

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-Urbe, Noreen Doyle, the late Herman De Meulenaere, Peter Der Manuelian, Mary Ann Eaverly, Elizabeth Froid, José M. Galán, Jens Heise, Karl Janssen-Winkel, 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

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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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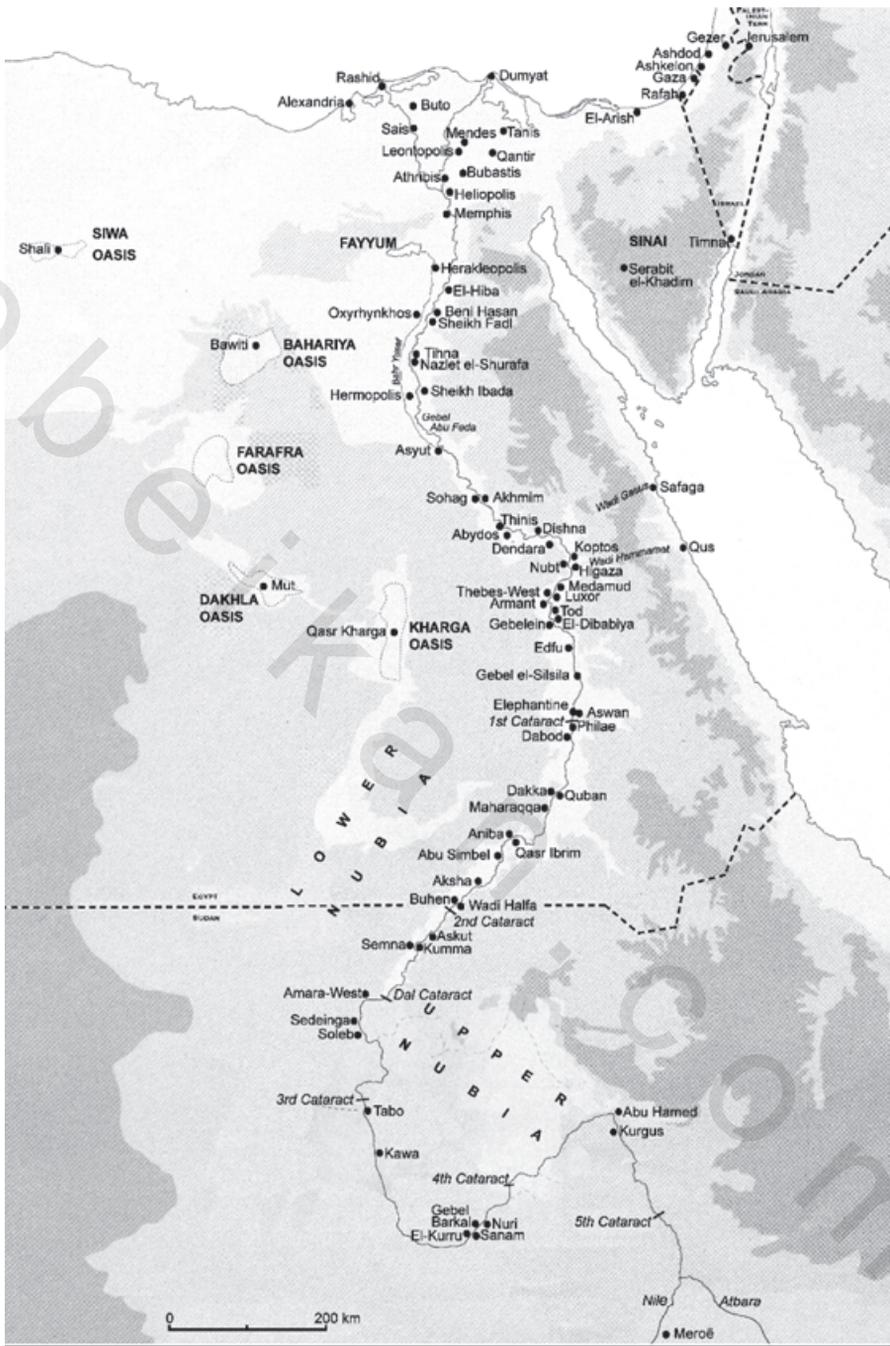


Figure 1: Map of Egypt (after Dodson 2012: map 1; courtesy A. M. Dodson)

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)

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Egypt (after Dodson 2012: Map 1)	vi
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	209
Figure 3: Hermitage 2962, back pillar	209
Figure 4: Hermitage 2962, the left side of the main statue, behind the left leg of Neshor	210
Figure 5: Louvre A 90, front of the base of the seated statuettes of the three deities	210
Figure 6: Louvre A 90, back of the back pillar of the statue (starts)	211
Figure 7: Louvre A 90, back of the back pillar of the statue (continues)	211
Figure 8: Louvre A 90, back of the back pillar of the statue (ends)	212
Figure 9: Louvre A 90, right side of the back pillar of the statue	212
Figure 10: Louvre A 90, left side of the back pillar of the statue	212
Figure 11: Louvre A 90, right side and back of the base of the statue	213
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 main statue	213
Figure 13: Abydos Statue, back pillar of the main statue	214
Figure 14: Sohag Statue, base	214
Figure 15: Mendes Statue, back pillar	215
Figure 16: Mendes Statue, right side of the back pillar	215
Figure 17: Mendes Statue, left side of the back pillar	216
Figure 18: BM EA 83, left side of the naos	216
Figure 19: BM EA 83, right side of the naos	216
Figure 20: BM EA 83, back pillar	216
Figure 21: BM EA 83, front, right side, and back of the base	217
Figure 22: BM EA 83, front, left side, and back of the base	217
Figure 23: Mit Rahina, back pillar	217
Figure 24: Louvre A 93, back pillar	218
Figure 25: Louvre A 93, left side behind the left leg of Payeftjauemawyneith	219

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: Hermitage 2962, front (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)	221
Plate 2: Hermitage 2962, top front (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)	222
Plate 3: Hermitage 2962, right side (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)	223
Plate 4: Hermitage 2962, back pillar (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)	224
Plate 5: Hermitage 2962, left side (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)	225
Plate 6: Louvre A 90, front (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	226
Plate 7: Louvre A 90, right side (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	227
Plate 8: Louvre A 90, back pillar (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	228
Plate 9: Louvre A 90, top of back pillar (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	229
Plate 10: Louvre A 90, left side (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	230
Plate 11: Abydos Statue, front (after Vernus 1991, pl. 12, a)	231
Plate 12: Abydos Statue, back pillar (after Vernus 1991, pl. 12, b)	231
Plate 13: Abydos Statue, right side (after Vernus 1991, pl. 13, a)	232
Plate 14: Abydos Statue, left side (after Vernus 1991, pl. 13, b)	232
Plate 15: Mendes Statue, back pillar (after De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976, pl. 21, 52, d)	233
Plate 16: Mendes Statue, right side (after De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976, pl. 21, 52, c)	234
Plate 17: Mendes Statue, left side (after De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976, pl. 21, 52, e)	235
Plate 18: BM EA 83, front (© the Trustees of the British Museum)	236

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Egypt (after Dodson 2012: Map 1)	vi
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	209
Figure 3: Hermitage 2962, back pillar	209
Figure 4: Hermitage 2962, the left side of the main statue, behind the left leg of Neshor	210
Figure 5: Louvre A 90, front of the base of the seated statuettes of the three deities	210
Figure 6: Louvre A 90, back of the back pillar of the statue (starts)	211
Figure 7: Louvre A 90, back of the back pillar of the statue (continues)	211
Figure 8: Louvre A 90, back of the back pillar of the statue (ends)	212
Figure 9: Louvre A 90, right side of the back pillar of the statue	212
Figure 10: Louvre A 90, left side of the back pillar of the statue	212
Figure 11: Louvre A 90, right side and back of the base of the statue	213
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 main statue	213
Figure 13: Abydos Statue, back pillar of the main statue	214
Figure 14: Sohag Statue, base	214
Figure 15: Mendes Statue, back pillar	215
Figure 16: Mendes Statue, right side of the back pillar	215
Figure 17: Mendes Statue, left side of the back pillar	216
Figure 18: BM EA 83, left side of the naos	216
Figure 19: BM EA 83, right side of the naos	216
Figure 20: BM EA 83, back pillar	216
Figure 21: BM EA 83, front, right side, and back of the base	217
Figure 22: BM EA 83, front, left side, and back of the base	217
Figure 23: Mit Rahina, back pillar	217
Figure 24: Louvre A 93, back pillar	218
Figure 25: Louvre A 93, left side behind the left leg of Payeftjauemawyneith	219

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: Hermitage 2962, front (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)	221
Plate 2: Hermitage 2962, top front (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)	222
Plate 3: Hermitage 2962, right side (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)	223
Plate 4: Hermitage 2962, back pillar (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)	224
Plate 5: Hermitage 2962, left side (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)	225
Plate 6: Louvre A 90, front (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	226
Plate 7: Louvre A 90, right side (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	227
Plate 8: Louvre A 90, back pillar (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	228
Plate 9: Louvre A 90, top of back pillar (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	229
Plate 10: Louvre A 90, left side (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	230
Plate 11: Abydos Statue, front (after Vernus 1991, pl. 12, a)	231
Plate 12: Abydos Statue, back pillar (after Vernus 1991, pl. 12, b)	231
Plate 13: Abydos Statue, right side (after Vernus 1991, pl. 13, a)	232
Plate 14: Abydos Statue, left side (after Vernus 1991, pl. 13, b)	232
Plate 15: Mendes Statue, back pillar (after De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976, pl. 21, 52, d)	233
Plate 16: Mendes Statue, right side (after De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976, pl. 21, 52, c)	234
Plate 17: Mendes Statue, left side (after De Meulenaere and MacKay, 1976, pl. 21, 52, e)	235
Plate 18: BM EA 83, front (© the Trustees of the British Museum)	236

Plate 19: BM EA 83, base, front (© the Trustees of the British Museum)	237
Plate 20: BM EA 83, naos (© the Trustees of the British Museum)	237
Plate 21: BM EA 83, back pillar (© the Trustees of the British Museum)	238
Plate 22: BM EA 83, base, back (© the Trustees of the British Museum)	239
Plate 23: BM EA 83, right side (© the Trustees of the British Museum)	239
Plate 24: BM EA 83, base, right side (© the Trustees of the British Museum)	240
Plate 25: BM EA 83, left side (© the Trustees of the British Museum)	240
Plate 26: BM EA 83, base, left side (© the Trustees of the British Museum)	241
Plate 27: Mit Rahina 545, front (after Bakry, 1970, pl. XXXV)	241
Plate 28: 545, right side (after Bakry, 1970, pl. XXXVI, 2)	242
Plate 29: 545, back pillar (after Bakry, 1970, pl. XXXVII)	243
Plate 30: 545, left side (after Bakry, 1970, pl. XXXVI, 1)	244
Plate 31: Louvre 93 A, front (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	245
Plate 32: Louvre 93 A, right side (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	246
Plate 33: Louvre 93 A, back pillar (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	247
Plate 34: Louvre 93 A, left side (© 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet)	248

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); Röfler-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-Winkeln,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-Winkeln 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.