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The Statues of Udjahorresnet as Archaeological Artifacts

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Abstract
Udjahorresnet is best known for the inscription on his statue in the Musei Vaticani. It gives insights into the transformation of Egypt from an independent kingdom under the Lower Egyptian royal house of Sais (Twenty-sixth Dynasty) to a dependent kingdom under Achaemenid Persian rule. What is less known is that the so-called *Naoforo Vaticano* is not the only statue preserved. Udjahorresnet was commemorated in at least three to five statues, one of which was created c. 150–200 years after his death to keep his memory alive and to enhance the commissioner's social standing by association. In addition to this chronological scope, the evidence points to an extensive statue program disseminating Udjahorresnet's sociopolitical statement in various major temples in Lower Egypt and in the capital, Memphis. In contrast to the traditional focus on the inscription, the contribution at hand discusses the implication of the archaeological evidence of the statues for elucidating Udjahorresnet's socio-historical context.

Introduction

Udjahorresnet is known from a number of commemoration monuments that include an inscribed tomb structure at Abusir and at least three to five statues:

1) The naophorous statue in the Musei Vaticani (= Musei Egizio Gregoriano 22690; so-called *Naoforo Vaticano*) allegedly from the temple of Neith in Sais. It is well preserved although missing its head. According to the inscription, it dates to the (early) reign of Darius I.
2) A possibly naophorous statue probably from Memphis (= lost statue from Memphis), which was found in ruin and replaced by the priest of Neith Minirdis in the 4th century BCE.
3) A naophorous statue, of which a fragment of uncertain extent has later been built into a wall in Cairo (= Cairo spolia). It may have belonged to Udjahorresnet and could be identical with the statue replaced by Minirdis.
4) A statue of Udjahorresnet of uncertain statue type, which was found in Memphis, where it had been reused as spolia (= Memphis spolia). It was commissioned in the 4th century BCE in order to replace an older mutilated statue possibly from/for the temple of Ptah at Memphis.
5) A fragment from the Michaélidis collection allegedly from the Giza area (= Michaélidis fragment), which may or may not date from ancient times; if the latter, it may or may not belong to either of the statues nos. 2–4 or to another one.

While the tomb is well published from an archaeological point of view,[1] this is not the case for Udjahorresnet's statues. They have mainly been studied as textual and/or historical sources. The contribution at hand assesses the potential of their design, archaeological context, and object histories for elucidating the social role of Udjahorresnet in his time and as historical mediator.

Statue 1: The Naophorous Statue MV 22690

By far the best-known and most informative source on Udjahorresnet as diplomatic figure is his naophorous statue in the Musei Vaticani (MV 22690; Fig. 1).[2] Traditionally, the key element of interest is its long inscription. It also features prominently in this volume as a major source for contextualizing Udjahorresnet as social, professional and diplomatic figure and as historical mediator.

Date of Production

One aspect to be highlighted for the so-called *Naoforo Vaticano* is the unknown provenance of the statue and, hence, the lack of stratigraphic information on the date of production and original placement. Although this fact has already been stressed,[3] the implications of this lack of provenance are still understudied. The original place of erection tends to be given as the temple of Neith in Sais without discussing potential alternatives.[4] This is solely based on the contents of the inscription. Although the assumption seems likely, the inscription does not explicitly say so, but only provides circumstantial evidence (see below). Given the lack of explicit evidence on the date and place(s) of production and erection, at least four different scenarios need to be discussed:

1) The statue was designed in Egypt in the later 6th century BCE during the lifetime of Udjahorresnet or shortly after his demise.
2) The statue was designed in Egypt later in the 1st millennium BCE imitating an existing or fictive statue of the later 6th century.
3) The statue is an ancient copy of an Egyptian statue made outside Egypt.
4) The statue is a 18th-century CE copy of an ancient Egyptian statue.

The last option, i.e., a 2nd-millennium CE production, can be excluded on science historical grounds. Though alleged "fakes" were included in the shipment of artifacts that included the *Naoforo Vaticano*,[5] this is not plausible for the statue of Udjahorresnet. The key incentive for modern Egyptomania (Napoleon's Egyptian campaign: 1798–1801) and the birth of the scientific subject area of Egyptology were still in the future at the time of the sale of the statue to the (later) Musei Vaticani, although they were already in the air. However, it is uncertain whether an inducement for a "modern" design sold as ancient, i.e., a fake, existed at the time for Egyptian objects from the pre-Hellenistic era. In addition, it seems certain that the required expertise to "fake" an object like the *Naoforo Vaticano*, which is characterized by its exceptional craftsmanship regarding the complex textual design and the execution, was unavailable at the time.

Option 3 can be ruled out on stylistic and epigraphic grounds. It is a realistic scenario to assume the shipping not only of an Egyptian statue but also of raw material to any place in the Mediterranean and West Asian area of connectivity[6] in order to create such a statue. Nontheless, this interpretation seems unlikely for the *Naoforo Vaticano*, given the characteristically Egyptian design and execution of the inscription and the strongly context-related iconography (see below).

This leaves options 1 and 2, i.e., an Egyptian context of production in the 6th–4th centuries (or at least pre-30) BCE. As there is evidence for restoring or updating commemoration monuments of important figures and even explicitly of Udjahorresnet in the 4th century BCE (see below, Statues 2 and 4), option 2 cannot be dismissed. Key arguments against a post-6th-century production are stylistic issues and the lack of a commission inscription. Both are important caveats, but they do not firmly rule out a later date. Although the statue commissioned by Minirdis (see Statue 4) explicitly mentions its function as restoration monument, this does not necessarily apply to all cases. There is still no reliable framework of 6th–4th century BCE "private," i.e., non-divine and non-royal human, statues, that would facilitate such a stylistic dating method. For this, also the later commemoration statue (Statue 4) does not provide any help. It is not sufficiently preserved to show whether it could be mistaken for a 6th-century production on stylistic grounds (see Fig. 5). Similarly, not enough is known about the production process of statues, and especially of the non-royal and non-divine statues of the period in question. It is possible that there was a tradition of family members or associates commissioning such statues after the demise of a person without that being stated on the



Figure 1: Nearly complete fragment of a naophorous statue of Udjahorresnet in the Musei Vaticani (MV 22690; source: Wasmuth 2017b, fig. 1a).

statue. In such a scenario, the lack of commission inscriptions would point to this being a standard practice. Accordingly, Minirdis' (unusual) insistence on mentioning the commissioning may have been due to his explicit wish to be commemorated in connection with Udjahorresnet. As a consequence, a production date after the 6th century BCE cannot be excluded for the *Naoforo Vaticano*. However, given the lack of direct evidence for such a later date and the scope of consistent circumstantial evidence for a

production date from the time discussed in the inscription, option 1 is to be judged as the most likely.

Option 1 includes a date range from the later years of Udjahorresnet's lifetime to the time directly following his demise. Though beyond assessment, the actual production date is of major relevance for the sociocultural setting of the statue (see below). This concerns, first, the question of Udjahorresnet's personal influence on the statue design and inscription contents. Second, it is to be discussed whether the completion of the inscription was more or less contemporary with the statue sculpting or whether the back-pillar was originally left blank and was later filled with a reference to Udjahorresnet's career under Darius I. As a consequence, the following manufacturing contexts come into play:

1) The statue was designed and essentially completed under Cambyses, with later addition of the back-pillar inscription under Darius I.
2) The statue was designed under Cambyses and sculpted under Darius I.
3) The statue design and execution took place under Darius I under the auspices of Udjahorresnet.
4) The statue was designed under Darius I by/including Udjahorresnet, but it was made (or completed) after his death.
5) The statue was designed (and executed) under Darius I after Udjahorresnet's death, and hence by his contemporaries.

While the last is probably to be excluded for lack of a dedication inscription, the first four scenarios are realistic possibilities. On their impact on Udjahorresnet's sociocultural contextualization, see below.

Original Place of Erection

Although usually attributed to Sais as the original place of erection, this is by no means certain. The statue entered modern scholarly knowledge via the 18th-century CE art market. No information on the find circumstances is (currently) available. As has been mentioned, the evidence for this provenance is circumstantial at best. As showcased by Ruggero, the often cited secondary place of erection the Villa Hadriana in Tivoli (near Rome) has to be refuted completely; the available archival evidence on the purchase history make it obvious that the statue was brought to Italy via Smyrna and the Greek Islands in the 1770s.[7]

There is also no explicit statement on the original place of erection in the statue inscription. The most obvious place for such a location remark would be the presentation inscription on the front and roof of the naos, which comments upon the statue design when invoking the protection of Osiris:

> A (*ḥtp-dj-nsw*-)offering for Osiris of Hemag: a thousand of loaves of bread, beer, bulls, poultry, and all good, pure things for the *ka* of the chief physician Udjahorresnet, honored by the gods of Sais. A (*ḥtp-dj-nzw*-) offering for Osiris, the Foremost of Hut-bit: an invocation offering of bread, beer, bulls, poultry, robes, incense, ointment, and all good things for the *ka* of the chief physician, Udjahorresnet, honored by all the gods. O Osiris, Lord of Eternity! The chief physician, Udjahorresnet, has placed his arms protectively around/behind you. May your *ka* command that everything useful be done for him, as he protects your chapel forever![8]

This may, but need not, provide circumstantial evidence on the place of erection. In Egyptian temples, many gods were venerated, not only the main deity. As Lloyd has highlighted, Osiris of Hemag was explicitly worshipped in the *ḥwt-bjt(j)* of the Saitic temple of Neith.[9] It is therefore perfectly suitable that a statue with an Osiris—and especially an Osiris of Hemag—naos was placed in the Neith temple.[10] Hence, this interpretation is a highly probable option for the specific case under discussion, but it is not the only possible one.

Nevertheless, it has to be stressed that the specific form of Osiris of Hemag is not exclusively tied to Sais and the temple of Neith there, but is much more widespread.[11] It may be of relevance that no direct reference is made to the Neith temple and that the references to the Hutbit concern only the epitheta of Osiris, while the ones referring to Sais relate to the person of Udjahorresnet. The same applies to the inscription throughout. Sais and the temple of Neith play a prominent role in the inscription, but they are not explicitly referred to in relation to the statue or the continuous commemoration of Udjahorresnet in the temple of Neith. In each instance, Sais and its Neith temple only provide the socio-historical context of the events recorded: Udjahorresnet's

biographical connection to Sais and the temple and his efforts to make Cambyses realize, respect, and implement his pharaonic duties to that temple.[12] The commemoration of these deeds and biographical connections is perfectly consistent with a place of erection in the precinct of the temple of Neith in Sais. However, given the importance of Sais and its principal deity for the former Saitic dynasty (displaced by the Persian rulers), other key temples in (northern) Egypt are equally feasible possibilities for honoring Neith, Osiris of Hemag, and an important son of the city of Sais. The evidence for a potential twin statue in the Ptah temple in Memphis, which probably was replaced in the 4th century BCE due to decay (see below, Statues 2 and 4), gives weight to such an assumption.

The special design of the statue, which allows an interpretation as a semi-official "state" or as a "private," i.e., personal, (self-)representation monument,[13] makes also more "profane" (semi-)public places of erection are worth considering.[14]

Further Object History

While the statue (almost) certainly was manufactured and originally erected in 6th(–4th)-century BCE Egypt, it is unclear when and why it was shipped from there. Was it sent as present or taken by force respectively by authority? Who offered or asked for the statue, why, and when? Was it transferred to Italy directly from its original place of erection or was the object history more complex? As a secondary place of erection in imperial Rome, whether in the context of the Villa Hadriana in Tivoli or some other place, has to be dismissed (see above), any further discussion on why and how the statue was transferred, e.g., as a royal present in the Ptolemaic period or as a communal present or authorized imperial Roman exploitation of the Nile valley culture, can equally be dismissed for an ancient Italian context. Whether similar scenarios need to be considered for the transfer to Smyrna, modern Izmir (currently earliest step identified in the 18th-century transfer to Italy), remains open. Further research is needed to assess whether the object history of the *Naoforo Vaticano* from Egypt to western Asia Minor, in antiquity or as part of the unauthorized or authorized art market transfer of Medieval or Renaissance date, can be traced.[15]

Similarly important, but inconclusive, are speculations on the reasons for the state of preservation. Was the head (and left arm) lost already in Egypt or on its way (eventually) to Italy? Was it lost already by the 4th century BCE (see below, Statues 2 and 4), later in antiquity, or only in the early to advanced 2nd millennium CE? Was the statue deliberately mutilated or by accident? How long was it visible in its original place of erection? And where was it placed afterwards? Due to the lack of stratigraphic information, the only clues for any of these questions can be found in the statue's condition. This presents a striking contrast between object mutilation (head and left arm) and exceptionally good surface condition. If the object mutilation was by accident, why is there not more damage on the surface? This might be easily explicable for the loss of the head, as the neck is the most vulnerable point of such a statue. But this does not hold true for the arm.[16]

As there is no *damnatio memoriae* of the kings or Udjahorresnet in the inscription, an 6th–4th-century BCE intentional beheading seems highly unlikely. This leaves a later mutilation date or two separate dates with different causes. Option 1 is an accidental early beheading, which might have inspired the 4th-century restoration statue (see below, Statues 2 and 4) and/or its discarding, burial or safe keeping resulting in the continued excellent surface preservation. In such a scenario, one might consider a local deterioration of the left arm due to environmental conditions, which was intentionally hewn off in the 18th century CE to present a more homogeneously preserved statue. Option 2 is an intentional beheading in the early Christian or Islamic period. This would be the most likely case, if the Osiris figure in the naos was also disfigured.

Epigraphic Characteristics

On a basic typological level, the *Naoforo Vaticano* commemorates Udjahorresnet in one of the most common representational formats for Egyptian high officials of the time:[17] a statue showing a kneeling or standing figure wearing a wrap-around garment ("Wickelgewand") and carrying a naos. In detail, his statue is outstanding in various ways: regarding the material, the prominent display of Persian "gold of honor," the elaborateness of the garment and the naos (stand), as well as the contents, length, and distribution of the inscriptions.

1) Not unprecedented but unusual is the raw material used for the statue, which allegedly is made of green basalt.[18] Typically, basalt was used in ancient Egypt for temple door slabs, small vessels, and food-processing installations.[19] Some sarcophagi

and statues are known, especially from the Old Kingdom and the Late Period, but most sculpture described as manufactured in this material proves to be made of greywacke, siltstone, or grey granite.[20] Although basalt is available at various sites in Egypt, evidence for quarrying is so far only known from Widan el-Faras in the northern Fayyûm. If the *Naoforo Vaticano* indeed proves to be made from basalt, this has major implications for its socio-cultural contextualization (see below).

2) A second characteristic feature of the *Naoforo Vaticano* is the prominent display of his Persian "gold of honor," bracelets with animal protome endings, for which currently only few parallels are known from an Egyptian context: a royal statue of Darius I, two further naophorous statues of male members of the Egyptian "elite," and a female representation in three-quarter relief.[21] In contrast to Udjahorresnet, Darius I, Ptahhotep, and the anonymous female figure show also further Persian regalia, notably the Persian court dress (female and royal figure) and a torque with caprides (Ptahhotep). The fragment of the anonymous statue in Karlsruhe is not sufficiently preserved to assess potential further Persian jewelry.

3) The dress of Udjahorresnet with its narrow medium-to-long-sleeved undergarment and wrap-around outer garment, which is knotted above the breast, is typical for Egyptian sculpture of the late Saitic to late Achaemenid period.[22] What is exceptional is the depiction of its rather voluminous gathers. As already showcased elsewhere, this might reflect a homage to Persian-style garments or more general Eastern or Persian influence in dress draping and girth in the Late and specifically in the Persian period, although the garment type itself is certainly not "Persian" in either structure or appearance.[23]

4) Another characteristic of the statue is its elaborate version of the naos placed on a stand. Although there are good parallels,[24] stand-less versions of the naos are more common.[25] Whether the design variant has significance regarding Udjahorresnet's professional or social standing requires further research.

5) The most noted feature of the *Naoforo Vaticano* is the length and distribution of the inscription,[26] which covers the back-pillar, the top of the statue base, the naos (including its stand), and the whole garment. Each placing and also the content have good parallels,[27] but the combination and strategic epigraphic design used is highly unusual for the statue type. Typically, Late Period garment inscriptions are confined to the so-called cuboid statues, i.e., figures squatting on the ground or on a low pillow, with knees drawn up to the breast and arms resting on the knees.[28] Similarly, there are abundant parallels throughout Egyptian history, especially in the Old Kingdom, testifying that inscriptions could be placed on the top of the statue base. Nevertheless, the epigraphic localization is unexpected. In the period in question, the side of the statue base is typically inscribed, most often with one inscription line running around the front and sides of the base. On the *Naoforo Vaticano*, this prominent place is kept empty. At least two explanations are likely: back-pillar and base sides were originally kept free for later additions, or the statue was originally inserted in a separate base or in a specially prepared ground space. Both interpretations have further socio-cultural implications (see below).

Another issue to be highlighted here is the epigraphic design of the inscription. In contrast to the also heavily inscribed cuboid statues and their '"autobiographies,"[29] the *Naoforo Vaticano* features at least eight different inscriptions, which were meant to be read separately.[30] At least, they are distributed in a way that each major surface features a distinct topic, which can be closely correlated to the chosen placement.[31]

- Naos roof: the *do-ut-des* arrangement between Udjahorresnet and Osiris regarding the statue.
- Naos front: the royal offering to Osiris (of Hemag/the foremost of Hut-bit) on behalf of Udjahorresnet.
- Naos stand extending on base top before Udjahorresnet's right foot: Cambyses worshiping Neith and Osiris in Sais on advice from Udjahorresnet.
- Naos wall plus garment in Udjahorresnet's left elbow crook: elements of an "ideal biography" commemorating Udjahorresnet as honored by his contemporaries (including the "*nšn*—rage / tempest" reference).
- Naos wall plus garment in Udjahorresnet's right elbow crook: elements of an "ideal biography" spotlighting Udjahorresnet as honored by the gods.
- Base top next to his left foot: appreciation of Udjahorresnet by all lords, i.e., honored for his efforts and achievements in royal service.
- Base top next to his right foot: framed as an "appeal to the living," the appreciation of

Udjahorresnet by the goddess Neith, i.e., honored for the fulfillment of his religious duties.
- Garment under Udjahorresnet's right arm: "event biography" on his political career (I) under Amasis, Psamtik III, and Cambyses as Great King and foreign ruler of Egypt.
- Garment under Udjahorresnet's right arm: "event biography" on his political career (II) under Cambyses as Egyptian pharaoh.
- Back plinth: "event biography" on his political career (III) under Darius I.

Usually overlooked is the clear separation of the "ideal" and the "event" biography. This is enhanced by the actual placing. The "ideal biography" crosses the boundaries between the personal (on the garment) and the office, i.e., the generic eternal functioning of Egyptian society (on the naos walls), while the time specific "event biography" and career information is placed on the garment (plus the back-pillar). The references to "*nšn*—rage / tempest" can only be found in the "ideal biography," which strongly questions the prevalent interpretation as direct reference to the Persian conquest.[32] They can equally refer to conflicts under Amasis, to a possible "fall from grace" under Psamtik III,[33] to specific climate-related difficulties, or—and this might be the most likely, given the placing—to the *topos* of overcoming chaos, famine, and disaster as royal and "elite" duties since at least the First Intermediate Period.[34] For the implications of placing part III of Udjahorresnet's career on the back-pillar, see below.

Socio-historical Contextualization

As effectively proven by the scope of the volume at hand plus the earlier studies, especially by Posener, Tulli, Lloyd, Bresciani, and Baines,[35] a socio-historical contextualization of the *Naoforo Vaticano* exceeds the scope of any single paper by far. In accordance with the topic of the contribution at hand, I will therefore only comment on the implications to be gleaned from the archaeological discussion of the statue: regarding the display of Persika, the raw material, the back pillar inscription, the columned garment inscription(s), the plain vertical surface of the statue base, and the place of erection with focus on the contemporary visibility of the statue.

1) The Display of Persika

Regarding the *Naoforo Vaticano*, a basic, but important feature has to be highlighted. There was no need at all to display pro-Persianism or a "historical" account on the statue at all. Udjahorresnet could easily have opted for a typical contemporary "private" statue with standard inscriptions (mainly: offering formula, "appeal to the living," rudimentary "autobiography") on the back-pillar and/or around the base. Also, the display of Persian "gold of honor," i.e., Udjahorresnet's bracelets, is exceedingly rare. Therefore, it has to be concluded that the design of the statue of Udjahorresnet, regarding its physical display of Persika and its textual evidence, was explicitly wanted and specifically created for this purpose.[36]

2) The Raw Material

If the *Naoforo Vaticano* indeed proves to be made from basalt, this has major implications for its socio-cultural contextualization. It points to special access to royal prerogatives: regarding the access to the raw material and to the workshops able to craft the statue out of this rather uncommonly used material. Given the special situation in the early Twenty-seventh Dynasty, this opens up the question of whether Udjahorresnet had access to these because of his status in the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty or only after the change of power to the Persians. Consequently, it raises the issue of whether Udjahorresnet facilitated the access to the raw materials and workshops for the Persian pharaohs or whether royal accessibility was guaranteed to him via the offices he held under them.

3) The Back-Pillar Inscription

As indicated above, the placing of the inscription concerning part III of Udjahorresnet's career on the back-pillar opens up four equally likely possibilities of dating the statue design and its completion: a) both under Cambyses with later addition of the back-pillar inscription under Darius I, b) statue design under Cambyses and execution under Darius I, c) statue design and execution under Darius I under the auspices of Udjahorresnet, and d) statue design under Darius I by/including Udjahorresnet and execution/completion after his death. As discussed in detail elsewhere,[37] the reconstruction of the time of production and its incentive has major implications for the socio-historical contextualization of Udjahorresnet. At least four different scenarios can be devised that may have resulted in the final statue design. Scenario 1 interprets MV22690 as an official "state" source for Cambyses as Egypto-Persian ruler

as a kind of "official press release" by the court, which was implemented as a "private" monument for reasons of time and for lack of a suitable royal model. Scenario 2 understands the statue as an unofficial "state" source for Cambyses as Egypto-Persian ruler, which disseminates an integrated kingship conception of Cambyses as Great King plus pharaoh via a loophole: a seemingly "autobiographic" statement on a "private" monument. Scenario 3 is based on the assumption that the *Naoforo Vaticano* has primarily been designed as a public political statement by Udjahorresnet, in which he publishes his personal perception of the historical events and the king and his recommendation to his contemporaries on how to view them. Scenario 4 finally takes up the traditional view of construing the statue as a standard "private" commemoration monument for Udjahorresnet, which shows what was important to Udjahorresnet as a person and how he wished to be remembered.

4) The Columned Garment Inscription

In contrast to the predominantly horizontally oriented inscriptions on garments of (mainly cuboid) statues of the Late Period, the *Naoforo Vaticano* features inscription columns on the garment. The other striking example of a statue with columned garment inscription is the roughly contemporary royal statue of Darius I.[38] Although this might be sheer coincidence, it has to be considered whether it was not. Given the likely earlier date of MV 22690, the columned garment inscription of the Udjahorresnet statue might have influenced the inscription design on the garment folds of the royal statue. Alternatively, both inscription designs could be efforts of the same process of developing a "state" monument commemorating the cross-regional identity of the Egypto-Persian rulers of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty.

5) The Plain Statue Base

The side(s) of the statue base are the traditional starting point (together with the back-pillar) for inscribing a statue of the time and type in question (see above). That it was polished but intentionally left blank calls for an explanation. Two options are possible. First, it may have been left blank only temporarily, i.e., in order to accommodate a potential career part under the successor of Darius I. Second, it was not meant to be visible because the statue was designed as an "inlay" in a separate statue base or a specially prepared ground space. In case of the former explanation, the plain statue base edge would corroborate the interpretation of a statue design and execution already under Cambyses with intentional blank spaces for later inscription additions (see above and elsewhere[39]). In case of the latter, the statue base design would give a clue as to the intended original place of erection. The unusual (for the time and statue type) embedding of the statue in a separate base or in the ground argues for a special placement of the statue.

6) The Place of Erection

Unfortunately, we lack any direct explicit information on the original place of erection of the *Naoforo Vaticano*. Potential circumstantial information is provided in the inscription and by the statue base design. However, in both cases, the data are not conclusive: a localization at the Neith temple of Sais is plausible, but not mandatory (see above), and, also, the indication for inserting the statue in a separate base or ground spot is only one out of two plausible explanations. If the original place of erection were known, it would potentially have given major insights into the statue's and, hence, also Udjahorresnet's sociocultural context. A traditional placement as votive or private commemoration statue might signal a solely private context or the need to suppress or downplay the "state" function of the statue. An unusual and/or more public place of erection would reflect the very special standing of Udjahorresnet in the local community or the royal commemoration function of the monument. In combination with information on the time of its beheading and/or the duration of continued display, these indications of the statue's placement might have allowed for a more profound judgment as to how Udjahorresnet's cross-regional identity negotiation tactics, Cambyses' rule, and the efforts of legitimizing the foreign ruler as Egyptian pharaoh (and Persian Great King) were viewed by the local (Saitic) elite.

Statue 2: The Lost Statue from Memphis

In addition to the well-known *Naoforo Vaticano*, there is evidence for at least one further contemporary statue of the same Udjahorresnet, although it has to be inferred from indirect evidence. According to the inscription on a later statue, it had fallen into ruin and was therefore replaced by a new one (see below,

Statue 4). Despite the fragmentary state of this later statue and its back-pillar inscription, and the subsequent interpretational leeway, it provides some indications on the date of production of the earlier statue, the contents of its inscription, the statue type, and the place of erection.

Date of Production

According to the inscription on the Memphis spolia (Statue 4), the priest of Neith Minirdis commissioned the new commemoration statue 177 years "after his time." As has been discussed in some detail by Bresciani,[40] this places Minirdis into the 4th century BCE but allow the specifying of neither Udjahorresnet's date of death nor the exact chronological and sociocultural context of donating the replacement statue. One possible reading was already presented in the original publication of the Memphis spolia:[41] "after his time" may refer to the date of death of Udjahorresnet, which must have occurred sometime rather early in the reign of Darius I, probably between 520 and 510 BCE. A plausible scenario for updating the statue is the early phase of the second Persian domination (343–332 BCE), which matches the available data perfectly well. However, this is not the only possible date and context, as Bresciani has shown.[42] Due to the state of preservation of the Memphis spolia, the point of reference for the 177 years is uncertain. It may refer to the date of death of Udjahorresnet or to the date of creation of the older statue or to the reign of Darius I—either its start or its end date.

Place of Erection

An important observation concerns the potential place of erection of the lost statue under discussion in the context of the major Ptah temple of Memphis.[43] Bresciani plausibly infers this from the appellation to the priests of Ptah to praise the priest of Neith Minirdis for his deed of restoration (in column 4; see Statue 4). However, we do not know the original context of this later Memphis statue for certain, as it was preserved as a spolia. Given the broken state of the inscription and of the statue itself, several interpretations are possible. The invocation of praise from the priest of Ptah may indicate the placing either of the original statue in the Ptah temple or of the new specimen, or of both. In addition, the citing of the Ptah priesthood may refer to some context other than the place of erection of either statue.

Epigraphic Characteristics

Regarding the inscription contents of the lost statue from Memphis, there are principally two possibilities. First, the statue was inscribed and provided enough details to identify its owner firmly with the famous Udjahorresnet, priest of Neith and major figure in negotiating Egyptian-Persian relations in the early phase of Persian domination over Egypt. Second, the whole setup mentioned on the Memphis spolia is a narrative fiction by Minirdis, who wanted to link his name with that of Udjahorresnet for his own purposes.

As the inscription invokes (to some extent) the testimony of the priests of Neith and those of the Ptah temple in Memphis (see below), the first assumption is at least highly probable. However, the possibility remains that the information on Udjahorresnet inscribed on the Memphis spolia does not match that on the earlier statue. The priest of Neith Minirdis probably had access to the possibly still visible statue of Udjahorresnet in the temple of Neith in Sais (or elsewhere; MV 22690; see above for a discussion of its object history) and/or to documentation of his deeds and career in the temple archives. Consequently, there are again at least three possibilities. The lost statue may indeed have been a twin statue of MV 22690 and inscribed similarly, as assumed by Anthes and Bakry and by Bresciani.[44] Alternatively, the lost statue may have been of either the same or a different statue type, but inscribed differently from MV 22690, although presenting Udjahorresnet's titles in the same "canonical" order or otherwise allowing a certain identification of the statue owner. Furthermore, the strikingly similar order of the titles to that of MV 22690 may have been characteristic only for the 4th-century statue, for which it was retrieved either from the statue it replaced, from the still visible(?) *Naoforo Vaticano*, from a similar statue at another place, or from archival documentation.

The same uncertainty pertains to the statue type to be inferred for the earlier statue. The inscription states that Minirdis made a commemoration statue for Udjahorresnet and that he "made the name of the *archiatra* Udjahorresnet live one hundred and seventy-seven years after his time, since I had rediscovered his statue in a state of ruin" (see below, Statue 4). This does not necessarily imply that the replacement statue copies the earlier statue design. It is not even certain whether it was meant as actual replacement or as an additional statue. Hence, in

combination with the inscription information, there are three likely options for the statue type:

1) a naophorous statue similar (or even identical) to the *Naoforo Vaticano* (see Figs. 1, 4a);
2) a statue similar to the Memphis spolia (for reconstruction suggestions, see Figs. 5, 4b);
3) a statue type differing from either of these preserved monuments.

For lack of additional evidence, their relative likelihood cannot be assessed. For the implications of the different statue type reconstructions, see below.

Socio-historical Contextualizaton

Given the highly limited information preserved for this lost statue, any discussion of its socio-historical context is highly speculative in nature. However, some issues need to be highlighted. One of these is Bresciani's suggestion that this older/replaced statue(tte) may be identical with the Cairo spolia (Statue 3).[45] This is beyond verification or falsification, as will be discussed below (see Statues 3–4). Similarly, one might consider whether the *Naoforo Vaticano* constitutes this lost statue, which was "in ruin" due to the loss of the head and the left arm, hence displaced in a cachette or other place for safekeeping (see above, Statue 1), and was replaced in its original place of erection, i.e., probably the temple of Ptah in Memphis.

Another issue to be raised is the implication of the place of erection. If the lost statue was indeed originally located in the temple of Ptah in Memphis while the *Naoforo Vaticano* stood—as is usually assumed—in the temple of Neith (and Osiris Hemag) in Sais, this would indicate a potentially much larger commemoration and dissemination program of Udjahorresnet's person and role in the transformation of Saitic to Teispid/Achaemenid Egypt. This is confirmed by the existence of the Cairo spolia (see below, Statue 3).

An interesting question, although currently beyond assessment, is whether these statues disseminated essentially the same message or whether the inscription contents were adapted to the place of erection, i.e., focusing on Ptah, the temple of Ptah, and Memphis in the various parts of the inscription(s) instead of the prominent focus on Sais characterizing the *Naoforo Vaticano* (Statue 1).

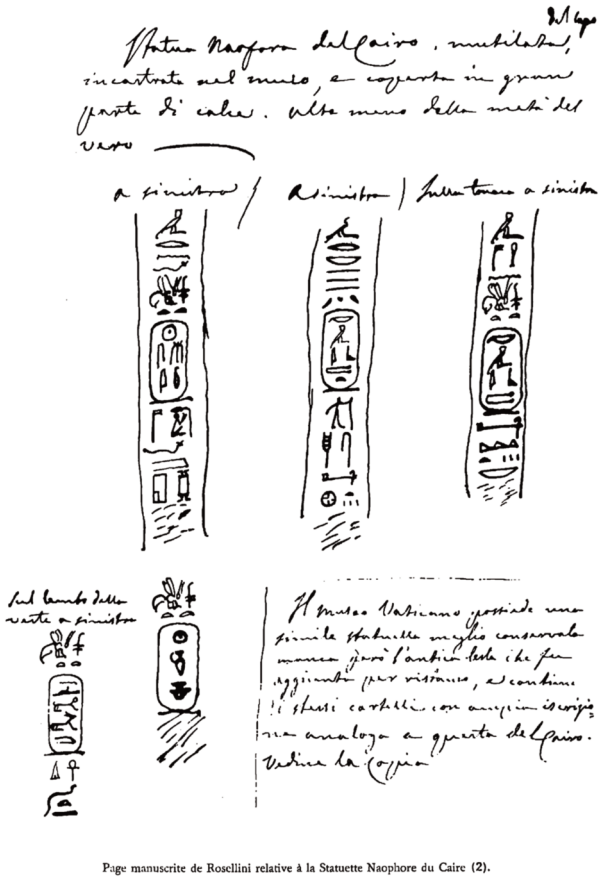
Statue 3: The Naophorous Statue in Cairo (Cairo Spolia)

The next statue to be discussed is the naophorous statue that Rosellini saw in Cairo during his stay in Egypt in 1828/29.[46] He copied either some or all of the inscription visible (see Fig. 2), parts of which he published in his monograph *Monumenti storici*.[47] The statue is of special interest due to its stratified, although not original, archaeological context, its alleged similarity to MV 22690, and its commemoration of a historical figure from the same time period as Udjahorresnet. Whether this person was indeed Udjahorresnet or one of his contemporaries cannot be ascertained.

The available information comprises the note "Statua Naofora del Cairo, mutilata, incastrata nel muro, e coperta in gran parte di calca. Alta meno della metà del vero (i.e., naophorous statue from Cairo, mutilated, inserted in the wall, and largely covered in plaster; height: less than half life size)," five columns of inscription titled "a sinistra / a sinistra / sulla torso a sinistra / sul lembo della veste a sinistra / [no localization information] (i.e., on the left / on the left / on the torso on the left / at the lappet of the garment on the left / […])," and finally the comment "Il Museo Vaticano possiede una simile statuetta meglio conservato (manco però l'antica testa che fu aggiunto per ristauro) e contiene li stessi cartelli con ampio iscrizione analoga a questa del Cairo. Vedine la copia (The Museo Vaticano possesses a similar statuette, better preserved [but missing its ancient head which was added by restauration] and comprising the same cartouches within a major inscription analogous to the one from Cairo. See the copy)."[48]

No indication is given as to which wall the statue was inserted—the city wall, the citadel enclosure wall, the citadel wall, or the wall of any other building. The same applies to the position in the wall. Was it vertically or horizontally placed, and, if the latter, lying on its back, its front, or its right side? Only the figure's left side can be excluded. In combination with the information on the similarity to MV 22690 and the details regarding the 4th column at the lappet of the garment, the reference "a sinistra" reflects the observer's perspective, i.e. the figure's right-hand side (for a potential reconstruction of the visible fragment, see Fig. 3).

There is some latitude regarding the state of preservation. The statue is said to be mutilated and



Page manuscrite de Rosellini relative à la Statuette Naophore du Caire (2).

Figure 2: The notes by Rosellini on the Udjahorresnet (?) statue he saw reused as spolia in Cairo in 1828/29 (source: Posener 1936, pl. I; courtesy of the Institute français d'archéologie orientale).



Figure 3: Reconstruction of the part of the Cairo spolia seen by Rosellini in 1828/29 (drawing by the author, based on Figs. 1–2).

less well preserved than the *Naoforo Vaticano*, but what does this mean? Is the Cairo spolia definitively a statue fragment or potentially a complete statue(tte), albeit with damaged surface? The latter might be due to a less durable material than used for MV 22690.

The height is stated to be less than half life size ("alta meno della metà del vero"), but the question remains whether this refers to the figure itself, the figure including the statue base, the preserved statue fragment, or the visible part of the statue. In any case, "life size" is a relative measure, which might easily include anything between at least 1.40–1.90 m. Hence, the information given by Posener (based on the Rosellini notes) that the Cairo statuette is of roughly the same size than the *Naoforo Vaticano* (i.e., c. 70 cm including the statue base and excluding the head) is possible, but not certain.[49]

Place and Time of Production and Original Place of Erection

Unfortunately, Rosellini was mainly interested in the royal cartouches, not in the artifact per se, as evidenced by his choice of information discussed in the *Monumenti storici*.[50] Hence, the scope of archaeological information lacking for the statue(tte) may be even bigger than necessary. Nevertheless,

the main data regarding the place and time of production and the original place of erection are missing due to the reuse of the artifact as spolia. Though the statue may have been brought to Cairo from any ancient site, the neighborhood of Cairo suggests itself. Depending on the location in Cairo, the most likely candidates are the temple complexes of Memphis and of Heliopolis. However, whether these were primary or secondary places of erection is beyond assessment.

As discussed in detail for the *Naoforo Vaticano*, a late 6th-to-4th-century BCE date seems indicated also for the Cairo spolia (see above, Statue 1). Probable contexts are an extensive statue program disseminating Udjahorresnet's role in and viewpoint on Egypto-Persian interaction, either in the early Persian period or at the time, when Minirdis re-established Udjahorresnet's memory "177 years after his time" (see above, Statue 2, and below, Statue 4). The close similarity of both statues may be due either to a contemporary design based on the same model or to a close copy.

Epigraphic Characteristics I: The Fragment Visible to Rosellini

The key pieces of information for assessing what Rosellini actually saw are as follows:

1) The statue was broken ("mutilata").
2) Only a small part was visible due to the insertion in the wall as spolia and due to the wall plaster largely covering the statue ("incastrata nel muro, e coperta in gran parte di calca").
3) Fragments of five columns were visible, probably including the column heads (one column seems to be complete; the others start at the top and their continuation is indicated).
4) Probably all of the visible inscription was copied ("vedine la copia"), although Rosellini himself only published the cartouches.
5) The lappet of the wrap-around garment was visible ("sul lembo della veste a sinistra").
6) The statue is explicitly likened to the *Naoforo Vaticano* regarding statue type and inscription ("Statua naofora… Il museo Vaticano possiede una simile statuetta meglio conservato … e contiene li stessi cartelli con ampio iscrizione analoga a questa del Cairo.").

The combination of these details makes it more or less certain that Rosellini saw the statue part that was framed by the naos, the lappet, and Udjahorresnet's right upper arm (see Fig. 3).

What remains uncertain is why Rosellini did not copy the columns en bloc. An easy, and therefore likely, explanation draws on a) his key interest in the inscription, and especially the cartouches, not its epigraphic design, b) the discontinuity of the visible parts of the column and subsequent uncertainty whether the columns belong to one or more inscriptions on the statue, and c) the change of surface to the torso. The resulting change of column order (compare Figs. 2 and 3) probably reflects the actual placing of the statue on its back. The column lying on top was copied first onto the paper—according to European writing standards starting in the top left corner. The localization information reads accordingly: "on the statue's left side from the observer's point of view / to the left of this column / to the left of this second column, albeit changing the surface (from naos side to torso) / to the left 2 further columns under the garment tip, for which the differing starting points of the columns are indicated." The copied columns read from left to right and top to bottom (see Fig. 2):

- "A sinistra": *m rn=f nsw-bjtj* (*Mstj(w)-Rˁw*)| *wˁb nṯr [ḥmˀ]=f m ḥw.t Njt* … / "as his name the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Offspring of Ra [i.e., Cambyses])|. His godˀ/majestyˀ purified (himself) in the temple of Neith…."

- "A sinistra": *wr nb tȝ.wj* (*Kmbjṯ{t}*)| *wr sˁḥˁ nw.wt* … / "The great one, the Lord of the Two Lands (Cambyses)|, the foreign rulerˀ, …." Note the difference in writing *wr*. Posener translates "great" also in the second case and comments on this with the analogy on the Maskhuta stela, where Darius I is referred to with "cartouche *pȝ-ˁȝ*."[51] However, the context is different and the latter probably renders the Persian title "Great King" into Egyptian.[52] A detailed analysis of the 1st-millennium use of *wr*—"ruler of foreign lands" versus "(unspecified) ruler"—is still missing although of relevance also for other Persian period inscriptions, especially in the context of translating the

Persian royal titles of the pharaohs of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty.

- "Sulla torso a sinistra": *m ḥm-nṯr*ʾ *n nsw-bjtj* (*Kmbjṯ*)| *ḫwj ḫ*ʾ*swt nb(wt*ʾ*)* … ("as[?] priest of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Cambyses)|, who protects all[?] foreign lands / the foreign lands, lord[?] [of …]." Note the two alternatives indicated by Posener: to interpret the *nṯr*-sign as determinative of *ḥm* ("majesty") in analogy to Ptolemaic canonical writing or to read *ḥm-nṯr* ("priest") of Cambyses, implying an Egyptian mortuary cult for Cambyses under Darius I.[53] Hence, the question is whether the term that functions as *regens* of the genitive construction refers to the king or to the statue owner. In case of the latter, I would like to suggest an additional potential contextualization: to read *ḥm-nṯr*— "priest" of Cambyses, but understanding this as referring to a career stage under Cambyses.

- "Sul lembo della veste a sinistra": (no additional localization:) *nsw-bjtj* (*Ḥnm-jb-Rᶜw*)|… / "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt (He-who-embraces-the-heart-of Ra [i.e., Amasis])| …" *nsw-bjtj* (*Ndrjwṯ*)| *dj ᶜnḫ ḏt* / "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Darius)| who is given life eternally."

The reconstruction of the visible fragment (Fig. 3) fits well with the insistence on the striking similarity with MV 22690, which is commented upon by Rosellini and consequently also by Posener and Bresciani.[54] It also shows that the naophorous statue in Cairo is not a direct copy of the *Naoforo Vaticano*, as the distribution of the inscription and potentially also its content substantially differ. In addition, the similarity does not necessarily imply that the statue owner is indeed Udjahorresnet. The published inscription fragments only indicate that the statue owner was a contemporary of Apries to Darius I: They do not specify the commemorated person. He may be Udjahorresnet or one of his high-ranking contemporaries.

Epigraphic Characteristics II: Reconstructing the Statue Type

The rudimentary data explicitly given on the statue design does not exclude and even suggests a design different from, although similar to, MV 22690. The copied inscriptions and their position on the figure —whether correctly located in the area between the side of the naos and the right arm as suggested in Fig. 3 or not—do not directly match the inscriptions on the *Naoforo Vaticano*. The texts may have been substantially different or just differently distributed. Consequently, there are at least three possibilities for reconstructing the statue, if the suggested fragment visible to Rosellini (see Fig. 3) is correct:

1) A twin statue of MV 22690 with roughly corresponding inscription, but different spatial distribution on the statue (see Fig. 4a).
2) A statue similar to MV 22690 with a different, shorter inscription, a plain skirt, respectively lower garment, and a naos without stand, i.e., an upper torso design similar to the *Naoforo Vaticano* (Statue 1) combined with a lower part resembling the Memphis spolia (Statue 4; see Fig. 4b).
3) A kneeling statue with torso and naos design similar to MV 22690, with inscriptions either only on the upper torso, naos, back-pillar, and statue base or additionally covering also the lower garment (see Fig. 4c).

As a result, the Cairo spolia might have belonged to the same statue as the Memphis spolia (see Statue 4), to the statue replaced by this statue (see Statue 2),[55] or to another statue of Udjahorresnet or one of his contemporaries. The latter may have resembled MV 22690 more or less closely.

Socio-historical Contextualization

Due to the highly fragmentary and vague information on the Cairo statue—which allows neither certain identification with Udjahorresnet as displayed person, nor the statue type, the production date, not the place of original erection—it is difficult to define the statue's socio-historical context. At least five feasible scenarios merit discussion. The Cairo spolia:

1) depicts Udjahorresnet, is designed like the *Naoforo Vaticano*, and dates from the 6th century BCE.
2) depicts Udjahorresnet, is designed like the *Naoforo Vaticano* but is a later replacement statue.

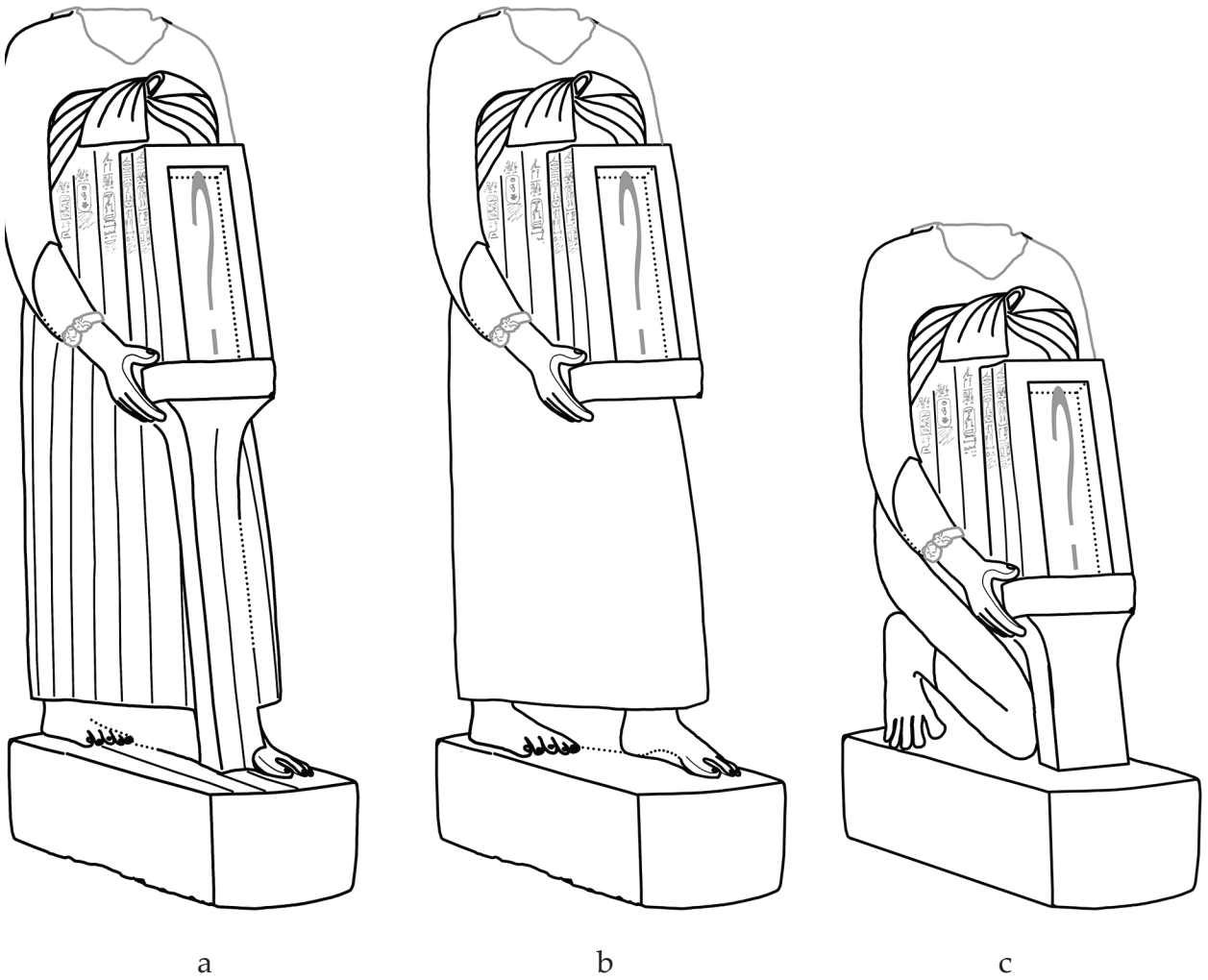


Figure 4: Scope of likely reconstructions of the Cairo spolia partially seen by Rosellini in 1828/29 (reconstructions and drawings by the author based on Figs 1–3; [b] also inspired by Anthes and Bakry 1965, pl. 37; Lokschuppen 2017, ABDUA 21462; © 2017 PennMuseumOnline, 42-9-1; Bothmer et al. 1960, pl. 107).

3) depicts Udjahorresnet, is designed like the Memphis spolia, and dates from the 6th century BCE.
4) depicts Udjahorresnet, is designed like the Memphis spolia, but is a later replacement statue.
5) depicts someone other than Udjahorresnet in a design similar to (the torso of) the *Naoforo Vaticano*.

For scenario 3, see the socio-historical contextualization of Statue 2 (see above); for scenario 4, see below, Statue 4. The other three options will be examined here.

Scenario 1 is plausible due to the specific rendering of the garment, which is unique to Udjahorresnet according to the current state of research (see above, Statue 1). As discussed above and below (see Statues 2 and 4), such contemporary twin statues are indicated

also from further evidence. The interesting issue concerning their socio-historical setting is the relation of their inscription contents and especially the scope of original places of erection.[56] As reused building material, this is unanswerable for the Cairo spolia. However, a sourcing of building materials from Heliopolis or Memphis seems more likely than a transfer from Sais. Based on this scenario, a strategic placing of several commemoration monuments at least in the former dynastic capital of Sais and major temples in the vicinity of the political capital of Memphis is indicated (see accordingly above, Statue 2).

Scenario 2 draws on the Memphis spolia (see below, Statue 4) as precedent. In this scenario, the strategic commemoration throughout the major temples of Egypt or at least of Sais and Memphis or the Memphis areas (see above, Statue 1) does not take place under Udjahorresnet, but in the 4th century BCE, i.e., either in the context of the period of Egyptian independence from the Persian empire, or during the early second Persian dominion, or the early Argead-to-Ptolemaic period. The actors behind this strategy would be a faction of Egyptians in favor of coming to terms with the (likely) more powerful conquerors at the time in question. They draw on the known precedent of Udjahorresnet/the *Naoforo Vaticano* to influence their contemporaries by showcasing such collaboration or "bandwagoning"[57] as being within the scope of canonic behavior.[58]

Scenario 5 assumes an iconographical twin statue of the *Naoforo Vaticano*, at least concerning the torso and garment design in combination with the epigraphic structure and distribution of the inscription, but depicting a contemporary of Udjahorresnet. Although highly speculative, this cannot be ruled out based on the available evidence. Other "collaborators" are known and also evidenced by pro-Persian iconographical statements in their statuary.[59] In addition, it is to be expected that the transformation of Egypt as special "province" of the Persian empire ruled by the (Teispids and) Achaemenians as Great Kings of Persia and Egyptian pharaohs of foreign descent, is not the effort of a single individual, even though it is displayed as such on Udjahorresnet's *Naoforo Vaticano*.[60] Consequently, similar (self-)presentations are possible—and even likely—for his colleagues.

Statue 4: The Statue Fragment from Memphis (Memphis Spolia)

As already commented upon above (Statue 2), a large fragment of a statue definitively commemorating Udjahorresnet came to light during the scientific excavations in Memphis in 1956 (Mit. 847; see Fig. 5).[61] The lower part of the "skirt" and the corresponding part of the back-pillar are preserved. The surface is slightly eroded, which badly affects the readability of the back-pillar inscription. The statue fragment of dark grey granite was reused in a pillar-like construction, for which no further information is given.[62] Its current place of erection or storage could not be ascertained.

As Bresciani has discussed in some detail,[63] the statue was commissioned by a further priest of Neith called Minirdis/*Mnw-jr-dj-s(w)* in the 4th century BCE. According to the back-pillar inscription, it replaces an older statue of Udjahorresnet fallen into ruin, but the date given is too unspecific to ascertain the context of this restoration act ("I made the name of the chief-physician Udjahorresnet live 177 years after his time").

Time and Place of Production and Original Place of Erection

Due to the fragmentary and eroded state of the inscription, basic data regarding both statues—the one under discussion here and the one it replaced (see above, Statue 2)—are missing. This concerns the specific date and motivation of their production, the original and any later places of erection as well as the date and reasons for their destruction and reuse. To some extent, these issues will be discussed below, under Socio-historical Contextualization.

Epigraphic Characteristics I: The Statue Type and Inscription

Only large parts of the lower section of the statue, made of grey granite, are preserved: namely the long "skirt," fragments of the legs underneath, and the corresponding part of the back-pillar.[64] The statue therefore was a single statue in standing-striding position. Everything else regarding the structural type of the statue remains conjecture.

Given the fragmentary state of preservation, the statue design is best illustrated in contrast to the *Naoforo Vaticano* (MV 22690, Statue 1, including Fig. 1, above). On a structural level, the statues are substantially different. Though Udjahorresnet wears



Figure 5: Photographic documentation of the Memphis spolia, a re-used fragment of an Udjahorresnet statue commissioned by the priest of Neith Minirdis in the 4th century BCE as a replacement monument for an earlier statue (source: Anthes and Bakry 1965, pls. 36, 37a–c; courtesy of the Penn Museum).

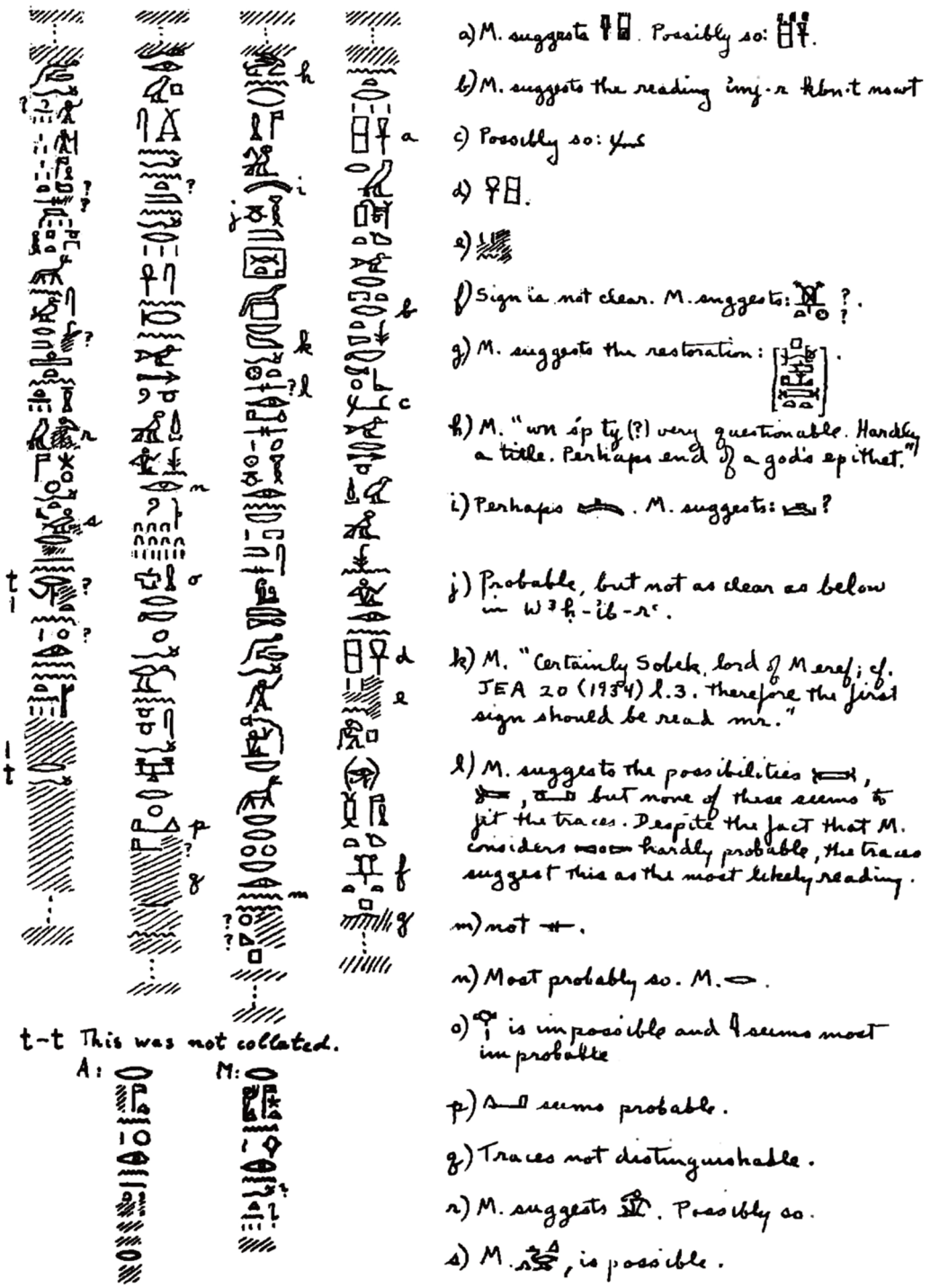


Figure 6: Transcription with comment by Rudolf Anthes and Herman de Meulenaere of the inscription on the back-pillar of the Memphis spolia (source: Anthes and Bakry 1965, 99 fig. 13; courtesy of the Penn Museum).

a garment that includes a more or less conical long "skirt" in both statues, the Vatican "skirt" is much more cylindrical in shape, while the Memphis "skirt" flares out, especially to the front. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether Udjahorresnet was holding a naos in the Memphis statue(tte) commissioned by Minirdis. He certainly does not carry one on a naos stand as in the case of the *Naoforo Vaticano*: the front of the "skirt" is preserved and plain. He might carry a stand-less naos. However, the standard position of the naoi of Late Period statues, whether kneeling or standing, is much lower than can be reconstructed from the remaining fragment.[65] Other statue designs, e.g., with folded hands in front of the belly, match the height of the plain skirt more closely,[66] but good analogies of similar date and material are hard to find. Finally, and most strikingly, the distribution of the inscriptions on both statues differs. While MV 22690 is largely covered by its inscription extending on the naos, the garment, the upper statue base, and the back-pillar, the Memphis statue was definitively not inscribed on the preserved lower part of the garment. It most likely followed the canonical display for Late Period statues with inscriptions on the back-pillar, the naos front, and along the sides and front of the base.[67]

As Anthes and Bakry and Bresciani have already stated, the inscription is only partially readable (see Figs. 5–6); Bresciani translates (in Italian):[68]

> Col. 1: "[…] of the gods (?), the director of the temples (of Neith), the provost to the scribes of the great prison, the provost to the fleet of the king, the archiatra Ugiahorresnet, son of the temple director (of Neith), the *ḥrj P*, the *rnp* priest, the *ḥtp-wḏ*ʾ*t* priest, the prophet of Neith who presides over the nome of Sais, Pefci[uauineit]."
>
> Col. 2: "(This statue was made by) the *wnr* priest, the prophet of Horus (and Thot-)Iah (?) in the temple of Neith, (the prophet of) Sobek lord of Meref, Minirdis, son of the dame Semes, justified. He says: 'O all you *w*ʿ*b* priests and all you dignitaries and all you experts of the rites, that you will see (?) [this statue? …']."
>
> Col. 3: "[Pray for him … because he is a worthy man to act for] him: it is to repay him for having pronounced the formulas for him: in fact, I have made the name of the *archiatra* Udjahorresnet live one hundred and seventy-seven years after his time, since I had rediscovered his statue in a state of ruin […]."
>
> Col. 4: "The last column, the fourth, is difficult to decipher; one understands, however, that it contained a second 'appeal to the living', addressed, this time, to the most important figures and prophets of the temple of Ptah, to whom Minirdis asked to be praised for what he had done […]."

Epigraphic Characteristics II: Historiographical Implications

An epigraphic concern to be discussed here are the historiographical implications drawn from the textual information of the statue, especially Bresciani's speculation that the Memphis spolia replaced a twin statue of the *Naoforo Vaticano* (Statue 1), possibly to be identified with the Cairo spolia (Statue 3). Given the structural differences of the statue designs of the *Naoforo Vaticano* (Statue 1) and the Memphis spolia (Statue 4) under discussion, this assumption requires evaluation. Two key questions to be considered are, first, whether the inscription provides at all an indication on the structural type of the statue it replaced (see especially Statue 2, above), and, second, what a twin statue of MV 22690, "una gemella di quella di Sais ('Naoforo Vaticano')," [69] denotes.

1) The preserved part of the inscription on the statue commissioned by Minirdis does not specify the design of the statue he replaced, nor does Minirdis explicitly state that he made a copy of the former statue (the relevant phrase is broken). In order to commemorate the person Udjahorresnet and his deeds, this is not required: it could equally be achieved by a different type of statue. Accordingly, both scenarios are equally possible: that the Memphis spolia copied the statue design or changed it. If the latter, the replaced statue may have either followed the design of the *Naoforo Vaticano* or not (see Statue 2, above).

2) If the Memphis spolia does not copy the replaced statue, this raises the question of why the design was changed. Was the format not deemed relevant for the replacement, but only the identifiability of the displayed person? Or was the format updated to something perceived as even more specific for the original context or, alternatively, as more suitable

or outstanding within the new context? Or is the issue of copy and twin statue a solely historiographical one that exemplifies how much the textual evidence tends to take precedence over the archaeological evidence: following the argumentation line "identical inscription/order of titles *equals* identical statue type," *therefore* "replacement *equals* copy"?

Socio-historical Contextualization

Concerning the sociocultural context of the statue, two questions are of major interest: why was it important for Minirdis to restore the memory of Udjahorresnet by replacing his statue, and what happened to the original statue—at that time and later on? Already Anthes and Bakry and Bresciani have pointed out that there is no need to assume either a later divination of Udjahorresnet or family connections to explain Minirdis' wish for continued commemoration of this figure; it can be explained simply by their shared office as priests of Neith.[70] If the information on the life and role of Udjahorresnet in the late Saitic and early Persian period quoted on the statue was not privately transmitted, it must have been publicly or semi-publicly available to motivate such an act of veneration and of linking one's own name with it. One likely scenario is that the relevant data was recorded directly on the original statue itself (see the *Naoforo Vaticano*, Statue 1). Alternatively, the original statue only featured a standard inscription including the name, main titles, and offering formula, while the additional biographical information was passed down via the temple archives or further statues, including MV 22690 (see also above, Statue 3).

One feasible context for commissioning and erecting such a monument is the early phase of the so-called second Persian domination (343–332 BCE) in order to document that loyalty to the Persian rulers and to the local Egyptian priesthood could be combined.[71] Nevertheless, the possible chronological context is substantially wider, as Bresciani has shown: it includes also a Thirtieth Dynasty or post-Persian domination context.[72] Such a less obvious socio-historical context would provide important information on the perception and value of Udjahorresnet as historical mediator.

Statute 5: The Fragment from the Michaélidis Collection

A last piece of evidence commemorating the chief physician Udjahorresnet in sculpture in the round (Fig. 7) found its way into the collection Michaélidis probably in the late 1930s or early 1940s.[73] According to Michaélidis, the small statue fragment was found by Mr B. Grdseloff in the Memphis area—possibly as a surface find ("trouva par hasard sur la région memphite"[74]). To the author's knowledge, information on the current whereabouts of the fragments is missing. Hence, all information to be had is essentially provided by Michaélidis himself.[75]

The fragment is c. 9 cm long and allegedly of granite. Given the rather uniform dark color shown in the photo, this probably reads as dark-gray granite. The fragment is rounded and bears an inscription on two surviving surfaces. It reads ⸢*wr-swnw*⸣ *Wḏ3-Ḥr-r*⸢*snt*⸣ ("the chief physician Udjahorresnet") on what seems to be the lateral side and ⸢*sḫ3*⸣*=ṯn 3ḫw nb(w) jr wr-sw*⸢*nw*⸣ [*Wḏ3-Ḥr-rsnt*] ("⸢remember⸣ you all beneficial acts done by the chief physician …") on the front (?).

Michaélidis suggests reconstructing the (base) fragment into a further naophorous statue of Udjahorresnet.[76] This interpretation is taken up by Bresciani, who considers it to be a fragment of the Memphis spolia (see Statue 4), which she assumes to be a twin statue of the *Naoforo Vaticano*.[77] Although a rounded front part of a statue base is indeed by far the most likely place for such a fragment, the reconstruction as naophorous statue and its belonging to any of the other known artifacts cannot

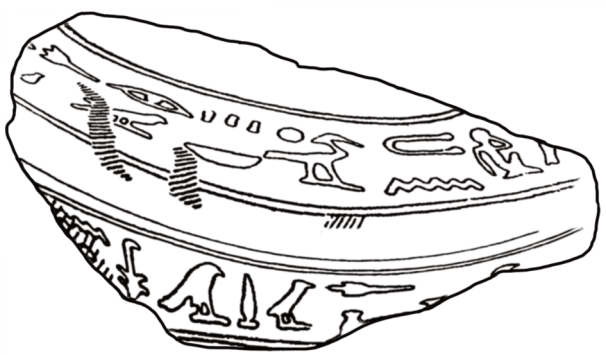


Figure 7: Fragment of an Udjahorresnet statue from the Michaélidis collection allegedly from Giza (6th–4th centuries BCE/20th century CE?; drawing by the author, based on Michaélidis 1943, 101 figs. 34–35).

be ascertained on the basis of the small fragment. At least four contexts can be argued for:

1) The fragment belongs to an otherwise unknown statue of unknown design from Memphis or the wider Memphis area.
2) It is evidence for a further statue of unknown place of original erection, which was moved at some point in its object history to the Memphis area (cf. the transfer of Statue 2 as spolia to a new place in Cairo and of Statue 1 from probably Sais to the Vatican).
3) It belongs to an already known statue fragment. Apart from MV 22690 (Statue 1), which is not broken in any of the places to which this fragment might belong and is of another raw material, all discussed statues are potential possibilities. The lowest part of the Memphis spolia (Statue 4) is lost—as is the whole statue that it replaced (Statue 2). Any detailed information on the state of preservation and the material of the Cairo spolia (Statue 3) is lacking; only the area of/under the garment tip was preserved with certainty in 1828/1829. Therefore, neither statue can be excluded.
4) A further possibility, which is impossible to verify or falsify due to the lack of definitive information, is a production date in the late 19th or early 20th century CE. The provided information on the provenance of the object seems acceptable on first sight. However, various objects of the collection Michaélidis are of doubtful authenticity;[78] he seems to have been known to be easily convinced of what was offered to him. The argument for a (more) modern date is enhanced by the phenomenon that the inscription does not provide much more than a certain, although slightly broken, identification of the owner with the well-known chief-physician Udjahorresnet represented in MV 22690, i.e., the *Naoforo Vaticano*.

In consequence, the fragment—or the statue to which it belonged—may have been crafted for a Memphite or other place of erection. It was produced either a) in the late 6th century BCE, i.e., in or right after the lifetime of Udjahorresnet, b) at some unknown time in the mid to later 1st millennium BCE as replacement for an earlier statue or as an original commemoration monument, or c) in the late 19th or in the 20th century CE up to the 1940s as faked additional evidence for the well-known statue owner of the *Naoforo Vaticano*. Accordingly, the socio-historical context of the Michaélidis fragment may correlate with any of those indicated for Statues 1–4 or with the climate of highly developed trade of antiquities and fakes thereof in the early to mid-20th century CE.

Conclusions

A close look at the statues commemorating Udjahorresnet from an archaeological perspective clearly shows that much less about his person and the socio-historical context of his statues is certain than is usually taken for granted in scientific literature. It also demonstrates that the loss of certainty goes along with an increased density of potential information and contextualization, which requires, as well as invites, further studies from different angles—within Egyptology, from a contemporary cross-area perspective, and even a large-scale diachronic perspective spanning at least the time period of the 6th century BCE to the 18th century CE.

Udjahorresnet was depicted in at least two, and probably three or more, different contemporary statues, which commemorated him and his role in the transition of the Twenty-sixth to the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, i.e., from the Saitic to the Persian period, in different major temples at key sites of the realm. His statues were deliberately designed to showcase his loyalty to both (or actually three) royal houses: the Saitic dynasty featuring Amasis (II) and his son Psamtik III, the Teispid dynasty under Cambyses (II), and the Achaemenid dynasty under Darius I.

Part of the display was certainly oriented towards the gods and his own eternal provision. However, a major target was to furnish his contemporaries and future living people with a political statement. Unfortunately, the scope of people reached, i.e., the ancient visibility of the statue, cannot be assessed with any certainty, as none of the statues was found in its original place of erection, and in each case the circumstantial evidence for reconstructing the intended primary localization is inconclusive.

Though the data point more to a dissemination program in the later 6th century BCE, i.e., under Cambyses or Darius I, a 4th-century BCE date cannot be ruled out. Exactly when and why this was created is once more difficult to assess, but there is positive

evidence that by means of commemorating statuary Udjahorresnet played an important role as historical mediator in the 4th century BCE. Key factors for this mediation were his person, his offices, and his special political role in the process of integrating Egypt into the Persian Empire while maintaining and propagating Egyptian cultural identity.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all participants of the Udjahorresnet workshop (Munich, September 2018) as well as the editors and reviewers of *JAEI* for their constructive comments on the various draft versions of this paper.

Abbreviations

LGG: Christian Leitz (ed.). 2002–2003. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 110–116, 129). Leuven: Peeters.

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Notes

1 See Bareš 1999; see also Smoláriková and Bareš, this volume.

2 See also MuseiVaticaniOnline 2018 for recent, high quality digital photos.

3 Pietrangeli 1951, 137.

4 See even recently, e.g., Sternberg-el Hotabi 2017, 18; Colburn 2016, 223.

5 Ruggero, this volume.

6 See, e.g., the statues and obelisks brought inter alia to Susa, Nineveh, and Rome in ancient times and the Ptolemaic decrees recording (or at least claiming to record) the recollection of such artifacts. As a starting point, see still the seminal article, Winnicki 1994.

7 See Ruggero, this volume. On former attempts to reconstruct from circumstantial evidence the Villa Hadriana as secondary place of erection see especially Petrangeli 1951, 137; Colburn 2016, 234–235; Colburn 2020, 150–151.

8 Translation by the author.

9 Lloyd 1982, 168–169.

10 On Osiris of Hemag, see especially Zecchi 1996, Zecchi 2019; also *LGG* II (2002), 555–556.

11 See especially Zecchi 2019, 87, citing inter alia pre-Persian 1st millennium BCE evidence from the Theban region: a block statuette from the Karnak cachette featuring an Osiris Hemag on the front (Twenty-second–Twenty-fifth Dynasty), and images of the god in a Theban tomb (TT 33) dating from the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty. See generally Zecchi 1996 and Otto 1954, 169 n. 2; apart from the Twenty-sixth/Twenty-seventh Dynasty temple of Hibis, the *LGG* (see Note 10, above) cites mainly unprovenanced evidence.

12 See the translations in Posener 1936, 1–26; Tulli 1941; Botti and Romanelli 1951; Lichtheim 1980,

36–41; Rößler-Köhler 1985. On the interrelation between Udjahorresnet and Cambyses and on Cambyses' duties as Egyptian pharaoh see also Ladynin, this volume; Stevens, this volume; Wasmuth forthcoming a. On the social, especially Saitic, environment of Udjahorresnet see Marković, this volume. On the Greek reception of Cambyses deed in Saïs in comparison to those in Memphis, see Bichler, this volume.

13 See Wasmuth forthcoming a.

14 However, this cannot be followed up properly due to the fact that the original place of erection is unknown for the majority of Egyptian statue(tte)s, including all of the statues of Udjahorresnet.

15 See also Ruggero, this volume.

16 On the less obvious loss of the arm, which was kept from the original restoration while the two modern head replacements were removed, see Posener 1936, 1; on the restoration of the head, see Tulli 1941, 211–230, especially 212 fig. 1 and 227–229 figs. 15–17; see also Ruggero, this volume.

17 See Bothmer et al. 1960, passim.

18 A material analysis is still missing; commissioned by the Musei Vaticani (John Baines, personal communication, December 2017).

19 Serpico and White 2004, 400.

20 Lucas 1989 [1962], 61–62, 407; Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2004, 23–24.

21 On these Persika in Egyptian elite representation, see Wasmuth 2017b, especially 4–9, including figs. 1a–c; for the female figure not included there, see Vittmann 2003, 152 fig. 70; on the Darius statue, see Wasmuth 2017a, 101–124, on the bracelets, especially 104 fig. 18, 108, 123; also 167, 185.

22 See, passim, Bothmer et al. 1960, Perdu 2012.

23 See already Wasmuth 2017b, 5–7. For a different perspective, see Colburn, this volume; he bases his argument strongly on the similarity of Udjahorresnet's dress and the so-called Persian court dress. While much of the argument is born out by the display of Persika (jewelry), the resemblance of the dress requires argument. In my view, the overall impression and all details beyond the fact of a display of gatherings are different: three-quarter versus long, narrow versus wide, sewn undergarment versus "false" outer garment sleeves; knotted above the breast versus girdled in the hip to waist area; smooth, almost cylindrical silhouette versus flowing silhouette with garment falling in curving folds.

24 See, e.g., the Ptahhotep statue in Brooklyn, Bothmer et al. 1960, pl. 61 fig. 152; for a kneeling statue with elaborate naos see, e.g., PennMuseumOnline 2017, 42-9-1.

25 See passim, e.g., Bothmer et al. 1960, Brandl 2008, Perdu 2012.

26 See this volume, passim; see already especially Posener 1936, 1–26; Tulli 1941; Botti and Romanelli 1951; Lloyd 1982; Rößler-Köhler 1985; Baines 1996.

27 On the originality of the inscription see especially Jansen-Winkeln 2008; also Schütze, this volume.

28 On the development of the statue type see Schulz 1992; on examples from the pre-Persian 1st millennium BCE, see, e.g., Brandl 2008, 68–209, 558–646; Perdu 2012, especially 75–167.

29 See especially Otto 1954; Heise 2007; Jansen-Winkeln 2014; see also Schütze, this volume.

30 On the contrary tendency to look for a narrative sequence (especially Lloyd 1982; Rößler-Köhler 1985), see already Baines 1996.

31 See already/also Wasmuth forthcoming a.

32 On interpreting the phrase as reflecting the Persian conquest, see especially Lloyd 1982, 176–177, 180. On the issue of interpreting evidence from the *Naoforo Vaticano* in the light of local resistance, see also McCoskey, this volume.

33 I would like to thank Damien Agut-Labordère for raising this issue during the workshop underlying parts of the volume at hand.

34 On the latter see especially Morenz 2010.

35 Posener 1936, Tulli 1941, Lloyd 1982, Bresciani 2002 [1985], Baines 1996; see also Wasmuth 2017b.

36 See on this issue also/already Wasmuth forthcoming b.

37 Wasmuth forthcoming a.

38 See especially Wasmuth 2017a, 101–124, 156–186; Wasmuth 2019; Perrot 2013.

39 Wasmuth forthcoming a.

40 Bresciani 2002 [1985], 135–136.

41 Anthes and Bakry 1965, 100.

42 Bresciani 2002 [1985], 137.

43 Bresciani 2002 [1985], 136.

44 Anthes and Bakry 1965, 98–100; Bresciani 2002 [1985], 135–137.

45 Bresciani 2002 [1985], 136.

46 Not in 1882 as noted in Bresciani 2002 [1985], 136, and accordingly in Wasmuth 2017b, 4 n. 25.

47 Posener 1936, 26–29, pl. I; Rosellini 1833, 145–147, 153, 169, 172–173, pls X–XI.

48 Facsimile of the notebook page of Rosellini published in Posener 1936, pl. I (see Fig. 2).

49 Posener 1936, 27.

50 Rosellini 1833.

51 Posener 1936, 28–29.

52 See Wasmuth 2017a, 114–115; Wasmuth 2015, 220–222.

53 Posener 1936, 28, especially note b.

54 Rosellini 1833, 153; Posener 1936, 26–27, and Bresciani 2002 [1985], 136–137.

55 See already Bresciani 2002 [1985], 136.

56 As a starting point for further examination of the question, see Klotz 2014.

57 On this term and concept from the subject area of International Relations see Aissaoui, this volume.

58 On the question of interaction between various local supports of the Persian kings, in this case in Babylonia, see also Joannès, this volume.

59 Concerning the high Egyptian officials in Persian employ see, e.g., Vittmann 2011, 388–393; Vittmann 2009. For the Persika displayed in Egyptian statuary, see especially Wasmuth 2017b.

60 See above, Statue 1 and especially Wasmuth forthcoming a.

61 See Anthes and Bakry 1965, 98–100, pls. 36–37c. I would like to thank Susanne Bickel for making high-quality scans of the images available to me.

62 Anthes and Bakry 1965, 98.

63 Bresciani 2002 [1985], 137.

64 See Fig. 5 and Anthes and Bakry 1965, 98–100, pls. 36–37c.

65 See Lokschuppen 2017, ABDUA 21462, and Bothmer et al. 1960, pl. 107 figs. 286–288, for a design, which comes close to a potential naophorous statue design for the Memphis statue. However, the naos position is too low.

66 See e.g. Bothmer et al. 1960, pl. 65 fig. 164; Priese 1991, 174 no. 104 (= Tulli 1941, 223 fig. 11).

67 See passim, e.g., Bothmer et al. 1960, Brandl 2008, Perdu 2012.

68 Anthes and Bakry 1965, 98–100; Bresciani 2002 [1985]: 135–136, especially notes 138–140.

69 Bresciani 2002 [1985], 136.

70 Anthes and Bakry 1965, 100; Bresciani 2002 [1985], 136.

71 As already indicated by the primary editors; see Anthes and Bakry 1965, 100; also Wasmuth 2017b, 5.

72 Bresciani 2002 [1985], 136–137.

73 According to Michaélidis 1943, 101: “récemment”; see already Wasmuth 2017b: 4–5 note 25.

74 Michaélidis 1943, 101.

75 Michaélidis 1943, 101–102, incl. figs 34–35, which show a (low-quality) photo and a drawing of the inscription.

76 Michaélidis 1943, 101–102.

77 Bresciani 2002 [1985], 137.

78 E.g., Michaélidis 1943, pls III–IV; see also Bresciani 1958, 270 fig. 4; Wasmuth 2017a, 214, 243.