

# On the Self-Presentation of Payeftjauemawyneith on Naophorous Statue Louvre A 93 as a “Royal Self-Presentation”<sup>1</sup>

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Recebido em Dezembro/2015

Aceito em Dezembro 2015

## ABSTRACT:

This article deals with the concept of royal self-presentation used by a nonroyal 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 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. 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. Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentation stresses that he was on a mission on the king’s behalf and reflects his rule piety toward the deity. This nonroyal involvement in building activities in the period shows how royal prerogatives were probably seized by Saite officials such as Payeftjauemawyneith.

**Keywords:** Self-presentation\_ Payeftjauemawyneith\_ royal self-presentation\_ naophorous statue\_ Louvre A 93

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The building activities at Abydos by the Late Saite high official Payeftjauemawyneith narrated in his self-presentation on naophorous statue Louvre A 93 (see Jansen-Winkel, 2014, 557-8) is similar to those of the kings in their texts. In her monograph on Middle Kingdom self-presentations, M. Lichtheim (1988, 5) excludes royal texts because, in her opinion, they are not “autobiographical.” However, S. Quirke (1992, 331)<sup>3</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 behaviour 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”<sup>4</sup> and “nonroyal self-presentation” need further exploration. Actually, the royal “I” versus the nonroyal “I”<sup>5</sup> was different in some inscriptions of the first millennium BCE such as that of Payeftjauemawyneith on Louvre A 93, in which he states:

*ḥwsj.n(=j) ḥwt-nṯr nt #ntj-Jmntt m k3t mnḥt nt nḥḥ m wd.n=j ḥr ḥm=f  
m3n=f<sup>6</sup> rwd(=j) m jḥt &3-wr* (see Jansen-Winkel, 2014, 557)

I built the temple of Khentyimentt, 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>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> On the term *Königsnovelle*, see Hofmann, 2004; Spalinger, 2011. For more on ideology and propaganda, Leprohon, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Blumenthal, 1984, 88, refers to royal self-presentation in her study of the *Teaching of King Amenemhat*.

<sup>5</sup> For more on signs of the “I” (the narrator) in narrating, see Prince, 1982, 7-16.

<sup>6</sup> mAn is subjunctive of mAA, cf. Gardiner, 1973, § 452.

<sup>7</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 qd.n(=j) pr n jqd-nDs n @r-Mrtj-m-r-MHt PA-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 nonroyal

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

*jr(j).n=f m mnw=f<sup>11</sup> n mwt=f<sup>12</sup> Mwt Np(3)t ꜥd=f<sup>13</sup> n=s ꜥwt-nꜥr n-mꜥw(t)  
m jnr ꜥn ꜥꜥ nꜥr (n) rwd js(t) gm.n ꜥm=f ꜥwt-nꜥr tn ꜥd m jnr m-ꜥ (tpjw-)<sup>ꜥ</sup>  
m kꜥt nds(t) wn.jn ꜥm=f (ꜥr) rdj(t) ꜥd.tw ꜥwt-nꜥr tn m kꜥt mnꜥh(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>14</sup> When his majesty found this temple built in stone by (the ancestors) being as a

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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, Ankhthify, 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 nonroyal initiatives in Late Period temple building, see Spencer, 2010, 441-490.

<sup>8</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>9</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, see Macadam, 1949, 41-4, pls.13-14; Eide et al., 1994, 176, 178.

<sup>10</sup> See Dunham, 1970, fig. 3; Eide et al., 1994, 132.

<sup>11</sup> 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, 99-120.

<sup>12</sup> Leahy, 1987, 57-64, 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, 1993, 99 [\*], himself confirms this; see also Jansen-Winkel, 1990, 127-56. For a review of the main five grammatical analyses of the dedication formula jrj.n=f m mnw=f and his own, see Depuydt, 2001, 83-122.

<sup>13</sup> The main text of the Dream Stela of Tanutamun, from the Amun Temple at Gebel Barkal (Cairo Museum JE 48863, verso, 22), has qd=f n=f kt h(A)jt n prj(t) r-HA(t) “He built for him another portico for going outside;” see Grimal, 1981, pls. III-IIIa (22); Eide et al., 1994, 193, 201; Breyer, 2003, 485 (22).

<sup>14</sup> Lit. “in beautiful, white, good stone of sandstone.”

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>15</sup>

*jr(j).n=f m mnw=f n mwt=f Mwt nb(t) pt ḥnwt &3-%tj ḳd=f pr=s s'3=f  
ḥwt-ntr=s m-m3w(t) m jnr ḥd 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>16</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>17</sup>

*gm.n=f ḥwt-ntr tn ḳd.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 ḳd ḥwt-ntr n jt=j Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> gm-p3-Jtn ḥr-ntt wnn=s ḳd.tw m  
db3(w)t (j)<sup>c</sup>.tw m 3ḥt*

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 cš3 m 3 šd šw=s*

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

<sup>15</sup> See Dunham, 1970, fig.3; Eide et al., 1994, 132-33.

<sup>16</sup> Lit. "in white and good stone of sandstone."

<sup>17</sup> 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; Eide et al., 1994, 135.

The main text of Taharqa's year 6 stela from Kawa (Kawa V) states (lines 1-3):<sup>18</sup>

*(j)sk hm=f mrj ntr pw wrš=f m hrw sdr=f m grh hr hbj zht n ntrw hr kd  
r3-pr(w=sn w3 r) mrh<sup>19</sup> hr kd r3-pr(w=sn w3 r) mrh hr msj sšmw=sn mj sp  
tp(j) hr kd šn<sup>c</sup>w=sn hr sd<sup>20</sup>hwt=sn<sup>21</sup> hr sm3<sup>c</sup> n=sn htpw-ntr m ht nb(t)  
hr jrjt wdhw(w)=sn m d<sup>c</sup>mw hd hmt js(k) gr htp jb n hm=f m jrjt n=sn<sup>22</sup>  
zht 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>23</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>24</sup> ... .. He appointed gardeners to it  
from the best of the Bahariya-Oasis, and the likeness was made from the  
people of the Delta.*

<sup>18</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; Macadam, 1949, pls.9-10; Eide et al. (eds.), 1994, 145, 148-49.

<sup>19</sup> The section between pr and mrH is not clear in the original stela; see Macadam, 1949, pls.7-8.

<sup>20</sup> Here is a crack in the stela, but the word is clear; see Macadam, 1949, pls.7-8.

<sup>21</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>22</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>23</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>24</sup> Not “its foreign country” as in Eide et al., 1994, 171.

The same text goes on as follows (lines 19-21):

*mḥ.n=f (st) m mr(t) ʿšwt rd(j).n=f ḥmw(t)<sup>25</sup> r=s m ḥmw<sup>26</sup> wrw nw &š-  
Mḥw ḥšm jrp m jšrrw(t) nw njwt tn ʿš st r dsds rd(j).n=f kšrjw r=sn m  
kšrjw nfrw nw mntjw %tt*

He filled (it<sup>27</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 *sdm=f form kd=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.

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<sup>25</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 *ḥmw(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 *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.

<sup>26</sup> There is wordplay between *ḥmt* "female servant" and *ḥmt* "wife."

<sup>27</sup> I.e., the city.

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