

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” *Psamtikmenkhib* (*Psmt mnḥ-jb*³¹²), meaning “Psamtik is loyal of heart.”³¹³ The name of Neshor was written several ways on his monuments.

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

³⁰⁹ For more on genealogy, see Watson 2001.

³¹⁰ For Late Period individuals named Neshor at Nag Al-Hassaia, 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-Ḥr* in Egyptian personal names, see Ranke 1935: 178 [4–18]; Vittmann 1978: 64 f., 176, 180, 189; *DNB* 1.9: 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- ḥr(.w)* “er (sie) gehört dem Horus.”

³¹² Ranke (1935: 153 [7]) translates “Vortrefflichen Herzens ist (König) Psammetich.” 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) (?), *Psmtk* (II) (?), and *W3ḥ-jb-R* (Apries) (?). For those royal names within Saite (?) “beautiful names,” see Ranke 1935: 153 (6–8); Leahy 2011.

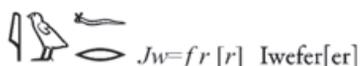
³¹⁴ I am not sure whether *n* here is part of Neshor’s name on this statue.

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=f r jrt*. 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 Saites 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 Mysliwiec: 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 menfyjt” 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 mnfyjt means “Chef des troupes.”³³⁶ The word mnfjt³³⁷ 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) ḥ3sw(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 menfyjt;” *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 mnfyjt” “chef de l’infanterie.” Hannig and Vomberg (1999: 750, 752; Hannig 2006a: 61 [2039]) read and translate “jmy-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 “Einzigtiger 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 *smir*, 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 *h3tj-^c wr m Ntrt m P Dp* “the *h3tj-^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 *h3tj-^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-p^t h3tj-^c wr m Ntrt*.³⁸³ Christine Favard-Meeks reads and translates it in association with the title *h3tj-^c* as “*h3tj-^c wr m Ntrw*”³⁸⁵ Le comte, grand dans

³⁷⁵ De Meulenaere 1956: 252–253.

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

³⁷⁷ See Clère 1982: 84, (n. 4–5).

³⁷⁸ See Borchardt 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)-ḥjt(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 m3^c* “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 *Hntj* 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^{cc}-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 *jm3hwt 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, Goelt (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 ʿ3 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.

$t\beta w^{420} n r(\beta) \beta h(w)^{421} n s^c h$, 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 $t\beta w n r\beta = tn (\beta h w)$ 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

$n(n) n w m w r d h r = s$, the (dead prayer) is (not) something from which one fatigues

The simple form of it is found as $n w r d = t w h r = s$ "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 $t w$ here is $t \beta w$; see Louvre A 90.

⁴²¹ See here Louvre A 90 and Hermitage 2962.

⁴²² Vernus 1976: 139. Jansen-Winkeln (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-Winkeln 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 Padiimemipt,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 Padiimemipt,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 fatiguée à cause de cela.” Lefebvre reads *n*, not *nn*. See also Jansen-Winkeln 1999: 83.

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

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

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

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

⁴²⁹ I think it is *jsk*. The other examples in Jansen-Winkeln (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-Winkeln (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-Winkeln 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-Winkeln 1999: 78.

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

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

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

srwd mnw gmj=f n m-ht rn=f mn m-^c n^chw,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) mn*⁴⁴⁰ *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, [*maitre 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.