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THE LIBYAN PERIOD IN EGYPT
HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL STUDIES
INTO THE 21TH – 24TH DYNASTIES:
PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE AT LEIDEN UNIVERSITY,
25-27 OCTOBER 2007

G.P.F. BROEKMAN, R.J. DEMARÉE and O.E. KAPER (eds.)

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN
LEIDEN

PEETERS
LEUVEN
2009
CONTENTS

Contents............................................................................................................................................ v
Introduction ....................................................................................................................................vii

David A. Aston,
Takeloth II, A King of the Herakleopolitan/Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty Revisited:
The Chronology of Dynasties 22 and 23.......................................................................................... 1

Mariam F. Ayad,
The Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule: the Role of the God’s Wife of Amun ..................... 29

Susanne Bickel,
The Inundation Inscription in Luxor Temple ............................................................................... 51

Helmut Brandl,
Bemerkungen zur Datierung von libyerzeitlichen Statuen aufgrund stilistischer Kriterien........ 57

Gerard P.F. Broekman,
Takeloth III and the End of the 23rd Dynasty .............................................................................. 91

Aidan Dodson,
The Transition between the 21st and 22nd Dynasties Revisited.................................................. 103

Claus Jurman,
From the Libyan Dynasties to the Kushites in Memphis: Historical Problems
and Cultural Issues ..........................................................................................................................113

Dan’el Kahn,
The Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt: Revisiting the Reign of Tefnakht........... 139

Olaf E. Kaper,
Epigraphic Evidence from the Dakhleh Oasis in the Libyan Period ........................................... 149

Kenneth A. Kitchen,
The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact & Fiction................................. 161

Eva Lange,
The Sed-Festival Reliefs of Osorkon II at Bubastis: New Investigations .................................... 203

Marc Loth,
Thebanische Totenstelen der Dritten Zwischenzeit: Ikonographie und Datierung ................. 219

Rita Lucarelli,
Popular Beliefs in Demons in the Libyan Period: The Evidence of the
Oracular Amuletic Decrees ............................................................................................................. 231
José Lull,  
Beginning and End of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre .................................................... 241

Matthias Müller,  
The “el-Hibeh” Archive: Introduction & Preliminary Information............................................... 251

Brian Muhs,  
Oracular Property Decrees in their Historical and Chronological Context ............................... 265

Andrzej Niwinski,  
The Tomb Protection in the Theban 21st Dynasty: Unknown archaeological facts gathered during the excavation of the Polish-Egyptian “Cliff Mission” at Deir el-Bahari in the seasons 1999-2006............................................................................................................ 277

Frédéric Payraudeau,  
Takeloth III: Considerations on Old and New Documents........................................................... 291

M. Carmen Pérez Die,  
The Third Intermediate Period Necropolis at Herakleopolis Magna........................................... 302

Robert Ritner,  
Fragmentation and Re-integration in the Third Intermediate Period............................................. 327

Troy Leiland Sagrillo,  
The Geographic Origins of the “Bubastite” Dynasty and Possible Locations for the Royal Residence and Burial Place of Shoshenq I................................................................. 341

Cynthia May Skeikholeslami,  
The End of the Libyan Period and the Resurgence of the Cult of Montu ................................. 361

John H. Taylor,  
Coffins as Evidence for a “North-South Divide” in the 22nd – 25th Dynasties ............................... 375

Anthony Leahy,  
Dating Stelae of the Libyan Period from Abydos ........................................................................ 417

Discussions ................................................................................................................................... 441

Richard A. Fazzini,  
Addendum to the Discussions on the Chapel of Osiris Heqa-Djet............................................... 446

Index of Place Names ................................................................................................................... 449

Index of Proper Names........................................................................................................... 451
Introduction

Unlike many of the other historical problems concerning the Libyan period, the foundation of Dynasty 22 and its origins are generally regarded as clear. The Great Chief of the Meshwesh, Chief of Chiefs, Shoshenq B, who hailed from the region of Bubastis, married his son Osorkon to the daughter of the reigning king, Psusennes II. Upon the death of Psusennes II, the Libyan chief peacefully assumed the throne of Egypt as Hedj-kheper-Re Shoshenq I, founding Dynasty 22, the “Bubastite” dynasty. Some time after his ascension, the new king moved his residence from Bubastis to rule from the environs of Tanis (if not Tanis itself), where he eventually died and was presumably buried. So goes the narrative found in most studies of the period.1

This paper aims to call into question three key facets of this narrative, that Dynasty 22 originated at Bubastis; that Shoshenq I resided at, and ruled from, Tanis; and that he was likewise buried at Tanis. While several of the conclusions offered here will of necessity remain tentative due to a lack of conclusive proof, it is hoped that they will provoke further examination of these questions, and demonstrate that the communis opinio is perhaps open to revision.

The geographic origin of the “Bubastite” Dynasty

On the authority of Manetho’s Ægyptiaca, Dynasty 22 is known as the “Bubastite Dynasty” due to his claim that the dynasty originated at Bubastis, modern Tell Basta.2 This claim goes basically unchallenged and is widely accepted as being axiomatic. However, it is notable that other than the testimony of Manetho, there is little evidence to bolster the argument that Dynasty 22 in fact originated at the site. This is not to intimate that the dynasty paid no interest whatsoever to Tell

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Basta – the building programs of Osorkon I and Osorkon II certainly demonstrate otherwise – but outside of the temple precinct, there is little presence of significant material that can be associated with the early period of the dynasty’s foundation.

In the case of Shoshenq I, materials that can be associated with his reign and originating at Tell Basta or the immediate vicinity include only a quartzite relief, now in Edinburgh [Royal Museum 1967.2], and perhaps a limestone block with two partial cartouches. A granodiorite fragment from Tell el-Maskhuta with the cartouches of Shoshenq I may have originally come from Tell Basta, given that Tell el-Maskhuta was not (re)inhabited until Dynasty 26 and stone building material was brought in from neighboring sites. Finally, a limestone lintel discovered at Tell Basta that was once suggested to be a joint work of Psusennes II and Shoshenq I is now assigned to Tut-kheper-Re Shoshenq IIb.

Despite the weight of Manetho’s testimony, the Middle Egyptian site of Ehnasya el-Medina [Herakleopolis magna] was formerly – albeit not universally – mooted as the ancestral home of Dynasty 22. This notion was based primarily on the testimony of the “Pasenhor stela” [Louvre Ehnasya el-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna): Its importance and its role in pharaonic history.}

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THE GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF THE “BUBASTITE” DYNASTY

IM 2846],12 a Serapeum stela dated to the reign of Shoshenq V. The main body of the text states that the ancestors of Pasenhor B – reaching back in time five generations to Nimlot C (lines D4–D9), the son of king Osorkon II – were involved in the cult of Heryshef at Ehnasya el-Medina. Additionally, the stela also lists both the royal and non-royal ancestors of Osorkon II back to “the tjehenu-Libyan, Buyuwawa” (lines D10–D13). By extension it might be assumed that these earlier generations before Nimlot C are also to be located at Ehnasya el-Medina, but because the stela does not explicitly mention any direct connection, Kitchen argues that testimony of the Pasenhor stela
does not imply that the 22nd Dynasty came from Heracleopolis to assume the throne of Egypt. That link in the stela does not antedate Nimlot C, son of Osorkon II. The other Nimlot (A, father of Shoshenq I) is entitled simply God’s Father and Great Chief, without any location. Nor does any other monument link either Nimlot A or his forebears with Heracleopolis. During the 22nd Dynasty, interest in that town was strategic and religious – nothing more.13

While Kitchen is certainly correct in his assertion that the family’s link to Ehnasya el-Medina as stated on the stela does not antedate Nimlot C, his general dismissal unduly minimizes the import of the site for Dynasty 22, and the Libyan period in general. There is, in fact, a great deal of textual and archaeological evidence for a long-sustained presence of Libyans at the site, as well as an abiding interest on their behalf in it, well beyond what can be demonstrated for Tell Basta, or indeed most other sites in Egypt, save perhaps San el-Hagar.

This substantial and sustained Libyan presence at Ehnasya el-Medina did not arise overnight. Likely due to its being located at a major ingress point into the Nile valley from the western oases and Libya, as well as the Fayyum,14 Libyan associations with the region go back to the New Kingdom at the very least. At that time, the region of Middle Egypt was widely used by the Ramesside kings as a resettlement locale for foreign prisoners of war,15 in what can only be regarded as military reeducation centers.16 This is most clearly seen in an extraordinary text on a rhetorical stela from the time of Ramesses III (Chapel C of Deir el-Medina).17

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15 cf. ls mhwd “the fields of the Sherden” [JE 45327], still recognized during the reign of Osorkon II (Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 132 (18.69, line 4)). See also note 22, infra.
They have captured the hill-country of the [ . . . ], the Libu and the Meshwe<sh>. He caused their crossing of the river [ i.e., the Nile], carried off into the Black-land. They are done [ i.e., settled] into strongholds of the victorious king, that they might hear the speech of the (Egyptian) people while serving the king. He makes their language [lit., “speech”] disappear; he overturns their tongues.

After cultural indoctrination, the prisoners housed therein were pressed into military service as auxiliary troops. The neighborhood of Ehnasya el-Medina was no exception, presumably due to its highly strategic location. For example, “the bḥn—estate18 of the Nubian” [p3 bḥn n p3 nḥtw] was located in the region,19 as were “strongholds” [nḥtw]20 of the Sherden.21 The latter term, nḥtw, refers specifically to strongholds housing populations of non-Egyptians designated for service to the Egyptian state.22 For example, Ramesses III, referring to the Sea Peoples, states

\[\text{snt}=j \text{ st m nḥtw w}f \text{ hr} \text{ r n}=j \text{ ʃst nṣy}=n \text{ ṣḥrw mj ḫnw}\]

I settled them in nṣxtww—strongholds, subdued because of my name, the multitudes of their young recruits like hundred-thousands.23

Kitchen is of course well aware of this Ramesside policy to forcibly settle foreign prisoners of war within Egypt proper. He rejects, however, the notion that Libyan prisoners from the wars of Ramesses III were settled in Middle Egypt,24 seeing “but very little trace of Libyans”.25 Rather,
he vaguely argues Libyan prisoners of war were settled in the eastern Delta, including at Tell Basta.26

**Libyan military strongholds in Middle Egypt**

There is, *contra* Kitchen, direct confirmation of a major Libyan presence in Middle Egypt, specifically in the region of Ehnasya el-Medina, as early as Dynasty 21. This comes in the form of two texts from the Third Intermediate Period necropolis at Ehnasya el-Medina.27 The first is an inscription on the left jamb of a door frame [Misión Arqueológica Española magazine (Ehnasya el-Medina), inventory 86-368-369], which records the name of the Overseer of the Army, First God’s Servant of Heryshef, King of the Two Lands, Leader [*ḥswtj*], Amen-kha-em-opet, who was also the “Foremost of the five Great Strongholds of the Me<śwšw>” [*ḥṣtj pś 5 nhhtw ʾsw n n n < n > m < śwšw > w*].28 The second text is on a lintel [JE 94748; left and right sides] that names the “child <of> the Great Chief of the Me<śwšw> [ms < n > wr ʾs n m < śwšw > w]; Leader, Overseer of the Army, First God’s Servant of Heryshef, King of the Two Lands, Osorkon, who – as with Amen-kha-em-opet – was the “Foremost of the five” Great Strongholds of the Me<śwšw>” [*ḥṣtj pś ʾnhhtw ʾsw n n < n > m < śwšw > w*].29

It is clear from these texts, which date to late Dynasty 21 or early Dynasty 22,30 that there were once “five Great Strongholds of the Me<śwšw>” in the region of Ehnasya el-Medina. As Morris demonstrates, *nhwt*-strongholds were specifically utilized to house foreign prisoners of war in service to the Egyptian state.31 So while these five “Great Strongholds of the Meshwesh” are not attested textually before the Third Intermediate Period, it would be improbable for them to have

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27 In addition to the following, see also the contribution of María del Carmen Pérez Die elsewhere in this volume, who discusses the dating of these texts.


29 Pérez Die and Vernus (*Excavaciones*, 42, 44–46) regard text and the previous one as referring to a single stronghold, reading *ḥṣtj pś nhhtw ʾs n n < n > m < śwšw > w* “que está al mando de la gran fortaleza de los Ma.” However, the numeral “5” is clearly written, and Pérez Die (this volume) is now in agreement with this reading; see also Jansen-Winkeln, *Orientalia* 75 [new series] (2006), 308, note 72.


31 See note 29, supra. Based on palaeographic evidence, Pérez Die and Vernus suggest the Osorkon referred to on the lintel [JE 94748] may possibly be either the future Osorkon I or else an otherwise unattested son of Nimlot B (and thus a grandson of Shoshenq I); see Pérez Die and Vernus, *Excavaciones*, 47; see also Pérez Die, “Fouilles récentes,” *passim*. Chevereau (*Basse Époque*, 386–387, document 42bis) identifies him with the God’s Servant of Heryshef, King of the Two Lands, Great Chief of <Per>-Sekhem-kheper-Re, King’s Son of Ramesses, Overseer of the Army, Leader, Osorkon, whose mother is Tjeysetj (Pérez Die and Vernus, *Excavaciones*, 50–52, 82, 128 [document 21]; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriptions der Spätzeit* 2, 223 [25.5]). Jansen-Winkeln (*Orientalia* 75 [new series] 2006), 307–310 argues that both texts are best assigned to late Dynasty 21 as the range of both military and priestly titles is more typical of that period than later in Dynasty 22, when there was a general split between holders of the highest military and priestly office.

32 See notes 23 and 24, supra.
been founded after the Ramesside Period. If the similarly named strongholds involving other ethnic groups known to have been located Middle Egypt are any guide, it seems inescapable to conclude that these strongholds were founded by Ramesses III after his campaigns against the Libyans just as texts dating from the period suggest. For example, in British Museum 9999 pBritish Museum 9999 [pHarris I], 77,5–6, Ramesses III states:

\[ gr\uparrow j n\uparrow y\uparrow w h\uparrow w t\uparrow y\uparrow w m n\uparrow t\uparrow w\uparrow w h\uparrow r n\uparrow t j d\uparrow j n\uparrow w h\uparrow r y w p\downarrow t\uparrow y w \, s\uparrow w n m\downarrow w t \]

\[ s\uparrow b w j r w m h\uparrow m w m\uparrow s\uparrow y w h r r n s j \]

I established their leaders in strongholds with my name, (and also) I gave to them Chief\(<s>\) of Bowmen and Great-ones of the tribes, branded and made as slaves, impressed (with a cartouche) with my name.

Therefore, the suggestion that the forefathers of “the tjehenu-Libyan, Buyuwawa” mentioned on the “Pasenhor stela” were among the Libyan military prisoners enslaved by Ramesses III, and forcibly settled in a \( nhtw \)-stronghold of Meshwesh at Ehnasya el-Medina, seems eminently justified. In comparison, there are no military establishments known from the environs of Tell Basta.

**Other evidence of an early Libyan military presence at Ehnasya el-Medina**

In addition to the military presence of Meshwesh troops documented at Ehnasya el-Medina, the interest paid to the city on the part of the Libyan rulers throughout the Third Intermediate Period was not inconsiderable, as is demonstrated on the “Pasenhor stela.” As noted above, while Kitchen is correct in pointing out that on the stela the link between Ehnasya el-Medina and the royal family of Dynasty 22 does not antedate Nimlot C, the son of Osorkon II, he fails to draw attention to the fact that Nimlot B, the son of Shoshenq I, was intimately connected with the city as he was headquartered there as the Overseer of the Army of Neni-nesu\[ jmy-\, rs\, m\uparrow s\uparrow n\uparrow j-\, nsw \].

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33 Jansen-Winkeln (Orientalia 75 [new series] (2006), 309) holds them to be identical to the \( nhtw \)-strongholds of the Sherden known from the Ramesside Period (see note 22, supra).

34 For examples, see supra.

35 Or alternatively, one of the Dynasty 19 kings involved in conflicts with the Libyans, such as Seti I, Ramesses II, or Merenptah.

36 See note 17, supra.

37 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 94, 1–4; Grandet, Papyrus Harris I, 2, 337.

38 Referring earlier [line 77,3] to those of the Meshwesh, Libu, Isbet, Qeyqesh, Sheyjedj, Hes, and Beqen, all of which are Libyan tribal names.


40 See note 14, supra.

41 viz. Ehnasya el-Medina.

42 The other known bearers of this title from the Third Intermediate Period include Nimlot C, the son of Osorkon II (Chevereau, Basse Époque, 18, document 12); Bak-en-Ptah, the son of Takeloth II (Chevereau, Basse Époque, 46, document 42); and during Dynasty 26 it was held by the Great Overseer of the Army, Overseer of the Navy, and Overseer of Upper Egypt, Somtutefnakhte (Chevereau, Basse Époque, 82–83, document 107). The association of the title with sons of kings throughout the Libyan Period is not to be overlooked.
Surrounding the person of Nimlot was a military establishment that could not possibly have sprung up de novo at the accession of Shoshenq I. As detailed on the “Herakleopolis magna altar” [JE 39410], this included the Great-one of the Foreign Troops of User-maat-Re [p3 ṣ n twhrw n ẖnḥw] (line x+13); the Great-one of the Foreign Troops of Neni-nesu [p3 n twhrw n mj-ngsw] (line x+13); the Chief of Bowmen of the Ships of War of the Overseer of the Army [p3 ḫry pdty n dpwt ḫns p3 jmy-rj msḥ] (line x+17); the Scribe of the Army of the Stronghold of Mery-meshaef [p3 ss msḥ n p3 nḥtw n mry-msḥ.f] (line x+18); the Great-ones of the Asians (?) of the Stronghold of Mery-meshaef [nḥtw mjr-mṣḥ.f] (line x+18), the Scribe of the Army of the Stronghold of [. . .] [p3 ss msḥ n p3 nḥtw n] [. . .] (line x+18); the Deputy of the Place of Writings of the Overseer of the Army [p3 jdnw n ts ss <w> n p3 jmy-rj msḥ] (line x+26), and the Craftsman of Chariots [n<s> ḥmww mkḥbw] (line x+28).

The military nature of Ehnasya el-Medina as presented on the “Herakleopolis magna altar” should not be underestimated. Utilizing the Königsnovelle format, the text describes how the cult of Heryshef, King of the Two Lands, had fallen into abeyance until Shoshenq I – at the suggestion of his son Nimlot B – renewed it with daily offerings of oxen. Over the course of a year 365 oxen were to be given to the temple of Heryshef (line x+11), and of these, 146 were to come from military officers and administrators. This represents forty percent of the total offerings, whereas priests and temple administrators were only required to donate fifty-five oxen, or fifteen percent. The remaining offerings were to be provided by settlements in the greater area, and a handful given by various craftsmen.

Further, the text specifically states the king was actively seeking “every opportunity for benefactions, in order to make them for his father, Heryshef, King of the Two Lands, (who) was in his heart now (that) he was as [king]” (lines x+2–3). It appears that this renewal of the cultus occurred at the very beginning of Shoshenq I’s reign when he was yet new to the throne. This would be understandable if the military headquarters of Nimlot B (as discussed above) were already preexisting when Shoshenq I assumed the kingship.

A final piece of evidence remains to be addressed. In line x+14 mention is made of an institution known as the pr jm-bḥḥ. This could perhaps be a reference to a temple-estate of a local deity named Imy-bah (“the Forefather”) located at Ehnasya el-Medina. However, it is seems much

44 Tresson, “L’inscription de Chechanq Ier,” MIFAO 66/1, 817–840; Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 4–7 [12.15].
45 cf. “the Great (?) Stronghold of User-maat-” Re” [p3 nḥtw ṣ (?) wsr-mṣḥ.f] mentioned on a Dynasty 22 stela from Ehnasya el-Medina (Flinders Petrie, Griffith, and Currelly, Ehnasya, 22, plate 27/2; Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 433 [45.81]).
46 This stronghold is strongly associated with – if not identical to – the old Ramesside “Strongholds of the Sherden”; see Kitchen, Ram. inscr. 5, 270/11–12; Kessler SAK 2, 130; Jansen-Winkeln, Orientalia 75 [new series] (2006), 309. See also notes 16, 22, and 34, supra. Sherden are found in association with the Stronghold of User-maat-Re on a stela dating to Dynasty 22 (note 46, supra).
47 The writing of this word is not clear. Tresson (“L’inscription de Chechanq Ier,” MIFAO 66/1, 823, note 9) suggested reading ḥmww “repeaters, messengers,” while Kessler (SAK 2, 132–133, note 169) suggests ṣsw “watchers, guards.” The signs seem to favor an interpretation of ṣsw “Asians,” or perhaps even the abbreviated writing of m.<SwS>w “Me<shwesh>, but no great confidence can be placed in any of these suggestions.
48 Jansen-Winkeln, Orientalia 75 [new series] (2006), 298–299. Nimlot B, in his office of Overseer of the Army of Neni-nesu, was personally required to provide thirty oxen (line x+12).
more likely to refer to a “Temple-estate of the Forefathers,” which would certainly seem to suggest that Libyan royal family itself viewed its place of origin to be at Ehnasya el-Medina and not Tell Basta.50

While the texts of the “Pasenhor stela” and the “Herakleopolis magna altar” undeniably associate the early Dynasty 22 with Ehnasya el-Medina, the city and its environs continued to remain of central importance – both religiously and militarily – to the later rulers of Dynasties 22 and (later) 23. However, despite the building activities of Osorkon I and II, it would be difficult to substantiate such a claim for Tell Basta. Of these later works in the region of Ehnasya el-Medina, the fortress of Per-Sekhem-kheper-Re [pr sSlm-hpr-r],51 founded by Osorkon I, is likely the most significant.52 The nearby fortress site of el-Hibeh, including the temple built there by Shoshenq I, is likewise noteworthy.53 It goes without saying that the large Libyan period necropolis containing the tombs of high-ranking military and religious personnel located on site at Ehnasya el-Medina itself, which continued in use from Dynasty 21 through late Dynasty 23, when the city became an independent Libyan kingdom, further emphasizes its importance to the Libyans.54

It of course bears remembering that Shoshenq I’s own background before he became king was lodged squarely within the Libyan tribal military as the “Great Chief of the Me<shwesh>” [wɔ

50 This conclusion has also been reached by Jansen-Winkeln, Orientalia 70 [new series] (2001), 172; Jansen-Winkeln, Orientalia 75 [new series] (2006), 299–300, 312–313.

51 Located north of Ehnasya el-Medina, in the neighbourhood of Medinat el-Ghurab and the mouth of the Fayyum; Kessler (SAK 2 (1975), 128) suggests it was perhaps near al-Lahun. See H. Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1925–1931; reprint, 1975), 2, 130, 5, 47; Kees, Priesterturn, 1, 187; Yoyotte, “Principauté,” 135, note 1; Kees, Hohenpriester, 89; A.R. Schulman, “A problem of Pedubasts,” JARCE 5 (1966), 35, note e; Gomaà, Fürstentümer, 74. Jansen-Winkeln (Orientalia 70 [new series] (2001), 172, note 110; Orientalia 75 [new series] (2006), 303, note 40) has made the intriguing suggestion that Per-Sekhem-kheper-Re is identical to the old Ramesside nṯtw-stronghold of Mery-meshnaef (Kessler, SAK 2 (1975), 103–134, particularly 133), which is also mentioned on the “Herakleopolis magna altar.” Unfortunately there is no confirmation of this hypothesis, but several Ramesside fortresses and/or nṯtw-strongholds are known to have been located or near Medinat el-Ghurab (Sauneron and Yoyotte, RdE 7 (1950), 67–70).


54 See the contribution of Pérez Die in this volume and the literature cited there, as well as Pérez Die, “Fouilles récentes,” 119–120; Pérez Die and Vernus, Excavaciones; see also Jansen-Winkeln, Orientalia 75 [new series] (2006), 297–316.
THE GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF THE “BUBASTITE” DYNASTY

A n m<SwS>w] and “Chief of Chiefs” [wr n wrw];55 he even continued to use the former title when he was initially king.56 The strong military ties with Ehnaasya el-Medina exhibited in early Dynasty 22 on the “Herakleopolis magna altar”, as well as Shoshenq I’s own background, argue strongly for the Libyan royal family having its origin in one of the “Strongholds of the Meshwesh” centered in the region.57

Given the total body of evidence discussed above, Kitchen’s insistence that the Libyan regard for Ehnaasya el-Medina was “strategic and religious – nothing more” is exceptionally difficult to substantiate. The presence of “five Strongholds of the Meshwesh” of presumably Ramesside origin that were still being staffed in Dynasties 21 and 22 points directly to a long and sustained presence of Libyan military personnel in the area. This is precisely the sort of background from which Shoshenq I would have arisen. Therefore, despite the testimony of Manetho’s Αἰγυπτιακα and the building programmes of Osorkon I and II,58 there is really very little contemporary evidence forthcoming to support Manetho’s claim that the royal family of Dynasty 22 originated at Tell Basta,59 in contrast to Ehnaasya el-Medina, where evidence is abundant.

**Manetho and the “Bubastite” Dynasty**

The question remains as to why Manetho might have assigned Dynasty 22 to Bubastis in the first place if the Libyan royal family did not in fact originate there. Redford has demonstrated that before Dynasty 25 there is often a discrepancy in the Manethonic account between the known, historical seat of government or place of origin of a particular dynasty (which of course need not be the identical), with what Manetho claims.60 For example, Dynasties 19 and 20 are both described by Manetho as being Theban, but in fact they were historically associated with Per-Ramesses [Qantir], while the family originated in the eastern Delta.

The probable reason for the discrepancy in Manetho’s account is that since Per-Ramesses no longer existed in the Late Period – its stones having long since been quarried away for new construction at San el-Hagar, Tell el-Maskhuta, and elsewhere – the “massive monuments and

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57 It is worth pointing out that the Libyan First God’s Servants of Amun, Herihor, Mes-helot (“Masaharta”), and Men-kheper-Re, were also all based nearby at the fortress of el-Hibeh (Jansen-Winkeln, *BN* 71 (1994), 82. Herihor and Men-kheper-Re, in particular, were primarily associated with the military. In general, see J. Lull García, *Los sumos sacerdotes de Amón tebanos de la wêm mwst y dinastía XXI (ca. 1083–945 a.C.).* British Archaeological Reports (International Series) 1469 (Oxford: Archæopress, 2006), *passim*, and also K. Jansen-Winkeln, “Zum militärischen Befehlsbereich der Hohenpriester des Amun,” *GM* 99 (1987), 19–22.

58 See also Redford, *King-lists*, 305–310.


60 Redford, *King-lists*, 305–306.
structures [of the Ramessides] survived in the 5th–4th Centuries B.C. only in Thebes.” 61 Thus, according to Redford, “what impressed itself upon the collective memory of the Volk was the site where the major proportion of the monuments of a dynasty survived.”

In the case of Tell Basta, Manetho was likely personally familiar with the site given that he was born nearby at ancient Sebennytos [Sammanud] and (probably) served as a priest at Heliopolis.62 It is easy to imagine that the impressive temples of Osorkon I and II at Tell Basta impressed him with their size and fine workmanship. Conversely, there may have been little or nothing of Dynasty 22 origin visible at Ehnasya el-Medina during Manetho’s lifetime, leading him to fail to recognize its importance.

The location of the Residence

The question of whether Dynasty 22 originated at Tell Basta or Ehnasya el-Medina has little bearing on the separate question concerning the location of the official residence of the dynastic founder, Shoshenq I. Most scholars, if they make any comment regarding the location of the residence at all, tend to place it either at Tell Basta – again, presumably on the testimony of Manetho – or at San el-Hagar [Tanis], as this is where the kings of both Dynasty 21 and the later part of Dynasty 22 were based.63 The presence of the Third Intermediate Period royal necropolis at the latter site is another logical and natural reason to justify this conclusion.

However, there is no known text from the reign of Shoshenq I explicitly naming either place as the king’s residence. Conversely lines 39–40 of Gebel Silsila Quarry Stela 100, dating to Regnal Year 21, state that the king was at “the Residence of the Temple-estate of Isis [Per-Iset], the Great Ka of Re-Harakhty” [p3 lw n pr st 3 ls r hrw-3hty]64 when he ordered the reopening of the quarries in order that stone might be cut for construction activities at Karnak. Unfortunately this text is the only known occurrence of this particular toponym, making it difficult to locate with any degree of confidence. Given its reference to a temple-estate of Isis, it is doubtlessly not to be connected with Tell Basta, ancient Per-Bastet [pr bsst], the chief cult centre of the goddess Bastet.65

Likewise it is unlikely to have been located at San el-Hagar, where, as Redford justly comments, Shoshenq I is notable by his absence.66 Objects that can be reasonably associated with the king and which came from San el-Hagar are limited to two monumental blocks reused as building material for the gateway of Shoshenq III,67 a pillar fragment from the Mut temple complex,68 and

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65 Gauthier, *DG* 2, 75.
a cavetto cornice block from the Great Temple of Amun. Two sphinxes found at the site originally belonged to Amenemhat II [Louvre A23; JE 37478 + CG 639] and were usurped by Shoshenq I, but they had also been previously inscribed by Merenptah, strongly arguing that they came from the old Ramesside residence at Qantir. Of these objects, only one of the blocks from the Shoshenq III gateway and another from the Mut temple can confidently be stated to have come originally from San el-Hagar as they both name members of the local Tanite triad, Amun-Re, Mut, and Khonsu.

Given the wide scope of Shoshenq I’s major building activities throughout Egypt, it is strange that so little evidence remains of anything that might be definitively associated with him at San el-Hagar if, in fact, he had resided there. However, as the ancient name of Shoshenq’s residence is known, other possibilities can be considered. For example, in his commentary on the text of Gebel Silsila Quarry Stela 100, Caminos drew attention to a name of Per-Ramesses [Qantir], the residence-city of Ramesses II, written

\begin{verbatim}
pr r'-ms-sw mrj-jmn 'nḥ wdʒ snb ps kṣ ʾṣ n ps-ʾḥrw-ḥty
Per-Ramesses, Beloved of Amun, life, prosperity, health!, the Great Ka of Pa-Re-Harakhty.
\end{verbatim}

After noting a similarity between this name of Per-Ramesses and that of Shoshenq’s residence of “Per-Iset, the Great Ka of Re-Harakhty,” Caminos vaguely suggested the latter was to be found somewhere in the Delta, but he did not specifically claim it was located precisely at Per-Ramesses.

The logical step of equating Shoshenq’s residence specifically with the old Ramesside residence at Per-Ramesses was (apparently) first propounded by Kitchen. Although he does not go into much detail, he does suggest Per-Iset was “a new country residence” south of San el-Hagar proper, on the north side of Per-Ramesses. Further, Kitchen argues, it was bounded by Per-Wadjet, with the goddess Wadjet being replaced by Isis in Dynasty 22, based on British
These texts describe the location of the new residence of Ramesses II as having

\[ jmnt=f \ m \ pr \ jmn \ rsy=f \ m \ pr \ swt\ hprw \ 'sr\ t \ m \ psy=f \ wbn<w> \ w\d\yt \ m \ psy=f \ m\ht \]

its west is in Per-Amun, its south is in Per-Sutekh; Astarte becomes as its east,\textsuperscript{78} Wadjet is as its north.

The next scholar to build upon this thesis was Redford, who also rejected any notion of a residence at Tell Basta or San el-Hagar. He initially conjectured that Per-Hebyt \([pr \ hbyt]\),\textsuperscript{79} the chief cult center for the worship of Isis in the Delta during the Late Period and Graeco-Roman eras, may have been the location of Shoshenq’s Per-Iset \(\text{[\textquoteleft}Temple-estate of Isis\textquoteright]\), but discarded this theory for want of any convincing evidence.\textsuperscript{80} Like Kitchen, Redford argued that the residence of \(\text{Per-Iset, the Great Ka of Re-Harakhty}\) is to be linked with \(\text{Per-Ramesses, Beloved of Amun, life, prosperity, health!}\), the Great Ka of Pa-Re-Harakhty." He went so far as to opine that the general region of the upper Pelusiac branch of the Nile had long been associated with Isis and Bastet as titular goddesses, pointing yet again to a possible location at Per-Ramesses.\textsuperscript{81} Finally, he cogently suggested that the two sphinxes discovered at San el-Hagar, which had been reinscribed by both Shoshenq I and Merenptah \(\text{(supra)}\), \textquoteright;undoubtedly\textquoteright; came from Per-Ramesses.\textsuperscript{82}

Ultimately the association of the residence of Shoshenq I with Per-Ramesses is textually the most justifiable solution to this issue. Unfortunately, beyond the obvious similarity of their respective epithets, it is difficult to be adamant about this explanation. In particular there is a major difficulty with the fact that Per-Ramesses was abandoned towards the end of Dynasty 20 and its building material removed for use at San el-Hagar by the rulers of Dynasty 21. It would seem unlikely that Shoshenq I would return to an already ostensibly abandoned area.

There may, however, be some archaeological evidence of post-Dynasty 20 activity in the region immediately west of Tell el-Dab’a. Bietak\textsuperscript{83} mentions a limestone fragment with the name of Psusennes II\textsuperscript{84} found by a farmer in the area west of Tell el-Dab’a, and a limestone block with the

\textsuperscript{77} A.H. Gardiner, \textit{Late-Egyptian miscellanies}. BAe 7 (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth, 1937), 12, 40, 41.

\textsuperscript{78} Literally, “as its (place of) sunrise.”

\textsuperscript{79} Greek \textit{Islein}; \textit{Isopoulos}; \textit{Latin Iseum}; modern Behbeit el-Hagara; see Gauthier, \textit{DG} 2, 110–111.

\textsuperscript{80} Redford, \textit{King-lists}, 307–308. The presence of Meshwesh in the neighborhood of Per-Hebyt is thought to be signaled by a fragmentary letter \([p\text{Louvre 3169, 2–7 (Kitchen, \textit{Ram. inscr.}, 6, 523)}]\) from the reign of Ramesses XI (Yoyotte, \textquoteleft{}Principautés,\textquoteright{} 148/§ 40, note 3, 159/§ 59; Kitchen, \textquoteleft{}The arrival of the Libyans in late New Kingdom Egypt,\textquoteright{} 22–23, 26, note 22 [for dating]). The letter states that the \textquoteleft{}Chiefs of the Medjai who are in Per-Hebyt\textquoteright{} are needed to hurry to an undisclosed location to observe the activities of Meshwesh in that area. Redford (\textit{King-lists}, 308, note 73) remonstrates against taking this as evidence for Meshwesh inhabiting Per-Hebyt, as it is the Medjai who are located there and are being called away from the town in order to respond to the movement of the Libyans. Nevertheless, this does at the very least suggest Meshwesh were in the environs of Per-Hebyt, close enough for the Medjai to be called up in order to respond to their activities. Other limited references to Libyans at Per-Hebyt can be found in Yoyotte, \textquoteleft{}Principautés,\textquoteright{} 154–155/§ 51, 159/§ 59; Gomaà, \textit{Fürstentümer}, 68–71; Grimal, \textit{Pi(ankh)y}, 156, note 467.

\textsuperscript{81} Redford, \textit{King-lists}, 307–308.

\textsuperscript{82} Redford, \textit{King-lists}, 309, note 82.


\textsuperscript{84} Note, however, in a private communication to the author, dated 17 March 2004, Manfried Bietak states he is \textquoteleft{}not sure if we could rule out Psusennes I.\textquoteright}
cartouches of Siamun from Tell el-Birka, Ezbat el-Khatana, has been known for some time. It might be suggested that these blocks originally came from an installation near “Per-Iset, the Great Ka of Re-Harakhty,” though this can at present remain only a supposition. Finally Dynasty 21 and 22 ceramics, indicating at least some continued settlement, are known from the Qantir and Tell el-Dab’a region. Overall, however, the evidence to support this contention, while being suggestive, remains very thin at best.

Two other proposals might additionally be made. Although there is no supporting evidence, it is perhaps possible that the residence of Osorkon I, Per-Sekhem-kheper-Re [pr shm-hpr-r], may have been “Per-Iset, the Great Ka of Re-Harakhty” during the reign of Shoshenq I, only to be renamed later by his son, although there is no firm evidence for the existence of Per-Sekhem-kheper-Re before the reign of Osorkon I. Furthermore, while the cults of both Osiris-em-Naref [wsjr-m-nfr], Osiris-em-Naret [wsjr-m-nrt] and Horus were known at nearby Ehnasya el-Medina, Isis is not generally attested in the immediate region, although she was worshipped to the northeast at Atfih, where Osorkon I added to the temple.

The second possibility is that “Per-Iset, the Great Ka of Re-Harakhty” may have been located in the area to the south of Memphis [Mit Rahina]. Yoyotte points to several Graeco-Roman references to an Iseion in the southern regions of Mit Rahina, as well as a Ramesside establishment named “Per-Isat of Ramesses, Beloved of Amun” [pr Ast n ra-ma-sw mry-jmn] mentioned in pWilbour, which was apparently nearby in the village of Ren [rn]. Particularly interesting is a reference in the Strategemata of Polyainos (Book 7, 3 [second century CE]) that states “around the temple of Isis, [five] stades from the palace, [Psammetik I] won a victory in a pitched battle” against “Tementhes, king of Egypt” [viz., Tanutamun].

One other Isis temple in the region of Mit Rahina might be noted, that of “Isis, Mistress of the Pyramids” [st hwt mrw] at Giza, where a scarab of Shoshenq I has been discovered. However this is well-outside of any residential area and may therefore be discounted, although it does demonstrate the general importance of Isis in the Memphite region.

87 See note 52, supra.
89 Worshipped here as a form of Hathor (R. Grieshammer, “Atfih,” LÄ 1, 519).
91 I. Yoyotte, “Études géographiques. II: Les localités méridionales de la région memphite et ‘le pehou d’Héracléopolis,’” RdE 15 (1963), 114–119. Yoyotte notes that this foundation was probably personally established by Ramesses II for “la glorie d’une obscure Isis locale.”
94 Polyainos, Stratagems 2, 626, 627.
Since the funerary cult of Shoshenq I was functioning several generations after its establishment in the Memphite region at the “House of Millions of Years of Shoshenq, Beloved of Amun,” it is highly probable that the king was buried in the area (discussed below). This argues strongly that the royal residence was in the region as the trend during this period was for kings to be buried in the chief temple of the city of residence.

Given this, and the other circumstantial evidence for an Isis cult in the Memphite region, it would not be surprising if the residence of “Per-Iset, the Great Ka of Re-Harakhty” was also located in the region of Mit Rahina, potentially at the site of the later Saite royal palace and Roman encampment to the north of the Ptah precinct. While this does not accord as well as the proposal to locate the residence at the similarly named Ramesside capital of “Per-Ramesses, Beloved of Amun, life, prosperity, health!”, the Great Ka of Pa-Re-Harakhty,” it does avoid the significant problem of locating the settlement in an area that had ostensibly been abandoned long before Shoshenq I came to the throne. The Ramesside name may have only been a source for the name, perhaps adopted for purposes of legitimization, but not otherwise directly connected with the Shoshenqide establishment.

**Location of the burial place of Shoshenq I**

If the precise location of the official residence of Shoshenq I is obscure, the location of his burial is wholly unknown. The only item of a funerary character that can be tied to Shoshenq I is a canopic chest in Berlin [ÄMB 11000], which is customarily assumed to have come from San el-Hagar. This is, however, an assumption based purely on the contention that Shoshenq I should have been interred there, for which there is no concrete evidence.

In the past, two canopic jar fragments and a heart scarab, all discovered in the tomb of Shoshenq III [NTR V] at San el-Hagar, were cited as evidence for a burial of Shoshenq I at the site, but this is now known not to be the case. One of the canopic jar fragments is labeled with the name “Hdj-kheper-Re, Chosen of Re, Shoshenq, Beloved of Amun, Son of Bastet, God, Ruler of Iunu” [ḥdj-hpr-rˁ stp-n-rˁ ššnq mjr-jmn ss bsstt nṯr ḫqỉ jwnw] – that is Shoshenq IV – and not

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98 It might be argued that the Residence of Shoshenq I was somehow connected with the “Per-Iset of Ramesses, Beloved of Amun” [pr st n rˁ-ms-sw mry-jmn] mentioned in pWilbour and the name then conflated with that of Per-Rameses [Qantir]; see note 93, supra.


103 P. Montet, Les constructions et le tombeau d’Osorkon II à Tanis. Fouilles de Tanis (La nécropole royale de Tanis 1) (Paris: [n. p.], 1947), 59; Dodson, Canopic equipment, 93–94, 178/50:1, plate 43b; Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 256 [26.3].
“Hedj-kheper-Re, Chosen of Re, Shoshenq I, Beloved of Amun” [ḥḥt-hpr-rʿ stp·n-rʿ ššnq mrj-jmnn]. The name on the other fragment is now lost, but as it was found in the same context as the first, it certainly came from one of the other canopic jars of the original set of four. Moreover, it would of course be exceptional for a single individual to have both canopic jars and a canopic chest, particularly as the chest very likely held coffinettes, and not jars.104

The heart scarab is a bit more problematic. Regarding it, Montet states that it was discovered with the canopic jar fragments in NTR V, but it was subsequently stolen before he could examine it in detail.105 (There is no photograph or illustration of the piece, nor any copy of the actual text in his publication.) Despite this, Montet felt confident enough to write

j’avais cependant déjà reconnu sur le plat du scarabée le chapitre XXXB du Livre des Morts et le nom de l’Osiris-roi Hedjkheperrê-Sotepenrê.

Based on Montet’s sketchy information, later writers106 have quite naturally assigned the scarab to Shoshenq I and used it as evidence for the king’s burial somewhere in the region of San el-Hagar, if only in a secondary burial in NTR V.

As Montet was making this claim based on memory – some twenty years passing between the discovery of the tomb and its publication – it is of course possible that he might have been mistaken. It is known that a heart scarab of Shoshenq III, which almost certainly came originally from NTR V, entered the collection of the Brooklyn Museum [accession number 61.10] in 1961, the year following Montet’s publication of the tomb. However, in a private letter to Bernard von Bothmer dated 10 April 1962, Montet stated he had never seen the heart scarab of Shoshenq III in the Brooklyn collection, and repeated his contention that he had discovered that of Shoshenq I.107

The most likely solution to the problem is that the heart scarab of Montet is not that of Hedjkheper-Re Shoshenq I but – as with the canopic jar fragment also found in the tomb – rather that of Hedjkheper-Re Shoshenq IV.108

Thus, there is, in fact, no material whatsoever that can be directly associated with Shoshenq I in NTR V at San el-Hagar. Indeed, there is at this time no evidence for the king’s burial anywhere at the site. Nevertheless, based on his (at that time) faulty understanding of the evidence,109 Dodson, following Montet,110 suggested that Shoshenq I may have been re-interred in the tomb of Shoshenq III [NTR V] from a previous burial place elsewhere at the site. As the canopic jar fragments and heart scarab can now be confidently reassigned to Shoshenq IV, this conclusion is no longer of valid consideration.111

Another burial location for Shoshenq I at San el-Hagar has occasionally been mooted. In a moment of speculation, Gardiner wondered if the “Heqa-kheper-Re, Chosen of Re, Shoshenq, Beloved of Amen” [ḥqr-hpr-rʿ stp·n-rʿ ššnq mrj-jmnn], buried in NTR III, may in fact be Hedj-
kheper-Re Shoshenq I, albeit bearing a different pronomen. However, he offered no evidence to support this speculation nor did he pursue it any further. This hypothesis was later uncritically adopted by Edwards, but roundly rejected by Kitchen, who argued convincingly that Heqa-kheper-Re Shoshenq is a distinct individual – Shoshenq IIa – and not Hedj-kheper-Re Shoshenq I.

Despite this, Jacquet-Gordon and Broekman continue to argue that Hedj-kheper-Re Shoshenq I was interned in NTR III under the name Heqa-kheper-Re, Shoshenq, but without any persuasive evidence as to why this change in the royal titulary should have occurred. Broekman’s speculation that Shoshenq I was in fact reburied in the unused silver coffin of Heqa-kheper-Re Shoshenq Ia – whose body is thus now lost – only begs the question, while his proposal that a new cartonnage was made for the re-internment of Shoshenq I, but labeled with the name of Shoshenq Ia on the basis of the name on the silver coffin, seems particularly unlikely. It is of course well-known that the burial did in fact contain jewelry that clearly once belonged to Shoshenq I, both before and after he became king, but these items are best explained simply as heirlooms inherited by his descendant, Heqa-kheper-Re Shoshenq Ia.

Thus, as it stands now there is little or no convincing evidence for the burial of Shoshenq I having been at San el-Hagar. Dodson observes that there seems to be a neat chronological block of unlocated primary royal burials running from Osorkon the Elder to Osorkon I, suggesting there may be a second, undiscovered, royal necropolis at San el-Hagar, perhaps including the tomb of Shoshenq I. Although Dodson’s specific observations regarding the evidence for

\[^{112}\text{Gardiner, } \textit{Egypt of the pharaohs}, 448.
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\[^{114}\text{Kitchen, } \textit{Third Intermediate Period}, §§ 93, 94, 452.
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\[^{116}\text{Jacquet-Gordon, } \textit{BiOr} 32 (1975), 359.
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\[^{118}\text{Broekman, } \textit{GM} 212 (2007), 20–23.
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\[^{119}\text{Broekman, } \textit{GM} 212 (2007), 21–22.
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\[^{120}\text{See note 67, supra.}
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\[^{121}\text{Dodson, } \textit{CdE} 63 (1988), 229–233. The possible reburial of Siamun in NTR IV mooted by Dodson (p. 228) is secondary in nature.}

\[^{122}\text{Dodson also includes Takeloth II in this group. It is now known, however, that the Takeloth interred in NTR I is Takeloth I and not Takeloth II, as was previously thought (K. Jansen-Winkeln, “Thronname und Begräbnis Takelothis I.,” } \textit{VA} 3 (1987), 253–258). The burial of Psusennes II is difficult to locate, but ushabti figurines discovered in the antechamber of NTR III at San el-Hagar suggest it was at that site (Association française d’Action artistique, \textit{Tanis: L’Or des pharaons} (Paris: Ministère des Affaires Étrangères et Association française d’Action artistique, 1987), 136; Yoyotte, \textit{BSFFT} 1 (1988), passim; Lull García, \textit{Sacerdotes}, 294–296), although a Theban or Abydene burial is not entirely ruled out. In any event Psusennes II was not genetically related to the Libyan kings in this group, nor was Siamun (Lull García, \textit{Sacerdotes}, 301–303).}
\]
Shoshenq I’s (re)burial at San el-Hagar in NT R V are now known to be mistaken, his general notion of a second necropolis is not to be rejected out of hand. Nevertheless, as it seems Shoshenq I at the very least did not rule from – nor perhaps even built at (supra) – San el-Hagar, the supposition that he must have been buried there is probably unlikely as well.

If the insistence to locate the king’s burial at San el-Hagar is set aside, other possibilities present themselves. Generally speaking, post-New Kingdom royal burials – with the Nubian Dynasty 25 being a major exception – were made within the temenos of the principal temple of the residence city. It could be that Shoshenq I was buried in a temple courtyard at his residence of “Per-Iset, the Great Ka of Re-Harakhty,” but as the exact location of this establishment is unknown, there is no way to verify if this was the case. Alternatively, if Dynasty 22 had its origins in the Libyan strongholds in the environs of Ehnasya el-Medina, as suggested above, it could be that Shoshenq I and his son Osorkon I were buried in the region. Although evidence for burials of Dynasty 22 kings at Ehnasya el-Medina is presently lacking, the existence of the important necropolis of Libyan officials at the site does at least indicate the presence of royal burials there is not completely out of the question, although this is not the most probable option.

One location that has not been much considered heretofore as a possible location of Shoshenq’s burial is the Ptah temple enclosure of Mit Rahina. It is recognized that Shoshenq I built fairly widely in the area, and among the building projects was almost certainly a pylon and forecourt of the Ptah temple that fronted the pylon and hypostyle hall of Seti I and Ramesses II. This monument is in all probability the “House of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hedj-kheper-Re, Chosen of Re, Son of Re, Shoshenq, Beloved of Amun, that is in Hut-ka-Ptah”.

123 However, the burials of the God’s Wives of Amun in the temple courtyard of Medinet Habu should be considered in this light.


126 Indeed, there is evidence from Ehnasya el-Medina for the burials of some members of the Libyan royal family; see Jansen-Winkeln Orientalia 75 (new series) (2006), 302–306.

127 See the author’s earlier comments in Sagrillo, GM 205 (2005), 95–102.

128 Little now remains, but the evidence includes a cavetto cornice block discovered within the Ptah temple enclosure (R. Engelbach, M.A. Murray, and W.M. Flinders Petrie, Riqqeh and Memphis VI. ERA 26 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1915), 33, plate 57/24; Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 2 [12.8]), probably from a monumental gateway or pylon (D. Arnold, Temples of the last pharaohs (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 33). Other materials include two column fragments (G. Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” RecTrav 22 (1900), 143; C. Maystre, Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis. OBO 113 (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 364–365 [172]; Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 2–3 [12.9]) and possibly a finely carved limestone block depicting produce being offered by Nile gods (J. Yoyotte, “Note sur le bloc de Sheshonq I découvert par la Mission archéologique à Saqqara de l’Université de Pisa,” Egitto e Vicino Oriente 12 (1989), 33–35; Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 3 [12.12]). Although the latter was discovered nearby at Saqqara, its use of “Chosen of Ptah,” rather than “Chosen of Re,” within the prænomen of Shoshenq I hints that it originally came from the Ptah temple complex at Mit Rahina. Finally a block (intell!!) from the wabet of the Apis bull house at Kom el-Fakhrî is known (H. Brugsch, Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegeopolitarum: Aländische Inschriften. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’schen Buchhandlungen, 1883–1891; reprint, 1968), 817, 948–949; M. Jones, “The temple of Apis in Memphis,” JEA 76 (1990), plate 6; Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 3 [12.10]).

129 viz., the Ptah temple enclosure of Mit Rahina.
mentioned in an oracular decree at Karnak, and perhaps later seen by Herodotos. It was made in parallel to the “House of Hedj-kheper-Re-in-Was<et>” [hwt hpt r‘t-m-ws(<et>)]. which is itself known to be the forecourt and First Pylon (later replaced in Dynasty 30 by the current First Pylon) of the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak. A Serapeum stela dating to late Dynasty 22 mentions personnel associated with the Memphite funerary cult of the “House of Millions of Years of Shoshenq, Beloved of Amun” [hwt n r npwt ššnq mrt-jn].134 revealing that the cult was still functioning several generations after its establishment at the Ptah temple.

Given that Shoshenq I’s House of Millions of Years, as well as its associated funerary cult, was clearly located at Mit Rahina, and specifically associated with the Ptah temple enclosure, it is highly probable that the temple forecourt (equivalent to the House of Millions of Years) contained the king’s burial, particularly if the royal necropolis at San el-Hagar is taken as a model. Less likely, though perhaps possible, it may have been located at Kom al-Farikh, just west of the Ptah temple enclosure, where the tombs of crown prince Shoshenq D,135 and his son, the Chief of the Meshwesh, Takeloth B,136 are located.

Wherever its precise location, it would be strange for the king’s funerary cult to last for several generations at Mit Rahina if it were not for the presence of a royal burial to serve as the cult’s principal focus. As a corollary, it is exceptionally improbable for the king’s burial to have been located at San el-Hagar if his funerary cult was centred at Mit Rahina.

Conclusion
As with so many issues surrounding the Third Intermediate Period, no definitive answers can be given to the questions posed in this paper. However, the arguments presented here are suggestive. The existence of a funerary cult dedicated to Shoshenq I at Mit Rahina makes it exceptionally difficult to deny that the king must have been buried in the immediate vicinity, if not directly in the forecourt of the Ptah temple complex, as suggested by the oracular decree from Karnak. Moreover, this argues strongly for the king’s official residence to have been situated in the region, as patterns of post-New Kingdom royal burials indicate. However, the precise location of “Per-Iset, the Great Ka of Re-Harakhty” encountered on Gebel Silsila Quarry Text 100 shall remain an enigma without the recovery of more concrete evidence.

130 Vernus, BIFAO 75 (1975), 11, 13–14, figure 10 (J1), lines 6, 8; Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, 564–567, 569–570; Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 20 [12.23].
132 Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), plate 13, line 50; Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 22 [12.27]. See also lines 6–7 of Vernus, BIFAO 75 (1975), 11, 13–14, figure 10 (J1), Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit 2, 20 [12.23], where Amun refers to his “House of Millions of Years that is in Ipetsut” [hwt nt hh npwt nj jpt-swt]. For discussion, see Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, 571–575.
134 See note 97, supra, and Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, 567–569.
137 See note 131, supra.
Perhaps the most potentially contentious issue revolves around the proposal to locate Dynasty 22’s geographic place of origin at Ehnasya el-Medina, rather than Bubastis [Tell Basta], as recorded by Manetho. Nevertheless, a growing body of textual and archaeological evidence from Ehnasya el-Medina and elsewhere suggests precisely this. The presence of five Strongholds of the Meshwesh, presumably founded as internment camps for Libyan prisoners of war during the Ramesside period, in the environs of the city are more than suggestive. It should not be forgotten that Manetho wrote over three-hundred years after the foundation of Dynasty 22, a period that remains today frustratingly obscure; it may not have been much more clear during Manetho’s own *floruit*. For this reason alone it may be wise to reconsider what is implied by evidence contemporary with the Third Intermediate Period.
Egyptological Publications
Series published by the Netherlands Institute for the Near East, Leiden

Volume 23

THE LIBYAN PERIOD IN EGYPT
Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st-24th Dynasties.
Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2007
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This volume contains the Proceedings of a conference held in October 2007 at Leiden University on the Libyan Period in Egypt.

The study of the Third Intermediate Period, and most notably its chronology, has become stuck in controversies ever since publications by David Aston, Anthony Leahy, John Taylor and others raised doubts as to the chronology presented in Kitchen’s seminal study The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1972). There had been only a single conference held on the Libyan dynasties before, organized by Leahy at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in 1986 under the title Libya and Egypt. There was clearly a need to discuss the controversial aspects of the chronology and culture of the period with all the parties involved.

The timely nature of the conference was confirmed by the enthusiastic response from those colleagues who were invited to participate. In the end, a total of 24 speakers presented in front of an audience of some 120 scholars and students hailing from fifteen different countries. It was thought that the chronological issues surrounding Dynasties 21-24, the Libyan Period, should be the principal focus of discussion, because it is here that the largest uncertainties still remain. In addition, several scholars were invited to present recent archaeological finds from their own field work. Only by considering new material may we hope to solve the remaining problems, and new insights into the Libyan Period are likely to emerge from the combined study of a wide variety of sources.

The topics of controversy lie mainly in the realm of chronology. Apart from this, several papers deal with the cultural developments of the period. An interesting joint theme that emerges from these is the appearance of archaism in the art of the second half of the Libyan period. Several papers include comments on a newly found interest in the proportions and iconography from the classical periods of the past, notably of the Middle Kingdom.

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