment that give them meaning. This work explores the significance of images, representations, and memory. This study reads inscriptions as documents in multiple ways and focuses on the reading of space as social text in addition to readings of documents. This book aims to bridge the gap between image and text.

My principal advisors were Betsy M. Bryan and Richard Jasnow, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Johns Hopkins University. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisors. Their direction over many years has been inestimable, and without their unfailing guidance, support, encouragement, and patience, this book would not have been accomplished. My Readers were: Paul A. Delnero, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Lawrence M. Principe, Department of History of Science and Technology, Johns Hopkins University; and Regine Schulz, the Walters Art Museum at that time and now director of Roemer-und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, Germany. I am most grateful to them for making numerous invaluable suggestions. I would like to thank my teachers at Johns Hopkins University Department of Near Eastern Studies: Jerrold S. Cooper, Ann C. Gunter, Theodore J. Lewis, P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., Regine Schulz, Glenn M. Schwartz, the late Matthias Seidel, and the late Raymond Westbrook.

This book would not have been completed without the generous help and encouragement of many other people: mentors, colleagues, friends, and family. It is with wholehearted thanks that I would like to acknowledge them. I am grateful to Zahi Hawass for his persistent encouragement for my Ph.D. in Egyptology in the United States.

Many thanks are due to Damien Agut-Labordère, John Baines, Eugene Cruz-Uribe, Noreen Doyle, the late Herman De Meulenaere, Peter Der Manuelian, Mary Ann Eaverly, Elizabeth Frood, José M. Galán, Jens Heise, Karl Janssen-Winkeln, David Klotz, Anthony Leahy, Richard B. Parkinson, Olivier Perdu, Joachim Friedrich Quack, Stephen Quirke, Dietrich Raue, Donald B. Redford, Neal Spencer, Nigel Strudwick, and Cornelius Von Pilgrim. Yet, the scholarly responsibility of the present book remains solely mine.

I am very grateful to the following scholars, colleagues, friends, and officials for providing me with photographs and allowing me to publishing them here: Guillemette Andreu-Lanoë, Elisabeth David, and Audrey Viger of the Louvre Museum for statues A 90 and A 93; Andrey O. Bolshakov, Vladimir Matveyev, and

Anastasia Mikliaeva of the State Hermitage Museum for statue 2962; Neal Spencer of the British Museum for statue BM EA 83; Olivier Perdu for the Abydos statue; Clare Litt of the Oxbow Books for using plate 21, figures c–e, document 52 of the Mendes statue from Herman De Meulenaere and Pierre A. MacKay, *Mendes II* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips; [now Oxford: Oxbow Books], 1976); and Nigel Fletcher-Jones, Neil Hewison, and Doug Wallace of the American University in Cairo Press for the map of Egypt from Aidan Dodson’s book (2012). I am grateful to Aidan Dodson for allowing me to use this map, sending its original TIF file, and adding three sites to it. I am thankful to Rabab Ashour for her help with the typesetting of the self-presentations in hieroglyphs.

I wish to express my gratitude to Richard H. Wilkinson and Pearce Paul Creasman, the previous and current directors of the University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition (UAEE), for their kind assistance and inspiration in this matter and accepting this book in the University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition’s Wilkinson Egyptology Series. I am very thankful to the Johns Hopkins Department of Near Studies for granting me a Ph.D. fellowship for six years, during which the core of this research was conducted. Furthermore, part of the research for this book was undertaken when I was a post-doctoral researcher and a Haury Visiting Scholar at the UAEE and the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research (LTRR) at the University of Arizona. To both institutions I am in debt for allowing me the time to complete this book. I am very indebted and thankful to the directors, faculty, and every member of UAEE and LTRR.

Finally, I would like to thank my family in Egypt, my late mother and my brothers, Hassan and Ahmad, who have sacrificed immensely to provide me with the peace of mind in order to accomplish this book. I am thankful to my mother-in-law, my brothers-in-law, and my sister-in-law for all their support and love. I am tremendously indebted to my family in Tucson, Arizona, my wife Hend, and my sons Abdallah, Adam, and Farris for their loving support, everlasting encouragement, and constant sacrifice. I am blessed with their unending love and continuous prayers. To them I dedicate this book.

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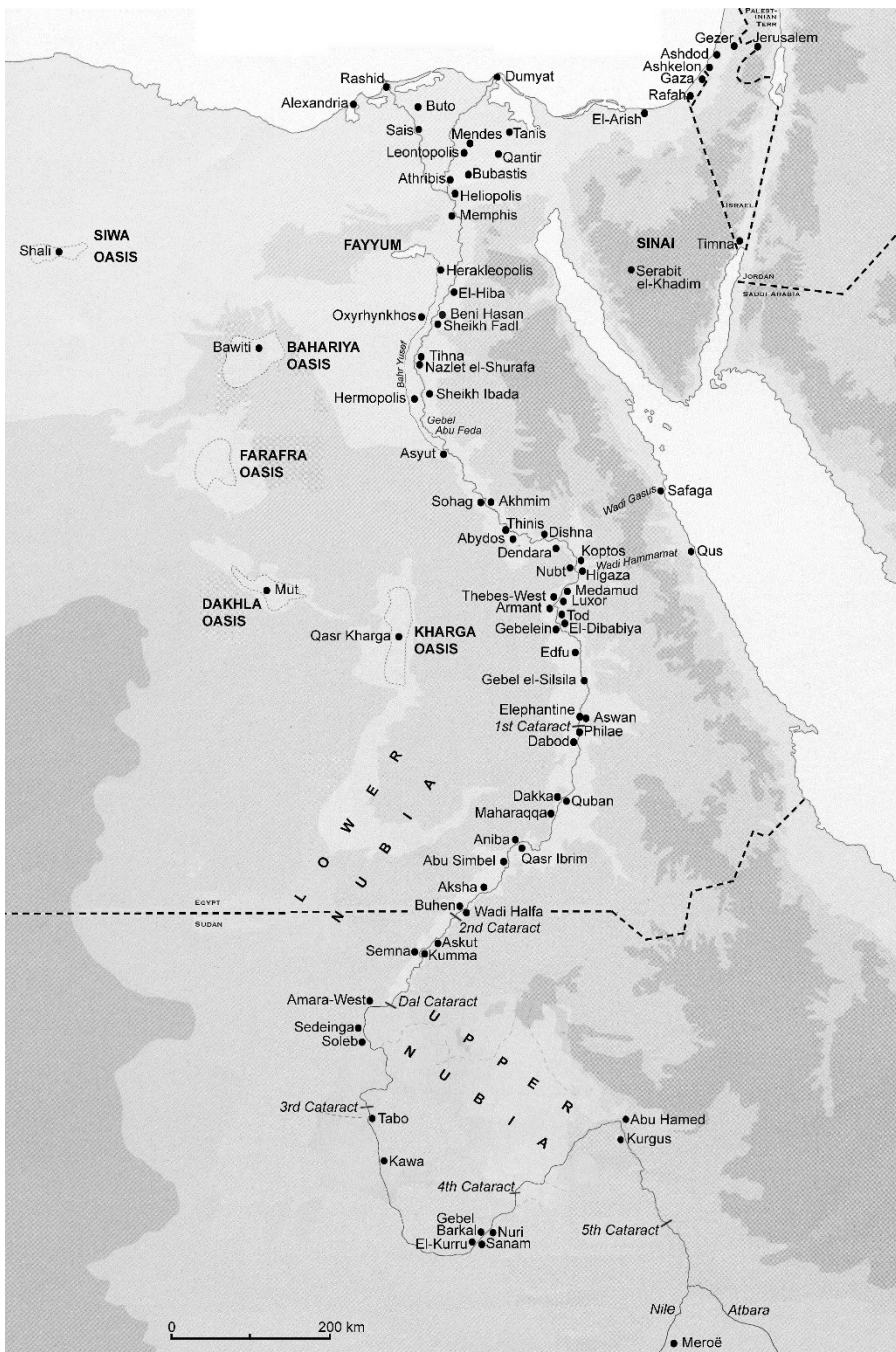


Figure 1: Map of Egypt (after Dodson 2012: map 1; courtesy A. M. Dodson)

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS

- [] missing word(s) or phrase(s) in the original
- < > erroneous omission by the scribe
- () explanatory additions to the translations for clarity
- (?) uncertain renderings of word(s) or phrase(s)
- ... untranslatable extensive lacunae, or incomprehensible word(s) and phrase(s)

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INTRODUCTION

A Window into the Ancient Egyptian Self-Presentational Tradition

Saite Egypt witnessed a political shift in which its non-royal elite members elevated themselves to a rank normally restricted to royalty in earlier centralized periods. As a consequence of this rise in power, they promoted themselves through image and text. This self-presentation reveals a rise of individualism, a characteristic of the Saite Period. This genre² was the most ancient, common, and crucial component of Egyptian high culture, lasting from the Old Kingdom to Roman times.³

This book explores this aspect of the Saite non-royal elite. In order to study this feature of their lives and careers, I have chosen the biographies and statues of two men, Neshor named Psamtikmenkhib and Payeftjauemawyneith, as case studies, rather than drawing data from many elites covering the entire Saite Period. I have examined the textual and material culture evidence that has raised questions on the period of time in which these individuals lived.

My motivation for choosing these specific statues is that they represent votive objects, clearly designed to be placed in temples, making them special cases of self-presentation. With little room to narrate an entire lifetime on such votive objects, the Egyptians typically focused their texts on events closely related to the local temple, especially since the texts usually address the local divinity or clergy, asking for protection and veneration. These two individuals, not kings, take credit for temple construction more often in the Late Period.⁴ This could be a Saite phenomenon. The walls of their tombs, not yet found, quite likely contained more detailed self-presentational texts.⁵ Most of the famous narrative self-presentations from other periods come from tombs (e.g., Harkhuf, Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, and Petosiris) rather than temple statues.

As will become evident, these two individuals, and by extension other Egyptians,

² “Self-representation” is equivalent to “self-presentation” and a variation on the same term as well; see, for example, the contribution of Jay (1984) on authors in literature from Wordsworth to Roland Barthes. For more on “representation” in literature, see Mitchell 1995.

³ See Lichtheim 1988: 1; Assmann 1996a: 55–56; Frood 2004: 1; 2007: 1. For more on the significant and rich Egyptian elite self-presentation in the Ptolemaic Period, see Baines (2004: 34), who states that “Ptolemaic self-presentation developed significantly.”

⁴ Spencer 2006; 2010.

⁵ For example, the Saite tomb self-presentation of Ibi, see *PM I.1.2*: 63 ff.; Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1972: 208 f.; Kuhlmann 1973; Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: 71–74, Taf. 23–25; Graefe 1981: 21 ff.; Heise 2007: 116–126 (II .1); Rößler-Köhler 1991: 216–218 (53 a). For his other self-presentation, see Graefe 1994; Heise 2007: 127–132 (II .2).

were not trying to record complete biographies in the modern, or even the ancient Greek and Roman, sense, nor were they recording political history. Rather, by their choice of specific sculptural forms, combination of classic and innovative epithets, and selection of titles for each monument, they aimed to present idealized representations of themselves only to local divinities and clergy. The narrative life-event elements, tailored to this specific context and aim, should not be confused with full self-presentations.

While the date of the studied material ranges from the reign of Psamtik II to that of Amasis (Ahmose II) (hereafter, Amasis), I focus only on the late Saite Period, mainly the reigns of Apries and Amasis and specifically the transition between the reigns of these kings. The self-presentations of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith mentioning historical events are very important and cast light on the late Saite Period and feature indirect reference to the struggle between these two kings. Examining these non-royal sources that may concern this royal conflict is among the points addressed below. Furthermore, the relationship between the king and the non-royal elite in the period is briefly discussed.⁶

The few statues left behind by Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith can allow the construction of only “a fragmentary identity;” nonetheless this book aims to reconstruct their lives and careers and to apprehend their overall images. Study of self-presentations generally exposes many differences between real and ideal images. Yet their self-presentations are more personalized than those of earlier periods, revealing the uniqueness of each man in his religious beliefs, careers, ideas, and professions. These components combine to create overall images.

Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith were important historical figures in the period. Their biographies are much studied, debated, and controversial. Although many studies have been made, including those of Eva Jelínková-Reymond,⁷ Miriam Lichtheim,⁸ Anthony Leahy,⁹ Ursula Rössler-Köhler,¹⁰ Diana Alexandra Pressl,¹¹ Pierre-Marie Chevereau,¹² Jens Heise,¹³ and Karl Jansen-Winkel,¹⁴ their self-presentations have remained a neglected area in Egyptian biographical studies until

⁶ For a discussion in greatest detail of most issues of self-presentation and relations between the king and officials, see Rössler-Köhler 1991.

⁷ Jelínková-Reymond 1957.

⁸ Lichtheim 2006c.

⁹ Leahy 1984a.

¹⁰ Rössler-Köhler 1991.

¹¹ Pressl 1998.

¹² Chevereau 2001.

¹³ Heise 2007.

¹⁴ Jansen-Winkel 2014.

now; and there is no comprehensive monograph on late Saite self-presentation. With this book, I attempt to explore the notion of self-presentation of the late Saite elite and establish a model for studying this genre in general.

The self-presentation of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith differed from the norms of self-presentation in previous Egyptian periods in many ways. Among the most remarkable characteristics of their self-presentations is that theirs were not “transformative”: They do not tell the story of their entire lives and careers from the beginning to the end as several other self-presentations did, e.g., that of Weni. Instead these Saite self-presentations are commemorative: each statue makes a specific event the focal point, for which the statue was sculpted and placed in the sacred space of the temple. Another important feature is that these are composed of more than biography. These self-presentations are votive and move in the same direction with the same goal, displaying personal piety toward the deities. Although the self-presentations of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith significantly add to their images, they do not completely encompass them. Through exploring this topic, it will become clear how rich and distinctive these late Saite self-presentations are in comparison with their counterparts from other Egyptian periods.

I treat the various aspects of the self-presentations and statues of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith: the philological; historical and archaeological issues; iconographic, linguistic, and literary notions; religious and moral values; and self-presentation features. The philological treatment focuses on the main aspects of the biographies such as transliteration, translation, and lexical and orthographical features. The rest of the book chapters cover the main aspects of the self-presentations and statues such as dating, history, cultural memory, the role of the individual within the royal sphere, and the relationship between the individual and deities. The chapters of the book—varied as their protagonists are in titles, reign, professions, and overall background—all concentrate on the meanings of self in the telling of a life story.

There exists, as will also be seen, a close link between monumentality, identity, and ideology in the late Saite Period. The self-presentations of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith highlight a few moments of their fragmentary images, and not the entirety of their self-presentations or careers. Of course, the corpus examined here represents in the case of these two individuals only a small fraction of their original monuments. Nonetheless, even in the absence of the tombs, what does exist can help us to reimagine and reconstruct their images.¹⁵

The interdependency of literature and history in the late Saite Period, examined through text and material culture, becomes evident in this study and reconstruction,

¹⁵ See Bassir 2014.

which analyzes through the self-presentational and visual corpus of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith the emergence and rise of “individualism”¹⁶ as an historical phenomenon of the late Saite Period. Several cultural and political practices of the period, including patronage, representations of authority, nobility, and royalty, will undergo scrutiny. The power of self-presentations to shape as well as to reflect history may be seen through these analyses. History represents a major component of shaping the overall self-presentations of these two non-royal individuals in the late Saite Period. Our understanding of late Saite self-presentation can thus also advance similar studies for all periods of ancient Egypt.¹⁷

¹⁶ There is no monograph on individualism in ancient Egypt known to me; however, De Cenival (1991: 79–91); Assmann 1994a; 1994b; 1994c; and Loprieno, 1996b, briefly discuss this important issue. See also Parkinson 1996; Wildung 2000; Hema 2005; DuQuesne 2011. Individualism and “life writing” are much related and intersect (Danahay 2001); for example, individualism and imagining self were evident in nineteenth century America (Brown 2000).

¹⁷ See Bassir 2014.

CHAPTER ONE

Image and Voice: Strategies and Dynamics of Egyptian Self-Presentation

The writing of the non-royal self¹⁸ or “life-writing”¹⁹ is one of the most ancient literary practices and forms through which individuals attempt to express identity and leave fingerprints in time to avoid obscurity and ensure survival.²⁰ This genre of writing began early in ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian history.²¹ That tradition was thus deeply rooted in the post-Homeric and Classical Periods in Greece,²² the Hellenistic²³ and Graeco-Roman²⁴ world,²⁵ and Arabic civilization,²⁶ and it has remained one of the most popular literary genres in contemporary writing.

BRIEF HISTORY OF BIOGRAPHY IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN LITERATURE

Ancient Egyptian self-presentations appeared in the Old Kingdom and

- ¹⁸ The self can be best defined, according to Olshen (2001: 799), “as a kind of subjective structure—that is, one belonging entirely to the subject, to the individual who experiences, who is conscious, who has an ‘inner life’ and a point of view.” Olshen (2001: 800) further states that “Instead of a concept of self, Stern suggests that we think in terms of the ‘sense of self,’ by which is intended something that encompasses more, something that extends further back in personal history, than a *concept* of self.”
- ¹⁹ For more on the term “life-writing,” see Winslow (1980: 24), who points out that the inclusive term “life-writing,” which has been introduced since the eighteenth century CE, can mean “biography” in the narrow sense and in general “autobiography.” See also Jolly (2001: ix), who states that the term “life-writing” refers to “openness and inclusiveness across genre” and “encompasses the writing of one’s own or another’s life.”
- ²⁰ For more on survival and “life writing” tradition, see Ames 2001: 854–856.
- ²¹ For more on the history and origin of this literary form in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, see Misch 1951: 20–46. For an overview and historical survey of this genre in ancient Egyptian literature from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period, see Gnirs 1996b; 2001; Perdu 2000; Frood 2004; 2007; 2011; 2013; Bassir 2014. For more on what Longman calls “fictional Akkadian autobiography” in ancient Mesopotamia, see Longman 1991; see also Haul 2009. For more on what Greenstein calls “autobiographies” in ancient Western Asia, see Greenstein 2000.
- ²² For more on the development of Greek biography in Classical Greece, see Momigliano 1993.
- ²³ For more on self-definition in the Hellenistic world, see Bulloch et al. 1993.
- ²⁴ For more on self-presentation in ancient Rome, see Gleason 1995.
- ²⁵ For more on “autobiography” and its development in these cultural periods, see Misch 1951: 59 ff.; Vasunia 2001.
- ²⁶ For more on this genre in Arabic literature, see Kramer 1991. For more on autobiography in modern Arabic literature, see Ostle, Moor, and Wild 1998; and on history and biography in medieval Islamic culture, see Hamad 1998.

flourished until Roman times. The text of Metjen,²⁷ from the late Third Dynasty, could be considered²⁸ one of the first self-presentations in ancient Egyptian literature, although it refers to some juridical issues. However, John Baines points out that the early Fifth Dynasty²⁹ is the beginning of what he calls “the earliest ‘biographical’ texts with continuous language³⁰ – as against title strings, other non-continuous material, and offering and curse formulas.”³¹ The Old Kingdom³² witnessed the real emergence of this genre, which in the First Intermediate Period³³ succeeded in showing the political fragmentation of the country into competing principalities. With the reunification of the country by the early Middle Kingdom,³⁴ self-presentations reflected a new spirit. In the early New Kingdom,³⁵ they were dense with historical events, but they failed to flourish in the Amarna Period. In the Ramesside Period,³⁶ biographies became more concerned with the funerary cult,³⁷ a tendency that continued and grew in the Third Intermediate³⁸ and Late Periods.³⁹

DEFINITIONS

The genre of non-royal “life-writing” witnessed several attempts to define the different forms that protagonists might use to express themselves or the lives of others.

²⁷ For classical treatments of this text, see Goedicke 1966: 1–71; 1970: 5–20, pl. I a, b, II; Gödecken 1976.

²⁸ However, as Baines (1999a: 19) stated, we should bear in mind “the fragmentary and uncertain character of the record,” since new evidence could change this reality.

²⁹ However, Baines (1997: 133) pointed out that the self-presentation of Debehni, from the late Fourth Dynasty, is among the earliest self-presentational texts.

³⁰ Baines (1997: 132) considered the language of the late Second and early Third Dynasties “the oldest attested continuous written language.” For more on some of these texts, see Kahl 1994; Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann 1995.

³¹ Baines 1999a: 21.

³² For more on Old Kingdom self-presentations, see Baines 1997; Kloth 1998; 2002; 2004; Strudwick 2005; Baud 2005; Stauder-Porchet 2008; 2011.

³³ For more on self-presentations of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite necropolis, see Daoud 2005; 2011.

³⁴ For more on Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period self-presentations, see, for example, Lichtheim 1988; Landgráfová 2011; Kubisch 2008; Frood 2011.

³⁵ See Guksch 1994; Schulz 1995; Gnrís 1996a; Jansen-Winkel 2004b; Richal 1997, 2005, 2006; Luiselli 2011.

³⁶ For more on Ramesside self-presentations, see Jansen-Winkel 1993; Frood 2004; 2007.

³⁷ See Assmann 1996b: 259–267; 2002: 229–237; Frood 2007: 15–17, 20–23, 24–26.

³⁸ For more on the self-presentations of the Third Intermediate Period, see Otto 1954; Jansen-Winkel 1985; 2007a; 2007b; Frood 2013. For more on those of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, see Otto 1954; Heise 2007; Jansen-Winkel 2008; 2009.

³⁹ For more on those of the Late Period, see Otto 1954; Lichtheim 2006c. For more on those of the Saite Period, see Otto 1954; Heise 2007; Jansen-Winkel 2008; 2011; 2014.

The earliest definitions of this genre were “history,” or “history of the life of,” or “life.”⁴⁰ The word “*biographia*” was also used for “the writing of lives” in the early seventeenth century CE.⁴¹ Then “*biography*” was used as a term for “the self-written life” by Dryden in 1683 CE.⁴² In 1797 CE the term “*autobiography*” entered English.⁴³ The best-known terms for this literary form are *autobiography*, *biography*, *self-fashioning*, and *self-presentation*. Each of these terms also has synonyms; for example, “*self-portrayal*”⁴⁴ with its multivariate faces can be a synonym for “*self-presentation*.” Below, I introduce definitions⁴⁵ of the main non-royal life-writing terms in order to lead us to the appropriate term for this genre in ancient Egyptian literature.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY⁴⁶

Autobiography, according to Bonnie J. Gunzenhauser, “is a self-produced, nonfiction text that tells the story of its writer’s life.”⁴⁷ In another definition, *autobiography* is the most common term for “the writing of one’s own history; the story of one’s life written by himself.”⁴⁸ In a third, *autobiography* might be also called “*self-writing*,”⁴⁹ and a fourth is “*self-narrative*.”⁵⁰ Etymologically, *autobiography* is a Greek term, literally meaning “*self-life-writing*.”⁵¹ Edward L. Greenstein points out that “there is no *autobiography* as such in the ancient world, if we describe ‘*autobiography*’ as the retrospective interpretation of the author’s own life—a contemplative self-scrutiny of the past.”⁵²

⁴⁰ Winslow 1980: 6. For more on the term “life,” see Winslow 1980: 24–25.

⁴¹ Winslow 1980: 4.

⁴² Winslow 1980: 5.

⁴³ Winslow 1980: 6; Jolly 2001: ix; Gunzenhauser 2001: 75.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, Lichtheim (1989: 211) who uses the term “*self-portrayal*” in ancient Egyptian literature.

⁴⁵ The problem of defining ancient Egyptian self-presentations has been discussed, for example, by Gnirs 1996b; 2001.

⁴⁶ As Jolly (2001: ix) states, the term “*auto/biography*” is used “as a convenient way of indicating a scope that is both *autobiographical* and *biographical*.” In *Egyptology*, scholars use frequently the term “(auto)*biography*” to avoid how to define the text either “*autobiography*” or “*biography*.”

⁴⁷ See Gunzenhauser 2001: 75.

⁴⁸ See Winslow 1980: 2.

⁴⁹ See Winslow (1980: 39), who points out that the term “*self-biography*” is rarely used to replace “*autobiography*.”

⁵⁰ See Bruner 1987: 11–32.

⁵¹ See Olney 1980: 6.

⁵² Greenstein 2000: 2421.

Although ancient Egyptian biographies do not form autobiographies according to our strict understanding of the term, Olivier Perdu denies the existence of biography in ancient Egypt, and points out that autobiographies are “well attested.”⁵³ Perdu’s opinion is not new; Lichtheim previously made the same point.⁵⁴ However, Baines prefers to use “self-presentation” rather than “autobiography” or “biography.”⁵⁵ Lichtheim states, “If autobiography is the narration of bits of one’s life from a position of self-awareness and reflection, then ancient Egyptian autobiographical inscriptions were true autobiographies.” Ludwig D. Morenz uses “Selbst-Präsentation.”⁵⁶ Thus, in Egyptology there is no common and fixed term for defining this ancient Egyptian genre.

Statues with self-presentational inscriptions in the temples were among the main tools of primary commemoration of Egyptian non-royal elite members. Ancient Egyptian biographies may have been composed during the lives of their protagonists or after their deaths. However, the statue owner may have participated in composing his or her textual biography and choosing the artistic form of the statue. Although almost all biographies are written in the first person, they cannot be called “autobiography” because it is not absolutely known whether the protagonists dictated the content of their textual biographies or one of their family members did so on their behalf. Therefore, self, as expressed in textual biography, is that composed by the patron who ordered the execution of the text.⁵⁷ The sculptor of the statue with biographical inscriptions contributed to the textual biography as well by giving it visual context. The term “self-presentation,” which I will later address, is more comprehensive than biography or the traditional definition autobiography. “Self-presentation” is broad in its scope and encompasses textual and visual aspects of the protagonist’s identity; therefore, it is the best term to apply in studying these ancient Egyptian texts, especially in the late Saite Period.

BIOGRAPHY⁵⁸

Biography, according to Ruth Hoberman, “is a notoriously difficult form to define” “because it borrows from and overlaps with other genres.”⁵⁹ Samuel Johnson defines biographer as “a writer of lives; a relater not of the history of nations, but of

⁵³ Perdu 2000: 2243. See also Naguib 1997: 216–225.

⁵⁴ Lichtheim 1988: 2.

⁵⁵ Baines 2004: 34.

⁵⁶ Morenz 2003; 2001; 2006; 2010: 204 ff.

⁵⁷ See Assmann 1996a: 55.

⁵⁸ Unlike autobiography, which is very productive from Hussein (2001) to Amin (2007), Biography in the western sense of the term is less known in modern Egypt except for a few books that take the shape of a dialog (i.e., questions and answers) between the protagonist and the book author.

the actions of particular persons.”⁶⁰ That means biography is written by a biographer, and not by the protagonist. Miriam Lichtheim points out “In Egypt the genre ‘biography’ did not develop at all.”⁶¹ She further states that “biography and autobiography are not necessarily interrelated. The point is worth stressing, the more so since Egyptologists often appear to be apologetic about calling Egyptian autobiographies by that name and instead speak of ‘biographical inscriptions’, a term which is in fact a misnomer.”⁶² Biography is a partly valid term to describe this ancient Egyptian genre.⁶³ By “biography” I only refer to the text and not to the entire self-presentation, which is multilayered, concerned with text, image, architectural setting, archaeological context, and many wider issues and media than the limited scope of the textual biography tradition.

SELF-FASHIONING

“Self-fashioning” is a term coined by Stephen Jay Greenblatt in his seminal study *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*,⁶⁴ through which he investigated the process of constructing the identity and public image of an elite member in English literature in Renaissance England c. 1500–1700 CE. This term could be valid with a limited corpus of ancient Egyptian biographies; however, it is not appropriate to use with my corpus of late Saite biographies for several reasons. The most important among these is that the biographies of Neshor and Payeftjaemawayneith do not reveal their self-fashioning, but only a few moments in their lives and careers.

SELF-PRESENTATION⁶⁵

Self-presentation of non-royal elite members through image and text, as forms of artistic and textual expressions, is the most ancient and common genre of ancient Egyptian high culture, from the Old Kingdom until Roman times. It represents a holistic approach and has other synonym definitions such as self-image, self-identity, and self-concept.

Examples for the latter are Salmawi 2001 and Al-Ghitani 2007. Biography in modern Egypt lies under history rather than literature and is mainly concerned with the period and society rather than the individual and his or her private life; see, for example, Amin 1997.

⁵⁹ Hoberman 2001: 109.

⁶⁰ See Winslow 1980: 5–6.

⁶¹ Lichtheim 1988: 2.

⁶² See Lichtheim 1988: 2, although Lichtheim used that term in 2006c.

⁶³ Scholars, Heise (2007) for instance, use biography because it is a more general term.

⁶⁴ Greenblatt 1980.

In the mid-1990s or perhaps earlier, Baines concluded that, for several reasons, the normal term “autobiography” is “quite problematic.”⁶⁶ The most important among them is the presence of visual and textual components, and in several cases architectural components.⁶⁷ Baines’s development of the notion of “self-presentation” firmly established the term “self-presentation” in Egyptological literature.⁶⁸ He started referring to the term in some of his contributions that dealt with the genre of Egyptian biographies. In 2004 he used the term clearly, i.e., *Egyptian Elite Self-Presentation in the Context of Ptolemaic Rule*.⁶⁹ The term has been much developed by his student Elizabeth Frood, who completed her Ph.D. dissertation *Self-Presentation in Ramessid Egypt* in 2004 as well. Moreover, in 2007 she published her monograph *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, the textual corpus of her thesis, with an expanded introduction in which she explained her approach and her treatment of these Ramesside texts.⁷⁰ Recently, Rana Salim wrote her Ph.D. dissertation on cultural identity and self-presentation in ancient Egyptian fictional narratives from an intertextual perspective, focusing on narrative motifs from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman Period.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Assmann (1996a: 55–56 [n. 4]) coined a different term, “self-thematization,” as a definition of the textual biography. According to Assmann (1996: 56, [n. 4]), the “propaganda” concept of Simpson (1982: 266–271) is closer to his term “self-thematization.” However, this Assmannian term is not universally accepted by Egyptologists; even Assmann himself uses it in only a few of his publications. See, for example, Assmann 1987; 1996a. Lichtheim (1989: 211) used the term “self-portrayal,” but she (1992b) uses another term, “self-exploration,” as well. She employed several terms throughout her works, without defining them or putting them in their proper contexts. See also Bassir 2014.

⁶⁶ Baines: pers. com.

⁶⁷ Scholars have expended much energy to arrive at the most appropriate term “self-presentation.” Morenz (see, for example, Morenz 1998) used “Erste-Person-Präsentation” to define “autobiography.” Then he employed another term closer to ours, “Selbstdarstellung” or “Selbstpräsentation.” In literature, the term “Selbstdarstellung” and sometimes the term “Selbstportrait” were applied by many scholars in Reichenkron and Haase 1956. Morenz (2003 and above) rejected the term “autobiography” and used “self-presentations” or “presentations of self” instead. Baines was probably the first to employ the term “self-presentation” in Egyptological literature. In 1975 Roth (1975: xiii) used the term “self-presentation” as a literary way of expressing one’s self in writing.

⁶⁸ See, for example, Baines 2004. Lichtheim (1988: 5, 27, 136) mentioned what she calls “autobiographical self-presentation” and “Introductory Self-Presentation” without further explanation. Here Lichtheim used the term in its general meaning without any specification to reveal her own understanding of this concept.

⁶⁹ See Baines 2004.

⁷⁰ Frood 2007: 1–30.

⁷¹ Salim 2013.

On the other hand, it is rare to find scholars using the term “self-presentation” as defined by Baines. Generally, scholars⁷² use the term “self-presentation” in a general way without defining the broad connotations of this term.⁷³ The general term “self-presentation” was first introduced in literature in Erving Goffman’s *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.⁷⁴ Goffman’s approach is concerned with strategies and ways of controlling impressions from a sociological perspective, based on self-presentation of individuals in everyday life. Currently, self-presentation, as an interdisciplinary component, has entered many fields of humanities, social sciences, business, economics, and communication.⁷⁵

SELF-PRESENTATION: THE TEXT AND BEYOND APPROACH⁷⁶

The approach that I apply here is “self-presentation: text and beyond,” which treats the multivariate faces of self-presentation to which scholars do not draw much attention. The major goal of this approach is to shed light on the historical, archaeological, artistic, linguistic, literary, religious, moral, and self-presentation aspects of the individual’s texts and monuments. These elements can help us to reimagine and reconstruct the individual’s self-presentation and thus his or her own identity. Self-presentation, as a protean genre, is textually and visually fashioned, shaped and governed by two main factors: tools and remembrance. The tools are textual and visual settings that shape the presentation, representing the individual in his or her life and the lives of others. Remembrance is his or her wish and goal to immortalize his or her memory and funerary endowment in the future. It is obviously known that the ancient Egyptians sought immortality, or what Jan Assmann called “self-monumentalization,” and “self-eternalization,” because they had “a deep desire for eternity, for overcoming death and transience.”⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Frood 2007: 1–30.

⁷¹ Salim 2013.

⁷² See, for example, Gnirs 2001: 186–187.

⁷³ See, for example, Roberts 2013.

⁷⁴ Goffman 1973.

⁷⁵ Several examples include the contributions of Domanska, Kellner, and White 1994: 91–100; Gleason 1995; Watson 2000; Fallon 2007.

⁷⁶ Burkes (1999: 171) used the term “self-presentation” in a general way and only considered ancient Egyptian self-presentation as one of the “elements of the ancient Egyptian mortuary tradition.” However, self-presentation in ancient Egypt was not only an element of funerary traditions. See also Bassir 2014.

⁷⁷ See Assmann 1996a: 56.

SAITE SELF-PRESENTATION STRATEGIES AND DYNAMICS

A number of self-presentations, with varied themes and phraseologies, have come down to us from the Saite Period. They were inscribed in various media, on stelae, tomb walls, and statues.⁷⁸ Those of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith were executed on statues, mainly naophorous and theophorous in type. Block statues⁷⁹ do not make up any class among these Saite self-presentational statues. The formation and content of Saite self-presentations are usually different in the traditions of the genre from previous periods. The most recognizable characteristic of these texts is the increase of their selectivity in narrativity; they do not narrate the career of the protagonist or even its main stages but rather choose a unique event from it. The moral qualities in Saite biographies are obvious and contribute significantly to the legacy of Egyptian moral values in the Late Period. In addition to the rise of individualism and the clear tone of self-esteem in these texts, the artistic self-presentations of their owners are notable. Furthermore, the strings of titles and epithets of their owners are created in an innovative way, constituting a parallel biography to the main self-presentational text, but one that requires more explanation to be understood by us.

The self-presentations of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith incorporate various genres: biography; wisdom literature; narrative; funerary literature; and mortuary liturgy. “Cross-genre writing” is probably an appropriate term to apply to theirs, as they encompass all these genres. Even if their titles are shortened, they narrate the process of their careers as many more complete biographies often did, in the manner of, for example, the self-presentation of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana.⁸⁰ Although their self-presentations are mainly in the first person, Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith may not have personally composed them.⁸¹ They may have been written by scribes specialized in composing such hieroglyphic self-presentational inscriptions.

VISUAL SELF-PRESENTATION

The visual aspect is the first aspect of self-presentation and is represented by the main representational form, i.e., iconography, of which the statue is the most visible element. These inscribed statues, created in various types of postures and gestures as well as attributes, were displayed in late Saite Period temples as pieces made for eternity.

⁷⁸ For Saite examples, see Otto 1954; Heise 2007; Jansen-Winkel 2014.

⁷⁹ For more on block statues, see, for example, Schulz 1992.

⁸⁰ For more on his self-presentation and tomb at Elkab, see, for example, Schulz 1995; Davies 2009.

⁸¹ For more on this problem, see, for example, Gnirs 1996b; 2001.

TEXTUAL SELF-PRESENTATION

The textual aspect, second of self-presentation, has several components: the titles and epithets of the protagonist; name and genealogy; as well as the various longer texts, such as the appeal to the living, narrative, and wishes for the afterlife. However, this element required literacy and was not easily accessible to all people.

TITLES AND EPHITHETS

Ancient Egyptian titles, epithets, and phrases defined an individual's identity and distinguished his or her stated actions from those indicated by these titles and epithets. Moreover, they played a major role in characterizing the protagonist's life and career and in promoting his or her self-presentation.

NAME AND GENEALOGY⁸²

The protagonist's name is a unique mark that refers to him or her specifically and not to someone else. Furthermore, his or her genealogy confirms the identity of the protagonist. As Jan Assmann states, a name is "a linguistic representation of a person's essence."⁸³

APPEAL TO THE LIVING

The appeal to the living is one of the standard formulae that employed in Egyptian self-presentations to express their protagonists' wishes for the afterlife through their own voices.⁸⁴ However, the appeals to the living in the self-presentations of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith are addressed specifically to the priests of the temples because they were inscribed on statues to be placed in the sacred space of those temples.

⁸² Bierbrier (2006: 37) defined genealogy as "the study of family pedigrees." For a general introduction on genealogy, see Watson 2001: 361–363. For the importance of genealogy in Egyptian chronology, see, for example, Bierbrier 2006.

⁸³ See Assmann (2008: 19), who further points out that "A name in the ancient Egyptian sense is not just a name or title as we understand it today but everything that can be said about a person. A name is not just an identifier but also a description, a linguistic representation of a person's essence."

⁸⁴ See, for example, Assmann 1983; Lichtheim 1992a: 155–190.

NARRATIVE⁸⁵

Narrative represents the main vehicle through which the protagonist introduces us to the most important activities and the good deeds that he or she undertook in life. Narrative (or storytelling) has been variously defined. For instance, Barbara Hernstein Smith defined it as “someone telling someone else something that happened,” while, as she points out, William Labov understood it as “any sequence of clauses which contains at least one temporal juncture.”⁸⁶ Finally, Gregory Bateson described it as “a little knot or complex of the species of connectedness we call relevance.”⁸⁷ In my opinion, narrative marks an event that happened in the past giving the sense of history. As Hayden White pointed out, “Where there is no narrative, Croce said, there is no history.”⁸⁸ Peter Gay⁸⁹ declared: “Historical narration without analysis is trivial, historical analysis without narration is incomplete.” Therefore, narrative in biography is one of the main sources from which one can derive history. Nevertheless, narrative in an ancient Egyptian self-presentation is usually in the first person singular, and the protagonist often commences it after the traditional verbal narrative formula *dd=s* “she says”⁹⁰ or *dd=f* “he says.” Narratives reveal some social activities; however, these are secondary to the selves of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith. They mention them as proof of their good deeds and personalities: the use of society in their narratives is as a mirror upon which they reflect their selves. Nevertheless, Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith each chose his own way by which his self-presentation could display and promote the uniqueness of his individuality.

⁸⁵ Roland Barthes’s work on narrative (1977) is still useful. For example, Barthes (1977: 79) remarked that, “Narrative is first and foremost a prodigious variety of genres....international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself.” See also White (1980: 5), who cited the second phrase of Barthes. For more on narrative, see, for example, White 1984; Miller 1995.

⁸⁶ See Smith 1980.

⁸⁷ See Hanne 2001: 633.

⁸⁸ See White 1980: 10.

⁸⁹ See Gay 1974: 189; see also White 1980: 10.

⁹⁰ Lichtheim (1988: 37–38) presented three women’s self-presentations on stelae from Naga ed-Dêr from the First Intermediate Period, and further examples of women’s have come down to us from the first millennium BCE. For more on women’s self-presentations, see Jansen-Winkel 2004a. For the Late Period examples, the stela of Isenkhebe (Leiden Museum V 55) and the famous stela of Taimhotep (BM EA 147), see Lichtheim 2006c: 58–65. For Taimhotep, see also Otto 1954; Baines 2004: 56–60. For Taniy (Cairo CG 20564 and Vienna 192), see Lichtheim 1989; Leahy 1989a. Previously De Meulenaere (1991) dated the stela of Taniy to the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty on the ground of textual features; an argument is not accepted by Lichtheim and Leahy on the basis of textual and iconographical features, and they dated this stela into the seventh century BCE. See also Panov 2010.

WISHES FOR THE AFTERLIFE

The protagonist's wishes for his or her afterlife constitute the main message which he or she sends to the deities and the future generations so that they may act in a kindly manner toward him or her.

SAITE PRESERVATION OF MEMORY

The main intention behind these late Saite self-presentations is to present a glorified record of the life achievements of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith and to impress their fingerprints upon eternity as a reward in the afterlife. Preserving memory of the individual is the goal of these biographies.

CONCLUSION

The writing of the non-royal self was an ancient tradition in Egyptian literary forms and practices. Through this medium ancient Egyptian individuals expressed their selves in several ways. Image and text were the main tools that the Egyptian elite members utilized to promote their selves. Individuals composed (or had composed for them) self-presentations that would preserve their memory and their selves through the deities and the temple clergy and would allow them to enjoy blessings in the afterlife. In a temple setting, the protagonists wanted to convince the deities to protect them in the afterlife; they thus stressed the benefactions they performed for the temples while alive. In the context of a tomb or funerary stela, where the goal was to convince passersby to present offerings to the owner, self-presentation stresses the owner's kindness to other people during their lifetime. Through these media of art and language, the ancient Egyptian non-royal elite members expressed and promoted their selves. Self-presentation in the Saite Period followed the path of Egyptian textual and visual features of displaying the individual's own self and added innovative means of expression. The self-presentation of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith are among the best-known examples in the late Saite Period.⁹¹

⁹¹ See Bassir 2014.

CHAPTER TWO

Saite Egypt: A Brief Historical Outline

The Saite Period, which endured for 138 years (664–526 BCE) was one of the last glorious periods in Egyptian history.⁹² The Saite Dynasty came to rule Egypt due to a combination of factors: the flight of the Kushites to the south under Assyrian attacks⁹³ and the retreat of the Assyrians⁹⁴ back to their own country. With the withdrawal of the Assyrians, Saite warriors rose to fill the political vacuum in a politically fragmented Egypt. Although it was a vassal state, Egypt benefited from the Assyrian invasion through the ending of Kushite rule and the reuniting of the country under native rule. Psamtik I first consolidated his control over the Delta and ascended to the throne in 664 BCE. In 656 BCE, he succeeded in integrating Upper Egypt into his newly united kingdom through the appointment of his daughter, Nitocris, as the future God's Wife of Amun at Thebes.⁹⁵ Therefore, the Saite unification of Lower and Upper Egypt⁹⁶ might have passed through a peaceful and diplomatic process. It is notable that only two kings of this dynasty, Psamtik I and Amasis, ruled two thirds of its duration. After the century-long Saite rule over a unified Egypt, the Persian occupation ended this dynasty and made Egypt part of the Persian Empire.⁹⁷

⁹² For more on the period, see James 2008. See most recently Hussein 2009: 24–38; Perdu 2010: 140–149; Dodson 2012: 169–180; Agut-Labordère 2013. For more on the fundamental principles of the ideology of the Saite kings, see Pressl 1993: 223–254.

⁹³ For the Assyrian invasion of Egypt in Egyptian narrative tradition, see Ryholt 2004.

⁹⁴ For more on the relationships between the Saite and the Neo-Assyrians, see Von Zeissl 1955; Vittmann 2003: 21–33.

⁹⁵ See Caminos 1964: 71–101; Török 1997: 357–362; Myśliwiec 2000: 112–115; Spalinger 2001b: 74; Gozzoli 2006: 87–92; Dodson 2012: 169–180.

⁹⁶ The evidence shows that the Saite did not remove the provincial elites of Upper Egypt from their offices; see, for example, Vittmann 1978; Myśliwiec 2000: 110.

⁹⁷ For more on the international relations in the ancient Near East especially at the time of the Persian invasion of Egypt, the history of the Persian Empire and the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, Persian rule in Egypt, and the continuity of Egyptian culture under the Persians, see Collins 2008: 187–204; Vittmann 2003: 120–154; Spencer 2005: 43–44; Smoláriková 2013; Johnson 1994: 149–159; Briant 1996: 23–38, 55–56, 59–72; 2002: 31–61; 2005: 12–18; Quack 2011; Van De Mieroop 2011: 283–315; Ruzicka 2012; Abd El-Maksoud and Valbelle 2013.

SOURCES OF THE SAITE PERIOD

The sources of the Saite Period are varied. Internal sources, especially from the royal realm, are scanty. However, external sources are plentiful, particularly such as those from classical writers (for example Book II of Herodotus⁹⁸ and Diodorus Siculus), Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and biblical mentions of Egypt.⁹⁹ Donald B. Redford declared that “The Saite period stands largely bereft of textual sources.”¹⁰⁰ However, the Saite Period was very productive in scripts¹⁰¹ and texts¹⁰² and statuary; only a few tombs¹⁰³ and temples¹⁰⁴ have survived. The texts of the Saite non-royal elite are abundant and commemorate the beneficent achievements of their owners. These sources provide us with numerous data that can aid the understanding of the period.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SAITE PERIOD¹⁰⁵

The chronology of the Saite Period can be divided into three phases:

*EARLY SAITE PERIOD: PSAMTIK I WAHIBRE (664¹⁰⁶–610 BCE)*¹⁰⁷

The early Saite Period represents the early foundations of the state. The only figure in it is Psamtik I,¹⁰⁸ the first Saite king, who succeeded in uniting Egypt after a

⁹⁸ See De Meulenaere 1951; Lloyd 1975; 1988.

⁹⁹ For more on the relations between Egypt and the Assyrians, Neo-Babylonians, and Persians, see Van De Mieroop 2007: 247–299; Vittmann 2003; Wiseman 2008; Van De Mieroop 2011: 304–305; see also Ataç 2015.

¹⁰⁰ Redford 2006: 240.

¹⁰¹ For different scripts, see Verhoeven 1999a; 1999b; 2001; Griffith 1909; Thissen 1980; Donker van Heel 1996; El-Aguizy 1998; Vittmann 1998.

¹⁰² For more on Saite textual practices and forms, see De Meulenaere 1972; Jansen-Winkel 2014.

¹⁰³ For more on Late Period tombs, see Stadelmann 1971; Thomas 1980; El-Sadeck 1984; Eigner 1984; Quack 2006a; Castellano Solé 2007; Smoláriková 2007; 2009; 2010a; 2010b; 2013; Stammers, 2009; Pons Mellado 2009; El-Saddik 2010; Sherbiny 2012; Budka, Mekis, and Bruwier 2012–2013; Ziegler 2013; Sherbiny and Bassir 2014; Bassir and Creasman 2014; Gosford 2014; Pischikova 2014.

¹⁰⁴ For more on Late Period temples, see Zivie-Coche 1991; 2008; Assmann 1992b; Arnold 1999.

¹⁰⁵ For the royal titulary of the Saite kings, see Von Beckerath 1999: 214–219; El-Enany 2007; Blöbaum 2006; Dessoudeix 2008: 499–510; Quirke 2010: 96–97; Dodson 2012: 206–207, 210–211, 216–217, 224–225, 232; Leprohon 2013: 164–167.

¹⁰⁶ Depuydt (2006: 268) started this king’s reign in 664/3 BCE.

¹⁰⁷ See Josephson 2001a: 66; Spalinger 2001b: 73; Redford 2006: 239.

¹⁰⁸ Ray (2001: 268) stated that the career of Psamtik I resembles that of “the adventurer Mohammad Ali,” the ruler and founder of modern Egypt at beginning of the nineteenth century CE.

long period of division. He followed his father Necho I¹⁰⁹ as a vassal to the Assyrians and then became the native and sole ruler of the whole country. He reigned for 54 years. He campaigned against his neighbors, the Libyans, and, at the end of his reign, in Syria-Palestine, militarily encountered the rising power of the Neo-Babylonians in 616 and 610 BCE.¹¹⁰ In his reign, the number of Greeks in Egypt increased,¹¹¹ and he hired foreign mercenaries, especially Greeks, Carians, and Ionians who lived in the city of Naukratis in the delta.¹¹² Psamtik I allied himself with the king of Lydia, Gyges.¹¹³ The text of the Adoption Stela of his daughter Nitocris indicates that he moved peacefully into Upper Egypt and he was aware of the religious norms of Thebes and the Amun temple.¹¹⁴

*MIDDLE SAITE PERIOD: NECHO II WEHEMIBRE (610–595 BCE)¹¹⁵
AND PSAMTIK II NEFERIBRE (595–589 BCE)*

The middle Saite Period was not very long and witnessed only a few historical events; the most important among them were the construction of the Red Sea canal by Necho II¹¹⁶ and the Nubian and Asiatic¹¹⁷ campaigns of Psamtik II.¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁹ His Egyptian name was “*N(j)-k3w*,” his Greek name, “*Nekos*,” his Assyrian name, “*Ni-ku-u*,” see Lloyd 2001a: 504. For more on him, see Lloyd 2001a: 504–505; Dessoudeix 2008: 499; Ryholt 2011a; Leprohon 2013: 164.

¹¹⁰ Vittmann 2003: 33–43; Spalinger 2001b: 73–74; Wiseman 2008.

¹¹¹ For more on the interaction between Egypt and Greece, see Laronde 1995; Boardman 1999: 112; Möller 2000; Ashton 2001; Vittmann 2003: 194–235; Shapiro 2007; Nightingale 2007: 171; Van De Mierop 2011: 295–299; Chauveau 2011; Agut-Labordère 2012; Mendoza 2015.

¹¹² See Myśliwiec 2000: 116; Spalinger 2001b: 73; Ray 2001: 268. For more on Naukratis, see Leclère 2008: 113–57.

¹¹³ See Myśliwiec 2000: 116. For more on the alliance between Psamtik I and Gyges, see Younes 2003.

¹¹⁴ See Caminos 1964: 71–101; Spalinger 2001b: 74; Dodson 2012: 169–172, figs. 127–128, 204. See also Ayad 2001; 2009.

¹¹⁵ For more on this king, see Lloyd 2001b: 505–506; Ryholt 2011b.

¹¹⁶ See Posener 1947; Lloyd 1972: 268–279; 1977: 142–155; Somaglino 2010.

¹¹⁷ See Griffith 1909: 93–98; Jansen-Winkeln 1996b; Vittmann 1998: 349–350; Sauneron and Yoyotte 1952a; Freedy and Redford 1970: 479; Kitchen 1996: 406–407; Lloyd 2002: 381; Hauben 2001; Mumford 2007: 233; James 2008: 718; Weippert 2010: 397–402; Chauveau 2011.

¹¹⁸ For more on this king, see Jansen-Winkeln 1996a. Military action by the Saites in Nubia is most known from the famous campaign of Psamtik II, the major event in his short reign, which took place in his third regnal year (593 BCE) with an army of Egyptians and mercenaries under the generals Amasis and Potasimto, as recorded on the king’s stelae from Shellal, Karnak, and Tanis (see Hansen 1984; Gozzoli 1997: 5–16). Gozzoli (1998: 46–49) furthermore explained the differences between the accounts of the Nubian campaign of Psamtik II in the southern version of the king’s Shellal Stela, which describes just the final battle (also inscribed at Karnak), and the

*LATE SAITE PERIOD: APRIES HAAIBRE (589–570 BCE),
AMASIS KHNEMIBRE (570–526 BCE),
AND PSAMTIK III ANKHAENRE (526–527 BCE)*

The late Saite Period is the last phase of the Saite rule in Egypt before the Persian occupation. Apries and Amasis were the major kings of this period in addition to the very short-reigned Psamtik III. Amasis is the most important figure of the period, and he successfully utilized religion and diplomacy to achieve what force of arms failed to do.

The Reign of Apries (Ḥꜣ-jb-Rꜥ) (589–570 BCE)¹¹⁹

Apries was the fourth Saite king. His foreign policy focused on stopping the Neo-Babylonian expansion into the Ancient Near East. He first tried to put an end to the Neo-Babylonian siege of Jerusalem in 589 BCE, but he was defeated. In 582 BCE the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II invaded Egypt.¹²⁰ In order to block the Neo-Babylonian advance to the south, Apries made successful campaigns against Tyre, Sidon, and Cyprus between c. 574–571 BCE.¹²¹ In 571–570 BCE Apries launched a military expedition against Cyrene, the Greek Mediterranean city in eastern Libya, but his army was defeated, and that led to a revolt by the Egyptian warriors. An officer of Apries, Amasis, led the rebels who defeated Apries in 570 BCE, but Apries escaped. In 567 BCE Nebuchadnezzar II dispatched an invading army to Egypt to reestablish Apries on the Egyptian throne, probably as a Neo-Babylonian vassal.¹²² However, the Egyptian army defeated this force, and Apries was drowned.¹²³ Afterwards, Amasis buried Apries with the full honors of a late Saite king in the royal necropolis at the Neith temple at the royal capital, Sais.¹²⁴ The scanty historical sources from the reign of Apries reveal that he paid much attention to the temple

northern version of the text at Tanis with its description of the complete development of the war (originally set up at Sais and Memphis) (?). For more on this campaign, see Weigall 1907: 39; Sauneron and Yoyotte 1952b; Adam and El-Shaboury 1959: 39 [b]; Bakry 1967; Habachi 1974; Goedicke 1981: 187–198; Der Manuelian 1994: 333–371; Gozzoli 1997; 1998; Török 1997: 371–374; 2009: 359–363; Schmitz 2010; Dodson 2012: 177.

¹¹⁹ Lloyd 2001a: 98; Josephson 2001a: 67; De Meulenaere 2011.

¹²⁰ Spalinger 1977; 1979; Vittmann 2003: 40–42; Collins 2008; Schipper 2011; Abd El-Maksoud and Valbelle 2013.

¹²¹ Lloyd 2001a: 98–99.

¹²² For more on this invasion, see Ladynin 2006b.

¹²³ Various sources preserve contradictory stories of the end of Apries; see Josephson 2001a: 67.

¹²⁴ Lloyd 2001a: 99.

organizations¹²⁵ and kept the Theban priesthood on his side through the appointment of Saite royal women as God's Wives of Amun.¹²⁶ The building activities of Apries are few; he had a palace at Memphis,¹²⁷ and Herodotus mentioned another at Sais.¹²⁸

*The Reign of Amasis*¹²⁹ (*Jḥ-msj*) (569–527 BCE)¹³⁰

Amasis, the fifth Saite king, was an army general selected by Egyptian troops to replace Apries. As Jack A. Josephson points out, "Amasis had a very productive reign, proved himself capable of making both domestic and foreign-policy decisions, and demonstrated great acumen as a statesman."¹³¹ Amasis maintained fruitful diplomatic relationships with numerous foreign alliances, especially with the different Greek states, to support Egypt's foreign trade interests.¹³² To keep the flow of the foreign trade to his country, he avoided any military confrontation with the Neo-Babylonian power.¹³³ Amasis was successful in domestic policies as well. He operated a massive building program throughout Egypt. After his death he was probably buried in his tomb at the Saite royal necropolis at the Neith temple at Sais. His son Psamtik III succeeded him on the throne for a very short reign.

¹²⁵ The Apries stela from Mitrahina, for example, shows that this king made a land donation and its exemption from public works in favor of Ptah of Memphis. For more on this stela, see Gunn 1927; Der Manuelian 1994: 373–380, fig. 70, pls. 9, 19; Gozzoli 2006: 104–106.

¹²⁶ I.e., Ankhnesneferibre succeeded Nitocris in that office in 584 BCE. For more on the adoption of Ankhnesneferibre at Karnak, see Leahy 1996; Lloyd 2001a: 99.

¹²⁷ For more on the palace of Apries at Memphis, see Petrie 1909; Kemp 1977; 1978; Leclère 2008: 63–69; Smoláriková 2008: 55–65; Lopes 2010; 2012; 2013; Lopes and Braga 2011; Lopes and Fonseca 2012; Pagliari 2010; 2011.

¹²⁸ See Lloyd 2001a: 99.

¹²⁹ For more on the family of Amasis, see Parker 1957; De Meulenaere 1968; Josephson 2001a.

¹³⁰ This king is given a reign from 570–526 BCE. However, Depuydt (2006: 268) gave him a reign from 570–527/6 BCE; see also Quack 2011.

¹³¹ Josephson 2001a: 66–67. This is contrary to the image of Amasis in the classical sources of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus and the well-known demotic narrative "*The Tale of Amasis and the Skipper*." This narrative is a good example of Egyptian kings as subject of tales in literary traditions. For more on this narrative, see, for example, Ritner 2003: 450–452; Hoffmann and Quack 2007: 160–162, 347; Agut-Labordère and Chauveau 2011: 13–15, 325. The demotic tale and classical writers portray him, as Josephson (2001a: 67) states, "as a plebeian who drank too much and did not act in a properly regal manner."

¹³² Josephson 2001a: 67.

¹³³ For more on the Neo-Babylonian invasion into Egypt in 567 BCE, see Redford 2000; Vittmann 2003: 33–43; Ladynin 2006b.

The Reign of Psamtik III (ʿnh-k3-n-Rʿ)¹³⁴ (527–526 BCE)¹³⁵

Psamtik III,¹³⁶ son and successor of Amasis, only ruled for a few months. The most important and dramatic event in his very short reign was the Persian¹³⁷ invasion of Egypt by Cambyses in 526 BCE.¹³⁸

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF LATE SAITE SELF-PRESENTATIONS

History in the context of Saite self-presentation is “history of the individual” rather than the “history of society.” Societal history is broader, more general, and is comprehensive in focus and approach, while “individualistic history” is specific and private. “Individualistic history” may or may not intersect with societal history. History in the texts of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith is absolutely an individualistic trend. Hayden White deals with the literary text as a piece of history.¹³⁹ Some scholars do not draw attention to the historical significance of such biographies. For example, in the final comment in his study on the statue of Udjahorresnet, Baines states his belief that “the statue should be read first as a dedicatory piece in the temple of Neith in Sais”; he then further declares that the historical value was not the main aim of its creation. In his view, “its presentation of general and cosmological concerns” is the main concern of the front of this statue.¹⁴⁰ Thus he does not believe in the historical implications of biography. Baines’s argument is only partly true in a sense, but this view or treatment of biographies is limited in approach and does not reveal the richness of the contexts and several levels of biographies.

CONCLUSION

The self-presentations of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith were not composed for writing general history. Neither individual intended to write a chronological

¹³⁴ Based on demotic evidence, Cruz-Uribe (1980: 35–39) and Pestman (1984: 145–155) referred to the existence of a king called Psamtik IV.

¹³⁵ See Spalinger 2001a: 274. However, Depuydt (2006: 268) gave him “some (6?) months in 527–525?” BCE, while Herodotus gave him a reign of only 6 to 7 months in 525 BCE. The king-list published by Quack (2009a) seems to give him 5 months.

¹³⁶ Josephson 2001a: 67. The mother of Psamtik III was called Tenkheta, see Dodson and Hilton 2004: 244, 247.

¹³⁷ For more on the relations between Saite Egypt and the Persians, see Vittmann 2003: 120–154.

¹³⁸ See Spalinger 2001a: 274. For an Egyptian account of this event, see the self-presentation of the late Saite/early Persian official Udjahorresnet in Lichtheim 2006c: 36–41; Baines 1996.

¹³⁹ White 1978.

¹⁴⁰ Baines 1996: 92.

history of the period, but rather he selected from his own history a corpus of deeds of which he was proud. Their texts were composed for writing a different kind of history, the “history of the individual.” Although the ancient Egyptians did not attain the sense of history known today,¹⁴¹ they were aware of recording and keeping track of their public and private activities in several ways. It is very hard to think that these texts do not provide history since every text provides history in some way. In these self-presentations, the history is basically that of these non-royal individuals, even if their texts illuminate many broader historical realities or the sociopolitical history in the late Saite Period. As a mixture of “societal history” and “individualistic history,” the biographies of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith reveal that they were extremely influential elite members in the late Saite Period, and they mirror the period and reflect its spirit and events.

¹⁴¹ For more on the sense of history in ancient Egypt, see Redford 1986; 2003; 2008.

CHAPTER THREE

Neshor's Self-Presentations

Five self-presentations of Neshor are known, inscribed on five statues.¹⁴²

HERMITAGE 2962 STATUE¹⁴³

(figures 2–4, plates 1–5)

Reign:	Psamtik II
Current Location:	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum
Accession Number:	2962
Provenance:	Sais(?) ¹⁴⁴
Material:	Dark-green slate
Measurements:	Height 31 cm
Brief Description:	An incomplete theophorous statue of Neshor depicting him standing with his left leg advanced and presenting a long and freestanding statuette of Osiris ¹⁴⁵ held at knee level between

¹⁴² Although some of these and those of Payeftjauemawyneith are not complete, I treat them as self-presentations because they meet the definition of the genre and include at least one of its elements. For example, I deal with Neshor's text on Hermitage 2962 Statue, which is mainly the appeal to the living section of this individual's inscription, as a self-presentation.

¹⁴³ Herein designated as Hermitage 2962.

¹⁴⁴ Jansen-Winkel, 1999: 41 (125), is not sure whether it came from Sais. However, it was bought by one of the Maksimova family members in Russia. The wish that Neshor's self-presentation makes here ("May you present for (me) from the offerings of the gods of *Hwt-Bjt*") could probably refer to Sais, if this *Hwt-Bjt* was actually located there. Neshor's wish can be understood as a hopeful wish and not as actually referring to the physical presence of this statue at Sais. If Sais was not the original place of this statue, the temple of Behbeit Al-Hagara (*Pr-Hbjt* or *Ntrt*) might have been where this statue was set. There are several reasons for this suggestion. According to textual sources that refer to the cultic ritual of their statues at Behbeit, the late Saite kings undertook an earlier construction of the temple; see Yoyotte 1958; Favard-Meeks 1997: 103. The artistic focal point of Neshor's statue is the presentation of the statuette of Osiris as one of the three main figures of the Osirian triad to which this temple was dedicated; see below. The title *wr ntr*, which is very close to the title of Neshor *wr m Ntrt*, was held by the priests connected with the cult of Osiris; see De Meulenaere 1958: 234 (n. 8); Favard-Meeks 1991: 390; 2002. At the temple of Behbeit Al-Hagara, Osiris received many forms, names, and epithets, such as *Wsjr nḏtjꜣ ḥnt Ḥbjt, bjk Ntrj, m rn=f n nb Ntrj, m ḥnt Ntrj, nb Ntrj, nb Ḥbjt, ḥrj-jb Ntrj, ḥnt Ḥbjt, nḏ sḥ ntrw m ḥnt Ntrj* (see Favard-Meeks 1991), and these connect him with the temple and the town. However, Neshor's self-presentation here does not mention any of these forms of Osiris or even mention him at all throughout this incomplete text. Osiris is here only presented artistically through his statuette. For more on Sais, see Leclère 2008: 159–196, 629, 642.

¹⁴⁵ Bianchi (1996: 860) points out that this type of Osiris's image is a Saite sculptural characteristic.

his hands in front of the lower portion of his body. The head of the god is missing. Osiris holds his emblems in his hands and wears the *wšht* necklace. Incomplete texts containing royal cartouches are inscribed on Neshor's body, above Osiris's shoulders, and to the left and the right of Osiris's head. Only the lower portion of the statue remains. Moreover, the statue base is missing. A hieroglyphic text in five columns runs from right to left on the right side of the statue, between Neshor's right leg and the statuette. Four columns of a hieroglyphic text (with a missing end) reading from right to left occupy the statue's left side between Neshor's left leg and the back pillar. The back pillar bears a hieroglyphic text in two columns with a missing beginning and end, running from right to left.

Bibliography:

Turajeff 1910: 160–163, Abb. 2 and 3; Lapis and Mat'e 1969: 111–113, pl. IV (119), Abb. 75; Otto 1954: 127 (25); De Meulenaere 1966: 14 (42. 2); El-Sayed 1975: 266 (§ 59); Rößler-Köhler 1991: 223–224 (56 b); Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 41 (125); Heise 2007: 190–192 (II. 20); Hussein 2009: 39–45 (Doc. 1), 293 (fig. 1); Jansen-Winkeln 2014: 330–331 (55. 95); Bassir 2014.

Statuette: left side, above the shoulder and by the head of Osiris (vertical; left to right):

[*jm3hw hr*]¹⁴⁶ *ntr nfr nb-t3wj*¹⁴⁷

[The *jm3hw bef*]ore the good god, and the lord of the Two Lands.

Statuette: right side, above the shoulder and by the head of Osiris (vertical; right to left):

[*njswt-bjt*] *nfr jb [R^c] nḥ dt*¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ The Saite formula *jm3hw hr* + king's title/epithet + king's name was written probably here. For more on this formula, see Rößler-Köhler 1989: 255–274; Jansen-Winkeln 1990; De Meulenaere 2008: 304–305 (n. 23); and below.

¹⁴⁷ Turajeff (1910) starts with reading the king's names before Neshor's epithet with which reading should begin; for more, see here below regarding BM EA 83 with references there.

¹⁴⁸ For the name of this king on a non-royal statue Nr. 586 from Buto, see Bedier 1999: 21, 1, 3.

¹⁴⁹ The formula here should probably be *ḥzj hr [njswt-bjt] nfr jb R^c nḥ dt*, as the formula *ḥzj hr s3*

[King of Upper and Lower Egypt], Nefer-ib-[Re],
living forever.

Statuette: left side, above the shoulder and by the head of Osiris (vertical; left to right):

s3-R^c Psmtk^c nḥ dt

Son-of-Re, Psamtik, living forever.

right side (vertical; right to left):

(1) *(j)r(j)-p^c(t) ḥ3(tj)-^c ḥtmt(j)-bjt(j)¹⁵⁰ smr
w^c(tj) n(j)¹⁵¹ mr(wt)¹⁵² (2) Ns-Ḥr s3 Jwfr(r)¹⁵³
ḏ(d)¹⁵⁴=f j w^cbw nb(w) rh(w)-jḥt¹⁵⁵ nb(w)
sw3.(tj)¹⁵⁶=sn¹⁵⁷ ḥr=j swḏ3=tn [ḥ^cw=j(?)] (3)
mj swḏ3=j ḥ^cw nb(w) ḏ(d)¹⁵⁸=tn ḥtp-dj-njswt*

R^c W3ḥ-jb-R^c reads on Abydos Statue and Louvre A 90, where it reads *jm3ḥw ḥr njswt-bjt Ḥ^c-jb-R^c*.

¹⁵⁰ Dilwyn Jones reads and translates this title *ḥtmt(j)-bjt(j)* “scaler of the King of Lower Egypt.” This title first appeared in the “reign of Den.” Henry George Fischer considers *ḥtm(w)t(j) bjt(j)* “treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt.” According to Stephen Quirke, it means “scalbearer of the king,” and he states that this title was “the mark of highest status at the court.” For example, the Saite god’s father of Heliopolis, Panehsi named Neferibremryre, held the title *ḥtmt(j)-bjt(j)*, which Ahmad El-Sawi and Farouk Gomaa understand as “Königlicher Siegler.” See Jones 2000: 763 [2775]; Murray 2004: pl. XXXVIII; *Wb.* I: 435 [8]; Fischer 1996: 50, 84, fig. 4, 85, 90, pl. 10, 131, 139, pl. 26, 253; Quirke 2004a: 45 [III.1.5]; Sauneron 1952: 164; Ranke 1935: 113 [13], 194; De Meulenaere 1966: 35 ff. El-Sawi and Gomaa 1993: 3, 10.

¹⁵¹ *Nj* here is the nisbe adjective. For the form of titles with *nj*, see Fischer 1978: 49.

¹⁵² *Mr* here is written with Gardiner’s sign-list N-36 ^𓄎, which also gives the sound *mr*.

¹⁵³ Turajeff (1910: 161) transcribes the name of Neshor’s father with only one *r* although it is known from Neshor’s other monuments; see, for example, Louvre A 90. Although Heise (2007: 190) publishes the other self-presentations of Neshor, he does not comment on this. Christensen (1983: 21, [n. 36]) thinks that the name of Neshor’s father should be understood as a third future form *Jw=f r jrt*; see below and also Zivie 1975: 88, 89.

¹⁵⁴ The verb *ḏd* is written without *d*.

¹⁵⁵ Faulkner (1956: 30; 1999: 151) renders “*rh ḥt* wisdom, wise, learned man, sage.” Jansen-Winkel (1985: I, 123, A 10, f, 2 and II, 361, 3.5.16, 589) translates “*rh jḥt* Wissen.” Lichtheim (2006a; 2006c: 169) renders it “a wise man,” but Lichtheim (1997: 4) changes it to “a knower of things.”

¹⁵⁶ The omission of *tj* was common in post-New Kingdom writings. On Montuemhat’s statue Cairo CG 42236 is the phrase “*sw3.(tj)=sn ḥr twt pn* who will pass by this statue” (see Leclant 1961: 18), while on Montuemhat’s statue Berlin 17271 is the phrase “*ḥk.(tj)=sn r wn-ḥr* who will enter to open the sight;” see Leclant (1961: 60); Jansen-Winkel 1994b: 117; additional examples can be found in Quack 2006b: 90 (n. 69).

m-ht j̄b t̄w n r3 3h(w) n s^ch¹⁵⁹ n(n) nw m wrd
hr=s¹⁶⁰ dr-ntt n(n) swgg¹⁶¹ (4) r(3)=tn¹⁶² n(n)
prj (j)sk¹⁶³ hnt jht=tn¹⁶⁴ jm3-jb¹⁶⁵ jm3 n=f¹⁶⁶
nt(r)¹⁶⁷=f¹⁶⁸ srwd mnw gmj=f n m-ht¹⁶⁹ rn=f mn
m-c (5) ^cnhw¹⁷⁰ w(nn) jr r jr(w) n=f¹⁷¹ mnw pw
jrj(t) bw-nfr¹⁷²

¹⁵⁷ See Jansen-Winkeln 1994b: 117. The same verbal form, *sw3.tj=sn* (*kr sš.tj=sn*), occurs on Montuemhat's statue Cairo CG; see Leclant 1961: 6 [n. ab].

¹⁵⁸ The verb *dd* is written without *d* for the second time here.

¹⁵⁹ For variations of the same sentence in the Saite phraseology, see Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 45–46. Lichtheim (1948: 176, [n. 38]) understands *s^ch* as “noble courtier” and “transfigured spirit.”

¹⁶⁰ See Hannig 2006a: 222 (7982); Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 81–82; Vernus 1976.

¹⁶¹ Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 81) reads “(Denn) es verursacht keinen Mangel zu cuern Lasten,” where the other spellings (Syracuse, Jerusalem) support reading *swgg*. For reading *swg(3)*, *swg(g)*, and *s-wgg*, see Otto 1954: 46, (n. 6); *AL* II: 314–315 (78. 3407-8); Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 81, 130, 154; Van de Walle 1972b: 75 (n. d); Altenmüller 1965: 32. For *swg*, see Hannig 2006a: 736 (26874). Heise 2007: 190–191 restores “*dr ntt nn zg[nm] r3=tn* Denn nicht ermattet euer Mund.” There are similar phrases on Montuemhat's statues Cairo CG 42240 and Cairo CG 647; see Leclant 1961: 22, 101. See the Saite scribe statue Syracuse 288 of Padiimenemipt and the Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasties Saft el-Henneh (?) block statue, cf. Sist 1978: 133–140, pls. 1–2; Giveon 1975: 19–21, pl. IX–XII.

¹⁶² This phrase, with variations, occurs in the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of *P3-dj-Jmn-m-jpt*, see Heise 2007: 100; in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of *H3-r-w3*, see Heise 2007: 100; in the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of *3h-Jmn-rw*, see Heise 2007: 104; see also Leclant 1954; and in the late Saite self-presentation of Wahibre, see Heise 2007: 241.

¹⁶³ Turajeff (1910: 161, [n. 2]) suggests adding *m* here. Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 78) reads “Es geht nicht von eurem Besitz ab.” Jansen-Winkeln does not have transliteration here, and the other examples he cites (p. 78) have *hnt jht=tn*, not *m jht=tn*. Jansen-Winkeln's other parallels (p. 78) have *js* instead of *jsk*.

¹⁶⁴ The scribe wrote *k-ht* instead of *hnt jht*. The scribe here misspelled these with *kt-ht* (“others”) or with *kt-ht* (“another generation of people”); for the latter, see *Wb*. V: 115 [13-4]; Wilson 1997: 1092. Turajeff (1910: 161, [n. a]) writes “sic!” twice above *k* and under *jht*. However, Lapis and Mat'e (1969: pl. IV [119]) do not put “sic!” Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 78, 145) reads “*jht* Sache; Besitz”, and he (1999: 130) corrects *k* into *hnt* and I read *hnt jht*. The sentence *n pr js m jht=tn* is probably first attested in the Middle Kingdom; see De Meulenaere 1965b: 252 (h); Lefebvre 1990: 270; Gilula 1972: 57; 1970: 209; Wiedemann 1901: 250. It is also mentioned with variations in many first millennium non-royal self-presentations; for example, in the Late Saite self-presentation of Wahibre, on statue CG 672 = JdE 30978, (see Heise 2007: 239, 243), as “*n pr <js> m jh {r}.t=tn*,” in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of Harwa, on statue Louvre A 84 (see Heise 2007: 38) as “*n pr <js> m hr.t=tn*,” in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of Harwa, on statue Berlin 8163 (see Heise 2007: 45); as in the late Twenty-fifth self-presentation of *Mntw-m-h3t*, on statue Cairo CG 647 = JdE 31883 (see Heise 2007: 72), as “*n pr m hr.t=tn*,” and as in “*n pr js hntj jh.t=tn*” in the late Twenty-fifth self-presentation of *P3-dj-Jmn-m-jpt* on statue Syracuse (no number) (see Heise 2007: 100).

(1) The $(j)r(j)-p^c(t)$, $h3(tj)-^c$, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole friend, possessor of lo(ve), (2) Neshor, son of Iwefer(er), he sa(ys): “O all $w^c b$ -priests and all knowledgeable people who will pass by me, may you take care of [my body(?)] (3) according as I took care of everybody. May you rec(ite) a *Htp-dj-njswt* by the heart. The breath of the mou(th) is effective for the blessed dead.¹⁷³ The (dead prayer) is (not) something from which

¹⁶⁵ As a social characteristic, Amun-Re was identified as *jm3-jb* “freundlichen Herzen” in P. Boulaq 17 (= P. Cairo CG 58038); see Luiselli 2004: 11 (c), 4.3: 30, 19, 63 Vers 30: A, 4, 3), and as life donor “*shpr.n jm3=f hdd.wt* seine Liebenswürdigkeit hat das Licht entstehen lassen,” see Luiselli 2004: 12 (d), 4.7: 39, 20–21, 65 (Vers 39: A, 4.7). Lichtheim (1997: 82–83) believes that the main lexeme for “friendliness” is *j3m/jm3* and noun *jm3t*. Janssen (1946: 2) brings ten Middle Kingdom examples of *jm3*. Lichtheim (1997: 82) points out that all those examples are related to a protagonist’s family which show “family affection” as “the most important moral trait.” In the New Kingdom, the compound forms *jm3-jb* and *nb-jm3t* were utilized; see Lichtheim 1997: 82. The epithet *nb jm3t* means “possessor of kindness.” Jansen-Winkeln (1985: 583) reads and translates *j3mt* “Liebenswürdigkeit;” see also *Wb. I*: 80 (7). *Wb. I*: 80 reads and translates “*jm3w* Lichtglanz.” According to Heise (2007: 98), the epithet *nb j3m<.t>* means “Herr der Beliebtheit,” which occurs on the Eighteenth Dynasty Cairo statue 547 of Menkheperseneb (see *Urk. IV*: 993 [14]); in the Third Intermediate Period self-presentation on Cairo statue CG 741 (see Jansen-Winkeln 1985: 244, 356); and in the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of *P3-dj-jmn-m-jpt* (see Wiedemann 1901: 249; Heise 2007: 98). Lichtheim (1988: 139; 1997: 82) states that *jm3/j3m* “kindness” implies “graciousness.” In the Late Period, the compound form *jm3j-jb* continues. Lichtheim (1992a: 94 [no. 96]) reads and translates a sentence in the Thirtieth Dynasty priest Djedhor’s text (found in Heliopolis, now at Bayonne, from the reign of Nectanebo I) “*jnk jm3-jb nfr-kjh n s nb* I was gracious and benign to all,” while De Meulenaere (1962b: 33–34) reads the same reading and translates “*Je suis aimable, généreux pour tout home;*” see also Clère 1951: 141–142. On statue BM EA 1292 of Montuemhat is the phrase *jm3-jb m3^c n nb=f*, see Leclant 1961: 143. On statue Cairo CG 646 (see Leclant 1961: 68) is *jm3-jb*. *Jm3-jb* might be either in passive and active voices; see Leclant 1961: 143 (n. h). See also *Wb. I*: 79; Otto 1954: 70–71.

¹⁶⁶ See Wiedemann 1901: 250. See also Heise (2007: 100), who reads *j3m-jb*.

¹⁶⁷ Turajeff (1910: 161 [n. 3]) suggests to restore *ntr* here. Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 87, 132) reads *nt* as “Gott.” *nt* stands for *ntr*. In Late Period orthography, *nt* and *Nt* stand for *ntr*. This pronunciation is probably first attested in the Saite Period; see De Meulenaere 1994. For more details on the phonetic development, see Quack 2013.

¹⁶⁸ This phrase also occurs in the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of Akhamenru (see Heise 2007: 104), and also in the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of *P3-dj-Jmn-m-jpt* (see Wiedemann 1901: 250; Heise 2007: 100). The standard phrase with this meaning is *jm3-jb jm3 n=f ntr*, which Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 86) translates as “Wer freundlichen Herzens ist, zu dem ist Gott freundlich.”

one fatigues, since (4) your mouth will not weaken, and it does not, moreover, come forth from¹⁷⁴ your property. As for the one who is gracious,¹⁷⁵ his god is gracious to him.¹⁷⁶ As for the one who preserves the monuments which he found (made) for the future, his name is remaining among (5) the living. The one who performs (good) becomes one for whom one acts (good) for him. Doing good is a monument.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁹ There is a phrase *m3 n m-ht* on Cairo statue CG 42236 of Montuemhat, see Leclant (1961: 6), who translates it “qui voit dans l’avenir.” It also occurs on a granite fragment in Cairo museum 27/1-21/1 (see Leclant 1961: pl. III), and in the tomb of Ibi (see Christophe 1955: 61 [no. 58]). See also *Wb*. III: 346; *WbBst* III: 72.

¹⁷⁰ This phrase can be compared with a phrase on the Middle Kingdom Stela Aswan 1371, from the chapel of Heqaib at Elephantine, which Franke (1994: 176-7) reads and translates “*srwd wst shpr n wn.tjn h3 hr gm.tn=f zbjj n sk rn=f hr jh.t=f* wer in Ordnung gebracht hat, was verfallen war, entstehen ließ, was es nicht mehr gab und vergrößert hat, was er vergangen vorfand, dessen Name geht nicht unter auf seinen Sachen” (see De Meulenaere 1965a: 252 [i]; Heise 2007: 191 [n. 479]).

¹⁷¹ Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 54 f. The same phrase also occurs in the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of Akhimenrew; see Heise 2007: 104. The complete form of this sentence can be found in the Late Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of Harwa (Heise 2007: 25). It is also mentioned several times, with variations in orthography, in many texts of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties as well as of the Ptolemaic Period. The main discussion of this epithet is De Meulenaere 1965a: 33–36. It appears to have the the primary meaning “One who acts (on my behalf), is who for whom (others) will act.” The same phrase also occurs in the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of Akhamenru; see Heise 2007: 104. The complete form of this sentence can be found in the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of Harwa; see Heise 2007: 25. A similar phrase can be found on the Twenty-fifth standing statue CG 42236 of Montuemhat (see Heise 2007: 61), which Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 86) translates “Dieser Gott, (es ist) einer, der Gutes erweist dem, der es (selbst) tut;” see also Daressy 1893: 178–180; Kamal 1909, 74–79, pl. XIX; Vernus 1978a: 65–70; Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 54.

¹⁷² Or “the one who did good is a monument.” The phrase was common on monuments from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Late Period. For example, in the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty self-presentation of Akhamenru, see Lichtheim 1948: 174; Heise 2007: 104 [6]; Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 64–65. For phrases with different wording and meaning, see Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 65–66; Perdu 1996: 43–66, pls. VIII–IX; Jansen-Winkeln 1996c: 39–48; 1999: 64.

¹⁷³ See Spiegelberg 1907; Vernus 1976; Assmann 1983: 70; 1987: 212 f.; 1994a: 42–43; Faulkner 1999: 214.

¹⁷⁴ De Meulenaere (1965b: 251, n. h) points out that in the Late Period *hnt* can be used instead of *m*.

¹⁷⁵ Jansen-Winkeln (1999:143) reads and translates it “*j3m-jb* freundlichen Herzens.” For several Late Period examples of this phrase with variations, see Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 86–87.

¹⁷⁶ Jansen-Winkeln (1999:87) translates it “Wer freundlichen Herzens ist, zu dem ist sein Gott freundlich.”

back pillar (vertical, right to left):

(1) [... (j)r(j)-p]^c(t) h3(tj)-^c htmt(j)-bjt(j) wr m Ntrt¹⁷⁸ (j)m(j)-[r(3) 3wj h3sw(t)] W3d-Wr¹⁷⁹ Ns-Hr s3 Jw[fr]r¹⁸⁰ (2) [dd=f(?)] Wsjr dj=tn n(=j) m wr n Wsjr¹⁸¹ s3m=tn n(=j) m 3w(t) n ntrw n Hwt-bjt st mrj jb=f jnk s^ch n [jr(w) n=f ...]

(1) [... The (j)r(j)-p]^c(t), h3(tj)-^c, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, the great one in Netjerit,¹⁸² overseer of the two gates of the foreign lands of the W3d-Wr, Neshor, son of I(wafer), (2) [He says:(?)] “O Osiris may you give to (me) from the abundance of Osiris. May you present for (me) from the offerings of the gods of Hwt-Bjt,¹⁸³ the beloved place of his heart. I was a noble [for whom one should act ...].

left side (vertical; right to left):

¹⁷⁷ This whole passage from *ḳw n r3 3h(w) mmw pw jrjt bw-nfr* can be found, with few differences, on the Dynasty 25/26 Saft el-Henneh? block statue, see Givéon 1975: 19–20, pl. XII.

¹⁷⁸ This epithet of the Late Period probably first identified Tefnakht in Piye’s great victory stela; see Yoyotte 1961: 154–155; Grimal (1981a: 12, 16, 312 [§=1.2–4, 5*]) who reads and translates *wr n Ntr* “grand dans Netjer.” Grimal states that *wr m Ntr* (= Behbeit el Hagar) was an honorific title. Kitchen (1996: 363, 403) translates the title “Grandee in Netjer.” Pressl (1998: 225) reads “*wr m Ntr.w*.” Yoyotte (1961: 155) identifies “la ville de Netjer” as “Isidopolis du Sébennytique.” For this Delta town, see *DG* III: 107.

¹⁷⁹ Vandersleyen (1999: 351 [315]) reads and translates *mr [3w h3swt?] w3d wr* “Responsable [.....] *ouadj our*.” This unique title could be also translated as “overseer of the double gate of the foreign lands of the sea.” This title may refer to the fact that Neshor held this title in his career and had control over the maritime trade.

¹⁸⁰ Turajeff (1910: 162) only restores *J[wfr]* as he does before (see above), while Heise (2007: 192) this time restores the complete form of the name of Neshor’s father *J[wfr]* (see above, where he does not restore it).

¹⁸¹ I have not found this phrase elsewhere.

¹⁸² It is now Bahbît Al-Higâra in Central Delta, and not “great in god” as in most translations. This place name also has a city determinative. For more on the title *wr m Ntrt*, see below.

¹⁸³ *Hwt-Bjt*, meaning “Mansion of the King of Lower Egypt,” is suggested to be inside the sacred enclosure behind the temple of Neith at Sais, a Saite religious center mainly associated with Osiris and other deities such as Neith and Hathor. For more on this place name, see *DG* IV: 65–66; El Sayed 1975: 199 ff. Wilson 1997: 629.

(1) $\epsilon k = sn hr^{184} hsf n ntr$ [... ...] $ntn^{185} mj n$
 $jmj(w)-ht n-zp js n w(n=j)^{186}$ [...] (2) $wsh k3j$
 $jm=s r \epsilon(3) n(n) snj(t) zp n=tn jrj=f h\epsilon j rmtw$
 $nw njwt=tn$ [...] (3) $mwt=f m-\epsilon=k$
 $njwt m ntr tpj$ [...] (4) $m šdj 3bd nn s3^{187}=tn$
 $rdwj[=tn(?)]$ (5) $k\acute{b}hw^{188} 3w$ [...]

(1) They entered to punish for the god(?) ... [for] you are like those who are in ... (?) Never had (I) a fault ... (2) Wide is the elevation within it to the greatness of(?) It is without passing a wrongdoing to you that he acted. The people of your city are rejoicing [...] (3) His mother is with you(?) the city by the primeval god [...]. (4) When the monthly festival is celebrated, you will not be weak. [Your(?)] legs ... (5) The libation is extended(?) [...].

LOUVRE A 90 STATUE¹⁸⁹

(figures 5–11, plates 6–10)

Reign: Apries
 Current Location: Paris, Louvre Museum, AE
 Accession Number: A 90 – N 91 – MR 15, Hall 12 BIS
 Provenance: Elephantine (?)¹⁹⁰ Temple of Khnum (?).¹⁹¹ It first was noted in Italy in the seventeenth century CE in the Villa Flaminia in Rignano in Rome, and then placed in the Villa Albani (A 439, Albani Collection).¹⁹² Later the Louvre Museum purchased it.

¹⁸⁴ Statue Cairo CG 42230, right, 1.2, has a similar sentence, “ $\epsilon k.kwj hr ntr m hwn jkr....$ ”; see Jansen-Winkeln 1985: 532; 1993: 223, 2 (c).

¹⁸⁵ *Ntn* may stand for *ntn*, “you.”

¹⁸⁶ See *Wb*. I: 314 (8).

¹⁸⁷ See Hannig 2006: 657.

¹⁸⁸ There is a title called *k\acute{b}hw* among the titles of the early Saite official Nespaefy; see Verhoeven 1999a: 8.

¹⁸⁹ Herein designated as Louvre A 90.

¹⁹⁰ Griffith (1955: 145) declares that this statue “comes from the temple of Elephantine.” However, Valbelle (1981: 45 [342]) states “vraisemblablement.”

¹⁹¹ Ziegler (1994: 52) declares, “Sans doute Éléphantine, temple de Khnoum.”

¹⁹² See Ziegler 1994: 52. According to Martinez (2004: 717 [n. 1491]), this statue was found in “Flaminia” in the eighteenth century CE and entered in the Albani Collection in about 1815 CE.

- Material: Basalt¹⁹³
- Measurements: Height 103 cm; Width 37.5 cm; Depth 51.1 cm
- Brief Description: A theophorous statue of Neshor kneeling and carrying a base with three statuettes of the triad of Elephantine: Khnum, Anukis, and Satis. The text on this statue is written in seven vertical columns on the wide and long back pillar. The two sides and the top of the back pillar are also inscribed. The statue's current restored condition (see below) shows that the base of the main statue is inscribed overall except at the front, while the base of the three statuettes is only inscribed on the front.
- Bibliography: Pierret 1874: 21–26; Maspero 1884: 88–89; Schäfer 1904: 152–163, Taf. 1–2; Otto 1954: 127, 162–164 (27 a); Brunner-Traut 1957: 93 f., Taf. IV, left; De Meulenaere 1966: 14 (42. 3); Naissance de l'écriture, Cunéiformes et hieroglyphs 1982: 142 (88); Rößler-Köhler 1991: 226–227 (56 e); Valbelle 1981: 45–46; Vernus 1991: 241 ff.; Perdu 1990: 39 (b), 48 (n. 9); Ziegler 1994: 53; Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 39(113); Heise 2007: 193–198 (II. 23); Hussein 2009: 48–56 (Doc. 3), 295 (fig. 3); Spencer 2010: 458–459, figs. 10–12; Perdu 2011: 53–64; Jansen-Winkeln 2014: 408–10 (56.147); Bassir 2015c (in progress).

Base of the statuettes: front, lower line (horizontal, right to left):

[... ...] ...n(?) wr Hnmw(?) pw ntf pw R^c b3 wr
 hr(j)-jb Kbhw hnw¹⁹⁴ nh w3s s3=k H^c-jb-R^c [...
]

[he is(?)] through(?) the greatness of Khnum(?)
 Re is he, the great b3 who dwells in the Cataract,
 who jubilates life and dominion, your son,
 Haibre [... ...].

¹⁹³ See Brunner-Traut (1957: 93–94 [3]) and Ziegler 1994: 52. *PM* (V: 243) mentions black granite.

¹⁹⁴ See *Wb.* II: 493 (15).

Back pillar: back (vertical, right to left):

(1) [...] [...] w¹⁹⁵ nb=f¹⁹⁶ [hn]t
 mjtt=f rdj¹⁹⁷.n s(w) hm=f¹⁹⁸ r j3wt ʕt wrt j3wt
 nt s3¹⁹⁹=f²⁰⁰ wr²⁰¹ (j)m(j)-r(3) ʕ h3sw(t)
 rsjw(t)²⁰² r²⁰³ hsf h3swt bdšw hr=f rdj.n=f
 sndt=f m h3swt rsjw(t) rw (2) j²⁰⁴=sn hr
 jn(w)t=sn n sndt=f tm r..n(?)... [...]... ..] ²⁰⁵
 (hr) hhj(t) 3hw(t)²⁰⁶ n nb=f²⁰⁷ jm3hw hr njswt-
 bjt H^c-jb-R^c hzj hr s3 R^{c208} W3h-jb-R^{c209} Ns-Hr
 rn=f nfr Psmtk-mnh-jb s3 Jwfr²¹⁰ jrj.n nb(t)-pr
 T3-snt-n-Hr m3^c(t)-hrw dd=f j²¹¹ nb šfft²¹² ḳd

¹⁹⁵ Heise (2007: 194) reads *w*, probably depending on Schäfer (1904: pl. 1); Jansen-Winkeln (2014: 408) also has *w*. The sign itself is not clear on the statue, as only a tiny piece of the bird’s tail remains; it might be *w* rather than *m*, which Maspero (1884: 88) reads.

¹⁹⁶ Both *nb* and =*f* are not complete on the statue.

¹⁹⁷ I read *rdj* not *rdjt* as written on the statue; see Jansen-Winkeln (1994a: 56), who states that *t* can be written in this verb regardless of the grammatical form.

¹⁹⁸ The *hm* and =*f* are not clear on the statue.

¹⁹⁹ For more on the title *s3-njswt* “King’s Son,” see Schmitz 1976; El-Saad 2011.

²⁰⁰ The suffix pronoun =*f* is closely attached in writing to the word *s3* on the statue.

²⁰¹ This office is perhaps a continuation of the New Kingdom title *s3 njswt n k3š* “King’s son of Kush.” For more on this title, i.e., “the king’s son and overseer of southern countries (viceroy of Nubia),” in the reign of Thutmose III for instance, see Bryan 2006: 101–103, and see also Dodson and Hilton 2004: 32–34. For our example, see Schäfer 1904a: 156 (n. 2).

²⁰² The word *rsjw(t)* is not clear on the statue as it is at the end of this column.

²⁰³ Maspero (1884: 88) does not transcribe the preposition *r*.

²⁰⁴ The arm and the walking legs of the verb *rwj* are not clear on the statue.

²⁰⁵ Maspero (1884: 88) reads this incomplete sentence as *m rn ...*

²⁰⁶ *Jhw(t)* stands for *3hw(t)*.

²⁰⁷ A similar phrase can be found on the Third Intermediate Period (reign of Osorkon II–Takeloth II) bronze statue Louvre N 500, which Jansen-Winkeln (1985: 285, 384) reads and translates “*hhj.n=j 3ht n nb=j ... ich suchte Nützlich (zu tun) für meinen Herrn ...*”

²⁰⁸ The *s3 R^c* title is not clear on the statue.

²⁰⁹ Neshor uses this epithet on several of his monuments to show his close connection and relationship with Wahibre, Apries. For more on the meaning of *hzj*, see Jansen-Winkeln 2002.

²¹⁰ Ranke (1935: 14 [21]) only cites this reference to this name as a Late Period in date with a question mark as “*jw.f-rr (?)*.” The name is rare. *Rr* in this name is not clear; however *rr* can be read *phr (?)*.

²¹¹ Heise (2007: 194) reads and translates “*dw3 nb šff.t Anbeten den Herrn des Ansehens.*” Vittmann (2008: 339 [II.23]) reads *j*.

²¹² Assmann (1969: 59) reads and translates “*šffjt Strahlkraft.*” Amun-Re was called ʕ *šffjt*, which Bakir (1943: 87 [line 6], pl. IV) translates “great of dignity.” Also, ʕ *šffjt* was mentioned in a Ramesside tomb at Thebes; see Manniche 1978. And Re was described *wr šffjt* in the Book of the

*ntrw rmt Hnmw-R^c nb Kbh^w Stjt²¹³ (3) ^cnkt
 nb(tj) 3bw h^cj²¹⁴.n=j hr rn(w)=tn dw3=j
 nfrw=tn²¹⁵ šw.n(=j) m b3gj²¹⁶ hr jrj(t) mrj(t)
 k3(w)=tn mh.n(=j) jb=j m k3(w)=t[n m s]hrw
 nb(w) jrj.n(=j) sh3 k3=j hr jrj.n(=j) m pr=tn
 šhd.n(=j) r3-prw=tn m dbhw nw hd k3w srwt
 3pdw ^cš3wt smn.n=j ^ckw=sn m 3h(wt) hn^c (4)
 mnjww=sn r nhh hn^c dt kd.n(=j) sš(w)=sn m
 njwt=tn rdj.n(=j)²¹⁷ jrp nfr nfr n Wh3t rsj(t)
 btj[.] bjt r šn^c(w)=tn kd.n(=j)²¹⁸ m-m3wt hr rn
 wr n hm=f rdj.n.(=j) sgnn n dgm²¹⁹ r šhd
 hbs(w) n r3-prw njwt=tn rdj.n(=j) šhtjw b3kwt
 rhtjw [hr?] mnh(w)t šps(wt) n ntr ^c3 (5) hn^c
 psdt=f kd.n(=j) n3j(w)t²²⁰=sn m hwt-ntr=f
 sw3h=sn r nhh m wdt n ntr nfr nb-t3wj H^c-jb-
 [R^c] ^cnh dt sh3=tn rdj nfrw n²²¹ pr=tn m jb=f
 Ns-Hr dd m r3 n njwtjw²²² jsw nn rdjt w3h rn=j
 m pr=tn sh3 k3=j m-lt ^chw rdj w3h znn=j rn=j
 dd hr=f n(n) skj(t) m hwt-ntr=tn (6) mj šdj=tn*

Dead 15A5, which Allen (1949: 351–352) translates “great of esteem.” Amun-Re as king was identified as *nb šjft* “Herr der majestätische Erscheinung” in P. Boulaq 17 (= P. Cairo CG 58038), see Luiselli (2004: 2 [d], 2.2: 27), 7, 49 Vers 27: A.2.2.

- ²¹³ Her name also can be read *Stjt* and *Stt*. For more on this goddess, see Leitz et al. 2002, IV:700–702.
- ²¹⁴ I read *h^cj*, and not *h^c*.
- ²¹⁵ These two sentences can be translated together as, “It is on account of your names that I jubilated, while I adore your beauty.” In this translation, *dw3=j* is a circumstantial *sdm=j*.
- ²¹⁶ The sentence *šw m b3gj* occurs in the self-presentation on the early Saite statue of Tjabanedjedetenimew at Durham Oriental Museum (509); see Heise 2007: 174; De Meulenaere 1985: 190–191. The same sentence *šw.n(=j) m b3gj* occurs in the late Saite self-presentation on Abydos Statue of Neshor; Heise 2007: 199; Vernus 1991: 244–245, and see below.
- ²¹⁷ The initial *j* of the word *jrp* may also function as the pronominal subject of the *sdm.n=f* form.
- ²¹⁸ As it was in Old Egyptian and in early demotic, the scribe always omits the first person suffix pronoun =*j*.
- ²¹⁹ For more on *dgm*-oil (*Ricinus*), see Keimer 1929: 100–104 (IV); Koura 1999: 241–242; 2003.
- ²²⁰ It is perhaps the Middle Kingdom word *n3jt*, which designates: a kind of house (*Wb*. II: 200 [2]; a workspace for craftsmen (*Wb*. II: 200 [3]); or a kind of residences for the slaves (*Wb*. II: 200 [4]). Perhaps the *m3*-sickle in this word is a mistake (or typo?) for the bent arm that often occurs in *n3jt* with the phonetic value *n3*; see *Wb*. II: 200 and also Klasen 1952: 67f.
- ²²¹ The writing of *m* stands for *n*.
- ²²² This epithet expresses Neshor’s wish to be remembered after death by his citizens.

wj m st-ksnt m-^c pdt(jw) ʕ3mw²²³ H3w-Nbw(tjw)Stjtjw k3w(-sbjt) rdj(t) [... ..] [shrw] m jb(w)=sn r djt šm r Š3js-Hrt m jb=sn snd(t)²²⁴ n hm=f hr zp hzj jrj=sn smn²²⁵.n=j jb(w)=sn m shrw(=j)²²⁶ n rdj(=j) š3s=sn r T3-stj rdj=j spr=sn r bw ntj hm=f jm jrjt.n hm=f (7) [h3jt(?)] =sn (j)m(j)-r(3) ʕ3 h3sw(t) rsjw(t) Ns-Hr dd=f j hm-ntr(w) [jt-]ntr(w) [nbw n hwt]-ntr tn nt Hnmw-R^c nb Kbhwt Stjt ʕnkt nbt[j=t]n] s[mh=tn mwt sh3=tn ʕnh]²²⁷ hzj tn ntrw=tn rwd h^cw=tn hr htp(w[?])-ntr [swd=tn?] j3wt=tn hr msw=tn mj dd=tn htp-dj-njswt Hnmw Stjt ʕnkt psdt ʕ3t jmjw 3bw (m) h3 m t hnkt [... ..]

(1) [...] [...] [whom] his lord [distinguished fro]m his like. His majesty assigned h(im) to a very great office, the office of his eldest son,²²⁸ the overseer of the gate²²⁹ of the southern foreign lands in order to repel the foreign lands of those who revolt against him. He placed fear of him in the southern foreign lands, (2) so that they fled in their valleys because of fear of himself, without ... (?) ... [...] seeking what is good for his lord. The *jm3hw* before the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Haaibre, and the praised one before the Son-of-Re, Wahibre, Neshor, named Psamtikmenkhib, son of Iweferer, whom the mistress of the house, Tasenetenor,²³⁰

²²³ For more on ʕ3m, see *Wb.* I: 167–168. Citing P. Louvre 7833 A (from the reign of Amasis, year 36 and from Thebes, see Hughes 1952: 51 ff. [5]), Manning (1994: 151) that by the Saite Period the title ʕ3m was also used with the meaning “herdsman attached to a temple estate.”

²²⁴ *Wb.* IV: 182 (12–13).

²²⁵ *Wb.* IV: 132.

²²⁶ Griffiths (1955: 145 [n. 3]) translates “I consolidated their minds in (their) plans’, i.e. in their former loyal plans’.”

²²⁷ See Hannig 2006: 707.

²²⁸ This office does not mean that its holder, i.e., Neshor, was of royal blood, since he was not among the members of the royal house. For more on the title king’s son in Wadi Al-Natrun and other titles with “King’s Son” as prefix, see Schulmann 1978a: 111–113.

²²⁹ There was a northern gate according to Saite military titles; see Chevereau 2001: 268–269, 325, and see below.

²³⁰ See Ranke 1935: 367 (17).

true of voice, made,²³¹ he says: “O lord of might, creator of gods and humans, Khnum-Re, lord of the Cataract, Satis (3) and Anukis,²³² the (two) mistr(esses) of Elephantine: I jubilated on account of your name(s). I adored your beauty. I was free from tiredness in doing what your *k3s* love. I filled my heart with yo[ur] *k3(s)* [through] all the [p]rojects that (I) made. Remember my *k3* on account of that which (I) achieved in your temple. It is with vessels of silver, numerous cattle, geese, and fowl that (I) enriched your temples. (4) It is forever and eternity that I established their rations from field(s) and their herdsmen. It is in your city that (I) fashioned their nest(s). It is in your food production place(s), which (I) constructed anew in the great name²³³ of his majesty, that (I) gave very fine wine of the Southern Oasis, emmer and honey. It is in order to light the lamp(s) of the temples of your city that (I) gave castor oil. It is [for(?)] the holy cloth(es) of the great god (5) and his Ennead that (I) appointed weavers, maidservants, and washermen. It is in his temple that (I) built their quarters (?), so that they endure forever by the command of the junior god, the lord of the Two Lands, H(a)aibre, living forever. May you remember the one who put the beauty of your temple in his heart, Neshor. The one who endures through the mouth of the citizens; (as) the reward (for) this is letting my name last long in your temple, remember my *k3* after my lifetime; and let my image²³⁴ remain and my name being endured on it without perishing in your temple. (6)

²³¹ Or “born of the mistress of the house, Tasetenhor, true of voice.”

²³² For the relationship between Khnum and Anukis, see Habachi 1950; Valbelle 1981.

²³³ For more on *rn wr* in the royal titulary in the New Kingdom, for example, see Bonhême 1978: 260–268; also *Wb.* II: 427 (19–21).

²³⁴ For more on *znm*, see below.

According as you saved me from a difficulty at the hands of the Bowmen, Bedouins, Greeks, Asiatics, and the rebels, who had put [plan]s into their heart(s) to go flee to Shais-Heret,²³⁵ being afraid of his majesty on account of the wretched act which they had done. I calmed their hearts with my actions, I did not allow them to go over to Nubia, but I made them go before the place where his majesty was.²³⁶ What his majesty did was (7) their massacre(?) The overseer of the gate of the southern foreign lands, Neshor, he says: “O[all] *hm-ntr*-priests and [*jt*]-*ntr*-priests of this (tem)ple of Khnum-Re, the lord of the Cataract, Satis, and Anukis, your [two] ladi[es], [as you] fo[r]get death, and as you would remember life], may your gods praise you, may your limbs be strong when carrying the divine offering(s)(?), so that [you may hand over] your office to your sons, according as you recite a *htp-dj-njswt*, Khnum, Satis, Anukis, and the great gods who are at Abydos have given,²³⁷ (consisting of) a thousand of bread and beer”

Back pillar: side, top to right (vertical, right to left):

*ntr-njwtf*²³⁸ *n (j)r(j)-p^c(t) h3(tj)-^c htmt(j)-bjt(j)*
smr w^ct(j) n(j) mrwt wr m j3wt=f^c3 m s^chw=f
sr m h3t rhjt (j)m(j)-r(3) 3 h3swt rsjw(t) Ns[-Hr
s3] Jw=f rr dj.tw²³⁹ h3=f hft k3=f m-b3h=f n(n)
*d3j=tw rdwj=f(j) n(n) hsf=tw^cwj=f(j)*²⁴⁰ *Jwnwj*
*pw*²⁴¹

²³⁵ Shais-Heret, which literally means “run in a remote place” in Nubia, is related to the goddess Tefnut and the bringing back of the eye of the sun god, Re; see Wilson 1997: 990. This place is probably south of the Second Cataract. For more on the area of the First Cataract and beyond, see Török 2009; Raue, Seidlmayer, and Speiser 2013; Török 2013.

²³⁶ In other words, the mercenaries (Greeks, Asiatics) had somehow failed Apries, and Neshor convinced them not to switch sides and seek refuge in Nubia.

²³⁷ For this rendering, see Satzinger 1997: 177–188; Franke 2003; Allen 2006: 14–15 (n. 47–48).

²³⁸ See Jansen-Winkel 2000a.

²³⁹ Vittmann (2008: 339 [II. 23]) reads *dj tw*; see also De Meulenaere 1997; Jansen-Winkel 2000a.

The local god of the (j)r(j)-p^c(t), h³(tj)-^c, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole friend, possessor of love, great in his offices, high in his ranks, official in front of the r^hjt, the overseer of gate of the southern foreign lands, Nes[hor] Iweferer, may (the local god) be placed behind him,²⁴² while his k³²⁴³ is before him, so that one will not intertwine his feet, and one will not repel his arms, because (he)²⁴⁴ is a Heliopolitan.

Back pillar: side, top to left (vertical, left to right):

n k³ Ns-Hr šms=k ntr=k m hrt-hrw m³=k R^c m
s(twt[?])²⁴⁵=f hzw =k mn r^c-nb m³^c jwjt?²⁴⁶ [...
... ..] n(?) jt(?)²⁴⁷ n(?) s³=f (j)m(j)- r(3) ^c
h³sw(t) rsjw(t) Ns - Hr jr=tn nf(r)=tn

²⁴⁰ Ntr njwtj (the complete form, as our example, being ntr njwtj=f or ntr njwt=f) was common in the Late Period inscriptions and constitutes part of the so-called Saite formula, which generally occurs in texts on the back pillars of non-royal statues from the Kushite and Saite Periods. This Saite formula element does not come in order and has a different object; the fifth element of this formula, however, is as follows: “n(n) hsfjb=f without the repelling of his heart.” According to De Meulenaere (1997), the complete standard Saite formula is composed of seven elements as follows: “(1) ntr njwtj; (2) dj.tw h³=j; (3) hft k³=f m b³h=f; (4) n(n) d³t rdwj=f(j); (5) n(n) hsfjb=j; (6) Jwnj pw; (7) m³^c-hrw nb-jm³h.” His translation of this formula is as follows: “(1) The local god (of the individual); (2) may (the god) be placed behind him; (3) while his (= the god’s) k³ is before him (= the individual); (4) without the intertwining of his legs; (5) without the repelling of his heart; (6) he is a Heliopolitan; (7) justified, lord of jmakb.” See also Jansen-Winkel 2000a; Van Dijk 1993: 128 ff.

²⁴¹ For another Saite formula on naophorous statue BM EA 41517 of Amenhotep, from the early Persian Period (?), see Selim 1990: 200, fig. 2, 201 (E), pl. XXIV, 2. Selim (1990: 201, E) translates it differently: “O local god of ... : place yourself behind him ... His feet shall not be opposed and his wish shall not be frustrated”

²⁴² The deceased, i.e. Neshor; see Selim 1990: 201 (j); Otto 1948; Vernus 1978a: 91 (n. 1).

²⁴³ I.e., the local god’s.

²⁴⁴ I.e., Neshor.

²⁴⁵ It may be rendered sšmw “forms,” a word that can also mean “statue” (see *Wb.* IV: 291 [6-16]; Wilson 1997: 925), “image,” “images,” “figure,” or “manifestation” (Lesko 2002, II: 80–81).

²⁴⁶ For the negative relative adjective ³tj/j³dt/³t/jwtj/jtj/jwtw, Coptic **ⲁⲧ**, and demotic ³t, see Hamza 1929: 10; *CCD*: 18; *KHwb.*: 13; *EDG*: 13 (25); *Wb.* I, 35 (17); *PM* II²: 157; Gardiner 1973: 152–153 (§ 202–203); Malinine 1946: 128 (9); see also Sherbiny and Bassir 2014: 174–176 (esp. n. 44).

²⁴⁷ Since the line is not complete, I am not sure about reading “jt” “father” or “jt=f” “his father.”

*n jsw gm=tn ndm²⁴⁸ t3w n r3 3h(w) n ddw
n=f sw n(n) mn²⁴⁹ r3=tn m dd hzw(=j) hr
Hnmw-R^c nb Kbh^w Stjt ʿnkt Ns-Hr ddw m
pr Hnmw²⁵⁰*

for the *k3* of Neshor, may you follow your god every day, you may watch Re through his (rays?),²⁵¹ while your praises are remaining every day. The true one. He who does not have(?) a father(?), he is like(?) a father(?) for(?) his son, the overseer of the gate of the southern foreign lands, Neshor. You may perform your good (act) for the reward that you will find enjoyable? The breath of the mouth is effective for the one who recites it for him. Your mouth will not suffer from uttering (my) praises before Khnum-Re, the lord of the Cataract, and Satis and Anukis. Neshor, the one who endures in the house of Khnum.

Base: right side (horizontal, right to left):

[...] *n r^c-nb m 3bd nb m smdt nb m hb nb
hpr m pr pn n k3 n jm3hw hr Hnmw-R^{c252} nb
Kbh^w jm(j)-jb m stp-s³²⁵³ hr(j)-tp shw(-ntr) [...
... ...]*

²⁴⁸ Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 64, 124) understands this phrase as part of the appeal to the living and translates it with uncertainty “Ihr [= die ein Gebet sprechen] habt einen Lohn, den ihr angenehm finden werdet (?).” In this case, his transliteration should be “*n(t)n jsw gm=tn ndm.*”

²⁴⁹ I read *mn* not *mn.t* as written on the statue that Heise (2007: 198) follows.

²⁵⁰⁻ This epithet represents Neshor’s hopeful wish that Khnum will act for him and establish his memory.

²⁵¹ Or “through his forms”?

²⁵² The *jm3hw* before a deity as an epithet for non-royal individuals was very common among the officials from the Old Kingdom onward.

²⁵³ *Stp-s3* could also mean the palace and was the common term for palace in the Third Intermediate Period, see Jansen-Winkeln 1985: 608; see also Redford 2004: 39, 104 (fig. 57, No. 483a). For more on *stp-s3* in the Old Kingdom, for instance, see Golet 1982: 443 ff.; 1986: 85 ff.

[...] of every day in every monthly festival, in every half-month festival, and in every festival which take place in this temple for the *k3* of the *jm3hw* before Khnum-Re, the lord of the Cataract, who dwells in the protection, who is upon the (divine) booths [... ...].

Base: back (horizontal, right to left):

[... ...] *Ns-Hr s3 Jw=f [rr]*

[... ...] Neshor, son of Iwef[er... ...].

ABYDOS STATUE²⁵⁴

(figures 12–13, plates 11–14)

- Reign: Apries
 Current Location: Unknown, but it was in Paris at Hôtel Drouot on November 6, 1989 CE
 Provenance: Purchase (from Abydos) (?)
 Material: Basalt
 Measurements: Height 37 cm; Width 32 cm; Depth 32 cm
 Brief Description: A middle part of a theophorous statue of Neshor depicting him seated and holding between his hands three seated statuettes of a triad probably of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. The upper part of the three statuettes is missing. The left hand of Neshor is severely damaged. The main text, the longest, is inscribed in six columns running from right to left on the back pillar. Only one horizontal line running from right to left is on the front of the base, which carries the statuettes of the triad. There is only an incomplete horizontal inscription on the right side of the seat upon which the triad sits. There also is a horizontal inscription on the left side of the seat upon which the triad sits. The back pillar, against which the triad leans, has only the end of a vertical text.
 Bibliography: Perdu 1990: 39 (d); Vernus 1991: 241–249, pls. 12–13; Jansen-Winkel 1999: 41 (134); Heise 2007: 199–200 (II. 24);

²⁵⁴ Herein designed as Abydos Statue.

Hussein 2009: 59–62 (Doc. 5), 296 (fig. 4); Spencer 2010: 458; Jansen-Winkel 2014: 411 (56. 152).

Triad: base, front (horizontal; right to left):

[...] (j)m(j)-r(3) ʕ(3) ḥ3swt rsjw(t) Ns-Ḥr rn=f
nfr Psm̄tk-mnh-jb

[...] the overseer of the gate of the southern foreign lands, Neshor named Psamtikmenkhib.

Triad: base, right side (horizontal; right to left):

(j)r(j)-pʕ(t) ḥ3(tj)-ʕ (j)m(j)-r(3) ʕ(3) ḥ3swt
rsjw(t) Ns-[Ḥr]

The (j)r(j)-pʕ(t), ḥ3(tj)-ʕ, and the overseer of the gate of the southern foreign lands, Nes[hor].

Triad: base, left side (horizontal; left to right):

(j)r(j)-pʕ(t) ḥ3(tj)-ʕ (j)m(j)-r(3) mnffjt Ns-Ḥr

The (j)r(j)-pʕ(t), ḥ3(tj)-ʕ, and the overseer of the mnffjt,²⁵⁵ Neshor.

Triad: back pillar, left side (vertical; right to left):

[...]fjm=s²⁵⁶

[...]? in it?

back pillar (vertical; right to left):

(1) [...] ²⁵⁷ s(h)nt.n ḥnwt=f st-rd=f²⁵⁸ jm3ḥw

²⁵⁵ See Chevereau 2001: 229.


²⁵⁶ See Jansen-Winlen 2014: 411.

²⁵⁷ Vernus (1991: 244, n. a) thinks that a series of titles and epithets of Neshor probably was inscribed here.

²⁵⁸ On the Twelfth Dynasty stela no. 5 niche 10 (= WG 144 of Qift Magazine Inventory) of Nebesu is this example: “jnk rḥ st-rd=f I am one who knows his rank;” see Pirelli 2007: 89 (line 10), pl. XVII a, b.

*hr*²⁵⁹ *njswt-bjt Hr^c-jb-R^c [h_zj hr]*²⁶⁰ *s3 R^c W3h-jb-R^c (2)*²⁶¹ [*Ns-Hr*] (*dw3*)=*j nfrw=tn šw.n[=j] m b3gj*²⁶² *hr (jrt) mrj(t) k3(w)=tn mh.n=j jb=j m k3(w)=tn ... [...]* (3) [*djt*] *kw n mnjww 3pdw wnm^t*²⁶³ *srwt st3t 120 wnm^t hpn(w) [...]* (4) [*rdj=tn w3h zn*]*n=j rn=j dd hr=f n(n) skj(t) m hwt-ntr=tn mj(?)*²⁶⁴ [...] (5) [*rwḏ*] *h^cw=tn hr htp(w)-ntr swḏ=tn j3wt=tn*²⁶⁵ *hr ms[w=tn]* (6) [...] *n(n) mn r3=tn m dd hzwt(=j) hr Wsjr [Hntj]-Jmntt [...]*

(1) [...] his lady advanced²⁶⁶ his rank, the *jm3hw* before the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Haaibre, [the praised one before] the Son-of-Re, Wahibre [...], (2) [Neshor]. I adored your beauty. [I] have become free from tiredness on account of making what your *k3s* love. It is with your *k3s* that I have filled my heart [...] (3) [giving(?)] provisions for the herdsmen of the fowl, and food

²⁵⁹ The common formula *jm3hw hr* is written in an abbreviated way only as  and the preposition *hr*. For the complete form of this formula, see *Wb* I: 82 (6). It occurs also on a non-royal votive offering limestone stela from the Saite Period from Buto; see Förster 2004: 52.

²⁶⁰ Vernus (1991: 245 [n. c]) restores [*jm3h hr*], stating that this restoration depends on the parallel on Louvre A 90. Louvre A 90 has *h_zj hr*, not *jm3hw hr*; see Louvre A 90, above.

²⁶¹ Depending on Louvre A 90, Vernus (1991: 244, and 245 n. d) restores “[I dit: ô mon maître Osiris-Khenty-imentet, maître d’Abydos, ...].”

²⁶² See also Heise 2007: 199. Neshor’s statue Louvre A 90 also has *šw.n[=j] m b3gj*, see Heise 2007: 195; and here, Statue Louvre A 90. In the New Kingdom, the northern stela on the right-hand side of the façade of the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11) has a similar phrase, “[*(j)r(j)-p^c(t) h3(tj)-^c*] *šw m b3gj*,” which here is used as an epithet of Djehuty and not in a verbal form as in our Saite example; see *Urk*. IV: 423 (14). *šw m b3gj* is also mentioned in the tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef (TT 20), contemporary and neighbor of Djehuty (TT 11); see Davies 1913: 11 (n. 5). I am very grateful to José M. Galán for allowing me to check this phrase in his new facsimile of the northern tomb stela in the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11). The early Saite statue Durham Oriental Museum no. 509 of *T3-b3-nb-ddt-n-jmw*, contemporary of Psamtik I, from Mendes (?), has also the epithet *šw m b3gj*; see Heise 2007: 174.

²⁶³ *Wb*. I: 321 (8).

²⁶⁴ See Jansen-Winklen (2014: 411), who gives an additional *mr* (probably for *mj*?).

²⁶⁵ Although it is so clear in the facsimile of Vernus (1991: 244), Heise (2007: 200) does not transliterate =*tn*.

²⁶⁶ It can be translated “exalted;” see Wilson 1997: 908.

for the geese: 120 aurora, food for fattened geese [...] (?) (4) [May you cause that] my [image endure] and my name be maintained on it without perishing in your temple like? [...]. (5) May your limbs (be strong) when carrying the divine-offering(s), so that you may hand over your office to (your) son(s), [...]²⁶⁷ (6) [...] your mouth will not suffer from uttering (my) praises before Osiris, [the foremost of] the West [...].²⁶⁸

SOHAG STATUE²⁶⁹

(figure 14)

Reign: Apries
 Current Location: Unknown
 Provenance: Abydos (?); discovered at Sohag by Wl. Golénischeff²⁷⁰
 Material: Black granite?
 Measurements: Height unknown
 Bibliography: Perdu 1990: 39 (c); 1992: 145-62; Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 42 (144); Heise 2007: 201–202 (II. 25); Hussein 2009: 56–59 (Doc. 4); Jansen-Winkeln 2014: 405 (56. 142).

base (horizontal, right to left):

(1) *h̄tp-dj-njswt Wsjr Hnt(j) [-Jmntt... ..
 ʒ]bdw²⁷¹ dj=sn šsp [s]nw m [prjt] m-bʒh*

²⁶⁷ Depending on Louvre A 90, Vernus (1991: 244) here restores “[c’est dans la mesure où vous direz “: ‘L’offrande que donne le roi à Osiris-Khenty-imentet, maître d’Abydos] ... [Le soufflé de la bouche...].”

²⁶⁸ Vernus (1991: 244) here restores “[Khenty]-imentet, [maître d’Abydos],” This restoration is reasonable if it is compared with Louvre A 90. Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 84) restores “[*h̄ntj*] *jmntjw* [...].”

²⁶⁹ Herein designated as Sohag Statue. See Perdu 1992: 146.

²⁷⁰ Golénischeff’s manuscript no. 442. Two points indicate that this statue probably came from the temple of Osiris at Abydos. First, Neshor addresses his appeal to the living to “O (all) *w^cb*-priests who enter to (the gods) who are in Abydos.” The second point is the textual presence of “Osiris, the foremost of the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos, Wennefer, (and) the king of the gods.”

²⁷¹ This is the hieroglyphic form of this city name in the Ptolemaic Period, usually written with double *t*; see *Wb.* I: 9(1).

*hr h3t*²⁷²[... ..] (n) *k(3?)* (n)²⁷³[... ..²⁷⁴*wr*] *m*
*j3wt=f*²⁷⁵ [ʕ]β [*m sʕh(w)*^{276=f}]²⁷⁷ *sr m-h3(t)*²⁷⁸
*rhjt*²⁷⁹ [... ..] *w rh*²⁸⁰[...] *jkr ddwt*²⁸¹ (j)*m(j)-*
r(3) ʕ h3sw(t) rsjw(t) Ns-Hr rn=f nfr Psm(t)k-
[mn]h-jb s3 [Jw]f[rr] jr(j).n nb(t)-pr T3-snt-n-
Hr (2) dd=f wʕbw nb(w) ʕk hr t? (ntrw) jmj(w)
*3bdw d(d)*²⁸²= *tn htp-dj-njswt n k3=j dwn*²⁸³= *tn*
n(=j) ʕ m-ht wdb ht jnk sʕh n jrj n=f wr ʕnd
*mjt(=f) ʕk3-jb ndr-drf(w)*²⁸⁴ *sm hr mw tm š3š*²⁸⁵
*hsbw jrj.n=j ʕhʕw=j nn wn*²⁸⁶ *nb m(=j) sh3*
*k3=j*²⁸⁷ *t3w*²⁸⁸ *n r(3)=tn [3hw*²⁸⁹ *n?...] jr(w)*

- ²⁷² I here closely follow the rendering of Perdu (1992: 148–50 [n. b]).
- ²⁷³ I here also follow the rendering of Perdu (1992: 148).
- ²⁷⁴ There is so much space in the manuscript of Golénischeff which is enough for some other words, see Perdu 1992: 146.
- ²⁷⁵ This epithet, known since the Old Kingdom, appears in the self-presentation of Akhamenru, see Lichtheim 1948: 169; and in that of the early Saite official Ibi, see Christophe 1955: 61.
- ²⁷⁶ Perdu (1992: 150 n. c) reads *sʕh*, not *sʕhw*.
- ²⁷⁷ This epithet, known since the Old Kingdom, appears in the self-presentation of Akhamenru (see Lichtheim 1948: 169; Leclant 1954: 161, pl. III) and in the self-presentation of early Saite official Ibi (see Christophe 1955: 60–61).
- ²⁷⁸ *H3t* here is written with the hieroglyph of *wsr*; see *Wb.* III: 19; Perdu 1992: 151 (n. c).
- ²⁷⁹ I here follow the rendering of Perdu (1992: 150–151 [n. c]). Perdu (1992: 147) puts the *s* of the word *sr* between square brackets although it is clear in his transcription. These epithets *wr m j3wt=f ʕ3 m sʕhw=f sr m-h3t rhjt* were frequently unitized in biographies of the Middle and New Kingdoms; see Christophe 1955: 61 (n. 3); Lichtheim 1948: 177 (n. 45).
- ²⁸⁰ Perdu (1992: 151 [n. d]) points out that Golénischeff thought that this is the determinative of the word *njw.t*. Perdu (1992: 147) also transcribes that determinative. Heise (2007: 201), however, follows this rendering without any comment and reads “*w r njw.t* zur Stadt.” A possible restoration could be *W-[Pk]r*, given the Abydene provenance.
- ²⁸¹ This epithet stands as an evidence for the cleverness of Neshor’s speech. It was also among the epithets of the god of wisdom, Thoth, as *jkr dd*, “splendid in speech;” see Boylan 1987: 182.
- ²⁸² The verb *dd* is written without *d* in the self-presentations of Neshor; see, for example, Hermitage 2962, above.
- ²⁸³ *Wb.* V: 431 (6).
- ²⁸⁴ See below.
- ²⁸⁵ *Wb.* IV: 413 (3).
- ²⁸⁶ See *Wb.* I: 314 (7).
- ²⁸⁷ The same phrase occurs on statue Cairo CG 42236 of Montuemhat (see Leclant 1961: 6) and on Harwa, III, B, 1.15 (see Gunn and Engelbach 1931: 799) as *jrj mrj jmn nb pt sh3 k3 n h3-r-w3 m3ʕ hrw*, and VIII, B, 1. 9-10 as *sh3 k3=j sh3.t(j)=f(j) n m-ht sʕr 3k*. It also occurs, with different object, on the left side of this statue base *sh3 rn=j nfr*, which Leclant (1961: 19) translates as “Que soit commémoré mon beau nom.”

*n=tn²⁹⁰ mjtt jn²⁹¹ ntr pn šps²⁹² w^cb=tn n=f Wsjr
Hnt(j)-Jmntt ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw Wn-Nfr njswt ntrw*

(1) A *hṭp-dj-njswt* and Osiris, the foremost of (the West A)bydos, have given, may they cause the receiving of the *snw*-offering consisting of [what comes] be(fore) and upon [the altar] ... (for) the *k(ʕ)*? (of) [the important one] in his offices, the gr[eat] one [among his dignitaries], the official in fron(t) of the *rhjt*,²⁹³ [... ..] the one who knows(?) [...], the excellent of speeches, the overseer of the gate of the southern foreign lands, Neshor Named Psam[ti]k[men]khib, son of [Iw]ef[erer] whom the mistress of the house, Tasetenhor, made, (2) he says: “O all *w^cb*-priests²⁹⁴ who enter to (the gods) who are in Abydos, may you re(cite) a *hṭp-dj-njswt* for my *kʕ*, and extend for (me) the hand after the transfer of the offerings. I was a noble for whom one should act, the great one, whose equal was rare, the just of heart, he who obeyed the regulation, he who was loyal, and he who did not neglect the accounts (?).²⁹⁵ It is without any fault with (me) that I spent my lifetime. Remember my *kʕ*. The breath of your mou(th) is [effective for(?)]

²⁸⁸ The correct reading for *tw* here is *tʕw*; see Louvre A 90.

²⁸⁹ See here Louvre A 90 and Hermitage 2962.

²⁹⁰ I read *tn*, not *tw*.

²⁹¹ I read *jn*.

²⁹² A similar phrase with different wording can be found on the early Saite sitting statue CG 922 = JdE 31920 of Pabasa, which Jansen-Winkel (1999: 86) reads and translates “*ntrw jrj n jrj bw-nfr* Die Götter handeln für den, der Gutes tut,” while Heise (2007: 154) reads and translates “... *mj.t.t ntrw.w jrj n jrj bw-nfr* ..., wie für die Götter. Der, der handelt, (für den) wird vollkommen gehandelt werden.”

²⁹³ This epithet is used since the Sixth Dynasty of the Old Kingdom, see Christophe 1955: 61 (n. 3).

²⁹⁴ Neshor here addresses his speech to the priests, as Payeftjauemawyneith does in his self-presentations. This was perhaps a common feature in the Saite self-presentations as part of or an alternative to the appeal to the living.

²⁹⁵ A problematic word studied in detail by Gunn 1918: pl. 21, C 2; Clère 1979; De Meulenaere 1986: 139 f.; Perdu 1992: 157–158; Vittmann 1999: 26, 131–133; 2012: 275–294.

The like will be done for you by this noble god,
 may you be pure for him, Osiris, the foremost of
 the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos,
 Wennefer, (and) the king of the gods.

MENDES STATUE²⁹⁶

(figures 15–17, plates 15–17)

Reign:	Apries
Current Location:	Nahman-Viola Collection (?)
Provenance:	Mendes (Tell er-Rub'a) (?); purchased from a dealer in Cairo, 1956 CE
Material:	Basalt
Height:	53 cm
Brief Description:	Upper part of the torso of Neshor's statue, representing three fragments joined together, seen in market in Cairo and Switzerland in 1947, and forming the spine of a bust that could be a standing, sitting, or kneeling statue. The right half of the remaining torso has a crack at its middle; the right arm is missing. The face of the statue is severely damaged. The back of Neshor's wig and his prominent ears remain; the wig has a crack at its middle. An inscription in six vertical columns running from right to left occupies the back pillar; the first three columns are longer and incomplete with a crack at the middle. The other three columns are shorter and incomplete. A crack divides the statue from the top of the head and runs through the back pillar. Because of that, the left edge of the third column and the right edge of the fourth column are lost. The top of the third and the fourth columns are also damaged due to this long crack. The right side of the back pillar has an incomplete inscription: the top is hacked out; there is a crack in the middle, and an end is missing. The left side of the back pillar bears a short text with a missing end.

²⁹⁶ Herein designated as Mendes Statue. For more on Mendes, see De Meulenaere 1975; De Meulenaere and MacKay 1976; Holz, Hall, and Bothmer 1980; Redford 2004; Leclère 2008: 313–340, 349–361, 643; Redford 2010. This statue probably came from the older excavations at Mendes. For the recent excavations at Mendes, see, for example, Redford 2004; 2010.

Bibliography: Published only as photographs. De Meulenaere 1966: 14 [42, 5]; De Meulenaere and MacKay 1976: 198, pl. 21, figs. c, d, e, doc. 52; Lise, *Medicina dell'antico Egitto*: 15; Perdu 1990: 38–49; Rößler-Köhler 1991: 225–226 (56 d); Pressl 1998: 225 (D 12. 4); Heise 2007: 203–204 (II. 26); Hussein 2009: 45–48 (Doc. 2), 294 (fig. 2); Spencer 2010: 456–457; Jansen-Winkeln 2014: 392 (56.115).

Back pillar: back (vertical, left to right):

(1) (j)rj-p^c(t) ḥ3(tj)-^c ḥtmt(j)-bjt(j) smr w^ct(j) mw²⁹⁷
 mš^c hrw ḥ3 ḥ3 jb hrw dmdyt²⁹⁸ sh^tp jbw wn knd nb
 ḥzwt hr jpt nb(t)²⁹⁹ (j)m(j)-r(3)³⁰⁰ mnjft³⁰¹ n? [...] (2)
 n nb=j³⁰² njswt-bjt H^cḥ-jb-r^c s3 R^c W3ḥ-jb-r^c ḥnḥ dt
 dw3.n=j ntr sdm=j n hpr.t=sn ḥrk.n(=j) g3jw^t n(w)t

²⁹⁷ Heise (2007: 203, [n. 510]) reads “*jmj-r3*,” stating, without explaining further how, that “Die drei Wasserlinien sind von dem Kanalzeichen abgeleitet; daher sind diese wohl *jmj-r3* zu lesen.” Also Pressl (1998: 225) reads “*jm.j-r’ mš^c (m) hrw ḥ3*.” However, Chevereau (2001: 93–4 [DOC. 118]) does not refer to this title among the military titles of Neshor. I read *mw mš^c hrw ḥ3* “the water of the army of the day of fighting,” if we adhere to the literal meaning of the phrase and read the word as *mw* instead of *(j)m(j)-r(3)*. In this case, the phrase *mw mš^c hrw ḥ3* should be allegorically understood as a brave epithet of Neshor, not as an actual military title. This is what Perdu (1991: 40) suggests. This could mean he provides water for the army during combat (i.e., he supplies them with provisions and food), he is the metaphorical water on which they travel, or perhaps even he is the metaphorical water in which the army trusts. Compare all of the epithets with *mw*, water, in *Wb*. II: 52 (17), 53 (1).

²⁹⁸ See Hannig 2006: 980. The star-sign could also be read as *dw3*, so *hrw dw3* meaning “day of adoring?” This is an epithet referring to the military importance and engagement of Neshor especially on the battlefield, just as does the previous one, and each completes the other.

²⁹⁹ This epithet shows that Neshor was favored and praised in all things that he did and because of his acting in a proper way acceptable to the king.

³⁰⁰ R here stands for *(j)m(j)-r(3)*; see Louvre A 93 below.

³⁰¹ In the New Kingdom *mnjft* (before the Eighteenth Dynasty, it reads *mnj3t*; see *Wb*. II: 80) meant “the army, soldiers, trained soldiers, infantry, infantry-soldiers, and some type of militia,” which was a full military title; see Schulman 1964: 13–14. The title *(j)m(j)-r(3) mnjft* first appeared in the Old Kingdom; see Jones 2000: 137 (536). For more on *(j)m(j)-r(3) mnjft* in the New Kingdom, see Gnirs 1996a: 12–17, 60; and also Faulkner (1953: 38), who reads and translates “*jmy-r mnj3t*” “commander of shock-troops,” who, in his opinion, was next in the field below the general. For more on this title in the Late Period, see Chevereau (2001: 263–264) who reads and translates it “*mr mnjft* Chef des troupes.”

³⁰² Although it is clear on the statue, Heise (2007: 203) does not transliterate =*j*.

*b3w wrw n-zp [mj]tt [hr hm n(?)]³⁰³ (3) hr W3h-jb
wnn³⁰⁴ hzw(t)=j hr nb t3wj m jsw n nn jrj.n(=j)
hnk.n hm=f jhwt shpr.n(=j) m ʿwj[=j] ds(=j) bt
whʿt? [...] (4) nfr(?) n?. nb? r? n wʿ? nb?
h?[...]³⁰⁵ (5) hr wd n jnr n bhñ smn.tw=f m hwt-ntr
[...] (6) m šmsw Hr-p3-hrd ntr ʿ3 hrj-jb dd(t) [...]*

(1) The (j)r(j)-pʿ(t), h3(tj)-ʿ, the sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, the water of the army on the day of fighting, the great of heart (on) the day of the gathering, the one who satisfies the hearts which were angry, possessor of favors in all accounts, the overseer of the *mnjft* [...] (2) of my lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Haaibre, Son-of-Re, Wahibre, living forever. I praised god that I heard (things) before they came to pass. (I) finished up the chapels of the great *b3s*. Never the [like]ness [under the majesty of] (3) Horus, Wahib. It is before the lord of the Two Lands that my favors exist, in exchange for this that (I) have done. His majesty presented gifts which (I) created with (my) own arms [...] (4) [...] (5) on a stone stela of greywacke which was set up in the temple [...] (6) as a follower of Horus-the-Child,³⁰⁶ the great god who resides at Mend(es) [...].

Back pillar: side, top to right (vertical; right to left):

*[...] njswt? [...] ³⁰⁷ Ns-Hr dd=f s nb jr.t(j)=f(j) pnʿ m
pr Wsjr-Hʿpj m nn ntt m sšw hdj.tj=fj tjt(w)=f
hntjw=f dj.n=f st n kjj htj=f [st(?)]*

³⁰³ The *n* probably fits the top of this column, while *hr hm* were perhaps at the end of the previous column; see Carlsberg 1037 in Hussein 2009: 68.

³⁰⁴ Heise (2007: 204) starts with this sentence, which he reads and translates “*wn.n hz.wt=j... Meine Gunst existierte...*”

³⁰⁵ This column is not clear to read.

³⁰⁶ I.e., Harpocrates.

³⁰⁷ The beginning of this column is hacked out. About two groups are missing; these probably contained titles of Neshor.

[...] the king(?) [...] Neshor, he says: “As for every man who will cause disorder in the temple of Osiris-Hapy concerning those things which are in the writings, and who will damage his image(s), and his statues, and having given them to somebody else so that he (re)inscribes [them(?)].”

Back pillar: side, top to left (vertical; right to left):

*ntt prj(t)*³⁰⁸ *m p3 htp(w)-ntr nfr n B3-nb-ddt n ...*
[...]

which derives from the good divine-offering(s) of *B3-nb-ddt* and of ... [...].

³⁰⁸ See *Wb.* I: 518.






CHAPTER FOUR

“Remember My *K3* after My Lifetime”: Analysis of Neshor’s Self-Presentation

Even in the absence of his tomb, which may perhaps be someday found in the Delta, Neshor’s few preserved statues can help us to reimage and reconstruct his self-presentation.

NESHOR’S GENEALOGY³⁰⁹

Although there were several individuals named Neshor³¹⁰ (the complete form being *Ny-sw Hr*,³¹¹ “He belongs to Horus”), this Neshor was very distinctive with his “beautiful name” *Psm̄t mnh-jb*³¹², meaning “Psamtik is loyal of heart.”³¹³ The name of Neshor was written several ways on his monuments.

Hermitage 2962	 <i>Ns-Hr</i> Neshor
Mendes Statue	 ³¹⁴ <i>Ns-Hr</i> Neshor
Louvre A 90	 <i>Ns-Hr</i> Neshor  <i>Ns-Hr</i> Neshor
Sohag Statue	 <i>Ns-Hr</i> Neshor

³⁰⁹ For more on genealogy, see Watson 2001.

³¹⁰ For Late Period individuals named Neshor at Nag Al-Hassaïa, to the south of Edfu, see Daressy 1901: 129–130; De Meulenaere 1969: 92 (n. 3–4), 94; Munro 1985; Chevereau 2001: 139–140 (DOC. 203). For names with the element *Ns-Hr* in Egyptian personal names, see Ranke 1935: 178 (4–18); Vittmann 1978: 64 f., 176, 180, 189; *DNB* I.9: 685–688. This element was very common in the Late Period personal names, and Ranke (1935: 178 [4–18]) cites around twelve out of fourteen names.

³¹¹ Ranke (1935: 178 [7]) reads and translates his name as *Ns- hr(.w)* “er (sic) gehört dem Horus.”

³¹² Ranke (1935: 153 [7]) translates “Vortrefflichen Herzens ist (König) Psamtich.” For more on the nicknames of individuals, see, for example, Vittmann 1977b.

³¹³ Saite kings whose names were used as “beautiful names” in the Late Period non-royal names are *N3kw* (II) (?), *Psm̄tk* (II) (?), and *W3h-jb-R^c* (Apries) (?). For those royal names within Saite (?) “beautiful names,” see Ranke 1935: 153 (6–8); Leahy 2011.

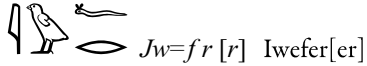
³¹⁴ I am not sure whether *n* here is part of Neshor’s name on this statue.

Abydos Statue

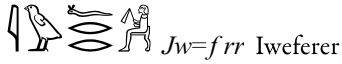


The name of Neshor’s father is *Jw=frr*. Boris Turajeff³¹⁵ reads *J[wfr]*, while Jens Heise³¹⁶ reads *J[wfr]*. Diana Alexandra Pressl reads *Jw=f jr-j*.³¹⁷ Thorkild F. Christensen³¹⁸ thinks that the name of Neshor’s father should be understood as a third future verbal form *Jw=frrjrt*. There are no titles mentioned for Neshor’s father. The different hieroglyphic writings of *Jw=frr* are:

Hermitage 2962



Louvre A 90



Sohag Statue



The name of Neshor’s mother is *T3-snt-n-Hr*³¹⁹ and was identified as *nb(t)-pr*, “mistress of the house” and *m3“(t)-hrw*, “true of voice.”

Louvre A 90 Statue
Tasenetenor



T3-snt-n-Hr

Sohag Statue
Tasenetenor



T3-snt-n-Hr

Neither children nor wife are attributed to Neshor.

NESHOR’S TITLES

Neshor’s self-presentations and statues offer numerous titles. I here present some of them.³²⁰

³¹⁵ Turajeff 1910: 162.

³¹⁶ Heise 2007: 192.

³¹⁷ Pressl 1998: 224; Zivie 1975: 87–96; El-Sayed 1975: 93–108.

³¹⁸ Christensen 1983: 21 (n. 36).

³¹⁹ Schäfer (1904b: 156 [n. 5]) states that this is the feminine form of the name “*P3 - sn - hr* (*Psen-hôr*).”

³²⁰ For a partial list of Neshor’s titles, see Pressl 1998: 225.

jmj-r3 ʕ3 h3sw(t) rsjw(t), overseer of the gate of the southern foreign lands

This title is among the most important titles and the highest ranks that Neshor reached in his long career. This title gave Neshor control over one of the most strategic frontier points of the Saite trade system. It is known the Saite organized the boundaries of the country in order to collect taxes and customs from the trade of merchandise that passed through their land.³²¹ Early in the history of this dynasty, Psamtik I set up a series of garrisons at the northern, western, and southern borders³²² and developed the navy.³²³ In that period, there were several commanders in charge of the frontiers of the country. The best-known offices of those were the commander of the frontiers of the south (Wahibre; Horwedja; Neshor); the commander of the frontiers of the northern countries (Ahmose named Neferibrenakht);³²⁴ the commander of the Libyan countries (Semtawytefnakht); the commander of the frontiers of the Asiatic countries (Semtawytefnakht); the commander of the frontiers of the sea (Neshor); the commander of the terrestrial and maritime frontiers (Nakthoremheb); and the general title the commander of the frontiers of the foreign countries (Wahibre; Padihormedenou).³²⁵ According to Pierre-Marie Chevereau,³²⁶ in the Saite Period, this title was formed with *jmj-r3 ʕ3w ...*, which he translates “commandant des frontières ...”. In addition to Neshor, who was *jmj-r3 ʕ3w h3swt rsjw* (“commandant des frontières des pays du Sud”),³²⁷ Wahibre, from the reign of Apries, held the titles *jmj-r3 ʕ3 rsj* (“commandant la frontière du Sud”), *jmj-r3 ʕ3 h3swt rsj* (“commandant la frontière des pays du Sud”), *jmj-r3 ʕ3w h3swt* (“commandant les frontières des pays étrangers”), *hrp h3swt rsjw* (“commandant militaire des pays étrangers du Sud”), and *ʕh3 hrj tp n nb=f m h3swt nbwt* (“premier guerrier de son maître en tout pays”).³²⁸ Horwedja also held the titles *jmj-r3 ʕ3w h3swt* (“commandant des frontières des pays étrangers”), and *jmj-r3 ʕ3w rsj* (“commandant la frontières des pays méridionaux”).³²⁹ These titles confirm the active Saite foreign policy of the period.

³²¹ For more on this issue, see Posener 1947: 118 ff.; also Valloggia 1976: 196 (n. c); Pereyra et al. 1999 1999; Chevereau 2001: 268–269; Somaglino 2010.

³²² For more on the concept of Egypt’s borders in the Eighteenth Dynasty, see Galán 1995.

³²³ See Myśliwiec: 2000: 116; Spalinger 2001b: 73–74. For more on the Saite navy and the role that Greeks played in it, see Lloyd 1972.

³²⁴ See Borchardt 1930: 142–143; *ESLP*: 59–61, pl. 48–49, fig. 116–119; Valloggia 1976: 196 (n. d).

³²⁵ For more on these titles and their holders, see Chevereau 2001: 268–269, 325.

³²⁶ Chevereau 2001: 286 (F), 325 (2); Posener 1947: 117–131.

³²⁷ Chevereau 2001: 94.

³²⁸ See Chevereau 2001: 109 (XIII).

³²⁹ See Chevereau 2001: 87 (DOC. 113: III).

(j)m(j)-r(3) mnfjt overseer of the mnfjt³³⁰

The Saite official Ahmose named Neferibrenakht,³³¹ from the reign of Apries, held also the title (j)m(j)-r(3) mnfjt.³³² Translated “overseer of the mnfjt-troops,”³³³ this title first appeared in the Old Kingdom,³³⁴ and is also found in the Middle and New Kingdoms. Andrea M. Gnirs thinks that the office “overseer of the *menfyt*” was a variant of the position “chief overseer of the army.” I think the two offices were separate even if they seem related or held by the same person in some cases. Raymond O. Faulkner³³⁵ understands *jmy-r mnfjt* as “commander of shock-troops,” which, in his opinion, was next in the field below the general. According to Jean-Marie Chevereau, *mr mnfyt* means “Chef des troupes.”³³⁶ The word *mnfjt*³³⁷ could mean “the army, soldiers, infantry,³³⁸ infantry-soldiers, and some type of militia.”

³³⁰ For more on *mnfjt*, see Schulman 1964: 13–14; 1978b: 46, 48 (n. 26); Vandersleyen 1971: 177–190; Spalinger 1982: 96 (n. 64); Fischer-Elfert 1986: 119–120 (n. c); Gnirs 1996a: 12–17, 60. For New Kingdom occurrences, see *Urk.* IV: 995 (16); 2158 (11).

³³¹ For the “beautiful name” of this Saite official, see De Meulenaere 1966: 27–31 (no. 3). It is probably the same Saite (?) official, Ahmose son of Nesatum who held the title (j)m(j)-r(3) mnfjt, whose fragmentary statue has been recently discovered by Redford at Mendes; see Redford (2004: 39 [V], 41 [n. U], 104 [fig. 57, No. 483a]), who reads “*mnfjt*” and translates the title “general of infantry.”

³³² See Borchardt 1930: 142–143; *ESLP*: 59–61, pls. 48–49, figs. 116–119; see also Valloggia (1976: 196 [n. d]) who considers this title “Le titre principal du personnage.” In fact, the most important title of Ahmose named Neferibrenakht are “the commander of the frontiers of the northern countries,” and (j)m(j)-r(3) ʕ3 h3sw(t) rsjw(t), “overseer of the gate of the southern lands,” see above.

³³³ Jones 2000: 137 (536); see also Fischer 1959b: 269 (fig. 25); 1964: 33 (10), pl. 12; Hannig 2006b: 61 (2039), 358 (13002). Some scholars write the title without translation, including Bryan (2006: 106; *Urk.* IV: 995 [16]) the *menfyt*; *Wb.* II: 80 (4) reads “*mr mnfjt*.”

³³⁴ See Jones 2000: 137 (536). For more on (j)m(j)-r(3) mnfjt in the New Kingdom, see Gnirs 1996a: 12–17, 60. For more on this title in the Late Period, see Chevereau 2001: 263–264.

³³⁵ See Faulkner 1953: 38.

³³⁶ Chevereau 1990: 229 (DOC. 118); 2001: 263–264. For the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, see Chevereau 1987: 23 (78–79); and for the Middle Kingdom, see Chevereau 1991: 56. In the viewpoint of Fischer (1968: 194, fig. 37), it means “Overseer of *mnfjt*-troops.”

³³⁷ Before the Eighteenth Dynasty it reads *mnfjt*; see *Wb.* II: 80.

³³⁸ Redford (2004: 41 [n. U]) states that “all occurrences fit ‘infantry’ better than ‘elite troops’ or the like.” Gardiner (1947: 25, 113) understands *mnfjt* as “infantry.” Valloggia (1976: 196, [n. d]) considers this official’s title “*mr mnfyt*” “chef de l’infanterie.” Hannig and Vomberg (1999: 750, 752; Hannig 2006a: 61 [2039]) read and translate “*jmj-r3 mnfjt* Vorsteher der Infanterie/Miliz;” see also Schulman 1964: 13–14; Ward (1982: no. 194) who understands it as “General of infantry.”

(j)r(j)-p^c(t), (j)r(j)-p^c(t)

Dilwyn Jones translates this title as “hereditary prince/nobleman, ‘keeper of the patricians.”³³⁹ Wolfgang Helck reads it *r^cp.t.*³⁴⁰ Alan H. Gardiner reads and translates this title as “*jrj-p^ct* appertaining to the pat-people.”³⁴¹ Detlef Franke reads this title *jrj-p^cjt.*³⁴² Denise M. Doxey,³⁴³ who translates “hereditary noble,” considers this title among the highest ranking of the local nobility.³⁴⁴

h3t(j)-^c, h3t(j)-^c³⁴⁵

This title can be translated as “count”³⁴⁶ or “mayor.”³⁴⁷ On this title, Henry George Fischer points out that although it “is known from much earlier times, it is not until Dyn. VI that this title becomes frequent as the beginning of the nomarch’s titulary.”³⁴⁸ Stephen Quirke³⁴⁹ observes that the sources in William A. Ward (1982) no. 864³⁵⁰ indicate two main uses of this title: “mark of elevated status” and “leading administrative official in an urban centre.”³⁵¹ According to Betsy M. Bryan,³⁵² “mayors, or *h3tyw-^c*” were “the men responsible for the economies of Egypt’s forty-two nomes, or regions, and particularly its primary urban areas” in the reign of Thutmose III. Also in the same reign, according to G. P. F. Van Den Boorn the holders of this title “were responsible for the collection and transportation of taxes and deliveries of grain and other commodities.”³⁵³

NESHOR’S EPITHETS

Neshor’s self-presentations and statues offer numerous epithets. I here comment on some of them.

³³⁹ See Jones 2000: 315 (1157); Murray 2004: pl. XXVI.

³⁴⁰ See Helck 1954: 57 (n. 7), 93, 111–113.

³⁴¹ Gardiner 1947: 14 ff.

³⁴² Franke 1984: 211 (n. 8).

³⁴³ Doxey 1998: 186.

³⁴⁴ For more on this title, see Ward 1982: nos. 1050 ff., 854 ff. Baer 1960: 6, 14, 300.

³⁴⁵ See Pressl 1998; Perdu 2006.

³⁴⁶ See Jones 2000: 496 (1858); Murray 2004: pl. XXVII; *Wb.* III: 25 (7–8).

³⁴⁷ Quirke 2004a: 111; see recently Willems 2008b.

³⁴⁸ Fischer 1968: 71, Edel 1980.

³⁴⁹ Quirke 2004a: 111.

³⁵⁰ Ward 1982: no. 864.

³⁵¹ For more on this title, see Ward 1982: nos. 1050 ff., 854 ff. Franke (1991) translates “nomarch.”

³⁵² Bryan 2006: 99.

³⁵³ Van Den Boorn 1988: 243.

smr w^ct(j), sole friend³⁵⁴

This title dates to the Old Kingdom and is usually read and translated *smr w^ctj n(j) mrwt* “sole companion.”³⁵⁵ The *Wb.*³⁵⁶ translates it “einziger Freund.” According to Rainer Hannig, *smr w^cty smr* means “Einziger Freund,” and “Einzigartiger Freund.”³⁵⁷ Jochem Kahl reads it *smr w^c.tj*.³⁵⁸ Constant De Wit understands it as “ami unique.”³⁵⁹ It is also attested in the Middle Kingdom.³⁶⁰ Denise M. Doxey³⁶¹ points out that *smr* designates a “relatively high status” and renders it “friend” or “companion;”³⁶² however, she prefers to translate it “courtier” because of this title’s nature which implies “the status of an acquaintance or associate.”³⁶³

smr w^ct(j), n(j) mrwt,³⁶⁴ sole friend, possessor of love

This title dates to the Old Kingdom when it is usually read and translated *smr w^cty n(y) mrwt* “sole companion, possessor of love.”³⁶⁵ The *Wb.* translates “einziger Freund, der die Liebe (seines Herrn) besitzt.”³⁶⁶ According to Rainer Hannig, it

³⁵⁴ It could be read *smhr*. *Samir* in Arabic has the same meaning as *smr* in Egyptian and “friend” and “companion” in English.

³⁵⁵ See Jones 2000: 892 (3268); Gardiner 1947: 20; Helck 1954: 25, 108, 111–114, 117–118.

³⁵⁶ *Wb.* I: 278 (11); *Wb.* IV: 138 (11).

³⁵⁷ Hannig 2006b: 766 (28128).

³⁵⁸ Kahl 1994: 740 (2341), 745 (2382).

³⁵⁹ De Wit 1956: 90.

³⁶⁰ Ward 1982: no. 1299.

³⁶¹ Doxey 1998: 164 (2,5).

³⁶² See Faulkner 1999: 229.

³⁶³ See *AL* III: 254 (79. 2572); *Wb.* IV: 138 (5)–139 (5).

³⁶⁴ The epithet *n(j) mrwt* is composed of the nisbe adjective *nj* and the noun *mrwt*. It appeared, meaning “possessor of love” or “beloved,” in the Old Kingdom and was used as an epithet in close association with other titles such as *bdjtj-^c pr-^c3 n(j) mrwt*, as in our example *smr w^ctj n mrwt* (see Jones 2000: 471 [1753]), *hrp ^ch n(j) mrwt*, and *smr w^ctj hrp ^ch n(j) mrwt* (see Baud 1999: 265 [n. 327]). Fischer (1978: 49; Jones 2000: 892 [3266]) explains the identity of this epithet as “adjunct to title rather than title in its own right.” The *Wb.* (II 102 [12], 196 [3]) translates it “beliebt;” see also Janssen 1946: 130 (K); Fischer 1978: 49. Baud (1999: 265) reads and translates it *nj mrwt* “celui d’amour” or “possesseur d’amour” and refers to the close connection of this title holder with the king. Also, there is another title from the Old Kingdom, i.e., *smr (nj) mrwt* “companion, possessor of love;” see Jones 2000: 892 (3266). Another reading and translation of this could be *smr w^c(tj) n(j) mr(wt) n njswt* sole *samir*, possessor of the king’s love/through the king’s love; see Hermitage 2962 above.

³⁶⁵ See Jones 2000: 894 (3277). Fischer (1981: 167 [n. 9]) reads *nj* instead of *n(j)*.

³⁶⁶ *Wb.* IV: 138 (12).

means “Einzigster Freund durch die Gunst (*d. Königs*).”³⁶⁷ Emmanuel Vicomte De Rougé understands this title as “l’un ‘des familiers de l’amitié (du roi).”³⁶⁸ Patrizia Piacentini considers *smr w3ty n(y) mrwt* “Ami unique qui est en faveur.”³⁶⁹

wr m j3wt=f, great one in his offices³⁷⁰

This honorific epithet *wr m j3wt=f* is usually accompanied by the two others, *3 m sʕhw=f* and *sr m-ḥ3t rhjt*.³⁷¹ The simple form of *wr m j3wt=f*³⁷² is expressed with only one office, *wr m j3t=f* “great one in his office,” while the abbreviated and generic form of this title is *wr m j3t* “great one in office.” Different variations of this title, such as *wr m j3t=f m-b3ḥ njswt* “great one in his office before the king” and *wr m j3t=f m pr-njswt* “great one in his office in the king’s house,” connect the title holder with the king and the royal palace.

3 m sʕhw=f, great one among his dignitaries

The simple form of this epithetic and honorific *3 m sʕhw=f* is old and can be translated as “great among his dignitaries.” In the New Kingdom, for example, Tjanuny was termed *3 m sʕhw=f*.³⁷³

sr m-ḥ3t rhjt, official in front of the *rhjt*

The generic title *sr* reveals the status and relationship of any state official or nobleman. It then became more specific when the official is described as *sr 3 m pr njswt*, and *sr m jnb-ḥd*, whereas the epithet *sr m j3t=f* is more generic and honorific. The epithet *sr m-ḥ3t rhjt* existed in the New Kingdom.³⁷⁴ This was one among many, such as *sr m-ḥ3t njswt*, *sr m-ḥ3t smrw*, *sr m-ḥ3t špsw njswt*, and *sr m-ḥ3t špss njswt*,

³⁶⁷ Hannig 2006b: 766 (28129).

³⁶⁸ De Rougé 1866: 93.

³⁶⁹ Piacentini 1997, III: 1404; 2002.

³⁷⁰ This epithet and the following were popular in the Saite Period; see Heise 2007; El-Sayed 1975; Perdu 1992.

³⁷¹ See, for example, those of the royal scribe Tjanuny from the New Kingdom, in *Urk.* IV: 1017 (4–6, 10–12); see also *Urk.* II: 59 (6–8).

³⁷² For example, in the New Kingdom, Tjanuny was identified as *wr m j3wt=f*; see *Urk.* IV: 1016 (17), 1017 (3, 10).

³⁷³ See *Urk.* IV: 1017 (11).

³⁷⁴ See, for example, *Urk.* IV: 449 (1) (TT 11 of Djehuty); *Urk.* IV: 1016 (12) (TT 74 of Tjanuny); *Urk.* IV: 1418 (TT 96 of Sennefer).

that convey the status of the official among his fellows and his relationship with the king.

wr m Ntrt, great one in Netjerit

Although this honorific epithet is rare, it has received different readings and translations. Herman De Meulenaere reads it *wr m Ntr.t* and mentions various instances, in addition to that of Neshor, in which it occurs.³⁷⁵ As mentioned above, the first holder of this epithet was the ruler of Sais, Tefnakht, in the great Victory Stela of Piye.³⁷⁶ According to Jacques Jean Clère, the vizier Bakenrenef, a contemporary of Psamtik I, presumably held this epithet on his libation basin, probably from his tomb at Saqqara.³⁷⁷ The late Saite official Wahibre, from the reign of Amasis, had this epithet on his statue Cairo CG 672.³⁷⁸ The owner of shabti Vienna no. 5285, the Thirtieth Dynasty³⁷⁹ official Djed Hor held also this epithet as *ḥ3tj-ᶜ wr m Ntrt m P Dp* “the *ḥ3tj-ᶜ*, the great one in Netjerit, and in Pe and Dep.”³⁸⁰ This refers to the existence of this epithet in Buto as well. The shabti of Tjanefer, also of this dynasty, has *ḥ3tj-ᶜ wr m Ntrt*.³⁸¹ Yet another Thirtieth Dynasty³⁸² monument, statue Cairo JE 43778 of Nectanebo, from the central Delta not far from Sais, gives *jrj-pᶜt ḥ3tj-ᶜ wr m Ntrt*.³⁸³ Christine Favard-Meeks reads and translates it in association with the title *ḥ3tj-ᶜ*³⁸⁴ as “*ḥ3tj-ᶜ wr m Ntrw*”³⁸⁵ Le comte, grand dans

³⁷⁵ De Meulenaere 1956: 252–253.

³⁷⁶ See Grimal 1981b: 5*, l.3, (5) n.12.

³⁷⁷ See Clère 1982: 84, (n. 4–5).

³⁷⁸ See Borchartd 1930: 18–20; Posener 1947: 124 (n. 5); Yoyotte 1961: 155 (n. 8); De Meulenaere 1956: 252 (n. 5); El-Sayed 1975: 73–93 (no. 6); Favard-Meeks 1991: 389.

³⁷⁹ Clère (1951: 144, [R]) wants to date statue Cairo JE 43778 of Nectanebo to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period on the ground of the presence of the graphical sign of *(j)m(j)-r(3)*; Clère reads *mr* and translates “chef,” which is also used in this Thirtieth Dynasty shabti. For the writing of this military title, see Wreszinski 1906: 185, and below.

³⁸⁰ For this example, see Wreszinski (1906: 185), who translates “Grosser Fürst in In Buto.” De Meulenaere 1956: 252 (n. 6); Yoyotte 1961: 155 (n. 7); Helck 1974: 181; Favard-Meeks 1991: 389–390.

³⁸¹ See Chappaz 1984: 123–124 (no. 158); Favard-Meeks 1991: 390.

³⁸² Although this statue dates to the Thirtieth Dynasty, Clère (1951: 144, [R]) wants to date it to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period on the ground of the presence of the graphical sign of *(j)m(j)-r(3)*, once again reading this as *mr*; see also Favard-Meeks (1991: 390, [n. 687]) who refers to this point without supporting it and likewise dates the statue to the Thirtieth Dynasty.

³⁸³ See Daressy (1912), who successfully translates it “le prince, gouverneur, grand dans Nutrit;” see also De Meulenaere 1956: 252 (n. 7); Yoyotte 1961: 155 (n. 6); Favard-Meeks (1991: 390), who miswrites the word *wr*.

³⁸⁴ De Meulenaere (1956: 252 [n. 4]) previously made this point.

³⁸⁵ Favard-Meeks (1991: 389 ff.) is not consistent and reads *Ntrt* as *Ntrw*, *Ntr*, and *Ntrj*. However, Clère (1951: 144 [n. R]) translates “Neterou.”

Ntrw.³⁸⁶ Günther Vittmann points out that Pabasa and others held the title “*ḥ3tj-ᶜ wr m W3st* Graf und Großer in Theben.”³⁸⁷ However, he thinks that the correct reading should be (*ḥ3tj-ᶜ + wr*) *m W3st*, and not *ḥ3tj-ᶜ + (wr m W3st)*. That means he considers *wr* as an adjective of *ḥ3tj-ᶜ*, rather than standing in its own right as an adjective functioning as a noun, “the great one.”³⁸⁸ The title *ḥ3tj-ᶜ + place name* was common in the Late Period.³⁸⁹ The preposition *m* and the genitival article *n* were used to connect the adjectival noun *wr* with its toponym. Herman De Meulenaere refers to the existence of the title *ḥ3tj-ᶜ wr m* and the title *ḥ3tj-ᶜ wr n*.³⁹⁰ Erhart Graefe refers to the formation of the title *wr m/n + toponym* with or without *ḥ3tj-ᶜ*.³⁹¹ Hermann Ranke mentions another form of it associated with *Ntrt*, *ḥ3tj-ᶜ n mr-Ntrt*.³⁹²

It is obvious that the formation of Neshor’s epithet *wr m Ntrt* is different because it independently stands on its own right, and is not directly attached to his title *ḥ3(tj)-ᶜ*, because his title *ḥtmt(j)-bjt(j)* separates the two.³⁹³ In addition to Behbeit (Hebyt), the geographical locality of *Ntrt* is sometimes connected with Sebennytos, Sema-Behedet, and Sais.³⁹⁴ The designation of this epithet holder is not exactly known; however, Kees characterizes it as a Saite honorific specification, while De Meulenaere states that it neither attaches its holder to the families of Behbeit nor confirms whether he was originating from the Delta.³⁹⁵

rh, he/one who knows

If this epithet stands on its own, it means “he/one who knows.” However, it might be just a beginning of an epithet such as *rh njswt* “king’s acquaintance” or “intimate of the king,” or *rh njswt m3ᶜ* “true king’s acquaintance.” Montuemhat had the epithet *rh ḥntj*³⁹⁶ “one who knows eternity.”³⁹⁷ The early Saite official Ibi held also

³⁸⁶ See Favard-Meeks (1991: 389).

³⁸⁷ Vittmann 1977a: 255 [n. 36].

³⁸⁸ The book of the temple distinguishes between *ḥ3tj-ᶜ wr* and *ḥ3tj-ᶜ jmj-jht*.

³⁸⁹ See De Meulenaere 1958: 233.

³⁹⁰ See De Meulenaere 1958: 233 (n. 6–7). There are more recent discussions of this title and combination of *ḥ3tj-ᶜ wr n/m* in Perdu 2006 and Guermeur 2004.

³⁹¹ Graefe 1978: 47; 1974: 202 (A. 4).

³⁹² Ranke 1919: 42–54.

³⁹³ De Meulenaere (1956: 252 [n. 4]) points out that the title *wr m ntrt* is not attached to the title *ḥ3tj-ᶜ* as in the other examples that he raises.

³⁹⁴ See Favard-Meeks 1991: 389 (n. 683).

³⁹⁵ See De Meulenaere 1956: 253.

³⁹⁶ *Ḥntj* literally means “the two sides” or “ends;” see Faulkner 1999: 171.

³⁹⁷ For this epithet of Montuemhat, see Heise (2007: 55, 307), who reads it *rh ḥn.tj* and translates it “einer, der das zukünftig Notwendige kennt.”

the epithet *rh hntj*.³⁹⁸ Another possibility of reading this epithet could be *rh jrt=f* “one who knows his duty,” which is attested in the tombs of Ibi,³⁹⁹ Ankhhor,⁴⁰⁰ and Montuemhat.⁴⁰¹ However, the object of this probably active participle, *rh*, is not known here.

shtp jbw wn knd, one who satisfies the hearts when there is
anger

This epithet shows the role of Neshor in solving problems requiring his diplomacy and eloquence. He clearly was able to reach a reasonable solution accepted by all parties at Elephantine with the revolt of the foreign mercenaries of Apries.

jm3hw hr njswt-bjt h^c-jb-r^c, *jm3hw* before the King of Upper
and Lower Egypt, Haaibre

The “*jm3hw* before the king” formula was very common in the Saite Period.⁴⁰² This reveals the great status that Neshor attained before Apries. This common epithet, *jm3hw hr*⁴⁰³ “the *jm3hw* before,”⁴⁰⁴ occurs in the self-presentations of Neshor on the Abydos Statue and Louvre A 90. The meaning of *jm3hw hr*, feminine *jm3hw^t hr*, changed to *jm3hj hr* from the late Old Kingdom, has been much discussed.⁴⁰⁵ For example, in Old Kingdom texts, Nigel Strudwick renders *hr* as “in the sight of,” “before,” or “in relation to.”⁴⁰⁶ *Jm3hw* is often translated as “honored one,” “revered one,” or “venerated one,”⁴⁰⁷ or “the one who has been provided for, endowed”⁴⁰⁸ (with the means for burial). In this case, *jm3hw hr njswt* could be translated as “venerated

³⁹⁸ For this epithet of Ibi, see Heise (2007: 117), who reads it *rh hn.tj* and translates it “der die Zukunft kennt;” see also Assmann 1975: 13.

³⁹⁹ See Bietak and Reiser-Haslauser 1978–1982: 132; Heise 2007: 125

⁴⁰⁰ See Heise 2007: 208.

⁴⁰¹ See Krall 1890: 81; Scheil 1894: 620; Heise 2007: 307.

⁴⁰² For more on the Saite formula *jm3hw-hr-njswt*, see Rößler-Köhler 1989; Jansen-Winkeln 1996a.

⁴⁰³ *Jm3hw* is usually followed by the preposition *hr* or *n*; see, for example, Jones 2000: 11 (42); *Wb.* I: 81 (16).

⁴⁰⁴ See Jansen-Winkeln 1990: 137.

⁴⁰⁵ For more on this epithet especially its linguistic derivation, see Jansen-Winkeln 1996a: 33–35; Allen 2006: 16 (n. 55) with the *Wb.* and Heqanakht Papyri references there.

⁴⁰⁶ Strudwick 2005: 30; 2006a: 340.

⁴⁰⁷ For more on this epithet in Old Kingdom self-presentations, see Kloth 2002: 67–74.

⁴⁰⁸ See Jones 2000: 11 (42).

one before the king.” According to Strudwick, this meaning may have occurred from the Middle Kingdom onwards.⁴⁰⁹ Wolfgang Helck emphasizes the economic function and importance of *jm3hw*, and translates it “der Versorgte.”⁴¹⁰ In his opinion, *jm3hw* in the Old Kingdom indicated that its holder would be “provided with” a funerary estate by somebody else.⁴¹¹ Helck here refers to mortuary provisions and supplying the dead with funerary equipment and offerings. Strudwick points out that “that person could be a god, a king, or even another individual, such as of a wife to her husband,” and he simply uses “*jmakhu* in the translation.”⁴¹² Violaine Chauvet⁴¹³ declares that Alexandre Moret⁴¹⁴ refers to the religious dimension of this epithet “to recreate in the afterlife the same hierarchy and beneficial protection that the official had experienced during his lifetime.” James P. Allen suggests that the meaning of *jm3hw* could be the concept of “association with,”⁴¹⁵ and considers “materiel support” secondary. In this sense, Allen means the individual being in association with the king, the great god, or with people.

According to Neshor’s few preserved texts and monuments, the concept of *jm3hw hr* in his texts is different from the previous interpretations. It does not have any economic importance, as was the case in the Old Kingdom. Here it only refers to the religious and moral aspect⁴¹⁶ or the living aspect⁴¹⁷ of this epithet, since we know

⁴⁰⁹ Strudwick 2005: 30. For more in this epithet in the Middle Kingdom non-royal texts, see Doxey 1998: 94–102, 256–263

⁴¹⁰ Helck 1956: 63–75; 1975: 73–95.

⁴¹¹ See Goedicke 1970: 37–38, 56, 123–124, 183, pl. IV–V, XIII, XVIIb; Assmann 1986; Málek 1986: 75–76; Eyre 1987: 22–24; For this epithet with regard to late Old Kingdom non-royal tombs, see Chauvet 2004: 137–160.

⁴¹² Strudwick 2005: 30; 2006a: 340.

⁴¹³ Chauvet 2004: 139.

⁴¹⁴ Moret 1897: 136–140.

⁴¹⁵ Allen 2006: 16. However, Goelet (1986: 92 [n. 31]) previously translated it “the one revered in the presence of, with a god or a king,” but Allen does not refer to him.

⁴¹⁶ For more on the religious and moral aspect of this epithet, see Moret 1897: 136–140; Garnot 1952: 95–106.

⁴¹⁷ The other title that Payeftjauemawyneith holds on Louvre A 93, *jm3hw ʕ3 m pr njswt* “great *jm3hw* in the king’s house,” supports this. For some examples in the Old Kingdom with this “living” aspect of the title, see Edel 1979: 105–106; Roccati 1982: § 127; Doret: 1986: 70 (Ex. 109); Lapp 1986: § 327–329; Eyre 1987: 22; Chauvet 2004: 143–147. *Jm3hw*, as Chauvet (2004: 145) points out, might also have referred to old age and probably to retirement; see also Lefebvre 1949: 67 (n. 120); Garnot 1952: 103; Jansen-Winkel 1996: 30–31 (n. 10). However, I do not think this rendering fits the context here.

little about royal involvement with the construction of non-royal tombs in the late Saite Period. The construction of late Saite non-royal tombs was probably a private enterprise, as was the case in the late Old Kingdom.⁴¹⁸ Neither the royal funerary endowment⁴¹⁹ nor the funerary priest's role appears in Neshor's cult, according to his monuments and texts. This perhaps is due to the presence of Neshor's statues in the sacred space of temples, and not in his yet undiscovered tomb.

NESHOR'S SELF-PRESENTATION IN PHRASES

Neshor's self-presentations reveal tremendous continuation of essential phrases used throughout the ancient Egyptian linguistic tradition. Comments on some of these long-lived phrases follow.

$\underline{t}3w^{420} n r(3) 3h(w)^{421} n s^c h$, the breath of the mou(th) is effective for the blessed dead

The formulaic phrase, part of the appeal to the living, begins the sentence as a nominal subject $\underline{t}3w n r3=tn (3hw)$ with and without a predicate. Pascal Vernus calls it "la formule 'le souffle de la bouche,'" first probably appeared in the Twelfth Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom. This formula is also well attested in the New Kingdom and reappears in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty through the Ptolemaic Period, with variations in orthography.⁴²²

$n(n) nw m wrd hr=s$, the (dead prayer) is (not) something from which one fatigues

The simple form of it is found as $n wrd=tw hr=s$ "one did not fatigue under it."⁴²³ However, its complete form, with some orthographical and compositional

⁴¹⁸ For more on the conception of the tomb in the late Old Kingdom, see Chauvet 2004; 2007; 2013.

⁴¹⁹ For more on the funerary cult of the dead, see Verhoeven 1998.

⁴²⁰ The correct reading for tw here is $t3w$; see Louvre A 90.

⁴²¹ See here Louvre A 90 and Hermitage 2962.

⁴²² Vernus 1976: 139. Jansen-Winkel (1999: 45–46) lists this phrase under what he calls "Effectiveness of the 'breath of the mouth' for the dead" and translates it "Der Atem des Mundes ist wirksam für den Würdigen (Toten)." See also Spiegelberg 1908: 67; Assmann 1977: 24 (Text 6: 6–7). Lichtheim (1948: 172–174, pl. XV, III A, line 5) translates it "The breath of the mouth is beneficent to the blessed spirit."

⁴²³ I mean on the block statue Louvre A 85 of Akhamenru; see Lichtheim 1948; Jansen-Winkel 1999: 81.

variations, occurs several times in texts from the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties.⁴²⁴ It is attested, for example, on the Saite group statue Louvre 117 of Padiimennebniswttawy,⁴²⁵ on the Saite scribe statue Syracuse 288 of Padiimnemipt,⁴²⁶ on the Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasties Saft el-Henneh (?) block statue,⁴²⁷ and on the Twenty-fifth Dynasty asymmetrically squatting statue Cairo JE 36930 of Harwa.⁴²⁸

*n(n) prj (j)sk⁴²⁹ hnt jht=tn,⁴³⁰ it does not, moreover, come forth
from⁴³¹ your property⁴³²*

It is found, with variations in orthography, several times on monuments from the Twenty-fifth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.⁴³³ For example, it appears on the Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasties Saft el-Henneh (?) block statue,⁴³⁴ on the Saite scribe statue Syracuse 288 of Padiimnemipt,⁴³⁵ and on the Saite/Late Period Moscow Pushkin Museum 5959 statue base of Kher (?).⁴³⁶

⁴²⁴ In the tomb of Petosiris (Lefebvre 1924, II: 95, [137, 5]; see also Cherpion, Corteggiani, and Gout 2007) is the following phrase, which is somehow varied “*n wrd r3=tn m dd*,” which Lefebvre (1924, I: 192, [4]) translates “votre bouche ne sera pas fatigué à cause de cela.” Lefebvre reads *n*, not *nn*. See also Jansen-Winkel 1999: 83.

⁴²⁵ Pierret 1874: 36–39; Jansen-Winkel 1999: 81.

⁴²⁶ Sist 1978: 133–140, pls. 1–2; Jansen-Winkel 1999: 82.

⁴²⁷ Giveon 1975: 20, pl. XII; Jansen-Winkel 1999: 82.

⁴²⁸ Gunn and Engelbach 1931: 792, 798–800, pl. III; Kuentz 1934: 152; Jansen-Winkel 1999: 82.

⁴²⁹ I think it is *jsk*. The other examples in Jansen-Winkel (1999: 78) have the similar particle *js*. Furthermore, they never use the suffix pronoun =*s*, but just have *nn prj*. In other words, it negates existence: “There is nothing that comes out, moreover, of your property.”

⁴³⁰ Jansen-Winkel (1999: 81) translates “Dies ist nichts, wodurch man ermüdet.”

⁴³¹ De Meulenaere (1965b: 251, n. h) points out that in the Late Period *hnt* can be used instead of *m*.

⁴³² For other phrases from the Late Period, see Jansen-Winkel 1999: 78–81.

⁴³³ In the tomb of Petosiris (see Lefebvre 1924, II: 95 [137, 5]), is the phrase “*n pr m d3fw=tn*,” which Lefebvre (1924, I: 192, [4]) translates “ce ne sont pas des richesses qui sortent de vos mains ...” Lefebvre reads *n*, not *nn*. See also Jansen-Winkel 1999: 78.

⁴³⁴ Giveon 1975: 19–21, pls. IX–XII; Jansen-Winkel 1999: 78.

⁴³⁵ Sist 1978: 133–140, pls. 1–2; Jansen-Winkel 1999: 78.

⁴³⁶ De Meulenaere 1965b: 250–252, 256–257, [fig. 1–5]; Jansen-Winkel 1999: 78.

srwd mnw gmj=f n m-ht rn=f mn m-^c nhw,⁴³⁷ who preserves the monuments which he found (made) for the future, his name is remaining among the living

Karl Jansen-Winkeln translates this “Wer ein Denkmal dauern läßt, wird (es) später (wieder)finden, und sein Name dauert unter den Lebenden.”⁴³⁸ There are several variations on the same phrase and theme from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the early Ptolemaic Period.⁴³⁹

n(n) mn⁴⁴⁰ r3=tn m dd hzwt(=j) hr hnmw-r^c,⁴⁴¹ your mouth will not suffer from uttering (my) praises before Khnum-Re

The formulaic phrase *n(n) mn r3=tn m dd hzwt(=j) hr* was very common in the Saite Period before the names of the deities. For example, the phrase *n(n) mn r3=tn m dd hzwt(=j) hr ...*⁴⁴² is attested on block statue Bologna 1812 of Aath.⁴⁴³

CONCLUSION

The main role of Neshor was with the *mnjft*, the *mš^c*, in the task of securing Egyptian borders. In addition to his honorific titles and epithets, his many administrative offices show that he was a leading military figure in the late Saite Period, and he was a confidant of the king. Neshor’s epithets *jk^r-ddwt* and *sh^tp-jbw*

⁴³⁷ This phrase can be compared with a Middle Kingdom example. Stela Aswan 1371 (7–8), from the chapel of Heqaib at Elephantine, has a phrase that reads *srwd wst shpr n wn.t jn h3 hr gm.tn=f zbjj n sk rn=f hr jh.t=f* “wer in Ordnung gebracht hat, was verfallen war, entstehen ließ, was es nicht mehr gab und vergrößert hat, was er vergangen vorfand, dessen Name geht nicht unter auf seinen Sachen;” see Franke 1994, 176–177; Heise 2007: 191 (n. 479); see also De Meulenaere 1965b: 252 (i).

⁴³⁸ Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 63.

⁴³⁹ For several examples from the period, see Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 62–63.

⁴⁴⁰ I read *mn*, not *mn.t* as written on the statue that Heise (2007: 198) follows.

⁴⁴¹ Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 84) transcribes *hnmw*, not *Hnmw-R^c*, and he translates the phrase “Es bedeutet kein Leiden eures Mundes, (mein) Lob zu Chnum zu sagen.”

⁴⁴² The only difference here is the name of the god, which is Osiris Khentyimentet. Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 84) restores ([*hntj*] *jmntjw* [...]). *Hntj Jmntt*.

was the correct orthographical form of Osiris’s epithet. For the spellings of the name of Osiris as a dating criterion, see Leahy 1979. Vernus (1991: 244 [6]) here restores “[*-Khenty*]-imentet, [maître d’Abydos], ...” For this example, see Vernus 1991; Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 84; and see above, Sohag Statue.

⁴⁴³ Pernigotti 1977; Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 84.

wn ꜥnd show his eloquence, his piety, and his close connection to the divine realm of the god Khnum-Re. All these reveal that Neshor was a high elite member who was more trusted than any other official of the king. The prosopographical study of Neshor's titles puts his monuments in chronological order. It also shows that he had already reached the top of his career in the reign of Apries.

CHAPTER FIVE

Payeftjauemawyneith's Self-Presentations

This chapter deals with the philological features of Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations inscribed on four well-attested statues.⁴⁴⁴

BMEA 83 STATUE

(figures 18–22, plates 18–26)⁴⁴⁵

Reign:	Apries
Current Location:	London, the British Museum (EAS, currently in the collection) ⁴⁴⁶
Accession Number:	BM EA 83
Provenance:	Heliopolis (?) ⁴⁴⁷
Material:	Green-tinged basalt ⁴⁴⁸
Measurements:	Height 71 cm (max.); Depth 50 cm; Width 27 cm
Brief Description:	Lower part of a kneeling naophorous statue of Payeftjauemawyneith; he wears a pleated kilt and presents a naos with a statuette of a deity (Osiris?), of which the head and upper body are lost, highly carved showing anatomical features particularly in the area of the legs, the fingers, and the toes; well

⁴⁴⁴ Heise (2007: 225–228, 229–233) has only two self-presentations securely attributed to Payeftjauemawyneith, on BM EA 83 and Louvre A 93. Pressl (1998: 233) refers to a lower part of a statue that she believes belongs to Payeftjauemawyneith. This object, which is the fourth statue of this man, was discovered in the University of Tanta excavations by the late Professor Fawzy Mekki at Buto/Tell Al-Farain. No date of this excavation is mentioned. However, Pressl refers only to Payeftjauemawyneith's titles on this statue and dates it to the reign of Apries. Unfortunately, my attempts to gain access to this fragmentary statue have been unsuccessful; for more on this object, see below.

⁴⁴⁵ Herein designed as BM EA 83. Other scholars have referred to this statue as BM 805 (83) (Lichtheim 2006c: 33), BM 805 (Kahl 1999: 228–230), or BM EA 83(805) (Pressl 1998: 231). Although Budge (1909: 223) calls it [No. 83] at the end of his entry, he uses no. 805 as the main number of his exhibition. All these numbers referring to this one statue are confusing.

⁴⁴⁶ However, this statue was previously displayed in Bay 26; see Hall 1930: 387.

⁴⁴⁷ *PM* (IV: 63) does not confirm whether this statue came from Heliopolis. The British Museum also has no reference to its provenance. However, this statue probably came from the temple of Atum at Heliopolis (from the Great Temenos) (?), where it was set up as the inscription mentions. Brunner-Traut (1957: 94 [6]) suggests that it may have come from Heliopolis.

⁴⁴⁸ Due to its quite dark color, some scholars (such as Brunner-Traut 1957: 94 [6]; Heise 2007: 225) think that the statue is made of black granite.

inscribed hieroglyphic text on the naos, the back pillar, and the rounded front base.

Bibliography: Sharpe 1981 [1873]: pl. 111; Piehl 1893: 88-91; Budge 1909: 223; *PM* IV: 63; Brunner-Traut 1957: 94 (6), Taf. IV (right); El-Sayed 1975: 245 (§ 25); 1982: 436; Lichtheim 2006c (1980): 33; Ghalioungui 1983: 31–32 (118); Leahy 1984: 45–58; Shubert 1989: 34; Rößler-Köhler 1991: 242–243 (64 a); Pressl 1998: 231 (E 3. 1); Kahl 1999: 228–230; Guermeur 2005: 106–108, pls. IV–V; Heise 2007: 225–228 (II. 32); Hussein 2009: 120–127 (Doc. 8), 299 (fig. 7); Spencer 2010: 456–457, figs. 8–9; Bassir 2013: 6–13, figs. 1–7; Jansen-Winkeln 2014: 396 (56. 125); Bassir 2014.

Naos: left side (vertical):

(1) *jm3hw hr⁴⁴⁹ njswt-bjt H^c-jb-R^c mrj b3w Jwnw*
 (2) *(j)m(j)-r(3) prwj-ḥd wr zwnw(w)* (3) *3 n ḥ3*
(j)m(j)-r(3) pr-wr P(3j=)f-t3w-(m)-^c(wj)-Njtt

(1) The *jm3hw* before the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Haaibre, beloved of the *b3w* of Heliopolis,⁴⁵⁰
 (2) the overseer of the two houses of silver,⁴⁵¹ the chief physician, (3) the great one of the *ḥ3*-hall, and the high steward, P(ay)eftjau(em)a(wy)neith.

Naos: right side (vertical):

(1) *jm3hw hr s3 R^c W3ḥ-jb-R^c dj 3nh mj r^c dt* (2)
(j)m(j)-r(3) prwj-ḥd wr zwnw(w) (3) *3 n ḥ3 (j)m(j)-*
r(3) pr-wr P(3j=)f-t3w-(m)-^c(wj)-Njtt

⁴⁴⁹ For more on this epithet, see below. The names of the king are here in honorific transposition and anticipated for emphasis.

⁴⁵⁰ Mercer (1952: 89–90), following Sethe (1966: 172–175) and Frankfort (1978: 93–95, 114–115), states that in the Pyramid Texts the “souls of Heliopolis” represent the “deceased kings” of the small kingdom of Heliopolis, disagreeing with Kees (1956: 153, 156 [n. 2] f., 161, 278 f.), who believes that those souls were of the gods of the same kingdom.

⁴⁵¹ This title is well attested beginning with the Old Kingdom; see Jones 2000: 133 (524).

(1) The *jm³hw* before the Son-of-Re, Wahibre, given life like Re forever, (2) the overseer of the two houses of silver, the chief physician, (3) the great one of the *h³-hall*, the high steward, P(ay)eftjau(em)a(wy)neith.

back pillar (vertical; right to left):

(1) [...] [*s*] *tnj*⁴⁵²=*f*(?)⁴⁵³ *m j³wt r j³wt*⁴⁵⁴ *m^h-jb n Hr m*
*shrw=f hr-jb*⁴⁵⁵ *wdj r³*⁴⁵⁶ *zp hpr*⁴⁵⁷ *jr(r) mr(rt) nb=f*
⁴⁵⁸ *jr(r) mr(rt) n^trw* (2) [...] *n?* *s?* *h* (?) *m pr*(?)=*sn*
*s^r*⁴⁵⁹ *jhwt=sn r hnw* ⁴⁶⁰ *h³* *wr zwnw(w) n*

⁴⁵² *Stnj* is the restored form of the verb that should be used here. The orthographical form of this verb occurs beginning in the Twenty-first Dynasty; see *Wb.* IV: 358 [3]. However, *stn* is another reading of this verb; see *Wb.* IV 343. *Stnj* is a causative verb; see Hannig 2003c: 2391 (31490).

⁴⁵³ However, Heise (2007: 226) reads and translates "... [*st*] *n* <*wj*> *hm=f m j³w.t r j³w.t* ... Seine Majestät (beförderte mich) von Amt zu Amt," which I do not follow here. The suffix pronoun =*f* here is a clear reference to the king to whom the text will later refer by *shrw=f*.

⁴⁵⁴ Heise (2007: 226 [n. 580]) states that this phrase is similar to that of line 24 in the self-presentation of Psamtiksaneith (for the full publication of this text, see Ranke 1943; Heise 2007: 217–224). Line 24 of that text reads *r(dj).n wj hm=f m j³wt r j³wt*; see Heise 2007: 223 (n. 576). Heise here follows Ranke (1943: 115). Ranke (143: 128 [n. 74]) refers to this phrase of our text, and (Ranke 1943: 131) points out that *r.n wj* in line 24, in the self-presentation of Psamtiksaneith, stands for *rdj.n wj*.

⁴⁵⁵ *Hrj jb*, meaning "the heart is content," was used beginning with the end of the New Kingdom. *Jb* developed as a determinative to *hrj*, but it is not known whether *jb* is still to be read; see *Wb* II: 496. According to Wilson, the compound phrase *hr-jb* is attested in the inscriptions of the temple of Edfu and was used to express a condition of a goddess when she hears petitions and when she is happy with a slaughter of the enemy. However, Wilson (1996: 607) does not read *jb* and deals with it as a determinative of the verb *hr* "to be happy, content," depending partly on two entries in the *Wb.* II: 496 (6) and 497 (20). In demotic, the verb *hr* meaning "to be pleased, content, at peace" has the heart-sign as a determinative; see the online *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* (29 June 2001), vol. H, 68 < http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/CDD_H.pdf (at 68) > (accessed 10 December 2014).

⁴⁵⁶ See *Wb.* I: 386 (17).

⁴⁵⁷ See Jin (2003: 271 [n. 23]) reads and translates these as "*hrj-jb wdj r³ sp hpr(.w)* ruhigen Sinnes, der spricht, wenn ein (Unglücks-)Fall vorkommt."

⁴⁵⁸ The complete form of this expression is well attested in the Twelfth Dynasty self-presentation of Sarenput I (reign of Senwosret I) at Qubbet Al-Hawa; see *Urk.* VII: 4 (10); Janssen 1946: 47 (134); Blumenthal 1970: 411–412 (G. 8. 72). A similar expression (*jr mrrt nb=f*) occurs in the late Twenty-fifth self-presentation of Padiimemipt (see Heise 2007: 102), while the expression *jr mr nb=f* occurs in the Saite self-presentation of Wahibre (see Heise 2007: 254).

⁴⁵⁹ *S^r* or *sj^r* is a causative verb used since the Old Kingdom; see Hannig 2003a: 1077 (26414).

⁴⁶⁰ Hannig 2003a: 284 (5666).

Šm^cw Mḥw (j)m(j)-r(3) prwj-ḥd (j)m(j)-r(3) prwj-nbw⁴⁶¹ (j)m(j)-r(3) pr-wr (3) [...] [ḥm-]ntr Jmn W3st-Mḥw⁴⁶² ḥm-ntr Hr P S3-Sbk⁴⁶³ msj.n jhjt⁴⁶⁴ n(t) Njtt nb(t) S3w N^c-ns-B3st⁴⁶⁵

(1) [...] whom he [the king] <promoted > from office to office,⁴⁶⁶ the trusted one of Horus⁴⁶⁷ in his plans, the one who pleases the heart, the one who induces the mouth to speak, when something occurs, he who does what his lord likes, he who does what the gods love,⁴⁶⁸
 (2) [...] in their temple(?), he who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace, the great one of the *ḥ3*-hall, the chief physician of Upper and Lower Egypt, the overseer of the two houses of silver, the overseer of the two houses of gold, the high steward, (3) [...] the (*ḥm*-)ntr-(priest) of Amun of Wasset-Mehw,⁴⁶⁹ the *ḥm-ntr*-priest of Horus of Pe, Sasobek,⁴⁷⁰ whom the female musician of Neith, Mistress of Sais, Nanesbastet, gave birth (to him).

⁴⁶¹ Jones 2000: 132 (522).

⁴⁶² El-Sayed (1975: 245) reads it “*W3st-mḥw*.” The second spelling of the forms of this place name, which Gauthier (1925: 178) has, does not have *t* at the end.

⁴⁶³ See Ranke 1935: 284 (11).

⁴⁶⁴ Dumas et al. 1988: 90 (195). According to Wilson (1997: 104), the title *jhjt* is attested since the late New Kingdom. Heise (2007: 226) reads this as *šm^cjt*, which is different. For more on *šm^cjt* (chantress), see Onstine 2005. Pressl (1998: 231) reads it *jhj.t*. For more on *jhjt*, see Li 2010: 34–35; Onstine 2005: 8–9.

⁴⁶⁵ See Ranke 1935: 182 (17).

⁴⁶⁶ A similar expression may be found on Mītrahīna 545; see below.

⁴⁶⁷ Literally “The one who fills the heart of Horus.”

⁴⁶⁸ The Third Intermediate Period self-presentation of Horakhbyt (Cairo Museum CG 42231) has a similar expression, but with only one god, *jw jr(j).n=j nb mrr ntr* “I did everything that the god loves;” see Jansen-Winkel 1985: 196, 545 (pl. d); see also Guermeur 2005: 106–108; pls. IV–V; Bassir 2013: 6–13.

⁴⁶⁹ Gauthier (1925: 178) states that this place name was the capital of the Seventeenth Nome of Lower Egypt and is now called “Tell Al-Balamoun” (or Balamân), according to Hogarth. The ancient Egyptian name perhaps was “*Pr-Jmn* the Temple of Amun.” Daressy locates it near the modern day city of “Belqas.” Because of the worship of Amun at Wasset-Mehw, the Greeks called it “Diospolis.” Tefnut, not Mut, was the spouse of Amun at that place.

⁴⁷⁰ Many officials were named Sasobek, including an official probably from the Saite Period, but he was not Payeftjauemawyneith’s father; see El-Sayed 1975: 269.

Base: front: upper line: center to right side (horizontal):

(1) (j)m(j)-r(3) pr wr P(3j=)f-t3w-(m)-^c(wj)-Njtt

(1) The high steward, P(ay)eftjau(em)a(wy)neith,

Base: right side: upper line: (horizontal):

dd=f⁴⁷¹

He says:

*Jnk*⁴⁷² *mrj n nb=f hr ndr(j)*^{473(=j)}⁴⁷⁴ *drfw*⁴⁷⁵ *m sprw*
*n hr-nb*⁴⁷⁶ *jnk jrr 3hw[t]*⁴⁷⁷ *n [... ...]*

⁴⁷¹ Dd=f is not written in Sharpe's publication (1981: 111); however, it is clear in Piehl's (1893: 88), which is more reliable and which Heise (2007: 227) also follows. It is also partly visible on the statue.

⁴⁷² Although *jnk* is obvious on the statue, Sharpe does not transcribe it with Gardiner Sign List W 24 in its complete form, but rather with V 31.

⁴⁷³ For a Middle Kingdom occurrence, see *Urk.* VII: 65 (20). For New Kingdom occurrences, see *Urk.* IV: 489 (4), 1892: (13). For a Third Intermediate Period occurrence, see Leclant 1961: 200 (21). For a Saite example, see Redford (2004: 39 [n. C]), who states that "the dominant meaning" of *ndr* is "to adhere strictly to an instruction, percept or precedent." For later tradition occurrences, as in the phrase *sb3 njswt ndr sb3yt=f* "a student of the king who follows his teachings," see Clère 1951: 138 (I, 1). For *ndr hr sb3jt n ntr nfr* "one who holds fast to the teachings of the junior good," see *Urk.* II: 59 (16); Roeder 1914: 115, pl. 33a; Clère 1951: 140 (n. C). For *hr ndr sb3jt=f* "one who holds fast to his teachings, see Gauthier 1923: 174; Clère 1951: 139-40 (n. C).

⁴⁷⁴ As was the case in the Old Egyptian writing system, the first singular person of the suffix pronoun =j is omitted; therefore, I restore it here.

⁴⁷⁵ See Abydos Statue above, which has *ndr drj*, translated by Heise (2007: 202) as "der die Vorschriften befolgt." The fragmentary diorite (Redford [2004: 58 {No. 483a}] mentions basalt striding statue of Ahmose son of Nesatum (63 x 25 cm), from Mendes No. 483a, has also *ndr drfw*, which Redford (2004: 38, 39 [n. D], 58 [No. 483a], 104 [fig. 57, no. 483a]) translates "one who adhered to the texts of..." and "I adhered to the documents of the Palace." For *drj* in later tradition, see *Urk.* II: 62 (10), 38 (16); Roeder 1914: 115, pl. 33a.

⁴⁷⁶ Heise (2007: 227) reads *hr rmt nb*. This should read *hr-nb*, which literally means "every face," referring to people, especially of Egypt, and it is well attested beginning with the Middle Kingdom; see *Wb.* III: 130 (4-12). It also appears in the inscriptions of the temple of Edfu, see Wilson 1997: 662 (3). The only differences here are the lack of the stroke beside the *hr* face and the omission of the plural marker (three vertical strokes) after the "lady" determinative. These features were very common in the Late Period writing system, however.

I was one beloved of his lord while observing⁴⁷⁸ the⁴⁷⁹ writings,⁴⁸⁰ one who listened to the appeals of everyone. I was one who did the benefit⁴⁸¹ for ...

Base: back: upper line: right side to center (horizontal):

jrj bw-nfr⁴⁸² n hwt-ntr tn

one who did good for this temple.

dd=tn

You may recite:

Base: front: lower line: center to right side (horizontal):

(2) *h̄tp-dj-njswt h̄3 m t⁴⁸³ h̄nkt p̄3wt⁴⁸⁴ h̄t nb(t) nfrt*

(2) a *h̄tp-dj-njswt*: a thousand of bread, beer, cake offering, and every good thing,

⁴⁷⁷ Pichl (1893: 88) has *3ht*, while Sharpe (1981: 111) does not reflect this reading (although it is partly clear on the statue) and has a sign perhaps closer to Gardiner Sign List T 12. This writing of *3ht* dates to the Late Period; see *Wb*. I: 15 (10–16); Wilson 1997: 14 (4).

⁴⁷⁸ The *4inf* verb was originally written *ndrj* (or *ndrw*) since the Old Kingdom; see Hannig 2003a: 689 (17186); Hannig 2003b: 1424 (17186). This is, with *d* instead of *d̄* and without any determinative, a Late Period writing form of this verb; see *Wb*. II: 382. Heise (2007: 227) reads *ndr*.

⁴⁷⁹ Sharpe (1981: 111) has a duplicate *f* as if he reads the word as *drffw*. However, the sign, which he transcribes as Gardiner Sign List I 9, is actually D 13, which is usually written within the word *drf* since the Old Kingdom, see Hannig 2003a: 1480 (39149).

⁴⁸⁰ It can mean also “signs” or “glyphs.” However, Hannig (2003a: 1480 [39152]) translates “the chartered rights.”

⁴⁸¹ *3hwt* here means “benefit” or “what is beneficial.” According to Wilson (1997: 14), *3hwt* can mean “glory.”

⁴⁸² Although it is partly clear on the statue, the section of *3hwt(t) n ... bw-nfr* is not in Sharpe (1981: 111 [a, 10]); but it does appear in Pichl (1893: 88). Heise (2007: 227) also follows the reading of Pichl.

⁴⁸³ Although it is partly visible on the statue, the hieroglyph of the word *t* is not clear in Sharpe (1981: 111). It is perhaps written upside down, if it is Gardiner Sign List X 1, the common determinative of the word *t*.

⁴⁸⁴ *P3wt* (or *p3t*) is a kind of bread or cake mentioned in funerary offering lists since the Old Kingdom; see *Wb*. I: 495 (6–8); Wilson 1997: 344; Hannig 2003a: 437(10374).

Base: right side: lower line (horizontal):

n k3 n (j)m(j)-r(3) pr wr P(3j=)f-t3w-(m)-c(wj)-Njtt

for the *k3* of the high steward, P(ay)eftjau(em)a(wy)-neith

*ntr dj r wšb jrjt⁴⁸⁵ tm sdr st⁴⁸⁶ <r> wp.n=f⁴⁸⁷
jht[(w)t]⁴⁸⁸ r⁴⁸⁹*

god⁴⁹⁰ is here to answer what is done,⁴⁹¹ he who does not sleep,⁴⁹² <until> he separates [affair(s)]

Base: back: lower line: right side to center (horizontal):

[jht m nfrt m]⁴⁹³bjn⁴⁹⁴

[from each other into good and into] bad

⁴⁸⁵ Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 91) considers this phrase part of the appeal to the living and translates it “Gott ist hier, um auf das zu antworten, was getan wird,” further citing a similar phrase from the tomb of Petosiris and translating it “Thot ist hier und reagiert auf den, der handelt.”

⁴⁸⁶ *St* is a form of *jst*; see Hannig 2003a: 220 (3947).

⁴⁸⁷ Although it is not clear, Piehl (1893: 88) restored *hr* here.

⁴⁸⁸ The plural marker is mine. My restoration here is based on an inscription from the tomb of Petosiris which has “*nn sdr.n=f r nn wp.n=f jhwt r jhwt m nfr m bjn* He [Thoth (?)] does not sleep, without his having separated the affairs from each other into good and into bad;” see Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 85.

⁴⁸⁹ Although it is partly obvious on the statue, Sharpe (1981: 111) does not have this section “*n=f...*.” Although there is a crack at the end of the right side of the base toward the back pillar, it seems that not many groups are missing. However, Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 85) restores “*n=fht r.*”

⁴⁹⁰ “God” here is indefinite.

⁴⁹¹ See also *Wb.* I: 371 (21).

⁴⁹² I here draw on the phrase *tm sdm* “that one who does not listen” and the phrase *tm wn* “those who are not” (lit. “those who do not exist”); see *Wb.* I: 302 (14)–303 (1); Wilson 1997: 1143.

⁴⁹³ This is the restoration of Jansen-Winkeln (1999: 85), who translates the whole phrase “(Gott is hier ...), der nicht schläft, bevor er nicht (?) die Angelegenheiten voneinander in gute und böse geschieden hat.” However, the right edge of the back base is damaged.

⁴⁹⁴ Piehl (1893: 88) reads *bjn*, followed by Heise (2007: 227). However, Sharpe (1981: 111 [b, 11]) may perhaps refer to an incomplete form of the word *bjn* (which is identical with the statue inscription this time), where the base of Garduner Sign List D 58 is damaged. If *bjn* can here be understood in its plural form “*bjn(w)* evildoers,” although there are no plural strokes, this was common in the Late Period writing system. Wilson (1997: 308 [4]) points out that the plural form of this word refers particularly to the evil acts of Seth and his followers; see also *Wb.* I: 444 (1–9).

Base: front: upper line: center to left side (horizontal):

(1) *(j)m(j)-r(3) pr wr P(3j=)f-t3w-(m)-^c(wj)-Njtt*

(1) The high steward, P(ay)eftjau(em)a(wy)neith,

Base: left side: upper line (horizontal):

dd=f

he says:

⁴⁹⁵ *jr w^cb nb ^ck r hwt-ntr nt (J)tm(w)⁴⁹⁶ nb Jwnw
mkj.t(j) = fj znn pn⁴⁹⁷ dj = f n = fjht nb(t) nfrt*

As for every *w^cb*-priest who enters into the temple of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, who will protect⁴⁹⁸ this statue, he will give to it every good thing,

Base: back: upper line: left to center (horizontal):

m-ht htp ntr jm dd=f

after the god is satisfied thereof, (and) he will recite:

Base: front: lower line: center to left (horizontal):

⁴⁹⁵ Starting from this section of the text until the end, except the phrase *s^cr shr(w) njwt tn r-hnw ^ch*, scholars (Der Manuelian 1994; Kahl 1999) refer to a probable textual transmission from earlier Egyptian sources such as that of Siut I and that of TT 39; see below.

⁴⁹⁶ This archaizing writing of Atum's name dates back to the Old Kingdom, more specifically to the Pyramid Texts, and lasted to the Roman Period; see Myśliwiec 1979: 10. For instance, it occurs on the naos of Domitian; see Daressy 1916: 125 (line 5).

⁴⁹⁷ For a Late Period *znn pn* and its different writings, see Clère 1951: 147 (line 1) and (§ D). For more on *znn pn*, see below.

⁴⁹⁸ Jansen-Winkel (1994b: 123), followed by Kahl (1999: 219–224, 228–230) and Heise (2007: 227 [n. 588]), believes that this verbal form is used in what he calls “protection formula.” However, this future active participle is not part of the normal protection formula known in this kind of Egyptian text. The inclusion of the verb *mkj* “to protect” does not imply that this expression is a protection formula.

(2) *h̄tp-dj-njswt h̄3 t h̄nkt p3wt ht nb(t) nfrt*

(2) a *h̄tp-dj-njswt*: a thousand of bread, beer, cake offering, and every good thing,

Base: left: lower line (horizontal):

(1) *n k3 n (j)m(j)-r(3) pr wr P(3j=)f-ḫw-(m)-ᶜ(wj)-Njtt*

(1) for the *k3* of the high steward, P(ay)eftjau(em)-a(wy)neith,

jw=f r j3w m njwt=f m jm3ḫw⁴⁹⁹ n sp3t=f

he will be the elder in his city, and the *jm3ḫw* of his nome.

jnk sᶜḫ

I was a noble one,

Base: back: lower line: left to center (horizontal):

n jrj n=f sᶜr⁵⁰⁰ sh̄r(w)⁵⁰¹ njwt tn r-ḫnw ᶜḫ

for whom one should act, (and) one who presents the affair(s) of this city to the interior of the palace.

MIT RAHINA 545 STATUE
(figure 23, plates 27–30)⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁹ Although it is obviously clear on the statue, the transcription of *jm3ḫw* is not visible in Sharpe (1981: 111).

⁵⁰⁰ The scribe probably mixed *sᶜr* (or *sjᶜ*, *sjᶜr*) with *sᶜḫ*, the word that he wrote before; see above, line III, C, 2 and no. (21). Teeter (1997: 49–50) points out that *sᶜr*, “to cause to ascend,” is one of two verbs usually employed to offer Maat and refers to the physical elevation of Maat and the goddess’s image. For example, in Speos Artemidos inscription (see *Urk.* IV: 384 [15]) there is the phrase *sᶜr.n=j m3ᶜt* “I have elevated Maat.”

⁵⁰¹ The intended word here is probably *sh̄rw*, not *sh̄rt*, which is perhaps wrongly written.

Reign:	Apries?
Location:	Saqqara Storehouse (?) (it was previously at Mit Rahina Storehouse)
Excavation Number:	545
Provenance:	Mit Rahina from soundings to the north of the paved road, opposite the sphinx; discovered December 1967 CE
Material:	Basalt
Measurements:	Height 48 cm
Brief Description:	A middle part of a possibly standing naophorous (?) statue with no arms or left leg; ⁵⁰³ with a highly inscribed hieroglyphic text on the back pillar; wearing a pleated kilt; probably was holding a figure of a deity (Ptah (?), now missing); the rest of the body is perfectly sculpted and shows clear anatomical details.
Bibliography:	Bakry 1970: 325–333, fig. 1, pls. XXXV-XXXVII; Van De Walle and De Meulenaere 1973: 61–62; Pressl 1996: 232; <i>PM</i> III.2: 847–848; Heise 2007; Hussein 2009: 124–126; Jansen-Winkeln 2014: 554 (57. 278).

back pillar (vertical; right to left):

(1) [...] ... *Hr nb ḥ stnj=f m j3wt r j3wt mh-jb n Hr m shr(w)=f hr-jb w(?) [Hr(?)]* (2) [...s(?) ḥ(?) m pr=s]n s^rr jḥwt=sn r-hnw ḥ 3 n ḥ3 wr-zwnw(w) Šm^rw-

⁵⁰² Herein designated as Mitrahina 545. According to the register book of the Saqqara antiquities inspectorate, this middle part of a statue, made of schist and measures 47 cm in height, has 2537 as a register book number and 545 as an excavation number. It was discovered by Ahmad Al-Taher Mohamed in Tell Al-Sebekhah at Mit Rehinah. I tried to get recent photographs of this statue but with no success. Bakry (1970: 327, figs. 1–2), depending on the back pillar inscription of BM EA 83, thinks that this fragmentary statue belongs to Payeftjaucmawyneith. Bakry's work is the main and indeed only source for this statue, and it is accepted without any further discussion by scholars such as Pressl 1998: 232; *PM* III.2: 848; Jansen-Winkeln, 2014: 554 (57. 278). Bakry was perhaps most likely right in his assumption. Although the statue does not have any reference to any king, Bakry (1970: 325) dates it to the reign of Apries, while Jansen-Winkeln (2014: 554 [57. 278]), to the reign of Amasis. This statue dates probably to reign of Apries, based on BM EA 83 and Payeftjaucmawyneith's titles on both statues.

⁵⁰³ Bakry (1970:325) suggests that the statue owner was probably holding in front of him a figure of the god Ptah, now missing, *PM* III.2: 847–848 places this statue in a group of finds from the Ptah enclosure and dependencies. The name of this official is incomplete. Since many sections of this statue are missing, the overall biography would probably be as lengthy as that one on BM EA 83. This statue was probably dedicated to the god Ptah of Memphis. For more on this temple in the Saite Period, see Leclère 2008: 61–63.

Mḥw (j)m(j)-r(3) pr ḥd (j)m(j)-r(3) pr nbw (j)m(j)-r(3) pr wr P3(j)=f-[t3w-(m)-(wj)-Njtt...]

(1) [...] ... Horus, lord of the palace, whom he promoted from office to office, the trusted one of Horus in his plans, the one who pleases the heart of [Horus(?)], (2) [...in the]ir [temple(?)],⁵⁰⁴ the one who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace, the great one of the *ḥ3*-hall, the chief physician of Upper and Lower Egypt, the overseer of the house of silver, the overseer of the house of gold, the high steward, P(ay)ef[tjau(em)a(wy)neith]

BUTO STATUE⁵⁰⁵

Reign:	Apries/Amasis
Current Location:	Buto/Tell Al-Faraïn (?)
Provenance:	Tanta University excavations by the late Fawzy Mekkawy, the Temple Area at Buto (?)
Material:	Unknown
Discription:	A lower part of a (naophorous?) statue that has a base and a back pillar.
Bibliography:	Pressl 1998: 233 [E 3. 5]; Hussein 2009: 128–129; Jansen-Winkel 2014: 486 (57. 184).

⁵⁰⁴ See BM EA 83, above.

⁵⁰⁵ Pressl, 1998: 233, refers to a lower part of a statue that she believes belongs to Payeftjauemawyneith. According to Pressl, this statue was discovered in the University of Tanta excavations by the late Fawzy Mekkawy at Buto/Tell Al-Faraïn. No date for this excavation is mentioned, and she refers only to Payeftjauemawyneith's titles on this statue. Attempts to gain access to this fragmentary statue or a photograph of it met with no success, so here I must follow Pressl 1998: 233 (E 3.5). I do not know whether this piece (herein designated as Buto Statue) is still there or was moved to another magazine of the Delta. For a review of these excavations, see Mekkawy 1989. I do not know of the original placement or the word order of these titles on the statue; therefore, I follow Pressl 1998: 233. For more on Buto, see Leclère 2008: 197–232. Pressl (1998: 233) dates this statue to the reign of Apries, while Jansen-Winkel (2014: 486 [57. 184]), to the reign of Amasis. Based on the titles of Payeftjauemawyneith on this statue, it could be dated late into the reign of Apries or early in the reign of Amasis, or from the transition from the first to the latter.

Base: Sequence 1a:

*(j)r(j)-p^c(t) htmt(j)-bjt(j) h3(tj)-^c [...] mh-jb n njswt
(m) s(w)t<=f> nb(wt)*

The *(j)r(j)-p^c(t)*. The sealer of the King of Lower Egypt. The *h3(tj)-^c* [...]. The trusted one of the king (in) all <his> place(s).

Base-Sequence 1b:

(j)m(j)-r(3) pr wr

The high steward.

Back Pillar-Sequence 2:

*[wr] zw(nww) n Šm^cw Mhw (j)m(j)-r(3) prwj-ḥd
(j)m(j)-r(3) prwj-nbw*

The [chief] physic(ian) of Upper and Lower Egypt. The overseer of the two houses of silver. The overseer of the two houses of gold.

LOUVRE A 93 STATUE

(figures 24–25, plates 31–34)⁵⁰⁶

Reign: Amasis
 Current Location: Paris, Louvre Museum, AE, Room 12/base
 Accession Number: A 93⁵⁰⁷
 Provenance: Abydos (from the temple of Osiris) (?)⁵⁰⁸
 Material: Gray granite (?)
 Measurements: Height 172.5 cm; Width 42.5 cm; Depth 67.5 cm
 Brief Description: Payeftjauemawyneith standing on a blank rectangular base; his left foot advanced; presenting a naos with a standing statuette

⁵⁰⁶ Herein designated as Louvre A 93.

⁵⁰⁷ Its full record at the Louvre is A 93 - N 94 - MR 14 (?).

⁵⁰⁸ The Egyptian Department at the Louvre Museum does not know exactly the provenance of this statue, which was in France before the 1789 Revolution. It was placed in the museum in 1793.

of Osiris. He wears a tight garment, a wig and a necklace. The statue is highly carved with a well polished surface. The naos has two sections: the upper with a statuette of Osiris inside; the lower a stand carved with the base and carrying the upper section, Payeftjauemawyneith holding a naos in the form of the hieroglyphic sign *hrp*⁵⁰⁹ between his legs while his advanced left leg is very close to the end of the naos stand; Payeftjauemawyneith's hands touch gently upon the two sides of the naos;⁵¹⁰ the naos has no inscription; hieroglyphic inscriptions are on the back pillar and the left side of the back pillar behind Payeftjauemawyneith's left leg starting from his torso to the base of the left foot.

Bibliography:

Pierret II, 1878: 39–41; Brugsch VI, 1891: 1252–1254; Piehl 1894: 118–122; Baillet 1895: 127–129; Piehl 1896: 81–83; Piehl II, 1903; *BAR* IV: 514–517 [§ 1015–1025]; *PM* V: 99; Lefebvre 1933: 94–100; Bosse 1936: Doc. No. 88; Otto 1954: 164–166 (27 a); Jelínková-Reymond 1957: 275–287; *ESLP*: 68, 76, 77; Chassinat 1966: 255–260; Lichtheim, 2006c (1980), 33–6; Goedicke, 1982: 173–174; Leahy 1984a: 45–58; Rößler-Köhler 1991: 243–245 (64 b); Perdu 1992: 145–162; Jansen-Winkeln 1994: 107–129; Pressl 1998: 231–233 (E 3. 2); Shubert 1993 [1989]: 27–47; Thiers 1999: 108–109; Heise 2007: 229–233 (II. 33); De Meulenaere 2009: 225 (a); Hussein 2009: 129–134, 213–210, 301 (fig. 9); Spencer 2010: 454–456, figs. 5–7; Klotz 2010: 128–129; Jansen-Winkeln 2014: 557–558 (57. 287); Bassir and Creasman 2014: 161–169, fig. 6; Klotz 2014b (in press); Bassir 2015a (in press).

Back pillar (vertical; right to left):

(1) (j)r(j) p^c(t) h3(tj) -^c smr-w^ct(j) hrp - ^ch wr-
zwnw(w) (j)m(j)-r(3) prwj-hd nbw 3 n h3 jm3hw 3

⁵⁰⁹ The *hrp*-sign here is more appropriate than *shm*, which Bosse (1936: 39 [88], 90) suggests, since it refers to his title, "*hrp*-^ch administrator of the palace."

⁵¹⁰ David Klotz, pers. com. of June 15, 2014, observes that "the protective gesture on Louvre A 93, where Pefuaneith guards the naos of Osiris with his hands, might allude to his personal involvement in rebuilding, staffing, and providing offerings for the Osiris temple, as he relates in his biography." See also Klotz 2014b.

*m pr-njswt (j)m(j)-r(3) pr wr P(3j=)f-t3w-(m)-^c(wj)-
Njtt jrj.n hrp-ḥwwt ^cd-mr dp ḥm-ntr Hr P S3-Sbk
dd(=f) (j) w^cb nb jrj.t(j)=f(j) jht-ntr ḥzj tn Hntj-
Jmntt r šdj(t).tn n(=j) prt-ḥrw m sn-t3 n Hntj-Jmntt
mj m33=tn 3ḥ(=j) hr ntr(=j) tnn(=j) hr ḥm (2) n
nb(=j) r s^cḥ=f nb jnk smr n jrj n=f ḥmww jkr smnh
pr=f jw s^cr.n(=j) mdt 3bdw r-ḥnw ^ch r sdm⁵¹¹ ḥm=f
wd.n ḥm=f jrj(t) k3t m 3bdw n-mr(wt) grg 3bdw
jrj.n(=j) wrt m smnh 3bdw rdj.n(=j) jht-nb(t) nt
3bdw r st jrj sdr(=j) tp=j rs(w) hr ḥhj(t) nfr 3bdw
hr=s wn(=j) (3) hr dbht ḥzwt hr nb(=j) r^c-nb n-
mr(wt) grg 3bdw ḥwsj.n(=j) ḥwt-ntr nt Hntj-Jmntt
m k3t mnht nt nhḥ m wd.n=j hr ḥm=f m3n=f⁵¹²
rwd(=j) m jht T3-wr phr.n(=j) sw m jnbw n
db3(w)t⁵¹³ ^crḥ-ḥḥ m m3t w^c ḥd špsj m d^cm ḥkrw ntrj
stp s3(w) dbḥw nb(w) nw jht-ntr m (4) nbw ḥd ^c3t
nb(t) jw ḥwsj.n(=j) Wpg sš.n(=j) ^cḥw=f šdj.n(=j)
mr=f wdj m mnw sdf3.n(=j) ḥwt-ntr n Hntj-Jmntt
s^c3(j)(=j) ^ck^w=f smn(w) m jmnjt⁵¹⁴ nt r^c-nb grg(=j)
šn^cw=f m ḥmw ḥmwt rdj.n(=j) n=f wdb⁵¹⁵ n 3ḥ(w)t
st3t ḥ3 m šht T3-wr grg(w) m rmt ^cwt nb(t) jr(j) rn=f
m Wsjr-Grgt*

(1) The (j)r(j)-p^c(t), ḥ3(tj)-^c, the sole friend, the administrator of the palace, the chief physician, the overseer of the two houses of silver and gold, the great one of the ḥ3-hall, the great *jm3ḥw* in the king's house, the high steward, P(ay)ef-tjau-(em)-a(wy)-neith, whom the controller of temples,⁵¹⁶ the administrator

⁵¹¹ Heise (2007: 230) reads “*sdm ḥm=f* so daß seine Majestät (ihn) hören konnte.”

⁵¹² *M3n* is subjunctive of *m33*; cf. Gardiner 1973: § 452.

⁵¹³ *Dbt* is the writing for this word (*Wb*. V: 553 [6], which survived in demotic as *tb*; see *EDG*: 617. However, this word survives from Coptic, **ⲧⲠⲬⲉ** (S), **ⲧⲠⲬⲉ** (S.A.), **ⲧⲠⲬⲉ** (S) **ⲧⲠⲬⲉ** (S^t. B); see *KHwb*.: 221; *CCD*: 398a; Wiesmann 1915: 130). In modern Egyptian Arabic it survives as “*tubab*” or “*tubatton*” (feminine singular), and “*tubbāi*” (sound feminine plural) and “*tūb*” (broken plural), not as “*gebel*” as Westendorf points out. Therefore, I read it *db3(w)t*, “bricks.”

⁵¹⁴ Janssen (1968: 168, [n. l.]) translates *jmnjt* as “everlasting offering.”

⁵¹⁵ *Wb*. I: 409 [1].

⁵¹⁶ It is usually *hrp-ḥwwt-(Njtt)*, meaning “Director of the Temples (of Neith/of the Red Crown),” see Jelínková 1950; Klotz 2014a: 729–730 with references there.

of the domain of Dep, and the *hm-ntr*-priest of Horus of Pe, Sasobek, made, he says: “(O) every *w^cb*-priest who will perform the rituals,⁵¹⁷ Khentyimentt⁵¹⁸ will praise you for your reciting the invocation-offerings for (me), while kissing the earth to Khentyimentt; when you see that (I) was glorious before my god, (and) distinguished by the majesty (2) of (my) lord more than any noble one of his. I was a companion for whom one should act, (and) an excellent craftsman who embellishes his house.⁵¹⁹ I presented the issue of Abydos, to the interior of the palace, to the hearing of his majesty. His majesty ordered the executing of work at Abydos, for establishing Abydos; I acted greatly in embellishing Abydos, I put everything of Abydos in its place. I lay awake seeking (things) through which Abydos would prosper,⁵²⁰ I (3) requested favors from (my) lord everyday, for the purpose of restoring Abydos. I built the temple of Khentyimentt, as an excellent construction of eternity, according to what I had been ordered by his majesty, that he might see that I was busy⁵²¹ in the affairs of Tawer. I surrounded it with walls of bricks, the *r^k-hh*-shrine was a single block of granite, the holy chapel of electrum, while the divine adornments, exerting protection, the divine amulets, (and) all the requirements of the rituals (4) were of gold, silver, (and) all costly stones. I built the

⁵¹⁷ For more on the cultic term *jr-jht*, see Routledge 2001.

⁵¹⁸ Khentyimentt here is an epithet of Osiris, who is depicted inside the naos, and is mentioned about three times in the second half of the text. In Saite inscriptions, Osiris is mentioned as a major god of Abydos. For example, texts state *Wsjr Hntj-Jmntt ntr ʕ3 nb-3bdw* or *h^tp-dj-njswt Wsjr nb ddw ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw*; see Piehl 1903: 29 (.7), pl. XXXIX–XLIII. For more on the syncretism between the two gods, especially at Abydos, see Wegner 1996, esp. pp. 9–59; 2001; Brovarski 1994a; 1994b; and also Cahail 2014.

⁵¹⁹ Lichtheim (2006c: 36 [n. 6]) believes that “his house” presumably designates “the Osiris temple.” In the light of statements above which refer to the king, “his house” probably can be understood as reference to the king’s house. The office of Payeftjaemawyneith as “the administrator of the palace” can also support this argument; see above.

⁵²⁰ *Nfr* is a passive participle, cf. Gardiner 1973: § 376.

⁵²¹ *Wb.* II: 412 [6].

Wpg-sanctuary, set up its braziers, and dug its lake, which had been planted with trees. I provisioned the temple of Khentyimentt, multiplying⁵²² his income, which was established with offerings of everyday, furnishing his food production place with male and female slaves. I gave him a donation of a thousand aruras of fields,⁵²³ in the countryside of Tawer, having been equipped with people and all small cattle, and its name having been made as “Osiris-Establishment,”

Statue: left side (vertical; right to left):

(5) *n-mr(wt) jr htp-ntr(w) jm=f m 3w(t) dt whm.n(=j) n=f htp-ntr(w) t hnkt k3w 3pdw m-h3w wn jm m-b3h jrj.n(=j) n=f t nt-ht⁵²⁴srd⁵²⁵ m ht bnr nb k3r(j)w jm=s n h3s(w)t* (6) *jn(j) m skr-nhw dj(w) jrp hnw 30 jm(=s) r-nb hr wdhw n Hntj-Jmntt f3j(w) htp(w) jm(=s) m 3wt dt sm3wj.n(=j) pr-nh m-ht w3sj smn.n(j) snmw* (7) *jht nt Wsjr dj.n(=j) nt-f nb r st jrj mdh.n(=j) wj3-ntr m š gm.n(=j) jr(w) m šndt dr.n(=j) tp(j)-hbs(w)⁵²⁶ m T3-wr hwj.n(=j)⁵²⁷ T3-wr n* (8) *nb=s mkj.n(=j) n⁵²⁸ rmt=s nb rdj(=j) jšt prjt m h3st T3-wr r hwt-ntr gmj.n(=j) m- h3(tj)- n-mr(wt) krs⁵²⁹* (9) *3bdwjw rdj.n(=j) mhnt⁵³⁰ nt T3-wr r hwt-ntr dr.n(=j) m- h3(tj)- mrj Wsjr grg njwt=f hzj.n* (10) *w(j) hm=f*

⁵²² Adverb clause with *sdm=f*.

⁵²³ About 271 hectares or 670 acres; see Kees 1961: 69; Bakry 1970: 329.

⁵²⁴ The expression *t-nt-ht* probably first appeared in the tombs of Qenamun (TT 93) and Sennefer (TT 96) (reign of Amenhotep II) and lasted until the end of the Ptolemaic Period in the temple of Dendara. For the Theban tombs, see *Urk.* IV 1396, 1417–1418; see also Hugonot 1989: 9.

⁵²⁵ See *Wb.* IV: 205 (4).

⁵²⁶ However, Heise (2007: 232) reads *tp-hbs* “die Gewalttätigkeit.”

⁵²⁷ *Wb.* III: 244 (11). For more, see below more on the expression *hwj-mkj*.

⁵²⁸ The preposition *n* precedes the direction object as in Coptic; see, for example, Lambdin 2000: 35 (10.1–2). Therefore, this *n* is not a dative marker but an object marker; that is, the scribe did not write this sentence as the previous one “*hwj.n(=j) T3-wr n nb=s*,” which has both a direct object and dative.

⁵²⁹ Infinitive.

⁵³⁰ For more on the *mhnt*-boat, see below.

hr jrj.n(=j) dj=f nḥ n s3=f Jḥ-msj-s3-Njtt dj=f
ḥztt hr ḥm=f jm3ḥw hr (11) ntr-ᶜ wᶜb(w) dw3-ntr
n(=j) prj nb ḥzt(j) m hwt-ntr dd=tn jw (12)
(j)[m](j)-r(3) pr-wr P(3j=)f-t3w-(m)-ᶜ(wj)-Njtt msj
n N(ᶜ)-ns-B3stt (13) m dpt-ntr šsp=f t n nḥḥ (14) m
ḥ3t sᶜḥw

(5) so as to make divine-offering(s) in it in the length of eternity. I renewed for it its divine-offering(s) bread, beer, oxen, and fowl, in excess of what had been formerly there. I made for it a garden, having been planted with all fruit trees, the gardeners in it being of foreign lands, (6) and having been brought as captives. Thirty *ḥmw*-jars of wine will be placed from (it) daily upon the altar of Khentyimentt, and offerings shall be presented from (it) in the length of eternity. I renovated the House of Life after (it) having been ruined, I established the food (7) supplies of Osiris, I put all its duties in their places. I built the god's sacred bark of cedar, (which) I found made of Nile acacia. I subdued the violence (head-plunderers[?]) in Tawer, I guarded Tawer for (8) its lord, I protected its entire people giving property (being delivered) from Tawer's desert to the temple, (which) I had found in the possession of the *ḥ3(tj)-ᶜ*, so that (9) the Adyene people would be buried. I gave the ferryboat of Tawer to the temple, (which) I took away from the charge of the *ḥ3(tj)-ᶜ*; (for) Osiris wishes that his town is (well) established. His majesty praised (10) me because of what I had done. May he give life to his son, Ahmose-Son-of-Neith, may he give what is favored in the presence of his majesty, and *jmakh*⁵³¹ before (11) the great god. O *wᶜb*-priest(s), praise the god for me. O everyone who comes forth from the temple praised, you may recite: "May (12) the high steward P(ay)ef-tjau-(em)-a(wy)-Neith, whom Nanesbastet made,

⁵³¹ On *jmakh*, see Rößler-Köhler 1989; Jansen-Winkel 1996.

be (13) the sacred barque. May he receive the bread of
eternity (14) at the front of the blessed dead.”

CHAPTER SIX

“I Was a Noble One”: Analysis of Payeftjauemawyneith’s Self-Presentation

Once again, lack of a tomb hampers the full reconstruction of Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentation. It does not seem unreasonable that his tomb will be located in the future at Abusir, where many late Saite tombs have been recently uncovered.⁵³² Until then, we must rely on his four known statues, which allow us again to shed light on the various aspects of Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentations and statues: the historical and archaeological issues; artistic, linguistic, and literary notions; and religious and moral values.

PAYEFTJAUEMAWYNEITH’S GENEALOGY

This protagonist’s name was very common in the Late Period.⁵³³ Several proposals for the full form of his name have been suggested: Payeftjauerawyneith,⁵³⁴ Payeftjauherawyneith,⁵³⁵ and Payeftjauemawyneith.⁵³⁶ The last is most reasonable and is that which I follow here. The formation of Payeftjauemawyneith’s name, Payeftjauemawy plus a deity’s name, was common in the Late Period. Ranke lists a name similar to this protagonist’s, “*p3.f-t3w(m-) ˆ.wj-n-(?)njt* sein Atem ist in den Händen der Neith.”⁵³⁷ The full form of this protagonist’s should read “*P3(j)=f-t3w-(m)ˆ(wj)-Njtt* Payeftjauemawyneith,” meaning “His breath is in the hands of Neith.” The different ways of the hieroglyphic writing of Payeftjauemawyneith’s name are:

BMEA 83



⁵³² For example, the tomb of Udjahorresnet. For a review of them, see Bareš et al. 1999; Bareš 2005. For more on Late Period tombs, see above.

⁵³³ See, for instance, Mogensen 1919: 69 (58); Posener 1936: 164 (n. 5), 11; El-Sayed 1975: 230, 235, 245, 266.

⁵³⁴ Lefebvre 1933: 94 (n. 4).

⁵³⁵ Clère 1938: 105; Bakry 1970: 326; Ghalioungui 1983: 31.

⁵³⁶ Posener 1936: 11.

⁵³⁷ Ranke 1935: 128 (2).

Mit Rahina 545 (incomplete)


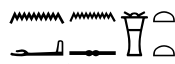


Louvre A 93



The self-presentations and statues of Payeftjauemawyneith reveal in brief his family and his personal history. He had descended from an elite family of the Delta, where his parents occupied priestly offices. Since his family was based at Sais, his family members may have endorsed the new rule of the Saites, or they might have had close connections with the royal house.

The known genealogy from Payeftjauemawyneith's statues is brief. As was the case for Neshor, neither wife nor children are known for Payeftjauemawyneith. His statues reveal only his parents' names and titles. These are:

	↔	
Sasobek		Nanesbastet
<i>S3-Sbk</i> ⁵³⁸		<i>N^c-ns-B3stt</i>
Father		Mother

The titles of Payeftjauemawyneith's father are:

<i>hrp ḥwwt</i> ⁵³⁹	director of the buildings	BM EA 83
<i>ꜥd mr dp</i>	<i>ꜥd mr</i> of Buto	BM EA 83
<i>ḥm-ntr Ḥr P</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr</i> -priest of Horus of Pe	BM EA 83
<i>ḥm-ntr Jmn-W3st-Mḥw</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr</i> -priest of Amun of Wasset-Mehw	BM EA 83

⁵³⁸ A king called *S3-Sbk* was mentioned in Papyrus Vandier, and his name (as Sasuchis) probably appears in the classical sources; see Jasnow 1996: 179.

⁵³⁹ For more on this title, see Jelínková 1950; El-Sayed 1976.

His mother's title is:

jhjt n(t) Njtt nbt S3w female musician of Neith, Mistress of Sais BM EA 83

Although his mother's name is incomplete on Louvre A 93, it is clear on BM EA 83. The title of Payeftjauemawyneith's mother as a female musician shows that she was part of the female clergy in the local cult of Neith at Sais. His father's titles are completely religious and differ from the secular titles of his son. H. S. K. Bakry⁵⁴⁰ and Paul Ghalioungui⁵⁴¹ point out that Payeftjauemawyneith's family members were worshippers of Neith of Sais, stating that Payeftjauemawyneith was born at Sais without providing any evidence to support this assumption.

Three children and a wife have been attributed to Payeftjauemawyneith. The first is Udjahorresnet on Vatican statue 196, proposed by Peter Le Page Renouf and Eugène Revillout, and recently by Steven Blake Shubert.⁵⁴² However, Georges Posener does not support this proposal.⁵⁴³ Payeftjauemawyneith's titles on Vatican statue 196 are different from those of our Payeftjauemawyneith on Louvre A 93, who, furthermore, did not hold any religious title.⁵⁴⁴ Therefore, our Payeftjauemawyneith on Louvre A 93 is not Payeftjauemawyneith, the father of Udjahorresnet on Vatican statue 196. Bakry and Paul Ghalioungui,⁵⁴⁵ following Henri Gauthier,⁵⁴⁶ attribute Wahibre as another son to Payeftjauemawyneith based only on the name Payeftjauemawyneith. However, Wahibre's father was not our Payeftjauemawyneith because his titles, too, are different.⁵⁴⁷ Padebehu was a third son alleged to belong to our Payeftjauemawyneith. H. Bakry⁵⁴⁸ and *ESLP*⁵⁴⁹ state that Henri Gauthier⁵⁵⁰ thinks that Padebehu, owner of statue Brooklyn Museum no. 60.II, could be a brother of Wahibre because his father was also named Payeftjauemawyneith, although the name of Padebehu's mother was probably Takhety. Payeftjauemawyneith, Padebehu's father, was not our Payeftjauemawyneith because he was "*hm-ntrt*-priest

⁵⁴⁰ Bakry 1970: 229.

⁵⁴¹ Ghalioungui 1983: 66.

⁵⁴² See Posener 1936: 164; Shubert 1993: 34, 36.

⁵⁴³ Posener 1936: 11, 164.

⁵⁴⁴ See Posener 1936: 6. For the placement in which Payeftjauemawyneith on Vatican statue 196 is mentioned, with comments and historical results, see Posener 1936: 6, 7, 10–11 (n. *k*), 164.

⁵⁴⁵ See Bakry 1970: 328; Ghalioungui 1983: 66.

⁵⁴⁶ Gauthier 1922: 81–106.

⁵⁴⁷ For his titles, see Piehl 1895: pl. XLII Y–XLIII Z; 1903: 31; El-Sayed 1975: 229.

⁵⁴⁸ Bakry 1970: 328–329 (n.7).

⁵⁴⁹ *ESLP*: 66.

⁵⁵⁰ Gauthier 1922: 81–106.

⁵⁵¹ See Gauthier 1922: 88 (III); *ESLP*: 66 (pl. 53, fig. 130).

of *nt-jhjt jtt*,⁵⁵¹ whereas, as mentioned previously, our Payeftjauemawyneith did not hold this or any other religious title.⁵⁵²

Moreover, Bakry assigns a wife named Tashebenenneith to Payeftjauemawyneith.⁵⁵³ He⁵⁵⁴ reads her name as “Tasheben-nēit”; Ramadan El-Sayed,⁵⁵⁵ “*Tachebenneith*,” and Nigel Strudwick,⁵⁵⁶ “Tashebenneith.” She also was not our Payeftjauemawyneith’s wife because she was the wife of Payeftjauemawyneith, Wahibre’s father, the second son attributed to Payeftjauemawyneith. Therefore, there is no evidence to support the attribution of those children or that wife to our protagonist. Thus, the only genealogy relationship securely attributed to him is that of his parents.

PAYEFTJAUEMAWYNEITH’S SELF-PRESENTATIONS AND *SCHRIFTKULTUR*
*TRANSMISSION*⁵⁵⁷

Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentations reveal possible similarities to earlier texts, and that has led scholars, such as Peter Der Manuelian, to raise the issue of Saite copying from early sources.⁵⁵⁸ I here mean the relation between the tomb self-presentation of Djefaihapi I at Asyut (Siut I⁵⁵⁹), the tomb self-presentation of Puyemre (TT 39),⁵⁶⁰ and Payeftjauemawyneith (BM EA 83), and between the Sixth Dynasty self-presentation of Djau at Abydos and Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentation on Louvre A 93.⁵⁶¹ I introduce the first three texts in chronological order, starting with the Middle Kingdom example, then that of the New Kingdom, and ending with the Saite. Then, I compare Djau’s self-presentation with Payeftjauemawyneith’s on Louvre A 93.

⁵⁵² See Bakry 1970: 328.

⁵⁵³ See Bakry 1970: 328.

⁵⁵⁴ Bakry 1970: 328.

⁵⁵⁵ El-Sayed 1975: 229.

⁵⁵⁶ Strudwick 2006: 274.

⁵⁵⁷ See Leahy 1988; Neureiter 1994; Josephson 2001c; Kahl 2010; Wilson 2010; Jurman 2010; Vernus 2014; Bassir 2015b (in progress) and references there. See also Silverman, Simpson, and Wegner 2009; Allen 2009; Leprohon 2009.

⁵⁵⁸ For more on this issue, see Der Manuelian 1983; on BM EA 83, see Der Manuelian 1994: 12–16. See also Kahl 1999, and in the Late Period, see Schenkel 1977.

⁵⁵⁹ This is Griffith’s term; see Griffith 1899: pl. IV (227); Brunner 1937: 29, 62; Otto 1954: 122; Edel 1984: 118; Der Manuelian 1994: 12–16; Kahl 1999: 228–229; Heise 2007: 228 (n. 590).

⁵⁶⁰ TT 39 is Puyemre’s tomb (reign of Thutmose III); for more on this tomb, see *PM* I.1: 71–75; Davies 1922. For the text, see Davies 1922: pl. XX (line 11); Otto 1954: 122; Der Manuelian 1994: 12–16; Heise 2007: 228 (n. 590).

⁵⁶¹ Lefebvre 1933: 96; Leahy 2007: 51.

*Siut I*⁵⁶²

*jr swt rmt nbt sš nb rh-ht nb nds nb tw3 nb ʕk.t(j)=sn r js pn
m33.t(j)=sn ntt jm=f mkj.t(j)=sn sš(w)=f twr.t(j)=sn n hntjw=f
dd.t(j)=sn htp-dj-njswt h3 m t hnkt k3(w) 3pd(w) h3 m šs mnht h3 m
htpwt h3 m df3w h3 m ht nb(t) nfr(t) wʕb(t) n k3 n nb js pn h3tj-ʕ df3j-
Hʕpj jw=f r j3w n njwt=f jm3hw n sp3t=f hr-ntt jnk sʕh mnḥ*⁵⁶³

“Now all people, every scribe, every wise man, every commoner, and every poor man who will enter this tomb, who will see what is in it, who will protect its inscriptions, who will respect its statues, who will say a *htp-dj-njswt*: a thousand of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl, a thousand of alabaster and clothing, a thousand of vegetables, a thousand of provisions, and a thousand of every good and pure thing, for the *k3* of the owner of this tomb, the *h3tj-ʕ* Djefaihapi, he will be the elder of his city, and the *jm3hw* of his nome, because I am an excellent noble.”

*TT 39*⁵⁶⁴

*jw swt rmtw nb(w) sš nb rh nb nds nb tw3 nb ʕk.[t(j)?]=sn r js pn
m3.t(j)=sn ntt jm=f mkj.t(j)=sn sš(w)=f twr.t(j)=sn n hntjw=f
dd.t(j)=sn htp-dj-njswt h3 m t hnkt k3(w) 3pd(w) h3 m htpt-df3w h3
m ht nb(t) nfrt wʕbt n k3 n nb js pn jt-ntr⁵⁶⁵ pw-jm-rʕ pn m3ʕ-hrw
jw=f j3[w] n njwt=f jm3hw n sp3t=f hr-ntt jnk sʕh jkr*

“Now all people, every scribe, every wise man, every commoner, and every poor man who will enter into this tomb, who will see what is in it, who will protect its writings, who will respect its statues, who will say a *htp-dj-njswt*: a thousand of bread, beer, oxen and fowl, a thousand of food-offerings, and a thousand of every good and pure thing, for the owner of this tomb, this god’s father, Puyemre, true of voice, he will be

⁵⁶² This Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Djefaihapi I (reign of Senwosret I) is located at Asyut. For more on this tomb as a whole and its shrine, see El-Khadragy 2007; Kahl 2012. This text of Siut I (Griffith 1899: pl. IV [227–229]) is located on the southern part of the eastern wall of the great transverse hall.

⁵⁶³ *Urk.* VII: 53 (9–20), 54 (1–5).

⁵⁶⁴ The self-presentational text is in the lower register on the east wall, the north side of the transverse hall, see Davies 1931: pl. XX (7–11).

⁵⁶⁵ Davies (1931: 29) thinks that this title was “probably purely honorary” and Der Manuelian (1994: 13) does not transcribe the phonetic complement =f in the word *jt*.

the elder of his city, and the *jm³hw* of his nome, because I am an excellent noble.”

BM EA 83

*jr w^cb nb ^ck r hwt-ntr nt (j)tm(w) nb jwnw mkj.t(j)=f(j) znn pn dj=f
n=f ht nb nfrt m-ht htp ntr jm dd=f htp-dj-njswt h³ t hnkt p³t ht nb
nfrt n k³ n (j)m(j)-r³ pr-wr P(3j)=f-Bw-(m)-^c(wj)-Njtt jw=f r j³w m
njwt=f m jm³hw n sp³t=f⁵⁶⁶ jnk s^ch n jr n=f*

“As for any *w^cb*-priest who enters into the temple of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, and who will protect this statue, who shall give every good thing to it, after the god is satisfied therewith, he who will recite a *htp-dj-njswt*: a thousand of bread, beer, cakes and every good thing for the *k³* of the chief steward Payeftjauemawyneith; he will be the elder in his city and the *jm³hw* of his nome. I am a noble one should act for him.”

Jochem Kahl⁵⁶⁷ also believes that there is similarity between some lines of BM EA 83⁵⁶⁸ and Siut I lines 225-227 of Djefaihapi.⁵⁶⁹ I again provide the two texts for comparison.

Siut I
L. 225
jr swt rmtt nbt
sš nb
r^h-ht nb
nds nb
tw³ nb
^ck.t(y)=sn

EA 83⁵⁷⁰
L. E 1⁵⁷¹
jr w^cb nb⁵⁷² ^ck r hwt-ntr nt (j)tm(w)
nb jwnw
mkj.t(y)=f snn pn
dj=f n=f ht nb(t) nfrt
m-ht htp ntr jm
dd=f

⁵⁶⁶ The Saite text does not have *hr-ntt*. The following sentence is a main clause.

⁵⁶⁷ Kahl (1999: 219–224) does not refer to Der Manuelian (1994). He also does not make a comparison between BM EA 83 and TT 39 and only compares Siut I with TT 39.

⁵⁶⁸ See Piehl 1893: 88 (*E* Lines 1–2) and above. However, Kahl refers to pp. 90–91 of Piehl’s article as reference to the published text, although they have not the text but rather Piehl’s notes (d–h).

⁵⁶⁹ Kahl 1999: 228–230. For the original publication of the hieroglyphic text, see Griffith 1889: pl. IV (227–229).

⁵⁷⁰ BM EA 83 = BM 805 in Kahl 1999: 228–230.

⁵⁷¹ I here follow Piehl’s letter numbering (1983: 88) to be in accordance with that of Kahl 1999: 229.

⁵⁷² According to Kahl (1999: 229), words in bold face in BM EA 83 in his book refer to “literal agreements” with Siut I.

L. 226

r js pn
m33.t(y)=sn ntt jm=f
mkj.t(y)=sn sš(w)=f
twr.t(y)=sn hntyw=f
dd.t(y)=sn
h̄tp-dj-njswt
h̄3 m t h̄nkt k3(w) 3pd(w)
h̄3 m šs mnht
h̄3 m h̄tpwt
h̄3 m df3w

L. 227

h̄3 m h̄t nb(t) nfr(t) w^cb(t)
n k3 n nb n js pn
n h̄3tj-^c df3j-H^cpy
iw=f r j3w n njwt=f jm3h̄w n sp3t=f
h̄r-ntt
jnk s^ch̄ mn̄h nb k̄d sn̄h n h̄hw

L. 228

m tp t(3) r(-dr)=f

L. E 2

h̄tp-dj-njswt
h̄3 m t h̄nkt p3t
h̄t nb(t) nfrt
n k3 n
(j)m(y)-r3 pr-wr
p(3y)=f-t3w-(m)-^c(wy)-nt
jw=f r j3w m njwt=f m jm3h̄w n sp3t=f
jnk s^ch̄...

The Siut I and TT 39 versions are closer to each other than to BM EA 83. The BM EA 83 version has different phrases missing from the other two texts. Payeftjauemawyneith addresses his speech to those who enter the temple of Atum at Heliopolis, while the other two texts address those who enter their tombs. The verbal forms used in the three texts are different. The media used in these texts are different, tombs at Asyut and Thebes, and statue at Heliopolis.⁵⁷³

It is difficult to believe that there was textual transmission between these three texts. The similarities between the three of them are rather due to biographical traditions and beliefs usually employed in this genre.

Gustave Lefebvre⁵⁷⁴ believes that the Saite scribe of Payeftjauemawyneith's text on Louvre A 93 Statue had copied a section from that of the Sixth Dynasty self-presentation of Djau⁵⁷⁵ at Abydos.⁵⁷⁶ Below, I introduce the two texts for comparison.

⁵⁷³ Der Manuelian 1994: 15–16.

⁵⁷⁴ Lefebvre 1933: 87–104, particularly 94–100, and for the comparison, see 95–99. Very recently, Leahy (2007: 51) briefly refers to this influence.

⁵⁷⁵ On Djau's family connections with the royal house and the marriage of Pepy I to Djau's two sisters, see Goedicke 1955: 180–183.

⁵⁷⁶ This inscription perhaps came from the temple of Khentymentt at Abydos, and probably dates to Pepy II's early reign. It is now in the Cairo Museum under CG 1431; see Lefebvre 1933: 95, (n. 4); Strudwick 2005: 357.

Djau's text (lines 4–5):⁵⁷⁷

j ^ϵ*n**h**w* *tpjw-t3* (*j*)*m*(*j*)-*r3* *h**m*-*ntr* *nb*⁵⁷⁸ *h**m*-*ntr* *nb* *šsmt* *d3j* *nb* *n* *hwt*-*ntr* *nt* *h**m* *n* *nb*(=*j*) *Hnt*(*j*)-*Jmnt*(*t*) ^ϵ*n**h* *n*=*tn* *njswt* *jw*=*tn* *r* *šdj**t* *n*(=*j*) *p**r**t*-*h**r**w* *m* *dbw* *n* *hwt*-*ntr* *tn* *m* *jrjt* *n*(=*j*) *n* *w**d*⁵⁷⁹ *m* *jrjt*=*tn* *n*(=*j*) *ds*=*tn* *dr* *m33*=*tn* *j3wt*(=*j*) *h**r* *njswt* *n* *šps*(=*j*) *h**r* *h**m* *n* *nb*(=*j*) *r* *s*^ϵ*h*[=*f* *nb*]⁵⁸⁰ [*r* *s*^ϵ*r*=*f* *nb* *r* *b3k*=*f* *nb*]

“O living ones upon earth, every overseer of priests, every priest, every *šsmt* and *d3j* priest of the temple of the majesty of my lord, Khent(y)iment(t), as the king lives for you, you will recite for me the invocation-offerings from the income of this temple, from what you do for me of which is commanded, and from what you do for me yourselves. Because you see my offices in the king’s presence for I am honored in the presence of the majesty of (my) lord than any noble one [of his, than any official of his, and than any servant of his].”

Louvre A 93:

(*j*) *w*^ϵ*b* *nb* *jr.t*(*j*)=*f*(*j*) *jht*-*ntr* *h**zj* *tn* *Hntj*-*Jmntt* *r* *šdj*(*t*)=*tn* *n*(=*j*)⁵⁸¹ *p**r**t*-*h**r**w* *m* *sn-t3* *n* *Hntj*-*Jmntt* *mj* *m33*=*tn* *n* *šps*(=*j*) *3h*(=*j*) *h**r* *ntr*=*tn* *h**r* *h**m* *n* *nb*(=*j*) *r* *s*^ϵ*h*=*f* *nb*

“(O) every *w*^ϵ*b*-priest who will perform the rituals, Khentyimentt will praise you for your reciting the invocation-offerings for (me), while kissing the earth to Khentyimentt; when you see that I am glorious before your god, because I am honored in the presence of the majesty of (my) lord more than any noble one of his.”

Djau’s self-presentation probably comes, like Payeftjauemawyneith’s on Louvre A 93, from a temple environment. Both are different reflections of the appeal to the living. The appeal to the living formula was common and standard throughout

⁵⁷⁷ *Urk.* I: 119 (3–13); Lefebvre 1933: 96; Strudwick 2005: 358.

⁵⁷⁸ Louvre A 93 does not have this bold section from (*j*)*m*(*j*)-*r3* *h**m*-*ntr* *nb* to *Hnt*(*j*)-*Jmnt*(*t*), in Lefebvre’s article, and Lefebvre (1933: 96) puts dots instead.

⁵⁷⁹ Louvre A 93 does not have the section from *m jrjt n(=j)* to *m jrjt=tn n(=j) ds=tn* that constitutes lines 5–6 in Lefebvre’s comparison section; see below and Lefebvre 1933: 96.

⁵⁸⁰ This is the last word of Lefebvre’s section, see Lefebvre 1933: 96.

⁵⁸¹ I restore the suffix pronoun =*j* throughout this text.

ancient Egyptian biographies, with a few orthographical and wording differences according to each period. The temple of (Osiris) Khentymentt is a joint theme between the two texts. Payeftjauemawyneith's statue was probably placed within the temple of Khentymentt as reference and dedication to the god. Djau's self-presentation was probably placed in the temple of the god whose temple was the local cult center at Abydos during the Old Kingdom. In the Saite Period, however, Khentymentt was an epithet for Osiris, whose statuette is still visible in the naos which Payeftjauemawyneith holds. Therefore, it is not striking to glorify him in the late Saite Period as he was in the late Old Kingdom. Payeftjauemawyneith only addresses his speech to every *w^cb*-priest who conducts the rituals at the temple of (Osiris) Khentymentt at Abydos due to its presence at the temple. Djau addresses his speech to the living ones upon earth and many others who presumably will visit the temple. Djau draws heavily on the king because of his family connections with the royal house. Djau expects that the appointed personnel for his funerary cult will do it, while Payeftjauemawyneith begs the temple *w^cb*-priests to do it for him. The king's presence in Djau's self-presentation is strong, while it is not highly visible in this section of Payeftjauemawyneith's. Djau's self-presentation is lengthy, while that of Payeftjauemawyneith is abbreviated. The priesthood in Djau's self-presentation is detailed, while it is not in Payeftjauemawyneith's. Payeftjauemawyneith's text does not refer to his office as does Djau's. Djau was favored by the king more than all of whom he knew, while Payeftjauemawyneith refers to only any dignitary of the majesty of his lord. Therefore, it seems logical to conclude that the composition of Louvre A 93 was not influenced by the self-presentation of Djau.

The textual features of Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations do not reflect any textual transmission from earlier texts. While the Saite scribe of Payeftjauemawyneith's biographies was aware of older textual traditions, he did not copy them. He had executed Payeftjauemawyneith's biographies according to his own understanding of philology, grammar, and syntax in an elaborated way reflecting Saite philological characterizations. This trend remakes the older phraseology and thematic concepts in these Saite self-presentations in a new innovative way that characterizes the period.

PAYEFTJAUEMAWYNEITH'S SELF-PRESENTATION IN LEXICAL WORDS AND PHRASES

Payeftjauemawyneith uses specific words and phrases to promote his self-textually. These reveal striking notions.

Payeftjauemawyneith's Statue as Znn

Payeftjauemawyneith uses the word *znn* in his self-presentation on BM EA 83. This word occurs in the context of the appeal to the living:

“As for every *w^cb*-priest who enters into the temple of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, who will protect this statue, he who will give to it every good thing.”

Payeftjauemawyneith probably refers to his image and statue BM EA 83, which he set it up at the temple of Atum at Heliopolis. The use of *znn* to describe a non-royal statue shows how this late Saite official bestowed divine and royal prerogatives on himself to promote his self.⁵⁸² Moreover, it is extremely remarkable in representing Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentation, requiring further comment on the word *znn*.

Boyo Ockinga⁵⁸³ points out that *znn* is first attested in the *Teaching for Merikare*.⁵⁸⁴ The stanza, describing the creation of the creator god, is

*znnw=fpw prw m h^cw=f*⁵⁸⁵

which R. B. Parkinson translates as follows:

“They are images of Him, come forth from His flesh.”⁵⁸⁶

Znn also occurs in a stanza of the *Teaching of King Amenemhat for His Son Senwosret I*. The text states:

⁵⁸² See, for example, Hannig 2006b: 779 (28612–28613); *Wb*. III: 460 (7–11, 13, 16–17); Ockinga 1984: 74–79; Wilson 1997: 865 (3–4); Hornung 1967: 136–137; Garr 2003; Schulz 1992: 704–707, 712.

⁵⁸³ The first attestation of *znn* was in the Middle Kingdom, and Ockinga (1984: 52 [53]), following Edel (1959: § 116) uses *znn* for *snm*; see also Wilson 1997: 865.

⁵⁸⁴ For this teaching, see, for example, Blumenthal 1980: 5–41; 1996: 105–135; Tobin 2003.

⁵⁸⁵ Helck 1977: 83, P–C, XLVI; Quack 1992: 78, 132.5, 196, *Merikare* E 131–133, E, M, C.

⁵⁸⁶ Parkinson 1997:226. See also Helck 1977: 85; Quack 1992: 79, 5; Erman 1971: 83; Faulkner 1972a: 191; 1973a: 191 Quirke 2004: 119. Ockinga's translation (1984: 52) is closer to that of Lichtheim (2006b: 106); however he does not translate *znnw*. His translation is “Seine *znn.w* sind sie, die aus seinem Leibe gekommen sind.” But he (1984: 72) quotes Brunner's (1975: 72) “Seine Abbilder (*znn*) sind sie, aus seinem Leib gekommen.”

*znnw=j ʕnhw psšw=j m rmtw jrj n=j k3 mdt ntj n sdm.tw=f*⁵⁸⁷

R. B. Parkinson this translates as:

“O my living images, my partners among men, make for me mourning, such as was never heard before!”⁵⁸⁸

Znn also occurs in the early Eighteenth Dynasty inscription of Djehuty in the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn 199. The text reads:

“[*hr=j*] *h3b [nb] hm k3 nb zh3.w nb m33.tj=sn twt.w pn znn=j jwʕ.w=j tp=j t3 sh3=j m hr.t-ntr hzj tn n.j-sw.t n rk=tn hwn fnd=tn m ʕnh dd=tn htp-dj-n.j-sw.t...n k3 n zh3.w dhwtj*”

“[Jeder] [Vorlesepriester], jeder Ka-Priester, jeder Schreiber, die dieses Bild sehen werden, mein *znn*, mein Erbe auf Erden, mein Andenken in der Nekropole, der König wird euch loben zu eurer Zeit, eure Nasen verjüngen sich, wenn ihr ein Opfergebet sagt...für den Ka des Schreibers Djehuti.”⁵⁸⁹

Nectanebo I’s Hermopolis Stela reflects upon the same content of the living image of a god. Its stanza A 2 states:

*Znn pw ʕnh rʕ ntj*⁵⁹⁰ *hrj-tp t3*⁵⁹¹

“He is the living image of Re who is upon earth.”

On the basis of the context and the book roll determinative⁵⁹² of the word, which

⁵⁸⁷ Helck 1969: 32–33, Va–Vb.

⁵⁸⁸ Parkinson 1997: 206. See also Helck 1969: 37; Faulkner 1972b: 194; 1973b: 191; Blumenthal 1984: 88, (n. 23). Quirke (2004: 127) does not transliterate the suffix pronoun =*j* after *znnw*. Lichtheim 2006a: 136; Tobin 2003b: 168; Loprieno 1996a: 414. Ockinga 1984: 53 (54) here also does not translate *znn*.

⁵⁸⁹ Ockinga 1984: 53–54 [55].

⁵⁹⁰ Roeder (1954: 387 [n. 1]) thinks that *nt* stands for *ntj*. On this issue, see De Meulenaere 1994.

⁵⁹¹ Roeder 1954: 384.

⁵⁹² However, the word *znn* with the book roll determinative could mean “image” or “figure,” see *Urk.* IV: 426 (10); Faulkner 1999: 232. Also in the Late Period *znn* was written with the book role as a determinative, meaning “statue” and “image;” see *Wb.* III: 460.

refers to an abstraction, Boyo Ockinga states that *znn* does not mean here “statue.”⁵⁹³ Thus, all scholars use the same translation “image” or “likeness.” As Ockinga notes, this is just a reference to image or replica, not a statue.

The meaning of *znn* is multifaceted and developed throughout ancient Egyptian textual tradition. In Middle Egyptian, the word meant “likeness,”⁵⁹⁴ “image,”⁵⁹⁵ and “figure.”⁵⁹⁶ In Late Egyptian, its meaning became “image,” “likeness,” and “statues.”⁵⁹⁷ In the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods, *znn* was utilized in different contexts. Moreover, *znn* refers to physical representation of gods or kings in relief and statuary.⁵⁹⁸ However, the different levels of reading of *znn* can be classified:⁵⁹⁹

1. Statue:⁶⁰⁰ This is probably the apparent meaning of the word through which it refers to a statue or other iconographical work. In this category are always the kneeling and squatting statues of the nobles from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Late Period.⁶⁰¹ This is perhaps the only narrow medium that was left to the non-royal protagonists to represent themselves in a visually artistic way.
2. Figure or image of a deity: In this case *znn* is only concerned with the world of divinity, where *znn* is a pure representation of a deity in her or his various types of artistic representations such as statuary,⁶⁰² relief, and painting since the Eighteenth Dynasty and more often in Ptolemaic Egypt.⁶⁰³
3. Transferred image or copy; or likeness: This medium is only restricted to the overlapped realms of royalty and divinity. Starting from the New Kingdom and more often in the Ptolemaic Period, the king was considered an image (*znn*) of a god,⁶⁰⁴ or a king can be a god’s image “on

⁵⁹³ Ockinga 1984: 52.

⁵⁹⁴ See *Urk.* IV: 412 (11), 1032 (4).

⁵⁹⁵ See *Urk.* IV: 426 (10), 615 (2).

⁵⁹⁶ With this determinative (Gardiner Sign-List A 53) and written with both *s*, see Faulkner 1999: 232.

⁵⁹⁷ In this case *znn* is written with a mummy upright and a seated god with flagellum, or with an upright mummy, or with an upright mummy and a seated woman as determinatives; see Lesko 2002, II: 51.

⁵⁹⁸ Wilson 1997: 866 [3].

⁵⁹⁹ On the different meanings of *znn*, see Hannig 2006b: 779 (28611–28613).

⁶⁰⁰ For *znn* as a “statue,” see Clère 1979: 357 (n. 4).

⁶⁰¹ *Wb.* III: 460 (6).

⁶⁰² *Wb.* III: 460 (7).

⁶⁰³ *Wb.* III: 460 (8).

⁶⁰⁴ *Wb.* III: 460 (9); Ockinga 1984: 74–79.

earth,⁶⁰⁵ which more often attested in Ptolemaic Egypt.⁶⁰⁶ Moreover, the king can be a “living” image of a god.⁶⁰⁷ For instance, the king was “the living image of Thoth.”⁶⁰⁸ Through this royalty-divinity representation, the king stressed a close relationship with the deities.⁶⁰⁹ Through the king’s representation as a living image of the deities; the king’s presence on earth became more potent.⁶¹⁰ Furthermore, a god can be an image of another god,⁶¹¹ or more precisely a living image (*znn ʿnh*) of another god such as “Horus as the living image of Re,”⁶¹² an epithet well attested in Ptolemaic Egypt.⁶¹³

4. Different contexts: *znn* was used in different contexts. For instance, as stated above, *znn* can appear in a Middle Kingdom literary work as a theological concept when describing a human as an image of the creator god⁶¹⁴ on earth “who came forth from his body.”⁶¹⁵ It occurs in the New Kingdom in a title of a priest from Memphis as “beloved image of Ptah.”⁶¹⁶ In Ptolemaic Egypt the figure of truth could be described as “the image of Hathor.”⁶¹⁷

Jacobus Van Dijk⁶¹⁸ states that *znn*⁶¹⁹ is the common term for squatting or kneeling statues.⁶²⁰ There are also other two words probably used to express the same meaning. The first is *hntj*,⁶²¹ which was also used in texts of naophorous statues.⁶²²

⁶⁰⁵ *Wb.* III: 460 (10).

⁶⁰⁶ *Wb.* III: 460 (9).

⁶⁰⁷ *Wb.* III: 460 (9).

⁶⁰⁸ See Wilson 1997: 865 (4).

⁶⁰⁹ See Wilson 1997: 865.

⁶¹⁰ See Wilson 1997: 865 (3).

⁶¹¹ On this issue, see Hornung 1967: 136–137.

⁶¹² *Wb.* III: 460 (11).

⁶¹³ *Wb.* III: 460 (11).

⁶¹⁴ On divine-human relationship in the biblical tradition, for instance, see Garr 2003.

⁶¹⁵ *Wb.* III: 460 (13); see above.

⁶¹⁶ *Wb.* III: 460 (16).

⁶¹⁷ *Wb.* III: 460 (17).

⁶¹⁸ He depends on the *Wb.* III: 460 (6).

⁶¹⁹ For exceptions, see Clère 1951: 147 (D).

⁶²⁰ Van Dijk 1993: 122 (n. 39).

⁶²¹ See Clère 1979: 357 (n. 4); Schulz 1992: 703–707.

⁶²² E.g., BM EA 1377, see Bierbrier 1982: 22 (pl. 49–51); Van Dijk 1993: 122 (n. 39); the Cairo Museum CG 606 and 1105, see Van Dijk 1993: 122 (n. 39), 119.

The second is *twt*. A Ramesside naophorous statue was called *twt*.⁶²³ *Twt* “statue”⁶²⁴ was close to *znn* in meaning.⁶²⁵ As ḥ^w , *znn* means a “stela.”⁶²⁶ However, *znn* with *hntj* or *twt* played a great role in revealing the theological image of the king.⁶²⁷

The word *znn* on BM EA 83 is written with \acute{s} (Gardiner Sign List S 29), not with *s* (*z*) (O 34). Starting with the Eighteenth Dynasty, *znn* was written with \acute{s} ,⁶²⁸ not with *s* (*z*). The determinative of *znn* here is unique: a squatting man carrying probably a naophorous statue.⁶²⁹

However, the Late Period determinative of *znn* is different from that of our *znn*.⁶³⁰ The determinative of *znn* on BM EA 83 is close to that of another *znn* (meaning “ointment vessel”) representing a kneeling king making an offering (a vessel) (?).⁶³¹ The only difference on BM EA 83 is that the presenting person holds his offering, which is probably a naos, on his knees, while the other offering person perhaps holds a vessel (?) resting on the ground between his hands. Thus, the word *znn* on BM EA 83 reveals a highly artistic representation of Payeftjauemawyneith that was usually restricted to the deities and kings.⁶³² The word *znn*, “statue,” is related to the similar term *znn*, “replica, image, copy,” and possibly the verb *znj*, “to resemble.” This noun very frequently designates private Late Period statues.

Payeftjauemawyneith’s Self-Presentation as “Royal Presentation”

Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentation, with his building activities at Abydos, is similar to those of the kings in their texts. In her monograph on Middle Kingdom self-presentations, Lichtheim⁶³³ excludes royal texts because, in her opinion, they are not “autobiographical.” However, Stephen Quirke does not agree that such texts fall

⁶²³ See Hayes 1959: 349–350; *KRI*: 353 (13); Van Dijk 1993: 122 (n. 39). The text states *jr.t(w) n=f twt r šsp ḥ^w r htp m hwt=f* “A statue is made for him in order to receive life and to rest in his tomb chapel;” see Hayes 1959: 350; *KRI*: 353 (13); Van Dijk 1993: 122 (n. 39).

⁶²⁴ See also Schulz (1992: 704–707), who reads *twtw* “Statue.”

⁶²⁵ *Wb*. III: 460 (14).

⁶²⁶ *Wb*. III: 460 (15).

⁶²⁷ Ockinga 1984: 74.

⁶²⁸ See *Wb*. III: 460 (7–8). The determinative in the *Wb*. is Gardiner Sign-List A 40.

⁶²⁹ Sharpe (1981: 111, e–g 16) has a squatting man carrying nothing as a determinative, while Piehl (1893: 88, E. 1) has Gardiner Sign List A 53, which the *Wb*. (III: 460 [7–8]) also has, but inside brackets.

⁶³⁰ See *Wb*. III: 460 (7–8).

⁶³¹ Dating to the Twentieth Dynasty; see *Wb*. III: 460 (18); Hannig 2006: 779 (28615).

⁶³² For more on the use of *znn* in the royal propaganda from the Nineteenth Dynasty to the conquest of Alexander the Great, see Grimal 1986: 145–147.

⁶³³ Lichtheim 1988: 5.

outside autobiography, pointing out that the “*Königsnovelle*” affords “an analogy with the human autobiography.” He does believe that “the royal ideal” in royal texts differs from “the ideal of officials;” the royal “I” stresses “the ideal of kingship,” while the “I” of officials stresses “the ideal of human behaviour in their society.”⁶³⁴ Royal texts can be also classified “self-presentation” in a sense. However, one should keep in mind the differences between the king as a special kind of human being, similar to a god acting on earth, and the officials who were representatives of the king in the administration, attempting to imitate him. Moreover, the textual formation, themes and concerns, iconography, and placement of each self-presentation were different. Therefore, the relations and differences between “royal self-presentation”⁶³⁵ and “non-royal self-presentation” need further exploration. Actually, the royal “I” versus the non-royal “I”⁶³⁶ was different in some inscriptions of the first millennium such as that of Payeftjauemawyneith on Louvre A 93, in which he states:

“I built the temple of Khentyimentt, as an excellent construction of eternity, at his majesty’s command, that he might see the prosperity in the affairs of Tawer.”⁶³⁷

⁶³⁴ Quirke 1992: 331. For the term *Königsnovelle*, see Hofmann 2004; Spalinger 2011. For more on ideology and propaganda, see Leprohon 2015.

⁶³⁵ Blumenthal (1984: 88) refers to royal self-presentation in her study of the *Teaching of King Amenemhat*.

⁶³⁶ For more on “signs of the ‘I’ (the narrator) in ‘narrating,’” see Prince 1982: 7–16.

⁶³⁷ The use of the first person of the suffix pronoun is notable especially in Payeftjauemawyneith’s building activities. The Saite text of Paderpesu (?) on Berlin stela 8438, from Psamtik I’s reign, refers to a building activity; see Chassinat 1916–1917. Paderpesu seems to refer to building a small potter’s studio in the temple of Hor-Merty, not a full temple. The text reads *iw ꜥd.n(=j) pr n jꜥd-nds n Hr-Mrtj-m-r-Mꜥt Pꜥ-drp-sw(?)* “(I) constructed a potter’s house for Hor-Merty-em-er-mehet, Paderpesu (?).” The key term is *jꜥd-nds*, “potter” (lit. “small builder”). Although this was certainly something to take pride in, Paderpesu was hardly appropriating royal authority for this modest construction. Anthony Leahy does not think “there is anything specific here” with this non-royal Payeftjauemawyneith’s task of carrying on building activities. He further states that use of the first person of the suffix pronoun was common in non-royal self-presentations since the Old Kingdom (Leahy: pers. com.). Although the use of the first person of the suffix pronoun in self-presentations since the Old Kingdom was common, it was only used to express the protagonist’s life and career concerning his own actions, not to express royal actions and prerogatives. Leahy is correct in pointing out that the Egyptians, since the Old Kingdom, took credit for major constructions, including temples: for example, Heqaib, Ankhtify, Senenmut, Bakenchons. In all those cases, just as in the present text, they point out that they only accomplished these deeds “at his majesty’s command.” Even when Old Kingdom officials describe building their mastabas and sarcophagi, they point out that the king allowed them to do so.

It is notable to see an official expressing himself in such a way. Although he further states that was done “at his majesty’s command,” he does not name the king, and the king’s presence is not that strong.

Royal building activities from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty⁶³⁸ put great emphasis on the king’s role in creating monuments for the gods. The first building inscription of Taharqa⁶³⁹ in the Mut Temple at Gebel Barkal (ancient Napata) states:⁶⁴⁰

*jr(j).n=f m mnw=f⁶⁴¹ n mwt=f⁶⁴² mwt np(3)t kd=f⁶⁴³ n=s hwt-ntr n-
m3w(t) m jnr ʿn hꜥ nfr (n) rwd js(t) gm.n hm=f hwt-ntr tn kd m jnr
m-ʿ (tpjw-)ʿ m k3t nds(t) wn.jn hm=f (hr) rdj(t) kd.tw hwt-ntr tn m
k3t mnh(t) n dt*

“It is his monuments that he made for his mother, Mut of Nap(a)ta. He built for her a temple anew in beautiful, white, good sandstone.⁶⁴⁴ When his majesty found this temple built in stone by (the ancest)ors being as a modest construction, then his majesty caused that this temple be built as an excellent construction for eternity.”

⁶³⁸ For the Twenty-fifth Dynasty buildings at Kawa, see Welsby 2002: 26–39. On Taharqa’s inscriptions, see Wolf 1991; Dallibor 2005. On this king and his reign, see Pope 2014.

⁶³⁹ Taharqa’s Memphite foundation stela (Cairo Museum JE 36861) has a similar phraseology, which this king employed in the texts of his building activities; see Meeks 1979b: pl. XXXVIII. The main verb usually used for “to build” in Taharqa’s inscriptions is *kd*, (which evokes the creative activities of Ptah of Memphis, and who, in the Memphite theology, had a great impact on Twenty-fifth Dynasty kings). He used the verb *hwsj* in lines 2–3 of his year 10 stela from Kawa (Kawa VII): *hwsj.tw m jnr m mnw n dt* “being built of stone as a monument of eternity” (referring to the temple of Amun at Kawa). This stela was located at the first court of the Amun Temple at Kawa (Temple T), now in Copenhagen under NY Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N.1713, see Macadam 1949, 41–44, pls. 13–14; *FHN*: 176, 178.

⁶⁴⁰ See Dunham 1970: fig. 3; *FHN*: 132.

⁶⁴¹ *Jr(j).n=f* is as a nominal *sdm.n=f*, and on the dedication formula *jrj.n=f m mnw=f*; see Castle 1993.

⁶⁴² Leahy (1987) argues that the *sdm.n=f* is emphatic and the *n jt=f* + god’s name is the emphasized adverbial adjunct. Therefore, Leahy precedes Castle in formulating this proposed theory; Castle himself confirms this (1993: 99 [*]); see also Jansen-Winkel 1990. For a recent review of the main five grammatical analyses of the dedication formula *jrj.n=f m mnw=f* and his own, see Depuydt 2001.

⁶⁴³ The main text of the Dream Stela of Tanutamani, from the Amun Temple at Gebel Barkal (Cairo Museum JE 48863, verso, 22), has *kd=f n=f kt h(3)jt n prj(t) r-h3(t)* “He built for him another portico for going outside;” see Grimal 1981: pls. III–IIIa (22); *FHN*: 193, 201; Breyer 2003: 485 (22).

⁶⁴⁴ Lit. “in beautiful, white, good stone of sandstone.”

Furthermore, from the second building inscription is another passage by the same king stating:⁶⁴⁵

*jr(j).n=f m mnw=f n mwt=f mwt nb(t) pt hnw t3-stj kd=f pr=s s'3=f
hwt-ntr=s m-m3w(t) m jnr hd nfr (n) rwd*

“It is his monuments that he made for his mother, Mut, Mistress of heaven, and lady of Tacity. He built her temple, (and) he enlarged her temple anew in white (and) good sandstone.”⁶⁴⁶

The main text of Taharqa’s year 6 stela (Kawa IV) states that when he passed by this temple, while he was not yet a king (line 10):⁶⁴⁷

gm.n=f hwt-ntr tn kd.tw m db3(w)t ...

“He found this temple built with bricks”

In lines 13–14, Taharqa, now king, speaks to his friends:

*mk jb=j r kd hwt-ntr n jt=j Jmn-R^c gm-p3-Jtn hr-ntt wnn=s kd.tw m
db3(w)t (j)^c.tw m 3ht*

“Look, my wish is to build a temple for my father, Amun-Re of Gempaaten (Kawa), because it is built with bricks and is covered over with earth.”

This text also describes some of the items within this temple as follows (line 24–25):

wd mnw=s s'3 m t3 šd šw=s

“Its many trees were planted in the ground, and its lakes were dug.”

The main text of Taharqa’s year 6 stela from Kawa (Kawa V) states (lines 1–3):⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁵ See Dunham 1970: fig. 3; *FHN*: 132–133.

⁶⁴⁶ Lit. “in white and good stone of sandstone.”

⁶⁴⁷ It was located at the first court of the Amun Temple (Temple T) at Kawa; now in the Khartoum Museum as Khartoum 2678; Macadam 1949: pls. 7–8; *FHN*: 135.

⁶⁴⁸ It was located at the first court of the Amun Temple (Temple T) at Kawa, now in Copenhagen, under number Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1712; Macadam 1949: pls. 9–10; *FHN*: 145, 148–149.

(j)sk hm=f mrj ntr pw wrš=f m hrw sdr=f m grh hr hḥj 3ḥt n ntrw
 hr ḳd r3-pr(w=sn w3 r) mrh⁶⁴⁹hr ḳd r3-pr(w=sn w3 r) mrh hr msj
 sšmw=sn mj sp tp(j) hr ḳd šn^cw=sn hr sḏf⁶⁵⁰h3wt=sn⁶⁵¹ hr sm3^c
 n=sn ḥtpw-ntr m ḥt nb(t) hr jrjt wdhw(w)=sn m ḏ^cmw ḥd ḥmt js(k)
 gr ḥtp jb n hm=f m jrjt n=sn⁶⁵² 3ḥt r^c nb

“Now his majesty is one who loves god, he spends the day and passes the night seeking what is good for the gods, building (their) temples which had fallen into decay, recreating their images as the primeval time, building their storehouses, provisioning their altars, presenting to them divine-offering(s) of everything, and making their offering-tables of electrum, silver, and copper. Now, moreover, the heart of his majesty is satisfied by doing what is good for them every day.”

The main text of the year 10 stela of Taharqa from Kawa (Kawa VI) speaks of the monuments which the king made for his father Amun of Gempaaten (lines 14–15):⁶⁵³

... nbw h3st=f rd(j).n=f k3rjw r=s m stpw nw
 ḏsḏs mjtt jr(j)w m rmtw nw T3-Mḥw

“... gold of its desert⁶⁵⁴ He appointed gardeners to it from the best of the Bahariya Oasis, and the likeness was made from the people of the Delta.”

The same text goes on as follows (lines 19–21):

mḥ.n=f(st) m mr(t) ḥ3wt rd(j).n=f ḥmw(t)⁶⁵⁵ r=s m ḥmw⁶⁵⁶wrw nw

⁶⁴⁹ The section between *pr* and *mrh* is not clear in the original stela, see Macadam 1949: pls. 7–8.

⁶⁵⁰ Here is a crack in the stela, but the word is clear; see Macadam 1949: pls. 7–8.

⁶⁵¹ Although the *FHN* (148, [3]) translates “their altars,” it does not transliterate the suffix pronoun =*sn*, which is here used as a possessive adjective; however =*sn* is written without the three plural strokes perhaps due to the limited space on the stela; see Macadam 1949: pls. 7–8.

⁶⁵² Here also =*sn* is written without the three plural strokes perhaps also due to the limited space on the stela; see Macadam 1949: pls. 7–8, and also the previous note.

⁶⁵³ It was located at the first court of the Amun Temple (Temple T) at Kawa, now in Khartoum under Khartoum 2679; *FHN*: 164, 171–172; Macadam 1949: pls. 11–12.

⁶⁵⁴ Not “its foreign country” as in *FHN*: 171.

⁶⁵⁵ The transcription does not have *t* as the end, but has the female determinative, see Macadam 1949: pls. 11–12. Since the determinative of the previous word *mr(t)* refers to the collective meaning of “male and female servants,” and the second *ḥmw(t)* is connected to the wives of the chiefs of the

*T3-Mḥw ḥ3m jrp m j3rrw(t) nw njwt tn ʿš3 st r dsds rd(j).n=f k3rjw
r=sn m k3rjw nfrw nw mntjw Stt*

“He filled (it⁶⁵⁷) with many servants, and he assigned maidservants to it from the wives of the chiefs of the Delta. Wine is pressed from the vineyards of this city; they are more numerous than (those of) the Bahariya Oasis. He assigned gardeners to them from the good gardeners of the best of the nomads of Asia.”

Thus, the Twenty-fifth Dynasty kings took credit for building temples, using the phrase *kd=f*. These passages show how involvement with such projects was a royal prerogative. Although Taharqa’s inscriptions use the singular third person of the suffix pronoun, not the first, they are done in the traditional way of this kind of royal inscription. Statements used by Payeftjauemawyneith are closer in phraseology to those of Taharqa. Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentation may draw on this text or other royal texts dealing with the same activity. Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentation stresses that he was on a mission on the king’s behalf, while Taharqa’s inscriptions reflect royal propaganda to legitimize his rule, the “*King’s Novel*,” and piety toward the deities. This non-royal involvement in building activities in the period shows how royal prerogatives were probably seized by Saite officials such as Payeftjauemawyneith.

ON THE EXPRESSION *Hwj-mkj*

In his self-presentation on Louvre A 93 Statue, Payeftjauemawyneith says, “I guarded Tawer for its lord; I protected its entire people.”⁶⁵⁸ These two statements refer to a royal action done in the Tawer Nome by a non-royal individual and may also refer to some protective activities conducted by Payeftjauemawyneith there. This expression and the use of these two verbs together are not clear, if the scribe did not want to stress double protection.

Following Eberhard Otto,⁶⁵⁹ Hans Goedicke thinks these statements should refer to the exemption of the Tawer Nome and its people from taxes, and furthermore

Delta, and if we keep in mind the hostile relationship between the rulers of the Delta and the Kushites since the invasion of Piye, this *ḥmw(t)* should be understood as female servants, not male servants, because the latter are already included in the word *mr(t)* and need no repeating here.

⁶⁵⁶ There is wordplay between *ḥmt* “female servant” and *ḥmt* “wife.”

⁶⁵⁷ I.e., the city.

⁶⁵⁸ Lines 7–8; see Chapter Five, above.

⁶⁵⁹ Otto 1954: 165 (n. 4).

points out that this tax exemption was claimed by a high official, not by the king.⁶⁶⁰ He understands the verb *hwj* and the noun *hwt* as terminology for tax exemption; this is, he points out, a term meaning “to protect” and “protection,” but one with “eine juristische Spezialbedeutung.”⁶⁶¹ He also confirms that the exemption expressed thereby concerns what he calls “die grundsätzlichen Verpflichtungen” and not, however, what he calls “die Sonderleistungen.” For this, the exemptions were waived and were a necessarily special decree.⁶⁶² However, Hermann Kees thinks that this is a reference to a policy change in the favor of the temple as a religious institution.⁶⁶³ Goedicke states that Lichtheim and others accept the opinion of Kees.⁶⁶⁴ Therefore, shedding light on this expression might be useful in our understanding of Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentation.

I here only cite examples only from the first millennium BCE.⁶⁶⁵ First of all, Gebel Es-Silsilah No. 100 of Shoshenq I has the expression *hwj-mkj*:⁶⁶⁶

*hwj-mkj*⁶⁶⁷ *k3t nbt*

“to double protect any work.”⁶⁶⁸

Ricardo A. Caminos, following Jean Capart, Alan H. Gardiner, and Baudouin Van De Walle,⁶⁶⁹ states that the expression *hwj-mkj* “denotes protection against external interference and is often met with in decretal documents.”⁶⁷⁰ The expression *hwj-mkj* was also typically used in a royal decree in the late Saite Period, very much closer in date to our text. The Mit Rahina stela of Apries again has the *hwj-mkj* expression:

⁶⁶⁰ Goedicke 1982:174.

⁶⁶¹ Goedicke 1967: 246. See also Spiegelberg 1907: 55–57.

⁶⁶² Goedicke 1967: 246.

⁶⁶³ Kees 1953: 103 f.; Goedicke 1982: 173.

⁶⁶⁴ Goedicke 1982:174.

⁶⁶⁵ The expression *hwj-mkj* first appeared in the late Old Kingdom exemption royal decrees; see, for example, *Urk.* I: 287; Goedicke 1967: 116, (fig. 9); Strudwick 2005: 111. However, earlier royal decrees only employed the verb *hwj* in its nominal form, infinitive, without the verb *mkj* or its nominal form *mkt*. For these royal decrees, see Weill 1912; Goedicke 1967; Strudwick 2005. See also Malaise 1989.

⁶⁶⁶ Caminos 1952: 46 (pls. X, XII, 43), 50 (43).

⁶⁶⁷ The two verbs *hwj* and *mkj* are written abbreviated.

⁶⁶⁸ Caminos (1952: 50) translates “to reserve and protect any work.”

⁶⁶⁹ Capart, Gardiner, and Van De Walle 1936: 178–179.

⁶⁷⁰ Caminos (1952: 56 [n. 43]) calls the expression *hwj-mkj* “technical phrase.”

*jw g(rt) wd.n⁶⁷¹ hm(=j) hwt mkt tš pn n jt(=j) Pth Rsy Jnb=f nb
 ʕnh-(ʔwj) m-ʕ jrj(t) kšt nb(t) jr(rt) m šw*

“(My) majesty also commanded exemption and protection of this region⁶⁷² for (my) father, Ptah, South-of-His-Wall, lord of Ankh-(Tawy), from conducting any construction done in irrigation (?)⁶⁷³ work.”⁶⁷⁴

The expression *hwj-mkj* in Payeftjauemawyneith’s statements is composed of two verbs, not one; it, moreover, refers to two acts of protection: Payeftjauemawyneith’s protection of the Tawer Nome for its lord and his protection of its entire people. The two verbs are separate, not following each other. The two statements in which this expression is used are short and incomplete. With the expression shortly written, it is difficult to conclude a specific action from it. The use of this two-verb expression in a non-royal context is totally different from that of the royal decrees in all periods. The royal decrees have a specific category mainly dealing with exemption from the public works. If Payeftjauemawyneith’s expression has something to do with this, it would be written in the king’s voice. The two verbs may refer to somewhat limited action, among others, achieved by Payeftjauemawyneith at Abydos, and not to a specific royal exemption. The royal exemption decrees are different in form, content, phraseology, and placement. Payeftjauemawyneith’s statements are generic. It is obvious that the scribe of Apries’s decree might have drawn on an Old Kingdom model,⁶⁷⁵ but this was not the case with Payeftjauemawyneith’s text. The two verbs on Louvre A 93 use the active, not the passive, voice. The word order of the verbal form used is *sdm.n=f* + direct nominal object + dative in the first statement, while *sdm.n=f* + *n* + direct nominal object in the second statement. These two verbs do not refer to tax exemption made in Abydos by Payeftjauemawyneith. There is no clear reference to that. Apries’s text also does not confirm that.

Goedicke proposes this tax exemption idea, but in his older publication he does not solve this problematic issue or offer any explanation.⁶⁷⁶ The idea of tax exemption

⁶⁷¹ See Gunn 1927: 222; Der Manuelian 1994: 377 (7).

⁶⁷² Gunn (1927: 235) understands the region as reference to “its inhabitants.” The second statement, “I protected its entire people,” on Louvre A 93, may support Gunn’s viewpoint.

⁶⁷³ See Der Manuelian 1994: 379 (n. 318).

⁶⁷⁴ Gunn (1927: 222) translates “My Majesty has further decreed that this region be reserved and protected.” Thus, Gunn translates *hwj* “to reserve” and *mkj* “to protect,” and he thinks that they utilized of “a dominion dedicated to a god.” Vernus (1996: 563) translates the two verbs as “exempter.”

⁶⁷⁵ See Gunn 1927; Vernus 1996.

⁶⁷⁶ Goedicke 1967.

is not totally convincing. It is also hard to believe that the whole Tawer Nome was exempted from taxation. The royal exemption decrees often refer to the exemption of specific group(s) from the public works for some specific purposes at some specific institutions. Moreover, the expression *hwj-mkj* appeared from the year after the twenty-second time (or occasion) in the reign of Pepy II. Before that, the verb *hwj*, with or without the preposition *n* as dative, was usually used. When a text expresses protection, the verb *hwj* is often the verb used. The expression *hwj-mkj* was employed in the same way from the Old Kingdom through the Saite Period. Furthermore, all the examples belong to the royal context of this kind of text, not to the non-royal context as Payeftjaumawyneith's. Thus, the *hwj-mkj* expression here does not refer to the tax exemption of the whole nome and its people.

The double protection⁶⁷⁷ that Payeftjaumawyneith had performed at Abydos is obscure and not understood. It is known neither exactly what he did there nor why he carried on these actions and from what he protected the Tawer Nome and all its people. We are equally ignorant of how urgent the need was to dispatch this high official to fix the situation at the Tawer Nome. The temple lands which Payeftjaumawyneith sets aside to provide wine and other offerings to the god of the temple were lands excluded from taxes since they were attached to the temple, in addition to other things. However, this is not the exact meaning of these two verbs, and the verb *hwj* does not mean only to set aside some of the local fields for the god; also, the verb *mkj* does not mean only to protect the actual citizens from an abusive or exploitative governor. In my opinion, the "double protection" to which the text refers is twofold: the state protection of its citizens; and the protection of the state from the revolts and rebellions of its people against it due to the lack of stability and justice.⁶⁷⁸ It is notable that this double protection is achieved by one of the state representatives, not by the head of the state, i.e., the king. That was probably due to the decline of the central administration during the course of the so-called "civil war" between Apries and Amasis. Therefore, these events might have occurred during the transition from the reign of Apries to that of Amasis.

PAYEFTJAUEMAWYNEITH'S TITLES

Payeftjaumawyneith's self-presentations reveal many titles, several of which bear discussion here.

⁶⁷⁷ In a similar context but very different period, the expression *hwj-mkj* could be compared with two Arabic verbs usually used to express the same idea. These two verbs are "*yassoon*" meaning "to preserve" and "*yahmi*," meaning "to protect."

⁶⁷⁸ For more on law and the concept of maat in ancient Egypt, see Allam 2007a: 263–272.

wr zwnww, chief physician⁶⁷⁹

The Old Kingdom reading of this title is *wr zwnw*,⁶⁸⁰ or “*wrj zwnww* der Oberste der Ärzte.”⁶⁸¹ Henry George Fischer translates it as “greatest of doctors.”⁶⁸² Quirke,⁶⁸³ who lists this title under the personnel of the House of Life, points out that the early Middle Kingdom sources may refer to the inclusion of a chief physician in the court of a local governor. They also make explicit the “palace context” of some holders of this title and similar ones such as *wr swnww njswt* “chief physician of the king,”⁶⁸⁴ and *wr swnww pr-ʕ* “chief physician of Pharaoh.”⁶⁸⁵ Some of the late Middle Kingdom sources belong to the royal domain of the king, such as the titles on the Cairo stela CG 20023.⁶⁸⁶ That may indicate that Payeftjauemawyneith’s office as chief physician *wr swnww*⁶⁸⁷ refers to his connection with the royal palace. Paul Ghalioungui, following Henri Gauthier, states that “in the Saitic-Ptolemaic Period the title *wr swnw* was the privilege of the high-priest of the Saitic nome and first prophet of Neith.”⁶⁸⁸ That was not always true because Payeftjauemawyneith was not the high priest of the Saite Nome.

wr zwnww Šmꜥw Mḥw, chief physician of Upper and Lower Egypt

In the Old Kingdom this title was written as “*wr zwnw Mḥw Šmꜥw/Šmꜥw Mḥw* greatest/chief of the physicians of Lower and Upper Egypt.”⁶⁸⁹ Diana Alexandra

⁶⁷⁹ One of his epithets, *sꜥr ḥrt zwnww r-ḥnw n ꜥḥ*, “who presents the affairs of physicians to the interior of the palace,” is related to his offices as chief physician and chief physician of Upper and Lower Egypt.

⁶⁸⁰ See Jones 2000: 396 (1462); Murray 2004: pl. XXXVII; *Urk.* I: 38 (7), 39 (5);

⁶⁸¹ Edel 1955: § 950; or “der Oberarzt;” see *Wb.* I: 329 (11); III: 427 (13); or “(Ober-)Arzt” or “Medikus;” see Hannig 2006b: 218 (7845).

⁶⁸² Fischer 1966: 65. Ward (1982: no. 731) translates it as “chief physician.”

⁶⁸³ Quirke 2004a: 35–37.

⁶⁸⁴ It is Hatnub no. 15 = Ward 1982: no. 732; see Quirke 2004a: 37.

⁶⁸⁵ It is on Cairo CG 447 = Ward 1982: no. 1281; Quirke 2004a: 37.

⁶⁸⁶ See Quirke 2004a: 37. However, Grajetzki (2001: 22 [3.1.]) mentions it is “*swnw*,” not “*wr swnw*,” citing Ghalioungui (1983: 24).

⁶⁸⁷ Jonckheere (1958: 34 [22]) reads this title differently, as “*wr sjnw*,” while Gestermann (2001: 133) reads “*wr sjnw.w*.”

⁶⁸⁸ Ghalioungui 1983: 39.

⁶⁸⁹ Pressl (1998: 233 E 3.5, S. 2, T 1) inserts genitival *n* after *swnww*. See also Jones 2000: 398 (1467). Junker translates this title “der größte der Ärzte von Unter-und Oberägypten,” see Junker (1928: 65), who refers to this title on BM EA 83. Lefebvre (1956: 22 [n. 4]) reads and translates it “*wr swnw(w) šmꜥw mḥw* médecin en chef du Sud et Nord.” Gestermann (2001: 133) reads “*wr sjnw.w. šmꜥ.w mḥ.w*.”

Pressl⁶⁹⁰ reads and translates “*wr šwnw šm^c.t Mḥ.w* Großer der Ärzte von ober-und unterägypten.” Hermann Grapow⁶⁹¹ states that this title seems to designate a “Gesundheitsminister.” Payeftjauemawyneith as physician had reached the pinnacle top of this career by holding the title *wr zwnww Šmw^c Mḥ.w*.⁶⁹²

jmj-r3 pr-wr, high steward

In Old Kingdom texts, Dilwyn Jones translates this title “overseer of the ‘Great House’/sanctuary, (national Shrine of Upper Egypt at El-Kab) (?)”.⁶⁹³ Stephen Quirke describes the nature of this office holder as “one of the highest officials” who was “managing the estates beyond the palace walls.”⁶⁹⁴ According to Betsy M. Bryan, the title “*mr pr wr n nsw*” “chief steward of the king” was among the “second-tier offices of the state” in the reign of Thutmose III.⁶⁹⁵ Although the title *jmj-r3 pr-wr* is not connected explicitly with the king (*jmj-r3 pr-wr n njswt*) or with the royal palace (*jmj-r3 pr-wr n pr-njswt*), it is probably abbreviated and did indeed affiliate Payeftjauemawyneith with king or palace.⁶⁹⁶ This was the most important among Payeftjauemawyneith’s titles, as is evident because it directly precedes his name, is attested on all of his monuments, and is the only title that he uses alone.

jmj-r3 prwj ḥd, overseer of the two houses of silver

This title first appeared in the Old Kingdom. Jones offers another translation, “overseer of the two treasuries.”⁶⁹⁷ William A. Ward translates it as “Overseer of the Double House of Silver,”⁶⁹⁸ while Rainer Hannig reads and translates “*jmj-r3 prwj ḥd* Schatzkanzler, Vorsteher der beiden Schatzhäuser.”⁶⁹⁹

jmj-r3 prwj nbw, overseer of the two houses of gold⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁰ See Pressl 1998: 22.

⁶⁹¹ Grapow 1973: 96.

⁶⁹² Jonckheere (1958: 34 [22]) reads this title differently: “*wr šjnw šm^c mḥ.w*.”

⁶⁹³ See Jones 2000: 118 (473); see also Murray 2004: pl. XXI; *Wb*. I: 517 (2 ft.); Gardiner 1944: 27 (n. 3); 1953: 25.

⁶⁹⁴ Quirke 2004a: 61 (III.2.4).

⁶⁹⁵ Bryan 2006: 85, 93.

⁶⁹⁶ For more on the chief stewards in the New Kingdom, see Helck 1958: 356–365.

⁶⁹⁷ See Jones 2000: 133 (524); Murray 2004: pl. XXI; Gunn 1933: 105 (§ 32); Jelinkova 1950: 352 (no. 9); Helck 1954: 61 (n. 26); Strudwick 1985: 45.

⁶⁹⁸ Ward 1982: no. 192.

⁶⁹⁹ Hannig 2006b: 60 (2036).

⁷⁰⁰ The title (*j*)*m(j)-r(3) prwj ḥd nbw*, overseer of the two houses of silver and gold, is also associated with Payeftjauemawyneith’s treasury titles, which are mentioned above.

This title existed since the Old Kingdom.⁷⁰¹ Georges Goyon translates it “Intendant à la Double-Maison de l’or.”⁷⁰² Erika Schott reads it “*mr prwj-nb*” and translates it “Vorsteher der beiden Goldhäuser,”⁷⁰³ which is close to Kjell T. Rydström’s translation “overseer for the two gold houses,” which he reads as “*jmy-r3 prwy nwb*.”⁷⁰⁴

hrp ḥ, director of the palace

This title first occurred in the “reign of Wadj.”⁷⁰⁵ According to the *Wb.*, it means “Palastverwalter.”⁷⁰⁶ Helck translates it “Leiter des Palastes.”⁷⁰⁷ Miroslav Barta translates it as “Inspector of the Palace.”⁷⁰⁸ The holder of this title had a role in ritual.⁷⁰⁹ It is only encountered on Louvre A 93, which is dated to the reign of Amasis. However, Payeftjauemawyneith did not hold it on any of his monuments securely dated to the reign of Apries. Therefore, this title probably refers to the previous role of Payeftjauemawyneith in the palace of Apries (presumably at Memphis), not in the palace of Amasis, in whose reign Payeftjauemawyneith was no longer active in his offices.

PAYEFTJAUEMAWYNEITH’S EPITHETS

Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentations display many epithets, including the following.

jm3ḥw ḥ3 m pr njswt, great *jm3ḥw* in the king’s house

This epithet shows the importance of Payeftjauemawyneith in the royal house and his close relationship with the king. Although usually thought to have only afterlife connotations, this epithet here refers to the living Payeftjauemawyneith.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰¹ See Jones 2000: 132–133 (522); Murray 2004: pl. XXI; *Urk.* I: 191 (13); Gunn 1933: 105 (§ 32).

⁷⁰² Goyon 1959: 12 (pls. II, V). Golet (1982: 133, 202 [n. 214]), also translates it “overseer of the (double) administrations of gold.”

⁷⁰³ Schott 1973.

⁷⁰⁴ Rydström 1994: 71 (App. 126 = Goyon 1959: pls. II). Ward (1982: no. 191) also translates it “overseer of the Double House of Gold.”

⁷⁰⁵ See Jones 2000: 707 (2579); Murray 2004: pl. XLIII.

⁷⁰⁶ *Wb.* I: 214 (10-22), III: 328 (13).

⁷⁰⁷ Helck 1954: 25, 32, 85. El-Sayed 1982: 228, understands it “le directeur du palais.”

⁷⁰⁸ Bárta 1999.

⁷⁰⁹ Quirke 2004a: 45 (III. 1. 5).

⁷¹⁰ For more on this aspect, see the epithet *jm3ḥw hr* below.

Once again this title is only encountered on Louvre A 93, dated to the reign of Amasis, and probably refers to the previous role of Payeftjauemawyneith in the palace of Apries.

jm3hw hr,⁷¹¹ *jm3hw* before

The *jm3hw hr* epithet of Payeftjauemawyneith is most notable at the beginning of his biography on BM EA 83 Statue.⁷¹² According to Anthony Leahy, this introductory section of the text “has a double inversion.”⁷¹³ In this case, the correct word order should place *jm3hw-hr* in front of Apries’s two names, not in front of Payeftjauemawyneith’s. That may lead one to conclude that the two king’s names are introduced for honorific transposition, as is usually done with the gods’ names.⁷¹⁴ This seems to be true in the late Saite/early Persian self-presentation of Udjahorresnet, which has many examples of honorific transposition. It seems that this phenomenon was common in late Saite self-presentations. It was also used with kings’ and deities’ names.⁷¹⁵

mḥ-jb n njswt [m] swt nb(w)t, confidant of the king [in] all places

In the Old Kingdom this title was *mḥ-jb n njswt m s(w)t=f nb(w)t* “confidant of the King in all his places.”⁷¹⁶ This also shows the close relationship between the king and Payeftjauemawyneith.

ʕ3 n ḥ3, great one of the ḥ3-hall

Payeftjauemawyneith had held the title ʕ3 n ḥ3 “the great one of the ḥ3-hall,”

⁷¹¹ Vittmann (1976: 143 [n. 6]) refers to the presence of this epithet “*jm3hw hr* Apries” on this statue. De Meulenaere (1956: 253 [n. 5]) points out this epithet refers to death in the reign of the king except in our case; see Leahy 1984a: 46. It is true that Payeftjauemawyneith did not die in the reign of Apries; he lived into the reign of Amasis. However, if De Meulenaere’s argument can be accepted, it would be accepted due to the earthly aspect of this epithet, not because of the existence of Payeftjauemawyneith in the reign of Apries. On the Saite formula *jm3hw-hr-njswt*, see Rößler-Köhler 1989 and above.

⁷¹² Unlike the Middle Kingdom texts, which have this epithet placed “at the end of the offering formula, following the list of requests;” see Doxey 1998: 94.

⁷¹³ Leahy: pers. com.

⁷¹⁴ See, for instance, *jm3hw hr ḥwthr* “the *jm3hw* before Hathor;” Clère 1979: 349.

⁷¹⁵ See Chapter Four, under Neshor’s title *jm3hw hr njswt-bjt Ḥ^{sc}-jb-R^c*, for further discussion of this title.

⁷¹⁶ See Jones 2000: 448 (1678).

which H. S. K. Bakry translates “chief of the bureau (*dîwân*).”⁷¹⁷ Rainer Hannig renders *ḥ3* “Halle,” “Büro,” “Diwan,” “Amt,” and “Amtsgebäude,”⁷¹⁸ and *ʕ3 n ḥ3* “Bürovorsteher.”⁷¹⁹ The king and the court were described as *ḥ3 wr* “the great *ḥ3*-Hall.”⁷²⁰ Patricia Spencer does not list this term in her study of the terminology for halls and courts.⁷²¹

According to Gaston Maspero and Percy Edward Newberry,⁷²² the word *ḥ3* appeared for the first in the Sixth Dynasty, particularly in Spell 432 of the Pyramid Texts of Pepi I,⁷²³ designating a “columned hall.” The *Wb.* also refers to the occurrence of this word in the Old Kingdom, meaning “hall” or “the king’s hall.”⁷²⁴ The determinative of this word (Gardiner Sign-List O 27) may refer to a room or an office for official activities.

Percy Edward Newberry⁷²⁵ points out that from the early Middle Kingdom *ḥ3* was used for “juridical⁷²⁶ and business” reasons. Moreover, he states that the king and his main officials each had his own *ḥ3*, as did each major department of the administration. Therefore, in his opinion, the royal audience hall or “*dîwân es Sultân*” (*ḥ3 n njwst*) was the place in which the king administrated publicly the state affairs and conferred his favors.⁷²⁷ Among the main bureaux and sectors of state providing palace funds was the *ḥ3 n ʕ3tj*,⁷²⁸ which appears only in a bureaucratic role.⁷²⁹ *Ḥ3 n ʕ3tj* “bureau of the vizier” was mentioned among the Duties of the Vizier in the New

⁷¹⁷ Bakry 1970: 325. Before Bakry, Maspero (1888: 277 [7]), Newberry (1900: 99), and Gardiner (1947a: 23 [84]) translate *ḥ3* “*dîwân*.”

⁷¹⁸ See Hannig 2006b: 622 (22581, 22583).

⁷¹⁹ Hannig 2006b: 622 (22584). Faulkner (1999: 183) translates “office” and “bureau;” see also *Urk.* IV: 150 (13), 152 (12), 1103 (15), 1117 (17), 1119 (7); Sethe 1983: 81 (3); Faulkner 1955: 21 (c); Newberry 1900: 99.

⁷²⁰ Hannig 2006b: 622 (22582).

⁷²¹ Spencer 1984: 63–98.

⁷²² Maspero 1888: 277 (7); Newberry 1900: 99.

⁷²³ For this spell, see Allen 2005: 19 (20).

⁷²⁴ *Wb.* III: 221 (18).

⁷²⁵ Newberry 1900: 99.

⁷²⁶ Maspero (1888: 277 [7], [n.2]) had previously mentioned this function, citing P. Abbott (= P. BM EA 10221), pl. VII, I. 16. *Ḥ3* occurs in this line of this papyrus “... .. *m ḥ3 n sšw n ʕ3tj*.” Peet (1930: 42, 7 [16], pl. IV, 7 [16]) translates the whole line as “A report was drawn up; it is deposited in the archives of the vizier.” For *ḥ3 n sšw n ʕ3tj*, see Lacau 1949: 11, 15–16, 23–24; Helck 1975: 67–69.

⁷²⁷ Maspero (1888: 278) had previously mentioned this title “le diwan du sultan” and these royal actions within the *ḥ3*-hall.

⁷²⁸ The late Middle Kingdom Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 refers to this *ḥ3*-hall, see Hayes (1972: 55, 61, 69, 74, 77, 81, 138–141, 143), who translates “the Office of the Vizier.”

⁷²⁹ See Quirke 1990.

Kingdom, a composition that Quirke dates “on internal grounds to the late Middle Kingdom.”⁷³⁰ According to him, there was another title, *jmj-r3 ḥnwty n ḥ3 n t3tj* “overseer interior-overseer of the bureau of the vizier.”⁷³¹ He further refers to the existence of the bureau of the vizier as a “physical building” on the basis of the title “doorkeeper of the bureau of the vizier.”⁷³²

In the early New Kingdom, *ḥ3* designated many offices or halls: *ḥ3, ḥ3 n 3ḥwt, ḥ3 n pr-njswt, ḥ3 n njswt, ḥ3 n sšw n t3tj, ḥ3 n t3tj n tp-rsj, ḥ3 n t3tj ḥnd ḥ3 n dd-rmt*.⁷³³ G. P. F. Van Den Boorn understands *ḥ3* as “hall,” “office,” or “bureau of an official.”⁷³⁴ The expression *ḥ3 n ss(w)*⁷³⁵ “archives”⁷³⁶ (lit. “office of the writings”) occurred in the New Kingdom.⁷³⁷

The viziral archives *ḥ3 n sšw n t3tj qr ḥ3 n t3tj* may fit into our text. Van den Boorn⁷³⁸ points out that the Duties of the Vizier indicates a close relation between the palace and the bureau of the vizier. In the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), there is the sentence *jr jst ḥ3 sdm=k jm=f jw wsht jm=f*⁷³⁹ “Behold, as for the *ḥ3*-hall in which you judge, there is a broad hall in it.”⁷⁴⁰ I: 7 and I: 13 of P. Berlin 10470 mention a *ḥ3 n t3tj*, which Paul C. Smither translates “the Court of the Vizier.”⁷⁴¹ Van den

⁷³⁰ Quirke 2004a: 85 (III.3.1).

⁷³¹ Quirke (2004a: 86) mentions this form of the title *jmj-r3 ḥnwty n t3tj* “interior-overseer for the vizier.”

⁷³² Quirke 2004a: 86. For “doorkeeper of the bureau of the vizier,” see Ward 1982: no. 503.

⁷³³ For more on these, see Van den Boorn 1988. Some of these already existed in the late Middle Kingdom; see Hayes 1972; Quirke 1990; 2004a.

⁷³⁴ Van den Boorn 1988: 22 (5, n. 59).

⁷³⁵ Redford (2004: 40 [n. P]) reads *ḥ3 n sšw* and translates “the archive” in describing the duties of Ahmose son of Nesatum that he found his fragmentary statue at Mendes; for more on this statue, see Redford 2004: 38, 39 (n. D), 58 (No. 483a), 104 (fig. 57, no. 483a); and above.

⁷³⁶ For more on archive, see Lur’e 1971: 30; Helck 1975: 422–424; Quirke 1996a.

⁷³⁷ *Wb.* III: 221 (4); Blackman 1941: 89 (n. 38); Lesko 2002, I: 343. The correct writing of this expression should be *ḥ3 n sšw*.

⁷³⁸ Van den Boorn 1988: 22 (5).

⁷³⁹ See *Urk.* IV: 1092 (6); Davies 1943: pl. CXVIII (R 18); Faulkner 1955: fig. 2 (18).

⁷⁴⁰ Gardiner (1973: 185 [§ 248]) cites this example as an enclitic usage of *jst*. Faulkner (1955: 22–23) translates the whole line as “And as for the office in which you judge, there is a spacious room in it full of [the records (?) of all (past)] judgments.” Davies (1943: 88 [n. 48]) favors *hr md3wt wdḥ mdw nb*, translating the whole thing “Now the hall in which thou hearest cases has a broad room in it which contains [records of all] legal decisions,” while Faulkner (1955: 27 [n.54]) favors *hr sšw wdḥ mdw nb*. Faulkner (1955: 22[4], 24 [n. 17]) restores and reads the last sentence of line 4 as *ḥr [r] sdm m ḥ3 [n t3tj]* “equipped [for?] hearing (?) in the [vizier’s] hall.” He (1955: 24 [n.17]) sees that *n t3tj* after *ḥ3* is unavoidable. The translations of Davies and Faulkner indicate the juridical function of the *ḥ3*-hall.

⁷⁴¹ See Smither 1948: 32 (7, 13), pl. I (7, 13).

Boorn⁷⁴² refers to the iconographical representation of the *h3*-hall of the vizier (of Upper Egypt) in TT 100 of Rekhmire and TT 29 of Amenemopet. He⁷⁴³ thinks that it was a building with a multiplicity of rooms and a major reception hall (“or session hall”) served by its own personnel.⁷⁴⁴ According to him *h3 n pr-njswt*,⁷⁴⁵ “the *h3*-hall of the king’s house,” housed the royal government, and the vizier appointed the chief of the police to this *h3*-hall. He, thus, suggests that this hall was a kind of “reception-hall” open to people from outside the governmental administration complex. He prefers to translate it “hall” rather than “bureau” and equates it with *wsht pr-njswt* “the broad hall of the palace.” Thutmose III installed Rekhmire into the office of the vizier of Upper Egypt in this hall.⁷⁴⁶ The most relevant title to our discussion that Newberry describes is “the chief officer” of this hall, (*jmj-r3 h3 n njswt*) “overseer of the royal audience-hall,”⁷⁴⁷ “who had charge of the police regulations” and was probably a “master of the ceremonies.”⁷⁴⁸ According to Newberry,⁷⁴⁹ Nebamun (TT 24, reign of Thutmose II, at Dra Abu Al Naga)⁷⁵⁰ occupied this office.⁷⁵¹

In the Hood-Wilbour Papyrus,⁷⁵² the title *3 n h3 n nbt*⁷⁵³=*f* *c.w.s.* “the great one of the *h3*-hall of his lord, l.p.h.”⁷⁵⁴ is found.⁷⁵⁵ Alan H. Gardiner⁷⁵⁶ cites some other

⁷⁴² Van den Boorn 1988: 22 (5), 324 (3); 1985:19 (n. 86); Davies 1943: pl. XXIV–V. For the placement of the *h3*-hall of the vizier on the hypothetical layout of *hnw-pr-njswt-pr-3*, see Van den Boorn 1988: 67 (fig. 5).

⁷⁴³ Van den Boorn 1988: 22 (5).

⁷⁴⁴ Davies (1943: 32 [n. 76]) describes the *h3*-hall in TT 29: “There is a considerable space behind the columned hall, enclosed by a wall, and here numbers of men are seated. A scribe records a receipt in kind. ... This seems to imply that the hall had reception rooms behind it.” For its personnel, see Ward 1982: nos. 87, 503; Helck 1958: 53–54.

⁷⁴⁵ Van den Boorn (1988: 252 [n. 3]; 1985: 24 [n. 107]) states that *h3 n njswt* designates any administrative office, and not specifically an office of the palace.

⁷⁴⁶ Newberry 1900: 100.

⁷⁴⁷ My translation of this title is “overseer of the *h3*-hall of the king.”

⁷⁴⁸ Maspero (1888: 278) previously mentions the functions of those officials who were in charge of the *h3*-hall within this hall.

⁷⁴⁹ Newberry 1900: 100.

⁷⁵⁰ Kampp (1996: 209–210) dates this tomb to the reign of Thutmose II/Thutmose III. For more on this tomb, see Kampp 1996: 209–210, figs. 104 and 110; *PM I.1*: 41–42.

⁷⁵¹ The self-presentation of Nebamun states *rdj.n=f wj (j)m(j)-r(3) h3 n njswt* “he (i.e., the king) appointed me the overseer of the *h3*-hall of the king;” see *Urk. IV*: 150 (13). For his title *jmj-r3 h3 n njswt*, see *Urk. IV*: 152 (12).

⁷⁵² It is P. BM EA 10202 (or P. Hood), dating to the Third Intermediate Period; see Parkinson et al. 1999: 61; Gardiner 1947, I: 24–63, particularly 26 (ii), 29–30 (ii), 1*–26*; 1947, II: pl. XIV–XV.

⁷⁵³ *Nbt* is miswritten here; the word should read *nb*.

⁷⁵⁴ Parkinson et al. (1999: 62) translates “Great One of the Office of his Lord l.p.h.”

⁷⁵⁵ See Maspero 1888: 257 (15), 277 (7); Newberry (1900:101) does not transliterate or translate *c.w.s.*; Gardiner 1947, III: pl. XIV (15).

variants of the title such as $\text{ʕ} n \text{ḥ}3 n \text{nbw}$ ⁷⁵⁷ “the great one of the $\text{ḥ}3$ -hall of all affairs,” and $\text{ʕ} n \text{ḥ}3 n \text{nb=f}$ ⁷⁵⁸ “the great one of the $\text{ḥ}3$ -hall of his lord.” He translates the title “chief of bureau (*diwān*) of his lord,” and points out that it is a very rarely mentioned title with unknown functions. However, an identical title, $\text{ʕ} n \text{ḥ}3$ “the great one of the $\text{ḥ}3$ -hall,”⁷⁵⁹ occurs in a Saite⁷⁶⁰ text on BM EA 525, the black basalt anthropoid sarcophagus of the scribe Nesisout.⁷⁶¹ The limestone stela Stockholm no. 52⁷⁶² has this title in the phrase *Wsjr ʕ n ḥ3 n nb-t3wj Jmn-w3ḥ-sw*⁷⁶³ *m3c-ḥrw*⁷⁶⁴ “Osiris, the great one of the $\text{ḥ}3$ -hall of the lord of the Two Lands, Amun-wah-sw, true of voice,” and in the phrase *s3=f ʕ n ḥ3 n nb-t3wj Jmn-w3ḥ-sw m3c-ḥrw* “His son, the great one of the $\text{ḥ}3$ -hall of the lord of the Two Lands, Amun-wah-sw, true of voice.” Newberry⁷⁶⁵ considers that the $\text{ʕ} n \text{ḥ}3$ was the same as the earlier official *jmj-r3 ḥ3 n njswt*. According to Gaston Maspero,⁷⁶⁶ in Ptolemaic Egypt, the $\text{ʕ} n \text{ḥ}3$ holders corresponded to the chiefs of the royal audiences cited by Strabo (17: 797) and mentioned by Giacomo Lumbroso.⁷⁶⁷ However, Newberry⁷⁶⁸ sees no reason for connecting those with the earlier $\text{ʕ} n \text{ḥ}3$ title holders because those Alexandrian officials were only in charge of “the writing the minutes and records.”

In the first millennium BCE texts we encounter “ $\text{ḥ}3 n \text{sh.w}$ ” or “ $\text{ḥ}3 n \text{šs.w}$ ”⁷⁶⁹ which Michel Malinine first understands as “archives”⁷⁷⁰ and literally translates “office des écrits.”⁷⁷¹ In Shoshenq’s Stela, as Richard Jasnow⁷⁷² remarks, James Henry

⁷⁵⁶ Gardiner 1947 I: 23* (84).

⁷⁵⁷ See Gardiner 1947, III: pl. XVII (20). It is on BM EA 10379, a strip of leather, recto; see Gardiner 1947 I: 26.

⁷⁵⁸ See Gardiner 1947, III: pl. XVIII (14). It is on BM EA 10379, a strip of leather, verso; Gardiner 1947 I: 26.

⁷⁵⁹ Zivie-Coche (1991: 286 [pl. 47]) translates this title “grand de l’antichambre (?).” See also De Meulenaere 1966: 11 (n. 38).

⁷⁶⁰ De Meulenaere dates to the Thirtieth Dynasty (?); see Limme 1972: 96 (n. 5), while Sharpe (1981 II: pl. 30 [2]) to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

⁷⁶¹ See Piehl 1895: pl. XLIII, A; 1903: 32; *PM* III.1: 290–291; Limme 1972: 96–97 (Doc. 1); Sharpe 1981 II: pl. 30 (2); El-Sadeck 1984: 132; Zivie-Coche 1991: 286–287, pl. 47. For the correct reading of this name *Ns-j3(w)l*, see De Meulenaere 1962: 31–35; Limme 1972: 96 (n. 7).

⁷⁶² See Mogensen 1919: 58 (e).

⁷⁶³ For this name, see Ranke 1935: 27 (2).

⁷⁶⁴ See Mogensen 1919: 59 (i).

⁷⁶⁵ Newberry 1900: 101.

⁷⁶⁶ Maspero 1888: 278 (n. 2).

⁷⁶⁷ See Lumbroso 1967: 180–182.

⁷⁶⁸ Newberry 1900: 101.

⁷⁶⁹ Malinine 1951: 168 (n. 45).

⁷⁷⁰ Malinine 1951: 160 (24), pl. II (24); 1953: 60–61 (33).

⁷⁷¹ Malinine 1951: 168 (n. 45); Malinine 1950: 168 (n. 45). Then he reads it “ $\text{ḥ}3j n \text{sh.w}$ Bureau-des-Écrits;” see Malinine 1953: 36–37.

Breasted referred to a “contract” or “document of endowment” that was registered in “the hall of writings,”⁷⁷³ which Breasted understood as the “temple archives,”⁷⁷⁴ while Aylward Blackman translates “*ḥ3 n sš* the office of archives.”⁷⁷⁵ Aylward Blackman,⁷⁷⁶ moreover, offers the alternation term *st sš* “place of writings,” which occurs on the Ewerot Stela.⁷⁷⁷ Michel Malinine points out that the Kushite texts have “*ḥ3 n sh.w* Hall of Writings,” whereas the Saite texts have “*s.t n sh.w* Place of Writings.”⁷⁷⁸

In his study on the jurisprudence of the Saite and Persian Periods, Erwin Seidl⁷⁷⁹ reads and translates “*ḥ3 n sh.w* Die Halle der Urkunden,” arguing that the *ḥ3*-hall was “a court,” not “an archive.”⁷⁸⁰ He lists the *ḥ3*-hall under the *knb.t* division of the judicial activity of the court system.⁷⁸¹ He cites this example, depending on P. Louvre 3228c,⁷⁸² I 24, P. Vatican 10574,⁷⁸³ P. Turin 2118, 33,⁷⁸⁴ “Ihre Aussage wird in der Halle der Urkunden, *ḥ3 n sh.w*, nicht gehört werden.” He suggests that the “*ḥ3 n sh.w*” was a court run by priests at the temples, without specifying its exact location at the temples. He, however, does not negate the archival nature of the *ḥ3*-hall in the Saite and Persian Periods, and, moreover, points out that the *ḥ3*-hall could have served as a court and an archive. However, he thinks that P. Turin 2118, 28 “is not a clear proof for an archive.” In order to support his opinion, Seidl cites Michel Malinine’s translation, “Leurs écrits (qui sont) dans le bureau (?) ne sont plus valables pour nous,”⁷⁸⁵ which agrees with the *Wb.* in his opinion. He refers to the existence of a

⁷⁷² Jasnow 2003: 788 (n. 98).

⁷⁷³ *BAR* IV: 330; Théodoridès 1995: 452–453 (n. 11).

⁷⁷⁴ *BAR* IV: 330 (n. b).

⁷⁷⁵ Blackman 1941: 84, pl. X, 9, 89 (n. 38).

⁷⁷⁶ Blackman 1941: 89 (n. 38).

⁷⁷⁷ For this stela, see Legrain 1897: 14.

⁷⁷⁸ Malinine 1980: 15 (n. 53). Malinine (1973: 207 [n. w]) refers to incorrect transcription of “*s.t n sš*” (lit. “place d’écrit[s]”) instead of “*ḥ3*” [*n sš*].

⁷⁷⁹ Seidl 1968: 32.

⁷⁸⁰ Seidl 1968: 32, 43; see also Spiegelberg (1892: 52), who previously connected it with *knbt*.

⁷⁸¹ The abnormal hieratic papyri P. Louvre 3228 C, 24 (year 6 of Taharqa; see Malinine 1950: 157; Seidl 1968: 15) and P. Louvre 3228 E, ll. 8–9 (year 10 of Shabaqo; see Seidl 1968: 15) indicate the legal nature of the *ḥ3*-hall as a hearing place. P. Louvre 3228 C, 24, reads “*bn sdm r=f m ḥ3 nb n sšw* His deposition shall not be listened to in any office of writings;” see Revillout and Boudier 1895: pl. 4; Černý 1945: 41 (3); Malinine 1950: 157. P. Louvre 3228 E, ll. 8–9, reads “*jr p3 nt(y) jw=f mdw bn sdm r=f m ḥ3 nb nsw*.” Černý (1945: 41 [3]) translates “As for him who will contest (it) his deposition shall not be listened to in any office;” see also Malinine 1953: 6; Bakir 1978: pl. 12. Černý (1945: 41 [3]) here understands *ḥ3 nb n sšw* as “any court.”

⁷⁸² It dates to year 6 of Taharqa; see Malinine 1951: 157; Seidl 1968: 15.

⁷⁸³ It dates to year 22 of Piye; see Parker 1966: 112; Janssen 1968: 171–172; Seidl 1968: 15.

⁷⁸⁴ It dates to year 30 of Psamtik I; see Malinine 1953: 9; Seidl 1968: 15.

⁷⁸⁵ Seidl 1968: 43.

place to register the important documents, as was the case in the New Kingdom and the Graeco-Roman Period.⁷⁸⁶ However, P. S. Vleeming understands “*ḥ3 n sh.w*” as “a building,” not “a special institution.”⁷⁸⁷ Penelope Wilson points out that when *ḥ3* was “applied to the king it refers to his audience or policy making chamber.” This implies, in her opinion, “a secure and safe place.”⁷⁸⁸

In Arabic, “ديوان *dīwān*” has several meanings, such as “department,” “office,” “council,” and “bureau,” any one of which probably fits nicely with Bakry’s translation.⁷⁸⁹ The word “*dēwān/divan*” means “archive,” “register,” “chancery,” “government office,” and “administration” in Persian.⁷⁹⁰ In modern Egypt, “*dīwān*” or “*dīwān*” refers to the governmental institutions. It dates back to the early Islamic caliphate in Egypt when it was used to record the names of the Muslim troops in Al-Fustāt.⁷⁹¹ However, the origins of this word lie in the earliest years of the caliphate of Omar Ibn Al-Khattab at Al-Medina, when he had established a “*dīwān*” for tax payments records and the names of warriors to receive stipends and to fix rates.⁷⁹² In 706 CE under the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd Al-Malik Ibn Marwan, the Egyptian governmental institutions (*dīwāns*) were Arabized,⁷⁹³ i.e., Arabic was used as the official language of the administration.⁷⁹⁴ Bakry’s translation, which was used by many previous scholars, is very interesting, but it is not known if the ancient Egyptian word had the same meaning as the modern one. This title means “the great one of the *dīwān*” in the Saite Period. It seems to refer to (a) an audience hall for meetings and ceremonies, and (b) certain rooms containing documents.

The title *ʿ3 n ḥ3* of Payeftjaumawyneith, as the Kushite example mentioned above, is generic and does not specify any viziral or royal connection. The signification of Payeftjaumawyneith’s title *ʿ3 n ḥ3* is not exactly known at the period. Moreover, we do not know this rank status or the function of its holder at the time. Since the function of the *ḥ3*-hall was related to administration and receiving audiences, it might have been the *ḥ3*-hall of the king, because all Payeftjaumawyneith’s titles are related in one way or another to the royal realm. For example, on BM EA 83 he speaks of

⁷⁸⁶ Seidl 1968: 44; Seidl 1962: 64 f.

⁷⁸⁷ Vleeming 1980: 15 (n. 53); Jasnow 2003: 788 (97).

⁷⁸⁸ Wilson 1997: 700.

⁷⁸⁹ Baalbaki 2001: 128, 169.

⁷⁹⁰ De Blois 1985: 432; Kashani and Kashani 1986: 57; Mo’in 1992: ١٥٩٩ [= 1599]; Bateni et al. 1999: 245.

⁷⁹¹ The first capital of Islamic Egypt which was founded by ‘Amr Ibn Al-‘Ās in 641 CE; see Kennedy 1998: 64.

⁷⁹² Bosworth 1985: 432–433.

⁷⁹³ On the administrative and military aspects of early Islamic Egypt, see ‘Athamina 1997.

⁷⁹⁴ Kennedy 1998: 71–72.

himself as “he who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace, the great one of the *h3*-hall,” on Mit Rahina 545 “the one who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace, the great one of the *h3*-hall,” and on Louvre A 93 “the great one of the *h3*-hall, the great *jm3hw* in the king’s house.” These reveal that Payeftjauemawyneith’s title “the great one of the *h3*-hall” often comes after his epithet “he who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace,” or, as on Louvre A 93, this title has something to do with the king’s house. All these show that Payeftjauemawyneith had close connections and played important roles in the royal palace, probably of Apries. If so, therefore, Payeftjauemawyneith might have functioned as director of this *h3*-hall of this king, and he might have been responsible for all of its external contacts and for its order and security, as these fell under the duties of the vizier in the early New Kingdom.⁷⁹⁵

CONCLUSION

In addition to his honorific titles and epithets, Payeftjauemawyneith’s many administrative offices show that he was in charge of palace, treasury, physicians’ affairs, and, moreover, he was a confidant of the king. All these titles show that Payeftjauemawyneith was a high elite member who was amongst the most trusted officials of the king. His titles also reveal his primary function and his involvement with numerous projects which he undertook in many places, such as Heliopolis and Abydos. Vittmann⁷⁹⁶ states that Payeftjauemawyneith reached the top of his career under Apries.⁷⁹⁷ Leahy⁷⁹⁸ believes that there was not “a long gap” between the two statues of Payeftjauemawyneith, BM EA 83 and Louvre A 93. Although Louvre A 93 preserves titles and epithets not held by Payeftjauemawyneith on his monuments securely fixed to the reign of Apries, such as *hrp ḥ* and *jm3hw ʕ m pr njswt*, they should be dated in the reign of Apries because, as mentioned above, Payeftjauemawyneith probably was not active in his offices under Amasis.

The prosopographical study of Payeftjauemawyneith’s titles enables us to fix his monuments chronologically and establish their order of production. It also leads us to conclude that he already reached the pinnacle of his career in the reign of Apries, and probably that he was not as appreciated in the reign of Amasis as he had been previously. His new titles on Louvre A 93 were his last titles in the reign of Apries,

⁷⁹⁵ For this function of the vizier in the early New Kingdom, see Van den Boorn 1988: 252.

⁷⁹⁶ Vittmann 1976: 143 (n. 6); Leahy 1984a: 46.

⁷⁹⁷ Leahy (1984a: 53 [n. 11]) points out that Jelínková-Reymond (1957: 253) had made the same point.

⁷⁹⁸ Leahy 1984a: 46.

not in that of Amasis, and they do not represent significant additions to his outstanding career.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Themes of the Self-Presentations of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith

LITERARY ANALYSIS

The reading of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith self-presentations is based on two levels:

1. High level represented by Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's statues, which I will address later in their artistic self-presentations.
2. Low level represented by Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations, which were addressed to a specific audience.

Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith are each a protagonist with many self-presentations, a phenomenon very common in the self-presentations of the Late Period.⁷⁹⁹ Text is an important component of their self-presentations, but the aesthetics of reading text and image are not separate since art cannot be separated from writing in ancient Egypt.⁸⁰⁰ They present their self-presentations in the first person and in the hieroglyphic script. Their biographies reveal very sophisticated strings of titles and epithets with continuous syntax, and they express the growth of a sense of individuality and self-esteem. Their tone of self-esteem, a crucial characteristic of late Saite self-presentation, is highly represented in these texts. On their statues, placement of the biographies, an important element in the overall composition of the object, is highly significant and done in a proper way that highlights their impressive self-presentations. However, their biographies were not easily accessible to be read or deciphered by the public because they were mainly written on the back pillars of the statues, which were often directed toward the walls in the temples.

The self-presentations of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith are literary pieces,⁸⁰¹ encompassing several genres and showing “interfigurality”⁸⁰² of literary forms, making each self-presentation a “cross-genre text.” They incorporate: strings of titles and

⁷⁹⁹ See above.

⁸⁰⁰ Baines 2007: 3; 2015.

⁸⁰¹ For more on defining literature, see, for example, Iser 1993. For ancient Egypt, see Loprieno 1996d; Strudwick 2005: 19–20, 42–46; Parkinson 2002; 2009.

⁸⁰² For more on this intertextual term, see Müller 1991.

epithets; self-presentation; wisdom literature;⁸⁰³ narrative;⁸⁰⁴ funerary literature; appeals to the living; and wishes for life and the afterlife.

Neshor's and Payeftjaumawyneith's narratives, textual self-portraits, are the main vehicle through which they highlight the major events of their careers, in addition to their titles which might be called "implicit self-presentations."⁸⁰⁵ Their narratives do not meet the traditional definition of narrative, which usually has beginning, middle, and end.⁸⁰⁶ However, Gérard Genette defines narrative as "the representation of an event or sequence of events,"⁸⁰⁷ while Gerald Prince goes as far as to define narrative as "the representation of at least one event."⁸⁰⁸ Thus, Neshor's and Payeftjaumawyneith's narratives do indeed represent true narratives. However, the text here is dense and detailed, like a short story, and not very long with as many events as a novel. Thus, it might be called "a single-event self-presentation" versus "a multi-event self-presentation," which often narrates the entire career events of the protagonist in chronological order.⁸⁰⁹

The biographies of these men do not narrate a whole career or some other aspect of a lifetime, but only a specific activity in a specific place and focus on the characterizations of the individual. Due to their commemorative nature and dedication in the temples' sacred space, they are selective and more focused on their narrated points. On Louvre A 90 of Neshor, the text takes us among the affairs that Neshor cleverly attended to at Elephantine. The text does not move from one event or activity to another or from a one place or time to another; it remains steadfastly focused in scope and limited in narration, concerned with only Elephantine and events then and there. The centrality of narrative here has two levels: primary and secondary. The primary is concerned with the major narrative such as Neshor's activities at Elephantine or at Mendes if we consider the remaining text on Mendes

⁸⁰³ For more on wisdom literature in ancient Egypt, see, for example, Assmann 1991b. For a Late Period hieratic wisdom text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135), see Jasnow 1992. For more on the relation between biography and "Lebenslehre," see Jansen-Winkel 2004b; Lichtheim 1983; Hoffmann and Quack 2007; Quack 2009.

⁸⁰⁴ For narrative in art history, see Kemp 2003; and in ancient Egyptian art, see Gaballa 1976; Braun 2015.

⁸⁰⁵ The Old Kingdom self-presentation of the chief physician Nyankhsekhmet deployed narrative; see *Urk.* I: 138–140. Quirke (1996b: 264) points out that narrative entered the world of self-presentations in the Fifth Dynasty. For more on narrativity, see Prince 1982: 148–161; 1999.

⁸⁰⁶ See Guibert 2006: 32; see also Aristotle and Heath 1996. For more on narratology, see Prince 1982; Copley 2005.

⁸⁰⁷ Genette 1982: 127; Rudrum 2005: 195.

⁸⁰⁸ Prince 1999: 43; Rudrum 2005: 195.

⁸⁰⁹ Ahmose Son-of-Ibana's self-presentation is a "multi-event self-presentation;" for his, see, for example, Lichtheim 2006b: 12–15; Schulz 1995.

Statue to be the whole narrative. As for Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations, the primary level of narrative focuses on the principal narrative, such as Payeftjauemawyneith's activities at Abydos or at Heliopolis if we accept the existing text on statue BM EA 83 as the complete narrative. The secondary level of narrative is almost indirect, but it can be predicted through different ways such as rereading and reinterpreting the appeal to the living and the wishes sections in which Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith write their own narratives concerned with life after death, the deities of the temples, and the netherworld and its deities. Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's narratives in their self-presentations reveal their actions in an active way in many perspectives. The events are narrated by a single viewpoint, i.e., one voice dominates the scene. Therefore, I call it "a single-voice narrative" versus "a multi-voice narrative," which we commonly encounter in modern novels. The use of single viewpoint or voice is also one of the main characteristics of modern autobiography, but some self-presentations employ different viewpoints of many voices on some specific actions or events.⁸¹⁰ Here Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's narratives are composed like religious texts in which the god is usually the main actor on the scene, or like the "*Königsnovelle*"⁸¹¹ in which the king is the main figure on the stage. Their narratives can fall under the second category, since in their texts they do not claim to act like gods.⁸¹²

Although these self-presentations highlight their identities in different ways and the formation of their texts is different, they are similar in content and goal. For each man the ultimate goal beyond the writing of these self-presentations is clear in the phraseology content. For example, on Louvre A 90 Neshor addresses his speech to the triad of Elephantine: "Remember my *k3* on account of that which (I) achieved in your temple." This reveals one Neshor's principal wishes for his life after death, that these deities might remember him because of the favors he performed at their temple at Elephantine. The narrative in his other biographies is narrow and short, giving the importance to epithets that summarize his actions. When, for example, two of his epithets on the Abydos Statue and Louvre A 90 describe him as "the *jm3hw* before the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Haaibre" and "the praised one before the Son-of-Re, Wahibre," these may refer to the fact that Neshor was favored by Apries. This statement with its implicit narrative obviously shows Neshor's position and appreciation within the state hierarchy and his intimate relationship with the crown.

⁸¹⁰ See, for example, Hoberman 2001; Black 2007.

⁸¹¹ For more on the "*King's Novel*" and some examples, see, for instance, Loprieno 1996c; Hofmann 2004; Spalinger 2011; Enmarch 2013. See also Quack 2012, where that term is rejected.

⁸¹² For acting like god in narrative, see Blumenthal 2003 on the role of Rensi as god in the *Narrative of the Eloquent Peasant*.

The self-presentations on their statues are dedicatory pieces commemorating their activities at Sais (?), Mendes, Abydos, Elephantine, Heliopolis, Memphis, Buto, and Abydos. Neshor's self-presentation on Louvre A 90 is probably a dedicatory piece at the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, while Payeftjauemawyneith's biography on Louvre A 93, a dedicatory piece at the temple of Osiris (Khentymentt) at Abydos, takes us to the internal affairs of Abydos and the Tawer Nome, which he perspicaciously solved there. This type of biography as that of Neshor does not move from a various event or action to another or from a various place or time to another; it is very concentrated in scope and narrow in narrative: only Abydos and the Tawer Nome and its events in the period. All of Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations were probably formed the same way. All of them are temple statues, as indeed were almost all Late Period statues.⁸¹³ The commemorative and dedicatory nature of their monuments immortalize textually and artistically the memory of their actions.

The distribution of Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentational statues in the temples, especially Louvre A 90 and Louvre A 93, is probably close to the Saite royal tradition. For example, when Psamtik II victoriously campaigned in Nubia over Kush, he ordered several stelae to be set up in many places in Egypt (such as at Shellâl, Karnak, and Tanis) in order to commemorate this historical event. Here Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith may do the same thing but in their own way, not exactly like that of the king; their several statues in these temples are presumably a clear indication for this trend.

Neither Neshor's nor Payeftjauemawyneith's provide us with the development in career from beginning to apex; thus, their self-presentations are not "self-fashioning."⁸¹⁴ For instance, statue Hermitage 2962 reveals Neshor's unique rank in the whole Saite Period as "overseer of the two gates of the foreign lands of the *w3d-wr*," and that may hint at one of the major and latest stages of his military career. These men wish to continue to be highly appreciated as they were in their lifetimes and to enjoy eternity in the afterlife with continuous funerary endowment in the presence of the great god. As for the rest of their self-presentations, they presumably wrote them when they reached the pinnacle of their careers. That their titles on them are similar indicates that they were probably written in one sequence of time, or in close sequences of time. Their self-presentations encompass three spheres of manifestation and interaction:

⁸¹³ See *ESLP*: xxxiii. However, Josephson (1997b: 2) mentions several exceptions contradicting Bothmer's view.

⁸¹⁴ For more on "self-fashioning" see, for example, Greenblatt 1980.

1. The public sphere.
2. The private sphere.
3. The god's sphere in the first life and in the afterlife (to be addressed under Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's religious beliefs, below).

The public sphere is the main domain in which they acted, achieved, and displayed their skills and good deeds. Their "public image" presents them performing publicly in texts and is elaborately represented in statues that were placed within the temple sacred spaces. Their "private image" presents them privately and expresses their piety and wishes for the afterlife. The latter image is less visible than the first, which occupies the larger portion of their self-presentations and totally dominates their statues. For example, on Louvre A 93 Payeftjauemawyneith addresses his speech to the priests whom he wishes to praise the god for him, and to everyone who will come forth from the temple to wish for him to "be in the sacred barque," and to "receive the bread of eternity at the head of the blessed dead." The narrative on BM EA 83 is brief in comparison with Payeftjauemawyneith's epithets, encapsulating his deeds. For example, when one of his epithets describes him as "the trusted one of Horus in his plans," that may imply that the king took council with Payeftjauemawyneith. This expression with its implicit narrative clearly reveals Payeftjauemawyneith's role within the royal palace and his close relationship with the king.

Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations, with their multi-verbal statements, exemplify those of the elite members of Saite society. Neshor's self-presentation on Louvre A 90 is the most elaborate statement of his whole career and life, while his biographies on the other statues are variations exploring his individuality. While Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentation on statue BM EA 83 is the general statement of Payeftjauemawyneith's individuality, his self-presentation on Louvre A 93 is probably the closing statement of Payeftjauemawyneith's whole career and life.

HISTORICAL ISSUES

Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations, varied and rich in content, span the period from the reign of Psamtik II to that of Amasis, and show that they had served these kings. Their texts and statues introduce several historical and archaeological issues. However, their biographies were not composed for writing general history.⁸¹⁵ Their intention was not to record a chronological history of the

⁸¹⁵ For more on the importance of historiography in "life writing," see Bergland 2001.

period, but they focus on a selective corpus of actions of their own histories that they wanted to show us and were very proud of achieving them. Their texts write a different kind of history, what I call the “individualistic history of the individual.” The main intention of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith was not to offer any detailed political history of the period, which can be sometimes obtained from some other Egyptian self-presentations, depending on the period and the protagonist. However, that does not negate the history of these individuals or of their societies. History can still be taken from their self-presentations. Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith, as extremely influential elite members in the late Saite Period, are mirrors of the period upon which its spirit and events are reflected. Their biographies offer a mixture of “societal history” and “individual’s history.” Despite the restrictions, each had acted in a brave manner and engaged in many activities, including courageous roles at Elephantine and the area of the First Cataract and at Abydos.

DATING NESHOR’S STATUES

Dating the statues of Neshor is straightforward. Hermitage 2962 dates to the reign of Psamtik II, and Louvre A 90, Sohag Statue, Abydos Statue, and Mendes Statue to that of Apries. Neshor lived at the end of middle Saite Egypt and the late Saite Period, mainly under Apries.

NESHOR’S ACTIVITIES AT SAIS, MENDES, ABYDOS, AND ELEPHANTINE

The historical and archaeological implications of Neshor’s self-presentations and statues are significant since he had served kings Psamtik II and Apries. Moreover, it is difficult to trace back the few archeological remains and the general statements in Neshor’s self-presentations.

Hermitage 2962 does not have narrative, and its text represents the so-called appeal to the living. Its greatest historical value likely lies in Neshor’s epithet “the great one in Netjerit” and his title “overseer of the two gates of the foreign lands of the *w3d-wr*.” Their importance comes from their unique use in Egyptian prosopography. Neshor in his self-presentation on Mendes Statue states:

“(I) finished up the chapels of the great *b3s*. Never (3) [under the majesty of] Horus, Wahib. It is before the lord of the Two Lands that my favors exist, as exchange for this that (I) have done. His majesty presented gifts which (he) created with (his) own arms (4) (5) on a stone stela of greywacke which was set up in the temple”

This self-presentation remarks that Neshor was probably sent by Apries to complete construction works (the chapels of the great *b3s*) for the deities at Mendes. Furthermore, Apries also presented gifts presumably to the deities of Mendes at the time of finishing the constructions. This royal donation event was subsequently commemorated on a stone stela of greywacke set up in a temple at that place. In addition to these pious deeds, Neshor mentions in his biography on Abydos statue:

“ ... (giving) (?) provisions for the herdsmen of the fowl, and food for the geese: 120 aurora, food for fattened geese (?)”

That is very close to his donation to the temple of Khnum at Elephantine in his biography on Louvre A 90. Since the biography does not explicitly mention it (because it is not complete), the temple that received these donations remains unknown.

The self-presentation of Neshor on Louvre A 90 is full of many activities that he undertook successfully at Elephantine and at the region of the First Cataract. Therefore, he introduces his good deeds before stating his wishes for the afterlife:

“Remember my *k3* on account of that which (I) achieved in your temple. It is with vessels of silver, numerous cattle, geese, and fowl that (I) enriched your temples. (4) It is forever and eternity that I established their rations from field(s) and their herdsmen. It is in your city that (I) fashioned their nest(s). It is in your storehouse(s), which (I) constructed anew in the great name of his majesty, that (I) gave very fine wine of the Southern-Oasis, emmer (and honey). It is in order to light the lamp(s) of the temples of your city that (I) gave castor-oil. It is (for) the holy cloth(es) of the great god (5) and his Ennead that (I) appointed weavers, maidservants, and washermen. It is in his temple that (I) built their quarters (?), so that they endure forever by the command of the great god, the lord of the Two Lands, H(a)aibre, living forever.”

The Saite remains of the temple of Khnum at Elephantine are very few. The excavator of the temple, Cornelius Von Pilgrim, has discovered blocks with reliefs belonging to the separate temple of Khnum that Psamtik II built. That temple was obviously built at the back side of the main temple; it was dismantled in the Thirtieth Dynasty when the new and larger temple was constructed. All blocks were then reused later in the foundations of the pronaos built in the Ptolemaic Period where Von

Pilgrim and his team discovered the blocks during the last years.⁸¹⁶ Therefore, “their quarters (?)” which Neshor claimed to have built are very difficult to locate. However, the image of Apries in Neshor’s self-presentation on Louvre A 90 here needs a further comment.

This self-presentation shows the role of Neshor against that revolt perpetrated by foreign mercenaries at Elephantine. Through his diplomatic activities at the region of the First Cataract, Neshor successfully overcame this rebellion. On this event Neshor states:

“(His) majesty assigned h(im) to a very great office, the office of his eldest son, the overseer of the gate of the southern foreign lands in order to repel the foreign lands of those who revolt against him. He placed fear of himself in the southern foreign lands, (2) so that they fled in their valleys because of fear of himself, without seeking what is good for his lord. (6) According as you saved me from a difficulty at the hands of the Bowmen, Bedouins, Greeks, Asiatics, and the rebels, placing into their heart(s), placing the going to Shas-Heret into their heart(s), his majesty was concerned about the vile deeds which they did. It was through (my) plan(s) that I encouraged their heart(s), not allowing that they march to Ta-Seti, and causing that they reach to the place where his majesty was. What his majesty did was ... (7) ... they/their (?).”

The reasons, details, aftermath, and consequences of this historical event remain unknown. Neshor’s self-presentation on Louvre A 90 is the only Egyptian source that sheds light on this. Alan Rowe⁸¹⁷ points out that this happened when Apries returned from his Palestinian campaign. According to Alan B. Lloyd,⁸¹⁸ this campaign was in 589 BCE. If Rowe’s opinion is valid, that means this revolt occurred at the beginning of Apries’s reign, more specifically at his regnal year 1. From this perspective, Lloyd declares that “Neshor emphasizes that it was he who got the king out of difficulties with his mercenaries.”⁸¹⁹ He further states that Neshor, as an army officer, was also concerned with the defense of the whole country.⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁶ For more on this temple stratigraphy from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period, see Von Pilgrim 2001. For the results of the early excavations at Elephantine by the Swiss-German team, see Kaiser, Grossmann, Haeny, and Jaritz 1970: 87–139. Von Pilgrim: pers. com.; 2003. For more on Elephantine of the third millennium BCE, see Raue 2008. See also Von Pilgrim 2013.

⁸¹⁷ Rowe 1938: 174.

⁸¹⁸ Lloyd 1994: 339.

⁸¹⁹ Lloyd 1994: 298. Rowe (1938: 174) and Griffiths (1955: 145) previously made the same point.

⁸²⁰ Lloyd 1994: 333.

The only realities known of this event are that the foreign mercenaries of Apries performed some act at Elephantine against the regime (for unknown reasons) and planned to migrate farther south to the Nubian⁸²¹ place Shais-Heret, and that the overseer of the gate of the southern foreign lands, Neshor, succeeded in stopping them. It is notable that this event was not conducted by foreign countries against the land of Egypt, but rather by foreign mercenaries employed by Egypt within Egypt. Neshor's description of the event emphasizes his power and control, and his insistence on his own responsibility for this particular achievement.

DATING PAYEFTJAUEMAWYNEITH'S STATUES

The date of Payeftjauemawyneith's statues ranges from the reign of Apries and probably does not go beyond that of Amasis, living in late Saite Egypt mainly in the reign of Apries.⁸²² The date of BM EA 83 is securely fixed in the reign of Apries because of the presence of this king's cartouches. There is no cartouche on Mit Rahina 545, but based on Payeftjauemawyneith's titles on BM EA 83, Bakry assigns it, too, to the reign of Apries. That is possible but not certain. Pressl also dates Buto Statue in the reign of Apries without stating any supporting evidence.⁸²³

The date of Louvre A 93 has been much debated.⁸²⁴ The garment that Payeftjauemawyneith wears in Louvre A 93 is called a "Persian garment"⁸²⁵ by scholars.⁸²⁶ For example, Bernard V. Bothmer dates this statue to post-Saite Period based on the presence of this garment, which he believes is Persian and was not worn

⁸²¹ The Egyptian military action of the Saites in Nubia was most known from the famous campaign of Psamtik II into Nubia, the major event in his short reign, which took place in his third regnal year (593 BCE) with an army of Egyptians and mercenaries under the generals Amasis and Potasimto as recorded on the king's stelae from Shellal, Karnak, and Tanis; see Gozzoli 1997: 5–16. Gozzoli (1998: 46–49) furthermore explains the differences between the accounts of the Nubian campaign of Psamtik II in the southern version of the king's Shellal stela, which describes just the final battle (also inscribed at Karnak), and the northern version of the text at Tanis with its description of the complete development of the war (originally set up at Sais and Memphis) (?).

⁸²² El-Sayed (1975: 245) believes that Payeftjauemawyneith was contemporary to the reign of Psamtik I depending on BM EA 83, but he does not mention any evidence to support this assumption.

⁸²³ Pressl 1996: 233. It is not known to me, however, whether, what and how the names of Apries are inscribed on Buto Statue.

⁸²⁴ See Daressy 1900; *BAR*: 507 ff.; Posener 1947: 117–131; Jelínková-Reymond 1957: 263 ff.; Edel 1978; Spalinger 1982: 18–19 nos. 24, 25; Leahy 1988: 183–199; Ladynin 2006a; Lloyd 1988: 174, 176, 211. For more on this conflict, see Spalinger 1979. Leahy (1984a) successfully presented this argument.

⁸²⁵ The "Persian garment" or "*kandys*" is "a full-sleeved and pleated robe reaching down to the ankles, usually worn either with a fluted crown or with a turban;" see Curtis and Tallis 2005: 264; see also Curtis 2005. Although the garment that Payeftjauemawyneith wears is long, it does not have

in Egypt before the First Persian Domination with the Twenty-seventh Dynasty.⁸²⁷ Although Louvre A 93 and Statue Philadelphia 42-9-1 contradict his theory, he attributes the carving of these two statues to the Persian Period, arguing that the name of Amasis, which is written without any title, refers not to King Amasis but to a son of Payeftjauemawyneith with the same name,⁸²⁸ although, as discussed previously here, Payeftjauemawyneith had no known son named Amasis. Bothmer, moreover, adds that the writing of non-royal names in a cartouche was unimaginable in the Saite Period, so he thinks that this way of writing private names was used as a symbol for resisting the Persian rule, and, as a result, this statue should be securely dated in the Persian Period.⁸²⁹ His views are not generally accepted. De Meulenaere, for example, disagrees,⁸³⁰ although nevertheless, he has argued that the so-called Persian garment must be dated to the beginning of the sixth century BCE.⁸³¹ Very recently, Jack A. Josephson expressed to me that he follows Bothmer's opinion and dates this statue early in the reign of Darius (Twenty-seventh Dynasty). He bases his opinion

sleeves, its end is not pleated, and it does not have a fringe. His headdress is also identical to those of the Saite Period. This kind of his garment is known in Egyptian art since the Middle Kingdom. Payeftjauemawyneith does not stand in the so-called Persian gesture; he stands in the traditional position of offering which is well-known in Egyptian art. Since nothing of this is present on Louvre A 93, the garment that Payeftjauemawyneith wears is not the so-called Persian garment. For some Egyptian individuals, especially from the Middle Kingdom, wearing similar garments, see the statue of Louvre E 11053 of Amenemhatânkh in Musée du Louvre and Ziegler 1997: 130; Simpson 1974: pls. 66 (ANOC 48.2-CCG 482), 69 (ANOC 51.2-CCG 427), 75 (ANOC 55.1-Louvre E 11573). *Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.* has also a good collection of statues with the same kind of garment: Amenemhet-anch p. 117 (no. 45), unknown man p. 135 (no. 61), Sebekemsaf p. 137 (no. 62), Renef-seneb-dag p. 152 (no. 74), Tetu p. 153 (no. 75), Cheper-ka-Rê-seneb p. 154 (no. 76), and Gebu p. 159 (no. 79); see Wildung et al. 2000. An example identical to the "Persian garment" was found in Egypt under the Persian domination, namely the Persian funerary stela discovered by the National Museums of Scotland expedition to Saqqara; see Manthieson et al. 1995: 23–41, especially pls. V and VI, fig. 3. The stela clearly shows this dress in a very Persian style. As for the so-called Persian gesture, Lisa Montagno Leahy believes that it may appear before the Twenty-seventh Dynasty and have Egyptian roots; see Manthieson et al. 1995: 33 (n. 38). See also the Cairo Museum Stela JE 45534, which was discovered by the University of Pennsylvania's University Museum expedition to Memphis during 1915–1923 in Schulman 1981: 103–111, esp. pl. 1. However, the pleated-end garment also appeared in Egypt on some Libyan, Kushite, and Saite monuments; see, for example, *ESLP*: 68, 76–77. See also Morkot 2014.

⁸²⁶ However, Vittmann (1976; 2009: 97 [n. 37]) denies this argumentation.

⁸²⁷ *ESLP*: 76.

⁸²⁸ *ESLP*: 77.

⁸²⁹ *ESLP*: 68.

⁸³⁰ *ESLP*: 76.

⁸³¹ See Leahy 1984a: 45.

stylistically on the “pectoral” and the “tie” on the “skirt,” which “might point to that dating.” He, therefore, does not agree with Leahy’s dating (early in the reign of Amasis) and suggests that the use of the name of Amasis by Egyptian sculptors is “well-known.”⁸³²

Günther Vittmann dates this garment in the late Saite Period and suggests that it was probably as early as ca. 600 BCE; however, he proposes that it would be wisely dated as late as the early Twenty-seventh Dynasty.⁸³³ Sematawyt[ay]efnakht named Wahibreman wears a similar garment in his Statue Cairo Museum prov. nr. 27/11/58/8, from the reign of Amasis,⁸³⁴ whose name has been cut out (year 39).⁸³⁵ According to Vittmann and Perdu, Hekat[ay]efnakht’s Statue Louvre E 25499 is another example of the so-called Persian garment in the late Saite Period.⁸³⁶ However, as Anthony Leahy⁸³⁷ points out, scholars date this statue in the reign of Amasis without further discussion.⁸³⁸

The proposed date of this statue thus ranges from the reign of Amasis to the beginning of the Persian Period. The date of Louvre A 93 should be securely fixed to the reign of Amasis for the following reasons:

1. Payeftjauemawyneith served Apries and lived under Amasis.
2. No other monuments of Payeftjauemawyneith date to the Persian Period.
3. The presence of the name of Amasis in a cartouche is clear evidence for dating.
4. This way of writing Amasis’s name (its place on the left side of the statue and its position toward the end of the self-presentation on Louvre A 93) is new. For example, the name of Amasis is not introduced as the first textual element in Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentation on Louvre A 93 as are the names of Apries on BM EA 83 of Payeftjauemawyneith. This may support the idea that the name of Amasis was added upon the completion of this statue. Nevertheless, the writing of the royal name of Amasis without titles does not signify neglect of that king.

⁸³² Josephson: pers. com.

⁸³³ See Vittmann 2009: 97 (n. 37).

⁸³⁴ Agut-Labordère 2013: 988.

⁸³⁵ Bresciani 1967.

⁸³⁶ Vittmann 2009: 97 (n. 37); see also Vandier (1964), who proposes that Hekatefnakht probably lived at the end of the Saite Period and the beginning of the First Persian Period/Twenty-seventh Dynasty (526–401 BCE).

⁸³⁷ Leahy 1984a: 45.

⁸³⁸ Spalinger 1977: 242; Lloyd 1994: 292; Lichtheim 2006c: 33.

5. Payeftjauemawyneith placed the name of Amasis at the end of his self-presentation so that it would be closer to the sphere of divinity, where he addresses the god with his wishes. Leahy believes that Louvre A 93 should be dated early in the reign of Amasis.⁸³⁹ This is certainly possible, but it is still not easy to determine precisely in what part of the reign of Amasis Payeftjauemawyneith lived nor how long he lived under him. Furthermore, the date of Payeftjauemawyneith's death is unknown.
6. In Louvre A 93 the presence of Amasis is notably weak; it hardly compares with the strong presence of Apries on BM EA 83. Therefore, an evaluation of the king's presence in this text of Payeftjauemawyneith is relevant here.
7. Louvre A 93 presents Amasis in a human image, not in a divine one. Leahy believes that "the presentation of the king on Louvre A 93 is governed (at least in part) by the particular circumstances of the Apries/Amasis struggle, rather than wider kingship issues."⁸⁴⁰ This argument is valid, but does not negate the growth of Payeftjauemawyneith's power in the late Saite Period.
8. The way Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentation is displayed on Louvre A 93 is highly significant. The layout and composition of the text on the back pillar and the left side of the statue are unique. The main body of the text on the back pillar (starting out with Payeftjauemawyneith's titles, epithets, and name at the beginning with a few references to an unnamed king) is striking. Payeftjauemawyneith had evidently avoided naming the king at the beginning of this text. This was perhaps due to the struggle between Apries and Amasis. Payeftjauemawyneith rather perhaps acts like a king who makes monuments and restores them for the deities and their temples. He commences his self-presentation with his titles, epithets, and name almost like a king listing his royal titulary at the outset of his dedicatory monument. The king to whom the text refers at the beginning might be Apries, while at the end, the king's name, Amasis, may have been added after completion of the statue, after his defeat of Apries and usurpation of the throne. If this is the case, Payeftjauemawyneith's titles and epithets at the beginning are probably those he held under Apries, not under Amasis. If he was still in favor in the reign of Amasis, as he was under Apries, he would presumably have created another dedicatory

⁸³⁹ Leahy 1984a: 46.

⁸⁴⁰ A. Leahy, pers. com. of June 21, 2007; 1984a: 52.

- piece in the reign of Amasis.
9. Louvre A 93 commemorates the closing statement of Payeftjauemawyneith's career, but not of his life. He might well have survived into the reign of Amasis, but without holding office. We are unaware of Payeftjauemawyneith's history before Apries's reign; moreover, we do not know when exactly he held his offices under that king. During the reign of Amasis, Payeftjauemawyneith seems to appear only on a few undated funerary artifacts, perhaps due to his death early in his reign. Payeftjauemawyneith's only monument securely dated to the reign of Amasis is Louvre A 93 on which the name of Amasis occurs toward the end of the text, perhaps indicating that Payeftjauemawyneith was not appreciated by Amasis. Payeftjauemawyneith was first mentioned in the reign of Apries, to whom he was loyal. Payeftjauemawyneith, moreover, was no military man able to support Amasis or to defend Apries. I suspect, therefore, that Payeftjauemawyneith's loss of his offices under Amasis explains his disappearance from the scene after the reign of Apries. Even if he was not forcibly removed from office, he may have been in ill favor under Amasis. It should be kept in mind that Louvre A 93 is complete in comparison with BM EA 83; Amasis did not appear again on any missing part of the statue. Payeftjauemawyneith's titles on it do not relate him to Amasis. If Louvre A 93 was not dated to the transition from the reign of Apries to that of Amasis, it should be dated to the early years of Amasis. Payeftjauemawyneith may have realized that he would no longer be active in his offices or appreciated under Amasis because of his loyalty to Apries. Therefore, he may have added the name of Amasis at the end for diplomatic purposes, so as to avoid any further royal ill-favor or punishment.
 10. Besides the Year One Stela of Amasis, Herodotus mentions the so-called civil war between kings Apries and Amasis,⁸⁴¹ which seems to have been more of a "struggle" between the two kings than a "civil war." Although this self-presentation dates to the reign of Amasis, it has no clear reference to the conflict between the two kings.⁸⁴² It seems that Payeftjauemawyneith avoided this issue and distanced himself from this tense contest. This self-presentation may perhaps indirectly be evidence of this affair. For example, his self-presentation on BM EA 83, places

⁸⁴¹ Lloyd 1988: 174, 176, 211.

⁸⁴² For this struggle, see, e.g., Leahy 1988; Ladynin 2006a.

the names of Apries in its frontal focal point on the naos which he carries between his hands. This indicates that Payeftjaumawyneith much valued the presence of Apries on BM EA 83. Moreover, the *njswt-bjt* and *s3-rꜥ* names of Apries are completely written and presented in honorific transposition on the front of the statue, as the central focus of the naos. This is followed by the traditional wishes and epithets for royalty. The two names of Apries introduce his self-presentation on BM EA 83.⁸⁴³ On the contrary, the name of Amasis on Louvre A 93 is written in an abbreviated fashion without traditional royal titles, epithets, or wishes. I therefore propose that Payeftjaumawyneith was probably removed from office or fell from grace in the reign of Amasis, as stated above.

11. Unlike the naos on BM EA 83 where the names of Apries are inscribed, the naos on Louvre A 93 is left blank where usually the deity and the king's attributes are placed. Louvre A 93 starts out with the name and titles of Payeftjaumawyneith, not with those of the king or the deity. I would add that the name of Apries was not originally written on Louvre A 93 and then altered to that of Amasis. If the names of Apries had been written, they would have been placed completely in a visible place and as prominently as they were on the naos of BM EA 83. There are no traces for the erasure of the names of Apries. The back pillar text was inscribed first, and then the left side of the statue where the brief writing of the name of Amasis was added without a cartouche or royal titulary. It seems reasonable that the relationship between Amasis and Payeftjaumawyneith was not a strong one. Therefore, Payeftjaumawyneith did not place the attributes of Amasis in as favorable a position as he did those of Apries.⁸⁴⁴

⁸⁴³ For more on this statue, see above.

⁸⁴⁴ Rößler-Köhler (1991: 244–245) thinks that Payeftjaumawyneith had close connections with Amasis and enjoyed many personal favors that he received from Apries under the new king, who sent him again to create order at Abydos as a royal representative by a royal command, pointing out that Payeftjaumawyneith was trusted by Amasis. She also disagrees with Leahy (1984a: 50–52) in regard to the only occurrence of Amasis's name at the end of the text and the absence of a title in the front of his cartouche, and believes that these are not sufficient evidence to propose that the role of the king was minimized during that period.

PAYEFTJAUEMAWYNEITH'S ACTIVITIES AT HELIOPOLIS, MEMPHIS, BUTO, AND ABYDOS

Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentation on BM EA 83 has neither a long descriptive narrative, nor is it informative. Its brief and obscure phrase "good things for this temple" may refer to Payeftjauemawyneith's actions at the temple of Atum at Heliopolis, tells us little. Miriam Lichtheim⁸⁴⁵ states that on BM EA 83 Payeftjauemawyneith spoke of his role in reorganizing the temple administration at Heliopolis, although Payeftjauemawyneith's specific activities at Heliopolis are unknown.

Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentation on Mit Rahina 545 does not have narrative, but through his titles we can conclude some roles that he probably played there. His self-presentation on Buto Statue is not known to me; however his string of similar titles forms a good source for reconstructing what he probably did there.

His self-presentation on Louvre A 93 is the most detailed. Payeftjauemawyneith's numerous achievements at Abydos remain the most important among his overall deeds. This self-presentation reveals an obscure situation at the Tawer Nome in the transition from the reign of Apries to that of Amasis. That "occasional northern visitor"⁸⁴⁶ was sent on a mission in order to restore the affairs of Abydos, to establish order, and to spread justice in the Tawer Nome.

By investigating the Saite addition to the temple complex at Abydos under Apries and Amasis, it becomes clearer that little has survived. Petrie found fragments of some artifacts for Amasis, which may have been the result of Payeftjauemawyneith's deeds.⁸⁴⁷ Only two places can probably be recognized in order to explore Payeftjauemawyneith's building activities at Abydos: the temple of (Osiris-)Khentyimentt precinct at Kom es-Sultan at north Abydos and Umm el-Gaab in northwest Abydos.⁸⁴⁸

Payeftjauemawyneith created a granite shrine (*ʿrk-ḥḥ*) at the temple of (Osiris) Khentyimentt. The remaining granite traces dated to the reigns of Apries and Amasis might form some of that *ʿrk-ḥḥ* shrine.⁸⁴⁹ The granite "*ʿrk-ḥḥ*" shrine that

⁸⁴⁵ Lichtheim 2006c: 33.

⁸⁴⁶ For this description, see Leahy 2007: 53 (n. 32). For more on priests and their duties, see Spencer 2010a.

⁸⁴⁷ Kemp 1975: 33–34.

⁸⁴⁸ For more on Kom es-Sultan and Umm el-Gaab, see Lichtheim 1988: pl. x; Wegner 2001: 7–8, Klotz 2010.

⁸⁴⁹ Leahy (1984a: 47) remarks that Payeftjauemawyneith does not use "a generic term" for shrine or chapel such as *k3rj*. However, Spencer does not list this term in Chapter Four of her study on the terminology of shrine and chapel; see Spencer 1984: 99–146, esp. 125–130 on *k3rj*.

Payeftjauemawyneith built was probably the naos of which fragmentary pieces were found by Petrie at Abydos. The archeological evidence shows that the construction of the Saite temple in the Osiris precinct had been initiated during the reign of Apries and continued into that of Amasis. The foundation deposits of this temple have the names of both kings. Moreover, the cartouches of the two kings have been found on fragmentary red granite pieces from the temple.⁸⁵⁰

The *Wpg*-sanctuary that Payeftjauemawyneith built may be located in tomb O of Djer at Umm el-Gaab. Eberhard Otto equates *W-pkr* with Umm el-Gaab.⁸⁵¹ Leahy believes that *Wpg* should be also located at Umm el-Gaab.⁸⁵² Émile Chassinat thinks that the word *Wpg* derived from *W-pkr* “Nome of Poker.”⁸⁵³ Leahy further points out the limestone fragments bearing the cartouche of Amasis found by Emile Amélineau may refer to that sanctuary which Payeftjauemawyneith probably built of local limestone.⁸⁵⁴

Among Payeftjauemawyneith’s other activities at Abydos was the creation of a garden. He refers to the garden that he established at the temple of (Osiris) Khentyimentt at Abydos thus:⁸⁵⁵

“I made for it a garden, having been planted with all fruit trees, the gardeners in it having been of foreign lands, and having been brought as captives. Thirty *hnw*-jars of wine will be placed from (it) daily upon the altar of Khentyimentt, and offerings shall be presented from (it) in the length of eternity.”

Payeftjauemawyneith also restored the House of Life at Abydos:⁸⁵⁶

“I renovated the House of Life after (it) having been ruined.”

⁸⁵⁰ See Leahy 1984a: 46–47. See also Marlart 2009.

⁸⁵¹ Otto 1954: 165 (n. 2); *Wb*. I: 306 (2); Lichtheim 2006c: 36 (n. 8); Leahy 1984a: 48.

⁸⁵² Leahy 1984a: 49; 1989b: 57–58.

⁸⁵³ Chassinat 1966: 255–260; Leahy 1984a: 47.

⁸⁵⁴ Leahy 1984a: 49–50.

⁸⁵⁵ For the similarity between Louvre A 93 and Twenty-fifth Dynasty inscriptions dealing with gardens, see above. For this Saite example, see Thiers 1999: 108–109 (Doc. 2).

⁸⁵⁶ For physical remains of a Ramesside House of Life, see Leblanc 2005. For more on this House of Life at Abydos, with reference to our text and to the early Ptolemaic Papyrus Salt 825 (= BM EA 10051), see Gardiner 1938: 167 ff. (No. 33); Derchain 1965; Nordh 1996: 193–194.

This renovation is a clear reference to the existence of this institution at Abydos.⁸⁵⁷ Paul Ghalioungui points out that this House of Life was annexed to the Osiris temple at Abydos.⁸⁵⁸ Udjahorresnet also restored the House of Life at Sais.⁸⁵⁹ It seems that the restoration of the Houses of Life and other religious institutions was common in the period.

Payeftjauemawyneith further states:

“I subdued the violence (head-plunderers[??]) in Tawer ... I gave property of the processional coming out from Tawer’s desert to the temple, (which) I found in the possession of the *h3(tj)-c*,⁸⁶⁰ so that the Adydene people would be buried.”

This passage may refer to a chaotic situation in the Tawer Nome, although its details are not clear. According to Payeftjauemawyneith’s text, he did his best to restore order and, if we understand it correctly, made accessible to the inhabitants of the nome something from the desert that was necessary for their burials. Payeftjauemawyneith also claims:

“I gave the ferryboat of Tawer to the temple, (which) I took away from the charge of the *h3(tj)-c*.”

The *mhnt*,⁸⁶¹ “ferryboat,” to which Payeftjauemawyneith refers had secular and religious functions. Lichtheim points out that the *mhnt* here may mean “the ferryboat tax.” However, there is no evidence to support her claim.

⁸⁵⁷ In his study on the House of Life, Gardiner (1938: 165) briefly mentions Louvre A 93. Burkard (1980: 79–115) also touches upon the same House of Life at Abydos. Papyrus BM EA 10051 refers to the House of Life at Abydos, stating: *jr pr-cnh wnn=f m 3bdw* “As for the House of Life, it is at Abydos;” see Gardiner 1938: 167–168.

⁸⁵⁸ Ghalioungui 1973: 68.

⁸⁵⁹ See Lichtheim 2006c: 39, 41 (n. 17); Posener 1936: 11; Gardiner 1938: 157–158.

⁸⁶⁰ Lichtheim (2006c: 36 [n. 11]), following Kees (1934–1936: 103–104), points out that this is a reference to the transfer of income to the Osiris temple from the mayor. She further adds that Kees sees in this action “a redistribution of revenues as part of the Saite dynasty’s reorganization of landholdings.” She also states that the transferred income would be utilized for the burial expenses of the Adydene people.

⁸⁶¹ See also Gardiner 1916: 100 (n. 1). The *mhnt*-boat appears from the Old Kingdom (the self-presentation of Harkhuf, for example) through the Third Intermediate Period (the triumph stela of Piye, for example) to the Ptolemaic Period (at the temple of Edfu, for example). The title of its ferryman, *mhntj*, was mentioned in many texts, especially in Ramesside Egypt; see *Wb.* II: 133 (12–13); Jones 1988: 139–140 (41); Lichtheim 2006c: 36 (n. 12).

Payeftjauemawyneith further says:

“I guarded Tawer for its lord; I protected its entire people.”

These actions of Payeftjauemawyneith may refer to an abuse of power and social injustice perpetrated on the people of the Tawer Nome by the local mayor. Payeftjauemawyneith probably restored *m3ʕt*, imposed law, and overcame chaos in that nome. Payeftjauemawyneith’s actions and social-legal role can be understood as “social protection”⁸⁶² to the Adydene people, and could be designated as “heroic.” Payeftjauemawyneith was evidently proud of what he did there, since these actions are the focal point of his narrative in his main self-presentation on Louvre A 93. In all actions that Payeftjauemawyneith did at Abydos, he was on a priestly mission although he was not a priest.⁸⁶³ He was probably trusted by Apries more than any other dignitary and was on a continuous process of royal restoration policy. Payeftjauemawyneith acted in a unique manner and participated in many activities, which were previously restricted to kings or royal house members, such as restoring the chaotic affairs in one of the nomes and the renovation of the god’s temple. The historical value of Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentations is clearly manifest.

VISUAL SELF-PRESENTATION

Neshor’s and Payeftjauemawyneith’s iconographical representation, a crucial element in revealing the self-presentation which they wish to project, is the high level of reading. Their inscribed statues placed in the temples are highly sophisticated pieces made for eternity, bearing elaborated iconographical self-presentations.⁸⁶⁴

Out of Neshor’s known five statues, Hermitage 2962, Abydos Statue, and Louvre A 90 are theophorous statues⁸⁶⁵ that powerfully reveal the artistic form that Neshor

⁸⁶² On this term, but in a different context of today’s world, see Standing 2007. For more on legal and social institutions of ancient Egypt, see Lorton 2000: 345–362.

⁸⁶³ Payeftjauemawyneith’s task at Abydos had been previously done by priests. This aspect is obvious in many priestly biographies from Ramesside Egypt; see Frood 2007: 35–116. Also, in a following period the restoration mission was conducted by a priest; see Jansen-Winkel 2005.

⁸⁶⁴ For more on sculpture in ancient Egyptian art, see Hartwig 2015; and specifically on Late Period Sculpture, see Russmann 2010.

⁸⁶⁵ For more on naophorous statues, see Van Dijk 1983; 1993: 113–132. On the Saite naophorous statue of Irhorudjanefu, see Edwards 1992: 43–48. See especially De Meulenaere 2009, with many Saite examples, and Klotz 2014b. On the use of naophorous type, costume, and stylistic features as basis for artistic analysis, see the publication of a kneeling naophorous statue of the Saite official *P3-hr-hnsw* son of *Psmrk* and *Ns-3rt* (Cairo Museum JE 38016) by Selim (2000). On the use of naophorous for dating, see Selim 1990. For a Twenty-second Dynasty naophorous statue, see Leahy 2006: 169–184. On a Saite naophorous statue, see Clère 1972.

selected to depict and promote his self. The upper part of Mendes Statue is not preserved enough to know its artistic type, nor is the artistic form of Sohag Statue known. Hermitage 2962 represents an incomplete standing theophorous statue depicting Neshor with his left leg advanced as he presents a long and free-standing statuette of Osiris held at knee level between his hands in front of the lower portion of his body. The head of Osiris is totally missing; the god holds in his hands his divine emblems and wears the *wsht* necklace. Only the lower portion of the statue of Neshor remains, while its base is missing; the statue has an inscribed back pillar. If this statue did not come from Sais, its textual and artistic composition makes it possible to suggest that it originated from the temple of Isis at Behbeit Al-Hagara.

Mendes Statue is an upper part of a torso of a statue. The right half of the torso remains with a crack at its middle; the right arm is missing. The face of the statue is severely damaged so that it does not stand as a good clue for Neshor's facial features. The back of Neshor's wig (with a crack in the middle) and his large ears remain. A crack divides the statue from the top of the head and runs through the back pillar.

Louvre A 90 is a kneeling theophorous statue depicting Neshor carrying on his knees a base with three well-sculpted statuettes of the triad of Elephantine: Khnum, Anukis, and Satis. The three statuettes of the triad are later restorations of destroyed originals. The statue has a long inscribed back pillar. The two sides and the top of the back pillar are also inscribed. The statue's current condition shows that the base of the main statue is inscribed except at the front, while the base of the three statuettes is only inscribed on the front. The face and the hands of Neshor as well as three deities were restored; a nose, probably Greek, was added to Neshor's face.⁸⁶⁶ The facial features of Neshor here are, therefore, not accurate. His current face shows him smiling,⁸⁶⁷ wearing a big wig that falls behind the shoulders; his large ears stand out against the wig. The anatomical details are very visible in the area of the legs and their toes. Neshor was depicted wearing a *shendyt*, which, in strongly centralized eras, was largely restricted to kings.⁸⁶⁸

Abydos Statue represents a middle part of a kneeling theophorous statue depicting Neshor holding at his knees between his hands three seated statuettes of a

⁸⁶⁶ See Ziegler (1994: 52), who believes that this restoration was done in the eighteenth century CE.

⁸⁶⁷ See Bassir and Creasman 2014.

⁸⁶⁸ The Saite official Wahibre also wears a *shendyt* in his statue BM EA 111. For a recent photo of this statue, see Strudwick 2006: 275.

triad, probably of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. The triad leans against the back pillar, the base of which carries their statuettes. The upper part of the three statuettes is missing. The left hand of Neshor is severely damaged. The statue has an inscribed back pillar.

The theophorous statue is the popular form with its various themes that Neshor chose to promote his self-presentation artistically. According to Robert S. Bianchi,⁸⁶⁹ this statue type, mainly for non-royal use, became very common in the Nineteenth Dynasty and remained so until the end of the Ptolemaic Period.⁸⁷⁰ It usually depicts a standing or kneeling male figure presenting a divine image, Osiris being the most common. Bianchi states that in the Late Period the usual material of this statue type was basalt, schist, or bronze.⁸⁷¹ This statue type was commissioned for display in temples; it, therefore, integrates the protagonist into the daily rituals performed for the deity. Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian point out that the statue owner hoped “to participate in the offering and prayers addressed to the deity in his temple.”⁸⁷² Bianchi declares that “this practice may represent a usurpation of a royal prerogative.”⁸⁷³

Three statues of Payeftjauemawyneith out of his four are naophorous in type, again powerfully visual expressions of the manner in which Payeftjauemawyneith wished to portray and promote his self. BM EA 83 and Louvre A 93 are naophorous; Mit Rahina 545 was perhaps naophorous.⁸⁷⁴ Louvre A 93 is a standing naophorous statue (and probably Mit Rahina 545); BM EA 83 is a kneeling naophorous statue.

Naophorous statues probably first appeared in the reign of Hatshepsut, i.e., Statue Cairo CG 42117 of Senenmut.⁸⁷⁵ Many interpretations have been proposed in order to explain the importance of the naophorous statue.⁸⁷⁶ The idea of protection

⁸⁶⁹ Bianchi 1996: 860.

⁸⁷⁰ However, it appeared in royal statuary from the reign of Ramesses III. See Saleh and Sourouzian 1987: no. 228.

⁸⁷¹ Bianchi 1996: 860.

⁸⁷² See Saleh and Sourouzian 1987: no. 228.

⁸⁷³ Bianchi 1996: 860.

⁸⁷⁴ Based on having a base and a back pillar (see Pressl 1998: 233), I think the Buto Statue probably was also naophorous in type (?).

⁸⁷⁵ Van Dijk 1993: 113; Meyer 1982: 81–82, 126–128; Rogge 1992. For more on this statue, see Dorman 1988: 134–137, 192 (9); De Meuleneare 2009; Klotz 2014b.

⁸⁷⁶ See, for example, Turajeff 1909; Spiegelberg 1911; Anthes 1937; Ranke 1943; Otto 1948; Bonnet 1961; Wildung 1980: 341; 1982: 1116, 1119 (n. 43); Meyer 1982: 89–93; Van Dijk 1993.

is probably the most accepted one among them.⁸⁷⁷ Moreover, the naophorous statue is often provided with a statuette or an emblem of one of the deities of the dead. Therefore, it might have been intended for the benefit of its protagonist in the afterlife.⁸⁷⁸ The naophorous statue⁸⁷⁹ is almost a temple or tomb-like-temple statue, which may well explain why Payeftjauemawyneith chose this artistic form for his depiction in the temples.⁸⁸⁰

A naophorous statue is, as Payeftjauemawyneith's statues show, mainly composed of four elements:

- Naos: It has an emblem or a statuette of a deity with a text held between the hands by the statue owner. It is the most important element because it has the name(s) of the king (text) and the image or the emblem of the god (image), so it connects the protagonist to the divine and royal realms.
- Statue: The main visual element in self-presentation, mainly without any text except the name and the titles of its owner. It gives the audience the main impression about its protagonist.
- Base: It carries the statue with a text running on its body. It bears the titles of the individual and his or her wishes for the afterlife.
- Back pillar: The holder and the connector of the statue to the base; it provides space for the patron's narrative.

BM EA 83 shows Payeftjauemawyneith kneeling on a rounded base, wearing a pleated kilt, and presenting a naos containing the lower portion of a statuette of a deity (Osiris) (?). The statue is highly carved, showing Payeftjauemawyneith's anatomical features particularly in the area of the legs, the fingers, and the toes. On

⁸⁷⁷ See Saleh and Sourouzian (1987: no. 209), who point out that the statue owner hoped to participate in the daily and festive offerings presented to the temple deity; see also Bianchi 1996.

⁸⁷⁸ See Edwards 1992.

⁸⁷⁹ Among the most important contributions on the naophorous statue, its composition and text placement, are Baines 1996 and Rößler-Köhler 1989.

⁸⁸⁰ Leahy (2007: 53 [n. 32]) remarks that Louvre A 93 was a temple "funerary dedicatory" statue. Bothmer (*ESLP*: xxxiii) believes that all the Late Period statues came from temples, not tombs. However, Pischikova (2008b: 194) states that the Saite Period witnessed "a revival of monumental tomb sculpture." She (2008: 195) also believes that the Late Period tomb had a "dual function," as a tomb as well as a temple.

Mit Rahina 545, Payeftjauemawyneith is probably depicted standing, wearing a pleated kilt, and probably was holding a figure of a deity (Ptah [?], now missing); the rest of the body is perfectly sculpted showing Payeftjauemawyneith's anatomical details.

Louvre A 93 represents Payeftjauemawyneith standing against a back pillar on a blank rectangular base with his left foot advanced, presenting a blank naos⁸⁸¹ with a standing statuette of Osiris, and wearing a long and tight garment with two ends tied upon his chest,⁸⁸² a bag wig, and around his long neck a cylinder seal⁸⁸³ hanging at his chest, as an insignia of his multi administrative offices.⁸⁸⁴ The statue is highly carved with a well polished surface. The *hrp*-naos⁸⁸⁵ has two sections: the upper with a statuette of Osiris inside; the lower is a stand carved with the base and carrying the upper section. Payeftjauemawyneith is holding a naos in the form of the hieroglyphic sign *hrp* between his legs while his advanced left leg is very close to the end of the naos stand. Payeftjauemawyneith's hands are touching⁸⁸⁶ gently upon the two sides of the naos. The frontal view of this statue shows that Payeftjauemawyneith's forehead is short, mostly covered underneath the bag wig falling behind his shoulders as a characteristic of the period.⁸⁸⁷ His rounded face shows very different facial features,

⁸⁸¹ The use of the naos generally emphasizes "a wider cult and ritual purpose;" see Spencer and Rosenow 2006: 31–38. Payeftjauemawyneith's statues were probably cultic, benefited magically by rituals performed at the temple; see El-Sayed 1975: 133; Zivie-Coche 1991: 234; Spencer and Rosenow 2006: 31.

⁸⁸² Scholars think this garment was Persian: for example *ESLP*: 76–77. However, this opinion is no longer accepted by Egyptologists. For more on this issue, see above. Shubert (1993: 34) considers this "wraparound garment" an "iconographic innovation" of the reign of Amasis.

⁸⁸³ I understand this to be a cylinder seal because it is tiny and not inscribed. For other examples with depiction of royal presentation to a divine on a pectoral, see the late Saite statue of Ahmosaneith, Louvre E. 25390 (*ESLP*: 67–68 [No. 57], pl. 55, fig. 134) and the late Saite/early Persian statue of Ptahhotep, Brooklyn no. 37. 353 (*ESLP*: 76–77 [No. 64], pl. 60, fig. 151).

⁸⁸⁴ Shubert (1993: 34) describes this pictorial element as a "little plaque hanging from a cord around the neck." He (1993: 34) further considers the depiction of this "plaque" in the reign of Amasis "an iconographic departure from the austere, idealized Saite image." Shubert (1993: 44 [n.78]) refers to another example of this plaque on the statue of Psamtik under Hathor (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, = CG 784, greywacke; 96 cm x 104 cm x 29 cm); see Borchardt 1930: 91–92; pl. 144. In fact, in this statue, Psamtik wears a cylinder seal, not a "plaque," to reflect his profession as "overseer of the seals" and "director of the palace." For a photograph of this statue and the titles of his owner, see Saleh and Sourouzian 1987: no. 251. For more photographs of this statue, see Terrace and Fischer 1970: 165–168; Russmann 1989: 185–188; fig. 86. For more on cow statues in Saite non-royal tombs, see Pischikova 2008b.

⁸⁸⁵ The *hrp*-sign here is more appropriate than *sh̄m*, which Bosse (1936: 39 [88], 90) suggests, since it refers to Payeftjauemawyneith's title "*hrp-ḥ* administrator of the palace."

⁸⁸⁶ Klotz 2014b.

⁸⁸⁷ See Josephson 1997: 3.

such as elongated sharp eyebrows above wide, forward-looking eyes, large ears placed against the bag wig, a triangle nose, big mouth with prominent lips with a deep furrow, and a flat and protruding chin.⁸⁸⁸ Payeftjauemawyneith's facial features with a smiling face are rather closer to those of Apries, not those of Amasis.⁸⁸⁹ Louvre A 93 was probably created in the royal workshop by a royal sculptor on a royal model. The similarity between Payeftjauemawyneith's facial features and those of Apries may reveal that Louvre A 93 was sculpted in the reign of Apries and when he was removed from the throne, Payeftjauemawyneith added the name of Amasis at the end of this text upon completion, as argued above.

BM EA 83 depicts Payeftjauemawyneith kneeling, while Louvre A 93 and probably Mit Rahina 545 standing; however, the artistic gesture of Payeftjauemawyneith in Buto Statue is not known. These different poses of Payeftjauemawyneith's body in his statues may refer to change in the artistic and religious terms of his self-presentation. Payeftjauemawyneith's smiling face, square in appearance, is more personalized, with many late Saite features.

All these iconographical elements complete Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The phraseology of Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations reveals a high religious tone. Many deities are mentioned; their presence is crucial in understanding their beliefs and religious piety. The integration of these deities into their monuments and texts reflects the protagonists' deep relationship, belief, and intimacy with these important deities, who are mainly local ones of the Delta or of Upper Egypt (such as of Elephantine and Abydos) but who also have national status.

⁸⁸⁸ Shubert (1993: 34) remarks that Payeftjauemawyneith's face is "idealized" without offering further explanation, points out that his eyebrows are "sharp" and "not plastic" as a characteristic of the period, without further explanation, and states that the formation of his mouth is a characteristic of the period, again without further explanation.

⁸⁸⁹ See Russmann 2010; Bassir and Creasman 2014; Ashton 2014; Hartwig 2015. On the facial features of Apries in the round, see Perdu, 2012a: 190–191 (94); *PM VIII*¹: 1999, 162 (no. 800-871-400); Berman and Letellier 1996: 78–89; Josephson 1992: 94, pl. 16 (c); Leahy 1984b: 74 (n. 7). For the facial features of Amasis in round, for instance, see his sphinx statue in Rome (Museo Capitolino, no. 8), and his statuette in Copenhagen (National Museum, Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, Inv. No. 3603); see Myśliwiec 1988: 50 (E. Statuary, 8), pls. LXIII, b and LXIV, a; Perdu, 2012b: 192–193 (95); *PM IV*: 47; Bosse 1936: 78 (219); Müller 1955a: 64–66; 1955b: 210, pls. XXIV, c, XXV, d, XXVIII, C; Josephson 1988: 234, pl. XXXII, 4; Priese 1991: 172–173 [103]; Ziegler 2002: 86, fig. 2, 393 (21); Wildung, Reiter, and Zorn 2010: 13–134 (3). For more on portraiture in ancient Egyptian art, see Bryan 2015.

Specific factors rule Neshor's selections of the deities to whom he shows loyalty: 1) his loyalty to the local deities of the Delta, where he was probably raised; 2) the duties of his office, which is clear when he devoted Louvre A 90 to the local triad of Elephantine; and 3) the national religious beliefs of the country, as seen in his offering of statue(s) to the Osirian triad. The last dedication is normal, since Osiris is the ruler of the world of the dead, and Neshor applied to him to enter into the afterlife.

Banebdjedet⁸⁹⁰ is mentioned in Neshor's phraseology. The religious identity of this deity represents him as the worshiped *b3* of Osiris. His name means "the *b3* of the lord of Djededet," and implies the notion of the Djed pillar, the backbone of Osiris, connects him with Mendes. Banebdjedet, depicted as a ram or ram-headed man and a living "sacred ram," was given the epithets "lord of the sky" and "lord of life," echoing the titles of the sun god, Re. The wife of Banebdjedet, the goddess Hatmehyt,⁸⁹¹ is also mentioned. She was a fish-goddess worshipped in Mendes who was associated with Isis. Her name means "she who is in front of the fishes" or "foremost of the fish." She was depicted as a fish or a woman with a fish emblem on her head. While Osiris is a prominent member of the guest deities at Mendes, Osiris-Hapy to whom Neshor's phraseology refers is less important. The presence of these deities in Neshor's texts and monuments evidences the continuity of their importance in the period. For instance, the actions of Neshor at the temple of Khnum at Elephantine show the revival and increase of the local cult of Khnum at Elephantine in the late Saite Period.

On Louvre A 90, for example, Neshor addresses the deities:

"May you remember the one who puts the beauty of your temple in his heart, Neshor. The one who endures through the mouth of the citizens; (as) a reward (for) this, let my name live long in your temple, remember my *k3* after my lifetime; and let my image remain and my name be enduring on it without perishing in your temple."

Furthermore, he describes what he did at the temple of Khnum at Elephantine:

"It is in his temple that (I) built their quarters (?), so that they endure forever by the command of the great god, the lord of the Two Lands, H(a)aibre, living forever."

This phrase shows Neshor's good deeds toward the deities in addition to his role that he played in restoring the affairs of that temple, although he was not also a

⁸⁹⁰ For more on this deity, see Mercatante 1995: 20. For more on *B3-nb-ddt* and his other manifestations, see Leitz et al., II: 683–685.

⁸⁹¹ See Mercatante 1995: 55. For more on *H3t-Mhjt*, see Leitz et al., V: 17–18.

priest.⁸⁹²

On Louvre A 93, for example, Payeftjauemawyneith wishes:

“May he give life to his son, Ahmose-Son-of-Neith, may he give what is favored in the presence of his majesty, and *jmakh* before the great god.”

Although his statue was probably set up in the temple of Khentyimentt (Osiris) at Abydos, Payeftjauemawyneith, probably a local of Sais, addresses his speeches and shows his loyalty to Neith of Sais through the name of Amasis, Ahmose-Son-of-Neith. On BM EA 83, Payeftjauemawyneith describes himself:

“he who does what the gods love, ... in their temple, he who presents their affairs to the interior of the palace.”

This shows that Payeftjauemawyneith played a great role in restoring the fortunes of the temples, although he was not also a priest. He describes what he did at the temple of Atum at Heliopolis:

“the good things for this temple.”

As for his conceptions of divinity, he states:

“god is here to answer what is done, he who does not sleep, <until> he separates [affair(s) from each other into good and into] bad.”

On Louvre A 93, he mentions one good deed, among many, toward the deity:

“I built the god’s sacred barque of cedar, (which) I found made of Nile acacia.”

The main deities mentioned, referred to, or depicted in his texts and on his monuments are Atum, Khentyimentt (Osiris), and Neith. The presence of these deities in Payeftjauemawyneith’s texts and monuments shows their importance and continuity in the period. For instance, the deeds of Payeftjauemawyneith at the temple of Khentyimentt (Osiris) at Abydos attest to the revival of the local cult of Osiris at Abydos in the late Saite Period after this temple had been neglected for a while prior to Payeftjauemawyneith’s mission.

⁸⁹² The same had been done by Payeftjauemawyneith at Abydos. For more on this official’s self-presentation on Louvre A 93, see above.

The religious statements and wishes of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith show their intimacy with the divinities. This intimate relationship is well revealed through the direct and private dialog between each man and the deity. The relationship is expressed through good deeds by donating to the temple(s) or by uttering good descriptions of the divinity. The presence of divinity in the self-presentations and statues of these men is very clear. They are quite dutiful to the deities textually and artistically. They introduce the statuettes of the deities within naoi and places their statues in the temple sacred space of these deities to show their deep piety and faith in them. Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's statues extol their pious deeds to several deities, their temples, and probably to their local people and cities. Their self-presentations show that they were true believers and dutiful persons to the deities. Their beliefs encompasses two different worlds: first, the earth where they perceived faith and learned about deities and their divine world and the afterlife, and, second, the realm of the dead.

MORAL VALUES

Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's moral values are variant, rich in content, highly significant, and well reflected in many phrases in their texts. Their morality is achieved through means that differ from the traditional way of previous periods. Their morality here comes through their courageous, pious actions, not through stating clichéd statements, as was, for instance, the case in the Old Kingdom. Moreover, their self-descriptive phrases are different from their counterparts in previous periods. Neither mentions his moral responsibility toward the middle and lower classes. For example, an Old Kingdom official says: "I gave bread to the hungry, clothes <to the naked>, I brought the boatless to land. I buried him who had no son, I made a boat for him who lacked one."⁸⁹³ Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's deeds do not specify a specific case or somebody who is needy or in a bad condition, but they are directed toward the community as a whole, as if they compare their actions to royal deeds. In the Middle Kingdom, some officials describe themselves in association with the *rhjt* "the common people," as "*s^cnh rhjt*, one who nourishes the commoners."⁸⁹⁴ Though our protagonists make no mention of the *rhjt*, that should not lead us to conclude that they ignored the *rhjt*. Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith did what they believed appropriate for them according to their own understanding of the situation.⁸⁹⁵ Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith presumably did that because of the

⁸⁹³ From the Sixth Dynasty biography of Nefer-Seshem-Re called Sheshi; see Lichtheim 2006a: 17.

⁸⁹⁴ See Doxey 1998: 194.

⁸⁹⁵ Doxey (1998: 201) points out that these self-descriptive phrases were also less common in the Middle Kingdom.

setting of their votive statues in temples, they wanted to convince the deities to give them protection in the afterlife, and thus they stressed the benefactions they performed to the temples while alive. In a tomb or funerary stela, the speaker wishes to convince other people to give him offerings, and to that end he or she stresses his kindness to other people while alive. Perhaps Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith would have talked about the *rhjt* in the self-presentations found in their tombs.⁸⁹⁶

In Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations, their good deeds are only narrated as the happy end of their first life. Theirs do not offer self-criticism, any misbehavior, bad deeds, or overall evaluation of their lives and careers. Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith were always looking to display an ideal image of themselves. Their self-presentations are messages addressed to the deities and the temple clergy, so that they would act goodly toward them. Stating their good deeds and moral values was the visible message and direct discourse of their self-presentations. Therefore, their morality is indirect, not apparent, as was often the case in many previous self-presentations. For example, contrary to the self-presentations of the Old Kingdom, Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith do not mention any rewards from the king or the deities. That may show their self-esteem and that they were perhaps independent. Their self-presentation comes through their deeds, not through the crown.

PRESERVATION OF SELF

The selves of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith are well manifested in their self-presentations and on their statues. Among their self-presentations there are different modes of discourses; one of these is the discourse of the afterlife. Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith expressed the conceptions that they followed to preserve their selves in their texts in different ways. According to Patrick Coleman's definition, the self is as "an autonomous individual, testing rules imposed from without against a sensibility nourished from within, demanding as a matter of right to flourish in his or her own way."⁸⁹⁷ In this sense, Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations, of course, do reveal the rise of individualism as a key factor in the late Saite Period. Their self-presentations, full of the complexities of their achievements, are reflected by their free expressions of wishes for securing the afterlife. The different experiences of hierarchical offices that they held are their means of achieving remembrance of self through time.

The notions of the self in the self-presentations of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith are highly visible. Art and language illuminate the features of

⁸⁹⁶ See above.

⁸⁹⁷ Coleman 2000: 3.

the preservation of their selves. These self-presentations encompass the whole range of their selves, where their selves are conceived as the foundational component in them. Historical perspective is another means by which they display their selves, and they highlight their selves in a positive way through several activities. Their self-presentations portray lives that had run enough of their courses for an ultimate significance to be assessed. In short, they reflect an emphasis on the forms of the men's selves and identity in which their selves are fully expressed. Nevertheless, Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's selves are expressions of the period that produced them. The history of these selves are briefly presented in their texts, but their whole personal history remains basically unknown.

The selves of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith are well manifested in their self-presentations and statues. The discourse of the afterlife predominates. Through their various discourses, they present their pious proofs so that they will be rewarded by the deities in the afterlife and their afterlife and memory will be maintained by the temple clergy. In all the numerous good deeds that each recounts, Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith reflect their self-concept and their personal piety. So on Louvre A 90, Neshor narrates his role at Elephantine, extolling his distinguished achievements to the deities as well as to the king; on Statue Louvre A 93, Payeftjauemawyneith recounts his role in the Tawer Nome, extolling his distinguished achievements to the deity as well as the Abdydene people.

Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations offer their wishful image in which they wanted to be remembered and rewarded. Survival of memory is the most important key to understanding Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations and statues. They believed that the survival of their memory would successfully secure their afterlife. Their self-presentations do not at length speak of it due to their intensive description of all his distinguished accomplishments. However, they are cleverly introduced.

Their self-presentations encompass two issues:

1. The current issue: Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's lives on earth.
2. The wishful issue: Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's hopes to secure their afterlife.

The dominant theme of Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations is remembrance, "remembrance" being here understood as the good deeds that should be performed by others toward them in word and action after their deaths. If one wants to activate remembrance, one should practice and repeat that for which he or she wishes to be remembered. "Practice" here means conduct physical actions and

repetition of words. Through these things, the remembrance of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith could be achieved eternally.

In almost all their texts the men stress their own good deeds for the deities as pious works for eternity. The ultimate goal behind their several works is the enjoyment of eternity, not the expression of a relationship with royalty or the multiplication of gifts they received from the crown, as was the case in earlier Egyptian self-presentational tradition. The temple setting of all their votive statues probably accounts for this.

CONCLUSION

Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations represent comprehensive conceptions encompassing various levels. However, theirs do not show their transformations and self-fashionings. The self-presentations and statues of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith reveal their selves. Their tools for promoting themselves are art, their first tool, and text, their second tool. The statue, as a precious piece of art with its obvious message, was clearly seen by everyone who enters the temples. Their self-presentations depict them textually by stating their names, titles and roles, and confirm their possession of the statues. The self-presentations are the "indirect component" which was not visible or understood by anyone who visits the temple - an element not readily accessible to everyone- and represent a high culture component not understood by all people. These self-presentations were intended for those skilled in reading the hieroglyphs, such as the temple clergy. Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith promote themselves several times in these self-presentations, and move from descriptive statements to titles outlining their careers, and to narratives highlighting their distinguished activities. The interaction between image and text in Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations is very clear and well employed. The presence of the divinity's name and image, and probably the names of the king, on Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's statues is a great prerogative.⁸⁹⁸

Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations offer a dualistic view of things such as life and afterlife, royalty and nobility, and public image and private image. Their self-presentations introduce a general view of their selves through their own speech. The overall content of theirs makes it more personalized and each self-presentation has its own scope, interests, and concerns. For instance, Neshor's role at Elephantine and Payeftjauemawyneith's role at Abydos may convey royal prerogatives

⁸⁹⁸ For this latter point, see Jansen-Winkel 2011; Perdu 2011–2013.

that they bestowed upon themselves to perform in a kingly manner. This also documents the growth of Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's power and obviously reflects their high level of self-independence. The high degree of independence of these two men compels us to rethink of the relationship between the late Saite kings and their high officials. However, Neshor's and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations were composed with a view to the afterlife.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusions

The Saite Period is remarkable in the relationship between royalty and nobility. The period witnessed a highly independent spirit, very visible in the non-royal elite self-presentations. The power of late Saite elite members increased, and many cases reveal their king-like manner.⁸⁹⁹ The principalities that helped the new rule had great advantages because of their continuous support of the Saite House.⁹⁰⁰ Several examples reveal the rising power of the Saite elite. For example, the vizier Nespakashuty, from the early reign of Psamtik I, is probably portrayed in a mummiform figure (Osiride image) wearing an atef crown under an unfinished and very fragmentary cow's statue in his tomb (TT 312) at Deir el-Bahri.⁹⁰¹ On statue BM EA 111, Wahibre is depicted wearing a *shendyt* kilt which was, in strongly centralized eras, largely related to royalty.⁹⁰² The governor of the Bahariya Oasis, Djedkhonsuiwefankh, was represented in the same size and gesture, and was probably dressed as Amasis on the second chapel walls at 'Ain Al-Muffetellah⁹⁰³ at Bahariya.⁹⁰⁴ Moreover, Djedkhonsuiwefankh and his wife were represented standing in the presence of the king.⁹⁰⁵ In another scene of the same chapel, Djedkhonsuiwefankh is depicted standing and holding a censer.⁹⁰⁶ In a third scene, Amasis is portrayed probably presenting vases to a chapel, followed by Djedkhonsuiwefankh.⁹⁰⁷ These actions of these members of the non-royal elite are clear evidence for the prerogatives these officials probably received due to their rising power.

⁸⁹⁹ For attitudes toward the king in the Late Period, in particular during the late Saite Period based on self-presentations, see Rößel-Köhler 1991.

⁹⁰⁰ In the Saite Period many officials assumed basilophoric names, just like in the Old Kingdom. Also, there were still priests of the divinized Saite kings; cf. De Meulenaere 2011; Leahy 2011.

⁹⁰¹ See Pischikova (2008b: 190, 194), who furthermore remarks that the use of many features of royal iconography in Late Period non-royal tombs was unusual for non-royal individuals.

⁹⁰² For a recent photo of this statue, see Strudwick 2006: 275. Also, Neshor wears a *shendyt* in his statue Louvre A 90; see above.

⁹⁰³ For more on the recent epigraphical work of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale at the chapels of 'Ain Al-Muffetellah, see Labrique 2004; 2006.

⁹⁰⁴ In the late New Kingdom, at the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, the high priest of Amun Herihor was depicted performing activities previously reserved for the kings. For more on the decline of royalty and the rise of nobility at that period, see O'Connor 1994: 231; Grimal 1994: 307; Kitchen 1996: 251; Mysliwiec 2000: 18–22 (figs. 11, 12); Taylor 2002: 334 (esp. the figure).

⁹⁰⁵ See Fakhry 1942: pl. LIV-A. For more on the king and his office, see Morris 2010.

⁹⁰⁶ See Fakhry 1942: pl. LVI-B.

⁹⁰⁷ See Fakhry 1942: pl. LXI-A.

Furthermore, the decline of Amasis's image on Louvre A 93, for example, is due to the political situation in Egypt during the period, which was a continuation of what might be called the "political fragmentation" that had existed since the late New Kingdom,⁹⁰⁸ prominently from the reign of Ramesses XI. The ensuing history of Egypt in the period was the result of several factors:

1. The golden age of Egypt's empire in southwest Asia, and even in Nubia, came to an end. The land of Egypt furthermore was eventually occupied by one of Egypt's previous vassals, i.e., the Kushites who founded the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.
2. Moreover, the rise of theocratic rule versus secular rule starts to appear at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty and was clearer in the Twenty-first Dynasty.
3. The role of the Libyan⁹⁰⁹ military⁹¹⁰ increased from mercenaries to rulers, and their political impact changed the organization of the country. Egypt's overall affairs were colored by the Libyan-Kushite concepts of kingship. The native Egyptian kings' performance against the foreign Libyan-Kushite rulership was a very weak response.⁹¹¹

The self-presentations and statues of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith preserve memory of scattered, specific events concerned with public affairs in their lives and careers, and not the entire process of their "self-fashioning." The overall content of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentations make it more personalized

⁹⁰⁸ For more on the situation in Egypt during that period, see Bierbrier 1975.

⁹⁰⁹ For the relations between Saite Egypt and the Libyans, see Vittmann 2003: 1–20; Cooney 2011.

⁹¹⁰ On the importance of the military in the Libyan Period, see Taylor 2002: 349–352.

⁹¹¹ Leahy (1985) ascribed the fragmented political structure of the Third Intermediate Period to the influence of the Libyans (who, in his opinion, represented decentralization, not anarchy) and showed the erosion of the distinction between king and subject. Leahy's argument could be partly true but is not widely accepted. See also the discussion by Jansen-Winkeln 2000b. For example, Ritner (1990 and 2007) calls the Third Intermediate Period "the Libyan Anarchy." Furthermore, Ritner (in progress) is concerned with the study of what he calls *the Libyan "tribalism" impact in Egypt on 19th-26th Dynasties*, through which he traces what he refers to as "cross-cultural interactions" between the Egyptians and the Libyans from the Predynastic Period to the Saite Period; see Ritner 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2009c. On the ideology of kingship in the Libyan Period, see Taylor 2002: 346–349. For more on ethnic and gender identities from the same period see, Saleh 2007. On race, culture and identity, see Cooney 2011. On the rule of the Kushite monarchs in Egypt, see Taylor 2002: 354–355. For more on the relationships between the Saites and the Kushites, see Von Zeissl 1955; Perdu 2010; Koch 2014.

than earlier ones. Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith were from the local elite strata of society of the Delta who probably had connections with the royal house or were among the supporters of the Saite House, and not from Upper Egypt, although they participated in different affairs in Upper Egyptian nomes. Therefore, their viewpoints are those of outsiders who were once on a mission or who were directing works there on a temporary basis because of holding offices in those locations. Neshor represents the military aspect of the administration, Payeftjauemawyneith its civil. Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith chose to narrate what they considered significant in their whole lives and careers, exploring self through their achievements. Their texts display different tones of self-presentation, and reflect their formal achievements, spiritual thoughts and beliefs, and their views for the afterlife.

In order to reconstruct the lives and careers of these two non-royal individuals, we should, of course, know as much as possible about the individual from birth to death. However, we have little information, in the course of things, about these two individuals; therefore it is not easy, unlike many modern (auto)biographies, to fill in the gaps of their lives and careers. Every self-presentation reveals its own method and composes part of each man's whole self-presentations. Each one is a separate unit with a distinctive identity within the whole world of the individual's self-presentation. This genre in late Saite Egypt can be called "fragmentary biography," versus the "lengthy traditional biography" of previous periods of Egyptian history, due to the limited space of the statues on which they are placed. These Saite examples are short, commemorative, and do not contain several topics. Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith are individuals with many self-presentational statues. They probably had done so for two reasons: 1) to commemorate an achievement; 2) and to record a new office in their careers that they reached.

Their individuals' presence is rich in comparison with the formal presence of the royalty. The relationship between royalty and nobility in the late Saite Period is unique and helps us to understand the period and the circumstances that produced these non-royal self-presentations. The role of the individual within the formal sphere of the political realm is much increased. The three presences of their individuality—the individual's presence, the deity's presence, and the king's presence—are well interacted in their life, career, and afterlife. The individual's self-presentation and the individual's concept of himself, deities, and the king are intertwined in some of these self-presentations.

The activities of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith show that although the Saite kings were very active and productive in the Delta because of their origins, they participated in many activities in Upper Egypt as well. The geographical distribution

of their monuments reveals that, while the main activities and religious devotion of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith were focused in the main Delta centers, they also showed much interest in major centers in the south, such as Abydos and Elephantine.

In this book, I have focused especially on the interplay of image and text. The interdependency of literature and history through text in the late Saite Period is clear. The emergence and rise of individualism, as an historical phenomenon of the period, is an evident reality. Thus, the self-presentations and statues of these two non-royal individuals help us to explore the rise of the individual's self in this period. The cultural and political practices that formed the history of that period are patronage, representations of authority, nobility, and royalty. The shaping force of history on the status of the individual is revealed through self-presentations which constitute as well as reflect history. History here is among the major components that shaped the overall self-presentations of these two non-royal individuals in the Saite Period. They highlight the distinctive characteristics of Saite self-presentation and place them within the broad context of the Egyptian tradition of self-presentation. The unusually well-documented self-presentations of Neshor and Payeftjauemawyneith are among the most distinctive of their time. This study of Saite self-presentation can, I hope, also encourage similar treatments in other periods of ancient Egyptian history.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Bibliographical Abbreviations

<i>AAA</i>	<i>Archiv für ägyptologische Archäologie</i>
<i>AF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>Ä&L</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i>
<i>AL</i>	Meeks, Dimitri. 1977–1982. <i>Année Lexicographique</i> . 3 vols. Paris: Cybele.
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités égyptiennes</i>
<i>BAR</i>	Breasted, James Henry. 1988 (1906). <i>Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest, Vol. 4: The Twentieth to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasties</i> . London: Histories & Mysteries of Man.
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i>
<i>BMSAES</i>	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
<i>BSEG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève</i>
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i>
<i>CCD</i>	Crum, Walter E. 1962 (1939). <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
<i>CdÉ</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>DE</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
<i>DG</i>	Gauthier, Henri. 1925–1931. <i>Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques</i> , 7 vols. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale pour la Société royale de géographie d'Égypte.
<i>DNB</i>	Lüddeckens, Erich et al. 1980–. <i>Demotisches Namenbuch</i> . Wiesbaden: L. Reichert.
<i>EA</i>	<i>Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society</i>
<i>EAO</i>	<i>Égypte, Afrique et Orient</i>
<i>EDG</i>	Erichsen, Wolja. 1972 (1954). <i>Demotisches Glossar</i> . Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica.
<i>ESLP</i>	Bothmer, Bernard V., Herman De Meulenaere, and Hans Wolfgang Müller. 1973 (1960). <i>Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100</i> . New York: Brooklyn Museum.
<i>FHN</i>	Eide, T. et al. (eds.). 1994. <i>Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for</i>

the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD, Vol. I: From the Eighth to the Mid-Fifth Century BC.
Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Classics.

- GM Göttinger Miszellen
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JAEI *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*
- JEgH *Journal of Egyptian History*
- JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JSSEA *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
- Kèmi *Kèmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes*
- KHwb. Westendorf, Wolfhart. 1965–1977. *Koptisches Handwörterbuch. Bearbeitet auf Grund des Koptischen Handwörterbuchs Wilhelm Spiegelberg.* Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag.
- KRI Kitchen, K. A. 1975–1990. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.
- LÄ Helck, Wolfgang and Eberhard Otto (eds.). 1972–1992. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- LdR Gauthier, Henri. 1907–1917. *Le livre des rois d'Égypte. Recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms de pyramides et de temples solaires*, Vol. IV. Le Caire, Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- LingAeg *Lingua Aegyptia*
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo*
- MHP Möller, Georg. 1965. *Hieratische Paläographie. Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der 5. Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, 4 vols. Osnabrück: Zeller.
- OMRO *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*
- PM Porter, Bertha and Rosalind L. B. Moss. 2003 (1927); 2004 (1964). *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, 8 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
- RdÉ *Revue d'Égyptologie*
- RecTrav *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
- RPLHA *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*

- SAK* *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*
SCO *Studi classici e orientali*
Urk. I Sethe, Kurt. 1933. *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
Urk. II Sethe, Kurt. 1904. *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
Urk. IV Sethe, Kurt. 1906. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
Urk. VII Sethe, Kurt. 1935. *Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
WO *Die Welt des Orients*
Wb. Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow. 1926–1963. *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
WbBst Erman, Adolf. 1935–1953, *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen sprache. Die belegstellen*, 5 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
ZÄS Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

Conventional Abbreviations

Abb.	Abbildung
BM	British Museum
CG	prefix for registration number of object in the Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
cm	centimeter
Doc./doc.	Document/document
EA	prefix for registration number of object in the Egyptian Antiquities Department at the British Museum, London
esp.	especially
Fig./fig	Figure
Figs./figs.	Figures
Inv.	Inventory number
JdE	Journal d'Éntrée, Egyptian Museum, Cairo
MMA	prefix registration number of object in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
n.	note
no/no./Nr.	number
nos.	numbers
No. Inv.	No Inventory number
p.	page
pp.	pages
pers. com.	personal communication
Pl./pl.	Plate
Pls./pls.	Plates
Taf./Tf.	Tafel
T.	Tome
TT	Theban Tomb
Vol.	Volume
Vols.	Volumes

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FIGURES

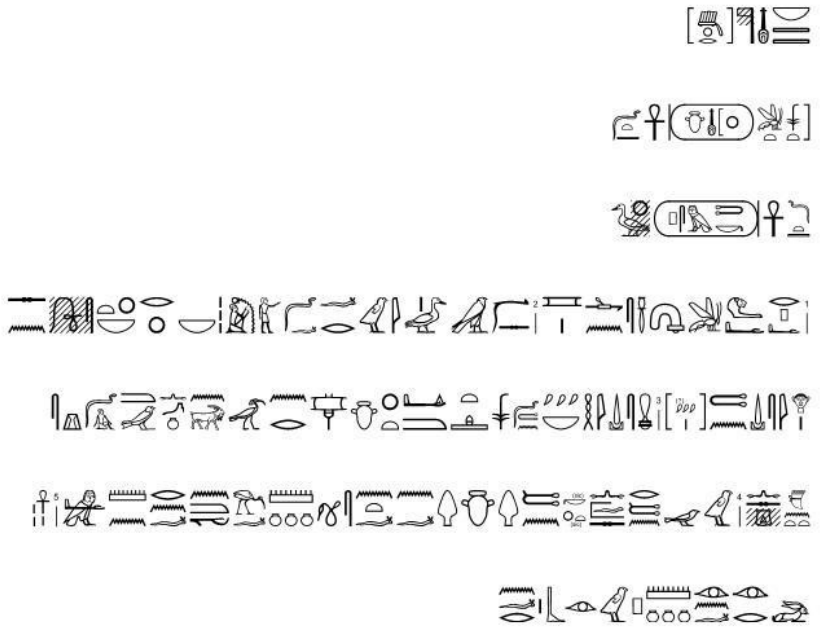


Figure 2: Hermitage 2962, left and right sides, above the shoulder and by the head of Osiris, and the right side of the main statue between the right legs of Neshor and Osiris

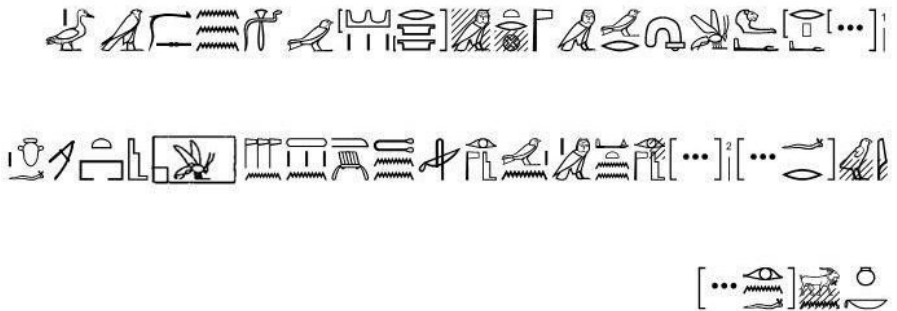


Figure 3: Hermitage 2962, back pillar



Figure 4: Hermitage 2962, the left side of the main statue, behind the left leg of Neshor



Figure 5: Louvre A 90, front of the base of the seated statuettes of the three deities

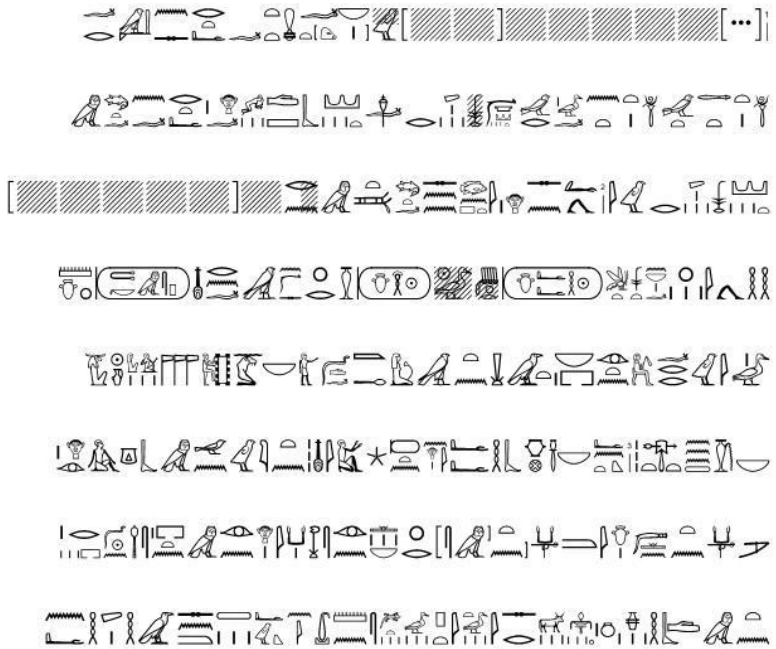


Figure 6: Louvre A 90, back of the back pillar of the statue (starts)

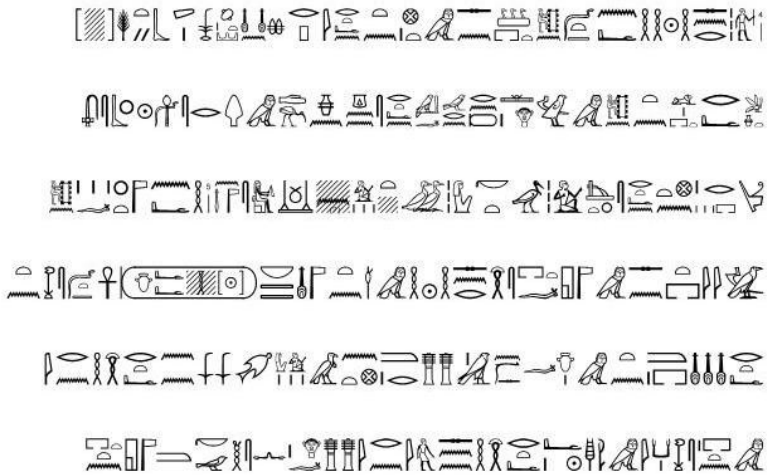


Figure 7: Louvre A 90, back of the back pillar of the statue (continues)

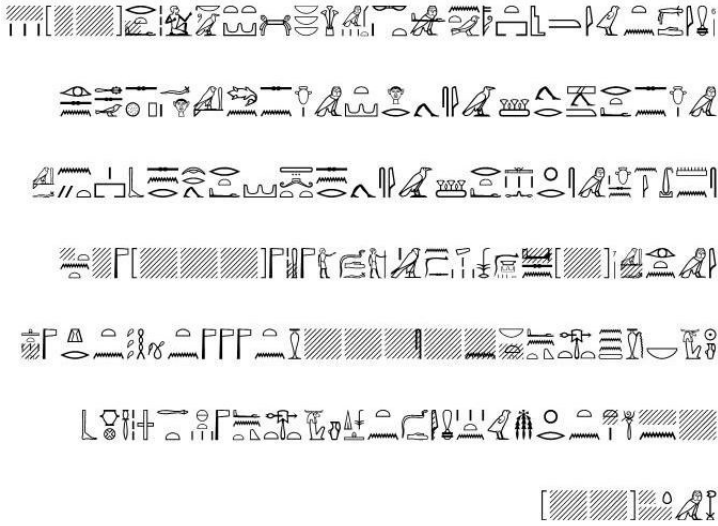


Figure 8: Louvre A 90, back of the back pillar of the statue (ends)

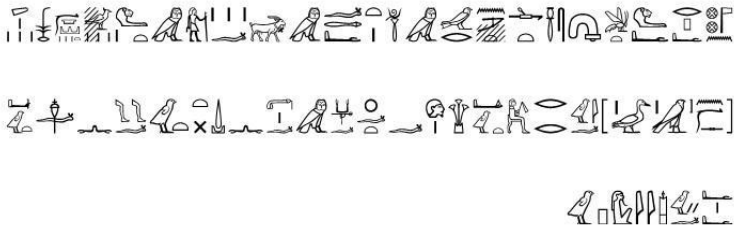


Figure 9: Louvre A 90, right side of the back pillar of the statue

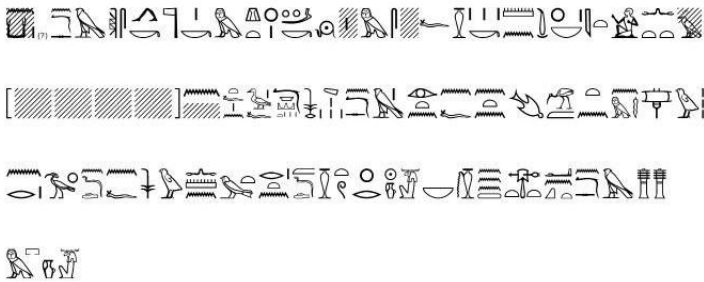


Figure 10: Louvre A 90, left side of the back pillar of the statue



Figure 11: Louvre A 90, right side and back of the base of the statue

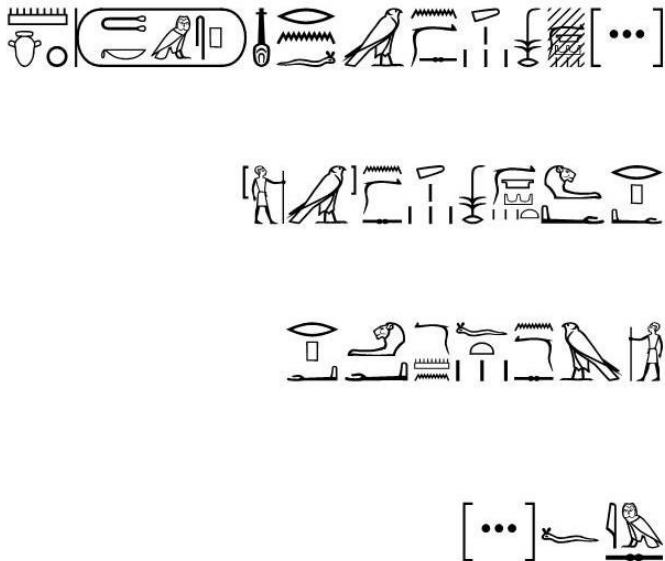


Figure 12: Abydos Statue, front, left, and right base of the three statuettes and the lower portion of the left side of the back pillar of the statuettes

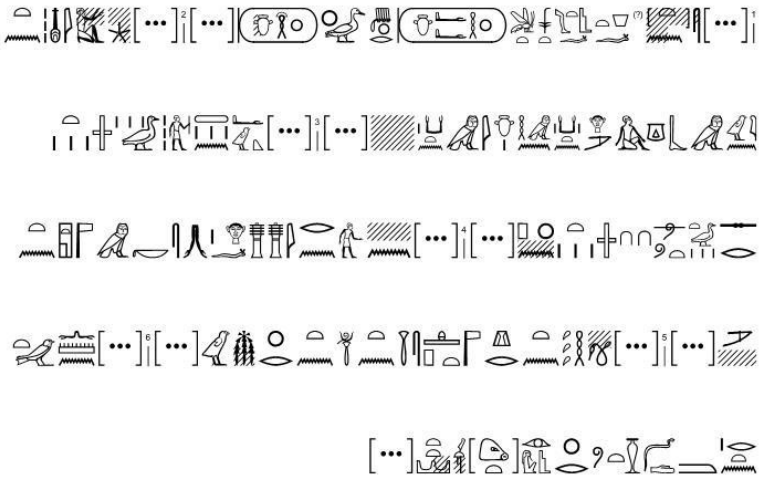


Figure 13: Abydos Statue, back pillar of the main statue

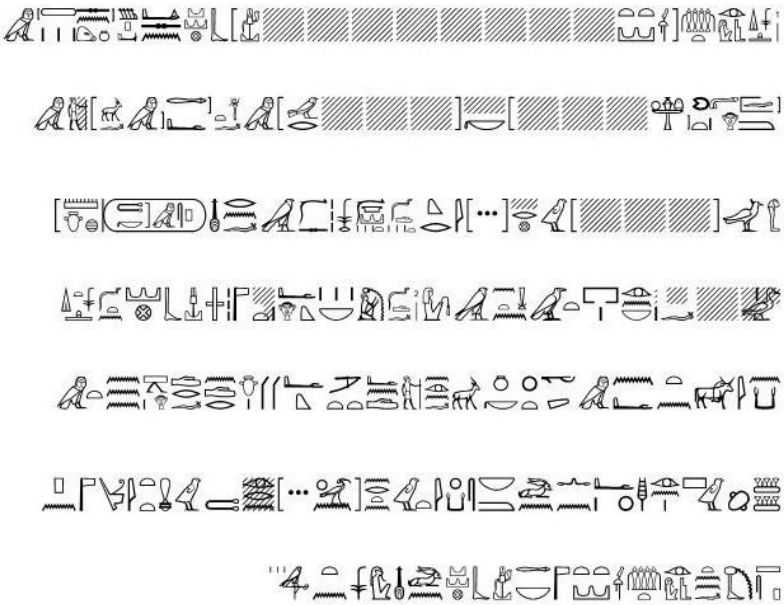


Figure 14: Sohag Statue, base

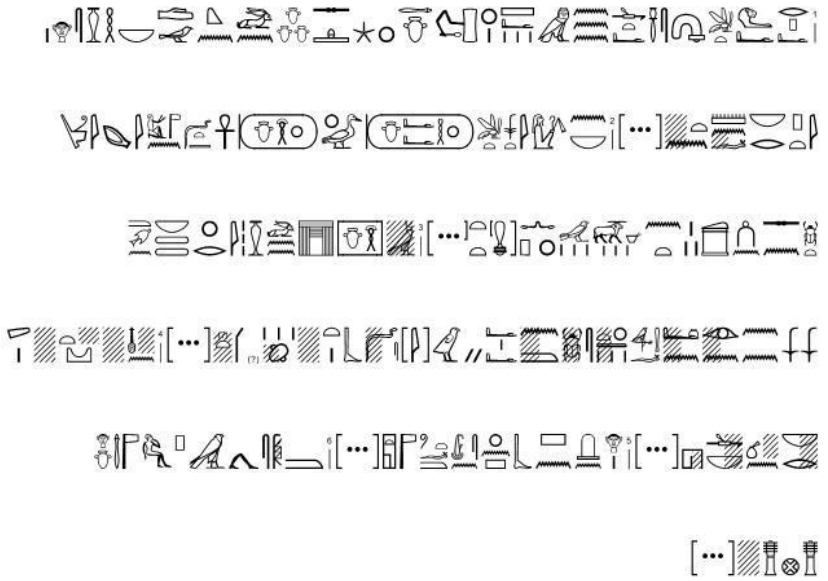


Figure 15: Mendès Statue, back pillar

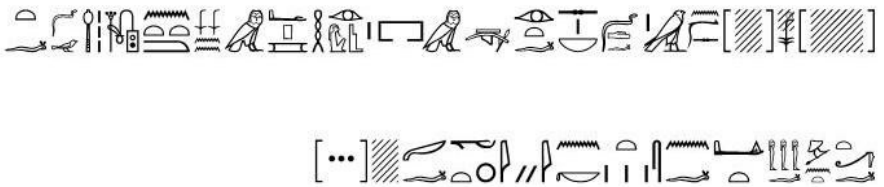


Figure 16: Mendès Statue, right side of the back pillar



Figure 17: Mendes Statue, left side of the back pillar



Figure 18: BM EA 83, left side of the naos



Figure 19: BM EA 83, right side of the naos



Figure 20: BM EA 83, back pillar



Figure 21: BM EA 83, front, right side, and back of the base



Figure 22: BM EA 83, front, left side, and back of the base

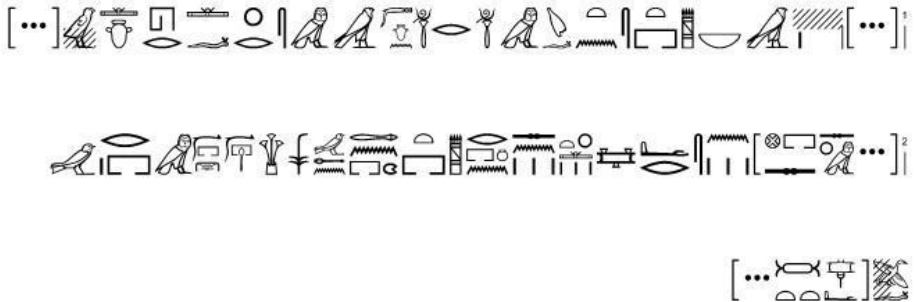


Figure 23: Mit Rahina, back pillar

†

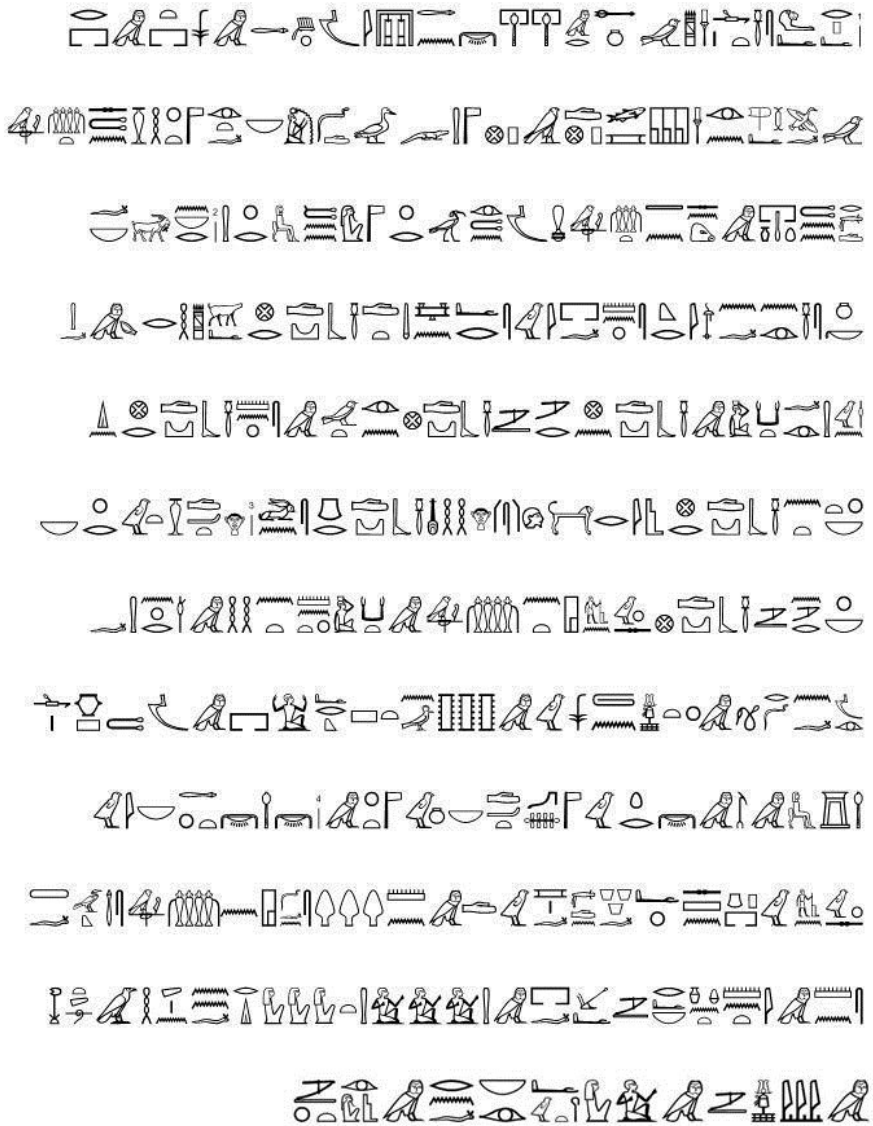


Figure 24: Louvre A 93, back pillar

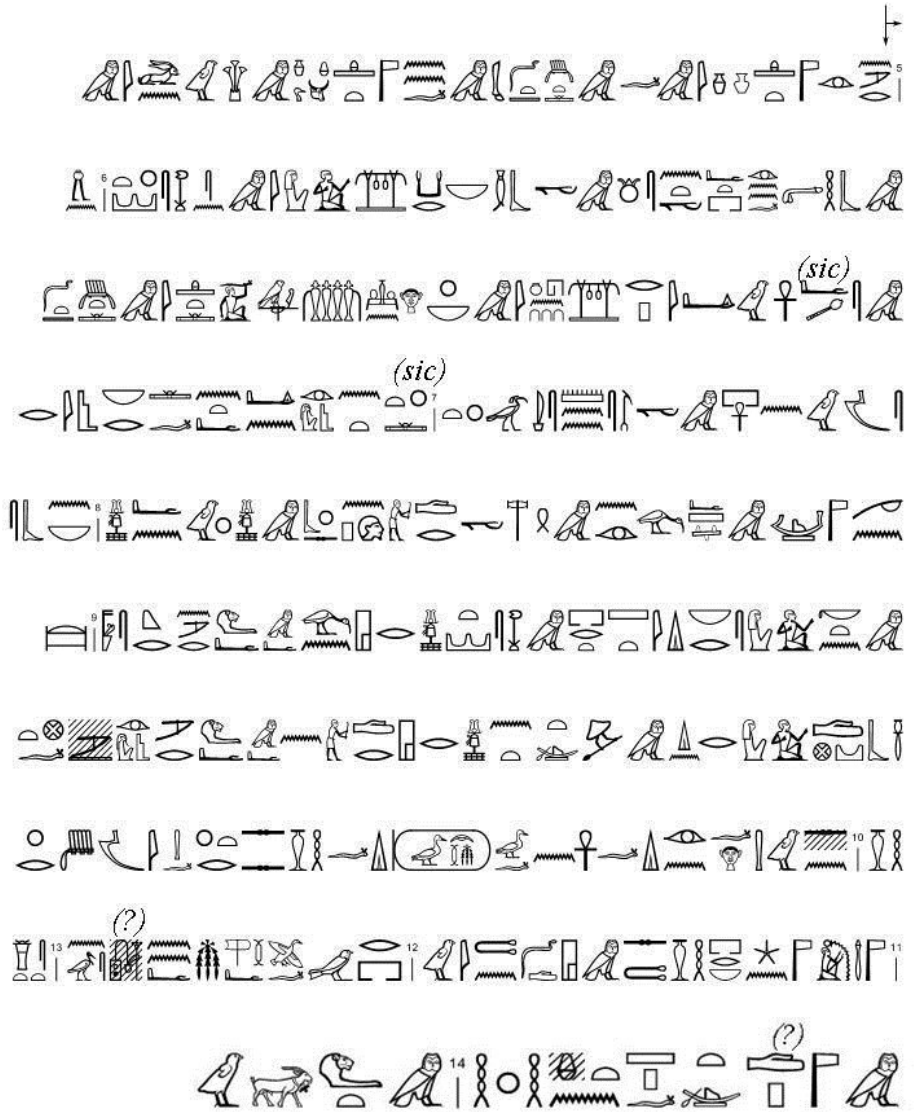


Figure 25: Louvre A 93, left side behind the left leg of Payeftjauemawyneth

PLATES



Plate 1: Hermitage 2962, front (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)



Plate 2: Hermitage 2962, top front (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)



Plate 3: Hermitage 2962, right side (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)



Plate 4: Hermitage 2962, back pillar (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)



Plate 5: Hermitage 2962, left side (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)



Plate 6: Louvre A 90, front (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)

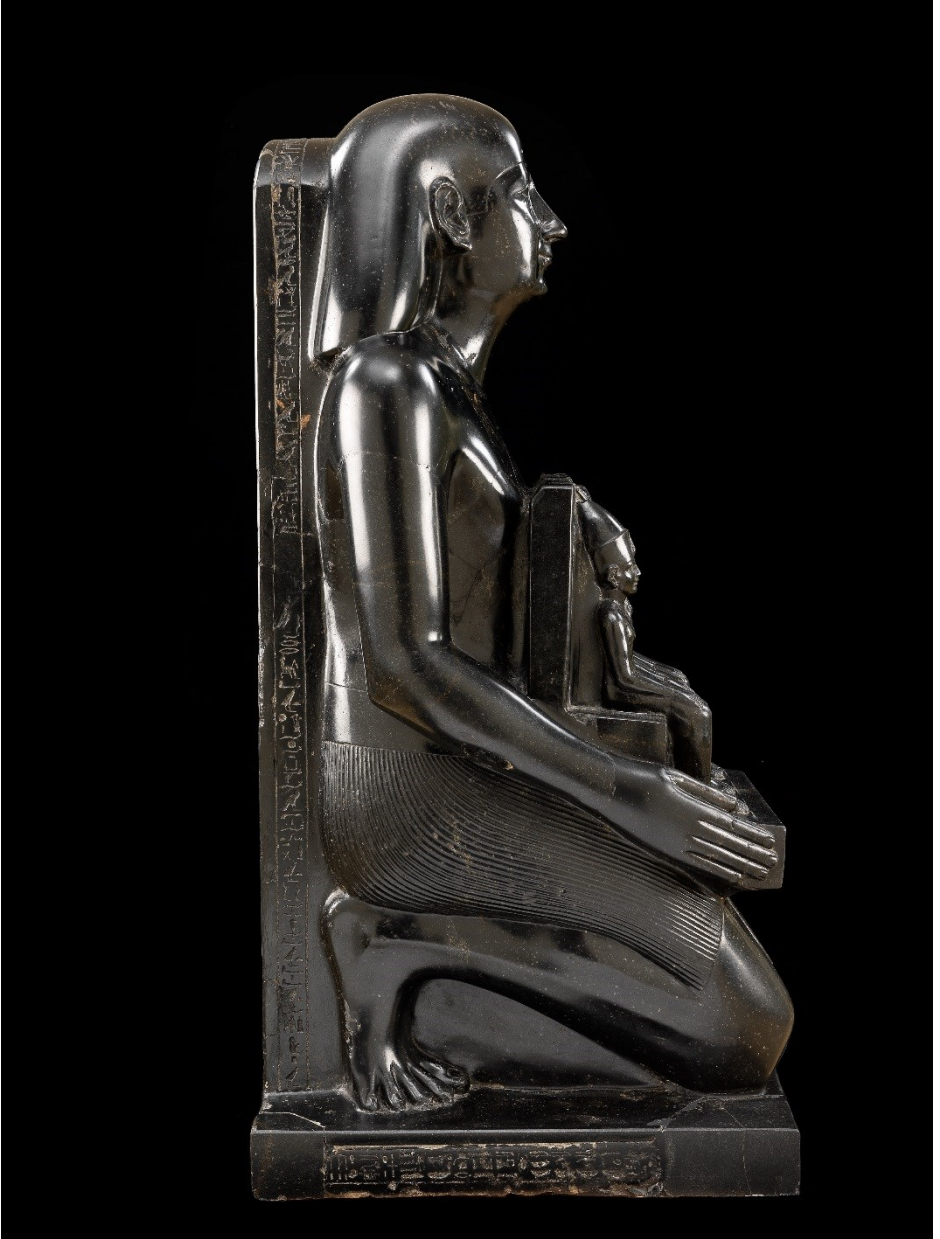


Plate 7: Louvre A 90, right side (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)



Plate 8: Louvre A 90, back pillar (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)



Plate 9: Louvre A 90, top of back pillar (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)



Plate 10: Louvre A 90, left side (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)

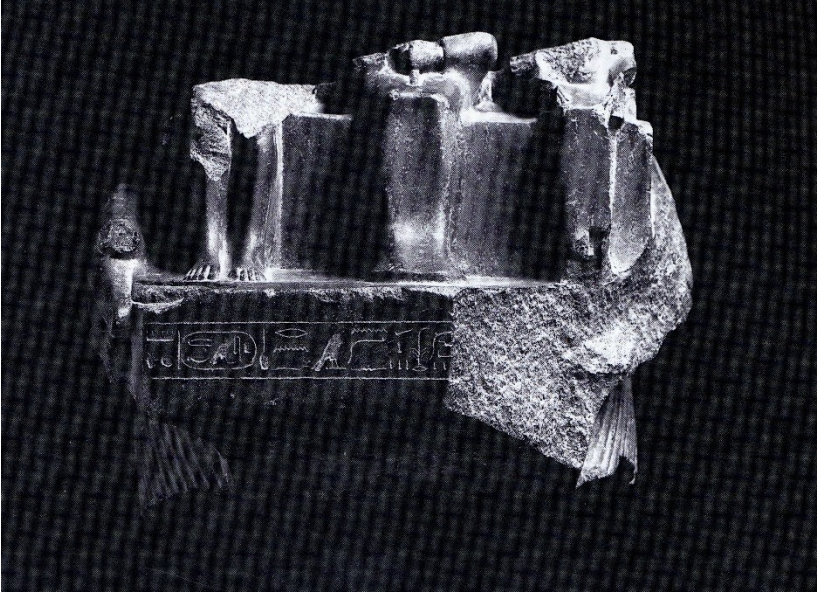


Plate 11: Abydos Statue, front (after Vernus 1991, pl. 12, a)

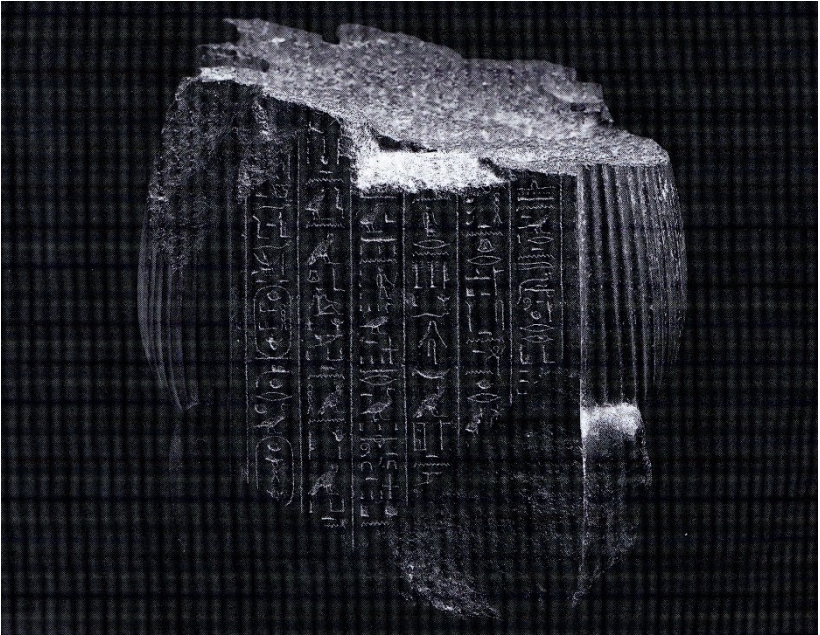


Plate 12: Abydos Statue, back pillar (after Vernus 1991, pl. 12, b)

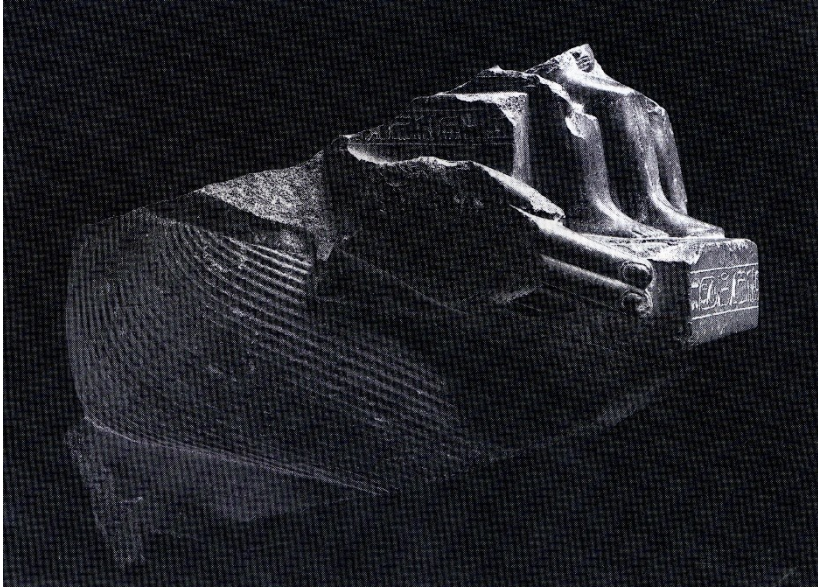


Plate 13: Abydos Statue, right side (after Vernus 1991, pl. 13, a)

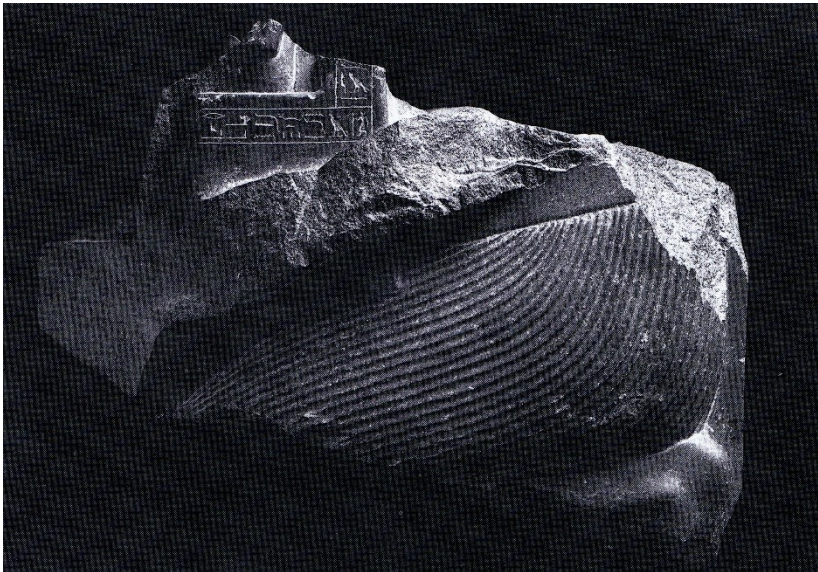


Plate 14: Abydos Statue, left side (after Vernus 1991, pl. 13, b)



Plate 15: Mendes Statue, back pillar (after De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976, pl. 21, 52, d)



Plate 16: Mendes Statue, right side (after De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976, pl. 21, 52, c)



Plate 17: Mendis Statue, left side (after De Meulenacre and MacKay, 1976, pl. 21, 52, e)



Plate 18: BM EA 83, front (© the Trustees of the British Museum)



Plate 19: BM EA 83, base, front (© the Trustees of the British Museum)



Plate 20: BM EA 83, naos (© the Trustees of the British Museum)



Plate 21: BM EA 83, back pillar(© the Trustees of the British Museum)



Plate 22: BM EA 83, base, back (© the Trustees of the British Museum)



Plate 23: BM EA 83, right side (© the Trustees of the British Museum)



Plate 24: BM EA 83, base, right side (© the Trustees of the British Museum)



Plate 25: BM EA 83, left side (© the Trustees of the British Museum)



Plate 26: BM EA 83, base, left side (© the Trustees of the British Museum)



Plate 27: Mit Rahina 545, front (after Bakry, 1970, pl. XXXV)

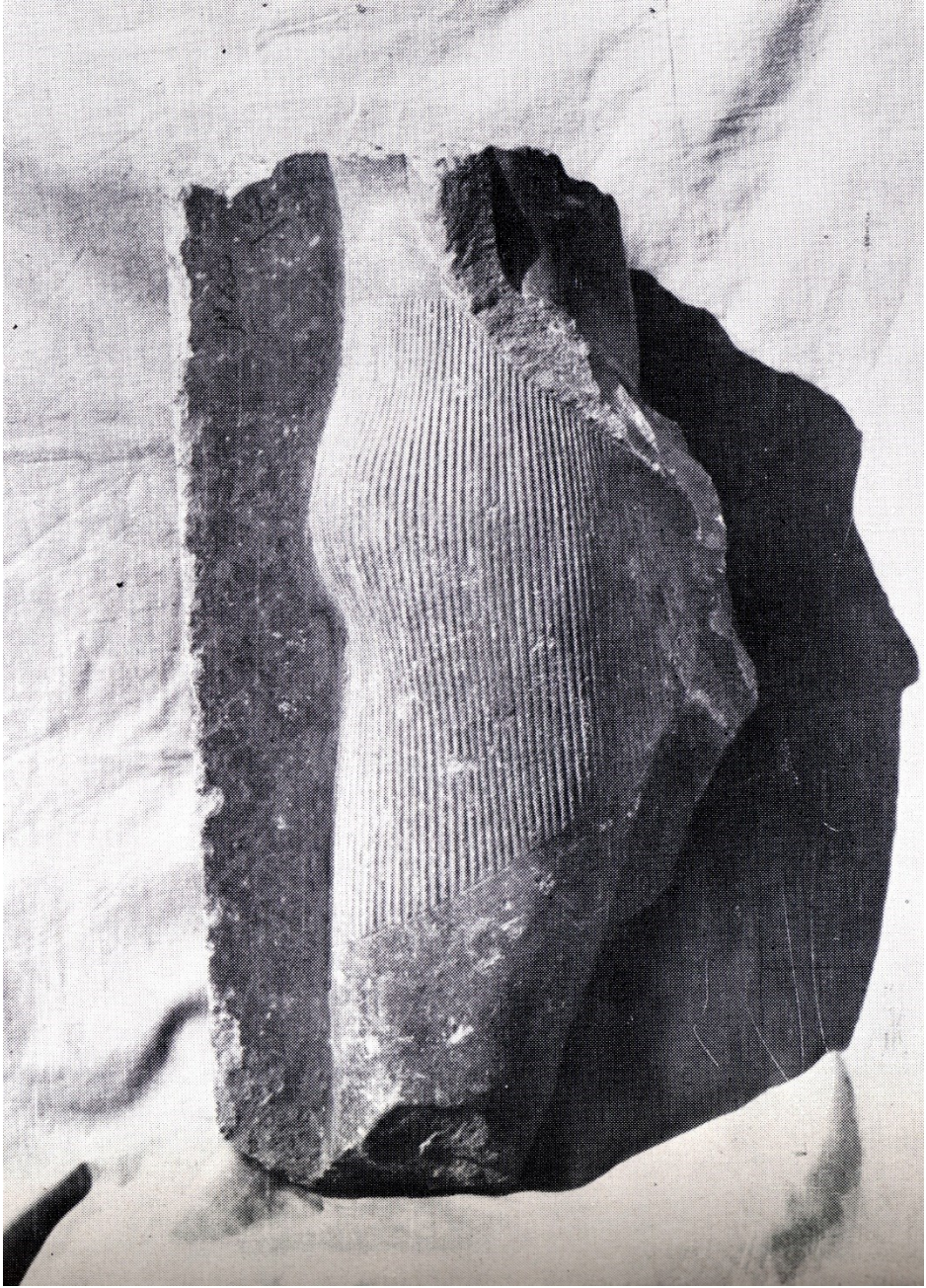


Plate 28: 545, right side (after Bakry, 1970, pl. XXXVI, 2)



Plate 29: 545, back pillar (after Bakry, 1970, pl. XXXVII)

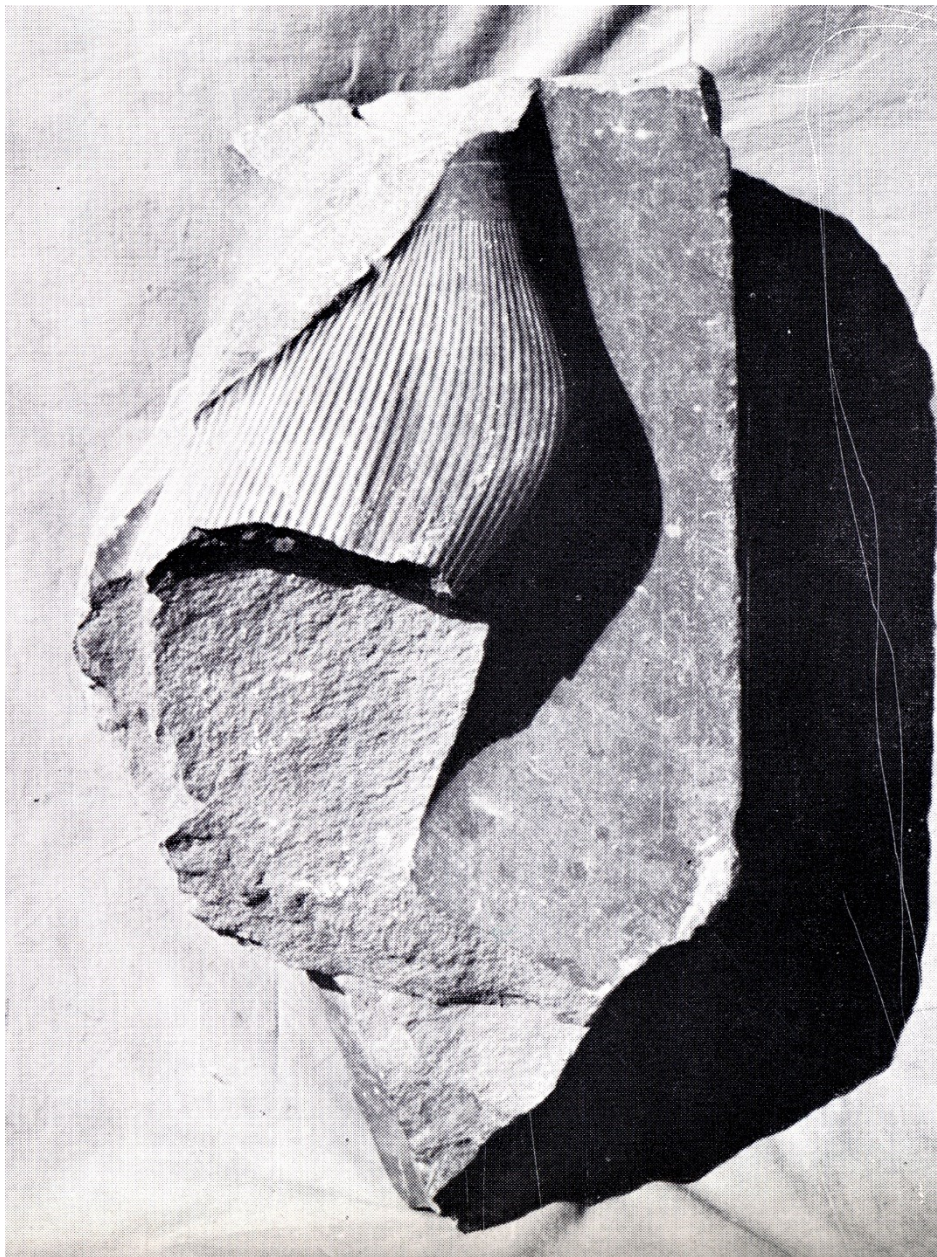


Plate 30: 545, left side (after Bakry, 1970, pl. XXXVI, 1)

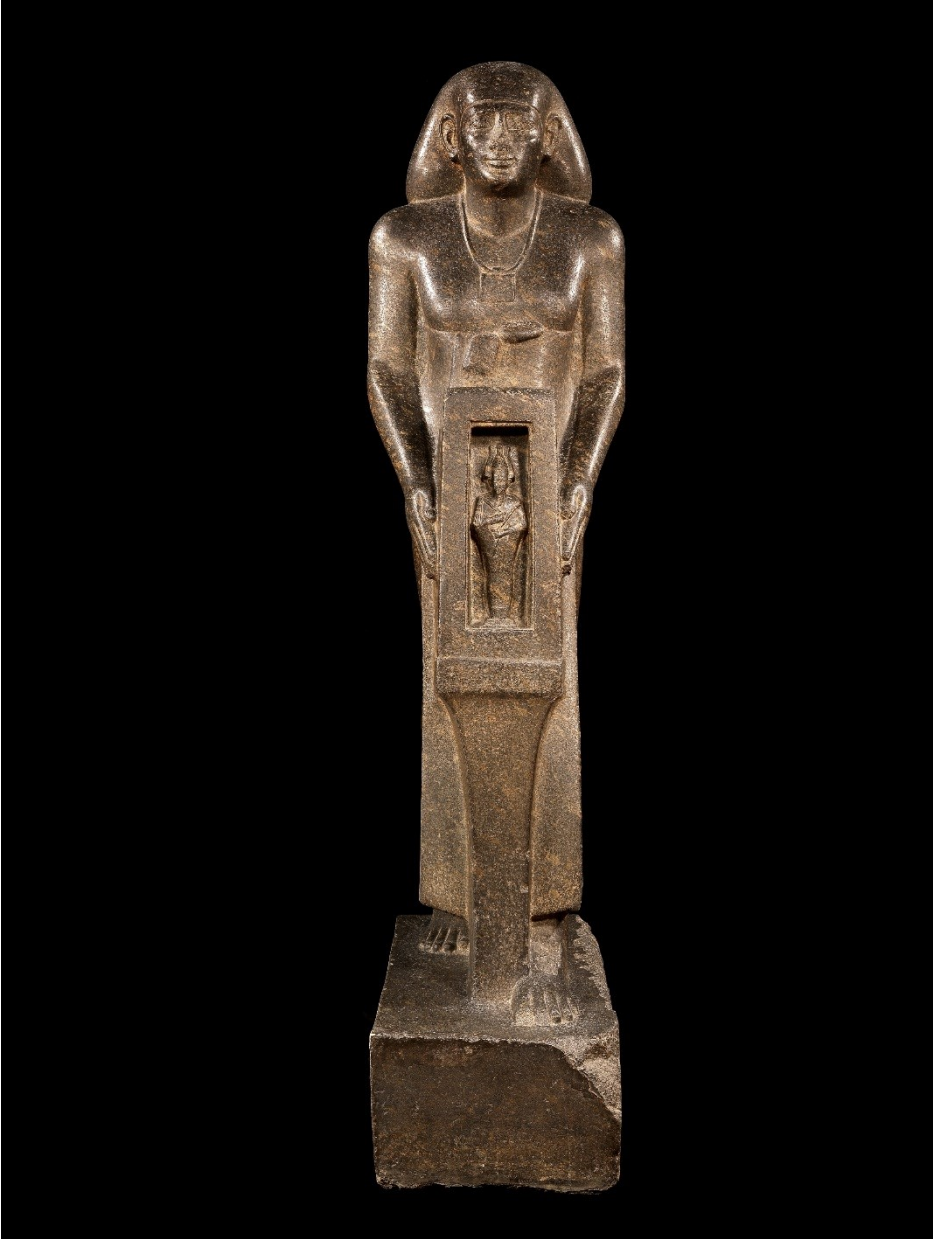


Plate 31: Louvre 93 A, front (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)



Plate 32: Louvre 93 A, right side (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)

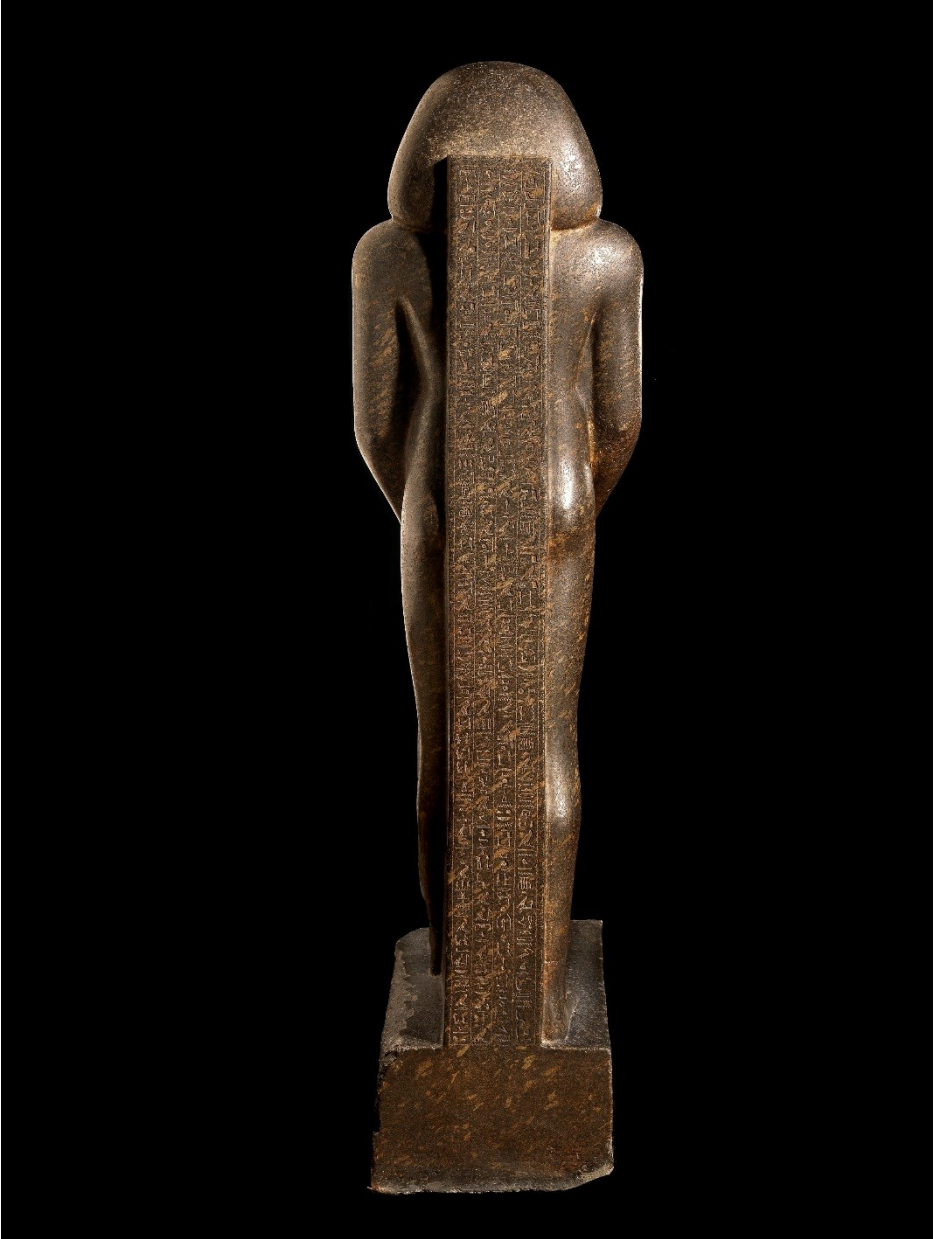


Plate 33: Louvre 93 A, back pillar (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)



Plate 34: Louvre 93 A, left side (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)

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