

‘Protecting the Temple of God’ On the Self-Presentation of Neshor on His Mendes Statue

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Abstract: New publication, edition, and reading of the self-presentation of the famous Neshor named Psamtikmenkhib on his fragmentary Mendes statue from Late Saite Egypt. The religious beliefs, moral values, and preservation of the self of Neshor as well as some concluding remarks are presented.

Keywords: Neshor named Psamtikmenkhib, Late Saite Egypt, Mendes statue, self-presentation, preservation of the self, religious beliefs, moral values, text and image

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The text and the Mendes statue of the famous Neshor named Psamtikmenkhib (Neshor hereafter)¹ offer rich views and ideas about a Late Saite non-royal elite member. They shed light on the reign of Apries. Neshor represents the ‘military face’ of Egypt’s administration in this period. In the article, the author attempts to reconstruct the ‘fragmentary identity’ and ‘self-image’ of this non-royal individual through his preserved text and monument. To achieve this, the article examines a biography and a statue of this official, a principal member of the Late Saite non-royal aristocracy. The overarching approach is to integrate image, monument, and text with the place, participant, and broader historical context that give them meaning. The article explores the significance of image, representation, and memory. It also reads the inscription as a document in multiple ways, and focuses on reading of space as social text in addition to the readings of this monument. The article aims at bridging the gap between image and text. Below, a new publication, edition, and reading of the text of Neshor and his statue is presented, introducing the religious beliefs, moral values, and preservation of the self of Neshor, as well as some concluding remarks.

¹ Bassir 2014: iii, 51–52.

GENERAL PRESENTATION OF THE STATUE

Date: Reign of Apries Haaibre (589–570 BC)
 Current location: probably in Nahman-Viola Collection
 Height: 53cm
 Material: basalt
 Place of discovery: presumably Mendes/Tell er-Rub'a²
 Source: purchased from a dealer in Cairo in 1956

DESCRIPTION

The object is an upper part of the torso of a statue (**Fig. 1**); it represents three fragments joined together, seen in the antiquities market in Cairo and Switzerland in 1947, and forming the spine of a bust that could have once been a standing, sitting, or kneeling statue. The right half of the torso remains with a crack at its middle and the right arm is missing. The face of the statue is severely damaged. The back of Neshor's bag wig and his prominent ears remain; the wig has a break at its middle.

An inscription in six vertical columns running from right to left occupies the back pillar; the first three columns are longer and incomplete, with a crack at the middle. The other three columns are shorter and also incomplete. A vertical fracture divides the statue from the top of the head and runs through the back pillar. Because of that, the left edge of the third column and the right edge of the fourth column of text are now lost. The top of the third and the fourth columns is also damaged due to this long fracture. On the right side of the back pillar figures another incomplete inscription: the top is lost; there is a crack in the middle, and the end is missing. The left side of the back pillar bears also a short text with a missing end.

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Published only as photographs: Meulenaere 1966: 14 (42,5); Meulenaere, MacKay 1976: 198, Pl. 21, Figs c, d, e, doc. 52; Lise 1977: 15; Perdu 1990: 38–49; Rößler-Köhler 1991: 225–226 (56d); Pressl 1998: 225 (D12.4); Heise 2007: 203–204 (II.26); Bassir 2009: 45–48 (Doc. 2), 294, Fig. 2; Spencer 2010: 456–457; Jansen-Winkeln 2014: 392 (56.115); Bassir 2014: 47–50.

THE MENDES STATUE TEXTS

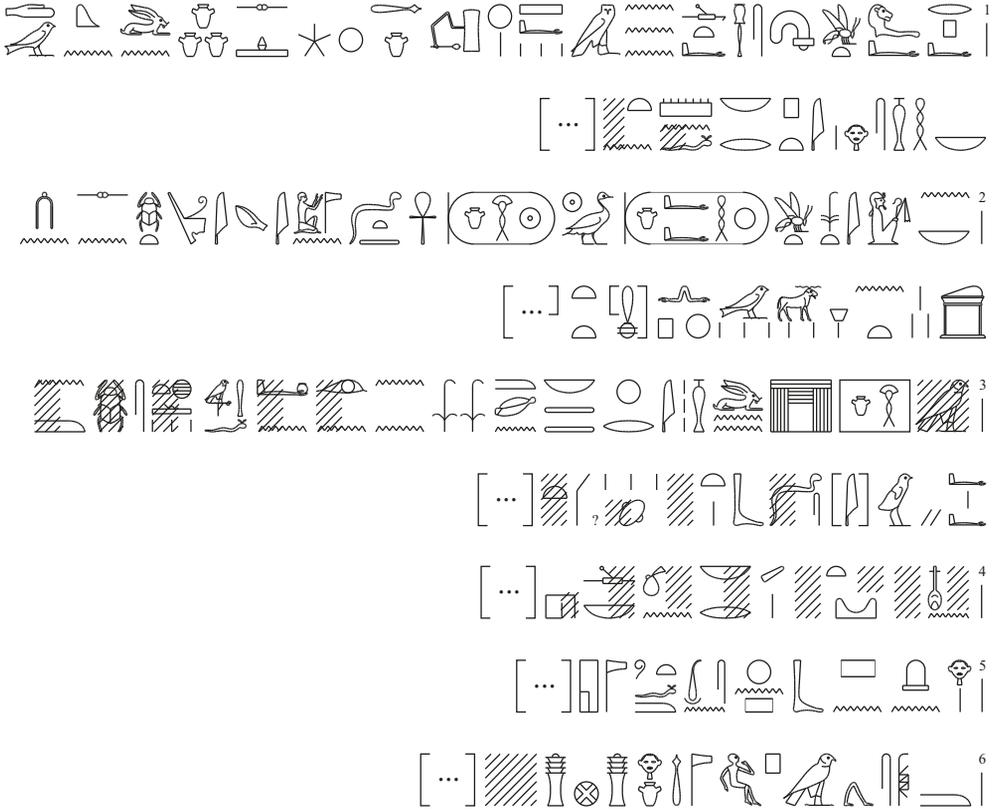
I. BACK PILLAR: BACK (VERTICAL; RIGHT TO LEFT) (**Fig. 1b**)

² For more on Mendes, see: Meulenaere 1975: 43–45; Meulenaere, MacKay 1976; Holz, Hall, Bothmer 1980; Redford (Ed.) 2004; Leclère 2008: 313–340, 349–361, 643; Redford 2010. This statue probably came from the older excavations at Mendes. For the recent excavations at Mendes, see, e.g.: Redford (Ed.) 2004; 2010.



1. Mendes Statue: a. left side; b. back pillar; c. right side (Meulenaere, MacKay 1976: Pl. 21/52c-e).

Text:



Transliteration:

1) (j)rj-p^c(t) h3(tj)-^c htmt(j)-bjt(j) smr w^ct(j) mw³ mš^c hrw ʿh3 ʿ3 jb hrw dmdjt⁴ šhpt jbw wn
knd nb hzwt hr jpt nb(t)⁵ (jmj)-r(3)⁶ mnfjt⁷ [...]

³ Heise 2007: 203, n. 510, reads here *jmj-r3*, stating (without further explanation) that: *Die drei Wasserlinien sind von dem Kanalzeichen abgeleitet; daher sind diese wohl jmj-r3 zu lesen*. Also Pressl 1998: 225, reads: *jm.j-r' mš^c (m) hrw ʿh3*. However, Chevreau 2001: 93–94 (DOC. 118), does not refer to this title among the military titles of Neshor. I read *mw mš^c hrw ʿh3* – *the water of the army on the day of fighting*. If we stick with the literal meaning of the phrase and read the word as *mw* instead of *(jm)(j)-r(3)*, the phrase *mw mš^c hrw ʿh3* should be allegorically understood as a ‘brave epithet’ of Neshor, and not as an actual military title. This is what Perdu 1990: 40, suggests. This could mean that he in fact provided water for the army and supplied soldiers with provisions and food, becoming thus the metaphorical ‘water’ on which the army forces military value depended. Compare all of the epithets with *mw* – *water*, in *Wb* II, 52 (17) and 53 (1).

⁴ See: Hannig 2006: 980. The star-sign could also be read as *dw3*, so *hrw dw3* would mean: *day of adoring(?)*. This is an epithet referring to the military importance and engagement of Neshor especially on the battlefield as a military person – just as does the previous one, and both of them complete each other.

⁵ This epithet shows that Neshor was favored and praised in all things that he did and because of his acting in a proper way acceptable to the king.

⁶ *r* stands here for *(jmj)-r(3)*.

⁷ In the New Kingdom *mnfjt* (before the Eighteenth Dynasty, it reads *mnfjt*, see: *Wb* II, 80) meant: *the army, soldiers, trained soldiers, infantry, infantry-soldiers, and some type of militia*, which was a full military title,

- 2) $n nb=j^8 njswt-bjt H^c-jb-r^c s3 R^c W3h-jb-r^c ^c nh dt dw3.n=j ntr sdm=j n hpr.t=sn ^c rk.n(=j) g3jw t n(w)t B3w-Wrw n-zp [mj]tt [hr hm n(?)]^9$
- 3) $Hr W3h-jb wnn^{10} hzw(t)=j hr nb t3wj m jsw n nn jrj.n(=j) hnk.n hm=f jhwt shpr.n(=j) m ^c wj[=j] ds(=j) bt wh^c t(?) [...]$
- 4) $nfr(?) n(?) ... nb(?) r(?) n w^c(?) nb(?) h(?) [...]$ ¹¹
- 5) $hr wd n jnr n bh n smn.tw=f m hwt-ntr [...]$
- 6) $m šmsw Hr-p3-hrd ntr ^c hrj-jb Dd(t) [...]$.

Translation:

- 1) *The (j)r(j)-p^c(t), h3(tj)-^c, the sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, the water of the army on the day of fighting, the great of heart on the day of the gathering, the one who satisfies the hearts when there is anger, possessor of favors in all accounts, the overseer of the mnfjt [...]*
- 2) *for my Lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Haaibre, Son-of-Re, Wahibre, living forever. I praised god that I heard (things) before they came to pass. (I) finished up the chapels of the Great B3s. Never the [like]ness [occurred under the Majesty of]*
- 3) *Horus, Wahib. It is before the Lord of the Two Lands that my favors exist, in exchange for this that (I) have done. His Majesty presented gifts which (I) created with (my) own arms [...]*
- 4) *... ... [...]*
- 5) *on a stone stela of greywacke which was set up in the temple [...]*
- 6) *as a follower of Horus-the-Child,¹² the Great God who resides at Mend(es) [...]*.

II. BACK PILLAR: RIGHT SIDE (VERTICAL; RIGHT TO LEFT) (Fig. 1c)

Text:



see: Schulman 1964: 13–14. The title $(j)m(j)-r(3) mnfjt$ first appeared in the Old Kingdom, see: Jones 2000: 137 (536). For more on $(j)m(j)-r(3) mnfjt$ in the New Kingdom, see: Gnirs 1996: 12–17, 60; and also Faulkner 1953: 38, who transliterates and translates: $jmy-r mnfjt$ as *commander of shock-troops*, who, in his opinion, was next in the field below the general. For more on this title in the Late period, see: Chevereau 2001: 263–264, who transliterates and translates it: $mr mnfyt$ – *chef des troupes*.

⁸ Although it is clearly visible on the statue, Heise 2007: 203, does not transliterate = j .

⁹ The n probably fits the top of this column, while $hr hm$ were perhaps at the end of the previous column, see: Bassir 2009: 68 (Carlsberg 1037).

¹⁰ Heise 2007: 204, starts with this sentence, which he transliterates and translates: $wn.n hz.wt=j...$ as *Meine Gunst existierte...*

¹¹ This column is not obvious to read.

¹² I.e. Harpocrates.

Transliteration:

[...] *njswt(?)* [...] ¹³ *Ns-Hr dd=f s nb jr.t(j)=f(j) pn^c m pr Wsjr-H^cpj m nn ntt m sšw ḥdj. tj=fj tjt(w)=f hntjw=f dj.n=f st n kjj ḥtj=f [st(?) ...].*

Translation:

[...] *the King(?)* [...] *Neshor, he says: As for every man who will cause disorder in the temple of Osiris-Hapy concerning those things which are in the writings, and who will damage his image(s), and his statues, and having given them to somebody else so that he (re)inscribes [them(?) ...].*

III. BACK PILLAR: LEFT SIDE (VERTICAL; RIGHT TO LEFT) (Fig. 1a)

Text:



Transliteration:

*ntt prj(t)*¹⁴ *m p3 ḥtp(w)-ntr nfr(w) n B3-nb-ddt n ... [...].*

Translation:

which derives from the good divine-offering(s) of B3-nb-ddt and of ... [...].

INTERPRETATION

It is rather difficult to reconstruct this individual's history without having at our disposal his tomb – which has not been discovered so far. It does not seem unreasonable to presuppose that his tomb will be located one day in the Delta. However, his preserved statue can help us to reconstruct his self. The major goal of this article is to shed light on the various aspects of Neshor's self-presentation and statue: the historical and archaeological issues; artistic, linguistic, and literary notions; religious and moral values; and self-presentation features.

The main role of Neshor was related with the *mnjt* – the *mš^c*, in the task of securing Egyptian borders. In addition to his honorific titles and epithets, his administrative offices show that he was a leading military figure in the Late Saite period, and a confidant of the king. Neshor's epithet *šḥtp-jbw wn knd* expresses his eloquence. All these reveal that Neshor was a high elite member who was more trusted than other official of the king, and that he had already reached the top of his career in the reign of Apries.

¹³ The beginning (c. two groups of signs) of this column – probably containing official titles of Neshor – is missing.

¹⁴ See: *Wb* I, 518.

NESHOR'S RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The phraseology of Neshor's self-presentation is expressed in a high religious tone. Four deities, the Great *B3s*, Horus-the-Child, Osiris-Hapy, and *B3-nb-ddt* are mentioned in his text, and their presence is crucial in understanding his beliefs and religious piety. Their integration into his monument and text reflects his close relationship, belief, and intimacy with them. These deities are mainly local ones of the Delta, but also of 'national' status and the close ties of Neshor with them are expressed via his good deeds, e.g. donations to the temple(s) or uttering good praises of the divine.

Neshor's choice of the deities to whom he shows particular attention seem obviously ruled by two specific factors:

- his loyalty to the local deities of the Delta, where he was probably raised, and
- the overall 'national' religious beliefs of the country.

Therefore, he offered probably this statue to one of forms of Osiris since this god was the universally recognized ruler of the world of the dead, and Neshor appeals to him to enter into his afterlife realm. The phraseology of Neshor's text exposes his good deeds toward the deities in addition to the role he played in the care and restoring the affairs of that temple, although he was not a priest.

Banebdjedet¹⁵ is also mentioned in Neshor's vocabulary. The religious identity of this deity represents him as the worshiped *b3* of Osiris. His name literally means: 'the *b3* of the Lord of Djedet', and implies the notion of the *Djed*-pillar, the backbone of Osiris, connecting him with the city of Mendes. Banebdjedet was usually depicted as a ram or ram-headed man and a 'living sacred ram', and was given the epithets 'Lord of the Sky' and 'Lord of Life' – thus echoing the titles of the sun god, Re. The wife of Banebdjedet, the goddess Hatmehyt,¹⁶ was a fish-goddess worshipped in Mendes and associated with Isis. Her name means 'She who is in front of the fishes' or 'The foremost of the fish' and she was depicted as a fish or a woman with a fish-like emblem on her head. While Osiris was a prominent member of the 'visiting deities' at Mendes, Osiris-Hapy – to whom Neshor's phraseology also refers – was certainly less important. But, however it was, the presence of these deities in Neshor's text and monument shows the continuity and revival of their importance in Late Saite Egypt.

The religious statements and wishes of Neshor show his intimacy with the divine. This close relationship is well revealed through the direct and private dialogue between Neshor and the deity. Neshor is quite dutiful to the deities textually. He probably placed his statue in the temple sacred space designated to the deity to show his deep piety and faith in this precise divinity; and the monument extols his pious deeds to deities, the temple, and probably to the local people and city. The text shows that he is a true believer, a dutiful person to the deities and his belief encompasses two different worlds: the first being his beliefs on earth – where he perceived faith and learned about deities, their divine world and the afterlife – and the second one being his beliefs in the afterlife.

¹⁵ For more on *B3-nb-ddt* and his other manifestations, see: *LGG* II: 683–685; Zivie-Coche 2009: 545–557; 2013a: 93–99; 2013b: 761–771.

¹⁶ For more on *H3t-Mhjt*, see: *LGG* V: 17–18; Zivie-Coche 2009: 545–557; 2014: 447–461.

NESHOR'S MORAL VALUES

Neshor's moral values are varied, rich in content, highly significant, and well reflected in many phrases in his text. But his 'morality' is achieved differently from the traditional way in function during previous periods. It comes through his dutiful and pious actions, not through asserting cliché statements – as was in use in the Old Kingdom, for instance. Moreover, Neshor's self-descriptive phrases differ from their equivalents of previous periods. Therefore, he does not mention his moral responsibility toward the middle and lower classes. In earlier sources of different origin, namely false doors, tombs etc. – which differ from those placed on the statue destined for temple – we find, e.g. an Old Kingdom official saying: *I gave bread to the hungry, clothes <to the naked>, I brought the boat less to land. I buried him who had no son, I made a boat for him who lacked one.*¹⁷ Neshor's deeds do not specify any particular case or somebody who is in a need or in a bad condition, but they are clearly directed toward the community as a whole, as if he were comparing his actions to the royal deeds. Furthermore, his text also does not refer to the *rhjt*, i.e. 'the common people' – but that should not lead us to conclude that he ignored them completely. For example, in the Middle Kingdom, some officials describe themselves *par rapport* to the *rhjt* as *sꜥnh rhjt*, meaning: 'the one who nourishes the commoners'.¹⁸ Neshor did what he believed appropriate for them, according to his own understanding of the situation.¹⁹ He presumably did that because of the setting of his votive statue in temple, intended to convince the deities to grant him protection in the afterlife – and thus his stress upon benefactions he performed to the temple while alive. However, in the text Neshor refers to the king: *It is before the Lord of the Two Lands that my favors exist, in exchange for this that (I) have done.* Therefore, he presents standard offerings to the gods and acts for the temple wealth only in the name of the king – what is clearly stated in the text (and probably also in Text II; see above). It might be related to the fact, that placing one's statues in the temple was the privilege granted for exceptional achievements by the king. In a tomb or on a funerary stela, the speaker wished to inspire other people to give him offerings, and thus it is natural that he or she stressed his or her kindness to other people while alive. Perhaps in his tomb self-presentation Neshor would also have talked about the *rhjt*.

In Neshor's text on his statue its owner's good deeds are only narrated as the happy end of his first life. The text does not offer neither self-criticism, nor any misbehavior, bad deeds, or overall evaluation of Neshor's life and career. Instead the statue owner is always looking to display an ideal image of himself. Neshor's text was then seemingly a message addressed to the deities and the temple clergy intended to persuade them to act favorably towards him in the future. Stating the good deeds and moral values of Neshor was the visible and direct message behind the writing of his self-presentation. Therefore, his morality is

¹⁷ For the Sixth Dynasty self-presentation of Nefer-Seshem-Re called Sheshi, see: Lichtheim 2006: 17.

¹⁸ See: Doxey 1998: 194.

¹⁹ Doxey 1998: 201, points out that these self-descriptive phrases were also less common in the Middle Kingdom.

indirect, not apparent – as was often the case in many earlier texts. For example, contrary to the self-presentations of the Old Kingdom, Neshor does not mention any rewards he received from the king or the deities. That may show that his self-esteem was high and that he was rather confident in his self-sufficiency. Therefore, his self-presentation comes mainly through his earthly deeds, as well as his relationship with the king.

NESHOR’S PRESERVATION OF THE SELF

The self of Neshor is well manifested in his text and on his statue. In the text different modes of discourses appear, one of these being the afterlife one. Neshor’s conceptions that he followed to preserve his self in his text are expressed in different ways. According to P. Coleman’s definition, the self is as *an autonomous individual, testing rules imposed from without against a sensibility nourished from within, demanding as a matter of right to flourish in his or her own way*.²⁰ In this sense, Neshor’s self-presentation, of course, does reveal the rise of individualism as a key factor in Late Saite Egypt. This self-presentation is reflected by the free expression of Neshor’s wishes for securing himself the afterlife. In his self-presentations Neshor mentions his hierarchical offices that he held in his long career in order to make the living people and the future generations remember him forever and appreciate what he had achieved through time.

The notions of the self in Neshor’s self-presentation are highly visible. The features of the preservation of his self are illuminated by art and language. The self-presentation of Neshor encompasses his self, where it is conceived as its fundamental component. Historical perspective is also another means by which Neshor’s self is displayed. His activities highlight this self in a positive way. Neshor’s text portrays his life that had run enough of its course for its ultimate significance to be assessed. In short, the text reflects an emphasis on the form of Neshor’s self and identity in which this self is fully expressed. Nevertheless, Neshor’s self seems to be an expression of the period that has produced it. The history of Neshor’s self is briefly presented in this text, but his whole personal history remains basically unknown.

Thus, as we could see, the self of Neshor is well manifested in his text and statue. The afterlife discourse is the dominating tone of this self. Through it, Neshor presents proofs of his piety to be rewarded by the deities in the afterlife, his memory and remembrance to be commemorated by the living ones on earth and the future generations, and his afterlife cult and endowment be maintained by the temple personnel. In all his numerous good deeds that he recounts, Neshor brings out his self-concept and his personal piety and narrates his role at Mendes, extolling his distinguished achievements to the deities as well as to the king. He states:

²⁰ Coleman 2000: 3.

I praised god that I heard (things) before they came to pass. (I) finished up the chapels of the Great B3s. Never the [like]ness [occurred under the Majesty of] Horus, Wahib. It is before the Lord of the Two Lands that my favors exist, in exchange for this that (I) have done. His Majesty presented gifts which (I) created with (my) own arms [...]... [...] on a stone stela of greywacke which was set up in the temple [...] as a follower of Horus-the-Child, the Great God who resides at Mend(es) [...].

Then he continues:

As for every man who will cause disorder in the temple of Osiris-Hapy concerning those things which are in the writings, and who will damage his image(s), and his statues, and having given them to somebody else so that he (re)inscribes [them(?)].

*

So, Neshor's self-presentation clearly offers his own wishful image in which he wanted to be remembered and rewarded. Survival of memory is the most important key to understanding Neshor's text and statue. He believed that the survival of his memory would successfully secure his afterlife. His text does not at length speak of it, due to its intensive description of all his distinguished accomplishments. However, it is cleverly introduced. Thus, Neshor's self-presentation encompass two spheres, namely:

- the current sphere, that is that of Neshor's life on earth, and
- the wishful one – concerning Neshor's future in order to secure the life of this elite member after death, which is his expected goal.

Neshor's self-presentation is then highly concerned with remembrance. In my opinion, remembrance is here understood as the good deeds which should be performed by others toward Neshor both in word and action after his death. Therefore, it constitutes the dominant theme in the text. Forgetfulness is the opposite of remembrance; and if one wants to activate remembrance, one should practice and repeat all for what he or she wished to be remembered. Practicing here means: 'conducting physical actions and repeating words'. Through this, the remembrance of the human being could be achieved forever.

Neshor in his text places emphasis on his own good deeds for the deities as pious works for eternity. His ultimate goal behind this work is to enjoy eternity, and not to express his relationship with royalty, or to multiply the gifts, which he received from the crown – as was previously the case in Egyptian self-presentation traditions. It is probably because of the setting of his votive statue within the temple context.

CONCLUSIONS

Neshor's self-presentation brings forward a concept encompassing several levels. He probably had created this statue of himself at least for two reasons:

- to commemorate an achievement, and
- to record a new office that he reached in his career.

Therefore, this self-presentation does not show his transformation and self-fashioning. Both the text and statue of Neshor reveal his self.

The tools for promoting himself were first, a work of art – i.e. the statue itself – and then, his text. The statue, as a precious piece of art with its obvious message, was imposing itself to the sight of everyone entering the temple. The text, in turn, stated his name, titles and roles, and confirmed the identity of the statue and the statue owner. The text was then the 'indirect component' which was not necessarily visible or understood by anyone entering the temple since it represented a 'elite culture' – i.e. element not necessarily understood by all people. Thus, the text of Neshor was intended for those skilled in reading the hieroglyphs, such as, e.g. the temple clergy. Neshor promotes himself several times in this text moving from descriptive statements to his titles, and to a short narrative highlighting his distinguished activities. The presence of the names of the king in this self-presentation was a great privilege granted to this non-royal elite member.²¹ The interaction between image and text in this case is then very obvious and well employed.

Neshor's self-presentation offers, thus, a dualistic view of things such as: life and afterlife, royalty and nobility, public and private image. His self-presentation introduces a general view of his self through his own speech. The overall content of this self-presentation makes it more personalized than earlier ones, and the self-presentation receives here its own scope, interests, and concerns. For instance, Neshor's role at Mendes may convey royal prerogatives that he bestowed upon himself to perform in the kingly manner and/or in his name. It also documents the distinguished status of Neshor which he had reached among the elite members in the reign of King Apries Haaibre and obviously reflects the high level of appreciation by the crown. However, Neshor's self-presentation was clearly composed principally with a view to the afterlife realm.

The text and the statue preserve a single event concerned with public affairs – with regard to very specific actions and moments in his life – and not the entire career. Neshor represents the military face of the administration. He was coming from the local elites of the Delta, who probably had connections with the royal house or were among the supporters of the Saite House. And this non-royal elite member chose to narrate what he considered significant, exploring his self through his achievements. His text displays a different tone of self-presentation, and reflects his formal achievements, spiritual thoughts and beliefs, and his views for the afterlife.

The self-presentation of Neshor preserved on his statue reveals its own method and composes part of his self. It forms a separate unit with a distinctive identity within the whole world of this individual's identity. This genre of self-presentation in Late Saite Egypt, quite common in this period, can be called 'fragmentary biography' – versus the 'lengthy traditional biography', well known from earlier periods of Egyptian history. Thus, due to the limited space on which they were placed, these Saite examples are short, commemorative, and do not contain multiple topics.

²¹ For this latter point, see: Jansen-Winkeln 2011: 57–64; Perdu 2011–2013: 112–129.

Neshor's individual 'presence' prevails in the text over the royal one, this latter being quite formal. The relationship between royalty and nobility in the Late Saite period was unique and can help us to understand the circumstances which produced this non-royal self-presentation.²² The role of the individual within the formal sphere of the political realm has much increased by then. The three presences of individuality, i.e. the individual's presence, the deity's presence, and the king's presence, were well interacted in Neshor's life, career, and the afterlife. The individual's self-presentation and the individual's concept of himself, the deities, and the king are intertwined in some of this text. The activities of Neshor prove that the Saite kings were very active and 'productive' in the Delta region, since they originated from there. The geographical location of his monument seems to confirm that the main activities and religious devotion of Neshor were then also focused on the Delta.

In this self-presentation the interplay of image and text is clear. The emergence and rise of individualism, as a historical phenomenon of the period, is an evident reality. Thus, the text and statue of this non-royal individual help us to explore the rise of the individual's self in this period. Moreover, this compels us to reevaluate the relationship between the kings and their high officials in Late Saite Egypt. This text highlights the distinctive characteristics of Saite self-presentation, and places it within the broad context of Egyptian self-presentation traditions.

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²² Bassir 2014: 1–4, 12, 15, 22–23, 149–152.

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