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INTRODUCTION: UDJAHORRESNET AND HIS WORLD: A KEY FIGURE OF CROSS-REGIONAL RELATIONS RECONSIDERED

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in collaboration with Alex Aissaoui, Ladislav Bareš, Reinhold Bichler, Henry Colburn, Francis Joannès, Ivan Ladynin, Francesco Lopez, Nenad Marković, Allison McCoskey, Cristina Ruggero, Alexander Schütze, Květa Smoláriková, and Marissa Stevens

ABSTRACT

The contribution at hand provides a synthetic response to the special issue on “Udjahorresnet and his World,” published as *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 26. After introducing the aims and motivation behind the volume, I present a concise summary of the key questions, investigation lines and major results of the volume’s contributions. These fall into four major thematic blocks. Three papers are primarily concerned with a re-evaluation of the material culture commemorating Udjahorresnet, three take up the question of his professional and social environment, four focus on Udjahorresnet as a cross-regional agent, while the last three draw on Udjahorresnet and the textual evidence on his naophorous statue in the Musei Vaticani as a historiographical mediator. The final section showcases synthetically the key advances in the study of Udjahorresnet and his world jointly achieved by the author collective.

INTRODUCTION

Sixth-century BCE Egypt spawned a key figure of ancient cross-regional diplomacy. The Egyptian politician and chief physician Udjahorresnet held high inner-political functions in the former Egyptian kingship realm and became an important figure in transforming Egypt into a regional center within the vast and exceedingly culturally diverse empire of the Achaemenians.

In contrast to many other regions and contexts within the process of expanding and consolidating the empire, for Egypt we are not reduced to later sources from an outside perspective, especially Greek historiography from the 5th century BCE onwards. With the complex of monuments representing Udjahorresnet, an unusually dense corpus of contemporary sources from the inner political circle is available. The most intriguing as well as most

explicit one is the so-called *Naoforo Vaticano*, a naophorous commemorative statue of him now in the Musei Vaticani. It shows Udjahorresnet carrying a shrine, wearing an Egyptian garment, and Persian ornaments around the arms. The long inscription covering most of the monument presents an account of Udjahorresnet’s alleged career and influence under the former Saitic pharaohs and the two Persian Great Kings, which started the Twenty-seventh Dynasty of Egypt, Cambyses (II) and Darius I. Hence, he is explicitly showcased as a member of the highest Egyptian elite loyal to the Egyptian Saitic and both relevant Persian royal houses, the Teispid and the Achaemenid dynasty. His major functions are borne out by the inscriptions on the walls of his tomb and on his sarcophagus, as well as by a statue dating from the 4th century BCE, which testifies his continued local reverence.

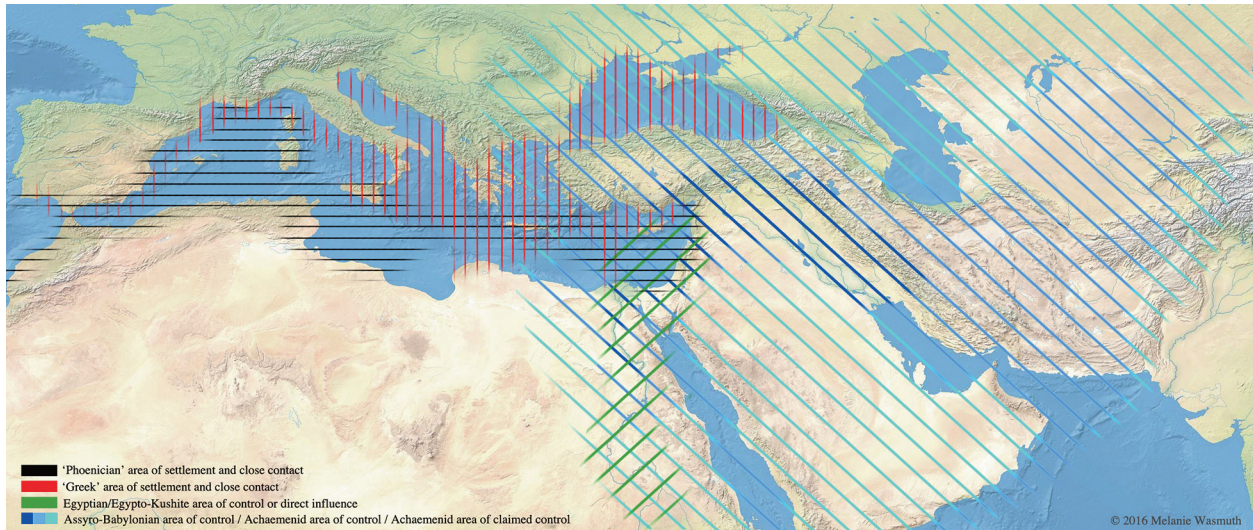


FIGURE 1: Udjahorresnet's world: the area of close connectivity in the late 6th century BCE (Wasmuth 2016, vii fig. 3).

STATE OF RESEARCH

The statue and its inscription are well known throughout the relevant areas of specialization dealing with the Achaemenid Empire and are included in the major source compilations.¹ Nonetheless, detailed discussions are mainly to be found within Egyptology, and here with focus on the inscription.² The reception of other aspects has been limited, as a synopsis of the most popular translations and their accompanying comments reveals.³ Though the person of Udjahorresnet and his statue in the Vatican have recently come more into focus,⁴ a comprehensive discussion on his personal life, the actual social and political relevance of his professional functions, and the continuous social impact of his statues over time is still missing. This has become possible by now. The social and institutional history at the transition between the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Dynasties, i.e., the Egyptian dynasty originating in Sais in the western Nile delta and Egypto-Achaemenid rule, when Egypt became part of the Achaemenid Empire, has become a focal point of interest over the last years.⁵ The same applies to the question of the role of Egypt in the Achaemenid Empire, which has been the topic of several PhD theses over the last two decades.⁶ As a consequence, the formerly strongly classics-dominated area of Achaemenid studies, which has been established in the last decades as a cross-specialized research focus,

finally also includes Egypt and Egyptology. In addition, Udjahorresnet has attracted interest in the field of the history of medicine.⁷

Given the cultural and lingual diversity of Egyptian society in the 6th to 4th centuries BCE, i.e., the recorded times of accessibility of Udjahorresnet's monuments, a further aspect to be taken up is the question of the potential contemporary perception of the statue and its iconographically and textually displayed messages. Though not specifically studied for the case of Udjahorresnet, this issue of narrative and historical mediation recently entered the cross-specialized study of the Eastern Mediterranean and West Asian Area of Connectivity in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE (FIG. 1).⁸ Most prominently, this was considered in a workshop on Cambyses from a cross-specialized perspective held in Heidelberg in June 2017,⁹ which triggered the design of the publication venture at hand with its focus on the close reading and contextualization of a key source.

AIMS AND MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The current state of research highlights the challenges and chances of contextualizing the representational monuments created for Udjahorresnet. On the one hand, the inscriptions on his *Naoforo Vaticano* have to be reconsidered concerning its actual wording and their implications. This poses a number of difficulties due to the object genre and its inherent

challenges of traditional formulaic expressions versus reflection of actual events, the strategic motivation for creating such a monument, and the degree of description, individual perception, and deliberate history construction for a contemporary and a later audience. In addition, it has to be questioned whether an Egyptological interpretation rooted in the still prevalent perception of the 1st millennium BCE as a period of decline, does justice to the changed circumstances of 6th-century BCE society (see teaching curricula). Did meanings devised and transmitted from times of a rather circumscribed Nile valley and delta context apply in the much more culturally diverse and cross-regionally entangled context of the Achaemenid Empire?

On the other hand, the questions of the person Udjahorresnet, his social background, his professional functions, and his political agency leap to the fore. He was embedded in a number of social contexts: the Saite and the Achaemenid court in Egypt, the Achaemenid court in Elam, his family and friends, his personal, professional, and political adversaries, etc. As a consequence, a more diversified contextualization of this key source is of tremendous impact for a wide scope of area specializations and research questions, but also a huge challenge. It requires studying the preserved output of all the people potentially involved in the political and everyday life of Udjahorresnet and of those who potentially had access to his statues throughout their object histories. To meet this challenge, the volume at hand draws on an international workshop on Udjahorresnet, which took place in Munich, Germany, in September 2018 (co-organized by Melanie Wasmuth, Alexander Schütze, and Andreas Schwab) and an open call for papers.

For reasons of feasibility, the viewpoints of practical diplomacy, historical narration, and material agency are currently left out. Instead, the authors were requested to focus on five topic areas. 1) *The Naoforo Vaticano* (MV 22690): the statue as an archaeological artifact, a close reading of the inscription from a cross-regional perspective, the ancient socio-cultural context of the monument and its inscription. 2) Udjahorresnet's personal life: his family connections and his further social context. 3) Udjahorresnet's professional functions: under Amasis, Psamtik III, Cambyses, Darius I; in the Egyptian and the Persian contexts; the political and social implications of his professions and titles. 4) Udjahorresnet as a diplomatic figure in relation to his fellow Egyptians, his fellow

Persians, and within the cross-regional political context. 5) Udjahorresnet as a historical mediator: as historiographer, as narrator, and regarding the later reception of Udjahorresnet, his monuments and messages.

A substantial amount of the issues sketched above are taken up in the volume at hand. The papers re-contextualize Udjahorresnet's material sources, his professional and social environment, his role as a cross-regional agent, and his potential for acting as a historical and historiographical mediator. To this end, archaeological, philological, and social historical approaches within Egyptology are combined with expertise in classics, especially Greek historiography, in history of medicine, in ancient Near Eastern philology (Babylonia), in ancient cross-area studies with focus on cross-regional identity display, and in medieval and modern art history.

UDJAHORRESNET'S MATERIAL SOURCES RECONSIDERED

As already highlighted above, several primary sources shed light on Udjahorresnet, namely his tomb and a number of statues dating from the later 6th and 4th centuries BCE. Three papers in *JA EI* 26 focus on the re-evaluation of the available material evidence for Udjahorresnet. Květa Smoláriková and Ladislav Bareš took the opportunity to reintroduce Udjahorresnet's tomb at Abusir, i.e., in one of the segments of the sprawled-out cemetery of Egypt's capital Memphis.¹⁰ The key questions addressed in the paper include where the burial structure of Udjahorresnet is to be positioned within the development of this type of tomb in Egypt and whether this dignitary had indeed been buried there or whether the structure might only have served as a kind of a cenotaph. Melanie Wasmuth focuses on the scope of currently known statues of Udjahorresnet and asks how their designs, archaeological contexts, and object histories contribute to the understanding of Udjahorresnet's social role in his time and as a historical mediator.¹¹ Cristina Ruggero presents the available archival material that documents the acquisition history of the *Naoforo Vaticano* in order to disprove the prevalent assumption that this statue of Udjahorresnet was found at Hadrian's Villa near Rome.¹²

THE SHAFT TOMB OF UDJAHORRESNET AT ABUSIR

Based on their personal knowledge of the excavations in and around the burial structure of Udjahorresnet in Abusir, Květa Smoláriková and Ladislav Bareš

reconsider the archaeological and epigraphical finds unearthed there between 1980 and 1993. In particular, they discuss the position of the burial structure of Udjahorresnet inside the Late Period necropolis, the reasons for establishing a cemetery of large shaft tombs there, the arrangement of the tomb's sub- and superstructure, and the embalmers' cachette connected with the tomb. One major result of the study is that the burial structure of Udjahorresnet seems to constitute the oldest part of the cemetery of Late Period shaft tombs at Abusir. This is deduced from the evidence of Demotic graffiti preserved on the masonry, which allows the structure to be dated to around 530 BCE. So far, this is the oldest and most precise date for this kind of tomb. In addition to the date, the authors discuss the choice of location, providing both religious and technical motivations. Furthermore, Smoláriková and Bareš take up the suggested interpretation of the structure as a kind of a cenotaph. This possibility had come up due to the unfinished state of the burial chamber, which had been badly looted already in antiquity. Drawing on various finds and features unearthed in the structure and, above all, on the existence of an embalmers' cache containing remnants from the mummification process of Udjahorresnet, they conclude that this dignitary has indeed been buried here.

THE STATUES OF UDJAHORRESNET AS ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTIFACTS

As is characteristic for her research, Melanie Wasmuth approaches the statues of Udjahorresnet from a crossover perspective of archaeology, epigraphy, and social history. She analyzes the fragmentary evidence on the currently known statues of Udjahorresnet, namely the *Naoforo Vaticano*, a spolia from Cairo, another from Memphis, the lost statue referred to in the Memphis fragment, and a tiny fragment from the Michaélidis collection. In order to assess their potential for elucidating social realities behind the preserved artifacts, she discusses the date of production, the original place of erection, major aspects of the later object history, the epigraphic characteristics, and the potential socio-historical contextualization for each of these statues. The survey is completed by an outlook on the underlying dissemination program of the statue complex. The most important results of the study are that Udjahorresnet was depicted in at least two, probably three or more, different contemporary statues commemorating him and his role in the transition from

the Saitic to the Persian period in different major temples at key sites of the realm. The 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. Though a part of the display was oriented towards the gods and his own eternal provision, the statues mainly address the living—his contemporaries and future visitors—with a political statement. As a result of this, Udjahorresnet was still known and revered in the 4th century BCE. This reverence was based on 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.

UDJAHORRESNET'S *NAOFORO VATICANO*: ACQUISITION AND EXHIBITION

Based on her specific expertise on 18th- and 19th-century CE interest in the Villa Hadriana, Cristina Ruggero reevaluates the *Naoforo Vaticano* from an art-historical perspective. Her contribution focuses on the retrieval and analysis of archival material, which proves that the statue entered Italy only in the later 18th century CE and not in antiquity, as commonly assumed. For this, she draws on the 18th-century archival records (such as payment receipts), a travel report, newspaper notices, and diary chronicles, as well as visual sources and contemporary treatises on art history. She can show that the arrival of Udjahorresnet's *Naoforo Vaticano* in Rome is linked to a series of events that involved international figures including the Belgian Count Heinrich Leonard Pasch von Krienen, the archducal doctor Carlo De Assulle, the Irish art dealer Joseph Denham, the papal Commissioner for Antiquities Giovanni Battista Visconti, and the restorer Nicola Valentini. Their involvement in successive sales and purchases of the Egyptian statue is consistent with other documentary evidence, indicating that the statue was bought in Smyrna (Izmir) in 1772.

UDJAHORRESNET'S PROFESSIONAL AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

A second group of papers is concerned with Udjahorresnet's professional and social environment. Francesco Lopez discusses whether Darius' request to Udjahorresnet to reform the "House of Life" might be a consequence of the Egyptian physicians'

failure to heal the Achaemenid ruler.¹³ Alexander Schütze contextualizes the inscription on the *Naoforo Vaticano* within the representations of a typical official of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty,¹⁴ and Nenad Marković attempts to reconstruct Udjahorresnet's familial and social background.¹⁵

UDJAHORRESNET, DEMOCEDES AND DARIUS I: THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LIFE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE EGYPTIAN PHYSICIANS' FAILURE TO HEAL THE ACHAEMENID RULER

Francesco Lopez combines his expertise in classics and history of science to study cultural interactions related to ancient medicine. For the contribution at hand, he discusses the decline of Egyptian medicine in the early years of Darius' rule, the connections between the story of Democedes (Hdt. III, 129–130) and the reform of the House of Life carried out by Udjahorresnet according to the *Naoforo Vaticano* (Reg. L–LII), the king's interest in medicine, as well as the chief physicians and their training between 521 and 519 BCE. Based on this comparative study, he argues that the reform of the House of Life, in Sais or throughout Egypt, was ordered by Darius, because the Egyptian physicians failed to heal him between 521 and 519 BCE. He concludes that the need to have competent doctors at court prompted Darius to encourage medical studies in Egypt, a country from which, as shown by the biography of Udjahorresnet, the physicians of the Persian court came.

ON THE ORIGINALITY OF UDJAHORRESNET'S BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION

Based on his research focus in the administrative, legal and economic history of Late Period Egypt (7th–4th centuries BCE), Alexander Schütze situates the textual (and non-textual) evidence of the *Naoforo Vaticano* in the context of Egyptian officials of the Twenty-sixth dynasty. He showcases that Udjahorresnet was not only a witness of the early Persian rule over Egypt but also a typical representative of the administrative elite of the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Major aspects of his analysis are text genre, topics and phraseology on the *Naoforo Vaticano* and the inscribed monuments of several better-known officials of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, such as Horiraa/Neferibrener, Paieftjauuineith, and Nakhthorheb. The contribution highlights the high degree of similarities of the biographical inscriptions and how the exceptional biographical parts of Udjahorresnet's

inscription are embedded in traditional text genres (e.g., offering formula, appeal to the living), referring to the functional context of inscribed temple statues in Late Period Egypt. This functional context determines the biographical parts of the inscription: the benefactions of Udjahorresnet to the temple of Neith at Sais, rather than an exhaustive report on the Persian conquest of Egypt.

UDJAHORRESNET'S FAMILY AND HIS SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Nenad Marković also primarily studies the Twenty-sixth Dynasty context of Udjahorresnet, though with a prosopographical and socio-historical, rather than linguistic, focus. He contextualizes Udjahorresnet in the priesthood context of Lower Egypt during the 1st millennium BCE, especially the families active in Memphis, Sais, and Buto. He draws on the inscriptions preserved on stelae, statues, sarcophagi, other tomb equipment (shabti figurines, canopic jars, tomb decoration, offering tables, scarabs), and seal impressions to reconstruct their genealogies, prosopography, and family networks, the career and marriage patterns of its members, the heredity of religious positions and related offices, and the scope of nepotism resulting in resilience, adaptability, and revival of the priestly elites. The most important outcome of his contribution is that Udjahorresnet probably was a member of a large and well-connected priestly family circle active for generations throughout the Nile Delta, more specifically in the temples of Memphis (Mit Rahineh), Sais (Sa el-Hagar), Buto (Tell el-Fara'in), Imau (Kom el-Hisn), Kom el-Firin, and perhaps Tanis (San al-Hagar). The author comes to the conclusion that Udjahorresnet's father is probably attested as a dedicant of the kneeling statuette Khartum 2782. H might have had three wives and several important children beside Udjahorresnet. Furthermore, members of his extended family left numerous monuments, including a seated group statue in the Louvre (N.663).

UDJAHORRESNET AT A CROSS-REGIONAL AGENT

Four papers focus on Udjahorresnet's role as a cross-regional agent. Marissa Stevens asks how the Achaemenid kings utilized Udjahorresnet, his cultic knowledge, and the existing religious structures in Sais to establish their control of and authority over Egypt.¹⁶ Allison McCoskey takes a complementing perspective and investigates the major monuments of Udjahorresnet and Petosiris from the perspective

of resistance to foreign power.¹⁷ In contrast, Henry Colburn contextualizes Udjahorresnet in his Persian context and deliberates on how he understood his own identity in reference to the Achaemenid court.¹⁸ Finally, Alex Aissaoui considers the story of Udjahorresnet from an international relations (IR) perspective and assesses how constitutive IR concepts such as balance of power, bandwagoning, or soft power can contribute to a novel reading of the ancient evidence.¹⁹

NEITH AS LEGITIMATOR: PERSIAN RELIGIOUS STRATEGY AND UDJAHORRESNET

In keeping with her research interest in how objects can solidify, maintain, and perpetuate social identity in times of crisis, Marissa Stevens focuses on the context of the Persian conquest. In her contribution, she discusses how the role of Neith in Egyptian cosmogony was translated into active religious cult practices in the Late Period, which could be capitalized by the Achaemenid kings. In addition, she draws on the traditional Egyptian views on divine kingship, the king's religio-solar connections, and the physicality of the political capital of Sais. Stevens argues that the inscriptions on Udjahorresnet's *Naoforo Vaticano* reveal a deliberate policy on the part of Cambyses, and later Darius I, to reestablish and maintain a critical Egyptian cult, thus embedding Persian dominion within the religious tradition of Egypt and making a strong political statement. As Udjahorresnet stressed that Cambyses' authority over Egypt was completed after the creation of his titulary and education regarding the religious significance of Neith, both Cambyses and Darius must have understood the importance of the cult of Neith as a means of exerting control over a major Delta city and Saite stronghold.

FIGHT THE POWER: UDJAHORRESNET AND PETOSIRIS AS AGENTS OF RESISTANCE

Allison McCoskey looks at Udjahorresnet from a perspective of Egyptian art and archaeology and pragmatic archaeological theory in order to assess his contemporary socio-political environment. She uses postcolonial theory, particularly conceptions of resistance, to reexamine Egyptian attitudes toward foreign rulers. Based on a discussion of postcolonial literature emphasizing the issue of intent in questions of resistance, she argues that thereby many acts of resistance are overlooked due to the difficulty of

determining intent in the archaeological record. Instead, Stevens proposes to ask the question of how something could be understood as resistance. With this framework in mind, she examines Udjahorresnet's *Naoforo Vaticano*, including its inscription, for emphasis on local ties and the delegitimizing of foreign powers. This, she compares to the 4th-century BCE case of Petosiris by contrasting the decorative scheme of the pronaos and the chapel, and by showcasing the ways in which Petosiris brands himself as a pseudo-king. She concludes that there is no definitive evidence that Udjahorresnet and Petosiris intended to resist, as intent is nearly impossible to prove, but that aspects of their monuments could be understood as a form of resistance.

UDJAHORRESNET THE PERSIAN: BEING AN ESSAY ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF IDENTITY

Henry Colburn looks at the *Naoforo Vaticano* from the perspective of the art and archaeology of ancient Iran and its interactions with neighboring regions. In addition, his contribution draws on the Achaemenid reliefs from Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam, the statue of Darius from Susa, the stela of Djedherbes, and bracelets from Gordion, Lydia, Vani, Susa, Hacinebi, the Elamite tomb at Jubaji, and Surkh Dum in Luristan. After a review of the study of identity in archaeology, he considers what it may have meant to be a "Persian" at Persepolis, based on references to Persians in the Fortification Archive and depictions of them in the reliefs at Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam, with special focus on clothing. His main focus is on the garment and bracelets depicted on Udjahorresnet's naophorous statue, with a view towards identifying their Iranian antecedents and their possible significance at Persepolis. He argues that Udjahorresnet's garment bears a resemblance to the Achaemenid court robe, seemingly originally an Elamite garment. Also, the lion-headed bracelet is a well-known feature of Achaemenid material culture, found across the empire, especially in funerary contexts. The presence of these two markers of Persian identity on Udjahorresnet's statue suggest that, like the Persians themselves, Udjahorresnet drew on various Iranian material culture traditions to create a new identity that was intelligible at the Achaemenid court and across the empire. This identity did not supplant his Egyptian one; rather, he had multiple identities that played different roles in different contexts.

DIPLOMACY IN ANCIENT TIMES: THE FIGURE OF
UDJAHORRESNET: AN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
PERSPECTIVE

Alex Aissaoui juxtaposes the inscription of the *Naoforo Vaticano* with constitutive concepts from his main field of study, namely international relations (IR), to allow the deduction of patterns of behavior in lieu of a focus on individual events. To make his point, he puts key IR concepts to the test in his analysis of the Achaemenid takeover of Egypt. He addresses the issue on three levels: the individual, the state, and systemic levels of analysis, which, in turn, enable the application of the concepts of balance of power, bandwagoning, and soft power to the larger story of power transition into Achaemenid hands. These tools of statecraft and diplomacy are still widely assumed to have become relevant only in the post-Roman context rather than in the ancient civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean preceding the Greco-Roman experience. By bridging the gap between the disciplines of international relations and Egyptology, Aissaoui exemplifies the application potential of these tools and concepts, concluding that, during the time of Udjahorresnet, attempts at power balancing and diplomacy based on soft power were clearly at play in ancient Egypt.

UDJAHORRESNET AS A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL
MEDIATOR

A further common focus of several papers concerns Udjahorresnet as a historiographical mediator. Francis Joannès presents contemporary comparative evidence from Babylonia and discusses, how Persian power was established there, how it was inserted into local power structures, and which attitude the Babylonian elites adopted towards Cambyses.²⁰ Ivan Ladynin takes up the evidence on Egyptian royal protocol as presented on the *Naoforo Vaticano* and discusses how its compilation and the sympathies of its compiler can be used to define trends in legitimating the authority of Egypt's foreign rulers.²¹ Finally, Reinhold Bichler argues to which extent the Greek sources, especially Herodotus' *Histories*, are useful to shed light "from outside" on the political situation in Egypt during the time span of Udjahorresnet's career.²²

LES SOUTIENS DE CAMBYSE EN BABYLONIE DE 539 À 522
AV. È. C./THE SUPPORTS OF CAMBYSES IN BABYLONIA,
FROM 539 TO 522 BCE

The key aim of Francis Joannès' contribution is to

present a case of comparison to the person and milieu of Udjahorresnet from a different part of the empire. Based on his research focus on the social and economic history of Babylonia in the 1st millennium BCE, Francis Joannès examines the question of the royalty of Cambyses as "King of Babylon" under the authority of his father, Cyrus, "King of the Countries." His basic data derive from the private archives from Babylon (especially the so-called Egibi archive) and the administrative archives issued by the North Babylonian temple of Šamaš in Sippar and the South Babylonian temple of Ištar in Uruk. He compares this evidence to the historiographical literature, namely the Cyrus cylinder and the Nabonidus chronicle. He concludes that the attempt to create a royalty (or vice-royalty) for Cambyses was not properly understood by the scribes and administrators of the great institutions of Babylonia, especially in the south of the country, and that no particular attachment to his person is evident. To counter this, an imperial administration was created, which worked quite well under the responsibility of Governor Gubāru. However, Cambyses' uninterrupted presence in Egypt from 526 BCE onwards, and Gubāru's absence after 525, led to a reorientation of Babylon's relations towards the power center set up in Ḫumadēšu under Bardiya's leadership, administering the eastern part of the empire on his brother's behalf. This was changed in prospect of a fatal outcome to the disease that apparently struck Cambyses in 522, and led to a redistribution of roles and acceptance by the local Babylonian authorities of a new sovereign, probably self-proclaimed, in the person of Bardiya, even before the official announcement of Cambyses' death had been made in Babylon.

UDJAHORRESNET AND THE ROYAL NAME OF CAMBYSES:
THE "DERIVATIVE SACRALITY" OF ACHAEMENIDS IN
EGYPT

Ivan Ladynin specializes in the development of royal cult and the perception of the king in Egyptian society during epochs of foreign domination. For his contribution, he draws on the autobiography of Udjahorresnet on his *Naoforo Vaticano*, the protocol of Cambyses II on his artifacts from the Serapeum, the protocol of Darius I from the western exterior wall of the temple of Amun at Hibis, the stela Berlin ÄS 7493 from the Fayum, and the statement on Darius' "divinity" in Egypt by Diodorus Siculus (I.95.4–5). He presents a comparison of Cambyses' and Darius' I solar prenomina *Mswty-R^c* and *Stwt-R^c*

(which can be understood as “the image of Re” and “the likeness of Re”) and the depiction of Darius I in the image of the falcon Horus (Berlin ÄS 7493). He concludes that they indicate a notion of sacrality of these rulers that “derives” from the embodiment of divinity within them. This leads Ladynin to suspect that as a legitimation strategy, this “derivation” of their qualities as sacral ritual rulers from the gods incorporated in them constitutes an excuse for the rule of the Persian Great Kings as kings of Egypt. He argues that this theory must have been forwarded in Udjahorresnet’s time by his party loyal to the Persian rule. The “divinity” of Darius in Egypt, which exceeds, according to Diodorus, the regular piety of Egyptians towards their kings, is considered to be a late and somewhat deformed reflection of the same Egyptian concept.

HERODOTUS’ PERSPECTIVE ON THE SITUATION OF EGYPT IN THE PERIOD FROM THE LAST SAITE KINGS TO XERXES’ FIRST YEARS

Reinhold Bichler brings his expertise in Greek historiography and ethnography, especially Herodotus, Ctesias and Alexander-historiography, as well as reception history and the history of historiography to the study of Udjahorresnet and his sociopolitical context. In addition to the *Naoforo Vaticano*, his key sources are two literary texts: Aeschylus’ tragedy *The Persians* as the oldest Greek text which gives an impression of the importance of Egypt and its military capacities, albeit under Persian rule, and especially Herodotus’ *Histories* as the first and most important Greek source, which deals with Egyptian history in the relevant period concerning Udjahorresnet’s life. His contribution constitutes a critical close reading of those parts in Herodotus’ *Histories* that deal with events in the history of the Saite period and the first decades under Persian rule, aiming at establishing plausible links to the main stations of Udjahorresnet’s career. Major aspects of his analysis are Herodotus’ perspective on the Egyptian sea forces and the foreign mercenaries in Egypt, the different characterization of Cambyses’ deeds in Sais compared with those in Memphis, and the role Egyptian physicians play in the *Histories*. Eventually, Udjahorresnet’s testimony about his presence on Darius’ side leads to a closer look at the notorious problems connected with the chronology of Darius’ first regnal years. Accordingly, Herodotus’ order of events, including his reports on the Egyptian governor Aryandes, is examined step by step and compared with non-

Greek source material. By this approach, Bichler aims to heighten the awareness of these notorious problems when considering Herodotus’ statement about the presence of Egyptian physicians at Darius’ court as well as Udjahorresnet’s testimony about his presence at his master’s side in Elam.

CONCLUSIONS

Looking at the commemorative statues from an archaeological perspective clearly shows that much less is certain about Udjahorresnet’s person and the socio-historical context of his statues 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. Nonetheless, some issues can be argued with considerable certainty.

The construction of the tomb of Udjahorresnet was started in the last years of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and most probably was interrupted and not continued after the Persian conquest. In spite of that, Udjahorresnet, one of the crucial personalities in Egypt during the period of transition between the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Dynasties and one of the closest entourage of the ruler of Egypt, has been buried there according to the traditions observed by the elites of Egyptian society. In all likelihood, his example was followed by his contemporaries, who were buried in other shaft tombs situated at Abusir. This structural continuity from the late Saite to the early Persian period in terms of Egypt’s administrative elite and its forms and means of representation is also testified by the inscription design of the *Naoforo Vaticano*, despite the extraordinary historical narrative embedded into it. At present, it is evident that at least some of these families, especially the one to which Udjahorresnet might have belonged, showed a remarkable resilience and adaptability to political changes caused by the Persian conquest of the country. They continued to serve Egyptian gods and maintained the centuries-old official culture. Udjahorresnet emerged as the leader of his family circle that must have had a certain degree of influence on their important relative in the preservation of numerous structural continuities from the late Saite to the early

Persian period, and in safeguarding the knowledge of their ancient cultural and intellectual heritage.

However, religion did not play a major part only in local resilience, but also in legitimizing the Persian kings, and it was closely intertwined with more expansive concerns of politics, economy, and military powers. The case of Egypt shows that Achaemenid religious policy was not one of simple tolerance or indifference, but of strategic willingness to allow—and even support—heterogeneous religious customs to the benefit of the Achaemenid Empire. In Egypt, manipulating ideological beliefs proved to be an effective tool to control local populations and to entrench outsiders into positions of validated power. One strategy has been to induce the acceptance of the Persian king as a sacral ruler. For this, his Egyptian relays took to the strategy of explicating divine embodiment within the Persian king, without which the Persian ruler was probably seen as a human being void of inherent sacrality.

Strategic motivations can also be argued for more mundane issues, like the alleged re-establishment of the Egyptian “House of Life,” i.e., the regional center for pursuing research and training in the medical profession. This can be argued to have been motivated by personal needs. However, as the person who failed to be healed came from the Achaemenid royal family—namely, king Darius I—this equally became an imperial matter.

The interrelation and separation of the individual, communal, and imperial (or international, state, and individual) level of analysis comes strongly to the forefront in an International Relations conceptualization of the Persian conquest of Egypt, and of Udjahorresnet’s role therein. In addition to providing helpful tools, like the concepts of bandwagoning, soft power, and power balancing, this highlights the tectonic forces behind the power transition from native Egyptian rule to that of Persian overlordship. Thought-provoking instances concerning Udjahorresnet and the Persian conquest of Egypt within the bigger picture of cross-regional history also derive from the presented Greek historiography approach. Note, e.g., the striking contrast between Herodotus’ report of successful maritime policies under the last Saites and his silence about any actions of the Egyptian fleet over the long period from Cambyses’ conquest until the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt. Or the important role of foreign, especially Greek, mercenaries in the service of the Saitic kings: three

times they play a major role in the dynastic change of power. Remarkably, Herodotus gives no indication of whether the city of Sais had suffered any damages during the occupation. Cambyses’ notorious deeds as a “mad dog” are linked to his stay at Memphis.

Such outside perspectives on Udjahorresnet also help to showcase the political interaction between the local elite and the imperial power in other areas of the Persian Empire. In comparison with Egypt, Cambyses’ personal establishment in Babylon remained rather superficial. Something like Udjahorresnet’s adhesion to the power of Cambyses and Cambyses’ integration into Egyptian royal traditions, including the drafting of his titulature, is not to be found in Babylonia. This lack can be argued to have been at the root of the successful upheaval and shift of allegiance in Babylonia to Cambyses’ brother Bardiya. These results trigger the question, whether the experience in Babylon/ia affected the different imperial strategy in Egypt testified for Darius I.²³

Further important questions opened up by the presented “outside” perspectives on later 6th-century BCE Egypt and Udjahorresnet’s role within this social and political framework are how Udjahorresnet himself might have seen his place in the world, i.e., as a “Persian” as well as an Egyptian, how he would have been perceived at the Achaemenid court, how his person and role was echoed within his contemporary circles and the priesthood at 4th-century Memphis, and how his statue was seen and showcased in late 18th-century Rome. The prevailing assumption of a reception of his so-called *Naoforo Vaticano* within the statue collection of the Villa Hadriana near Tivoli/Rome, has, however, to be dismissed.

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NOTES

- ¹ See, e.g., Brosius 2000, 15–17, 47–49; Kuhrt 2007, 117–122.
- ² Especially Posener 1936, 1–26; Tulli 1941, 211–280; Lloyd 1982, 166–180; Rößler-Köhler 1985, 43–54; Baines 1996, 83–92.
- ³ See, in addition to the works cited above, especially Botti and Romanelli 1951, 32–40, Tav. 27–32; Otto 1954, 169–173; Lichtheim 1980, 36–41; Kaplony-Heckel 1985, 603–608; Sternberg el-Hotabi 2017, 17–33.
- ⁴ See, e.g., Colburn 2016, 226–238; Smoláriková 2015, 151–164; Wasmuth 2017b, 241–150.
- ⁵ See especially Agut-Labordère 2013, 965–1027; Marković ongoing.
- ⁶ See Wasmuth 2017a; Schütze 2012; Colburn 2020.
- ⁷ See Lopez 2015.
- ⁸ On the concept see Wasmuth 2016, vi–xvi.
- ⁹ See Schwab and Schütze forthcoming.
- ¹⁰ Smoláriková and Bareš, this volume.
- ¹¹ Wasmuth, this volume.
- ¹² Ruggero, this volume.
- ¹³ Lopez, this volume.
- ¹⁴ Schütze, this volume.
- ¹⁵ Marković, this volume.
- ¹⁶ Stevens, this volume.
- ¹⁷ McCoskey, this volume.
- ¹⁸ Colburn, this volume.
- ¹⁹ Aissaoui, this volume.
- ²⁰ Joannès, this volume.
- ²¹ Ladynin, this volume.
- ²² Bichler, this volume.
- ²³ See especially Wasmuth 2017a.