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Libyan Rule Over Egypt.

The Influence of the Tribal Background of the Ruling Class on Political Structures and Developments during the Libyan Period in Egypt

Gerard P.F. Broekman*

Abstract

A number of controversies among Egyptologists concerning the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt pertain to situations of political fragmentation such as divided kingship, overlapping rules and collateral dynasties and 'usurpation' of royal attributes by high officials. In this paper will be shown that such events, situations and political developments are best explained from the tribal background of the Libyan 22nd-24th Dynasties. It appears that the effects of this tribal background, the genealogical emphasis, the importance of the notion brotherhood and the retention of Libyan tribal titles alongside Egyptian ones, can be found on several levels and at several moments during the whole Libyan Period.

From the lectures presented at the Libyan conference, held in Leiden, 25-27 October 2007, and especially from the written versions of these lectures, it appears that, concerning the chronology of the so-called Third Intermediate Period, there are still numerous controversies that persist.

In the Introduction of the volume containing the proceedings of the Leiden conference,¹ some of the contradictory standpoints are briefly mentioned, and it is striking that the greater part of such controversies pertain to situations of political fragmentation such as divided kingship, overlapping rules and collateral dynasties and 'usurpation' of royal attributes by high officials.

These controversies relate to the question whether during the 22nd-24th Dynasties the influence of the Libyan social organization prevailed over Egyptian tradition in those matters. This question was answered in the affirmative by Robert Ritner in the opening lecture of the Leiden conference, concentrated on the patrilineal segmentary lineage system as a model of tribal society,² whereas Kenneth Kitchen – in the closing lecture – advocated the predominant role of Egyptian tradition, rejecting any view denying it.³

Already in 1994 Karl Jansen-Winkeln pointed to the tribal background of the Libyan dynasties,⁴ and in subsequent publications he explained the feudal character of their rule as a corollary of that background.⁵ And also Eva Lange emphasizes the social-political background

* I am grateful to Karl Jansen-Winkeln for reading and commenting on a preliminary draft of this article.

¹ G.P.F. Broekman/R.J. Demarée/O.E. Kaper (eds), *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*, Leiden 2008, vii-x.

² R. Ritner, *Fragmentation and Re-Integration in the Third Intermediate Period*, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 327-340.

³ E.g. K. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: an Overview of Fact & Fiction*, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 170-171, 189-190 and 191-192.

⁴ K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Der Beginn der Libyschen Herrschaft in Ägypten*, in: *BN* 71, 1994, 78-97.

⁵ K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Gab es in der altägyptischen Geschichte eine feudalistische Epoche?*, in: *WdO* 30, 1999, 7-20; *ib.*, *Die Fremdherrschaften in Ägypten im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, in: *Or* 69, 2000, 1-13; *ib.*, *Der thebanische ‚Gottesstaat‘*, in: *Or* 70/2, 2001, 153-182.

of the Libyans, referring to the principle of brother succession having precedence over succession passing from father to son.⁶

A Libyan social group – a tribe – has to be taken as a confederation of politically equal descent groups. Between these descent groups a balance of power exists, maintained by mutual competition. This social structure, without a paramount chief or other central authority, is based on a patrilineal segmentary lineage system, in which small lineage segments are nested within segments of ever-increasing size, each segment of the structure being a lineage claiming descent from a common male ancestor. Thus the smallest segments, such as households consisting of the joint children of a father, are nested in segments consisting of descents of a grandfather and these again in segments consisting of descents of a great-grandfather and so on. Within a lineage brothers and cousins are placed on equal social levels and each lineage is lead by a brother or cousin. As a consequence *'Brothers and father's brother's sons are expected (and often economically required) to cooperate and exhibit solidarity in the face of external threat while at the same time they must compete for and/or divide resources'*.⁷

The influence of this tribal patrilineal segmentary lineage system on the Libyan rule in Egypt appears from several phenomena characteristic for the period ad issue, such as the importance of the notion brotherhood, retention of lineage titles and genealogical emphasis. Osorkon II's prayer (to Amun) inscribed on a stela held by a statue of himself (Cairo Cat. 1040) and a similar prayer of Osorkon I (to Bastet) on a granite block found in Tell Basta in spring 2003,⁸ are highly illustrative in this respect. In the former prayer it says:⁹



[You will fashion] in my issue, the seed that comes forth from my limbs, [to be] great [rulers] of Egypt, princes, high priests of Amun-Re, king of the gods, great chiefs of the Mâ, [great chiefs of] foreigners, and prophets of Herishef, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, brother coming after brother. You will turn their hearts towards the Son of Re, Osorkon (II) Meriamun, you will cause them [to walk on my] path. You will establish my children in the [posts which] I have given them, so that brother is not resentful against brothe[r....].'

⁶ E. Lange, Legitimation und Herrschaft in der Libyerzeit: Eine neue Inschrift Osorkons I. aus Bubastis (Tell Basta), in: ZÄS 135, 2008, 131-141.

⁷ S. Baştuğ, The Segmentary Lineage System: A Reappraisal, in: J. Ginat/A. Kazanov (eds), Changing Nomads in a Changing World, Brighton 1998, 105.

⁸ See n. 6.

⁹ K. Jansen-Winkeln, Inschriften der Spätzeit, Teil II: Die 22.-24. Dynastie, Wiesbaden 2007, 108-110.

In the prayer of Osorkon I we read:¹⁰



'I know that you gave it in my heart, so as to exalt you, so as to make appear my son on earth on the throne of Horus, high priests of Amun-Re, king of the gods, great chiefs of the Mâ, great chiefs of foreigners, prophets of Herishef, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lords of all the lands, each one acceding after his brother incessantly,....'

From both prayers the importance of the notion 'brotherhood' and of the tribal lineage titles appears, the 'great chiefs' (*wr.w ʕ.w*) even outranking the important Egyptian 'prophets of Harsaphes,' who are mentioned thereafter. In her article in *ZÄS* 135 Eva Lange points to the principle of brother succession, referred to as well in the prayer of Osorkon II (*brother coming after brother*) as in the one of Osorkon I (*each one acceding after his brother incessantly*).¹¹ We will return on this subject further on in this paper.

Both prayers give proof of the royal concern for the continued existence of the own dynasty and express the desire that the king's children may occupy the most influential positions and offices in Egypt. This brings us to the point of the feudalistic character of the Libyan rule. The political structure of Libyan social organization was 'a loose confederation reinforced by family alliances and appointments,'¹² in which tribal units were led by 'chiefs' or 'great chiefs', whereas there was no need for any overarching authority.

The Libyans who had settled in Egypt and their descendents maintained this social organization, including their lineal chiefs, in Egyptian texts designated as *wr (ʕ) (n) M* and *ḥ3w.ty*, '(great) chief (of) the Ma' and 'leader'. This is shown in the prayers of Osorkon I and Osorkon II, in which the *wr.w ʕ.w n(j) M* are mentioned together with great rulers of Egypt, princes, high priests of Amun-Re and prophets of Herishef, thus placing all of them on the same level. That means that in the traditional Libyan conception the – Libyan – pharaoh was essentially a *wr ʕ*, thus being on a footing of equality with all other 'great chiefs'. Thus Shoshenq I was called *wr ʕ n(j) M* not only on the Abydos stela from the time before his accession,¹³ but also in fragment 4b of the Karnak Priestly Annals, dated to Shoshenq's second regnal year, on which he is called  (great chief of the Ma),¹⁴ whereas it is obvious that he actually was king by that time.

It appears that on the traditional Egyptian level the king was the supreme and unique ruler over Egypt, whereas on the level of Libyan hierarchy he was an equal of the other great chiefs, and precisely this brought about feudalistic relations. Obedience to the king was not so much based on his august royal status resulting from an ideological tradition, as on alliances and agreements, in which the king assigned 'fiefs' and granted high positions and privileges in exchange for allegiance and military support when needed. Consequently, appointments in high

¹⁰ Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit II*, 48-49.

¹¹ See n. 6.

¹² A. Leahy, *The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation*, in: *Libyan Studies* 16, 1985, 59.

¹³ *Kairo JE 66285*, published by A.M. Blackman, *Stela of Shoshenk, Great Chief of the Meshwesh*, in: *JEA* 27, 1941, 83-95, Plates XA-XIIA.

¹⁴ J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIII^{es} dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*, Leuven 1989, 49-50.

civil and military offices were – unlike the practise followed under the preceding indigenous dynasties – no longer based on the specific abilities of the functionaries but on their position within the tribal hierarchy and their relationship with their overlord. In this context genealogical closeness was a determinative factor and the endeavour of each king was to have his sons occupying the most influential positions, especially those of High Priest of Amun in Thebes and Prophet of Herishef in Herakleopolis, both combined with the position of military commander.

Within this system brother succession would favour a continuous stable governmental and administrative organization, as it may be expected that the solidarity between brothers is stronger than between their descendents; accordingly there is less risk of fragmentation between brothers than along further collateral lineages. However, this strategy only works if a king managed to bind the other Libyan grandees to himself in order that he may depend upon their allegiance. This would be the case under powerful and energetic rulers, such as Shoshenq I and perhaps also his son Osorkon I, but under weaker rulers any tribal chief who considered himself strong enough and was being supported by other powerful *wr.w*, might repudiate his allegiance and proclaim himself king, thus heading a new dynastic line. Such repudiation of allegiance might easily occur when a king favoured his nearest relations too much on the expense of his other vassals/supporters, what might excite their displeasure.

Here we find a conception of kingship that is on the ideological level totally different from the traditional Egyptian conception, though it appears that the Libyan kings did adopt the traditional Egyptian royal iconography. In this connection Leahy remarks that ‘*what we have are the trappings of Egyptian kingship maintained by people to whom they have no meaning*’.¹⁵

We may ask ourselves why a ‘great chief of the Ma’ did seek to become a king while preferring his own tribal titles to Egyptian ones. The answer is quite simple: the Libyan rulers over Egypt also needed the obedience, loyalty and support of their indigenous Egyptian subjects especially of the literate priests and officials. Conversely the Egyptians needed a king in order to avert an all-embracing catastrophe that would occur, if ‘Maat’ would not be maintained: the return of creation into Chaos. This belief, emanating from a basic fear, explains Egypt’s disposition, throughout its history, to recognise founders of new dynasties and even usurpers and foreign rulers, as legitimate successors of the ancient God-king Horus.

A significant instance of the relations between the literate Egyptians and their Libyan overlord we find in an inscription on statue CG 42226 of the ‘royal secretary’ Hor (ix), bearing the cartouches of Pedubast I, in which it says:¹⁶



‘I being the chief in the palace and a guide of the subjects was myrrh to the heart of my Lord. When he heard my tongue, he lived. I guided the king for the benefit of both river-banks, I sailed on the God’s water. According to my ideas¹⁷ he arranged both Lands.’

From this text may be concluded that Hor was a man of weight and a most valued supporter of king Pedubast, whose mentor he seems to be.¹⁸

¹⁵ Leahy, *The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation*, 59.

¹⁶ Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, ÄAT 8/2, Wiesbaden 1985, 136-149; 506-514; *ib.*, *Inschriften der Spätzeit II*, 213-216.

¹⁷ Literally: ‘the nature of my heart’.

¹⁸ K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ein Amunpriester in Memphis*, in: SAK 27, 1999, 123-139.

We may find the effects of the tribal background of the Libyans, the genealogical emphasis, the importance of the notion brotherhood, the retention of Libyan tribal titles alongside Egyptian ones and the changed conception of kingship, on several levels and at several moments during the whole Libyan Period, including the 21st Dynasty.¹⁹

The political bipartite of Egypt during that Dynasty bears witness to a changed conception of kingship as well as to the importance of genealogical closeness and the notion brotherhood. Whereas the kings, residing at Tanis, reigned in Lower Egypt, the Theban High Priests of Amun, being at the same time military commanders, governed Upper Egypt, the border between both parts being located in the region of Herakleopolis. The Tanite kings were formally recognized throughout the entire country, in return for which the autonomy of the southern rulers was left unchallenged. During the first part of the 21st Dynasty the friendly relations between the northern and southern rulers were undoubtedly caused by genealogical closeness, Smendes I being the father in law of the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I and the latter being the father of the Tanite king Psusennes I and the Theban High Priests Masaharta, Djedkhonsuefankh and Menkheperre.

After having transmitted his High Priestly office to his son Masaharta, Pinudjem I assumed full royal style, and also Menkheperre, following his deceased father's example, assumed royal attributes, however in a more modest way than Pinudjem I. During this period the Lower Egyptian kings were virtually not attested in Upper Egypt, whereas most of the many year dates found in Thebes did not refer to any specific king. Therefore it is not improbable that those dates were related to Pinudjem I and Menkheperre.²⁰ In the subsequent period the situation was quite different: Menkheperre's son, the High Priest Pinudjem II, waived any claim on royal attributes and titles and most year dates in Thebes were written in the names of the Lower Egyptian kings Amenemope, Osochor (Osorkon the elder) and Siamun. It is not improbable that these kings belonged to an other branch of the family or even to an other lineage, which might explain this change regarding the mutual relations between the Northern and the Southern rulers.²¹ Anyway, whereas the descent of Amenemope and Siamun is unknown, it is clear that Osochor belonged to another lineage, being the son of the 'great chief of the Ma' Shoshenq A and the uncle of the later king Shoshenq I. The parentage of king Psusennes II depends on whether he is identical with the High Priest Psusennes (III), in which case he is a son of Pinudjem II. If Psusennes II and Psusennes III are distinct individuals, the descent of Psusennes II is unknown.

On the level of high priests of Amun we see brother succession between Pinudjem I's sons Masaharta, Djedkhonsuefankh and Menkheperre being successive High Priests of Amun in Thebes. As José Lull explained,²² Pinudjem I would have handed down his Theban power to two of his own sons, one of them occupying the position of High Priest of Amun in Thebes, also holding the position of commander-in-chief (*jmj-r3 mšc wr*) and leader (*h3wty*), and the

¹⁹ As Jansen-Winkel showed, Libyan rule started already with the accession of the 21st Dynasty: K. Jansen-Winkel in: BN 71, 1994, 78-97; and in: Or 70/2, 2001, 153-182.

²⁰ According to Kitchen it is unconceivable 'that the Theban high priests set up their own series of regnal years at this epoch', referring to the fact that 'throughout all Egyptian history, from Menes to Cleopatra, virtually all regnal dates can be shown to belong to the sovereigns of Egypt, and to nobody else.' (Kitchen, in: The Libyan Period in Egypt, 191-192).

²¹ K. Jansen-Winkel, The Chronology of the Third Intermediate Period: Dyns. 22-24, in: E. Hornung/R. Krauss/D.A. Warburton (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Chronology, HdO 83, Leiden 2006, 266-230.

²² J. Lull, Beginning and End of the HPA Menkheperre, in: The Libyan Period in Egypt, 241-249.

other stationed as a general (*jmj-r3 mšꜥ*) in El-Hibeh, designated to succeed in due time his older brother in his offices, the order of succession amongst Pinudjem's sons probably being determined by age.

A similar situation occurs with respect to the sons of Menkheperre, Pinudjem II succeeding his brother Smendes (II) in his capacity of High Priest of Amun. Following a similar pattern we find during Dynasty 22 Osorkon I's sons Shoshenq (Q), Iuwelot and Smendes III, succeeding one after the other as High Priest in Thebes. Later in the 22nd Dynasty an instance of cooperation and mutual support amongst brothers is shown in fragment 7 of the Karnak Priestly annals,²³ dated to regnal year 39 of Shoshenq III, referring to a collective action of the High Priest of Amun Prince Osorkon and his brother the general of Heracleopolis Magna Bakenptah, in which action they overthrew everyone who fought against them.

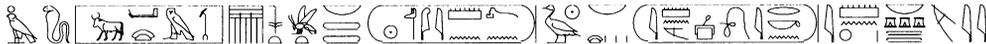
On the royal level brother succession occurred probably in the Upper Egyptian 23rd Dynasty between Osorkon III's sons Takeloth III and Rudamun, assuming that the latter really was the former's successor and not just a local king in Hermopolis alongside his brother in Thebes.²⁴

The preference for Libyan titles to Egyptian ones clearly appears from Serapeum stela Louvre IM. 3749,²⁵ dated to year 28 of Shoshenq III, on which Pediese (A), High Priest in Memphis, appears as 'great chief of the Ma', obviously having transferred his major Egyptian title to his son Pefjtjauawybast, who on that stela is designated as High Priest of Ptah.²⁶ The changed conception of kingship is clearly evidenced by the stelophore statue of Djedthutefankh B called Nakhtefmut (A) (Cairo CG 42208). From the text on the upper edge of the stela we learn that the statute was given by favour of the 'Theban' king Harsiese.²⁷



'Given by the favour of the King, the Lord of the Two Lands Harsiese Meriamun, to whom life is given like Re for ever'.

At the same time the stela shows the full titles of Osorkon II, incised in two columns on the leopard skin, worn by Nakhtefmut. In the column on the front we read:



'Horus the strong bull appearing in Thebes, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two lands Usermaatre Setepenamun, the son of Re, Lord of diadems, Osorkon Meriamun, beloved of Amun-Re, the Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands'.

And in the column on the back it says:



²³ Kruchten, *Annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 59-85.

²⁴ Jansen-Winkeln, in: *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 256. However, if Rudamun would not have been ruling over Thebes for some time, his cartouches, painted in room 3 of the chapel of Osiris-Heqa-Djet at Karnak are difficult to explain (C. Jurman, *Die Namen des Rudjamun in der Kapelle des Osiris-Hekadjet*, in: *GM* 210, 2006, 90).

²⁵ M. Malinine/G. Posener/J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles provenant du Serapeum CSSM*, Paris 1968, 19-20, pl. 7.

²⁶ Ritner, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 336-337.

²⁷ Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien*, 44-62; 453-461; *ib.*, *Inschriften der Spätzeit II*, 141-144.

'The two Ladies uniting Both Portions like the son of Isis, having conjoined the double crown in peace, the Golden Horus, great of strength, who smites the Mntjw, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatse Setepenamun, the son of Re, Osorkon Meriamun, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, whom life is given'.

Nakhtefmut A was a great-grandson of Shoshenq I and consequently he and Osorkon II were second cousins, and Nakhtefmut's son Harsiese C, was married to Istweret i, daughter of king Harsiese (A). From the expression of allegiance on this stela to the Tanite king Osorkon II as well as to the Theban king Harsiese, who were certainly no coregents, it is clear that in the conception of the ruling upper class there was no longer one unique ruler over Egypt, on the contrary, there could be several kings at the same time, all of them assuming full royal style and claiming full royal power, without challenging similar claims of the others.

The same conception of kingship is shown in the time of the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon when we find the generalissimo and army-leader Pashedbast (B), king's son of the Lord of the Two Lands Shoshenq (III) mentioning his father Shoshenq III in an inscription on a vestibule door to the tenth Pylon of Karnak, however dating his record to Pedubast I.²⁸

Apart from the examples set above, other events, situations and political developments occur that are best explained from the tribal background of the Libyan dynasties.

The Pasenhor stela, dated to year 37 of Shoshenq V, is illustrative of Libyan genealogical emphasis, showing the family tree of the Memphite priest Pasenhor B, the dedicator of the stela, the text on which includes the lineal descent Shoshenq I – Osorkon I – Takeloth I – Osorkon II, who consecutively reigned in the first part of the 22nd Dynasty.²⁹ However, three more kings are known who may be considered to belong to the same period: Shoshenq IIa (*Hk3-hpr-R*)³⁰, Shoshenq IIb (*Twt-hpr-R*)³¹ and Shoshenq IIc (*M3^c-hpr-R*)³². The first mentioned is probably either a son of Shoshenq I or a son of Osorkon I, about the affiliation of Shoshenq IIb we have not any indication, and Shoshenq IIc, who is only attested in a secondary inscription on the back of the Theban statue Cairo CG 42192, did probably not have an independent reign.³³

The lineal father-to-son succession Shoshenq I – Osorkon I – Takeloth I – Osorkon II, appearing from the Pasenhor-stela, does not mean that neither of the kings Shoshenq IIa and IIb could have had an intervening reign as an independent king, as the Libyan tradition allows for brother succession which might have played a role here. However, if in this period the ancient Egyptian tradition would have been fully applicable to the royal succession, the situation

²⁸ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*³, Warminster 1995, 339, n. 534. Unfortunately the part of the inscription comprising the date is missing.

²⁹ Posener/Vercoutter/Malinine, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, 30-31, Pl. 10.

³⁰ P. Montet, *Les Constructions et le Tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis*, Paris 1951, 36-51; Broekman, *Once More Shoshenq Heqakheperre*, in: GM 181, 2001, 27-37.

³¹ E. Lange, *Ein neuer König Schoschenk in Bubastis*, in: GM 203, 2004, 65-72; Jansen-Winkel in: *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 236-238.

³² Von Beckerath, *Zur Rückeninschrift der Statuette Kairo CG 42192*, in: Or 63, 1994, 84-87; Jansen-Winkel, *Historische Probleme der 3. Zwischenzeit*, in: JEA 81, 1995, 145-148; Broekman, *Shoshenq Maakheperre and Shoshenq Heqakheperre*, in: GM 176, 2000, 39-46.

³³ It should be noticed that in the inscription on the statue Cairo CG 42192 several spelling-mistakes occur. Discussing Cairo CG 42192 Dodson remarks that *'the filiative phrase is written rather strangely, suggesting, like the odd prenominal cartouche given for Pasebkhanut, that the text may be corrupt in part, and so that the "Maakheperre" cartouche might also be the result of further corruption, with its actual owner indeed almost certainly Shoshenq I* (A. Dodson, *The Transition between the 21st and 22nd Dynasties Revisited*, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 112).

reflected by the Pasenhor stela would have excluded any intervening reign. To put it differently, if Shoshenq IIA, being a son of either Shoshenq I or Osorkon I would have become sole king of Egypt after his father's death it would have been '*his offspring and descendants, and not his brother Takeloth I who would have successively reigned after him.*'³⁴

There are indeed some indications that brother succession took place between the sons of Osorkon I. The Karnak Nile level records Nos. 16 – 21 are the only ones not mentioning the reigning king, as often assumed to be Takeloth I.³⁵ As a possible explanation Kitchen advances: '*such an utter nonentity was Takeloth I that his own brothers as Theban high priests used his reign as dating-era but ignored the king himself.*'³⁶ However, one should consider the possibility that after the death of Osorkon I two of his sons might have had royal aspirations: one of them being Takeloth I and the other perhaps the High Priest Shoshenq, whose mother was Maatkare, the royal daughter of King Psusennes II.³⁷ If, indeed, the situation was such, it should not be surprising that the Theban High Priests Iuvelot and Smendes III, who were also sons of Osorkon I, deliberately omitted the reigning king's name, intending not to become involved in the rivalry between their (half-)brothers. That Osorkon I really had two sons who succeeded him as kings seems to be confirmed by the inscription on a statue of Djedkhonsefankh A. This man of a relatively humble background made a brilliant career for himself, rising to high office during the reign of Osorkon I and even obtaining the hand of the latter's niece Neskhnospakhered i, daughter of the High Priest of Amun Iuput A and granddaughter of Shoshenq I. He reached the height of his career as fourth prophet of Amun probably under the sons of Osorkon I. On the block statue of Djedkhonsefankh A, Cairo CG 559, dedicated by his son Nakhtefmut A, Djedkhonsefankh says:³⁸



'I was favoured by the Good God Sekhemkheperre Setepenre (Osorkon I); his heirs repeated the favours even more than he did. Each of them acceded to the throne'

Here, too, is a reference to kings (in the plural!) whose names are not mentioned,³⁹ but certainly one of them must be Takeloth I. The other heir of Osorkon I can not be identified with certainty, but he is to all probability not Osorkon II, as to his reign (and those of Harsiese A) the above mentioned statue CG 42208 is dated, on which Nakhtefmut A, now in his capacity of fourth prophet of Amun, says that he came to Karnak at old age, whereas he is still a simple prophet of Amun on CG 559.⁴⁰ It is not improbable that the ultimate consequence of this family

³⁴ Thus Kitchen, in whose view the Pasenhor genealogy '*entirely excludes any succession from Osorkon I to Shoshenq IIA, hence the generally conceded nature of his kingship as a coregency within his father's reign remains the only likely role for him, royally.*' Further Kitchen proposes to eliminate the Shoshenqs "IIB, IIC" '*as merely very early variants for our familiar friend Shoshenq I, in the first 3 or 4 years of his reign, when he still had to win hearts and influence of people, even if he had notionally "done the right thing" by interring his predecessor at Tanis.*' (See Kitchen, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 165, 189, 190.)

³⁵ J. von Beckerath, *The Nile Level Records at Karnak and their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period (Dynasties XXII and XXIII)*, in: *JARCE* 5, 1966, 46; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 121 and 311; Jansen-Winkel, in: *JEA* 81, 1995, 138, n. 56, mentions the possibility that we are dealing here with regnal years of either Osorkon II or the High Priests Iuvelot and Smendes themselves.

³⁶ Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 311.

³⁷ G. Broekman, *The Nile Level Records of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third dynasties in Karnak. A reconsideration of their chronological order*, in: *JEA* 88, 2002, 170-173.

³⁸ Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien*, 9-24; 433-440; *Inschriften der Spätzeit II*, 95-98.

³⁹ Broekman in: *JEA* 88, 2002, 173, n. 30.

⁴⁰ Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien*, 17, n. 26.

quarrel amongst the sons of Osorkon I was the accession of the 'Theban' king Harsiese, who to all probability was a cousin of Osorkon II.⁴¹

During the decades following Osorkon II's reign Egypt has to face internal strife, as is reflected in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon B, and a proliferation of collateral dynastic lines, which appears from several Karnak Nile level records.

From Nile level record No. 24 it is clear that Pedubast I ascended the throne in year 8 of an other king, not mentioned in the text. That this king must be Shoshenq III is beyond dispute. As appears from Nile text No. 26 Pedubast's year 15 coincides with the first regnal year of Iuput I, and consequently his accession must have occurred in year 22 of Shoshenq III, whose last known regnal year is 39. Such are the indisputable facts; questions about their cause and effect are best answered in the light of the current Libyan tradition.

As I pointed out already in the *Journal of Egyptian History* 2.1 (2008)⁴² it is not impossible that the accession of Takeloth II resulted from an arrangement between him and Harsiese B, perhaps being a grandson of the "Theban" king Harsiese A, containing that the latter would waive his claim on the Theban kingship in favour of Takeloth II (who might have been identical with the Theban High Priest Takeloth F) in exchange for the office of High Priest of Amun, generalissimo and leader.⁴³

Shoshenq III ascended the throne in a regular way as the successor of Osorkon II, perhaps being the latter's grandson, and in Shoshenq's eighth regnal year (coinciding with year 11 of Takeloth II) Pedubast I assumed the kingship. In spite of the fission that occurred between him and Shoshenq III, it is clear that they cooperated and mutually supported each other, as appears for instance from Shoshenq III's son Pashedbast B dating an inscription on a Theban monument by Pedubast's regnal years. The accession of Pedubast was undoubtedly connected in one way or another with the Theban rebellion in Takeloth II's year 11, referred to in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon.⁴⁴ He might have aimed to restore the united Egyptian kingdom and to prevent Osorkon B from seizing the office of High priest of Amun in Thebes, and in order to have the indispensable support of the Thebans he had to proclaim himself king; so it appears that the rebellion in regnal year 11 of Takeloth II was in fact the recognition of Pedubast I by the High Priest Harsiese B and the Thebans. However in that same year 11 Prince Osorkon (B), travelling south, suppressed his enemies and carried out building activities in Hermopolis, and, at his arrival in Thebes, had himself installed as High Priest of Amun, punished the rebels and issued several decrees.⁴⁵ In Takeloth II's year 12 Prince Osorkon is still master in Thebes, but in year 15 a second rebellion breaks out,⁴⁶ and Harsiese B returns, undoubtedly with the support of Pedubast I, to Thebes, as is shown in Nile text no. 24 of that year, equalling year 5 of Pedubast I (= year 12 of Shoshenq III). From the Karnak Priestly Annals, fragments 1. b, 1. c and 2 it appears that Pedubast I was recognized in Thebes in his years 7 and 8 (years 17 and 18 of Takeloth II), and that in the last-mentioned year Harsiese B was still in function as High

⁴¹ Jansen-Winkel in: *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 241, n. 64; Ritner in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 337.

⁴² Broekman, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon and its historical context*, in: *Journal of Egyptian History (JEH)* 1/2, 2008, 229-230.

⁴³ In the view of Aston Takeloth II was the son and successor of Harsiese A (Aston, *Takeloth II, a King of the Herakleopolitan/Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty Revisited. The Chronology of Dynasties 22 and 23*, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 17, 18, n. 148). If Aston is right, then Harsiese A must have died about three years before the decease of Osorkon II.

⁴⁴ R. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, *AnOr* 37, Rome 1958, 153 (A. 22-23).

⁴⁵ Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 153-158 (A. 23-53).

⁴⁶ Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 158-161 (B. 1-7).

Priest. Only in year 24 of Takeloth II Prince Osorkon is back in Thebes, making offerings to Amun.⁴⁷ Shortly afterwards Takeloth II died and Iuput I ascended the throne – probably as the successor of Takeloth II⁴⁸ – in year 22 of Shoshenq III (= year 15 of Pedubast I), as might be concluded from Nile level record No. 26, dated to year 16 of Pedubast I, equalling year 2 of Iuput I.

This view has sharply been criticized by Kitchen, taking it as a ‘*fashionable modern error*’ and a ‘*fantasy*’.⁴⁹ He argues that there is ‘*no independent evidence of any kind to link Iuput I with Takeloth II*’ and that ‘*Iuput I was the coregent and ephemeral successor of Pedubast, of one and the same line, otherwise the Thebans would never have recognised him for dating purposes – as they did, repeatedly, in his Years 2 (Nile level 26), and 9 and 12 (Khons Temple graffiti Nos. 244-245B)*’.⁵⁰ However, Kitchen overlooks the fact that it was Prince Osorkon, being in Thebes in his capacity of High Priest, on whose order Nile text No. 26 was inscribed (see just below).⁵¹ Thus the text proves that it was prince Osorkon who recognised Iuput I for dating purposes, and it is highly improbable that he in this Nile text would have referred to Iuput I and Pedubast I if both of them would belong to a dynasty that he did not recognise. The graffiti on the roof of the Khons Temple are not conclusive in this respect, as these inscriptions, not being official records, only reflect the allegiance to a king of those individuals who inscribed them.

The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon B records offerings made by him in the years 22, 23 and 24 of Shoshenq III,⁵² and from this it is clear that he really was in Thebes in those years, even in his capacity of High Priest of Amun as appears from the Chronicle. It follows that NLR No. 26 was inscribed on his order (in regnal year 23 of Shoshenq III), and as in this text reference is made to Iuput I and to Osorkon’s antagonist Pedubast I, both rivalling parties obviously had become reconciled at that time and Prince Osorkon seems to have accepted the situation that had been developed, including Iuput I succeeding Osorkon’s father Takeloth II. The highest attested date for Iuput I is his regnal year 12, coinciding with year 33 of Shoshenq III. If Osorkon B/III, who ascended the throne not before year 39 of Shoshenq III, was Iuput’s successor, the latter must have reigned at least 18 years, for which we have not any evidence. If, however, Iuput I reigned for only 12 years, then a 6 year chronological gap is created between the death of Iuput and the accession of Osorkon III.

Aston considers the possibility to close this gap by having Iuput I been succeeded by Shoshenq VI (*Usermatre Meriamun*), who then could be succeeded by Osorkon III,⁵³ however as Aston is – rightly – of opinion that ‘*this scenario has little to recommend it*’, he proposes to make Iuput I (reigning for at least 12 years) Pedubast’s co-regent (from the latter’s year 15) to

⁴⁷ Caminos, Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, 166 (C. 7).

⁴⁸ Jansen-Winkel in: JEA 81, 1995, 140.

⁴⁹ Kitchen in: The Libyan Period in Egypt, 171.

⁵⁰ Kitchen in: The Libyan Period in Egypt, 182-183.

⁵¹ Although the Chronicle, enumerating Osorkon’s benefactions under Shoshenq III (C.11-17), speaks of a ‘*Compilation of items instituted as (something) new by the first prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods, the leader Osorkon, beginning with the regnal year 22 until the regnal year 28*’, Kitchen denies that Prince Osorkon at any time during those years visited Thebes in the capacity of High Priest. As Kitchen argues, Prince Osorkon had to ‘*concede the legitimacy and continuing regular function-in-office of Harsiese B in Thebes itself, while the Thebans were obliged to allow Prince Osorkon to visit Thebes at rare intervals, to conduct at least some major festivals, and arrange the setting-up of additional cult-endowments from time to time.*’ (Kitchen in: The Libyan Period in Egypt, 179).

⁵² Caminos, Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, 168-169 (C. 12-16).

be followed by Shoshenq VI with a 6 years reign.⁵⁴ However, the scenario suggested by Aston does not solve anything, as it creates an even bigger – 18 years – gap in his ‘Herakleopolitan/Theban’ 23rd Dynasty between Takeloth II and Osorkon III.⁵⁵

The chronological gap in the dynastic line Takeloth II – Osorkon III can only be closed by making, in accordance with Jansen-Winkeln’s view,⁵⁶ Iuput I the successor of Takeloth II and finding another king who reigned for at least 5 years – not being Shoshenq VI – who could be intercalated between Iuput I and Osorkon III. This king might be Shoshenq (VIa) Si-Ese Meriamun Hedjkheperre Setepenre, who is mentioned in the Karnak Nile level record No.3, with regnal year 5.⁵⁷ Originally I was of opinion that this king Shoshenq should be dated to the period from Takeloth III’s death until the moment of adoption of Amenirdis I as (future) Gods Wife of Amun, which must have occurred during the reign of one of the Nubian kings Kashta and his son Piye, possibly in the latter’s fifth regnal year.⁵⁸ In that quite limited period also the rule of Rudamun should be positioned and probably also the reign of Iny, and the question arises whether Shoshenq VIa really did reign after Takeloth III. Therefore it might be worth while to consider the possibility that Shoshenq VIa was actually the successor of Iuput I and predecessor of Osorkon III.⁵⁹

On the assumption that Iuput’s highest attested date, regnal year 12, coinciding with year 33 of Shoshenq III, was his last regnal year, and that Shoshenq VIa really was Iuput’s successor, then Shoshenq’s fifth regnal year would coincide with year 38 of Shoshenq III (see Table I). In this scenario, however, we find at most two years earlier (in Shoshenq III’s year 36), Shoshenq VI appearing in Nile text No. 25, inscribed on the order of the High Priest of Amun Takeloth E, whereas only one year after the presumed fifth regnal year of Shoshenq VIa reference is made to Shoshenq III in Nile text No. 22, inscribed on the order of the High Priest Osorkon B, just returned in Thebes. So within four years there would have been twice a transition of power in Thebes: from Takeloth E to the official on whose order Nile level text No. 3 was inscribed, and one or two years later from this unknown supporter of Shoshenq VIa to Osorkon B. Moreover, all Nile texts from the reign of Shoshenq III – except for text No. 26, inscribed at a time the rivalling parties were reconciled – mention the officiating High Priest of Amun, and therefore it would be quite surprising that in text No. 3 no High Priest is mentioned.

On the assumption that year 12 was not the last regnal year of Iuput I, but that he reigned two more years, we get the following, quite different picture, schematically presented in Table II. Takeloth E is in power in Thebes from year 23 of Pedubast I (=year 30 of Shoshenq III)

⁵³ Aston, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 20-21.

⁵⁴ Aston, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 25. It should be noticed that this scenario does not allow for any space for extra regnal years in addition to the attested minimum reign lengths of 12 and 6 years for Iuput I and Shoshenq VI respectively.

⁵⁵ Aston tries to fill this gap by intercalating in his chronological schemes for this dynasty the 22nd Dynasty king Shoshenq III with his regnal years 22-39 (between brackets): Aston in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 24-26).

⁵⁶ See above, n. 48.

⁵⁷ Broekman, in: *JEA* 88, 2002, 163-178; *ib.*, *The Chronological Position of King Shoshenq Mentioned in Nile Level Record No. 3 on the Quay Wall of the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak*, in: *SAK* 33, 2005, 75-89; *ib.*, *Takeloth III and the end of the 23rd Dynasty*, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 97-99. Notice that the existence of Shoshenq VIa is not generally accepted amongst Egyptologists. See for instance T.L. Sagrillo, *The reign of Shoshenq I: Textual and historical analyses* (forthcoming dissertation), 17-21; F. Payraudeau, *Takeloth III: Considerations on old and new documents*, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 296.

⁵⁸ Broekman, in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 101.

⁵⁹ This possibility was suggested to the present writer by Karl Jansen-Winkeln in personal communication in December 2007.

until the victorious return of Osorkon B in year 39 of Shoshenq III (or until one or two years before), which is rendered in Nile level records Nos. 29, 25 and 22. In Shoshenq III's year 36 Iuput I is succeeded by Shoshenq VIa. In year 39 of Shoshenq III (=year 4 Shoshenq VIa) Osorkon B has overcome all his enemies and the line Pedubast I – Shoshenq VI is expelled from Thebes and probably even extinguished, and from now on Shoshenq VIa, belonging to the dynastic line Takeloth II – Iuput I, is being recognized in Thebes. As the civil war is over, there is not any reason to mention in Nile text No.3 the officiating High Priest, most probably being Prince Osorkon B. After his fifth regnal year Shoshenq VIa still might have reigned for a short time before being succeeded by Osorkon B/III.

But what would have moved Osorkon B/III, who in his 'Chronicle', inscribed at the Bubastide gate at Karnak, unambiguously showed his royal aspirations, to accept that he only after the intermediate reigns of Iuput I and Shoshenq VIa would achieve his final purpose: acceding the throne of his father Takeloth II? Also this may be connected with the characteristics of the Libyan patrilineal segmentary lineage system, finding expression in the social equality of brothers and first cousins within a lineage segment and the related principle of brother succession versus father-to-son succession. Iuput I might have been a younger brother of Takeloth II, what might have given him precedence over Osorkon B with regards of their claims on the throne. Shoshenq VIa's position within the social hierarchy might have given him, too, a stronger claim in this respect than Prince Osorkon who, moreover, might have been discredited on account of his violent actions during the civil war, notably with respect to Thebes. Anyhow, in whatever way Iuput I, Shoshenq VIa and Osorkon B might have been related, they probably belonged to the same lineage, supporting each other against their common adversaries, Pedubast I, his successor Shoshenq VI, and the High Priests Harsiese B and Takeloth E. On the other hand Osorkon B viewed Iuput I and Shoshenq VIa as rival kinsmen, and this would explain why both of them were so rarely attested and why Prince Osorkon chose to refer in Nile level text No. 22 to Shoshenq III instead of Shoshenq VIa.

In this connection the graffiti Nos. 100 and 101, inscribed next to each other on the roof of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, may be interesting. Both of them were inscribed by one Shedsukhonsu, son of Pamaru. Graffito No.100 is dated to 'year six, first month of Akhet, day twenty of the King of Upper Egypt Shoshenq' [*hsbt 6 tpi 3ht sw 20 n nswt Š3-š3k*]; No. 101 is dated to 'year one, second month of Shemu, day two <of> the King of Upper Egypt Osorkon Meriamun' [*hsbt 1 ibd 2 šmw sw 2 <n> nsw W3-r-s3-k3-n3 mrj jmn*]. Jacquet-Gordon proposed to identify the kings mentioned with Shoshenq VI (formerly IV) and Osorkon III respectively, rightly arguing that in this case 'only a year or two would have passed between the writing of the two graffiti', whereas in case those kings had to be identified with Shoshenq V and Osorkon IV a period of about thirty-three years had to be envisaged. 'Besides, both Shoshenq V and Osorkon IV were kings connected with the northern line rather than with Thebes.'⁶⁰ If indeed, as suggested above, Shoshenq VIa was the successor of Iuput I and predecessor of Osorkon III, he would have been an appropriate candidate to be identified with king Shoshenq mentioned in graffito No.100. His fifth regnal year would have been only one or two years before the accession of Osorkon III (see Tables I and II) and besides, he would have belonged to the same 'Dynasty', whereas in case graffito No. 100 would refer to Shoshenq VI, Shedsukhonsu would have changed allegiance from one lineage, that of Pedubast I – Shoshenq VI to the other,

⁶⁰ Jacquet-Gordon, *The graffiti on the Khonsu Temple roof at Karnak: a manifestation of personal piety*, Chicago 2003, 40-41.

namely the Takeloth II – Osorkon III lineage, which is of course not impossible as the lineage Pedubast I – Shoshenq VI did not exist any more (at least in Thebes).

Finally there might be one more argument in favour of an ‘early’ reign of Shoshenq VIa (as the predecessor of Osorkon III). Nile level text 45, in which von Beckerath could find no trace of the nomen nor the prenomen,⁶¹ refers to year 17 or 18 or 25 of a king who, as appears from the use of the orthographic version 2 of *hꜥpj*, must have reigned after Shoshenq III.⁶² This text has been carved due to the left of Nile text No. 3, together on one single bloc, and as the Nile level texts were inscribed from the right to the left, the right hand text, No. 3, was most probably carved prior to the left hand one, No. 45. So we may assume that text No. 45 was inscribed after regnal year 5 of Shoshenq VIa. As the space of time remaining after Takeloth III is too brief for a year 17/18/25 of an Upper-Egyptian king before the start of Nubian rule,⁶³ the conclusion must be that text No. 45 refers to year 17 or 18 of Osorkon III,⁶⁴ who thus reigned after Shoshenq VIa.

⁶¹ G. Legrain, who uncovered the Nile level texts in 1896, could read the epithet Meriamun in the nomen-cartouche (Legrain, *Textes de Karnak*, in: ZÄS 34, 1896, 118).

⁶² Brockman, in: JEA 88, 2002, 177.

⁶³ Jansen-Winkel, in: *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 255, n. 147. It is very unlikely that text No. 45 is to be attributed to either of the Nubian kings Piye and Taharqa, though both of them reigned more than 25 years, because the overall structure of this text, resembling most of the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties Nile texts, is quite different from all other Nile texts to be attributed to the Nubian Dynasty (with the exception of text no. 34, being just an additional text), which have a much more elaborated structure, and it is improbable that a Nile text left by Piye would have shown the ‘Libyan’ instead of the ‘Nubian’ structure.

⁶⁴ It is very unlikely that text No. 45 would refer to Osorkon III’s 25th regnal year, as that year falls within the period of joint rule with his son Takeloth III, as appears from Nile level record No. 13 dated to Osorkon’s year 28, being equal to year 5 of Takeloth III.

<i>Dyn. 22</i>	<i>Dyn. 23 (UE)</i>	<i>Rival kings</i>	<i>High Priests</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Shoshenq III	Takeloth II	Pedubast I		
20	24	13	Osorkon B	OC, C7
21	25	14	Osorkon B	JE 36159
	Iuput I			
22	1	15	Osorkon B	OC, C12
23	2	16	Osorkon B	NLR 26
24	3	17	Osorkon B	OC, C13-16
25	4	18	Osorkon B/ Harsiese B	OC, C1-2, 17 NLR 28
26	5	19	Harsiese B	NLR 27
27	6	20		
28	7	21	Osorkon B	OC, C12, 17
29	8	22	Osorkon B	OC, C22
30	9	23	Takeloth E	NLR 29
31	10	Shoshenq VI		
		1		
32	11	2		
33	12	3		
34	Shoshenq VIa	4		
	1			
35	2	5		
36	3	6	Takeloth E	NLR 25
37	4	7 (?)		
38	5	8 (?)		NLR 3
39	Osorkon III	9(?)	Osorkon B	NLR 22: PA 7
	1			
Shoshenq IV	2			
1				
2	3			NLR 5
3	4			
4	5			NLR 6
5	6			NLR 7
↓	↓			
↓	↓			

Tabel I:
Sequence Takelot II – Iuput I (12 regnal years)– Shoshenq VIa – Osorkon III

Legends

- JE: Inventory number Kairo Museum
 NLR: Nile level record
 OC: Chronicle of Prince Osorkon
 PA: Karnak Priestly Annals

<i>Dyn. 22</i>	<i>Dyn. 23 (UE)</i>	<i>Rival kings</i>	<i>High Priests</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Shoshenq III	Takeloth II	Pedubast I		
20	24	13	Osorkon B	OC, C7
21	25	14	Osorkon B	JE 36159
	Iuput I			
22	1	15	Osorkon B	OC, C12
23	2	16	Osorkon B	NLR 26
24	3	17	Osorkon B	OC, C13-16
25	4	18	Osorkon B/ Harsiese B	OC, C1-2, 17 NLR 28
26	5	19	Harsiese B	NLR 27
27	6	20		
28	7	21	Osorkon B	OC, C12, 17
29	8	22	Osorkon B	OC, C22
30	9	23	Takeloth E	NLR 29
31	10	Shoshenq VI		
		1		
32	11	2		
33	12	3		
34	13	4		
35	14	5		
36	Shoshenq VIa	6	Takeloth E	NLR 25
	1			
37	2	7 (?)		
38	3	8 (?)		
39	4	9 (?)	Osorkon B	NLR 22: PA 7 NLR 3
Shoshenq IV	5			
1				
2	6 (?)			
3	Osorkon III			
	1			
4	2			
5	3			NLR 5
↓	4			
↓	5			NLR 6
↓	6			NLR 7

Table II:
Sequence Takelot II – Iuput I (14 regnal years) – Shoshenq VIa – Osorkon III

Legends

- JE: Inventory number Kairo Museum
 NLR: Nile level record
 OC: Chronicle of Prince Osorkon
 PA: Karnak Priestly Annals