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## The Transition between the Twentieth and Twenty-First Dynasties Revisited

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### *Abstract*

Jansen-Winkeln's argument for reversing the hitherto established order of the High Priests of Amun at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty has become almost universally accepted, but still presents some complications. Leaving aside the complexities of the royal and high priestly genealogy, this article attempts to find a solution for what is perhaps the most problematic aspect of Jansen-Winkeln's placement of Herihor after Piankh. This is the notion that the datelines from the period reference the regnal years of High Priests of Amun (who had not yet assumed royal titles) rather than the regnal years of kings. To avoid this problem, we must assume a chronologically possible short reign between those of Ramesses XI and Smendes, corresponding to a period when neither Herihor nor Smendes were yet kings. The article disproves Thijs' identification of such an intervening king with Khakheperre Pinudjem, considers alternative solutions by Dodson and Krauss, and posits a short-lived additional Ramesside king to be interpolated between Ramesses XI and Smendes. This Ramesses XII is possibly to be identified with a king attested on a Wadi Hammamat graffito, who can be shown to be distinct from Ramesses II, with whom he has long been identified in error, and to belong to the late Twentieth Dynasty. Although inevitably based on partly circumstantial evidence, the resulting arrangement keeps the overall chronological framework intact, while resolving a significant problem with Jansen-Winkeln's popular thesis.

### **Introduction**

As a result of Karl Jansen-Winkeln's proposed reversal of the traditional order of the High Priests of Amun Herihor and Piankh, it has become common to place the 'pontificate' of Piankh before that of Herihor.<sup>1</sup> Although this scenario has much to recommend it, it also creates a gap between the 'pontificates' of a father and son, Piankh and Pinudjem I, and introduces certain complications with the hitherto straightforward succession of year dates on mummy bandages and other documents.<sup>2</sup> The reversal of the old sequence of Herihor–Piankh also necessitates the unlikely notion that even those Theban High Priests of Amun who did not (yet) claim royal status for themselves would have employed their own regnal count for dating purposes.<sup>3</sup> This constitutes the weakest point in Jansen-Winkeln's increasingly popular

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<sup>1</sup> Jansen-Winkeln 1992, reiterated by Jansen-Winkeln 2006: 225-230. Cf., for example, Taylor 1998; Egberts 1997; Egberts 1998: 96-97, 104; Lull 2009; Broekman 2012; Haring 2012: 146-148; Gregory 2014: 8-17; Krauss 2015: 346. The scenario proposed by Jansen-Winkeln has gained increasing acceptance, despite the critical response of Kitchen (1995: xiv-xviii; 2009: 200) and Goldberg (2000).

<sup>2</sup> For the older arrangement and the succession of attested dates, see Kitchen 1995: 417-423.

<sup>3</sup> That high priests who eventually proclaimed themselves king could use their own regnal years before this, as proposed by Jansen-Winkeln (1997: 72-73) and Broekman (2012: 203-204), is very implausible.

scenario,<sup>4</sup> and, if left unresolved, would remain a major obstacle to its universal acceptance and vindication. That was recognized by Ad Thijs, who proposed distinguishing the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I and King Khakheperre Pinudjem as two separate individuals, and interpolating the latter between the reigns of Ramesses XI and Herihor.<sup>5</sup> While Thijs' solution is unconvincing in its particulars, he identified a promising way to eliminate the chief weakness of Jansen-Winkeln's scenario by interposing an additional reign between those of Ramesses XI and his Twenty-First-Dynasty successors, which would obviate the implausible recourse to any regnal dates of non-regal high priests.

For the purposes of the discussion below, I will assume that Jansen-Winkeln's placement of Herihor as the successor of Piankh is correct, and that Theban high priests did not have their own (unlikely) regnal count, but dated by the regnal count of northern kings.

### **The chronological placement of Piankh, Herihor, and Pinudjem I**

As well established in Egyptology, a new date count called a Renaissance Era (*whm-msw.t*) commenced, for whatever reason, in Year 19 of Ramesses XI. Pharaoh's general and High Priest of Amun Piankh is explicitly attested in Year 7 of the Renaissance Era and in a Year 10, apparently of the same count (corresponding to Years 25 and 28 of Ramesses XI).<sup>6</sup> Placing the High Priest of Amun Herihor after Piankh means that Years 5 and 6, associated with Herihor, cannot belong to the regnal count of Ramesses XI or to that of the Renaissance Era;<sup>7</sup> moreover, since in Years 5 and 6 Herihor was still High Priest of Amun but not yet king, these years must belong to the regnal count of another king.<sup>8</sup> That king cannot be identified with Smendes (Nesbanebdjed), the founder of the Twenty-First Dynasty according to the Manethonic tradition,<sup>9</sup> for several reasons:

(1) In the record from Year 5, contained within the *Report of Wenamun*, Smendes is not named as king, and the oblique references to an Egyptian king in that text do not seem to refer to Smendes.

(2) In Year 16 of (evidently) Smendes, the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I assumed the status of king, while already in Year 6 of what can only be Smendes' reign,<sup>10</sup> Pinudjem I is attested as high priest.<sup>11</sup>

(3) The attestations of the high priests Herihor and Pinudjem I in a Year 6 cannot be placed in Year 6 of the same reign (and therefore Herihor cannot have been succeeded by Pinudjem during the course of that year) because

(3a) this would not allow enough time for the promotion of Herihor from high priest to king and the creation of royal monuments,<sup>12</sup> and also because

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Goldberg 2000: 54-55; Kitchen 2009: 192; Demidoff 2008: 100-102; Palmer 2014: 5-6; and Payraudeau 2014: 47, commenting on the same notion in Jansen-Winkeln 1995: 138 n. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Thijs 2005; 2006; 2007. Gregory (2014: 16) mentions the (mere) possibility of an intervening reign. Krauss (2015: 348) makes the intervening reign that of Herihor himself.

<sup>6</sup> Černý 1929 (*whm-msw.t*); Nims 1948 and Berlev 1997 (Year 7); Wente 1967: 11-12, 37 (Year 10).

<sup>7</sup> Jansen-Winkeln 1992: 25-26.

<sup>8</sup> Erman 1927: 175 (Year 5); Gauthier 1914: 232 (Year 6). Cf. Kitchen 1995: xvi, 17.

<sup>9</sup> Waddell 1940: 154-157.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Demidoff 2008: 103-105; Palmer 2014: 4-7. Jansen-Winkeln (1992: 26; 1997: 67) and Broekman (2012: 198) prefer attributing the Years 5 and 6 to Herihor himself.

<sup>11</sup> Gauthier 1914: 243 (Year 6), 249 (Year 16). This makes impossible the proposal of Egberts (1998: 102), who posited that Herihor and Smendes were not called kings by Wenamun in Year 5 only because he considered the (true) kingship to belong to the god Amun-Re. Egberts' implications are shared by Demidoff (2008: 103-105), Broekman (2012: 196), Haring (2012: 148-149), and Palmer (2014: 4-5).

(3b) the first attested date of the High Priest Pinudjem in a Year 6 is earlier than the last attested date of the High Priest Herihor in a Year 6, which would suggest an overlap rather than a succession in the high priesthood during the same Year 6. Moreover, a Year 7 during the ‘pontificate’ of Herihor has been inferred by Krauss as a possibility.<sup>13</sup>

As a demonstration of the above, consider the four certain attestations of a Year 6 related to the high priests Herihor and Pinudjem I in the documents:

- (a) Year 6, II *3ht* 7, High Priest Herihor, on coffin docket of Sety I<sup>14</sup>
- (b) Year 6, III *prt* 15, High Priest Herihor, on coffin docket of Ramesses II<sup>15</sup>
- (c) Year 6, III *prt* 7, High Priest Pinudjem I, on linen docket, mummy of Thutmose II<sup>16</sup>
- (d) Year 6, IV *prt* 7, High Priest Pinudjem I, on coffin docket of Amenhotep I<sup>17</sup>

The sequence of dates indicates that (a) and (b) belong to a different Year 6 than (c) and (d). A way around this difficulty by recourse to Daressy’s printing of (b) as III *3ht* 15 instead of Maspero’s III *prt* 15 is not convincing.<sup>18</sup> Maspero’s original publication of the partly washed off hieratic text noted that ‘the reading is certain’,<sup>19</sup> and it is accepted by Elizabeth Thomas, whereas Daressy felt that the traces were too indistinct and described his own reading as very tentative.<sup>20</sup> Thomas, moreover, defended Maspero’s readings elsewhere, e.g. in (c) and (d), and noted that Daressy apparently changed the date of (d) in his publication to match (c).<sup>21</sup> Thus, even if well-intentioned, Daressy’s emendations do not appear to be vindicated and should not be used as a basis for convenient alteration to the texts.

Therefore, if the ‘pontificate’ of Herihor is to be interpolated between those of Piankh and Pinudjem I, and if—as most likely—Theban high priests did not have their own regnal count, it follows that Herihor was High Priest of Amun during Years 5 and 6 of a king who succeeded Ramesses XI and preceded Smendes. But can we identify the monarch who could have reigned for at least half a decade between these two kings?

### Khakheperre Pinudjem

Until recently, it was universally assumed that the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I became king as King Khakheperre Pinudjem, delegating the high priestly office to his son Masaharta. Accepting Jansen-Winkel’s revision of the order of Piankh and Herihor, and noticing the problem with the chronological placement of Years 5 and 6 associated with Herihor,<sup>22</sup> Ad

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Gregory 2014: 14-15. If Herihor died as king in Year 6, as proposed by Palmer (2014: 5-6), that requires us to assume that he eschewed his royal title while dating documents as high priest; even if he had retained the high priesthood, this seems unlikely. But Palmer’s suggestion that on the documents from Year 6 Herihor appears simply as high priest because he was fulfilling a high priestly function is contradicted by a coffin docket recording the same activity ordered by King Khakheperre Pinudjem from a Year 8 (Maspero 1889: 534; Gauthier 1914: 248; Thomas 1966: 250 12a). The regnal year belongs to Psusennes I (Kitchen 1995: 420), or just possibly to Pinudjem I as king (Dodson 2012: 25).

<sup>13</sup> Krauss 2015: 347.

<sup>14</sup> Maspero 1889: 553, pls. 10-12; Daressy 1909: 30, pls. 18-19; Gauthier 1914: 232; Thomas 1966: 249 2a.

<sup>15</sup> Maspero 1889: 557, pl. 11; Daressy 1909: 32, pls. 20-21; Gauthier 1914: 232; Thomas 1966: 249 2b and 262 n. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Maspero 1889: 545-546; Gauthier 1914: 243; Thomas 1966: 249 4a.

<sup>17</sup> Maspero 1889: 536-537, pl. 4; Daressy 1909: 8, pl. 7; Gauthier 1914: 244; Thomas 1966: 249 4b.

<sup>18</sup> As done by Jansen-Winkel 1992: 26; Lull 2009: 57; Demidoff 2012: 103; Palmer 2014: 5.

<sup>19</sup> Maspero 1889: 557; given likely further fading over time, Maspero would have been in the best position to evaluate the traces; Daressy’s reading was some two decades later.

<sup>20</sup> Daressy 1909: 32.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas 1966: 249, 262 n. 13, vindicating Maspero’s IV *prt* 7 versus Daressy’s III *prt* 7.

<sup>22</sup> Thijs 2005: 78-80.

This sought to fill the void by placing as Ramesses XI's immediate successor Khakheperre Pinudjem, identifying him as a distinct individual from the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I, and ascribing to him all attestations of a King Pinudjem, as well as several images of a king that were subsequently recarved and reinscribed for the High Priest Pinudjem I on the inner pylon gate facing the court of the Temple of Khonsu in Karnak.<sup>23</sup> This sought to support his proposal with recourse to the Manethonic tradition, which, as it now stands, listed collectively 'twelve kings of Diospolis'. Since Setnakhte and Ramesses III-XI makes ten kings, This implied that Khakheperre Pinudjem and Herihor should be added to this dynasty to make twelve kings in all.<sup>24</sup>

With nine kings named Ramesses, several of whom bore the same throne name (four or five times Wosermaatre) and same birth name (three times Amenhirkhepshef, two times Khaemwese),<sup>25</sup> it would be nothing short of miraculous if the Manethonic tradition, especially in its current summary and fragmentary state, did not result in the same kind of confusion exhibited in its treatment of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-Second Dynasties. This is not to say that the Twentieth Dynasty could not have included twelve kings, but what is left of Manetho's account cannot be used as a plausible starting point for such a construct. For what it is worth, there is no trace of Pinudjem and Herihor in what might be the tattered remnants of the Manethonic account of the Twentieth Dynasty contained within the *Book of Sothis*.<sup>26</sup>

If we are to take the term 'dynasty' literally, it would be most surprising to find, after nine kings who bore the name Ramesses (either from birth or added on after accession), two named simply Pinudjem and Herihor. Worse, neither of these birth names occurs in the extensive onomastic repertoire of the Ramesside royal family, nor do the throne names of Herihor (*ḥm ntr tpy n jmn*, 'High Priest of Amun') and Pinudjem (Khakheperre) bear any resemblance to Ramesside royal precedent. The best that could be said in favor of a connection, is that a few of Herihor's twenty-three named children bore names found within the Ramesside royal family.<sup>27</sup> Although This did not insist on an intimate connection between the families of Pinudjem and Herihor on the one hand, and that of the Ramessides on the other, the addition of these kings to the Twentieth Dynasty remains far-fetched.

The argument that the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I usurped representations of a distinct and then already deceased King Khakheperre Pinudjem in the Temple of Khonsu is particularly forced. While the Epigraphic Survey of the temple determined that in several scenes the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I replaced (incompletely or impermanently) a royal image and title with his own, it considered this a vacillation in his resolve to claim royal status: representing himself first as king, then as high priest, before eventually assuming full royal style elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> Although This is correct in seeing this explanation as somewhat

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<sup>23</sup> This 2005; 2006; 2007.

<sup>24</sup> This 2005: 77-78; 2006: 83; for the epitomes of Manetho, see Waddell 1940: 152-155.

<sup>25</sup> Wosermaatre: Ramesses III, IV (initially), V, VII, and VIII; Amenhirkhepshef: Ramesses V, VI, and X; Khaemwese: Ramesses IX and XI.

<sup>26</sup> Waddell (1940: 236-237) includes: Khamoīs (Khaemwese), Miamous (Meryamun), [R?]Amesēsīs (Ramesses or Amenmeses?), Ous[imar?]ēs (Wosermaatre?), Ramesēs, Ramesomenēs (Ramesses Amenhirkhepshef?), Ousimarēs (Wosermaatre), Ramessēs[th?]ōs (Ramesses Sethirkhepshef?), Ramessamenō (Ramesses Amenhirkhepshef?), Ramessē Ioubassē, Ramessē Ouaphrou. Not all of these need to have come from Manetho's presumed original, unabridged account of the Twentieth Dynasty, and some might be duplicates of each other, or kings from other dynasties. The so-called *Book of Sothis*, which the mediaeval Byzantine chronographer Geōrgios Synkellos considered the 'true' epitome of Manetho, is in fact generally recognized as the most garbled and unreliable part of the Manethonic tradition (Waddell 1940: xxvii-xxviii, 234-235).

<sup>27</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1979: 11-12 and pl. 26: Itamun, Amenhirwenemef, Amenhirkhepshef, Henut(en)tanef.

<sup>28</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1981: xviii-xix.

odd,<sup>29</sup> that does not necessarily support his own conclusion. The replaced iconography corresponds very well with that found in representations of Ramesses XI and Herihor elsewhere in the Temple of Khonsu, and in no case does there seem to be any proof positive that the royal figure replaced by the High Priest Pinudjem was in fact Khakheperre Pinudjem. In the one telling instance where some of the replaced royal titulary or epithets is traceable, it reads *tjt-rꜥ ḥnty tꜥwy* ('image of Re before the Two Lands').<sup>30</sup> This was an alternate Horus name of Amenhotep III in the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>31</sup> Although the phrase does not seem to be part of a Horus name in this instance, it is worth pointing out that it does not correspond to any of the four known Horus names (and other epithets) of Khakheperre Pinudjem.<sup>32</sup> And while the epithet *tjt-rꜥ ḥnty tꜥwy* does not seem to be associated with any surviving attestation of that monarch,<sup>33</sup> it is found at least once in relation to Ramesses XI and at least a dozen times in relation to Herihor in the Temple of Khonsu.<sup>34</sup> Clearly, these considerations point away from Khakheperre Pinudjem and toward Herihor as the king whose image was later replaced by that of High Priest Pinudjem I on the walls of the Temple of Khonsu.

Despite Thijs' emphasis on the spatial circumstances of the 'usurped' representations of the king he alleged to be Khakheperre Pinudjem,<sup>35</sup> they are completely compatible with replaced representations of King Herihor.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, the traces of the obscured royal images do not include any elaborate royal crowns like those often sported by Ramesses XI in his representations, or enough space to fit any or most of them. Instead, the traces reveal either a flying protective vulture extending the symbols for life, power, and longevity towards the king's head, or the solar disk flanked by cobras, from which are suspended ankhs, hovering over the king's head. In the majority of cases, these images seem to leave enough space only for the close-fitting cap crown worn characteristically and almost ubiquitously by Herihor as king in scenes in the court of the Temple of Khonsu.<sup>37</sup> As above, the evidence points to King Herihor, not King Khakheperre Pinudjem, as the subject of the royal image replaced by representations of High Priest Pinudjem I.

The insertion of Khakheperre Pinudjem as Herihor's predecessor is also questionable on other grounds. As far as we can tell, Herihor retained his very 'job-specific' throne name *ḥm ntr tpy n jmn* ('High Priest of Amun') throughout his reign; King Pinudjem, on the other hand, seems to have begun with that same throne name, and then immediately changed it to the more conventional Khakheperre ('Appearance of the Manifestation of Re').<sup>38</sup> If King

<sup>29</sup> Thijs 2006: 85-87; 2007: 52-53.

<sup>30</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1981: xix, 9, pl. 122b.

<sup>31</sup> Leprohon 2013: 103.

<sup>32</sup> For the Horus names see Leprohon 2013: 142; Jansen-Winkel 2007: 6 no. 7, 14-15 nos. 16, 18; these last two appear to be Horus names adopted even before Pinudjem assumed a complete royal titulary.

<sup>33</sup> Jansen-Winkel 2007: 4-42 contains the relevant texts from various sources.

<sup>34</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1981: 52 pl. 177b for Ramesses XI, and also 'image of Re' with different supplement: 44 pl. 161d, 57 pl. 184, 70 pl. 203; 'image of Amun before the Two Lands': 39 pl. 155; Epigraphic Survey 1981: 26 pl. 141c for Herihor has 'image of Re' with damaged supplement; Epigraphic Survey 1979: 2 pl. 8, 8 pl. 21, 16 pl. 31, 23 pl. 45, 32 pl. 55 (twice), 35 pl. 59, 37 pl. 65, 39-40 pls. 69b and 71, 52 pl. 102, 54 pl. 106 for Herihor have precisely 'image of Re before the Two Lands', while 5 pl. 16, 21 pl. 41, 51-52 pls. 99 and 103 have 'image of Re' with different supplements; 34 pl. 58 has 'image of Amun'.

<sup>35</sup> Thijs 2007: 54-60.

<sup>36</sup> Apart from some later usurpations, the entire court was decorated by Herihor. Cf. Dodson 2012: 26-30.

<sup>37</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1981: pls. 117b, 119b-125b, with the 'usurped' king's head beneath a protective vulture or the solar disk with cobras. This does not allow space for any tall crown, perhaps even the relatively low 'blue crown'. Contrast Ramesses XI's representations in, for example, pls. 155, 159, 163, 168, 171, 175a, 181, 182, 200a (although pls. 157a, 160b, 179 would be compatible); compare Herihor's representations in, for example, pl. 141 and in Epigraphic Survey 1979: pls. 8-10, 14-18, 27-29, 31, 32, 34, 37-39, 41, 42, 49-51, 53, 54, 56b, 57a, 58. On the 'cap crown' see Gregory 2014: 34-62, who shows that it is not actually priestly headgear.

<sup>38</sup> Jansen-Winkel 2007: 21 no. 28. Cf. Dodson 2012: 49-50.

Pinudjem had been Herihor's royal predecessor, we would expect the latter to venture a conventional throne name for himself from the start. Once again, the evidence places Khakheperre Pinudjem after, not before, Herihor.

The grounds upon which Thijs distinguished between King Khakheperre Pinudjem and the High Priest Pinudjem I do not seem decisive or convincing, and the same could be said for his use of the oracle of Khonsu in relation to Herihor.<sup>39</sup> Another questionable premise is the insistence on a long overlap between Herihor, now king, and the High Priest Pinudjem I.<sup>40</sup> In fact, they do not seem to be associated in any document or image, and there is some reason to believe that King Herihor never actually abandoned his high priestly authority after becoming a king, not least because he used a throne name that actually read 'High Priest of Amun' and an almost invariably 'priest-like' iconography for his representations as king.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, Thijs' assertion that the High Priest Pinudjem I could not have replaced the royal images of King Herihor, because Herihor was still alive, is also based on very questionable considerations.<sup>42</sup> That the High Priest Pinudjem I's opportunistic (certainly not systematic or malicious) replacement of royal images occurred after the death of their owner can be accepted. However, there is no proof that Pinudjem's 'pontificate' was coterminous with Herihor's kingship, and, even if it were, it is not a given that Pinudjem did not remain 'mere' high priest for some time after Herihor's death, before assuming royal titles himself.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, the evidence suggests that he did.

In sum, the proposal that King Khakheperre Pinudjem was distinct from the High Priest Pinudjem I and reigned immediately after Ramesses XI remains very difficult to accept, and it is associated with unnecessary and implausible complications.<sup>44</sup> It seems best to continue to regard Khakheperre Pinudjem as the final, royal transformation of the Theban high priest Pinudjem I, beginning in Year 16 of the Tanite king Smendes. But if Khakheperre Pinudjem cannot fulfill the role of the king during whose Years 5 and 6 we have attestations of Herihor as high priest at Thebes, then who can?

### Alternative solutions

A creative solution to this problem was proposed by Aidan Dodson, who posited that Herihor officiated as High Priest of Amun both before and after Piankh. This scenario would allow Years 5 and 6 associated with the High Priest of Amun Herihor to be reckoned as part of the

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<sup>39</sup> Thijs 2005: 81-82, 85-88. Countered by Dodson 2012: 22; Palmer 2014: 6; Gregory 2014: 25-26.

<sup>40</sup> An overlap between Herihor as king and his putative high priestly successors Piankh and Pinudjem I was also posited by Young (1963), Kitchen (2009: 200), and James and Morkot (2010); for criticism of this approach, see Broekman 2012 and Gregory 2013.

<sup>41</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1979: xii, xv-xvi; Palmer 2014: 2, 5-6. Gregory (2014) objects to this characterization of the iconographic evidence and questions even the semantic accuracy of our translations 'temple' and 'high priest'. I do not take issue with these observations, nor do I dispute Gregory's conclusion that Herihor was a fully-fledged king, and I accept that the priestly functions (if not necessarily garb) in the representations of King Herihor in the court of the Temple of Khonsu were most likely dictated by the location and circumstances, but the pertinent point here is that King Herihor might have retained the high priesthood even after becoming king.

<sup>42</sup> Thijs 2007: 53; the same could be said, theoretically, for his dismissal of the possibility that the 'usurped' king could have been Ramesses XI. Another questionable notion speculates that King Herihor might have allowed the High Priest Pinudjem I to replace the images of Herihor's alleged predecessor as king, Khakheperre Pinudjem, because the latter had kept Herihor from the throne for a decade.

<sup>43</sup> Without undermining the royalty of Pinudjem I, the sequence of year dates seems to suggest that he did not adopt a separate regnal count of his own, and the same might have been true for Herihor before him.

<sup>44</sup> Similar conclusions were reached by James and Morkot (2010: 234) and Palmer (2014: 6-7). Of course complications, in and of themselves, are not necessarily evidence of error.

Renaissance Era beginning in Year 19 of Ramesses XI once again, and would obviate the need for interpolating another reign between the latter and Smendes.<sup>45</sup> However, the single object cited in support of this scenario, a stele in Leiden on which the image and name of the High Priest Herihor were purposefully destroyed (while those of his wife and three gods were left intact),<sup>46</sup> is hardly sufficient evidence.<sup>47</sup> As it stands, it seems more likely an example of personal vendetta, which did not take the scale of systematic destruction or *damnatio memoriae*. While we know of rival High Priests of Amun playing musical chairs on the Theban ‘pontifical’ throne during the Twenty-Second Dynasty,<sup>48</sup> and the reign of Ramesses XI does seem to have witnessed some sort of upheaval in that part of the country, it is difficult to imagine Herihor as high priest so early. One of the greatest advantages of Jansen-Winkel’s revision of the old sequence Herihor–Piankh is that Herihor seems completely absent in the ample (albeit surely incomplete) documentation provided by the Tomb Robbery Trials and the Late Ramesside Letters;<sup>49</sup> if he officiated as high priest after these texts were written, his absence would be easier to explain. Positing that Herihor preceded Piankh in office would negate this advantage.

Recently Rolf Krauss drew attention to the problem by proposing that Smendes was not the immediate successor of the last Ramesside king, but that another reign, that of Herihor, intervened between them.<sup>50</sup> In theory, there is nothing that excludes such a scenario and if, as possible, Herihor was the father of Smendes, that would be quite natural.<sup>51</sup> Krauss posits an eight-year reign for Herihor between Ramesses XI and Smendes.<sup>52</sup> But Krauss’ chronological reconstruction would require us to consider Years 5 and 6 (and possibly 7) associated with High Priest Herihor part of his own regnal count.<sup>53</sup> The absence of a royal title for Herihor in these attestations remains a serious problem for this scenario in my opinion, as does the apparent parallelism between Herihor and Smendes in Year 5 which would seem inappropriate if Herihor were already king but Smendes were not. As we have seen, Years 5 and 6 (and possibly 7) cannot belong to Ramesses XI or to his Renaissance Era (unless it restarted after 10?), and yet they cannot be plausibly assigned to Herihor as king.

A more straightforward approach might be to posit the existence of a hitherto overlooked Ramesside king who would have succeeded Ramesses XI. Although the latter’s long reign of at least 27 years does not guarantee the existence or survival of a son, it would be surprising if there was no male heir left in the king’s immediate or extended family. The short reign of another king named Ramesses, especially one with a relatively unoriginal or repetitive royal titulary, and possibly one ignored or even purposefully obscured by contemporaries and successors, might have gone unnoticed and yet would account for the apparent gap between the regnal counts of Ramesses XI (and his Renaissance Era) and of Smendes. Is there any positive evidence for such a Ramesses XII?

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<sup>45</sup> Dodson 2012: 19-21.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Goldberg 2000: 56. For the stele and its interpretation, see Haring 2012.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Taylor 1998: 1153. Haring (2012: 149-152) accepts *damnatio memoriae*, but later, under Pinudjem I.

<sup>48</sup> For a summary of the checkered pontifical career of the Twenty-second Dynasty prince and High Priest of Amun Osorkon (later king as Wosermaatse-setepenamun Osorkon IV-siese-meryamun), see Broekman 2008; also Caminos 1958; more generally Dodson 2012: 114-129; Payraudeau 2014: 59-80.

<sup>49</sup> Jansen-Winkel 1992: 24. Cf. Taylor 1998: 1145; Haring 2012: 146 and n. 44; Gregory 2013: 7.

<sup>50</sup> Krauss 2015: 348.

<sup>51</sup> Krauss 2015: 348; Jansen-Winkel 1992: 37.

<sup>52</sup> Krauss 2015: 351 table 9.

<sup>53</sup> Krauss 2015: 354 table 11.

Naturally, I am not proposing a return to such old and disproved distinctions like that between Sekhaenre Ramesses-Siptah and Akhenre Merneptah-Siptah.<sup>54</sup> But while a hypothetical Ramesses XII could be inserted at this juncture easily enough, and would eliminate the regnal years problem created by the revision of the sequence of Theban ‘pontiffs’, mere possibility is not proof. Perhaps we could do a little better. Most of the ‘surplus’ royal names ‘Ramesses’ found in early listings of Egyptian kings have been satisfactorily identified with well-attested kings. Nevertheless, there remains at least one royal name, whose current identification remains unconvincing. This royal name is Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun (*wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> hk3-w3st r<sup>c</sup>-ms-s mrr-jmn*), and is attested at least once, in inscription no. 22 from Wadi Hammamat (fig. 1 below).<sup>55</sup> The name was included in the ‘books of kings’ of Lepsius, of Brugsch and Bouriant, and of Gauthier.<sup>56</sup>

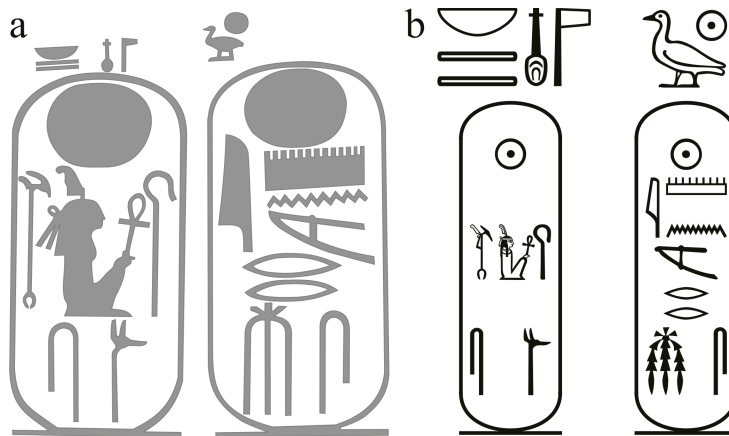


Figure 1. Cartouches of the king from Wadi Hammamat text no. 22  
 (a) traced by the author from photograph;  
 (b) based on Couyat and Montet 1912: 42.

### Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun

In the nineteenth century Lepsius, followed by Brugsch and Bouriant, assumed that Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun was a distinct king and belonged somewhere in the Twentieth Dynasty. In his 1912 publication on the hieroglyphic and hieratic inscriptions from Wadi Hammamat collected by Jules Couyat, Pierre Montet attributed the cartouches from inscription no. 22 to Ramesses II instead, based on a personal communication from Henri Gauthier. Moreover, Montet tried to reinforce this identification by noting that another

<sup>54</sup> The identity of these royal titularies as the original and later style of the same monarch was proven by Gardiner (1958); cf. Gauthier 1914: 141. In older works, Ramesses-Siptah was considered a king who reigned late in the Twentieth Dynasty. Thus, Lepsius (1858: table 41 no. 518) had Ramesses-Siptah as Ramesses XI; Brugsch and Bouriant (1887: 89 no. 537) and Budge (1908: 15) had Ramesses-Siptah as Ramesses IX.

<sup>55</sup> Couyat and Montet 1912: 42 no. 22.

<sup>56</sup> Lepsius 1858: table 41 no. 524; Brugsch and Bouriant 1887: 92 no. 548; Gauthier (1914: 226, 426) rendered it ‘Hiq-maât-Ré Ouast-ousir (?) Ramsès’, then corrected it to ‘Ousir-maât-Ré-hiq-Ouast’.



inscription from Wadi Hammamat (no. 86), mentioned only one expedition there, in Year 1 of (supposedly) the same king.<sup>57</sup>

Two years later, in 1914, Gauthier commented on inscription no. 22 several times in the third tome of his *Livre des rois d'Égypte*. In a footnote to Couyat and Montet's inscription no. 238, Gauthier stated that of all the inscriptions from Wadi Hammamat attributed to Ramesses II by Montet, that (no. 238) was the only one that could be considered such with certainty, whereas no. 22 (which concerns us here) is of doubtful attribution, and nos. 86 (mentioned above) and 219 belong to Ramesses IV.<sup>58</sup> Further, in a footnote to Couyat and Montet's inscription no. 86, Gauthier stated that inscription no. 22 is also possibly to be attributed to Ramesses IV, but more likely to Ramesses II.<sup>59</sup> Finally, in a footnote to the separate entry specifically on inscription no. 22, Gauthier stated that, although Lepsius had provided no reference, his source was doubtless the same graffito from Wadi Hammamat, and that it probably refers to Ramesses II.<sup>60</sup>

In his magisterial compendium of Ramesside inscriptions, Kenneth Kitchen accepted this identification of Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun with Ramesses II,<sup>61</sup> translating the name as 'Usimare Ruler of Thebes ... Ramesses II ever beloved of Amun',<sup>62</sup> and commenting that 'this simple pair of cartouches dates from not later than Year 1 of Ramesses II, after which he adopted his standard titles (prenomen Usimare Setepenre, etc.). This set exhibits his early usage of employing the simple prenominal Usimare (like his father's Menmare), but with variable epithets, as at Gebel Silsila of Year 1'.<sup>63</sup>

The identification of Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun with Ramesses II seems to have been universally accepted and not questioned since, although all of Montet's other attributions of Wadi Hammamat texts to the reign of Ramesses II have been reattributed to that of Ramesses IV instead.<sup>64</sup> This has resulted in the odd situation that, as Alexander Peden put it, 'from the exceptionally long reign of Ramesses II only one set of the king's cartouches (early prenominal form) have been found in the Wâdi Hammâmât'.<sup>65</sup> Since, as we shall see, the royal name in question is nowhere else actually attested for Ramesses II, it might be no more surprising to conclude that there are in fact no attestations of Ramesses II in the Wadi Hammamat. By comparison, it has been observed that no Egyptian king's name is found in Wadi Hammamat after the reign of Sety II and before that of Ramesses IV, including all of the reign of Ramesses III.<sup>66</sup>

The rationale underlying the identification of Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun with Ramesses II is the indisputable fact that on some of his earliest monuments, Ramesses II employed the throne name Wosermaatre, either by itself or in combination with varying epithets, including, in one instance, *ḥkꜣ-wꜣst* ('Ruler of Thebes').<sup>67</sup> The evidence in question comes from a West Silsila stele containing invocations and offerings to the Nile dated to Ramesses II's Year 1.<sup>68</sup> In different lines within this text, the royal names of

<sup>57</sup> Couyat and Montet 1912: 42 n. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Gauthier 1914: 57 n. 3, 419.

<sup>59</sup> Gauthier 1914: 178 n. 3. Despite the occurrence of *ḥkꜣ* and *mꜣꜥt*, the name is clearly not that of Ramesses IV.

<sup>60</sup> Gauthier 1914: 226 n. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Kitchen 1977: 554 no. 215; cf. Kitchen 1987: 135 n. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Kitchen 1996a: 359.

<sup>63</sup> Kitchen 1998: 381-382.

<sup>64</sup> Peden 2001: 124-125 and nn. 412, 413, 415 (for Couyat and Montet's nos. 238, 86 and 219).

<sup>65</sup> Peden 2001: 109 and n. 301 (for Couyat and Montet's no. 22).

<sup>66</sup> Peden 2011: 124, who also notes that Ramesses III is completely unattested in Wadi Hammamat, although attested (once) in the nearby Wadi Atallah.

<sup>67</sup> Sethe 1927; Schmidt 1973: 156, 166-167.

<sup>68</sup> Kitchen 1975: 81-96 no. 44; for the names, cf. Gauthier 1914: 33-34; Beckerath 1999: 154; Spalinger 2008; Leprohon 2013: 120.

Ramesses II appear in five variant forms ranging from the simple Wosermaatre Ramessesmeryamun to forms never found anywhere else for this king, as follows:

- (1) *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup>-ms-s mry-jmn* (82:11, 83:4, 83:5)
- (2) *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> tjt-r<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup>-ms-s(w) mry-jmn* (82:15, 85:2)
- (3) *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> hk3-w3st r<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw mry-jmn* (89:14) (fig. 2 below)
- (4) *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> jw<sup>c</sup>-r<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw mry-jmn* (90:10)
- (5) *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> mry-r<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw mry-jmn* (91:1)

Two of the alternative forms (*wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> tjt-r<sup>c</sup>* and *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> jw<sup>c</sup>-r<sup>c</sup>*) are attested elsewhere (and then very rarely), but always alongside other, more familiar versions of the throne name.<sup>69</sup> The name form pertinent to our discussion, *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> hk3-w3st r<sup>c</sup>-ms-s mry-jmn* (fig. 2 below),<sup>70</sup> is not attested anywhere else, except, allegedly, in Wadi Hammamat inscription no. 22 discussed above (fig. 1).



Figure 2. Cartouches from West Silsila stele 89:14, after Kitchen 1975 no. 44.

Although the plethora of attestations of Ramesses II's names in Egyptian texts include many variant spellings, it is perhaps worth noting that there is little in common between the orthographies of the West Silsila and Wadi Hammamat inscriptions. While some of this could be attributed to stylistic variation and to the somewhat different requirements of horizontally- and vertically-oriented cartouches, the differences might be significant. The throne name, *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> hk3-w3st*, is admittedly identical, except for its orthography, but the supplementing of *wsr* (Gardiner F12) with the vertical *s* (Gardiner S29) found in the Wadi Hammamat inscription occurs quite rarely in the cartouches of Ramesses II, and never in that placement at the end of the cartouche.<sup>71</sup>

Variations in orthography apart, the fact that Ramesses II bears this throne name in only one instance, and in a text where it occurs alongside four other throne name variants (some of them repeated), inspires little confidence that in a separate text this king could be labelled simply and exclusively as *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> hk3-w3st*. Admittedly, two of the other variations (*wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> tjt-r<sup>c</sup>* and *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> jw<sup>c</sup>-r<sup>c</sup>*) are found—albeit very rarely—outside the West Silsila stele, but, as we have already seen, not by themselves and not without the parallel attestation of Ramesses II's more typical throne name forms somewhere alongside them. This, combined with the absence of other attestations of Ramesses II in Wadi Hammamat, suggests

<sup>69</sup> Gauthier 1914: 55 nos. 75: *tjt-r<sup>c</sup>* and nos. 72b, 73a: *jw<sup>c</sup>-r<sup>c</sup>* alongside *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> stp.n-r<sup>c</sup>* and simple *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>*, from Qurnah, cf. Kitchen 1977: 638-641 nos. 242-244; Gauthier 1914: 68-69 nos. 142, 143: *tjt-r<sup>c</sup>* alongside *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> nb-hpš* and simple *wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>*, from Karnak, cf. Kitchen 1977: 586-591 no. 225. A signet-ring impression naming *r<sup>c</sup>-ms-s hk3-w3st* and a graffito from Western Thebes naming *r<sup>c</sup>-ms-s [mry]-jmn hk3-w3st*, in Kitchen (1977: 707 no. 259 a5 and h3) have no true bearing on the issue, because in these cases *hk3-w3st* is attached to the king's birth name instead of his throne name.

<sup>70</sup> Gauthier (1914: 34) prints the ligature hieroglyph of Maat holding the *wsr* scepter with the goddess enthroned, instead of standing; our fig. 2 replicates the orthography of Kitchen (1975: 89) and Spalinger (2008: 76-77).

<sup>71</sup> For some rare examples, see Gauthier 1914: 51-52 no. 57, 56 no. 76e, 59 no. 92, 69 no. 142, 72 nos. 157-159, 73 no. 166; I do not include several cases where *wsr* (Gardiner F12) seems to be complemented with the horizontal *s* (Gardiner O34) but with the signs for *m3<sup>c</sup>t* interposed between them.

that the throne name Wosermaatre-heqawese from inscription no. 22 may belong to a monarch distinct from Ramesses II. It might also be pointed out that the throne name Wosermaatre, although introduced by Ramesses II, was popularized by Ramesses III in the next dynasty. Moreover, the choice of the throne name Wosermaatre by the posited Ramesses XII in relation to his immediate predecessor Menmaatre Ramesses XI, might have been a purposeful imitation of Wosermaatre Ramesses II as the successor of Menmaatre Sety I.

The same conclusion is implied by the birth name in Wadi Hammamat inscription no. 22, Ramesses-mereramun (*r<sup>c</sup>-ms-s mrr-jmn*). The appended epithet *mrr-jmn* ('ever beloved of Amun') stands in minute but significant contrast to the well-attested epithet of Ramesses II-meriamun, *mry-jmn* ('beloved of Amun'). While the epithet *mrr-jmn* does not seem to occur in attestations of the royal names of Ramesses II, it is the standard epithet attached to the birth names of three kings of the Twentieth Dynasty: Setnakhte, Ramesses IX, and Ramesses XI. The very few cases in which the birth names of these three kings are followed—perhaps in error—by the epithet *mry-jmn* (instead of *mrr-jmn*) appear to be limited to private objects and hieratic papyri, and do not belong to the most formal of settings.<sup>72</sup> This, in turn, suggests that the epithets *mry-jmn* and *mrr-jmn* are not to be considered interchangeable or mere variants of each other. As Montet put it, Wadi Hammamat inscription no. 22 was 'carved in sunken relief with care',<sup>73</sup> indicating that we are not likely to find an error here, and the inscriber really meant to incise the potentially more complex form *mrr-jmn*.<sup>74</sup> This is further suggested by comparing the paired cartouches for the throne and birth names of the king (fig. 1 above). Largely due to the inclusion of the two *r* signs (Gardiner D21) for *mrr* in the birth name cartouche, this cartouche contains 3-4 more rows of signs than its counterpart (where the middle row of signs appears disproportionately large). Had not *mrr-jmn* been required, we might expect a simpler and more aesthetically balanced choice of orthography. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the bearer of the royal names Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun from the Wadi Hammamat inscription cannot and should not be equated with the bearer of the names Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-meriamun (i.e. Ramesses II) from the West Silsila stele.

Because the rare use of the epithet *mrr-jmn* in Egyptian royal titulary appears to be confined to the Twentieth Dynasty (and more specifically to Setnakhte, Ramesses IX and Ramesses XI), it seems appropriate to consider Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun a king belonging to this dynasty, as already done by Lepsius and by Brugsch and Bouriant. Moreover, since the use of *mrr-jmn* is more common towards the end of the dynasty, and because the royal succession and internal chronology of the dynasty are known sufficiently well, it would be most plausible to place Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun after the last well-attested Ramesside king, Ramesses XI. This posited additional king, whom we could designate Ramesses XII, could now fulfill the role of the anonymous pharaoh of the *Report of Wenamun*, and of the unspecified king in whose Year 6 we have at least two attestations of the High Priest of Amun Herihor.

<sup>72</sup> For the few exceptions, with *mry-jmn* instead of *mrr-jmn*, see: Gauthier 1914: 213 no. 27 and Beckerath 1999: 172-173 8 e5 = hieratic pTurin 1894, for Ramesses IX; Gauthier 1914: 222 no. 11 = earrings, 223 no. 15 = scribe's palette, and Beckerath 1999: 174-175 10 e5 = hieratic papyrus published by Gardiner 1941 (esp. 23-24 and pls. 5-6), for Ramesses XI. Epigraphic Survey 1981: 15 c is a slip of the pen; note that the birth name of Ramesses XI, which included the epithet *mrr-jmn*, was also followed separately by *mry-jmn* (etc.) in, for example, pl. 194a. It seems unlikely that such an exception (or error) occurs with Setnakhte, as implied by Beckerath (1999: 164-165 1 e5 = hieratic pHarris I). Despite the confusing arrangement of the signs within the cartouche, this is perhaps to be read *mry-r<sup>c</sup> mrr-jmn* rather than *mrr-r<sup>c</sup> mry-jmn*. Cf. *mry-r<sup>c</sup>* for Ramesses II on the West Silsila stele 91:1.

<sup>73</sup> Couyat and Montet 1912: 42 no. 22.

<sup>74</sup> In general, it seems more plausible for *mrr-jmn* to be miswritten as *mry-jmn* than the reverse.

When considering the possibility of placing Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, it might be noticed that, unlike Ramesses V-XI, this monarch does not seem to have an additional (and probably original) birth name like Amenhirkhepshef, Sethirkhepshef, or Khaemwese. Although this would seemingly go against the pattern, it is probably a question of happenstance, unless such a name was simply left out in the Wadi Hammamat inscription.<sup>75</sup> Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, and the non-reigning Ramesses D (son of Ramesses VII)<sup>76</sup> did not have any birth name other than ‘Ramesses’, and that could have been the case with the posited Ramesses XII too. Moreover, the apparent contrast between the four-element cartouched royal name Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun and the arguably more ornate titulary of his proposed immediate predecessor Ramesses XI might make sense as a transition toward the similarly ‘simpler’ titularies of Twenty-First-Dynasty kings.<sup>77</sup> The second of these, Neferkare-heqawese Amenemnisu-meriamun, might have formed his throne name as a combination of elements borrowed from those of Ramesses IX and the Ramesses XII posited here. These factors, however circumstantial, seem consistent with the proposed placing of Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

It might be objected that Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun, even if distinct from Ramesses II, is simply too poorly attested to be fitted here with any conviction. But this would be a complication at any point in time, and yet this king would need to be placed somewhere. We should not forget that the actual transition between the Twentieth and Twenty-First Dynasties belongs to a period of very sparse documentation, especially for monarchs governing Lower Egypt.<sup>78</sup> Our most ample sources, the Late Ramesside Letters and the documents associated with the Tomb Robbery Trials, dry up, while the workmen’s village at Deir el-Medina was abandoned, ceasing to produce its ostraca, all late in the reign of Ramesses XI and his Renaissance Era. As much as we would hope that he were better attested, a monarch who might not have reigned for much more than half a decade, who resided in the north, and who exercised virtually no authority in the south, could be easily overlooked; besides, the record might well contain other traces of such a king, but fragmentary royal names could easily be confounded with those of other kings using the throne name Wosermaatre or the birth name Ramesses and the epithet mereramun.

Perhaps the most surprising nonappearance of the Ramesses XII posited above would be his absence from the inscriptions and representations in the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak.<sup>79</sup> It has been argued that the temple’s decoration provides continuity between the activities of King Ramesses XI, the High Priest and later King Herihor, and then the High Priest and later King Pinudjem I.<sup>80</sup> If another king reigned between Ramesses XI and Herihor, his absence might be surprising. But it is not necessarily unfathomable. While some kings continued the works of their predecessors, others, for whatever reasons, did not. The Lateran obelisk from

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<sup>75</sup> Compare Gauthier 1914: 208 for a cartouche of Ramesses IX without Khaemwese, and 219 for a cartouche of Ramesses X without Amenhirkhepshef.

<sup>76</sup> For Ramesses D see Vandier D’Abbadie 1950.

<sup>77</sup> Such transitions do not require waiting for the accession of a new dynasty: consider the royal names in the late Twenty-second Dynasty and the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Gregory 2014: 2. Consider the cases of the notoriously poorly attested kings Hedjkheperre Smendes (reigning for over a quarter of a century: Gregory 2014: 15-16), Neferkare Amenemnisu, and Akheperre Osorkon I (‘the Elder’), or even of the High Priests of Amun Djedkhonsiufankh and Nesbanebdjed I, to use examples from the Twenty-first Dynasty.

<sup>79</sup> It is unlikely that the posited Ramesses XII could have been the king whose images were replaced by those of High Priest Pinudjem I, because, as we have seen, that king seems to have been Herihor.

<sup>80</sup> Continuity in work on the Temple of Khonsu was, in fact, one of the bases for Jansen-Winkeln’s (1992: 24) arguments in favor of the pontifical succession Piankh–Herihor–Pinudjem I.

the Eighteenth Dynasty, begun under Thutmose III, was left unfinished lying on its side at Karnak for 35 years (including the entire reign of his son Amenhotep II), and was completed under his grandson Thutmose IV.<sup>81</sup> This instance is particularly odd, given the apparent ease with which this monument, already almost in place, could have been completed or usurped. It is entirely possible that the High Priest Herihor interrupted work on the Temple of Khonsu on the death of Ramesses XI, and returned to it a few years later, to continue the temple's decoration as King Herihor. It might be significant that, with the exception of the Oracle Stele, the commemorations of High Priest Herihor and King Herihor are separated by their respective locations within two distinct areas of the temple structure.

A somewhat less likely possibility is that Herihor ignored Ramesses XI's successor. In several individual scenes in the Temple of Khonsu, Herihor was shown as High Priest of Amun without pictorial or thematic association with Ramesses XI.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, the two are not associated on some other items.<sup>83</sup> Since there is no strong reason to suppose that Herihor had quarreled with Ramesses XI or decided to slight him, it might be assumed that the latter was already dead.<sup>84</sup> Still High Priest of Amun, Herihor would have officiated under the apparently nominal or ineffectual authority of an unspecified king, whom he did not bother to name in his works (if any).<sup>85</sup> This might or might not have been a case of real animosity or malicious appropriation of royal prerogative. The parallel description of (implicitly) Herihor and (explicitly) Smendes as managers (*snty*) of, respectively, southern and northern Egypt in the *Report of Wenamun*,<sup>86</sup> might indicate that they governed with the complicity of the unnamed king, or perhaps on his behalf, if he were in some way incapacitated or otherwise unable or unwilling to govern. That might be a plausible enough role for our poorly-attested Ramesses XII.

The precise circumstances of the accessions of Herihor and Smendes on the Egyptian throne remain unclear. It may be objected that if Smendes were Herihor's son or other close relative, he should be expected to reign after Herihor rather than alongside him. This is sensible, but not compelling. We do not know the actual relationship between these monarchs. Besides, a close relationship could explain such a strange division of the country. With nineteen sons before the end of what cannot have been a very long reign, Herihor might have been advanced in years even before becoming king, and an eldest son might well have already served as his agent or counterpart in the other half of the country, just like Smendes appears in the *Report of Wenamun*. Without going into the genealogical complexities of the ruling families of the period, which I intend to discuss in a further study, I will point out that Herihor's apparent eldest son depicted in the procession of nineteen princes at the Temple of Khonsu, Ankhefenmut, is nowhere given the titles expected of a crown prince or the designation of king's eldest son (*s3-nsw smsw*) or king's first son (*s3-nsw tpy*).<sup>87</sup> This makes it

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<sup>81</sup> Bryan 1991: 176-179.

<sup>82</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1981: pls. 153?, 172, 174, 178a, although these are mostly integrated within space generally occupied by or shared with Ramesses XI.

<sup>83</sup> Egberts 1998: 95-96.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Broekman 2012: 201. If there was animosity between Herihor and Ramesses XI, we might expect to see the destruction or usurpation of Ramesses XI's monuments by Herihor.

<sup>85</sup> On the ineffectiveness of Ramesses XI, see Late Ramesside Letter no. 21 (Wente 1967: 53).

<sup>86</sup> Erman 1927: 181; Egberts 1998: 100-101, following the discussion of the term *snty* by Yoyotte 1989. Thijs (2005: 79) is probably correct in finding the term *snty* insufficiently exalted to describe an actual monarch, and therefore in the *Report of Wenamun* Smendes and Herihor were not yet kings (and even if we were to accept that for Wenamun Amun-Re was the king, and the human kings Herihor and Smendes merely Amun's deputies, that would not resolve the problem with Year 6). Although Baines (1999) stressed the literary quality of the *Report of Wenamun*, even if it were what we would call a piece of historical fiction, it seems reasonable enough to derive historical information from its historical framework, at least *faute de mieux*. Cf. Egberts 1998: 108.

<sup>87</sup> For Ankhefenmut's depictions, see Epigraphic Survey 1979: 11-13 pl. 26, 22 pl. 44.

probable that Herihor's eldest son was not depicted in the procession at all. Mere physical absence from Thebes is probably insufficient cause for such an omission, but if that son were already king with his own court in the other half of the country, it would be far more explicable. Moreover, the mysterious subsequent disappearance of Herihor's large brood from the admittedly sparse record of Upper Egypt might make sense if they largely migrated to their older brother's court in the greater obscurity of Lower Egypt.

If the circumstantial evidence allows for our posited Ramesses XII to be fitted in between Ramesses XI and the first king(s) of the Twenty-First Dynasty, does the chronology? As we have seen, such a king (whether named Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun or something else) would provide the best fit for the otherwise problematic attestations of Smendes and Herihor (neither of them yet a king) in Years 5 and 6 of an unspecified reign between those of Ramesses XI in the Twentieth Dynasty and Smendes himself in the Twenty-First Dynasty. The chronological framework, insofar as it could be trusted, would be compatible with this conclusion. While some scholars have proposed significant emendations to it,<sup>88</sup> the 'Low' Egyptian chronology, anchored by astrochronological matches and international synchronisms with the Ancient Near East, is most likely to match or approximate reality.<sup>89</sup> This chronology places the accession of Ramesses II in 1279 BC, which serves as a starting point for determining the earliest possible accession date for the posited Ramesses XII.<sup>90</sup> The ample data from the Ramesside period allows for the following chronological scheme:

1279–1213	Wosermaatre-setepenre <b>Ramesses II</b> -meryamun
1213–1204	Baenre-meryamun <b>Merneptah</b> -hotepirmaat
1204–1198	Woserkheprure-setepenre <b>Sety II</b> -merneptah
1202–1200	Menmire-setepenre <b>Amenmeses</b> -heqawese [rival in Upper Egypt]
1198–1192	Akhenre-setepenre <b>Siptah</b> -merneptah <sup>91</sup>
1192–1190	Sitre-merytamun <b>Tawosret</b> -setepetenmut [continued Siptah's regnal count]
1190–1186	Woserkhaure-setepenre-meryamun <b>Setnakhte</b> -meryre-mereramun
1186–1155	Wosermaatre-meryamun <b>Ramesses III</b> -heqaon
1155–1149	Heqamaatre-setepenamun <b>Ramesses IV</b> -heqamaat-meryamun <sup>92</sup>
1149–1145	Wosermaatre-sekheperenre <b>Ramesses V</b> Amenhirkhepshef-meryamun
1145–1138	Nebmaatre-meryamun <b>Ramesses VI</b> Amenhirkhepshef-netjerheqaon
1138–1130	Wosermaatre-setepenre-meryamun <b>Ramesses VII</b> Itamun-netjerheqaon
1130–1129	Wosermaatre-akhenamun <b>Ramesses VIII</b> Sethirkhepshef-meryamun
1129–1111	Neferkare-setepenre <b>Ramesses IX</b> Khaemwese-mereramun
1111–1107	Khepermaatre-meryamun <b>Ramesses X</b> Amenhirkhepshef-meryamun
1107–?	Menmaatre-setepenptah <b>Ramesses XI</b> Khaemwese-mereramun-netjerheqaon

<sup>88</sup> Thijs (1998–2001) presented an intricate but ultimately unconvincing series of arguments in favor of overlapping much of the reigns of Ramesses IX, X, and XI, with the stated intention of making better sense of the personnel information in the Tomb Robbery Trials documents from the reigns of Ramesses IX and XI by bringing them together closer in time. Dodson (2000) considered a 1254 accession date for Ramesses II; he subsequently (2012: 181–189) accepted Thijs' late Twentieth Dynasty overlaps and advocated a 1265 accession date for Ramesses II, supporting it with a very questionable reinterpretation of Assyrian chronology. Thijs' overlaps have been rejected by, among others, Beckerath (2000 and 2001), Krauss (2015), and in greater detail by Jansen-Winkel (2016). The even more drastic and implausible revisions suggested by James et al. (1991) and Rohl (1995) need not be addressed here.

<sup>89</sup> Kitchen 1996b; Beckerath 1997; Hornung et al. 2006.

<sup>90</sup> For the explicit lunar date from the reign of Ramesses II and implied lunar dates of several other Ramesside kings, see Krauss 2006: 414–418 and 2015: 350–355.

<sup>91</sup> Originally Sekhaenre-setepenre Ramesses-Siptah.

<sup>92</sup> Originally Wosermaatre-setepenamun Ramesses-heqamaat-meryamun.

The last explicit attestation of Ramesses XI comes from his Year 27, which would begin in 1081 BC according to the chronological scheme above, corresponding to Year 9 of the Renaissance Era. Since a Year 10 of the Renaissance Era is universally accepted, and since it seems likely that the era would have continued through the end of the reign of Ramesses XI,<sup>93</sup> it is reasonable to assume that this reign extended at least into Year 28, which would begin in 1080 BC. If some of the documents reassigned by Kitchen and by Thijs to the Renaissance Era really belong there,<sup>94</sup> the era, and with it presumably the reign of Ramesses XI himself, could be extended by another two to five years, to Years 12-15 of the Renaissance Era, corresponding to Years 30-33 of Ramesses XI. This would bring us to the range 1078–1075 BC for the last date of Ramesses XI and the *terminus post quem* for the posited Ramesses XII.

Astrochronological matches and international synchronisms allow reasonable certainty that the Twenty-Second Dynasty began with Shoshenq I in 943 BC.<sup>95</sup> Before this lies the Twenty-First Dynasty, for which the astrochronological data is less clear and there are no explicit foreign synchronisms. Its internal chronology is reconstructed by comparing the meagre source evidence with Manetho's much later account.<sup>96</sup> Working backward to reach the approximate *terminus ante quem* for the posited Ramesses XII, we obtain the following chronological scheme (a possible astrochronological match favors the lower dates):

1070/68–1044/42	Hedjkheperre-setepenre <b>Smendes</b> -meryamun <sup>97</sup>
1044/42–1040/38	Neferkare-heqawese <b>Amenemnisu</b> -meryamun <sup>98</sup>
1040/38–991/89	Akheperre-setepenamun <b>Psusennes I</b> -meryamun <sup>99</sup>
991–982	Wosermaatse-setepenamun <b>Amenemope</b> -meryamun <sup>100</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Hornung 2006: 217.

<sup>94</sup> Named officials seem to have higher titles in Year 12 (pBM 10068) and Years 14 and 15 (pBM 9997) than they had in Years 1-2 of the Renaissance Era, implying a promotion in between (Thijs 1999b: 184-186, 188-191). But see the counterarguments of Jansen-Winkel (2016: 75-76, 81). Kitchen (2009: 193) re-dates a different document, Late Ramesside Letter no. 41 (Wente 1967: 75-76), to Year 12 of the Renaissance Era, and is followed by Palmer (2014: 2 n. 6).

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Payraudeau 2014: 39; Krauss 2015: 345. For the implied lunar dates, see Krauss 2006: 408-412; Payraudeau 2008: 301-302; Krauss 2015. To these we can add a further factor: the non-eclipse of the moon that failed to herald the Theban revolt on IV *šmw* 25 in Year 15 of Takelot II must correlate closely with a full moon. This would be the case with the full moon on March 6, 831 BC, preceding IV *šmw* 25 = March 8, 831 BC, and confirming Krauss' conclusion that Takelot II ascended the throne in 845 BC. For the Year 25 of the Maunier stele (in my view to be considered part of Smendes' regnal count), possibly to be placed in 1045/1044 BC, see Krauss 2008 (where he considers this to be Year 25 of Pinudjem I) and Krauss 2015: 373-375 (where he considers this to be Year 25 of Smendes).

<sup>96</sup> Waddell 1940: 154-157; Kitchen 1995: 31-32; Beckerath 1997: 99-102; Kitchen 2009: 191-192.

<sup>97</sup> Highest regnal year probably 25; Manetho: 26 years. Cf. Kitchen 1995: 417-420.

<sup>98</sup> Manetho: 4 years. Manetho placed Amenemnisu (his Nepherkherēs) after Psusennes I (Psousennēs), but this is reversed by the earlier evidence of a relief from Memphis (Berlin 23673, Jansen-Winkel 2007: 278 no. 24). Cf. Kitchen 1995: 69-70, 420. On the basis of two golden bow caps from the burial of Psusennes I inscribed with the names of both kings, an unlikely co-regency between them has been postulated, e.g. Beckerath 1997: 101-102 (in part to vindicate the apparent disparity between Manetho's 46 years for Psusennes I and the actually attested highest regnal date of 49). The bow caps have been used to argue that the Manethonic order is correct after all (e.g. Jansen-Winkel 2006: 218-219), but if (as the argument goes) Amenemnisu buried Psusennes I, one might expect more attestations of Amenemnisu's name among Psusennes I's funerary goods. However, if Amenemnisu had died almost half a century before Psusennes I's burial, such absence would be much easier to understand. The order of the two kings is irrelevant for the overall chronology, but if they were co-regents for all of Amenemnisu's reign (as proposed by Beckerath), the overall length of the Twenty-first Dynasty would be shortened by 4 years.

<sup>99</sup> Highest regnal year probably 49; Manetho: 46 or 41 years (each can be corrected to 49 on paleographic grounds). Cf. Kitchen 1995: 420-421. For the probable co-regency with Amenemope, see next note.

982–976	Akheperre-setepenre/amun <b>Osorkon I</b> -meryamun <sup>101</sup>
976–957	Netjerkheperre-setepenamun <b>Siamun</b> -meryamun <sup>102</sup>
957–943	Tytjkheprure-setepenre <b>Psusennes II</b> -meryamun <sup>103</sup>
943–922	Hedjkheperre-setepenre <b>Shoshenq I</b> -meryamun <sup>104</sup>

This leaves us with the period 1078/1075–1070/1068 BC, fully sufficient to fit in the reign of the postulated Ramesses XII, with the highest attested regnal year 6.<sup>105</sup> The table below illustrates the alignment of attested regnal or era dates using as example the ‘lowest’ range of options (Ramesses XII reigning 1075–1068 BC).

Year BC	Ren. Era	King	High Priest of Amun
1089	1	19 Ramesses XI king	
1083	7	25	7 Piankh high priest
1081	9	27 Ramesses XI king, last attested	
1080	10	28	10 Piankh high priest, last attested
...	...	<i>(some of Herihor’s tenure as high priest must precede death of Ramesses XI)</i>	
1078	12	30 ( <i>Kitchen, Thijs reassignment</i> )	<i>(earliest possible date for accession Ramesses XII?)</i>
1076	14?	32 ( <i>Thijs reassignment</i> )	
1075	15?	33/1 ( <i>Thijs reassignment</i> )	<i>(latest possible date for accession of Ramesses XII?)</i>
1071		5 ( <i>Ramesses XII? king</i> )	5 Herihor high priest; Smendes also not yet king
1070		6 ( <i>Ramesses XII? king</i> )	6 Herihor high priest
1069		7 ( <i>Ramesses XII? king</i> )	7 ( <i>Herihor high priest?</i> )
1068		8/1 ( <i>Smendes king</i> )	8/1 ( <i>Herihor king</i> ) ( <i>also Pinudjem I high priest?</i> )
...	...	<i>(some or all of Pinudjem I’s tenure as high priest must follow death of Herihor)</i>	
1063		6	6 Pinudjem I high priest
1060		9	9 Pinudjem I high priest
1059		10	10 Pinudjem I high priest
1058		11	11 Pinudjem I high priest
1057		12	12 Pinudjem I high priest
1056		13	13 Pinudjem I high priest
1054		15	15 Pinudjem I high priest
1053		16	16 Pinudjem I king, Masaharta high priest
1051		18	18 Masaharta high priest

<sup>100</sup> Highest regnal year probably 10; Manetho: 9 years. A fragmentary bandage docket naming Amenemope also names a Year 49, which cannot possibly be his, but must belong to his predecessor Psusennes I. This suggests a double date and a co-regency between the two kings. Cf. Kitchen 1995: 32-39, 421; Beckerath 1997: 102. Since Manetho does not usually include co-regencies, this might still imply a sole reign of 9 years for Amenemope. At any rate, he was reigning alone by Year 5 (Kitchen 1995: 421).

<sup>101</sup> Highest regnal year 2; Manetho: 6 years. Cf. Kitchen 1995: 534-535; Payraudeau 2000.

<sup>102</sup> Highest regnal year 17; Manetho: 9 years (which can be corrected to 19 to fit, assuming a displaced decade). Cf. Kitchen 1995: 423; Beckerath 1997: 102; Payraudeau 2008: 297-298.

<sup>103</sup> Highest regnal year probably 13; Manetho: 14 or 35 years (the latter might include two displaced decades and be rounded up). Cf. Kitchen 1995: 423; Beckerath 1997: 100-101; Payraudeau 2008: 298-304.

<sup>104</sup> Originally perhaps Tutkheperre-setepenre Shoshenq-meryamun, agreeing with Dodson (2009: 109-110, but without any need to posit an unlikely co-regency with Psusennes II) and with Kitchen (2009: 172-173, but without needing to justify the probably erroneously spelled royal name Maatkheperre Shoshenq the same way, cf. Payraudeau 2014: 48-49).

<sup>105</sup> As Jansen-Winkel (2016: 75-76, 81) has cast serious doubt on Thijs’ argument for extending the Renaissance Era to Years 12-15, Ramesses XI could have died well before 1075 BC; on the other hand, Kitchen (2009: 193) has accepted a Year 12 from a different document, possibly extending Ramesses XI’s reign to 1078 BC.



1044	25 ( <i>astronomical match?</i> )	25 Menkheperre high priest
1042	27/1 Amenemnisu king	?1 Pinudjem I king?
1038	5/1 Psusennes I king	?1 Pinudjem I king?
1033	6	6 Menkheperre high priest
1031	8	8 Pinudjem I king, last attested

### Suggested basic sequence of events

- (1) The Renaissance Era began in Year 19 of Ramesses XI;
- (2) Piankh officiated as High Priest of Amun at least in Years 7–10 of the Renaissance Era;
- (3) he was succeeded as High Priest of Amun by Herihor before the death of Ramesses XI, as both king and high priest were attested simultaneously in the decoration of the Temple of Khonsu;
- (4) the Renaissance Era (and, with it, the reign of Ramesses XI?) lasted into Year 10 (= 28), and possibly into Year 12 or 15 (= 30 or 33);
- (5) another king, probably a Ramesses XII (possibly Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun) succeeded to the throne for somewhere between 5 and 10 years;
- (6) in Years 5 and 6 of the new reign Herihor was still High Priest of Amun, either interrupting work on the decoration of the Temple of Khonsu or proceeding without further reference to the actual king;
- (7) on the death of the putative Ramesses XII, Smendes became king in Lower Egypt, while Herihor became king (throne name *hm ntr tpy n jmn*) in Upper Egypt with or without delegating the high priesthood to Piankh's son Pinudjem I;
- (8) after Herihor's death, Pinudjem I, now certainly High Priest of Amun, continued Herihor's decoration of the Temple of Khonsu and replaced some of Herihor's representations as king with his own representations as high priest;
- (9) in Year 16 of Smendes, Pinudjem I became king (throne name first *hm ntr tpy n jmn*, then Khakheperre) and delegated the high priesthood to his son Masaharta;
- (10) by Year 25 of Smendes, Pinudjem I appointed another son, Menkheperre, as High Priest of Amun.

### Main conclusions

**(1)** To vindicate the revised order of the high priests Piankh and Herihor without recourse to implausible regnal years of high priests or convenient emendation of the currently available datelines, we need to assume an additional reign of at least half a decade between that of Ramesses XI on the one hand and those of Herihor and Smendes on the other. **(2)** The evidence does not favor identifying the missing king with Khakheperre Pinudjem, who is surely none other than the former High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I, and thus a successor of Herihor as both high priest and, later, king. **(3)** On the other hand, a Ramesside monarch would fit the bill nicely, and this putative Ramesses XII might possibly be the obscure Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun, who **(4)** is better identified as a king (late) in the Twentieth Dynasty, than with Ramesses II. **(5)** For whatever reasons, the newly identified king receded into the background and allowed his eventual successors, Herihor in Upper Egypt and Smendes in Lower Egypt, to manage the kingdom, to the point where the author of the *Report of Wenamun* could omit mention of the actual king in his literary work.

Technically, the five main conclusions reached in this study may be considered largely independent of each other, but the evidence appears consistent with their combination in the scenario suggested above. They bolster the promising new reconstruction of the order of High Priests of Amun at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty by obviating the remarkably unpromising notion that high priests could attribute regnal years to themselves even before claiming royal status, and by maintaining the basically sound structure of the 'Low Chronology' even while positing the existence of a hitherto ignored short-lived additional monarch. And while the latter's identification as Wosermaatre-heqawese Ramesses-mereramun remains hypothetical, the rejection of this royal name's attribution to Ramesses II seems well justified; likewise, the dismissal of the thesis that the additional king is to be identified as Khakheperre Pinudjem and that the latter was a distinct individual from the High Priest Pinudjem I. And if the scenario proposed here be considered constrained by an *a priori* assumption in holding that high priests (and especially high priests who had not yet proclaimed themselves king) could not have utilized their own regnal count, it seems to me that this position is at once well founded and no more arbitrary than the alternatives. Whether or not this scenario is vindicated in full depends largely, like so much else in this field of study, on the discovery or mustering of further evidence.

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