

# Royal self-presentation in the self-presentation of payeftjauemawyneithon on naophorous statue Louvre A93

## Abstract

The theme of this article is the non-royal involvement in building activities in the Saite period and it shows how royal prerogatives were probably seized by Saite officials such as Payeftjauemawyneith. This article deals with the concept of royal self-presentation used by a non-royal high official in Late Saite Egypt. In his self-presentation on naophorous statue Louvre A 93, Payeftjauemawyneith confirms his involvement in building activities in a kingly manner. He points out that: "I built the temple of Khentymentt, as an excellent construction of eternity, at his majesty's command, that he might see that I was busy in the affairs of Tawer". It is notable to see an official expressing himself in such a way. Although Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentation stresses that he was on a mission on the king's behalf, reflecting his rule piety toward the deity, he states that was done "at his majesty's command". He further does not name the king, and the king's presence is not that strong. This text reflects a sense of high self-esteem and a rise of individuality in the period. Payeftjauemawyneith's self-presentation may draw on royal texts dealing with the same activity.

**Keywords:** self presentation, payeftjauemawyneith, royal self presentation, naophorous statue, Louvre A 93

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## Introduction

The building activities at Abydos by the Late Saite high official Payeftjauemawyneith narrated in his self-presentation on naophorous statue Louvre A 93<sup>1</sup>, is similar to those of the kings in their texts. In her monograph on Middle Kingdom self-presentations, M Lichtheim<sup>2</sup> excludes royal texts because, in her opinion, they are not "autobiographical". However, S Quirke<sup>2,3-6</sup> does not agree that such texts fall 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 behavior in their society". 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, placement of each self-presentation were different. Therefore, the relations and differences between "royal self-presentation" and "non-royal self-presentation" need further exploration. Actually, the royal "I" versus the non-royal "I"<sup>4</sup> was different in some inscriptions of the first millennium BC such as that of Payeftjauemawyneith on Louvre A 93, in which he states:

*hwswj.n(=j) hwnt-ntr nt Hntj-Jmntt m k3t mnht nt nhh m wd.n=j hr hm=f m3n=f<sup>5</sup> rwd(=j) m jht T3-wr<sup>6</sup>*

I built the temple of Khentymentt, as an excellent construction of eternity, at his majesty's command, that he might see that I was busy (*Wb.* II, 412.6) in the affairs of Tawer.<sup>6,7,8</sup> 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. The royal building activities

<sup>5</sup>*m3n* is subjunctive of *m33*, *sf.* Gardiner 1973, § 452.

<sup>6</sup>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 also to a building activity, see Chassinat, 1916-1917, 180-82. Paderpesu seems to refer to building a small potter's studio in the temple of Hor-Merty, not a full temple. The text reads *jw kd.n(=j) pr n jkd-ndsn Hr-Mrtj-m-r-Mht P3-drp-sw(?)* "(I) constructed a potter's house for Hor-Merty-em-er-mehet, Paderpesu (?)". The key term is *jqd-nDs*, "potter" (lit. "small builder"). Although this was certainly something to take pride in, Paderpesu was hardly appropriating royal authority for the modest construction. A. Leahy (Personal Communication) does not think "there is anything specific here" with this non-royal Payeftjauemawyneith's task of carrying on building activities. He, further, states that the first person of the suffix pronoun was common in nonroyal self-presentations since the Old Kingdom. Although the use of the first person of the suffix pronoun in the 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 Egyptians, since the Old Kingdom, took credit for building major things, 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. For more on non-royal initiatives in Late Period temple building, see Spencer 2010, 441-490.

<sup>1</sup>To the soul of H. De Meulenaere, one of our great pillars of Late Period Egyptian studies all over the world.

<sup>2</sup>On the term *Königsnovelle*, see Hofmann 2004; Spalinger 2011. For more on ideology and propaganda, Leprohon 2015.

<sup>3</sup>Blumenthal 1984, 88, refers to royal self-presentation in her study of the Teaching of *King Amenemhat*.

<sup>4</sup>For more on signs of the "I" (the narrator) in narrating, see Prince 1982, 7-16.

from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty,<sup>7,9</sup> put great emphasis on the king's role in creating monuments for the gods. The first building inscription of Taharqa<sup>8,10,11</sup> in the Mut Temple at Gebel Barkal (ancient Napata) states:<sup>9,11,12</sup>

*jr(j).n=f m mnw=f<sup>10,13</sup> n mwt=f<sup>11,14-16</sup> Mwt Np(3)t kd=f<sup>12,11,17,18</sup> n=s hwt-ntr n-m3w(t) m jnr n hnd nfr (n) rwd js(t) gm.n hm=f hwt-ntr tn kd m jnr m-c (tpjw-)c 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.<sup>13</sup> 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. Furthermore, from the second building inscription is another passage by the same king stating:<sup>14</sup> jr(j).n=f m mnw=f n mwt=f Mwt nb(t) pt Hnwt &A-%tj qd=f pr=s saA=f Hwt-nTr=s m-mAw(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.<sup>15</sup> 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):<sup>16</sup> gm.n=f Hwt-nTr tn qd.tw m DbA(w)t ... He found this temple builtwith bricks ...

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

*mk jb=j r kd hwt-ntr n jt=j Jmn-Rc 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 (lines 24-25): wd mnw=s aSA m tA Sd Sw=s: Its

<sup>7</sup>For the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty buildings at Kawa, see Welsby 2002, 26-39. <http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/bmsaes/issue1/welsby.html>. On Taharqa's inscriptions, see Wolf 1991; Dallibor 2005. On the king and his reign, see Pope 2014.

<sup>8</sup>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 1979, pl. XXXVIII. The main verb usually used for "to build" in Taharqa's inscriptions is qd, (which evokes the creative activities of Ptah of Memphis, and who, in his Memphite theology, had a great impact on the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings). However, he used verb xwsj in lines 2-3 of his year 10 stela from Kawa (Kawa VII): xwsj.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<sup>10,11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>See Dunham 1970, fig. 3; Eide et al.,1994,132.

<sup>10</sup>*jr(j).n=f is 's c nqmin'1 sdm.n=f, 'nd qn the dedis'tiqn fqrml'c jrj.n=f m mnw=f*, see Castle 1993, 99-120.

<sup>11</sup>Leahy 1987, 57-64, argues that the *sdm.n=f* is emphatic and the *njt=f D* god's name is the emphasized adverbial adjunct. Therefore, Leahy precedes Castle in formulating this proposed theory; Castle 1993, 99 [\*], himself confirms this; see also Jansen-Winkel 1990, 127-156. For a review of the main five grammatical analyses of the dedication formula *jrj.n=f m mnw=f* and his own, see Dupuydt 2001, 83-122.

<sup>12</sup>The main text of the Dream Stela of Tanutamun, 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"<sup>11,17,18</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Lit. "in beautiful, white, good stone of sandstone".

<sup>14</sup>See Dunham 1970, fig. 3; Eide et al. 1994, 132-133.

<sup>15</sup>Lit. "in white and good stone of sandstone".

<sup>16</sup>It was located at the first court of the Amun Temple (Temple T) at Kawa; now in the Khartoum Museum as Khartoum 2678.<sup>10,11</sup>

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):<sup>17</sup>

*(j)sk hm=f mrj ntr pw wrš=f m hrw sdr=f m grh hr h3j 3ht n ntr hr kd r3-pr(w=s n w3 r) mrh<sup>18</sup> hr kd r3-pr(w=s n w3 r) mrh hr msj sšmw=s n mj sp tp(j) hr kd šn<sup>c</sup>w=s n hr sdj<sup>19</sup>h3wt=s n<sup>20</sup> hr sm3<sup>c</sup> n=s n htpw-ntr m ht nb(t) hr jrjt wdhw(w)=s n m d<sup>c</sup>mw hnd hmt js(k) gr htp jb n hm=f m jrjt n=s n<sup>21</sup>3ht r<sup>c</sup> 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 food production places, 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 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):<sup>22</sup>

*...nbw h3st-f ... .. rd(j).n=f k3rjw r=s m stpw nw dsds mjtt jr(j)w m rmtw nw &3-Mhw: ... gold of its desert<sup>23</sup> ... ..*

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):

*mh.n=f (st) m mr(t) 'š3wt rd(j).n=f hmw(t)<sup>24</sup> r=s m hmwt<sup>25</sup>wrw nw T3-Mhw h3m jrj m j3rrw(t) nw njwt tn 'š3 st r dsds rd(j).n=f k3rjw r=s n m k3rjw nfrw nw mntjw Stt*

He filled (it<sup>26</sup>) with many servants, and he assigned female servants 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 verbal

<sup>17</sup>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.<sup>10,11</sup>

<sup>18</sup>The section between pr and mrH is not clear in the original stela; see Macadam 1949, pls. 7-8.

<sup>19</sup>Here is a crack in the stela, but the word is clear; see Macadam 1949, pls.7-8.

<sup>20</sup>Although the Eide et al. 1994, 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.

<sup>21</sup>Here also =sn is written without the three plural strokes perhaps due to the limited space on the stela, see Macadam 1949, pls.7-8, and also the previous note.

<sup>22</sup>It was located at the first court of the Amun Temple (Temple T) at Kawa, now in Khartoum under Khartoum 2679; Eide et al. 1994, 164, 171-72; Macadam 1949, pls.11-12.

<sup>23</sup>Not "its foreign country" as in Eide et al. 1994, 171.

<sup>24</sup>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 Hmw(t) is connected to the wives of the chiefs of the Delta, and if we put in mind the hostile relationship between the rulers of the Delta and the Kushites since the invasion of Piye, this Hmw(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.

<sup>25</sup>There is wordplay between Hmt "female servant" and Hmt "wife".

<sup>26</sup>I.e., the city.

sDm=f form qd=f. These passages show how the 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 nonroyal involvement in building activities in the period shows how royal prerogatives were probably seized by Saite officials such as Payeftjauemawyneith.<sup>19–26</sup>

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