



ON THE ORIGINALITY OF UDJAHORRESNET'S BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTIONS

Alexander Schütze

Institute for Egyptology, Ludwig-Maximilian University Munich

ABSTRACT

Udjahorresnet was not only witness of the early Persian rule over Egypt but also a typical representative of the administrative elite of the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty. This paper discusses the similarities of the inscription on the *Naophoro Vaticano* with biographical inscriptions of Egyptian officials of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, showing how the biographical parts of the inscription were embedded in traditional text genres referring to the original functional context of inscriptions on temple statues in Late Period Egypt. This functional context determines the biographical parts of the inscription highlighting benefactions of Udjahorresnet for the temple of Neith at Sais rather than providing an exhaustive historical report on the Persian conquest of Egypt.

The biographical inscriptions of the Chief Physician Udjahorresnet on his naophorous statue housed in the Vatican (Museo Egizio Gregoriano 22690) provide the most important account of the conquest of Egypt under the Persian great king Cambyses and the early years of Darius I's rule over Egypt providing a contemporary perspective of an Egyptian official on events of the time.¹ The numerous translations and discussions of the biographical inscription, however, focus on the "historical" parts of the lengthy hieroglyphic texts on the statue:²

- The enumeration of Udjahorresnet's administrative titles and account of his career as an overseer of the royal *kbnt*-vessels under the late Saite pharaohs Amasis and Psamtik III (9 columns on the garment under his right arm);
- his promotion to the offices of chief physician, companion and administrator for the palace under Cambyses, whose royal titulary he created and to whom he introduced the importance of Sais and its temples (same text passage);
- Cambyses worshipping and offering to Neith and Osiris Hemag at Sais under the instruction of Udjahorresnet (7 lines and columns on the naos stand);
- Udjahorresnet complaining before Cambyses about the foreigners in the temple of Neith at Sais; Cambyses orders the expulsion of the foreigners and the ritual cleansing of the temple (8 columns on the garment under his left arm);
- Udjahorresnet reorganizing the house of life after his return to Egypt under Cambyses'

successor, Darius I (3 columns on the back plinth).

These biographical passages are unique in their extent and the details they give in comparison with the inscriptions on monuments of other Egyptian officials of the Late Period. They are, however, fully integrated with formulaic texts that give valuable insights into the functional context of the naophorous statue and the inscriptions carved on it, as well as into the tradition of self-representation of officials through temple statues. These formulaic texts and their relation to the biographical texts are rarely discussed in scholarly literature.

In this article, I discuss how the biographical inscriptions on Udjahorresnet's naophorous statue fit into the tradition of inscriptions on temple statues of high officials of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. First, I review briefly the non-textual ways in which Udjahorresnet resembles other high officials of the late Saite period. I then provide parallels for the formulaic parts of the inscriptions on Udjahorresnet's statue. Finally, I relate Udjahorresnet's narrative of the reestablishment of the temple of Neith at Sais to similar descriptions in autobiographical inscriptions of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

UDJAHORRESNET AS A TYPICAL HIGH OFFICIAL OF THE LATE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY

Whereas only a handful of monuments provide evidence for Egyptian officials of the early Persian rule over Egypt, that is, the reigns of Cambyses and Darius I, many monuments give insight into the representation of high officials of the preceding Twenty-sixth Dynasty.³ The inscriptional evidence is now easily accessible to Egyptologists in the fourth volume of Karl Jansen-Winkel's *Inschriften der Spätzeit*.⁴ Udjahorresnet did not merely begin his career under Amasis, the penultimate pharaoh of the Saite period. A closer look at the evidence for high officials in the Egyptian administration under that pharaoh shows that Udjahorresnet can be considered as typical example for the social setting as well as for the self-presentation of this tiny elite in late Saite Egypt:⁵

(1) Udjahorresnet was buried in a monumental shaft tomb in the necropolis of Abusir.⁶ His tomb is part of a cluster of shaft tombs where other officials of the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty were buried, notably the "overseer of the royal *kbnt*-vessels" Menekhibnekau and "overseer of the foreign lands of the Haunebut" Iufaa.⁷ Other officials who had held

office under Amasis were buried in shaft tombs in different areas of the Memphite necropolis of Saqqara.⁸ A salient example is the cluster of similar late Saite shaft tombs next to the Unas pyramid. Among the officials buried there were the chief physician Psamtik and the "overseers of the ships of the king" Hekaemsaf and Tjanenhebu.⁹ The density of the network of officials that is indicated by their common burial places is evident also in the administrative titles they held.

(2) Several administrative titles held by Udjahorresnet were distributed over several officials of the late Saite period, namely the reign of Amasis. At least two other chief physicians are attested: the majordomo Peftuauneith whose biographical inscription on statue Louvre A 93 was discussed by Eva Jélinková-Reymond in the context of Amasis' supposed administrative reforms and the Psamtik, mentioned above, who was buried in a shaft tomb next to the Unas pyramid.¹⁰ Hekaemsaf was also "overseer of the scribes of the great hall" and Tjanenhebu "overseer of the scribes of the council," two titles held simultaneously by Udjahorresnet. Udjahorresnet was buried next to the tomb of another "overseer of the royal *kbnt*-vessels," Menekhibnekau, while Iufaa was "overseer of the foreign lands of the Haunebut," a title also attested in the tomb of Udjahorresnet. Menekhibnekau was additionally "overseer of the Tjemehu-Libyans," as also was the chief physician Psamtik.

(3) Most of the temple statues erected by Egyptian officials during the reign of Amasis derive from one of the temples of the royal residence of Sais, as a brief review of the evidence for non-royal individuals in Jansen-Winkel's *Inschriften der Spätzeit* shows.¹¹ A prominent case is provided by the numerous statues of the "chief of the inundable lands" Wahibre, one of which, the kneeling naophorous statue British Museum EA 111, is one of the largest known non-royal statues of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (height: 180 cm).¹² Other examples include two statues of the mayor of Sais Wahibre, two of the official Menekhibnekau who was also buried at Abusir, two of the chief lector priest Henat, and many other high officials of the late Saite period.

(4) The long robe worn by Udjahorresnet on the *Naoforo Vaticano* is a common feature of statues of the late Saite period. This wrongly named "Persian costume," which also occurs on statues of the early Persian period, such as that of the treasurer Ptahhotep, was depicted no later than the reign of Psamtik II, as Herman De Meulenaere showed on the basis of

the prosopography of a family of chief physicians.¹³ A remarkable number of statues with the Persian costume can securely be dated to the reign of Amasis, including those of the chief physician Peftuauneith (Paris, Louvre A 93), of the sealer of the king Psamtik-saneith (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum 42-9-1), and of the “overseer of the cavalry” Sematauitefnakht (Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27/11/58/8). It is noteworthy that all these examples are naophorous statues, a statue type that enjoyed great popularity in the late Saite period.

I argue below that the inscriptions on the *Naoforo Vaticano* of Udjahorresnet also fit with trends in the biographies and related texts of the late Saite period. First, I treat the formulaic parts of the inscription; I then briefly discuss two episodes in the biographical passages: the appointment of Udjahorresnet to the office of the chief physician and the reinstatement of the temples at Sais.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION ON UDJAHORRESNET'S STATUE

The inscriptions on the *Naoforo Vaticano* were carefully arranged.¹⁴ While the larger biographical parts were placed on the garment and back pillar, the shorter formulaic texts are mainly on the naos and plinth. The biographical inscriptions referring to the appointment of Udjahorresnet by Cambyses to the office of chief physician, the visit of the great king to Sais, the expulsion of foreigners from the temple, and the reinstatement of the cult at Sais cover both sides of the garment, as well as the naos stand. That these texts frame the naos is certainly no coincidence, because they narrate the agency of Udjahorresnet on behalf of the temple of Neith at Sais under Cambyses and Darius I, while the texts on the naos (and the statue base) contain relatively stereotyped formulae:

- an offering formula (on the front of the naos);
- Udjahorresnet protecting Osiris Hemag (4 columns on the naos roof);
- Udjahorresnet being honored by his family, for whom he cared during times of trouble (6 columns on the left wall of the naos);
- Udjahorresnet establishing the divine offering and erecting monuments for Neith; saving people of his city during the time of the great storm (6 columns on the right wall of the naos);

- Udjahorresnet being honored by his lords for his character (1 column on the top of the statue base);
- Udjahorresnet invoking the gods of Sais to make his name endure because of what he did for them (2 lines on the top of the statue base).

The events under Darius I, the successor of Cambyses, are inscribed on the back pillar of the statue. While the placement of a biographical text on the back pillar is not unusual—for example, the biographical inscription on the statue of the chief physician and majordomo Peftuauneith (Paris, Louvre A 93) is also on the back pillar—the covering of the garment with hieroglyphic texts is rather unusual. The statue's relatively modest size may have been an important factor in this decision: While the *Naoforo Vaticano* is only about 70 cm high (the head is lost), the statue of Peftuauneith is well over life size (174 cm).

THE OFFERING FORMULA AND IDEAL BIOGRAPHIES

The focal point of the whole inscription was the offering formula for Osiris of Hemag on the front of the naos formulating the statue's purpose: to participate in the regular offerings for the god in his temple at Sais.¹⁵ While the offering formula is a regular element of inscriptions on Late Period temple statues, the four columns on the roof of the naos contain a rather unusual inscription in which Udjahorresnet claims to protect Osiris Hemag, providing unique insights into the symbolism of naophorous statues.¹⁶ Closely related to this text is the inscription on the right wall of the naos in which Udjahorresnet claims: *jw smn=j htp-ntr n Nt wr(t) mwt ntr m wd n hm=f m 3wt dt* “I established the divine offering of Neith the Great, the mother of the god, on the command of his majesty for the duration of eternity.” This rather general description of Udjahorresnet's benefactions for the temples at Sais is further elaborated in the larger biographical parts on the garment, naos stand, and back pillar of the *Naoforo Vaticano*. These parts are discussed in more detail in the third part of this paper.

In the same inscription on the right wall, however, Udjahorresnet continues: *jnk s nfr m nwt=f nhm=j rmt=s m nšn(j) 3 wr hpr=f m t3 (r) dr=f (...) nd=j m3jr n-^c wsr* “I was a man good in his city as I saved its people from the very great storm that happened in

the entire land (...) I defended the weak against the strong." It has often been pointed out that the description of a very great disaster does not have a parallel in contemporary inscriptions. The term *nšn(j)* was employed again in the biographical inscription in the famous tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel in the late 4th/early 3rd century BCE.¹⁷ Care for the people of one's city is also topic of another biographical inscription on the statue of sealer of the king Psamtiksaneith (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum 42-9-1; Sais, Amasis) claiming: *jrj.n=j bw nfr n r(mt)w nw njwt=j nhm=j mšrw m-^cwsrw* "I did good things to the people of my city as I rescued the weak from the hand of the strong."¹⁸ The motif of the very great disaster appears a second time in the inscription on the left wall of the naos of Udjahorresnet, where he elaborates his care for members of his own family. The passage is introduced by the formula *jnk jmšhw n jt=f hs n mwt=f jmš-jb n snw=f* (...) "I was one honored of his father, one praised of his mother, beloved of his brothers (...)," which again finds a direct parallel in the inscription of Psamtiksaneith.

Another aspect of the ideal biography of Udjahorresnet is elaborated in the column on the top of the statue base in which Udjahorresnet describes his relationship to the kings he served in a rather general way, beginning: *jnk jmšhw hr nb=f nb* (...) "I was one who was honored by all his masters (...)." Similar phrases occur in biographical inscriptions from the whole Twenty-sixth Dynasty, as the following examples show: Tjabanebdjedetenimu (Durham, Oriental Museum 509; Mendes [?], Psamtik I), for instance, claims: *jnk mr nb=f hs=f r^c-nb* "I was one whom his lord loves, whom he praises every day."¹⁹ The overseer of the antechamber and educator of Psamtik II, Horiraa/Neferibrener, reports on one of his statues (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 658; Sais, Psamtik II) that he was beloved by the king because of his benefactions for the people of his majesty.²⁰ On the statue British Museum EA 83 (London; Heliopolis, Apries), Peftuauneith claims: *jnk mr n nb=f hr ndr(=j) drfw sdm(=j) sprw n hr nb* "I was the one whom his lord loved because (I) served the writings and (I) heard the petitions of everybody."²¹

APPEALS TO THE GODS AND THE LIVING

In two lines on the top of the statue base, Udjahorresnet invokes the gods of Sais to make his name

endure because of what he did for them: *j ntrw wrw jmjw Sšw shš=tn šhw nb(w) jrr wr swnw Wdš-Hr-rs-Nt jr=tn n=f šhw nbw smn rn=f nfr m tš pn dt* "Oh, you great gods, who are in Sais, remember all the beneficial things the chief physician Udjahorresnet did! May you do all useful things for him! May you let his beautiful name endure in this land forever!" The appeal to the gods or the staff of the temple where the statue was placed is a text genre that is often found on temple statues of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.²² The vizier Nespaqashuti (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 48634; Thebes, Psamtik I), for instance, requests the *wab*-priests of the temple: *shš kš=j hr wdhw* "Remember my *ka* on the altar";²³ the "overseer of the antechamber" Horiraa/Neferibrener (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 807; Memphis, Psamtik II): *shš=tw rn=j m shj n kš=f* "One may remember my name (even) as one who has gone to his *ka*."²⁴ In the inscription on the statue of the official Neshor (Paris, Louvre A 90; Heliopolis, Apries), who served at the gate of the northern foreign lands under Psamtik II and at the gate the southern foreign lands under Apries, a detailed description of how he equipped the temple at Heliopolis follows the appeal: *shš kš=j hr jrj.n=j m pr=tn* "Remember my *ka* because of what I did in this house."²⁵ Some lines later, Neshor continues: *shš=tn rdj nfrw m pr=tn m jb=f Ns-Hrw* (...) *rdj wšh rn=j m pr=tn shš kš=j m-ht h'w* "May you remember the one who gave the good things in your temple in his heart, Neshor (...) Cause my name to endure in your temple, remember my *ka* after the lifetime." On the statue of the royal herald Hor (Hannover, Kestner-Museum 1980.84; Hermopolis parva, Apries), the appeal *shš wj Dhwjtj shš wj* "Remember me, Thoth, remember me!" structures the positive characterizations of this official in a refrain-like manner.²⁶ The appeal to the gods to provide any benefaction for the deceased is also reflected by the biographical inscription on the statue of the sealer of the king Psamtiksaneith: *j mwt ntr* (...) *dj=t jr w šhw n s'h mj sr m njwt=f wn hr mw Nt* "O mother of god (...) may you cause beneficial things to be done for the venerable one as (for) an official in his city who is loyal to Neith (lit. who is on the water of Neith)." The same is true for the wish that the name of the diseased may live on: *j rmtw nb(w) nw hwwt Nt* (...) *njs=tn rn=j r-gs nb nhh n-š-n šhw hr=tn* "O all people of the temples of Neith (...) you may call my name besides the lord of eternity because of the useful things (I did) for you."

THE PROMOTION TO HIGH OFFICES BY THE KING

In the biographical inscription on the right of the garment, Udjahorresnet claims: *wḏ n=j ḥm=f j3wt wr swnw rdj.n=f ḥpr=j r-gs=f m smr ḥrp ḥ (...)* "His majesty assigned me the office of Chief Physician. He made me live at his side as Companion and Controller of the Palace (...)." The appointment of an official to a particular office by the king himself is a recurring theme in biographical inscriptions of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, as the following examples show. An exceptional case is the biographical inscription on the statue of Nesnaisut (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 17700; Edfu, Psamtik I), who claims to have been promoted by Psamtik I to the office of governor of nine different nomes in Egypt due to his effectiveness.²⁷ Horiraa/Neferibrener narrates on the statue Egyptian Museum CG 807: *tnj wj ḥm=f m 3t r 3t nbt ph=j j3wt wr(t) nt pr nswt rdj.n=f wj r jmj-r3 rwt* "His majesty distinguished me at all times (until) I reached a great office of the palace. He made me overseer of the antechamber." The official Neshor reports on statue Louvre A 90 (Elephantine, Apries): *rdj.n s(w) ḥm=f r j3wt 3t wrt j3wt nt s3=f wr jmj-r3 3 h3swt rsj(t) r ḥsf h3swt bdšw ḥr=f* "His majesty appointed him in the very great office of his eldest son, the overseer of the entrance of the southern foreign lands in order to repel the foreign lands who rebel against him." The biographical inscription on the statue of the "overseer of the entrance of the foreign lands of the great sea" Nakhthorheb (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 1048) who served under Amasis relates his appointment to the very same office with the reestablishment of divine offerings at the temple of Neith at Sais: *smnh.n=j wdhww=s n m bw nb wḏ.n ḥm=f rdj(t) wnn(=j) jm m ḥq3=s n wḏ <w>j ḥm=f m jmj-r3 3 h3swt w3d-wr* "I embellished their altars at every place where his majesty ordered to cause that I was there as their administrator (when) his majesty appointed me as overseer of the entrance of the foreign lands of the Mediterranean."²⁸ The lengthy biographical text on the statue of the sealer of the king Psamtiksaneith also contains the following passage elaborating the topic in rather general terms: *r<dj>.n wj ḥm=f m j3wt r j3wt r spr{w}(=j) r 3ht jmntt (...)* "His majesty gave me from office to office until (I) reached the western horizon (...)."

HIGH OFFICIALS AND THE REESTABLISHMENT OF EGYPTIAN TEMPLES

A recurring topic of the biographical inscription on

the *Naoforo Vaticano* is Udjahorresnet's presentation of benefactions for the temple of Neith at Sais. There is a certain ambivalence between the agency of Udjahorresnet and that of the great king: On the right wall of the naos, Udjahorresnet states that he established divine offerings for the goddess on the command of his majesty, that is, Cambyses (see above). In the passage on the naos stand, however, it is Cambyses who made an offering for Neith and established the libation for the lord of eternity in the temple of Neith. The agency of Udjahorresnet is rather indirect in this case: *jr.n ḥm=f nn ḥr rdj.n(=j) sj3 ḥm=f wr n ḥm(t)=s* "This his majesty did because I had caused him to comprehend the greatness of her majesty." In the eight columns under the left arm of the *Naoforo Vaticano*, he reports that he made a complaint in the presence of Cambyses because foreigners were living in the temple of Neith at Sais. It was Cambyses who ordered the expulsion of the foreigners from the temple, commanded its purification, and gave offerings to the goddess. Udjahorresnet repeats that it was he who caused Cambyses to recognize the greatness of Sais. Darius I later sent him back from Elam to Egypt in order to rebuild the house of life.

The biographical inscriptions of numerous high officials of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty refer to the reestablishment of Egyptian temples.²⁹ The major-domo of the god's wife of Amun Ibi reports on a stelophorous statue (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 36158) how he reorganized the domain of the god's wife that had fallen into decay shortly after its inauguration.³⁰ Horiraa/Neferibrener (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 658) witnesses substantial building activities at several temples at Sais under Psamtik II. Neshor states on his statue Louvre A 90 (Elephantine, Apries): *shḏ.n(=j) r3w-prw=tn m dbḥw nw ḥḏ k3w srwt 3pdw 33w (...)* "I illuminated your temples with the requirements of silver, oxen, geese, and numerous birds," continuing with a description of building activities for the temples of Khnum, Satet, and Anuket at Elephantine by the command of Pharaoh Apries. Another well-known example is the lengthy description of the chief physician Peftuauneith on statue Louvre A 93 describing his reestablishment of the divine offering for Khentimentiu at Abydos under Amasis. He probably did restoration work at Heliopolis under Apries, as stated in the following phrase on another statue (London, British Museum EA 83): *jnk jr 3ht n [...] bw nfr n ḥwt-ntr tn* "I was the one who made useful things for [...] and beautiful

things for this temple." The treasurer Ptahhotep (New York, Brooklyn Museum 37.353), who served under Darius I and was thus a contemporary of Udjahorresnet, states after an appeal to the living: *nd.n(=j) hmw=sn whr(=j) <ht> hr=sn r tr nb sḏf(=j) h3w(t)=sn s3(3).n(=j) wdḥww=sn swr.n(=j) hwt-ntr=sn m(j)ht nb(t) jr.n(=j) wr(t) m ḥw[t-Pth ...]* "I protected their sanctuaries by caring for them at all times and equipping their altars with food offerings. I made plentiful their offering tables, I made great their temples with everything, I did great things in the temp[le of Ptah ...]."31

It is remarkable that several officials under Pharaoh Amasis claim to have built at temples at Sais. The sealer of the king Psamtiksaneith, for instance, states: *jnk stp.n wj ḥm=f m mjtt=j r jr(t) mnw=f nb m S3w hr(-ntt) sj3 ḥm=f jb=j m ḥm-ntr* "I was the one whom his majesty chose among my equals to make all his monuments at Sais because his majesty knew my heart as a servant of god." Later in his inscription, the official also bears the title *hrp k3t nb(t) m S3w* "director of every work at Sais." The chief physician Horakhbit (Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 26532 + 20950) dug a canal at the command of his majesty in order to provide libations for the temple and purification for its personnel.³² The "overseer of the cavalry" Sematauitefnakht/Wahibremen (Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27/11/ 58/8) states: *h3t-sp 39 3bd 3 3ht jr ḥm n nswt bjtj [Hnm-jb-R'] wd wj ḥm=f r Ntrt r s'ḥ hwt-ntr n mwt=f Nt m jnr bj3t (...)* "Year 39, third month of *akhet*, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Khenemibra]: his majesty dispatched me to the nome of Sais in order to erect a temple for his mother Neith in quartzite (...)."33

The most prominent example of such commissioning is the "overseer of the entrance of the foreign lands of the great sea" Nakhthorheb (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 1048) who states: *gm.n(=j) htp nt ntrw pr m bw pn tš (...)* *wnn(=j) hr smn=sn r nhḥ m wd.n ḥm=f* "I found the offering(s) of the gods gone from this border place (...) I made them firm for eternity according to what his majesty commanded." Georges Posener argued that Nakhthorheb used his position as overseer of the foreign lands of the Mediterranean, with the associated access to customs duties and imported goods at Naukratis, to reestablish the divine offerings of an Egyptian temple.³⁴ Interestingly, the very same office was already held by the above-mentioned official Neshor under Psamtik II. In the biographical inscription on another statue of this official (St. Petersburg,

Hermitage 2962; Sais [?], Psamtik II) no reference is made to building activities at Sais despite the statement: *srwd mnw gm=f n m-ht rn=f mn m 'nhw* "The one who makes firm the monument will find (it) in the future, his name enduring among the living."³⁵ Nakhthorheb, however, was also "majordomo" (*jmj-r3 pr wr*) like the chief physician Peftuauneith and may have acted in this function. The building activities of both officials at Sais and Abydos have also been discussed in the context of supposed reforms of Pharaoh Amasis after the succession war of Apries and Amasis, although it is generally hard to determine at what point in the 44-year reign of Amasis restoration works mentioned in biographical inscriptions were carried out. An exception is Sematauitefnakht/Wahibremen, who precisely dates his temple-building activities to the year 39 of Amasis.

The closest parallel to Udjahorresnet's narrative of the reestablishment of the Neith temple is not an inscription on an official's statue from a temple at Sais but the well-known biography of the chief physician Peftuauneith. The biographical text on the back pillar of statue Louvre A 93 contains a lengthy report of Peftuauneith's restoration activities at Abydos. Peftuauneith had a number of titles held by other officials of the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty who were also engaged in reestablishing temples: Peftuauneith was chief physician like Udjahorresnet, but he also was "overseer of the two treasuries" like Ptahhotep who reestablished the divine offering at the Ptah temple at Memphis, as well as "great majordomo" like Nakhthorheb who was active at the Neith temple at Sais under Amasis. The inscription of Nakhthorheb indicates a close affinity between temple restoration work and the office of the overseer of the entrance of the foreign lands of the Mediterranean. It is, however, hard to establish in which function these officials rebuilt Egyptian temples, as most of them held several offices.

The narrative on Louvre A 93 is embedded in a traditional appeal-to-the-living formula. Peftuauneith describes in detail how he reestablished the temple of Khentimentiu at Abydos. Interestingly, the beginning of the narrative shows some similarities to the situation when Udjahorresnet made a petition before Cambyses after he found the Neith temple at Sais inhabited by foreigners. Peftuauneith states: *jw s'r.n(=j) mdt 3bdw r ḥnw ḥ r jdn m ḥm=f wd.n ḥm=f jr(=j) k3.t m 3bdw n-mr(wt) grg 3bdw* "I reported the matter of Abydos to the palace, to his Majesty's ear. His

majesty ordered me to do work in Abydos in order to rebuild Abydos." The interaction of this official with Pharaoh Amasis is also reflected by the phrase: *wnn(=j) hr dbht hswt hr nb(=j) r^c nb n-mr(wt) grg 3bdw* "I begged favors from my lord daily in order to restore Abydos." He rebuilt the temple of Khentimentiu at the command of Pharaoh and provisioned the temple with personnel and all necessary materials including a donation of 1,000 arouras of arable land. Peftuauneith chose phrasing quite close to that on the *Naoforo Vaticano* when he stated: *whm.n(=j) n=f htpt-ntr t hnqt k3w 3pdw m h^cw wn jm m-b3h* "I renewed its divine endowment of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl exceeding what it had been before." The most striking parallel, however, is the following passage: *sm3w.n(=j) pr-^cnh m-ht w3sj* "I renewed the house of life after its ruin." The narrative concludes with the often-cited passage where Peftuauneith claims that he had restored the income of the temple that was taken away by the local governor.

While similar descriptions are already known from the stelophorous statue of Ibi under Psamtik I, the restoring of the house of life is exclusively attested in the biographical inscriptions of the two chief physicians Peftuauneith and Udjahorresnet, indicating a close affinity between the office and the institution of the house of life. The agency of high officials of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in temple-building activities is also confirmed by their increasing prominence in stelae documenting the donation of land and other economic resources to Egyptian temples.³⁶ Examples are the donation stelae mentioning the mayor of Sais Wahibre (London, British Museum EA 1427), or the official Neshor who donated 1,000 arouras to the temple of Nesbadnebdjet at Mendes (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1037).³⁷ Moreover, Papyrus Rylands 9, the lengthy petition of a temple scribe under Darius I, provides a detailed description of an official of the fiscal administration restoring the temple of Amun at El-Hiba under Psamtik I including the donation of 1,000 arouras of arable land.³⁸ The numerous examples mentioned above show that Udjahorresnet's report of the reestablishment of the temple of Neith is essentially similar to biographical inscriptions of high officials who held office during the reign of Amasis and reported similar building activities at various temples at Sais, the royal residence of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this article was to show with examples that Udjahorresnet was a typical example of a high official of the Egyptian administration in the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty. This finding is illustrated not only by non-textual aspects, such as the erection of a statue in a temple at Sais, the burial in a monumental shaft tomb at Abusir, or the Persian dress, but also by the numerous archaizing administrative titles held by Udjahorresnet, as well as his inscriptions on the *Naoforo Vaticano*. The biographical inscription on the statue remains a unique case in its detailed description of the political context of his activities at Sais after the Persian conquest of Egypt and in the early years of Achaemenid rule over the land on the Nile. The formulaic passages of the inscription, including the offering formula, the appeal to the gods to remember his good deeds for the temple of Neith at Sais, or the elements of an ideal biography accounting Udjahorresnet's care for members of his family and the people of Sais, as well as the detailed description of Udjahorresnet's appointment by the ruling pharaoh to a high office and the benefactions for the temple of Neith at Sais, fit nicely into the continuum of similar biographical inscriptions of high officials of the Egyptian administration, especially in the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

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NOTES

- ¹ Posener 1936, 1–26 ; Tulli 1941; Botti Pietro Romanelli 1951, 32–40, pls. 27–32.
- ² E.g., Vittmann 2011, with further literature; Lopez 2015; Smoláriková 2015.
- ³ For the Persian period, see: Vittmann 2009; Agut-Labordère 2019.
- ⁴ Jansen-Winkeln 2014. For translations, see: Otto 1954; Heise 2007; Bassir 2014; cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2008.
- ⁵ Schütze 2019, 137–148.
- ⁶ Bareš 1999; cf. the contribution of Květa Smoláriková and Ladislav Bareš in this volume.
- ⁷ Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 57.228–229; cf. Bareš and Smoláriková 2008; Bareš and Smoláriková 2011.
- ⁸ For an overview, see: Stammers 2009.
- ⁹ Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 57.228–229; cf. Bresciani 1977.
- ¹⁰ Jelinková-Reymond 1957. For Psamtik, see: Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 57.287.
- ¹¹ Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 486–585; cf. El-Sayed 1975, esp. 219–286.
- ¹² Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 57.188–200.
- ¹³ De Meulenaere 1983; cf. Vittmann 2009, 97–98.
- ¹⁴ Rössler-Köhler 1985; Baines 1996.
- ¹⁵ Jansen-Winkeln 2016.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Klotz 2014.
- ¹⁷ Lefebvre 1924, 53–59; Lichtheim 1980, 44–54.
- ¹⁸ Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 57.212.
- ¹⁹ Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 53.98.
- ²⁰ Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 55.94. For the monuments of Horiraa, see: Jansen-Winkeln 1996; Perdu

- 2016, with further literature.
- ²¹ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 56.125.
- ²² Jansen-Winkel 2016.
- ²³ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 53.315.
- ²⁴ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 55.110.
- ²⁵ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 56.147.
- ²⁶ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 56.117.
- ²⁷ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 53.375.
- ²⁸ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 57.210.
- ²⁹ Spencer 2010.
- ³⁰ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 59.47.
- ³¹ Jansen-Winkel 1998, 163–168.
- ³² Jansen-Winkel 2014, 57.216.
- ³³ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 57.211.
- ³⁴ Posener 1947.
- ³⁵ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 55.95; cf. Jansen-Winkel 1999, 62–3 (A.2.c.1–6).
- ³⁶ Meeks 1979, esp. 635–640.
- ³⁷ Jansen-Winkel 2014, 57.187 and 56.15.
- ³⁸ Papyrus Rylands 9, VII, 5–13; cf. Vittmann 1998; Vittmann 2015, with further literature.