



UDJAHORRESNET'S FAMILY AND HIS SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Nenad Marković

Museum of African Art, Belgrade

ABSTRACT

Although the official career of Udjahorresnet is rather well-known in modern historiography, his family and social background has drawn little in-depth scholarly attention and is still poorly understood. This paper uses onomastics, genealogy, and prosopography as main methodological approaches in order to suggest first preliminary results. Accordingly, Udjahorresnet seems to be a member of a large and well-connected priestly family circle close to the royal house of Sais and active for generations throughout the Nile Delta, more specifically in the temples of Sais (Sa el-Hagar), Buto (Tell el-Fara'in), Imau (Kom el-Hisn), Kom el-Firin, and perhaps Tanis (San al-Hagar). The owner of the kneeling statuette Khartum 2782 might be the best candidate for Udjahorresnet's father, while members of his extended family left numerous monuments, including a seated group statue in the Louvre (N.663).

"Je refuse de croire à une simple coïncidence."¹

Although the career of Udjahorresnet is well known in modern historiography and has been studied for a long time, his role in the history of the so-called long 6th century BCE is yet to be fully addressed.² Particularly, his social background has drawn little in-depth scholarly attention and is still poorly understood. It appears that Udjahorresnet was often seen almost in isolation from his social context. While it is evident that some authors have discussed his parents cautiously only in passing,³ many others have never even raised the question of his social background.⁴ Edda Bresciani is introducing him as "a high Egyptian official and court physician."⁵ but some authors are focused primarily on his presumed priestly status at Sais: Lisbeth Fried assigned to Udjahorresnet his father's titles by

calling him "high priest of the Temple of Neith and of the entire third nome of Lower Egypt,"⁶ while David Klotz refers to Udjahorresnet as "a priest from Sais,"⁷ "the priest and chief medical officer,"⁸ or "high priest."⁹ To Amélie Kuhrt, Udjahorresnet was "the courtier, naval commander, scholar and priest."¹⁰ Most recently, Elena Tiribilli erroneously attributed to him his father's titles again.¹¹ On the other hand, Alan B. Lloyd insisted on Udjahorresnet's origins from a warrior class or *machimoi* (μάχιμοι),¹² although we in fact do not have any direct evidence to support this claim except a statement of Herodotus from Halicarnassus (c. 484–425 BCE) that this particular military class lived within the Saite nome (2.165), combined with Udjahorresnet's supposed military titles and assumption that his family might have been from the same area. Moreover, as Christelle Fischer-Bovet put it, "there

was no concept of class within Egyptian society, and no population group was obligated to devote its time exclusively to military matters."¹³ We shall see that his family had occupied exclusively sacerdotal positions within various temples across Lower Egypt, concentrated mostly in the western Nile Delta, where excavated temples and tombs clearly show how much is lost.¹⁴ Therefore, Ursula Rößler-Köhler was right when she called Udjahorresnet "Mitglied einer Priesterfamilie aus Sais,"¹⁵ but not a priest himself.¹⁶ His personal name is undoubtedly reflecting the religious landscape of Sais, meaning "prosperous is Horus of *Rs-N.t.*"¹⁷ This manifestation of the god Horus was worshipped inside the temple of Neith at Sais, within the so-called "Southern (sanctuary of) Neith (*Rs-N.t.*)."¹⁸

Udjahorresnet himself mentions his personal services to his own family on his statue kept at the Vatican Museums (better known as the *Naophoro Vaticano*),¹⁹ while stating that "I am the one honored of his father, praised of his mother, beloved of his brothers (*jnk jm³hw n jt=f hs n mw.t=f jmj-jb n sn.w=f*),"²⁰ including the establishment of priestly offices (*smn.n=f n=sn j³wt hm-ntr*; "I made for them the office of the god's servant") and gifts of good lands "at the command of His Majesty for the length of eternity (*m wd n hm=f m³wt dt*)."²¹ Usually perceived in modern scholarship as a token of filial piety "drawn from the age-old corpus of commonplaces typical of the traditional ideal biography,"²² it cannot, however, be completely excluded that such a type of phrase sequence might have been an expression of his *actual* commitment to his family circle, especially in view of the importance of family and kinship in all periods of ancient Egyptian history for which we have sufficient information and the aspired basic virtues of the educated elites in front of their gods. Also, the exact same phrase appears on only one other contemporary monument, the naophorous statue Penn Museum 42.9.1 of a court official Psamteksaneith, who was involved in the construction works at Sais seemingly at the behest of King Amasis (570–526 BCE),²² while several other statues of the roughly same time contain the theme in different words.²³ Interestingly, it appears that the aforementioned Psamteksaneith belonged to the same social circle as Udjahorresnet, since his probable family, more specifically father and grandfather, held some of the same titles as Udjahorresnet's father.²⁴

A while ago, Edda Bresciani commented that "nell'onomastica saitica, è un nome assai comune,

ma finora nessuno dei documenti può essere attribuito al padre dell'archiatra Ugiahorresnet."²⁵ Nevertheless, although it is correct that direct evidence is still lacking, the application of onomastics, genealogy, and prosopography as main methodological approaches proved to be utmost useful in this regard. In other words, "one uses what one has and there is work to be done."²⁶ It is important to underline that the interpretation of the data given is not as straightforward as it appears and usually depends on estimates of likelihood and different scenarios could be proposed at any given time. This contribution intends to hopefully open the floor for further discussions on numerous issues regarding the identification of the familial and social backgrounds for almost all highest-ranking individuals and members of the Saite royal court originating from Lower Egypt. Therefore, this paper *only* suggests the social background of Udjahorresnet within the Imau-Sais-Buto area as a probable member of a large and well-connected priestly family active for generations in various temples throughout the Nile Delta and rather close to the royal house of Sais. He certainly was not a *homo novus* and his known career strongly indicates that he must have belonged to the highest echelons of the society in Lower Egypt during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Udjahorresnet also lived in times when hereditary inheritance of positions was a normal occurrence, while temples and their personnel served as true guardians of indigenous Egyptian culture.²⁷ The major importance of the priesthood in this period is further emphasized by a claim recorded on a base of the statue of the already mentioned Psamteksaneith: "His Majesty chose me from my equals to make all his monuments in Sais, because His Majesty recognized my heart as that of a god's servant (*jnk stp.n wj hm=f m mjt.t=j r jr mnw=f nb m S³w hr sj³ hm=f jb=f m hm-ntr*);"²⁸ Psamteksaneith is not given any religious title on his statue. Finally, since the priestly families of Lower Egypt have never been analyzed in depth in modern historiography, the results of this research must remain preliminary until more comprehensive work could be done.

The principal sources for our understanding of the officials and priests who lived and functioned in Lower Egypt in the Saite-Persian era, including Udjahorresnet and his relatives, come in form of the inscriptions preserved on stelae, different types of statues, sarcophagi and other tomb equipment (shabti figurines, canopic jars, tomb decoration, offering tables, scarabs), and seal impressions. The

names of Udjahorresnet's parents are recorded on several surviving monuments coming mostly from Sais and Memphis, the two major urban and sacral centers of Egypt during the Saite-Persian period.²⁹ The name of his father is Peftjauemaueith ($P^3y=f-t^3w-^c.wj-N.t$),³⁰ while his mother is called Atemirdis ($Jtm-jr-dj-s$).³¹ Although reasonably well attested, the name of Peftjauemaueith is not as widespread during the Saite-Persian period as is usually believed. If we look closely at the list compiled by Ladislav Bareš,³² it is reasonable to propose that at least 9 out of 17 included individuals were contemporaries and probably belonged to the same extended family circle. This confirms a persistent employment of the same personal names within the Egyptian priestly families for generations, a practice already well documented in the corpus of the Memphite Serapeum votive stelae of the same period.³³ Accordingly, it cannot be excluded that certain homonymous priests represent one and the same individual, meaning that the objects attributed to multiple individuals may belong to one person bearing the same and/or similar titles. In fact, the total number of leading priestly families in Lower Egypt during this period was, although impossible to calculate, rather small, and each of their members tended to have been connected to one another, since most of them served in the same or complementary temples and/or moved within the same social circles. Also, their members actively participated in the creation of records (by choosing the elements for their self-presentation) that are meant to be preserved (on non-perishable material, such stone or bronze) and seen by the public in the broadest possible sense (other people, contemporary or not, as well as the gods). As a result, it could be proposed that all Peftjauemaueiths attested in surviving hieroglyphic inscriptions, except for one,³⁴ held exclusively sacerdotal titles of Lower Egypt, specifically in the temples of Sais (Sa el-Hagar), Buto (Tell el-Fara'in), Imau (Kom el-Hisn), Kom el-Firin, and perhaps Tanis (San al-Hagar). Unfortunately, their exact identification and mutual ties are rather complicated due to the generally fragmentary state of the textual evidence and chance nature of surviving objects.

Finally, one has to note the striking differences between formal titularies of sons and their fathers during the Saite-Persian era, especially true for hard-stone statues. Whenever titles are listed for the fathers, they held solely religious or honorific ones

on the votive statues, while their sons held various administrative positions of the state government. In other words, the number of titles recorded for their fathers is generally rather small in comparison to the much longer list of titles presented for sons, always the main dedicants of the monuments. It seems very plausible that sons mentioned the titles and names of their fathers rather as identification criterion without feeling obliged to present their whole sequence of titles. This could explain why certain titles and epithets are missing from the sons' monuments, although these are present on the fathers' monuments, and vice versa. It should be important to stress that the number and general preservation of relevant monuments also plays important roles in our comprehension of their family ties and prosopography. For example, the total number of titles and epithets attested on the walls of the largest and best decorated rock-cut Late Period private tomb at Saqqara (LS 24) of Bakenrenef, the vizier under Psammetichus I (664–610 BC),³⁵ is altogether 30. If he has been known only by the two votive statues (Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E 7049 + Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 82.23;³⁶ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1970.495),³⁷ this number would be 9. Some of his titles are known only thanks to the material found outside of his Saqqara tomb and vice versa. A text on the Bruxelles + Brooklyn statue records one important title that is absent from the tomb ($jwn-mw.t=f w^c b pr-wr$),³⁸ while his offering table, once certainly located in his tomb at Saqqara and only seen on the antiquity market in Cairo in 1947, records another major title not recorded in his tomb ($wr m Ntr.t$).³⁹ Without his tomb, the names of his parents would be unknown, as well. Therefore, we should first search for Udjahorresnet's father among already attested people.

Udjahorresnet's father held following titles on his son's monuments:

- (1) on the western wall of the burial chamber of Udjahorresnet's tomb at Abusir: director of the mansions ($hrp hw.wt$), headman of Pe ($hr.j P$), god's servant of Neith who is protecting Sais ($hm-ntr N.t hwj S^3w$);⁴⁰
- (2) on the left side and at the foot of the chest of Udjahorresnet's inner anthropoid sarcophagus still in situ: director of the mansions ($hrp hw.wt$), headman of Pe ($hr.j P$), master of the secrets of the sky ($hr.j-sst^3 n p.t$), god's

- servant of Neith who is protecting Sais (*hm-ntr N.t hwtj S3w*);⁴¹
- (3) on the famous naophorous statue Vatican Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22690 (196), of unknown original provenance, perhaps the temple of Osiris at Sais: director of the palaces (*hrp hwt.wt*), headman of Pe (*hr.j P*), one who rejuvenates (*rnp*), one who wraps the Udjat eye (*hpt-wd3.t*), god's servant of Neith foremost of Sais (*hm-ntr N.t hnt.t S3w*);
 - (4) on a fragment of a statue found within the southwestern corner of the Ptah enclosure at Mit Rahineh dedicated by a priest Min/Iah(?)irdis, who apparently restored the cult statue of Udjahorresnet in Memphis during the second half of the 4th century BCE: director of the palaces (*hrp hwwt*), one who rejuvenates (*rnp*), one who wraps the Udjat-eye (*hpt-wd3.t*), god's servant of Neith foremost of Sais (*hm-ntr N.t hnt.t S3w*).⁴²

The name of Atemirdis is present in her son's tomb, namely on the western wall of the burial chamber,⁴³ the chest and the right side of inner anthropoid sarcophagus,⁴⁴ and all shabti figurines,⁴⁵ but also on the naophorous statue in the Vatican and on fragments of at least two further statues (the former was seen by Ippolito Rosellini somewhere in the Citadel of Cairo;⁴⁶ the latter was formerly in the Michaelidis collection),⁴⁷ but without any known title or epithet.⁴⁸ It should be noted that Atemirdis is not a frequently attested female name on the elite monuments of the Saite-Persian era: other than Udjahorresnet's mother, it was also name of the mother of the prominent court official and a close confidant of the Saite royal house, Horiraa, whose beautiful name is Neferibrener. He was in charge of the education of the children of Necho II, overseer of the private royal apartments (*jmj-r3 jp.t njsw.t*) and overseer of the antechamber (*jmj-r3 rw.t*) from Necho II until Apries.⁴⁹ Could this perhaps indicate a blood relation between these two families? The only known offspring of Horiraa is his daughter Nitocris, who was the Songstress in the Interior of the Temple of Amun (*hs.t n.t hnw n Jmn*) at Thebes under the God's Wives of Amun Nitocris A (656–585 BCE) and her adoptive daughter and grandniece Ankhnesneferibre (595–526 BCE),⁵⁰ mentioned on a group-statue Louvre N.512 (AF 1670) together with the king Apries and his mother Takhuit, who was also the natural mother of Ankhnesneferibre.⁵¹ However,

Horiraa might have had another otherwise unattested daughter (or perhaps a sister) named Atemirdis who had married into an important Lower Egyptian family, since his certainly unmarried daughter Nitocris served in the Amun temple as a part of the entourage of the Saite God's Wives. If such women ever existed, her chronology fits perfectly to the presumable birth date of Udjahorresnet: Nitocris was likely introduced to the temple of Amun under Apries, making her potential sister Atemirdis old enough to give birth to Udjahorresnet during the later years of the same king, especially since he seems to have started his career during the long reign of Amasis. Unfortunately, at present, there is no positive evidence for such a scenario, no matter how attractive this proposition might be.

The chronology of Peftjauemauneith's life is yet to be determined. Udjahorresnet was certainly active from Amasis to Darius I, but it is not known when he died.⁵² His tomb at Abusir was begun during the reign of Amasis, most likely in his regnal years 41, 42 and 43 (530–528 BCE).⁵³ The work was probably interrupted during the Persian conquest and finished during the early reign of Darius I (after 518 BCE).⁵⁴ If Udjahorresnet started to build his tomb at the peak of his career, e.g., between years 30 and 40 of his life,⁵⁵ he might have been born during the early years of the reign of Amasis or slightly earlier. Furthermore, Peftjauemauneith is designated as "justified (*m3c-hrw*)," i.e., dead, only on the northern side and at the foot of the chest of his son's anthropoid inner sarcophagus, but not on his Vatican statue and in the inscription on the western wall of his tomb. This means that he may have been still alive during the early years of Persian rule, which could be of relevance for some of Udjahorresnet's deeds within the temple of Neith after the Persian conquest, which shall be discussed below. Therefore, Peftjauemauneith may have been born under Necho II, the second king of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and being a contemporary of Psammetichus II, Apries, Amasis, Psammetichus III, and ultimately Cambyses II, e.g., sometimes between 610 BCE and 522 BCE, being well in his 80s when he died.

When we compare the attested titulary of Peftjauemauneith on his son's monuments, different sequences can be reconstructed for the tomb and temple contexts (TABLE 1). In the funerary context, Peftjauemauneith is bestowed with regular titles referring directly to the management of all temples in Sais (*director of the mansions*) and Buto (*headman of*

TABLE 1: The titles of Peftjauemauneith.

MONUMENTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Western wall	<i>hrp h̄w.wt</i>	<i>hr.j P</i>	<i>h̄m-n̄tr N.t</i> <i>h̄wj S̄w</i>	—	—	—	—
Sarcophagus	<i>hrp h̄w.wt</i>	<i>hr.j P</i>	<i>h̄m-n̄tr N.t</i> <i>h̄wj S̄w</i>	—	<i>hr.j-s̄st̄ n p.t</i>	—	—
Vatican statue	<i>hrp h̄w.wt</i>	<i>hr.j P</i>	—	<i>h̄m-n̄tr N.t</i> <i>h̄nt.t S̄w</i>	—	<i>rnp</i>	<i>hpt-wd̄.t</i>
Mit Rahineh statue	<i>hrp h̄w.wt</i>	—	—	<i>h̄m-n̄tr N.t</i> <i>h̄nt.t S̄w</i>	—	<i>rnp</i>	<i>hpt-wd̄.t</i>

Pe), granting him full access to them.⁵⁶ He also holds the highest sacerdotal positions within the main temple of Neith at Sais, such as *master of the secrets of the sky* and *god's servant of Neith protecting Sais*.⁵⁷ Similarly, in temple contexts, he holds the same titles regarding temples at Sais (*director of the mansions*) and Buto (*headman of Pe*) plus two specific priestly positions: he is *one who rejuvenates*, a position within the cult of Hathor at Kom el-Hisn in the western Nile Delta,⁵⁸ and *one who wraps the Udjat-eye*, a priest of probably Sekhmet at Kom Firin,⁵⁹ located just west of Kom el-Hisn.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, these titles represent only the main specific sacerdotal offices attaching Peftjauemauneith to the priesthood of four Lower Egyptian towns and, while being important identifiers, certainly do not represent the total sum of his career.

Similar personal names and sets of titles can be found on several monuments, presumably from Sais,⁶¹ scattered in several museum and private collections around the world. Firstly, special attention should be given to a seated group statue in the Louvre (N.663),⁶² which represents two men and a woman.⁶³ The proposed production date in the first half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, perhaps under Necho II,⁶⁴ is probably incorrect according to the available prosopographic data. It has already been proposed to date this monument to the reign of Amasis,⁶⁵ which is more in line with the number of generations mentioned on the back side and the left side of the seat. One might even consider a later date, i.e., in the early first Persian period, as such lengthy genealogies became much better attested in Lower Egypt during post-Saite times.⁶⁶ Another possibility is that the statue itself is of an earlier date within the Saite dynasty, but that some of text was later added in order to commemorate the younger generations

of the family. On the apron of the middle male figure is written: *director of the mansions* (*hrp h̄w.wt*), *one who rejuvenated* (*rnp*), *one who wraps the Udjat-eye* (*hpt-wd̄.t*), *god's servant of Amun of the northern Thebes* (*h̄m-n̄tr Imn w̄s.t-Mh̄.t*),⁶⁷ Peftjauemauneith. To the left of it, on an armrest between the middle and the left figure, there is a full filiation of Peftjauemauneith: he was the son of the *god's servant of Wahibre, justified* (*h̄m-n̄tr w̄s-h̄-jb-r̄ m̄s̄-h̄rw*), i.e., a priest for the mortuary cult of Psammetichus I,⁶⁸ Djeddjehutyuefankh (*Dd-dhwtj-jw=f-̄nh*) and of the mistress of the house Meritneith (*nb.t pr Mrj.t-N.t*). A further indication of a royal connection and loyalty of this family to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is the mother's name, which was held by one of the royal daughters of Psammetichus I.⁶⁹ Apart from the position within the cult of Amun at Tanis, the titles perfectly correspond to those of Udjahorresnet's father. The personnel serving the cult of Amun at Tanis included the most important individuals from the Twenty-fifth to the Twenty-seventh Dynasties,⁷⁰ including the already mentioned vizier Bakenrenef,⁷¹ as well as his possible successor Sasobek, the owner of black siltstone base and lid of the anthropoid sarcophagus London BM EA 17 (881) and probable father of a well-known Peftjauemauneith, the high steward (*jmj-r̄ pr wr*), the overseer of the treasury (*jmj-r̄ pr.wj h̄d nbw*), and the chief physician of Upper and Lower Egypt (*wr swnw n Šm̄ Mh̄w*), who lived in a transitional period between the reigns of Apries and Amasis.⁷² This Peftjauemauneith has already been suggested as the father of Udjahorresnet,⁷³ which however seems unlikely.⁷⁴

On the apron of the right male figure of Louvre N.663 is written: *director of the mansions* (*hrp h̄w.wt*), *god's servant of Horus* (*h̄m-n̄tr Hr*), *god's servant of Horus-Senef* (*h̄m-n̄tr Hr sn=f*),⁷⁵ Pakap (*P̄-k̄pw*). To the

left of it, on an armrest between the right and middle figures, there is again a full filiation and more comprehensive titulary, this time of Pakap: *director of the mansions, god's servant of Horus, one who ties the amulet of Neith who is at the head of the land of life* (*ts wd³.t N.t hnt.t T³-nh*),⁷⁶ *god's servant of Horus-Senef, Pakap, son of the like-titled (mj-nn) Peftjauemaui-neith and mistress of the house Nanefersekhmet (nb.t pr N³-nfr-shm.t)*. On a dress of the left female figure is written “*sistrum player of Neith (jhjj.t n.t N.t) Nanefersekhmet*,” while to the left of it is stated her affiliation: she was daughter of Pakap (*s³.t P³-k³pw*), who is named without any office here. Pakap was named after his maternal grandfather, strongly indicating a similar social status of Nanefersekhmet's family. She holds usual titles of elite women at Sais during the Saite-Persian period, connecting her to the rituals within the temple of Neith.⁷⁷ On the back of the statue, a long paternal pedigree of this family is inscribed, numbering at least 13 past generations that certainly reach beyond the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. As already mentioned, this pattern is characteristic for the monuments made in Lower Egypt during the early Persian rule (see above). Among numerous priestly offices mentioned there are the *god's servant of Neith who is at the head of Sais (hm-ntr N.t hnt.t S³w)*, an additional title of Djeddjehutyuefankh in line 12, but also of his father Penptah (*P³-n-Pth*) in line 13, as well as *god's servant of Heka who resides in Sais (hm-ntr Hk³ hrj jb S³w)* for the same Penptah, and *god's servant of Sobek (hm-ntr Sbk)* of an individual whose name is damaged, but probably was Djed-khonsuiuefankh (*Dd-hnsw-jw=f-^cnh*), in line 18. Djeddjehutyuefankh was apparently still alive under Necho II, when the mortuary cult of Psammetichus I was probably created, while his son was likely born under the first king of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Keeping in mind the 54-year-long reign of Psammetichus I, it is plausible that Pakap himself was born during his reign.

The same individuals are also mentioned on a quartzite statuette of Neith dedicated by Pakap (Copenhagen AEIN 208).⁷⁸ He holds the same set of titles as on the statue Louvre N.663. The same titles are also attested for his father, Peftjauemaui-neith, while his mother is mentioned without any title. The only difference is the presence of the epithet of the god Horus, namely “*great of the two diadems (wr w³d.tj)*,” specifying the cult of Horus at Buto,⁷⁹ in a title given after the designation of director of the mansions. Interestingly, this epithet is omitted on

Louvre N.663 in both titularies of Peftjauemaui-neith and Pakap on the front of the statue, but it is mentioned in the titulary of Peftjauemaui-neith and of one of his ancestors on the back, making it clear that this family was involved in the cult of Horus at Buto for generations, especially since all named ancestors were styled as “the like-titled” beginning with Peftjauemaui-neith. Accordingly, the priestly duties of Peftjauemaui-neith, father of Pakap, possibly also included the titles of his son and his father respectively, making him responsible for different temples across the Nile Delta, including the royal mortuary cult of the first king of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty at Sais. Since this specific title is given for his father only, it is not certain whether Peftjauemaui-neith inherited this position. Nevertheless, this seems likely, given that his probable half-brother Nekau held the title of “a pure priest of Psammetichus I justified (*w^cb n ntr-nfr W³h-jb-r^c m³^c hrw*)” on an unpublished mummy-scarab London, British Museum (EA 15021).⁸⁰ If so, this Peftjauemaui-neith certainly lived during the first half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty up until the reign of Amasis, making him a somewhat ideal candidate for the father of Udjahorresnet (TABLE 2).

The titles of Peftjauemaui-neith, father of Pakap, are similar but not the identical to the positions held by the like-named father of Udjahorresnet: the titulary of the former is much longer. Still, it is

TABLE 2: Comparison of two Peftjauemaui-neiths.

TITLES	PEFTJAUEMAUI-NEITH, FATHER OF PAKAP	PEFTJAUEMAUI-NEITH FATHER OF UDJAHORRESNET
<i>hrp hw.wt</i>	Yes	Yes
<i>hrj P</i>	No	Yes
<i>rnp</i>	Yes	Yes
<i>hpt-w³d.t</i>	Yes	Yes
<i>hm-ntr Imn W³st-Mh.t</i>	Yes	No
<i>hm-ntr Hr wr w³d.tj</i>	Yes	No
<i>hm-ntr N.t hnt.t S³w / hwj S³w</i>	Yes(?)	Yes
<i>hrj-s³t³ n p.t</i>	No	Yes
<i>hm-ntr w³h-jb-r^c m³^c-hrw</i>	Yes(?)	No

common that titularies of fathers are much abbreviated on the monuments of their offspring in comparison to their own dedications, meaning that Udjahorresnet probably omitted at least some of his father's original offices in his funerary and votive monuments of self-presentation. Keeping in mind that the father and the grandfather of Peftjauemauneith, father of Pakap, were god's servants of Neith and that Peftjauemauneith himself was like-titled as his father, it is conceivable that this title was transmitted throughout several generations of this family. Peftjauemauneith, father of Udjahorresnet was also god's servant of Neith, so he may have belonged to the same family circle, since it appears certain that members of the different priesthoods in Lower Egypt have inherited the offices mainly due to their family ties. Though the goddess has a different epithet in the title mentioned in the funerary context (*hwj S3w*), the one in question (*hnt.t S3w*) is present on two votive statues of Udjahorresnet. Clearly, no matter what epithet Neith holds, it should be referring to the main cult at Sais.⁸¹ Furthermore, the offices of *headman of Pe* and *god's servant of Horus, great of two diadems* were complementary to each other, both implying high professional status in Buto, while this manifestation of the god Horus is called "the lord of Pe" on other monuments from Buto.⁸² A designation as *hrj P wr w3d.tj, headman of Pe great of two diadems*, is present on several monuments from Buto,⁸³ probably being an abbreviated form of *hrj P [hm Hr] wr w3d.tj*, as has already been proposed.⁸⁴ On the other hand, both titles appear together only in the titulary of Tefnakht, son of Padegaihet, on his kneeling statue Cairo CG 662.⁸⁵ He belongs to one of the most influential families in Lower Egypt during the first half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.⁸⁶ Tefnakht also held titles "director of the mansions" and "master of the secrets of the sky," the very same titles held by the father of Udjahorresnet. As these titles occur together so rarely, they imply a strong family connection, which shall be the subject of the separate study.

Furthermore, on a lower part of the kneeling statuette Khartum 2782,⁸⁷ a priest named Peftjauemauneith has the following titles: "god's servant of Neith (*hm-ntr N.t*)" and "headman of Pe (*hrj P*)" on the base and "headman of Pe, great of two diadems, master of the secrets of the house of the king of Lower Egypt (*hrj-s3t3 m hw.t-bj.t*), great pure (*w3b 33*),⁸⁸ one who knows his office (*rh jr.t=f*)"⁸⁹ on the back-pillar. The name of his mother, Hathoremhat

(*Hwt-Hr-m-h3t*), is preserved on the naos, while the name of his father is not known. Since only the lower part of the back-pillar survived, it is quite conceivable that further titles of Peftjauemauneith were given on the missing part of this statue. For example, in every known case, including the father of Udjahorresnet, *hrj P* appears together with *hrp hwwt*, a title that was therefore most probably held but is not preserved on the statue Khartum 2782. Also, the importance of the title "master of the secrets of the house of the king of Lower Egypt (*hrj-s3t3 m hw.t-bj.t*)" needs to be stressed here. On the naos of Udjahorresnet's Vatican statue, an offering formula mentions the god Osiris "foremost of the house of the king of Lower Egypt (*W3jr hntj hw.t-bj.t*)."⁹⁰ Udjahorresnet stated in the text under the right arm on the same statue that "I caused his Majesty to be aware of ... aspects of the greatness of the house of the king of Lower Egypt, the seat of elder master of the sky (*jw rdt.n.(j) sj3 hm.f n ... shr n wr n hw.t bj.t st pw tnj nb pt*)."⁹¹ Does this mean that Udjahorresnet, who himself held no religious titles, had access to the ancient sanctuary of Osiris inside the temple of Neith thanks to his father's position? Also, on Udjahorresnet's sarcophagus, Peftjauemauneith is called "master of the secrets of the sky," which implies a position within the temple of Neith in Sais; one of the gates of the temple is referred to as "the gate of sky" on the fragment of a basalt naos Bruxelles E.5818, bearing the cartouche of Apries (589–570 BCE).⁹² Therefore, it seems likely to identify Peftjauemauneith of Khartum 2782 with the father of Udjahorresnet, who was active in Sais around the time of Apries. Finally, the tomb of this Peftjauemauneith could be located in Tabbet al-Guech (South Saqqara), where two shabtis of the like-named priest were found,⁹³ but this suggestion is far from certain. The name of his mother is another uncertainty, but most likely was Hathoremhat.⁹⁴

The three other known "master of the secrets of the house of the king of Lower Egypt" from the roughly same period are Horefraneith, son of Padihorresnet, and his son Ankh-Psamtik attested on a recently published fragmentary naophorous statue Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 77284),⁹⁵ and Padebehu, whose father is also named Peftjauemauneith on his statue Vatican 167 + Brooklyn 60.11.⁹⁶ The name of the latter's mother is different (Takhuit) from the name of Udjahorresnet's mother, but the connection could hardly be accidental, especially since having multiple wives is not uncommon prac-

tice among the uppermost echelons of the priesthood in Lower Egypt during the Saite-Persian period.⁹⁵ Her title, “weaver of the southern enclosure (*hndwt n Rs-N.t*)”⁹⁶ indicates her attachment to the cultic organization of the Neith precinct at Sais. More importantly, Peftjauemaueith, father of Padebehu is “director of the mansions” and “god’s servant of Neith the cow (*hm-ntr N.t Jh.t*).” Both attested titles correspond perfectly to the titles of Peftjauemaueith, father of Udjahorresnet. The

second title designates priests of Neith-Methyer, a manifestation of the goddess Neith at Sais in the form of a cow.⁹⁷ Additionally, the father of the well-known administrative and military official Wahibre is called Peftjauemaueith, “director of the mansions” and “servant of Horus great of two diadems” on block statue Cairo JE 34043,⁹⁸ “director of mansions” and “god’s servant of Neith the cow”

on a fragment of statue Cairo JE 34045,⁹⁹ and “director of the mansions” on the upper part of a standing statue, Bologna Museo Civico Archeologico KS 1820.¹⁰⁰ These titles fully correspond to the titles of Peftjauemaueith on monuments of Padebehu and Udjahorresnet, respectively. The name of Wahibre’s mother is again different (Tashepeneith) from those of Padebehu and Udjahorresnet, meaning that this Peftjauemaueith perhaps had three known wives.

To sum up, all these people belonged to the same family circle according to the following evidence. Furthermore, on the left side of the seat of Louvre N.663 genealogical information can be gathered regarding three generations of Pakap’s descendants, continuing most likely until after the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The first mentioned name (and logically the youngest one) in this line is Udjahorresnet (!), who was “god’s servant of Horus,

TABLE 3: The distribution of titles of Peftjauemaueith: * = attested title; ** = family title.

	UDJ				PN	PD	W			PN
	WESTERN WALL AT ABUSIR	SARCOPH- AGUS AT ABUSIR	VATICAN 22690	MIT RAHINEH STATUE	KHARTUM 2782	VATICAN 167 + BROOKLYN 60.11	CAIRO JE 34043	CAIRO JE 34045	BOLOGNA KS 1820	LOUVRE N.663
<i>hrp hw.wt</i>	*	*	*	*	—	*	*	*	*	*
<i>hrj P</i>	*	*	*	—	*	—	—	—	—	**
<i>hm-ntr N.t</i> <i>hwj S3w /</i> <i>hnt.t S3w /</i> <i>Jh.t</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	—	*	—	**
<i>hrj-s3t3</i> <i>n p.t</i>	—	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**
<i>hrj-s3t3 m</i> <i>hwt-bj.t</i>	—	—	—	—	*	**	—	—	—	—
<i>rnp</i>	—	—	*	*	—	—	—	—	—	**
<i>hm-ntr Hr</i> <i>wr w3d.tj</i>	—	—	—	—	*	—	*	—	—	*
<i>hpt-w3d.t</i>	—	—	*	*	—	—	—	—	—	**

great of two diadems," after which is a lacuna containing probably the name and titles of his father. After the lacuna, the name of his grandfather is given, who is titled "director of the mansions, god's servant of Horus, great of two diadems," and is named Peftjauemaueith, son of Pakap himself. Consequently, it is clear that Pakap named his own son after his father, a common practice within Egyptian and many other traditional societies. These two titles stated for Peftjauemaueith, son of Pakap, fully correspond to the titles of the father of Wahibre B, Padebehu and Udjahorresnet, meaning that this second Peftjauemaueith could have been and likely was the same as the one of statue Khartum 2782 and their father. The name of his mother is probably specified in the damaged part following the name of Pakap and could have been Hathoremhat. If so, Peftjauemaueith's grandson Udjahorresnet of Louvre N.663 was named after one of his sons, the well-known Udjahorresnet, although the name of this son on Louvre N.663 is not preserved. Since nothing is preserved for that son, it is not possible to identify him with either Udjahorresnet, Wahibre B or Padebehu, although the descendants of the last two can be followed up further.

The distribution of the titles (TABLE 3) clearly attaches Peftjauemaueith to these monuments. His main title seems to be "director of the mansions," attested on all artifacts except one, where its absence can be easily explained (see above). Many titles that are absent from different monuments are attested together for various individuals on the group-statue Louvre N.663. Peftjauemaueith was active in the cult of Neith at Sais and the cult of Horus at Buto. He also held positions in the temples of Kom el-Hisn and Kom Firin, located nearby Sais and Buto. All of these towns were located in the western part of the Nile Delta. His titles enabled the access of his son, Udjahorresnet, to the inner sanctuary of the Neith precinct, especially to the temple of Osiris within it. As a reward, Udjahorresnet's family was privileged under the reign of Cambyses II, who himself visited both Sais and Buto after his reconciliation with the Egyptian priesthood at Memphis during the burial ceremonies of the Apis divine bull.¹⁰¹

ABBREVIATION

PM Porter, B. and R. Moss. 1927–1951 (1960–). *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press

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NOTES

- ¹ De Meulenaere 1989, 568.
- ² The term was coined for the history of southern Mesopotamia between the fall of the Assyrian Empire and the reign of the Persian king Xerxes (c. 620–484 BCE) in Jursa 2010, 5, but could also be applied to situation in Egypt, especially in terms of an exceptional number of textual and material remains.
- ³ Posener 1936, 164; Lloyd 1982, 169; Bresciani 1985b, 4; Bareš 1999, 35–36 with n. 139; Vittmann 2011, 379 n. 32; Lopez 2015, 95.
- ⁴ Cf., e.g., Spalinger 1986; Ray 1988, 257–258; Holm-Rasmussen 1988, 29–30; Burkard 1994a, 97–98, 99; Burkard 1994b, 42–46; Burkard 1995, 35–36; Menu 1995, 83–84; Baines 1996, 83–92; Huss 1997, 135–136; Menu 1998, 257–258; Sternberg-el Hotabi 2000, 153–167; Smoláriková 2015, 151–164; Sternberg-el Hotabi 2017, 15–17.
- ⁵ Bresciani 1985a, 503.
- ⁶ Fried 2004, 63–64. She also comments “these titles (which he recounts as the titles of his father),” even though there is no apparent reason to consider his father’s titles as his own.
- ⁷ Klotz, 2006, 5.
- ⁸ Klotz 2006, 7.
- ⁹ Klotz 2015
- ¹⁰ Kurth 2007, 120.
- ¹¹ Tiribilli 2018, 134.
- ¹² Lloyd 1982, 169; cf. also Helck 1968, 258–259.
- ¹³ Fischer-Bovet 2014, 38. True, the Persian king Darius I ordered the satrap of Egypt to assemble “the wise man (n^3 $rm\dot{t}.w-r\dot{h}$),” as well as “those who are old among the warriors, the priests, and the scribes of Egypt (n^3 nti ‘ w n msi hn n^3 $rm\dot{t}.w$ $knkn$ n^3 $w^b.w$ n^3 $sh^3.w$ [n] $Km.t$)” (cf. Agut-Labordère 2009–2010; Quack 2011, 233–236), but this does not necessarily mean that Egyptian society was strictly divided into specific groups, like Herodotus claimed, especially since mentioned “categories” perfectly correspond to types of titles that can be found combined within the titularies of higher officials and priests of the Saïte–Persian era.
- ¹⁴ For a recent overview of different reasons for such situation, see Bennett 2019, 16–23.
- ¹⁵ Rössler-Köhler 1991, 271.
- ¹⁶ So Vittmann 2011, 379.
- ¹⁷ Ranke 1935, 89, 1.
- ¹⁸ Wilson 2019, 343.
- ¹⁹ See also Ruggero, this volume, on Udjahorresnet’s *Naoforo Vaticano*.
- ²⁰ For similar formulae in the Late Period, see Otto 1954, 89–90; El-Sayed 1985, 284, 285; Bareš 1999, 34 n. 122; Perdu 2001, 188–190.
- ²¹ Lloyd 1982, 173. See also Schütze, this volume, on the originality of Udjahorresnet’s biographical inscription.
- ²² Jansen-Winkel 2014, 501–504.
- ²³ Two statues of military official and priest Wahibre B, son of Peftjauemauieneith and Tashepeneith, namely Cairo without number (jm^3h hr $jt=f$ $mw.t=f$ $snw=f$; cf. Jansen-Winkel 2014, 491–492) and Bologna KS 1820 (hsw n $jt=f$ $mw.t=f$; cf. Jansen-Winkel 2014, 492–493), statue Cairo CG 662 of priest Tefnakht, son of Padegaihet and Henutawy (jm^3h hr $jt=f$ $mw.t=f$ $snw=f$; cf. Jansen-Winkel 2014, 804) and pseudo-naos Edinburgh 1956.134 of governor and priest Wahibre A, son of Padihorresnet and Nitocris (jm^3h hr $jt=f$ $mw.t=f$ $snw=f$; Jansen-Winkel 2014, 488–489). All of them were very likely contemporary to the second half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and perhaps belong to the same family circle. Their mothers were probably somehow related, perhaps being three sisters. Their sons were roughly contemporary to the reigns of Apries and Amasis. It is certain, at least for Wahibre A and Tefnakht, that mentioning their brothers in this expression is reference to their *actual* brothers and other male relatives.
- ²⁴ The author strongly believes that Psamteksaneith’s family is attested in inscriptions of menat Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7709 (Jansen-Winkel 2014, 780) and statuette base Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 8047 (Jansen-Winkel 2014, 779).
- ²⁵ Bresciani 1985, 4.
- ²⁶ Syme 1979, 711.
- ²⁷ Cf., e.g., Spencer 2006, 51; Spencer 2010, 441–446; Minas-Nerpel 2018.
- ²⁸ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 502.
- ²⁹ Cf. Jurman 2007, 184–185. For the archaeological situation in Sais, see most recently Wilson 2006; Leclère 2008, 159–196, while for Memphis, see

- Leclère 2008, 25–111.
- ³⁰ Ranke 1935, 128, 2.
- ³¹ Ranke 1935, 51, 21.
- ³² For a list of attested individuals, see Bareš 1999, 35–36 n. 139. Another bearers of this name are son of Padineith and Mer...ites, dedicated a bronze statuette of Neith (cf. Schoske and Wildung 1992, 149–150, cat. no. 103) and son of Tutu on an unpublished statue base Brooklyn 65.194.2 (<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/87894>; accessed 16 April 2020); Lodomez 2009, 429 n. g.
- ³³ For example, Louvre IM 3129 dated to year 21 of Psammetichus I (Malinine et al. 1968, 152), Louvre IM 4013 dated in year 4 of Darius I (Chassinat 1901, 76–77 cxxx), Louvre IM 4097 dated to year 34 of Darius I (Chassinat 1901, 78–79 cxxxiii), Louvre IM 4125 dated to year 34 of Darius I (Chassinat 1903, 59 clxxvii), Louvre IM 4080 attributable to the early reign of Darius I (Chassinat 1900, 25–6 lxxviii), Louvre IM 137 attributable to the post-Darius I times (Chassinat 1901: 86–87 cxlv), and many others.
- ³⁴ The only exception is a well-known Peftjauem-*auineith*, the high steward, the overseer of the treasury and the chief physician of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lived in a transitional period between the reigns of Apries and Amasis. See most recently Bassir 2013; Bassir and Creasman 2014; Bassir 2014a, 67–119; Bassir 2014b, 255–257; Bassir 2015; Bassir 2016a; Bassir 2016b. On the other hand, it is important to note that his father, called Sasobek, held only sacerdotal titles in connection to Sais and Buto, like all the other individuals mentioned above, while Peftjauem-*auineith* himself did not hold any religious position. The similar practice should be noted for Udjahorresnet's formal career as well.
- ³⁵ PM III², 588–591; Guermeur 2011, 169 n. 8.
- ³⁶ Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 76.
- ³⁷ Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 264.
- ³⁸ On this title, see Rummel 2010, 209–230.
- ³⁹ On this title, see discussion in Bassir 2014a, 58–59.
- ⁴⁰ Bareš 1999, 52.
- ⁴¹ Bareš 1999, 60–61.
- ⁴² Cf. Anthes 1965, 98–101, pl. 36a, b, 37a–c; Пахов 2017, 18–20.
- ⁴³ Bareš 1999, 52. See also Smoláriková and Bareš, this volume, on his tomb at Abusir.
- ⁴⁴ Bareš 1999, 57, 60.
- ⁴⁵ Bareš 1999, 67.
- ⁴⁶ Cf. Posener 1936, 26–28, pl. 1.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. Michaélidis 1943, 101–102, fig. 34–35.
- ⁴⁸ See also Wasmuth, this volume, on these artifacts.
- ⁴⁹ For this official, see Jansen-Winkeln 1996; Perdu 1997; Abdalaal 2010, 1–11; Perdu 2016, 77–139; Gozzoli 2017, 196–198. On “overseer of the antechamber” during the Saite era and a list of all known title-holders from hieroglyphic sources, see Pressl 1998, 17–21; Vittmann 1998, 654–660.
- ⁵⁰ Cf. Ayad 2009, 22–28.
- ⁵¹ Cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 754–755. For the title of the Songstress in the Interior of the Temple of Amun, see Koch 2012 and, most recently, Li 2017, 32–36.
- ⁵² For different ideas, see Bareš 1999, 31–32.
- ⁵³ Bareš 2002, 35–37.
- ⁵⁴ Bareš 2009, 52.
- ⁵⁵ This idea has been proposed for Udjahorresnet's contemporary Menekhibnekau, buried nearby at Abusir, but can be applied for Udjahorresnet as well. Cf. Bareš and Smoláriková 2011, 79.
- ⁵⁶ For the position of the director of the mansions, see Jelínková 1956; el-Sayed 1976; Wilson 2006, 217; Klotz 2014, 729–730. For headman of Pe, see De Meulenaere 1964, 166–167, but this topic needs more research.
- ⁵⁷ Cf. el-Sayed 1975, 84–85.
- ⁵⁸ Cf. de Meulenaere 1964, 151–165; Pernigotti 1982, 9–10, 13 n. 1; Perdu 1991, 185–186; Guermeur 2011, 169; Klotz 2014, 726–727; Tiribilli 2018, 121–150.
- ⁵⁹ Cf. de Meulenaere 1964, 157, 164; Perdu 1991, 186–187; Guermeur 2011, 169.
- ⁶⁰ For Kom el-Firin during the Saite–Persian era, see Spencer 2009, 514–521.
- ⁶¹ It is important to note that although inscriptions are connecting certain votive statues to the city of Sais, their original find spot may have been

- somewhere else, for example, near the southern pylon of the temple of Ptah in Memphis; cf. Cressent 2013–2015.
- ⁶² Cf. Jansen-Winkel 2014, 786–787.
- ⁶³ Group statues are well attested during the Twenty-sixth and the Twenty-seventh Dynasties in different forms. See Mahran 2010 for a sandstone statue, Cairo JE 36728, of three men and three women, a black basalt statue, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 66.99.67, of two men, a dark green basalt statue, British Museum EA 511, a basalt statue, Greco-Roman Museum (Alexandria) 435, and a grey schist statue Royal Museum of Scotland, 1956.134. Additional examples include a sandstone statue National Archaeological Museum (Athens) 39 of two men and a woman (PM VIII, 760–761 [801–722–020]), a black granite statue Cairo CG 928 of a seated man with two children (boy and girl) (PM VIII, 761 [801–722–400]), a black granite statue, Fitzwilliam Museum E.3.1967, of two men (PM VIII, 762 [801–723–050]), a wooden statue, British Museum EA 32731, of two men (PM VIII, 763 [801–723–700]), a granite statue, Musée Calvet, 57, of a man and woman (PM VIII, 763 [801–725–020]), and a green schist statue, Walters Art Gallery, 22.76 (PM VIII, 764 [801–726–520]).
- ⁶⁴ Cf. Bothmer 1960, 52, 182.
- ⁶⁵ Cf. Jelínková 1958, 113; el-Sayed 1975, 230.
- ⁶⁶ For example, the Serapeum stela Louvre IM 4013 from year 4 of Darius I mentions six generations of the same family (Chassinat 1901, 76–77 cxxx), the Serapeum stela Louvre IM 4188 from year 4 of Darius I mentions seven generations (unpublished; cf. Černý Notebook 117, 7), the pedigree of the architect Khnumibre in the Wadi Hammamat from year 26 of Darius I mentions 22 ancestors (Posener 1936, 98–105), and the Serapeum stela Louvre IM 4097 from year 34 of Darius I mentions ten generations (Chassinat 1901, 78–79 cxxxiii), while the Saite monuments usually have up to four mentioned past generations. See also Jansen-Winkel 2005, 137–145.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Guermeur 2011, 165–174.
- ⁶⁸ Cf. De Meulenaere 2011, 127–128, 129.
- ⁶⁹ Cf. Jansen-Winkel 2014, 33.
- ⁷⁰ Guermeur 2011, 167–169.
- ⁷¹ Cf. el-Sayed 1975, 67.
- ⁷² Guermeur 2011, 166 n. 8.
- ⁷³ Pressl 1997, 161 (A.6) dated him to “ende 25./Anfang 26. Dynastie,” which is stylistically untenable.
- ⁷⁴ Cf. Posener 1936, 11, 164.
- ⁷⁵ Cf. Bassir 2014, 87.
- ⁷⁶ Cf. Guermeur 2005, 112 (b).
- ⁷⁷ Cf. el-Sayed 1975, 24–25.
- ⁷⁸ The author is starting a project on royal and non-royal elite women in Lower Egypt. The project is funded by the Stiftungsfonds für Postgraduates der Ägyptologie (Vienna).
- ⁷⁹ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 815.
- ⁸⁰ Cf. de Meulenaere 1964, 165–166; el-Sayed 1982, 149–150; Redford 1983, 87; Perdu 1988, 148–149; Traunecker 1998, 1215–1216, 1226–1229.
- ⁸¹ Cf. de Meulenaere 2011, 128.
- ⁸² Cf. el-Sayed 1982, 201–202.
- ⁸³ For different examples, see Jansen-Winkel 2014, 783–784.
- ⁸⁴ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 783, 786.
- ⁸⁵ Förster 2004, 51.
- ⁸⁶ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 801–802.
- ⁸⁷ Cf. de Meulenaere 1983.
- ⁸⁸ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 794.
- ⁸⁹ Cf. de Meulenaere 1955.
- ⁹⁰ For more examples of this expression, see el-Sayed 1975, 157.
- ⁹¹ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 354–355. For the interpretation, see further el-Sayed 1975, 85.
- ⁹² Cf. Pantalacci and Denoix 2007, 213–216.
- ⁹³ B. Mathieu (personal communication, 27 August 2018).
- ⁹⁴ Contardi 2020, 11–30. Horefraneith was likely a half-brother to Wahibre A. See n. 23.
- ⁹⁵ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 796.
- ⁹⁶ For example, two wives are certainly known for the high priest of Ptah, Ahmosemeneminebhedj, who lived from Amasis to Darius I (On Ahmosemeneminebhedj, see provisionally Vittmann 2009, 89–91, while four wives are known for Padiptah, god's servant of Bastet, mistress of the Two Lands, during the roughly same time (unpublished stela Louvre IM 4118,

checked as a digitalized image kindly put at my disposal by Didier Devauchelle).

⁹⁶ Cf. el-Sayed 1975, 189–190.

⁹⁸ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 491.

⁹⁹ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 493.

¹⁰⁰ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 492–493.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Marković and Ilić 2018.