

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 Payeftjaumawyneith 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 Payeftjaumawyneith'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 Payeftjaumawyneith 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 Payeftjaumawyneith 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.