

## Annotations To The Egyptian Descent In The Descents From Antiquity Charts†

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In 1986, the Augustan Society published a series of 31 charts, the Descents from Antiquity (DfA) charts, which illustrated possible descent paths from antiquity to the present day. It was originally intended to issue annotations and a bibliography along with these charts. However, at about the same time the Society became aware of the similar efforts by the French researcher, Christian Settiani, which were eventually published in 1991 as *Nos ancêtres de l'antiquité*. Accordingly, preparation and publication of these parts of the DfA project were suspended in order to avoid duplication of effort.

The first several charts of the DfA project give possible descents from the late 17th dynasty of Egypt till the conquest of Egypt by the Persians. Settiani proposes a similar descent, though differing in several details and only going as far back as Ramses II of the 19th dynasty, and his immediate forebears. In this article, I provide annotations to the main line of descent in these charts, based on my own research.<sup>1</sup>

### 17th Dynasty

1. *Cenna (Tenna) m. Neferu; earlier names known but not their relationships; father-to-son or brothers likely for previous 100 years.*

2. *Teti-sheri (daughter), d. ca 1545 B.C., m. Senakhtenre Tao I*

Tetisheri's name (little Teti) suggests she was related to a noble family of this period in which the name Teti is prominent. Tetihemet, the nurse of queen Ahmes-Nefertari, Tetisheri's granddaughter, also came from this family. While only fragments of the family genealogy are traceable, and the details of Tetisheri's connection are unknown, its existence is traceable from Teti son of Minhotep, an opponent of king Nubkheperre Inyotef.<sup>2</sup>

The theory that Tetisheri married Ta'o I, although of very long standing, is a pure guess, based solely on the facts that Ta'o I was probably Ta'o II's immediate predecessor and that Tetisheri, the daughter of commoners (albeit prominent ones), married a king. The only real indicator of Ta'o's position in the royal genealogy is that he was called "Ta'o-o", meaning "Ta'o the Elder".<sup>3</sup> By analogy with a slightly earlier king Inyotef "the Elder" who was certainly the elder brother of a king Inyotef, Ta'o I was probably brother to Ta'o II; it being a well-documented, if confusing, custom of the period to give many children the same name. But, Tetisheri did marry a king. We just do not know who he was.<sup>4</sup>

3. *Seqenenre Tao II, "The Brave"; married his sister `Ahhotpe, d. ca 1515 B.C., age 88 or 100.*

It is not absolutely certain that Ta'ó II was the father of Ahmose, but it is by far the most likely theory.<sup>5</sup> Ahhotep, however, was almost certainly not nearly this old at death. I think the DfA chart has confused her with Tetisheri, who was very old when she died.

### 18th Dynasty

4. *Nebpehtyre `Ahmose, King 1550-1525 B.C.; married his sister `Ahmose Nefertari; founders of the XVIII dynasty*
5. *Djeserkare Amenhotep I, King 1525-1504; had a daughter Mutnefert; had son Akheperkare Tuthmosis I by concubine Sensenb; had daughter `Ahmose by wife Ahhotep II.*

This descent for Tuthmosis I is now generally discredited.<sup>6</sup> Amenhotep I married a queen Merytamun, and has no known children. Ahhotep II, who was buried in his reign, was his grandmother, the wife of Ta'ó II. (Ahhotep I, formerly believed to be the wife of Ta'ó II, is now unassigned, though she was most likely the wife of either Ta'ó I or Kamose.) Both Ahmes and Amenhotep I succeeded as minors, but Tuthmosis I was old enough on his accession to have a son, prince Amenmose, old enough to command armies in Year 5. Also, queen Ahmose, who was certainly a king's sister, is never called a king's daughter, which means she was neither daughter nor sister to Amenhotep I. The descent should most likely be replaced with the following:

- (4) *Ahmes-Sapair, heir-apparent to the minor Amenhotep I but died before him, married Sensenb. The mummy labelled as his in the cache of DB320 is that of a child, but all the other evidence points this way, and there is a good case from X-ray studies that many if not most of the royal mummies were mislabelled.<sup>7</sup>*

This makes Tuthmosis I (5) not (6) with consequent adjustments all the way down.

6. *Akheperkare Tuthmosis I, General of Amenhotep I, co-King 1504-1492; both wives were his half sisters; also to each other. Wife Mutnefert was the mother of Akheperenre Tuthmosis II, wife `Ahmose was the mother of Maatkare Hatshepsut*

There is no evidence that Mutnefert was a daughter of Amenhotep or a sister of Tuthmosis. The former is most unlikely for the same reasons that preclude Tuthmosis being his son.

7. *Akheperenre Tuthmosis II, King 1492-1479; m. half sister Maatkare Hatshepsut.*
8. *Menkheperre Tuthmosis III, Pharaoh 1479-1425 B.C.; son by concubine Isis; m. his half sister by father's wife (& half-sister) Maatkare Hatshepsut, Meritre Hatshepset*

Meritre Hatshepset was daughter of the God's Votaress Huy, not Maatkare Hatshepsut.<sup>8</sup>

9. *Akheperure Amenhotep II, Pharaoh 1427-1396 B.C. m. Tyo (Taaa, Tiaa)*
10. *Menkheprure Tuthmosis IV, Pharaoh m. Mutemwia, who was a probable daughter of Yey, Overseer of Horses and Tey*

The relationship of Mutemwia to Yey is unknown, though this is a reasonable guess. Tuthmosis' mother, Tia, may also have come from the same family, based in Akhmim, which is closely connected to this dynasty for the rest of its history.<sup>9</sup>

11. *Nebmare Amenhotep III m. Tiye-Nefertari, dau of Yuya, Overseer of Horses, High Priest of Min at Akhmim; Yuya m. Tuya, Head of Amon's Harem at Thebes; head of Min's Harem at Akhmim; Yuya was also a son of Yey and Tey*

Yuya's parentage is not certainly known, though the suggestion is probable.<sup>10</sup>

### 19th Dynasty

12. (Daughter)

13. *Sitre, m. Ramses I (Menpehtyre Ramesse) son of Sety*

Nothing is known of queen Sitre's ancestry. There is no reason to believe that the 19th dynasty was descended from the 18th. Everything we know of their origins makes them a provincial military family unconnected with the court before the reign of Horemhab.<sup>11</sup>

The transition from the 18th to the 19th dynasties is the most likely step in this descent to be unbridgeable, because of the collapse of the 18th dynasty in the Atenist heresy. A recent discussion<sup>12</sup> suggests that the two chief wives of Ramses II may have been descended from the last two 18th dynasty pharaohs - Nefertari from Ay, because of a faience knob with his name found in her tomb, and because of several associations with Akhmim; and Isitnofret from Horemhab because of associations with his private tomb in Saqqara. But neither of these pharaohs were descended from earlier kings, so far as is known, even though Ay's family probably provided chief queens for several generations. About the only possibility I can see based on current knowledge is to suppose that Nefertari was descended from a possible marriage between Ay and Ankhesenamun, widow of Tutankhamen, daughter of Akhenaten and (probably) Ay's own granddaughter. This is pretty far-fetched.

14. *Sety I m. Tuya, Heiress of the XVIII Dynasty, dau of Tuya, who m. Reya, Lieutenant of Chariotry; the latter Tuya was also a granddaughter of Tiye-Nefertari and Nebmare Amenhotep III (above)*

Again, there is no reason I know to describe Tuya as "Heiress of the 18th dynasty".

15. *Ramses II (Usermare Setepenre Ramesse), b. 1314 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 1290-1224 B.C.; d 1224 12/7 B.C.*

### 20th Dynasty

16. *Setnakht (Usirkha'ure Setepenre Meryamun Sethnakte), b. ca 1265 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 1186-1184 B.C.; d 1184 6/3 B.C. m. Tiye-Merenese*

There is no evidence of Setnakht's ancestry, let alone of his being a son of Ramses II. If this theory is correct, then some evidence for it may emerge from the ongoing excavations at KV5, now known to be the tomb of Ramses II's sons. Setnakht's own succession stele indicates that he was not in line for the throne,<sup>13</sup> so if he was a son of Ramses II it was almost certainly by a minor concubine - another difficulty for an 18th dynasty descent.

Most Egyptologists don't consider the 19th and 20th dynasty to be related. Neither Setnakht nor (more surprisingly, if it existed) Ramses III ever state a connection. This is not conclusive, since the formal Egyptian theory of succession seems to have been based on a revelatory ideal rather than any genealogical principle.<sup>14</sup> The use of common names (which is argued by Kitchen to support a connection between the 20th and 21st dynasties), the large numbers of descendants of Ramses II, and the fact that Hori, grandson of crown prince Khaemwese, was vizier under the first two 20th dynasty kings<sup>15</sup> all suggest that there was a connection of some type.

Settipani proposes a connection through Tiye-Merenese, Setnakht's queen, possibly as a sister of Seti II.<sup>16</sup> This is plausible but again a guess.

17. *Ramses III (Usirmare Meryamun Ramesse), b. ca 1225 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 1184-1153 B.C.; d 1153 16/B.C.*

18. *Ramses VIII (Sethirkhopsef Usirmare Akhenamun Ramesse), b. ca 1195 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 1129-1127 B.C.; d 1127 B.C.* seems the best reconstruction, but Nesubanebdjed (Smendes) is also a possibility.

Although this filiation is only an inference, it seems to be quite a strong case. It is also suggested that his father was Ramses VI.<sup>17</sup>

19. *Ramses IX (Khaemwaset Neferkare Setepenre Ramesse), b. ca 1175 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 1127-1109 B.C.; d 1109 B.C.*

The parentage of Ramses IX is unknown. Kitchen suggested that he was the son of prince Montuhirkhopsef, son of Ramses III, since he has a son of the same name. Montuhirkhopsef is now known to be a son of Ramses VI, not Ramses III.<sup>18</sup>

20. *Ramses X (Amenhirkhopsef Khepermare Setepenre Ramesse), b. ca 1155 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 1109-1099 B.C.; d 1099 B.C. m. Tyti*

This filiation and the next depends on Kitchen's hypothesis that Tyti, king's daughter, king's wife and king's mother, was the wife of Ramses X.<sup>19</sup>

21. *Ramses XI (Khaemwaset Menmare Setepenptah Ramesse), b. ca 1130 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 1099-1069 B.C.; d 1069 B.C.*

### 21st Dynasty

22. *Henttawy, b. 1105 B.C.; Princess of Egypt. m. Hedjkheperre Setepenre Nesubanebdjed, Pharaoh of Egypt 1069-1043 B.C.*

This is taken from Kitchen's 1972 reconstruction. He emended this in 1986 to propose instead that Henttawy married Pinudjem I, high priest of Amun at Thebes (1070-1055) and nominal king (1054-1032).<sup>20</sup> Henttawy's parentage is not certain, though she was a king's daughter and Psusennes I had Ramessid connections in his name. Ramses XI

23. *Psusennes I (Akheperre Setepenamun Psibkha'emne (Psusennes I), b. 1078 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 1039-991 B.C.; d 991 B.C. at Tanis; m. Wiay*

24. *Istemkheb, b. 1050 B.C.; Princess of Egypt. m. Menkheperre, High Priest of the god Amon in Thebes 1045-992 B.C.*

Menkheperre is known to be the son of Pinudjem I. His mother was probably Pinudjem's chief wife Hentawwy. Istemkheb, his wife, was the daughter of Wiay and is probably identical with Istemkheb, daughter of Psusennes I, but this is not absolutely certain.<sup>21</sup>

25. *Pinudjem II, b. 1030 B.C.; High Priest of the god Amon in Thebes 990-969 B.C.; d 969 B.C.*

26. *Psusennes II (Titkheperre Setepenre Har-Psibkhaemne), b. 995 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 959-945 B.C.; d 945 B.C.*

It is not certain that Psusennes, High Priest of Amun, is identical with Psusennes II, king of Egypt, though most scholars think so. Kitchen believes they were not. Dodson has argued that Psusennes II was a nominal king, coregent with Shoshenq I.<sup>22</sup> If they were different, then (27) Maatkare's ancestry must be sought through the main line of the 21st dynasty, which is not nearly so well known as the High Priests of Amun in this period.

### 22nd Dynasty

27. *Maatkare, b. 955 B.C.; Princess of Egypt; d after 940 B.C. m. Sekhemkheperre Setepenre Osorkon I, Pharaoh of Egypt 924-889 B.C.*

28. *Heqakheperre Setepenre Shoshenq II, b. 940 B.C.; High Priest of the god Amon in Thebes*

- 924-894 B.C.; *Pharaoh of Egypt* 890 B.C.; *d* 890 B.C. *m. Nesitanebtashru*
29. *Hedjkheperre Setepenamun Harsiese*, *b.* 920 B.C.; *High Priest of the god Amon in Thebes* 874 B.C.; *Pharaoh of Egypt ca 870-ca 860 B.C.*; *d ca 860 B.C.*
30. *Karoma I*, *b. ca 900*; *Princess of Egypt*; *d after 852 B.C. m. Usermare Setepenamun Osorkon II, Pharaoh of Egypt 874-850 B.C.*
31. *Shoshenk*, *b.* 885 B.C.; *Great Chief of Ma*; *High Priest of the god Ptah in Memphis ca 870-850 B.C.*; *d 851 B.C.*
32. *Takelot*, *b.* 865 B.C.; *Great Chief of Ma*; *High Priest of the god Ptah in Memphis ca 830-ca 810 B.C.*; *d ca 810 B.C. m. Djedbastesankh*
33. *Djed Bast es Ankh*, *b.* 840 B.C. *d after 807 B.C. m. Usermare Setepenre Shoshenk III, Pharaoh of Egypt 825-773 B.C.*
34. *Usermare Setepenre Pimay*, *b.* 830 B.C.; *Great Chief of Ma*; *Prince of Sais*; *Pharaoh of Egypt 773-767 B.C.*; *d 767 (?) B.C.*

The affiliation between Karoma and Harsiese is not certain. Kitchen (rather surprisingly) does not have an opinion on the question. Karoma is certainly a king's daughter.<sup>23</sup> As Settapani points out,<sup>24</sup> this makes her a daughter of Takeloth I (also the father of Osorkon II), or Harsiese, and Shoshenq II should be added. Settapani notes that she is not called king's sister, which in his view favours Harsiese. However, the chronology of prince Shoshenq (31) requires that Osorkon married Karoma before Harsiese's nominal accession. Also, there is another Karoma, Divine Wife of Amun and king's daughter, who is likely to be Harsiese's daughter.<sup>25</sup> Multiple children of the same name seem to be less common in this period than in earlier times. If the absence of "king's sister" is significant, then these factors favour Shoshenq II.

On this theory, Karoma should become generation 28 (since we have already saved a generation with Tuthmosis I). In any case Takeloth I is unlikely to be her father, which makes her almost certainly a descendant of Maatkare.

It should be noted that none of the pharaohs of the 22nd or 23rd dynasties have a traceable ancestry to the marriage of Osorkon I with Maatkare (27). It is hard to believe that one did not exist, especially from this point on, but at this time we do not know what it was.

As noted by Settapani, the evidence for Djedbastesankh as wife of Takeloth is ambiguous, in that she appears on a broken monument, other pieces of which name both prince Takeloth and Shoshenq III; quite probably Takeloth's daughter of the same name (33) is meant.<sup>26</sup> Probably her mother was Takeloth's well-attested wife (and aunt) Tjesbastperu, daughter of Osorkon II by an Istemkheb of unknown ancestry. The name Istemkheb is very common in the 21st dynasty, though not in the 22nd. Settapani suggests therefore that she was the descendent of the Maatkare union, but there is really no evidence for this.

There is no reason to suppose that Pimay's mother was Djedbastesankh. Shoshenq's chief queen was Tentamenopet, whose ancestry is unknown. Although Pimay was not the original crown prince, if one has to guess his mother then Tentamenopet is probably the best guess. It is not certain that Pimay, son of Shoshenq III, prince of Sais, is the same as the later pharaoh Pimay (the name is spelled differently),<sup>27</sup> but it is likely, and so accordingly likely that later princes of Sais were descended from the 22nd dynasty.

35. *Osorkon, b. 805 B.C.; Great Chief of Ma; prophet of Neith; Prince of Sais ca 773-740(?) B.C.; d 740 B.C.*

The parentage of prince Osorkon<sup>28</sup> is unknown, though Pimay is a reasonable guess as his father. Settapani distinguishes Osorkon, Great Chief of Ma, prince of Herakleopolis, from his namesake, Great Chief of Ma, prince of Sais.<sup>29</sup> There seems no reason to do this.

#### 24th Dynasty

36. *Shepsesre Tefnakhte I, b. 780 B.C.; Great Chief of Ma; prophet of Neith; Prince of Sais 740-727 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 727-720 B.C.; d 720 B.C.*

The parentage of Tefnakht is unknown. Given the change in royal naming patterns, after two centuries of almost unmitigated Shoshenqs, Takeloths, and Osorkons, one might well argue that he was from a different family. However, several other new names (e.g. Pimay, Rudamon) make their appearance in the royal families in this period.

37. *Wahkare Bakenranef, b. 755 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 720-715 B.C.; d 715 B.C., killed by Shabaka of the XXV Dynasty*

38. *Iribre Nekauba, b. 735 B.C.; Prince of Sais 688-672 B.C.; d 672 B.C.*

The relationship of the 24th dynasty to the 26th, if any, is very uncertain, though widely felt to be likely. It appears that there were several princes of Sais between the two, one of which was arguably called Tefnakht. Nekauba is the possibly legendary prince Nechepso. The prenomen Iribre is a suggestion of Kitchen's. Settapani suggests Iribre Tefnakhte.<sup>30</sup>

#### 26th Dynasty

39. *Menkheperre Necho I, b. 710 B.C.; King of Memphis and Sais 672-664 B.C.; d 664 B.C.*

40. *Wahibre Psamtek I, b. 685 B.C.; Prince of Athribis 665 B.C., Prince of Sais 664 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 664-610 B.C.; d 610 B.C.*

41. *Wehemobre Necho II, b. 660 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 610-595 B.C.; d 595 B.C.*

42. *Neferibre Psamtek II, b. 630 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 595-589 B.C.; d 589 B.C.*

43. *Wahibre Haibre, b. 605 B.C.; Pharaoh of Egypt 589-570 B.C.; d 568 B.C.*

44. *Neithiyti, b. 570 B.C. d after 529 B.C. m. ca 546/545 B.C. Kurush (Cyrus II), King of Persia 559 B.C., conquered Babylon and established as Babylonian King; d 530 B.C.*

There is some doubt that Nitetis existed. Herodotus reports that the Egyptians called Cambyses son of Nitetis, but the title "son of Neith" was common among 26th dynasty pharaohs. My own view is that she did exist, because Herodotus also reports a number of highly circumstantial stories about her told by the Persians. Herodotus reports that she was wife of Cambyses (in one place) and wife of Cyrus (shortly after); further that she was presented as the daughter of the usurper Amasis but was "really" the daughter of Apries.<sup>31</sup>

If she was the daughter of Amasis then any Egyptian ancestry through her stops there: nothing is known of her mother and virtually nothing of Amasis' ancestry, though it is possible that Amasis did marry a daughter of Apries.<sup>32</sup> However, the Egyptian kings had a strong taboo against marrying their own daughters abroad. I think the most plausible theory is that Nitetis really was a daughter of Apries married to Cyrus by Amasis.

45. *Atossa, b. 545 B.C.; Princess of Persia; d 480/465 (?) B.C. m. Darayavahush (Darius I), King of Persia 522-486 B.C.; d 486 B.C.*

It is exceedingly unlikely that Atossa was the daughter of Nitetis. The case presented by Settiani is entirely circumstantial.<sup>33</sup> He establishes that Atossa was most likely born around 545, that the period after Cyrus' conquest of Lydia in 547 is the most likely time, politically speaking, for a diplomatic marriage with Egypt, which allows Nitetis to be in her early 20s, and that Cassandane may have been out of favour with Cyrus at about the time of his marriage to Nitetis. This is all very well, but it discounts the evidence of Herodotus about the marriages of Cambyses, which is dismissed as legendary on this point. Herodotus says that Cambyses married his full sisters.<sup>34</sup> One of them died at his hands in Egypt; the other is Atossa, who went on to marry both Smerdis and Darius I, becoming the mother of Xerxes. Atossa is unknown in Persian sources and does not appear to have been Darius' favourite wife - that was Artysone, another daughter of Cyrus - but as the mother of Xerxes she was of very great interest to the Greeks (Aeschylus refers to her death in one of his plays). It is hard to believe that Herodotus did not know who her mother was.

Settiani presents us with another line of argument against Nitetis being Atossa's mother.<sup>35</sup> Cyrus' principal wife was Cassandane, the mother of Cambyses, who died in Babylon in 539, shortly after Cyrus conquered it. She was the daughter of Pharnaspes. Diodorus has a corrupt ancestry of the kings of Cappadocia which begins with a "Pharnaces" who married an Atossa, sister of Cambyses I (hence the aunt of Cyrus). Settiani presents a good argument that this genealogy is mostly correct (with a straightforward emendation and one clear late interpolation), and that "Pharnaces" and his immediate descendants can be identified with known individuals in the family of this same Pharnaspes, with

"Pharnaces" being Pharnaspes himself. But in this case Cassandane's mother was probably Atossa, the aunt of Cyrus. Cyrus' daughter Atossa was therefore almost certainly named after her maternal grandmother - and Cassandane was indeed her mother, just as Herodotus says.

The DfA charts present a second descent from the pharaohs, via a daughter of Necho II:

42. *Nitocris, married Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylon 605-562*

whence a hypothetical (and highly questionable) descent is adduced for Andia, mother of Parysatis, the wife of Darius II and ancestress of the later Achaemenids.

This is based on a statement by Herodotus that a queen Nitocris of Babylon married a king Labynetus and was the mother of a king Labynetus.<sup>36</sup> One of these may be identified as Nabonidus. Since the name "Nitocris" is undoubtedly Egyptian, Dougherty proposed that she was a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar via a marriage to a daughter of Necho II of unknown name.<sup>37</sup> In view of the abhorrence that Egyptian kings showed for placing their daughters in foreign marriages, this theory is most unlikely.<sup>38</sup> Lewy has more plausibly suggested that "Nitocris" is Herodotus' misunderstanding of a form of "Naqia", the wife of Sennacherib; it may be noted that Nabonidus claimed descent from the Assyrian kings.<sup>39</sup>

## Notes

† This article appeared in a slightly different form as a series of postings to the Internet UseNet newsgroup soc.gen.medieval in October 1995. The DfA listing is that provided in an earlier posting to the same newsgroup by Rik Vigeland, with some minor editorial emendations.

The following abbreviations are used for reference sources:

- ArchOr: *Archiv Orientalni*  
 ASAE: *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*  
 BIFAO: *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*  
 BSFE: *Bulletin de la société française d'Égyptologie*  
 GM: *Göttinger Miszellen*  
 JAMS: *Journal of Ancient and Medieval Studies* (available from the Octavian Society)  
 JEA: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*  
 JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*  
 LdA: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*  
 MDAIK: *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*  
 Or: *Orientalia*  
 RdE: *Revue d'Égyptologie*  
 SAK: *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*  
 TIP: K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 2nd edition (Warminster, 1986).
- <sup>1</sup> The DfA descent line is given in italics, with generational numbering added. Collateral information in the DfA charts, which is not addressed here, can mostly be studied through the referenced sources, or through other articles in the same journals. I have chosen not to comment on questions of chronology, which is a subject of intense, and at times ferocious, debate. However, in general, most dates in ancient Egyptian history before 664 BC should only be regarded as accurate to within a decade or two. Also I have not provided references for affiliations which are known to be certain. For these see, in general: *LdA*, *TIP*, and:
- J. E. Harris & E. F. Wente, *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies* (Chicago, 1980).
- <sup>2</sup> W. Helck, "Der Aufstand des Tetian" *SAK* 13 (1986) 125.
- <sup>3</sup> C. Vandersleyen, "Un seul roi Taa sous la 17<sup>e</sup> dynastie" *GM* 63 (1983) 67, disputes that king Senakhtenre was called Ta'o. While the equation is not proven, so it is appropriate to be cautious, this analysis is hypercritical – see C. J. Bennett, "King Senakhtenre" *GM* 145 (1995) 37.
- <sup>4</sup> For a proposed extension of the DfA ancestry by 8 generations see Bennett, "Bridging the Second Intermediate Period" *JAMS* 12 (1995) 1.
- <sup>5</sup> He was certainly the father of a king – see G. M. Robbins, "Ahhotpe I, II and III" *GM* 56 (1982) 71.
- <sup>6</sup> Bennett, "Thutmose I and Ahmes-Sapaïr" *GM* 141 (1994) 35.
- <sup>7</sup> Wente & Harris, "Royal Mummies of the Eighteenth Dynasty" in C. N. Reeves (ed.), *After Tut'ankhamun* (London, 1992) 2.
- <sup>8</sup> M. Gitton, *Les divines épouses de la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Paris, 1984) 79ff.
- <sup>9</sup> Harris & Wente, op. cit. 133.
- <sup>10</sup> C. Aldred, *Akhenaten King of Egypt* (London, 1988) 219f.
- <sup>11</sup> E. Cruz-Uribé, "The Father of Ramses I: OI 11456" *JNES* 37 (1978) 237.
- <sup>12</sup> C. Leblanc, "Isis-nofret, grand épouse de Ramsès II: la reine, sa famille et Nofretari" *BIFAO* 93 (1993) 313. No children of Horemhab are known historically, but the remains of a woman found in his private tomb at Saqqara indicate that she suffered through several difficult pregnancies. If these are indeed the remains of his queen Mutnodjmet, it is very possible that she had at least one surviving daughter. See G. T. Martin, "Queen Mutnodjmet at Memphis and El-'Amarna" in *L'Égyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches* (Paris, 1982) II 275, and E. Strouhal, "Queen Mutnodjmet at Memphis: Anthropological and Paleopathological Evidence" in idem 317.
- <sup>13</sup> A. J. Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty* (Jonsered, 1994) 3.
- <sup>14</sup> O. D. Berlev, "The Eleventh Dynasty in the Dynastic History of Egypt" in D. W. Wright (ed.) *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky* (Beacon Hill, 1981) 361.
- <sup>15</sup> M. L. Bierbrier, "Elements of Stability and Instability in Ramessid Egypt: The Succession to the Throne" in E. Bleiberg & R. Freed (eds.) *Fragments of a Shattered Visage* (Memphis, 1991) 9.
- <sup>16</sup> Op. cit. 173f.
- <sup>17</sup> Kitchen, "Ramesses VII and the Twentieth Dynasty" *JEA* 58 (1972), 182.
- <sup>18</sup> Kitchen, "Family Relationships of Ramses IX and the Late Twentieth Dynasty" *SAK* 11 (1984) 127; H. Altenmüller, "Prinz Mentu-her-chopeschef aus der 20. Dynastie" *MDAIK* 50 (1994) 1.
- <sup>19</sup> Kitchen, loc. cit.
- <sup>20</sup> *TIP* 537ff.
- <sup>21</sup> *TIP* 62.
- <sup>22</sup> *TIP* 8; A. M. Dodson, "Psusennes II" *RdE* 38 (1987) 49.
- <sup>23</sup> *TIP* 322.
- <sup>24</sup> Op. cit. 164 n. 5.
- <sup>25</sup> *TIP* 323.
- <sup>26</sup> Loc. cit.; cf. G. Daressy, "Un groupe de statues de Tell el Yahoudieh" *ASAE* 20 (1920) 169ff.
- <sup>27</sup> *TIP* 141.



- <sup>28</sup> J. Yoyotte, “Le talisman de la victoire d’Osorkon, prince de Sais et d’autres lieux” *BSFE* 31 (1960) 13.
- <sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.* 162f.
- <sup>30</sup> *TIP* 146; Settiani, *op. cit.* 161f.
- <sup>31</sup> Herodotus, *The Histories* (trans A. de Selincourt) (Harmondsworth, 1954) iii, 1ff.
- <sup>32</sup> G. Wittman, “Die Familie der saïtischen Könige” *Or* 44 (1975) 375.
- <sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.* 154ff.
- <sup>34</sup> Herodotus, *op. cit.* iii 31.
- <sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* 143.
- <sup>36</sup> Herodotus, *op. cit.* i 185ff.
- <sup>37</sup> R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (New Haven, 1929) 51ff.
- <sup>38</sup> Cf. my remarks in *op. cit.*, *JAMS* 12 (1995) 54 n. 59.
- <sup>39</sup> H. Lewy, “Nitokris-Naqi’a” *JNES* 11 (1952) 264; *ibid.*, “The Babylonian Background of the Kay Kâûs Legend” *ArchOr* 17 (1949) 35 nn. 35 & 36.