

HERIHOR'S KINGSHIP AND THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMUN PIANKH*

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Abstract

The theory of Jansen-Winkeln, which argues for a reversal of the traditional order of the late 20th Dynasty High Priests of Amun Herihor and Piankh, has provoked considerable controversy. The key to a resolution seems to lie in recognising that Herihor, on his elevation to kingship, was able (like later monarchs of the TIP) to co-opt a colleague/relative as High Priest of Amun. This way Piankh's pontificate can be placed within the reign of King Herihor, explaining the genealogical and other evidence which might otherwise suggest a reversal of the two but avoiding the pitfalls of Jansen-Winkeln's case. The evidence suggests a shortening of the high priestly genealogy at this period by one to two generations (from the standard/Kitchen model). A first step is offered here towards a new model involving a short overlap between the 20th and 21st Dynasties, as well as between Herihor and Pinudjem I, as Upper Egyptian kings based at Thebes.

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The nature and dating of Herihor's kingship has long been one of the most debated issues of 20th–21st Dynasty history. Practically all our evidence for this important figure comes from the Theban temple of Khonsu begun by Ramesses III and IV.¹ The hypostyle hall was decorated by Ramesses XI, who is depicted making offerings together with the High Priest Herihor. However, in the forecourt Ramesses XI is completely absent and Herihor officiates

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¹ For a catalogue of all the records of Herihor see Bonhême, *Le Livre des Rois*.

alone. Though he still wears the high-priest's costume in the fore-court scenes, Herihor now wears the uraeus or even double-crown and is given the full titulary of a Pharaoh, with a Horus name and cartouches for prenomen and nomen. These scenes have generally been read as showing the evolution of Herihor's status from high-priesthood to some kind of kingship.²

As Gardiner remarked:

In the face of this evidence it is comprehensible that the older Egyptologists should have interpreted the accession of Ḥriḥōr as the final triumph of the priesthood of Amūn, and should have assumed that he did not claim the throne until natural or unnatural death had removed the last of the legitimate Pharaohs.³

Gardiner continued by outlining the evidence which led to a sea-change in opinion here. First was the discovery of the *wḥm-mswt*, the "Repetition of Births" or Renaissance era which began in the later reign of Ramesses XI. Papyrus Mayer A established that Year 1 of this era corresponded to a Year 19 of a king who, through further deduction, could only be Ramesses XI.⁴ As Gardiner remarked, it seemed natural to link the *wḥm-mswt* to "some momentous occurrence or decision in Ḥriḥōr's career," in other words the establishment in Egypt of a new kind of governance where the power of the Pharaoh was, at least in Upper Egypt, being devolved to the reigning High Priest (and others).⁵ This placement of Herihor, about

² E.g. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* IV, §618; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 303–04; Černý, "Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty," 637–38.

³ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 304. Older Egyptologists here would include Breasted (*Ancient Records of Egypt* IV, §605), Hall ("The Eclipse of Egypt," 253) and Wilson (*The Burden of Egypt*, 288). Even after Gardiner wrote, Young ("Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-First Dynasty," 110) still followed the idea that Herihor's kingship must have followed the death of Ramesses XI, an idea effectively resurrected by Thijs, "In Search of King Herihor" and "King or High Priest?"

⁴ Peet, "Chronological Problems of the Twentieth Dynasty"; Černý, "A Note on the 'Repeating of Births'."

⁵ This is not to say that the introduction of a "Renaissance" is explained by Herihor's induction as HPA. He may have become pontiff in *wḥm-mswt* Year 1, but this could be a coincidence, either real or apparent if there is a further unknown factor involved – it is fair to say that, despite numerous suggestions, the meaning of the "Renaissance" is still quite elusive. James, *et al.*, "Bronze Age Chronology," 74, briefly touched on the idea that the new eras proclaimed by some pharaohs (including Seti I and Ramesses XI) were concerned with reforms intended to bring the festivals of the civil calendar back into step with the seasons (as they would have slipped by a quarter of a day each calendar year of 365 days). Hypothetically, Herihor may

the Year 19 of Ramesses XI (= 1 *wḥm-mswt*), seemed to be confirmed by the discovery of another Renaissance document, which refers to the HPA Piankh in Year 7 *wḥm-mswt* under Ramesses XI. Gardiner concluded:

Now Pay'onkh was Ḥriḥōr's eldest son, and since it is inconceivable that Ḥriḥōr should have relinquished the high-priesthood during his lifetime we cannot but conclude that he died before the seventh year of the Renaissance...⁶

Herihor as Conventionally Placed

And so the order of Herihor and Piankh (or Payankh) as High Priests of Amun (hereafter HPA) appeared to be settled. Matters were thrown into confusion however, when it was discovered that the (damaged) name of one of Herihor's sons on the west wall of the portico of the temple of Khonsu had been misread as Piankh: the son in question was called Ankh[ef(enmut)] and not [Pi]ankh.⁷ Nevertheless, until Jansen-Winkel's challenge in 1992 (see below), the sequence Herihor-Piankh has been adhered to by scholars, and with good reason. Placing Herihor's high-priestly activity at the very end of the reign of Ramesses XI, *i.e.* after the last attestation of Piankh in 10 *wḥm-mswt* = regnal year 28 and before the highest possible Year 33 known for Ramesses XI,⁸ would raise considerable problems:

First it would mean that the pontificate of Herihor would have to interrupt the father-to-son succession Piankh to Pinudjem (I). So Kitchen: "to intercalate Herihor as high priest and military governor between Piankh and his son and successor Pinudjem I is bizarre and without any secure parallel, a glaring anomaly."⁹

Second there is the curious prenominal of Herihor, which is simply the title "High Priest of Amun" enclosed in a cartouche. Its simplicity surely suggests an evolution in the status of Herihor, a radical development in a new, experimental era – graphically expressed in

have been appointed to the pontificate with the brief of carrying out the reforms (calendrical or otherwise) required by the proclamation of a "Renaissance."

⁶ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 305.

⁷ Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu, Vol. I*, x–xii, 12–13; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (2nd ed.), 535–36.

⁸ His highest, undisputed, year is 29; Thijs ("Reconsidering the End of the Twentieth Dynasty: Part III") has argued for a Year 33.

⁹ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (3rd ed.), xvi.

the succession of decorations on the Khonsu temple – in which the pontiff has edged from not only being the effective power in Thebes towards a show of kingship, at the very least. The other Theban pontiff normally thought to have become a king, HPA Pinudjem (I), took a more “usual” prenomen, Khakheperre-Setepenamun. While this point does not *prove* that Herihor, with his simpler titulary, preceded King Pinudjem, and despite the discussion of this problem by Thijs,¹⁰ the easiest reading of the evidence here is that Herihor as king preceded Pinudjem. Hence it would most likely follow, assuming that we identify HPA Pinudjem (I) with King Pinudjem, that Herihor’s pontificate preceded that of Pinudjem – despite the imaginative arguments of Thijs which would separate the two Pinudjems and involve a power-sharing agreement in which Herihor patiently waited his turn while his senior colleague (Pinudjem I) lived out his days.

On the more positive side, the perceived relationship between Herihor, with his conspicuous evolution from High Priest to King, and the extraordinary introduction of a “Renaissance era” (*wḥm-mswt*) in the Year 19 of Ramesses XI (then waning in power and importance) makes good historical sense. The understanding that the references to Herihor in Years 5 and 6 can only be from the *wḥm-mswt*¹¹ fits much more evidence other than the erstwhile father-son relationship between Herihor and Piankh. The Year 6 relates to HPA Herihor’s renewal of the burials of Seti I and Ramesses II, while the Year 5 comes from the story of Wenamun, in which Herihor plays a major role. The Wenamun papyrus presents a curious political situation in Egypt. Reference to a named Pharaoh is conspicuously absent. Instead, it is Herihor, his “lord,” who commands Wenamun to go to the Lebanon to get wood for a new barque of Amun. En route, at Tanis, he is assisted by Nesubanebdjed (Smenides) and Tentamun, the “foundations whom Amun has put in the north of his land.” These are the only rulers of Egypt mentioned (aside from an enigmatic Khaemwese referred to in the past by the king of Byblos), yet none of them is called king. If one were to assume that Nesubanebdjed and Herihor had already claimed royal titles, one might speculate about the protocol

¹⁰ Thijs, “In Search of King Herihor” and “King or High Priest?”

¹¹ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 306; Černý, “Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty,” 640; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 4–5.

explaining their lack of such titles. However, the plain text reading is that they were not, although the “lord” Herihor, commanding the expedition from Thebes, was certainly already HPA.¹²

These particular circumstances fit ideally the situation in Egypt as it can be judged for the early Renaissance period¹³ – the “legal” Pharaoh (Ramesses XI) is powerless to the extent that he is not even worth mentioning. The circumstances echo the words from a letter of Piankh (letter of Year 10, evidently *whm-mswt*), while on campaign in the south: “As for Pharaoh, l.p.h, how will he ever reach this land (Nubia)? And as for Pharaoh, l.p.h., whose superior is he after all?”¹⁴ The Wenamun narrative surely reflects the emergence of a new power structure – which would ultimately lead to the fractioning of Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period – in the period of recession of Ramesses XI’s authority. Arguably the circumstances *only* fit this period. Thijs would explain the Year 5 in Wenamun by placing it in a hypothetical reign of King Pinudjem immediately following that of Ramesses XI;¹⁵ but this would only raise the question of why Pinudjem should have remained anonymous in the papyrus.

Finally, acceptance of a Renaissance dating for Wenamun brings into close relationship the following sequence of dates: a Year 5, the two references to HPA Herihor in a Year 6; the oracle mentioning Piankh as HPA dated to *whm-mswt* Year 7; and a letter also calling him HPA in a Year 10.¹⁶ As Jansen-Winkel remarked: “At first sight it would be logical if Herihor had held office in the first half of the *whm-mswt*-era and Payankh in the second.”¹⁷

Herihor Shifted from His Place?

The conventional understanding that Herihor was HPA during the early Renaissance Era thus seems soundly based. However, it was perhaps only a matter of time, with the discovery that Piankh

¹² That he bore this title is implicit in the text. Tjekker-Baal, king of Byblos, asks for the letter of the First Prophet of Amun, which Wenamun says he had given to Nesubanebjed and Tentamun.

¹³ Goelet, “A New ‘Robbery’ Papyrus,” 126.

¹⁴ *LRL* No. 21, trans. Wentz, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 183.

¹⁵ Thijs, “In Search of King Herihor” and “King or High Priest?”

¹⁶ Nims, “An Oracle Dated in ‘The Repeating of Births’”; *LRL* No. 28, trans. Wentz, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 194.

¹⁷ Jansen-Winkel, “Relative Chronology of Dyn. 21,” 226.

was not his son, before their relative order would be questioned. Jansen-Winkeln raised this possibility, offering a series of eight arguments.¹⁸ These received trenchant criticism from Kitchen and the arguments were later condensed by Jansen-Winkeln to four,¹⁹ quoted and discussed here in the same order:

(1) The form of the titles: We can recognise Payankh's origin from the ranks of officers much more clearly than that of Herihor's. He is mostly referred to simply as "The General", his military titles being much more prominent and detailed than those of Herihor. His titles are in general similar to those of Pinhasi, who was in charge of UE from the beginning of the *wḥm-mswt*-era. The titles of Herihor on the other hand are more related to those of the later HP. Furthermore, Payankh's titles almost always refer to the king (... *n pr-ʿ3*), as was usual in the Ramesside period, whereas those of Herihor no longer do.²⁰

Kitchen sees the first point here as a "mirage that rests on a failure to appreciate the true nature and (limited) extent of the source-material."²¹ In his view both men were "equally general and high priest alike," the different functions being stressed more, respectively, in administrative and religious texts. Kitchen is surely right that "there is no proof here concerning the order of these two men." Indeed, one could read the more developed titles of Piankh as general as suggesting that he took on the general's functions later than Herihor, in that Piankh as southern viceroy had claimed the titles of the rebellious Panehsi. Nevertheless, in the one scene known from Piankh that is clearly ritual in nature (Nims oracle, Year 7 *wḥm-mswt*), it has long been remarked that his role as HPA is strangely underplayed (see below). Kitchen himself notes that "in the Nims oracle, he *does* appear in priestly role in the scene, but reverts to 'general' in the affairs in the compressed text below."²²

With respect to the titles of Piankh and Herihor as royal servants, it is important to distinguish between Herihor's titles as HPA (early career) and King (later career). It is not true to state that Herihor's titles "no longer" refer to the king. Among the titles attested for

¹⁸ Jansen-Winkeln, "Das Ende des Neuen Reiches"; cf. Jansen-Winkeln, "Die thebanischen Gründer der 21. Dynastie," 49–66.

¹⁹ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (3rd ed.), xiv–xvii; Jansen-Winkeln, "Relative Chronology of Dyn. 21," 226.

²⁰ Cf. Taylor, "Nodjmet, Payankh and Herihor," 1144: "Both Panehsy and Payankh attached the epithet 'of Pharaoh' to several of their titles, a circumstance never attested for Herihor."

²¹ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (3rd ed.), xiv.

²² Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (3rd ed.), xiv.

Herihor are *s3 nsw n K3* (King's son of Kush), *ḫw hr wnmj nsw* (Feather-Bearer on the Right of the King) and *s3 nsw* (King's Scribe). These surely refer to royal authority as much as the three additional titles borne by Piankh, which carry the tag "... [n] *pr-ḫ*."²³ As we know he aspired to (and achieved) kingship there may be subtle reasons why Herihor omitted this formula when he used the title *jmj-r3 šnwj* ([n] *pr-ḫ*) (Overseer of Pharaoh's granaries). And that Piankh may have borne more "loyal" titles can hardly be used to place him chronologically before Herihor.

The exchange between Jansen-Winkeln and Kitchen on this point is clearly inconclusive chronologically. Nevertheless, it has highlighted two problem areas: A. Why did Piankh parade offices allegedly displaying loyalty to the king when the famous letter of *wḥm-mswt* Year 10 shows a dismissive attitude towards the Pharaoh (assumed to be Ramesses XI)? It may well be that we should not read too much into these titles; surely such titles as "Overseer of Pharaoh's granaries" and "Leader of Pharaoh's troops" need mean no more than "Overseer of the *royal* granary," "Leader of the *royal* army," *etc.*, irrespective of who was wielding real pharaonic power. B. Why was Piankh's high-priesthood such a low key affair? We will return to this question later.

(2) Payankh never assumes any royal titles or attributes, whereas Herihor and the later HP do.

This is misleading. Of later high-priests from this period, Masaharta, Djed-Khons-ef-Ankh, Smendes II and Pinudjem II (plus Psusennes III, if he was not identical with King Psusennes II)²⁴ never assumed any royal titles, while Menkheperre did so only sporadically. So why could Piankh, like these pontiffs, have not followed Herihor's rise to kingship?

(3) Herihor and Pinudjem I are both recorded as builders in Thebes, and Pinudjem directly succeeds Herihor with regard to the decoration of the temple of Khonsu. Payankh on the other hand is not recorded as a builder. A similar situation is to be found regarding the (re)burials in the Theban necropolis. On shrouds, bandages, *etc.* of these mummies, every single HP

²³ Ostrakon Cairo 25744, Khonsu Temple oracle, and statue inscription CG 42190 – see Lull, *Los sumos sacerdotes de Amón*, 89, 92, 93–95.

²⁴ It now seems clear that they were separate individuals – Payraudeau, "De nouvelles annales sacerdotales," 303–304, has made the astute observation that the Abydos inscription most likely refers to both Psusennes II and an HPA Psusennes (cf. Dodson, "The Transition between the 21st and 22nd Dynasties Revisited," 107).

of Dyn. 21 is recorded, except Payankh. Thus these burials must have taken place after his term of office.

Both points have been adequately addressed by Kitchen, who notes that

...from Year 7 to Year 10 of the *wḥm-mswt*, ‘Renaissance’ era, Piankh’s span is only three years, the shortest incumbency other than the purely ephemeral Smendes II and DjedKhonsefankh (who also had *no* mummy-bandage dockets; only braces on *one* Theban mummy for Smendes III). So this point is devoid of value.²⁵

He might have also stressed that this is an argument based on negative evidence, using the *known* material from these pontificates when we know that much else has been lost. Kitchen’s point about the brevity of Piankh’s pontificate also applies to Jansen-Winkeln’s argument about temple decoration, which “founders on the same point,” plus “the fact that Piankh’s time seems to have been spent largely in warring against Panehsi in Lower Nubia.”²⁶

(4) The genealogical information corresponds more to a Payankh-Herihor succession.

The point here concerns the family relationships of the lady or ladies Hrere.²⁷ A “King’s Mother” Hrere is known as the mother of a “King’s Mother” Nodjmet (Papyrus BM 10490), while a Nodjmet is well attested as the wife of Herihor – she appears together with him heading a procession of many sons and daughters on the walls of the Khonsu temple.²⁸ Hence, the title of this Hrere (“A”) is reasonably read by Kitchen to mean “King’s Mother(-in-law)” in relation to Herihor.²⁹ Further, a Hrere without title appears in the Piankh correspondence as accompanying him to Elephantine; as Bierbrier pointed out the natural conclusion here is that this Hrere was Piankh’s wife.³⁰ Another letter refers to her as “Chief of the Harim of Amenresonter.”³¹ From this, and as she had the authority to order rations to be issued to the workmen of the king’s

²⁵ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (3rd ed.), xv.

²⁶ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (3rd ed.), xiv.

²⁷ Jansen-Winkeln, “Das Ende des Neuen Reiches,” 25.

²⁸ Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu, Vol. I*, xi–xii, Pls. 26 and 28B; for discussion see Wentz, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 173–174; Černý, “Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty,” 635–636; Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 101.

²⁹ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 44.

³⁰ Bierbrier, “Hrere, Wife of the High Priest Paiankh.”

³¹ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 44.

tomb, it has been argued that she could have been the wife of a High Priest of Amun.³²

Kitchen accepts that the Hrere of the letters was Piankh's wife, but he has to postulate two Hrere's A and B – with "A" as the mother-in-law of Herihor, and "B" as the wife of Piankh and daughter of Herihor,³³ thus:

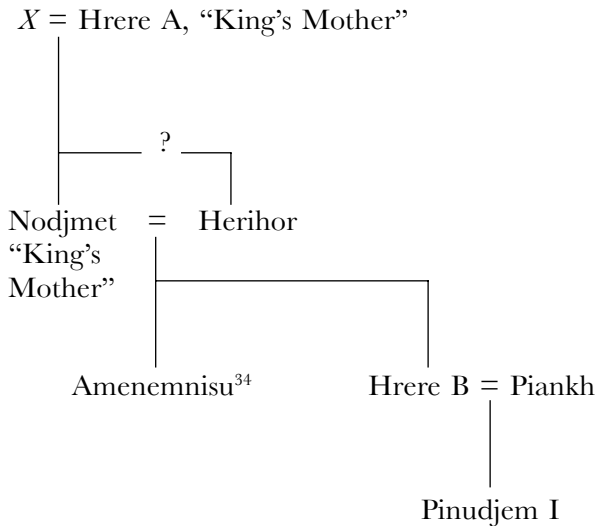


Fig. 1 Family relationships of Herihor and Piankh, if there were two Hreres. After Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (3rd ed.), 538.

However, Niwinski brought important information from coffin-styles to bear on the question:

The coffin of Nodjmet in style and technique is analogous to those of the Devotee of Hathor Hent-tawy and Pinudjem I in style and technique. The dissimilarity of these three coffins from all others known from the period clearly indicates the same time of origin, perhaps also the same workshop or even the same authorship for all three objects in question. It is not

³² Černý, "Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty," 636.

³³ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (2nd ed.), 45, 538.

³⁴ *NB*: Kitchen's suggestion that Amenemnisu was the son of Herihor is entirely hypothetical. His absence from the representation of Herihor's nineteen "sons" in the Khonsu temple stands squarely against the hypothesis. The explanation of Niwinski ("Three More Remarks," 82) that Amenemnisu was either not born or was still a babe in arms when the relief was carved is unconvincing.

unlikely they were made simultaneously by the same king's order, probably Pinudjem's... However, who was Nodjmet in relation to Pinudjem if the identical coffin was made for her?... We know from Papyrus BM 10490 that Nodjmet was the daughter of the King's Mother Hrerere, i.e. she was the king's sister. Since we know that Hrerere was also the wife of Piankh, and Piankh was Pinudjem's father, it becomes clear that Nodjmet was Pinudjem's sister, which explains also the likeness of her coffin to his.³⁵

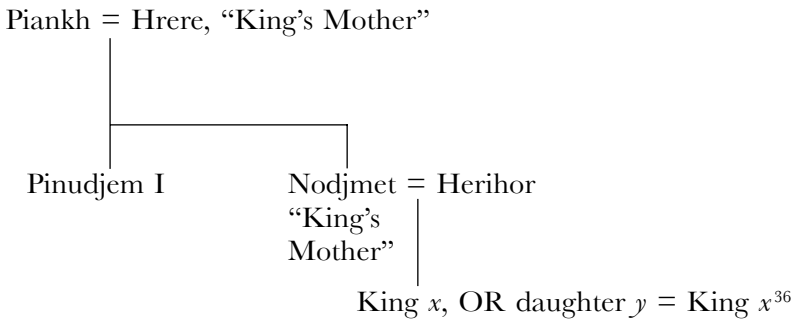


Fig. 2 Family relationships of Herihor and Piankh, if Hrerere A = Hrerere B.

Niwinski's reasonable argument was dismissed by Kitchen as "making both Nodjmet and Herihor younger than Piankh... would reverse the historical sequence of Herihor and Piankh, and must be discarded as unworkable."³⁷ Turning the tables, Jansen-Winkel has of course used the same evidence to argue for such a reversal, enabling Hrerere A and B to be the same, as Niwinski required. Kitchen allows that this may be the "only suggestion of real merit" in Jansen-Winkel's model. Nevertheless, as there appear to have been multiple Henttways and two Maatkarees and Nesikhonses, Kitchen falls back on the idea that there were two Hrereres. Yet as

³⁵ Niwinski, "Problems in the Chronology and Genealogy of the XX1st Dynasty," 52, and *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes*, 42–43.

³⁶ As HPA Pinudjem I became King Pinudjem, the title "King's Mother" borne by Hrerere is automatically explained. This leaves the question of who was the king "mothered" by Nodjmet. An Osorkon appears as no. 17 in the list of Herihor and Nodjmet's offspring on the walls of the Khonsu temple (Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (2nd ed.), 540–41). It is unlikely that all nineteen sons, plus seventeen daughters were direct offspring, so perhaps some (like Osorkon with his Libyan-style name) were "sons-in-law." It has been suggested (Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 101, 309, n. 20, and "Tradition, Innovation and Researching the Past," 145) that this Osorkon might actually be the same as the future pharaoh Osorkon "the Elder," uncle of Shoshenq I. The chronological significance of this possibility is something for discussion elsewhere.

³⁷ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (2nd ed.), 536.

Černý noted, the name Hrere, while “not uncommon” (meaning “flower”) is unusual enough to make it “almost certain” that the two individuals were the same.³⁸ Hence Niwinski’s and Jansen-Winkel’s reading of the evidence is more economical; the case, on its own, is not decisive, and we will return to the Hrere problem later.

An additional consideration, raised by Egberts, concerns palaeography. Only one ostrakon (CG 25744) is known that is addressed to Herihor.³⁹ It names the sender as the scribe Butehamun, followed by the (anonymous) foremen and workmen of the Necropolis. Egberts feels, from a point of the handwriting, that the ostrakon raises a problem with the conventional order Herihor-Piankh.⁴⁰

Following Janssen’s analysis of the handwriting of the Late Ramesside Letters (papyri),⁴¹ Egberts notes that the two signs for *p3* are never ligatured in the correspondence of Butehamun,

...whereas the uncial *p3*'s of his father and colleague Dhutmose always take the shape of a ligature. It is to be expected that the characteristics of the hands of Butehamun and Dhutmose exhibited by the papyri can also be observed on the ostraca. This is confirmed by the draft for Herihor, in which ligatured *p3*'s are conspicuously absent, as is the case with the other manuscripts of Butehamun.⁴²

Černý wanted to attribute a second ostrakon (CG 25745), addressed to Piankh, to Butehamun, since “its handwriting is identical with” the drafted letter to Herihor on ostrakon CG 25744.⁴³ However, as Egberts points out, this second ostrakon has the large uncial *p3*'s typical of the hand of Dhutmose; hence “Černý’s intuitive assignment of the latter draft to Butehamun must be rejected.”

This naturally raises the question of the order of the two ostraca. On the traditional view that Herihor was the predecessor of Piankh as HPA, then the letter written by Butehamun (CG 25744) would antedate that apparently written by his father Dhutmose (CG 25745). Excluding “youthful presumption on the part of Butehamun,” Egberts concluded that

Dhutmose’s draft of a letter to his superior Piankh (25745) is older than the similar draft composed by Butehamun for Herihor (25744), which

³⁸ Černý, “Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty,” 636.

³⁹ Lull, *Los sumos sacerdotes de Amón*, 89.

⁴⁰ Egberts, “Piankh, Herihor, Dhutmose and Butehamun.”

⁴¹ Janssen, “On Style in Egyptian Handwriting.”

⁴² Egberts, “Piankh, Herihor, Dhutmose and Butehamun,” 24.

⁴³ Černý, *A Community of Workmen*, 371.

matches nicely with the different generations of their respective senders and addressees.⁴⁴

But the argument that the two documents should follow a strict father-son succession is very weak. It has been suggested that Butehamun was already on an equal footing with his father (in terms of scribal status) by the Year 10 of the *wḥm-mswt*.⁴⁵ They occur together (order: Dhutmose and Butehamun) on a document dating to Year 2 of the *wḥm-mswt*,⁴⁶ while a graffito of a Year 4 mentioning Butehamun alone most likely belongs to the *wḥm-mswt* (see note 82 below). There is thus clearly no problem with Butehamun having written a letter to Herihor before the Year 6 or 7 of the *wḥm-mswt* (when the latter is generally assumed to have died – but see below). As to why the name of Dhutmose is missing from this particular ostrakon, the Late Ramesside Letters amply document an obvious fact – during the first decade of the *wḥm-mswt* Dhutmose was frequently away on campaign with general Piankh.

To summarise, it would seem that there are no compelling reasons for reversing the traditional order Herihor-Piankh, although two points raised (1. and 4. above) seem to be in need of further elucidation.

The Nature of Herihor's Kingship

While the Jansen-Winkeln case is not compelling, it has raised some important issues worth further discussion (the titulary of Piankh and the identity of Hrere). There are some conspicuous problems too with the standard model. These largely concern the nature of Herihor's kingship, which is constantly downplayed by Kitchen:

The appearance [of kingship] was more impressive than the reality. Herihor's prenomen was nothing more than his real office: 'High Priest of Amun'... For Herihor's 'kingship' appears only in the halls of Karnak (Temple of Khons; great hypostyle hall of the Temple of Amun), and on the funerary equipment of his family – e.g. of Nodjmet his wife or 'queen'. In ordinary administrative documents, he remained as ever High Priest of Amun, military leader and Viceroy, even Vizier, but never king.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Egberts, "Piankh, Herihor, Dhutmose and Butehamun," 25.

⁴⁵ Davies, "Two Many Butehamuns?," 64.

⁴⁶ Pap. Turin 2094, rto. 1 vso. 1:5–8 – see Davies, "Two Many Butehamuns?," 62.

⁴⁷ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 251; Bonhême, "Hérihor fut-il effectivement roi?," offers a similarly jaded view of Herihor's kingship. For critiques

Kitchen's downplaying of Herihor's kingship sits uncomfortably with his assessment of the power that he already wielded as pontiff:

For the first time ever, this man united in himself wide military powers, the Theban high-priesthood, and the rule of Nubia. To these for a time he added the office of (southern) Vizier. This was the situation in Year 6 of the 'Renaissance Era'. Northwards, Herihor's rule probably extended to El Hibeh to the north of Hardai (raided by Panehsy) and some 20 miles south of Heracleopolis and the approaches to the Fayum. In Thebes itself, Herihor's accession to power was seemingly endorsed by oracles of the Theban deities, who promised him 20 years of power as their protagonist.⁴⁸

The dismissal of Herihor's kingship as "fictional"⁴⁹ also contrasts strangely with Kitchen's acceptance of the nebulous "Osorkon IV" as a real king of international status powerful enough to be mentioned in the records of the Assyrian Sargon II as "Shilkanni, king of Egypt" and to have taken tribute from Israel as the biblical "So, king of Egypt" (2 Kings 17:4). Kitchen refers to him as the "senior pharaoh" at the time of Piye's invasion in the late 8th century, though, almost in the same breath as a "shadow-ruler" – presumably as the only evidence offered for his existence amounts to one ring and a silver-gilt aegis.⁵⁰ It has recently been suggested that these objects belong to Osorkon the Elder, the uncle of Shoshenq I.⁵¹ If so, the very existence of "Osorkon IV" might be seen as a by-product of Kitchen's version of TIP chronology. The idea of Breasted that the Osorkon of Piye's records was actually Osorkon III,⁵² a king with widespread monuments, has never been disproven and has recently been revived; through his daughter the God's Wife Shepenupet Osorkon III had proven links with the Nubian Dynasty of Piye, while there is an increasing body of evidence from genealogical and stylistic evidence for lowering his reign to overlap with the date of Piye's invasion.⁵³ Even were this identification to prove wrong, our digression here into the case of "Osorkon IV"

of her remarks see Thijs, "In Search of King Herihor," 75–76 and Lull, *Los sumos sacerdotes de Amón*, 103–04.

⁴⁸ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 248–49.

⁴⁹ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 20.

⁵⁰ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 375, 117.

⁵¹ Payraudeau, "Remarques sur l'identité du premier et du dernier Osorkon"; cf. Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt," 161.

⁵² Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* IV, 412–17.

⁵³ James, *et al.*, *Centuries of Darkness*, 254–55; Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 193, 315–16, n. 27; Morkot and James, "Pefjtjauawybast, King of Nen-nesut," esp. 41–42, 44.

illustrates the danger of subjective assessments about the reality of a given Pharaoh's kingship.

It is also interesting to compare Kitchen's treatment of Herihor's kingship with his view of Herihor's Tanite contemporary Smendes (Nesubanebdjed). Kitchen accords this king 26 years of reign, and a full-blown kingship that was not only recognised in the north but accepted in Upper Egypt, where he believes Smendes' regnal years were used by the high priests and kings of Thebes. Yet, as been stressed repeatedly: "There are no monuments attributable to this Pharaoh, only a few statuettes and small finds and the record of some repair work carried out on the temple of Luxor. Neither are there any year-dates definitely attributable to Smendes."⁵⁴ His 26 years of sole reign is simply taken from the figure given in Manetho and derives no support, as commonly held, from a Year 25 in the Maunier Stela.⁵⁵ Many years ago Young suggested reducing the reign of Smendes from 26 to 16 years because of the scarcity of monuments. Ironically, it was the "good deal of building done by *Hri-Hr* during that reign" that made him "reluctant to reduce it further"⁵⁶

There is of course an archaeological bias between north and south, in that there has been far greater site destruction in the Delta than in the Thebaid. Nevertheless, it is fair to compare the number of monuments at *Thebes*, as it is assumed by Kitchen and most others that Smendes and not Herihor was the legitimate or "real" king of Upper Egypt at this time, with only his regnal years being used (anonymously, one might add) to date monuments and documents. An inscription from the quarry at Dibabieh near Gebelen to the south of Thebes records how Smendes, residing at Memphis, heard of the flooding of the temple of Luxor and sent a large force of workers to bring stone and repair the canal wall.⁵⁷ At Thebes itself, Smendes is attested only by a graffito squeezed onto a scene of Seti I in the precinct of Montu. Compare the building work done at

⁵⁴ James, *et al.*, "Bronze Age Chronology," 76; cf. James, *et al.*, *Centuries of Darkness*, 232; Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes*, 50; Hagens, "A Critical Review of Dead-Reckoning from the 21st Dynasty," 156–57; Thijs, "In Search of King Herihor," 77–78; Thijs, "King or High Priest?," 87, n. 41; Jansen-Winkel, "Relative Chronology of Dyn. 21," 229.

⁵⁵ See James, "The Date of the Oracle."

⁵⁶ Young, "Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-First Dynasty," 109.

⁵⁷ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* IV, 308–09.

Thebes by Herihor as king. His decoration (and building?) of the forecourt at the temple of Khonsu was extensive, while his work at the hypostyle hall of the temple of Amun is shown by a fragmentary inscription on the southern end of the east wall and the occurrence of his name on ten of the column bases in the southern half of the hall. Because of their random distribution, Roth surmises that Herihor's name may once have been "emblazoned on each column base in the southern half of the hall" and that King Herihor "is not without justice in his claim that he 'made renewal of monuments in the house of his father Amon-Re'..."⁵⁸

Lull reviewed the iconography and titulary used by King Herihor, noting that the Khonsu Temple scenes show him carrying out rituals (crowning, sed festival, *etc.*) that only a pharaoh should, while he claimed to be the living Horus. His conclusion is fair:

One can't say that the royalty of Herihor was fictitious, because he made use of the five royal names, employed royal titles from the monarchs for him and his wife and expressed his royalty on the walls of the temple of Karnak like a pharaoh, and equally his wife recognised these prerogatives in the titles that are employed in her funerary papyri.⁵⁹

Kitchen's case tends to treat the differences in Herihor's titulary in spatial (rather than chronological) terms, allowing Herihor as HPA/general full control over Upper Egypt while confining him to two temples of Karnak when he styles himself as king. Yet this must be wrong. The Khonsu Temple inscriptions, as discussed at the beginning of this article, show a clear *chronological* development of Herihor's titles, progressing from the HPA of the hypostyle to the king of the forecourt.⁶⁰

The same applies to Nodjmet, certainly identified as Herihor's wife.⁶¹ On Leiden Stela V 65, she appears alongside general/High Priest Herihor (in perhaps the earliest attestation of his name) as "the Lady of the House, Chief of the Harim of Amenresonter, Nodjmet."⁶² Then in the forecourt of the Temple of Khonsu she

⁵⁸ Roth, "Some New Texts of Herihor and Ramesses IV," 48.

⁵⁹ Lull, *Los sumos sacerdotes de Amón*, 336.

⁶⁰ Černý ("Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty," 637) suggested that a transitional stage in his career might be reflected on the door jambs leading from the hypostyle to the sanctuary.

⁶¹ See e.g. Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes*, 42–44.

⁶² Černý, "Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty," 635; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 41 and n. 167.

also bears, amongst other titles, “Hereditary Princess,” “Mistress of the Two Lands,” and “Great King’s Wife.”⁶³ On a funerary papyrus (a copy of the *Book of the Dead*) she is depicted with Herihor both as HPA and King, with her name in a cartouche, as “Lady of the Two Lands” and “King’s Mother, Nodjmet.” Her coffins, some of the most richly adorned known from the 21st Dynasty, give her the same titles with cartouche.⁶⁴ There is thus a discernible development in her titulary – from the wife of the HPA, to a Queen, to King’s Mother – that has nothing to do with the spatial distribution of the documents involved.

A further problem with Kitchen’s model is the brevity of the reign (as both pontiff and king) he allows for Herihor. He assumes with many other scholars, reasonably, that Herihor’s pontificate started with Year 1 of the *whm-mswt*. But he also assumes⁶⁵ that the accession of Piankh in 7 *whm-mswt* to the pontificate means that Herihor must have been dead by that year. This gives Herihor only 6 years of rule, within which must be crammed all his activity, both as HPA and King.

The problem is underscored by the Opet festival scenes in the forecourt of the temple of Khonsu, depicting a new barque of Amun commissioned by Herihor. Wenamun was sent off to Byblos specifically to fetch wood for a new barque, by Herihor (HPA, not king) in Year 5. It is reasonably assumed that this was the very barque depicted in the forecourt, which Herihor proclaims was “hewn... out of pine of the Lebanon (*Hnt-š*)”.⁶⁶ A major difficulty has arisen here, as in the Opet scenes with the new barque Herihor is called king, showing that he had taken the throne by this time.⁶⁷ Wenamun’s round-trip to Byblos (with dates in two successive

⁶³ Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu, Vol. I*, Pl. 26.

⁶⁴ Thijs (“Two Books for One Lady”) has proposed distributing the evidence here between two ladies: *i.e.* Nodjmet A, the mother of Herihor, and Nodjmet B, his wife. While it may seem odd that Nodjmet had two funerary papyri (BM 10490 and BM 10541), allocating these to two individuals arrives at an uneconomical solution: that there were two Nodjmets, both of whom were entitled to enclose their names in a cartouche, and both of whom carried the title “King’s Mother.”

⁶⁵ With Černý, “Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty,” 640, and others.

⁶⁶ Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu, Vol. I*, Pl. 21. For Khenty-she as the Lebanon see Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 125.

⁶⁷ See Thijs, “In Search of King Herihor,” 84, n. 95.

Shomus) almost certainly took at least two years;⁶⁸ hence “the timbers could not have reached Egypt until well into the 6th year.”⁶⁹ We are very close here to the assumed death of Herihor (by the Year 7), which would mean that the reliefs would have had to have been carved in an extremely short time. As Wenté remarked:

It has been realized that these two texts cast some doubt on the view that Herihor was deceased by Year 7 of the Renaissance era. If the quality of the reliefs is taken into consideration, although it is evident that they may reflect a decline in artistic merit, there is no discernable indication of undue haste in their execution such as one might have expected if the reliefs of the Feast of Opet were truly historical and had been carved within two years of the arrival of the Phoenician lumber and the construction of the riverine barge of Amon-Re. It should be emphasized that care was taken throughout to maintain a balance between raised and sunken relief in the wall scenes that imitate the pattern of the Great Hypostyle Hall, a fact that speaks against hasty work in the court of the temple.⁷⁰

Rather than challenge the assumption that Herihor was dead by Year 7, and to allow time for the creation of the scenes depicting the barque, Wenté had recourse to a suggestion of Kitchen⁷¹ that the scenes were carved while the wood was still being collected: “In the meantime, with lively anticipation, Herihor had had scenes of the Festival of Opet engraved in the Temple of Khons, showing the new (?) barge of Amun which was decorated in his name.” The scenario is a little forced, underscoring again the very cramped chronology. As Herihor still called himself HPA in the Year 6, this would mean that *all* the building work (Khonsu temple and Hypostyle Hall) bearing his name as king would have had to have been carried out during the late Year 6 to early Year 7. A longer reign would surely fit the evidence more comfortably.

⁶⁸ See the careful analysis in Egberts, “The Chronology of ‘The Report of Wenamun,’” which argues that the loading of the trees at Byblos could not have taken place until *wḥm-mswt* 6/7, and that the report of Wenamun (until the text breaks off) “covers a period of about two years.” Given that Wenamun was blown off course and next visited Alashiya (Cyprus) it is hard to imagine that he managed to return to Egypt before *wḥm-mswt* Year 7. This exacerbates the problem of Kitchen and others who assume that Herihor was dead by Year 7, when Piankh was HPA. While Egberts (“Hard Times: the Chronology of ‘The Report of Wenamun’ Revisited”), influenced by the Jansen-Winkel reversal, now feels that the chronology of Wenamun is artificial and that the years do not relate to the *wḥm-mswt*, this does not change the relative, internal, chronology intended by the author of the papyrus.

⁶⁹ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 252.

⁷⁰ Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu, Vol. I*, xiv.

⁷¹ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 252.

Piankh and the Year 7 “Problem”

The dating of Herihor’s reign as king depends, of course, on how we interpret Piankh’s accession to the pontificate in *wḥm-mswt* Year 7 (Nims oracle). Thijs argues that the apparent succession of Piankh in that year is a great problem for the conventional order Herihor-Piankh, though in doing so he has to remark on a peculiarity in Piankh’s titulary: “Piankh... was an undisputed High Priest of Amun, although he – or his surroundings – seem to have preferred the title ‘general’.”⁷² Again, in the known letters of Piankh, “he never styles himself otherwise than ‘*Commander of the army of Pharaoh*’.”⁷³ The title of pontiff only occurs in one letter (Year 10 *wḥm-mswt*) addressed to him as “The fan-bearer on the king’s right, royal scribe, general, high priest of Amon-Re, [King of the Gods], vice[roy] of Kush, overseer of southern foreign lands, granary overseer of Pharaoh’s granaries and leader of Pharaoh’s troops, [Pi]ankh...”⁷⁴ One should agree with Thijs that: “This stress on his military side cannot be used to dispute his pontificate.” Yet this peculiarity, which we have noted before (see point 1. in the discussion of Jansen-Winkeln’s arguments), might still be hinting at something significant.

Indeed, Egyptologists have sometimes read the evidence of Piankh’s rather muted claim to high-priesthood in a very different way. In the days before the Renaissance Era was discovered, Petrie could write this:

This prince [Piankh], though he inherited the high priesthood, does not seem to have ruled independently. It is supposed that Herhor left Thebes to consolidate his power in the north, and appointed his eldest son as high priest to rule in the south.⁷⁵

The idea that Piankh was High Priest *during* the reign of King Herihor has also been suggested by Young though never set out in any detail.⁷⁶ When Young wrote, he was working within the already “old fashioned” model which placed the reign of Herihor

⁷² Thijs, “In Search of King Herihor,” 76.

⁷³ Černý, *A Community of Workmen*, 377.

⁷⁴ LRL No. 28, trans. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 194.

⁷⁵ Petrie, *A History of Ancient Egypt* III, 202–03.

⁷⁶ Young, “Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-First Dynasty,” 110; cf. Kees *Die Hohenpriester des Amun*, 14–15 and Römer, *Gottes- und Priester-Herrschaft in Ägypten*, 10–11.

after the death of Ramesses XI. Nevertheless, his reasoning is worth quoting in full:

His [Herihor's] assumption of royal insignia probably took place on the death of Ramesses XI, some time after that king's 27th year. That *Hri-Hr* in Thebes and Smendes in Tanis had already almost entirely usurped royal powers by yr. 5 *wḥm-mswt*, however, is shown by Wenamun's account. Whatever the exact sequence of events, *Hri-Hr* was certainly well advanced in years before he became king. It was probably at this point that *Pȝy-nḥ* succeeded him as acting H.P., though it should be noted that *Hri-Hr* retained the title of H.P. in his cartouche as his prenomen... *Pȝy-nḥ* was heir presumptive to the throne in Thebes, then, yet never adopted royal titles and is never called *sꜣ nsw*... It seems likely, therefore, that he predeceased his father *Hri-Hr* and that his son *Pȝi-ndm* succeeded as H.P. while *Hri-Hr* was still alive.

Young's thinking here was reasonable in its day, written before we knew that Piankh was not the son of Herihor, though it strangely overlooks the Year 7 *wḥm-mswt* oracle (Nims oracle) which shows that Piankh was an HPA in the time of Ramesses XI. What would happen, though, if we translated Young's (and Petrie's) suggestion that Piankh was "acting high priest" into the now conventional (Kitchen, *et al.*) position for Herihor's kingship, within the reign of Ramesses XI? Thus:

<u>"R"</u>	<u>20th DYNASTY</u>	<u>HPAs/KINGS (Theban)</u>
01	(Ramesses XI) 19	Herihor?
02	20	Herihor
03	21	Herihor
04	22	Herihor
05	23	<i>Herihor ~ Wenamun's voyage</i>
06	24	<i>Herihor</i> → (Herihor) ?
07	25	<i>Piankh</i> (Herihor)
08	26	(Herihor)
09	27	(Herihor)
10	28	<i>Piankh</i> (Herihor)
11	29	(Herihor) ?

Fig. 3 "R" = Renaissance era. Synchronisms indicated by *italics*.

An interesting picture emerges, which would appear to resolve all the "anomalies" and considerations reviewed above:

- A. The strangely muted high-priesthood of Piankh can be explained. As Young implied, though appointed “acting high priest” at Herihor’s elevation to kingship, Piankh would have respectfully stressed his title as general more, given that Herihor still held the title of “First Prophet of Amun” (now enclosed in a cartouche). NB, the pattern of an HPA appointing a new pontiff when assuming royalty is *utterly typical* during the Third Intermediate Period, and arguably so during the 21st Dynasty.⁷⁷ Herihor may simply have started a trend that is *so familiar* from later TIP history.
- B. Herihor could have become king at any point after Year 5 of the Renaissance, possibly even late in Year 6, when he was attested as HPA on two bandages.⁷⁸ The “muted” high-priesthood of Piankh (7–10 *wḥm-mswt*) would have been under his rule as king; hence Herihor’s reign lasted *at least* 4 years. There is no need, then, as in Kitchen’s model, for Herihor (before his alleged death by 7 *wḥm-mswt*) to have depicted himself as king inaugurating the new barque of Amun, in “lively anticipation” of the return of Wenamun’s round-trip to fetch the necessary wood.
- C. As well as a pontificate of 6 years, a reign for Herihor of *at least* 4 years is suggested by the amount of monumental work he carried out at Thebes.
- D. In the oracle recorded on the walls of the temple of Khonsu, the god grants Herihor “twenty years.” How much this might reflect reality has already been discussed by Thijs;⁷⁹ a notional twenty years is clearly compatible with a longer reign for Herihor, as argued here.
- E. Points B to D would confirm Young’s suggestion that Herihor outlived Piankh, who is last attested after a brief 3–4 year pontificate in Year 10 *wḥm-mswt*. Young, however, was wrong in assuming that Piankh was a son that predeceased his father, Herihor. Rather, we should consider that Piankh was much the same age or even older than Herihor. One can imagine

⁷⁷ Young, “Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-First Dynasty,” 110.

⁷⁸ Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 417.

⁷⁹ Thijs, “In Search of King Herihor.”

quite easily that Piankh was an old military colleague and ally appointed as acting HPA by Herihor when the latter assumed the throne in Thebes. Given that, the Hrere problem raised by Jansen-Winkeln (see point 4. above), one seen by Kitchen as a reasonable question, can be reopened. If Piankh was a contemporary or older than Herihor there can surely be no objection to him having given his daughter to the latter in marriage; nor any objection to Herihor appointing his father-in-law to the high-priesthood. This way the importance of the two women in the Piankh correspondence, as well as the familiarity with which they are addressed, would be explained. Hrere would have been Piankh's wife and mother-in-law of Herihor. Nodjmet would have been Piankh's daughter (as per Niwinski and Jansen-Winkeln), and Herihor's wife and queen.

- F. The idea that Herihor may have outlived Piankh was touched on, somewhat opaquely, by Jansen-Winkeln when he discussed the idea that the Upper Egyptian "regents" of the 21st Dynasty may have counted by their own regnal years:

When dating according to the High Priests' year of office, we nevertheless have to consider the necessity of adding a few (possibly 2–3 years) to Herihor's term of office under Ramesses XI, *subsequent* to Payankh's term of office.⁸⁰

If we follow this idea to its logical conclusion, we can allow that Piankh was HPA *during* the reign of Herihor, ironically defusing Jansen-Winkeln's best arguments for reversing the two.

- G. The Nims oracle might be held to be a problem for the model offered here. If Herihor was king while Piankh was HPA, why does the oracle of Renaissance Year 7 mention Ramesses XI and not Herihor? Here we may be dealing with the subtleties of protocol. We might assume that Herihor's royal status was approved by Ramesses XI, in a power-sharing arrangement, with Ramesses XI surely remaining the senior partner. Besides, on the model proposed here Herihor had only just assumed monarchy (if in Year 6 or 7); given the novelty of

⁸⁰ Jansen-Winkeln, "Relative Chronology of Dyn. 21," 232, n. 78.

the new arrangement in which there was a Theban pharaoh as well, it might have seemed prudent to acknowledge the more established Ramesses XI.

Consequences for 21st Dynasty Theban Chronology

Given the present state of flux in 21st Dynasty chronology, as revealed in many recent studies – partly due, in the long run, to the paucity of reliable evidence – there can presently be no definitive answers.

Yet a model along the above lines would satisfy the stronger points of both Jansen-Winkel's and Kitchen's cases while at the same time avoiding their weaknesses – and in doing so effectively resolve the differences between them on issues which are genuinely problematic. It does not differ from that of Kitchen and others in starting the pontificate and kingship of Herihor in the Renaissance period, fairly late in the reign of Ramesses XI. The key difference is that we should distinguish clearly between the early and late phases of Herihor's career, and not treat the differences in his titulary as matters of location, with Herihor effectively hiding his kingship within the precincts of the Karnak temples. Such a view overstretches the interpretation of the evidence. The “oddity” that his prenomen was the title of HPA enclosed in a cartouche – fully understandable if Herihor was the first Theban pontiff to adopt kingship – should not be interpreted as meaning that his kingship was any more or less “real” than any other monarch of the Third Intermediate Period, many of whom are far more restricted in terms of monuments, far more obscure – or even possibly non-existent, the products of modern chronological deductions (see the example of “Osorkon IV” noted above).

One might ask then, why there have been efforts to downgrade Herihor's royal status. The motivation perhaps springs from a chronological preconception, in which a strict succession of Manetho's 20th–21st Dynasties is adhered to as closely as possible. For, if Herihor had assumed a full-fledged kingship in the south during the early Renaissance period, then surely his northern colleague Smendes could have done the same? Here it seems we are up against a simple conviction – that the 21st Dynasty as such did not begin until the death of Ramesses XI (Year 29) in 1069 B.C.

Even so, Kitchen has to allow a one year overlap between Pinudjem (I) as HPA and the reign of Ramesses XI.

In agreement with Lull, Jansen-Winkeln and Thijs, it is time to reject the idea that Herihor's kingship was somehow "fictional," and hence meaningless in political or chronological terms. It is argued here that Herihor's assumption of kingship meant at least that he, like most of the later TIP kings who controlled Thebes, could appoint his own nominee as High Priest of Amun – in this case, his father-in-law Piankh in Year 7 of the *whm-mswt*. Given that Piankh disappears from the record by the Year 10, it is reasonable to assume that he was succeeded as pontiff by his son Pinudjem (I) in *whm-mswt* 11 or 12.

Starting the pontificate of Pinudjem (I) during the closing years of the 20th Dynasty is hardly a new idea and the model suggested here results in the same one-year overlap with Ramesses XI as given in Kitchen's tables (assuming that 29 was the highest year of Ramesses XI). Other considerations, however, suggest some compressions of the chronology for this period. The persuasive Niwinski/Jansen-Winkeln case for there only being one Hrere (see points 4. and E. above) would mean a quite different generational alignment between Herihor and HPA Pinudjem I. Rather than being Pinudjem's maternal grandfather (Kitchen, see Fig. 1 above), Herihor would have been his brother-in-law (see Fig. 2 above), and hence his generational equivalent for the purpose of some calculations. This would remove up to two generations from the high-priestly family as presented by Kitchen, whose genealogies for this period tend to be over-extended and, in the case of the Tanite royalty, almost entirely hypothetical.⁸¹

Given the evidence reviewed above, there is also every reason to question the view that the dates in documents relating to Pinudjem I's pontificate pertain to the Tanite king Smendes. The name of HPA Pinudjem appears in a sequence of Theban bandage epigraphs running from a Year 6 to at least a Year 15.⁸² Jansen-Winkeln and

⁸¹ See James, Kokkinos and Thorpe, "Mediterranean Chronology in Crisis," 32–33; in more detail see James and Morkot, "A Genealogical Approach."

⁸² Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, §381.7–§382.26. The Year 1 listed in Kitchen (§381.6) is omitted here, as it is problematic. The evidence for it consists of a laconic statement by Smith (*The Royal Mummies*, 97) concerning the mummy of Queen Nodjmet: "[a bandage] on the right foot contained a

Thijs have offered persuasive arguments in favour of the idea that the local Theban kings of this period, including Herihor, counted their own regnal years.⁸³ Comparison of the monuments and documents of Herihor and Smendes at Thebes (see above) surely weighs in favour of the *former* as being the anonymous king by whose reign these documents were dated.⁸⁴ The sequence of burial epigraphs (Years 6–15) mentioning HPA Pinudjem are followed by others with Years 16 and 18 of HPA Masaharta, called “son of King Pinudjem.” Assuming the year-count belongs to Herihor, it seems reasonable to suggest that in old age he might have adopted Pinudjem as co-regent (Year 16). This would produce the following experimental picture:

reference to ‘the first year of Pinotmou’.” Kitchen assumes that this was the first year of Smendes (!). While Thijs (“King or High Priest?,” 84, n. 25) correctly points out that the vast majority of bandage epigraphs name the HPA, the possibility cannot be ruled out that this refers to Year 1 of King Pinudjem, as Smith appear to have understood. Cf. the Year 8 bandage epigraph in which King Pinudjem was commanded to osirify Ahmose. Thijs (“King or High Priest?,” 82) has argued well that there is every reason to see this as a genuine year date of King Pinudjem and not of a Tanite ruler. Likewise the uncertain Year 4 (Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, §381.7) is not included here. The graffito (from the entrance of the tomb of Horemheb) is only attributed to his pontificate because it names Butchamun, familiar as “scribe of the tomb” from bandage epigraphs mentioning Pinudjem. However, as the title of Butchamun in the graffito (“scribe of the army”) is different it seems likely that it reflects an earlier stage in his career in Year 4 of the *whm-mswt* (see Černý, *A Community of Workmen*, 372 and n. 2; Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, 94, 234; and Lull, *Los sumos sacerdotes de Amón*, 159. The possibility is also allowed by Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 417–18, and Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt*, 208, n. 473). If so, it would date from before the pontificate of Pinudjem, as calculated here.

⁸³ Jansen-Winkel, “Relative Chronology of Dyn. 21,” 230; Thijs, “In Search of King Herihor” and “King or High Priest?”

⁸⁴ Young (“Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-First Dynasty,” 102 and n. 19) did not rule out this possibility, though he thought that Herihor was “less likely” as a candidate than Psusennes I. His reasoning was: “If *Hr̄i-Hr̄* used regnal dating, then *Pī-ndm* I was H.P. from his first year, leaving no room for H.P. *P̄y-nh̄*.” This objection is only valid, however, if we ascribe the problematic Years 1 and 4 to Pinudjem’s pontificate. The Year 1 could well apply to Pinudjem as King and the Year 4 to the *whm-mswt* – see n. 82 above.

<u>R</u>	<u>20th DYNASTY</u>	<u>HPAs/KINGS (Theban)</u>
	01 (Ramesses XI) 19	Herihor?
	02 20	Herihor
	03 21	Herihor
	04 22	Herihor
	05 23	<i>Herihor ~ Wenamun's voyage</i>
	06 24	<i>Herihor</i> → (Herihor) 1?
	07 25	<i>Piankh</i> (Herihor) 2
	08 26	(Herihor) 3
	09 27	(Herihor) 4
	10 28	<i>Piankh</i> (Herihor) 5
	11 29	<i>Pinudjem</i> (Herihor) 6
		Pinudjem (Herihor) 7
		Pinudjem (Herihor) 8
		<i>Pinudjem</i> (Herihor) 9
		<i>Pinudjem</i> (Herihor) 10
		<i>Pinudjem</i> (Herihor) 11
		<i>Pinudjem</i> (Herihor) 12
		<i>Pinudjem</i> (Herihor) 13
		Pinudjem (Herihor) 14
		<i>Pinudjem</i> (Herihor) 15
		<i>Masaharta</i> (Herihor) 16/(Pinudjem) I 1
		<i>Masaharta</i> (Herihor) 17/(Pinudjem) I 2
		<i>Masaharta</i> (Herihor) 18/(Pinudjem) I 3
		(Herihor) 19/(Pinudjem) I 4
		(Herihor) 20/(Pinudjem) I 5
		(Pinudjem) I 6
		(Pinudjem) I 7
		(Pinudjem) I 8

Fig. 4 “R” = Renaissance era. Synchronisms indicated by *italics*.

Such an arrangement would resolve a conspicuous difficulty with the Jansen-Winkeln “reversal,” raised by Taylor:

If Jansen-Winkeln’s theory is correct, why should control of Upper Egypt have been transmitted from Payankh to Herihor, since Payankh had at least four sons? One of these men, of course, ultimately became the high priest and ‘king’ Pinudjem, but three other sons of Payankh are known from a graffito in the first court of the Temple of Luxor...

If it appears strange that power passed to Herihor in preference to one of these four men, it is equally remarkable that control should have reverted to Payankh’s family at the death of Herihor, since he appears to have had

no fewer than 19 sons, all of whom were depicted and named in a relief in the court of the temple of Khons.⁸⁵

In the model argued here the first problem does not arise, as there would be no question of Piankh “passing over” his sons in favour of Herihor. Piankh would have simply been High Priest under Herihor as King. As for the second, if Piankh was senior in age to Herihor this might also explain why he was succeeded as HPA by his son Pinudjem: Herihor’s (biological) sons may have been much younger than Pinudjem, while it would also have been perfectly natural for Piankh’s heir to inherit his father’s titles.⁸⁶ Taylor’s own solution was to make Nodjmet the wife of Piankh before she married Herihor, which would have made Pinudjem and his brothers step-sons of Herihor. But it is not clear how this resolves the problems just outlined.

The model offered here produces a continuous picture for the attested dates and is similar to that of Thijs,⁸⁷ with the major difference that here HPA Pinudjem’s pontificate *begins within the late reign of Ramesses XI, and not two reigns later*. While Thijs’ earlier work has produced a welcome shortening in 20th Dynasty chronology, his more recent articles have extended it again by the doubtful addition of two more monarchs, with Ramesses XI being followed by a King Pinudjem and then by King Herihor. As noted above, the genealogical model accepted here (based on that of Niwinski) argues for a compression, rather than extension, of the chronology at this point. NB, while the reign of Herihor is extended here to some 20 years, it should be noted that the overlap suggested between his reign and that of Pinudjem I would result in a small but significant chronological compression at this point. Whereas Kitchen’s chronology would place some 15 (his preferred model) or 45 (his alternative) years between year 29 of Ramesses XI and the accession of Masaharta as HPA (in a Year 16), the scheme here would make that distance only 10 years.

The model for Herihor and Piankh outlined here is offered as a first step towards a reconstruction of the 21st Dynasty on new lines, in agreement with the principle revived by Jansen-Winkel

⁸⁵ Taylor, “Nodjmet, Payankh and Herihor,” 1145.

⁸⁶ Nevertheless, there must be truth in the suggestion of Lull (*Los sumos sacerdotes de Amón*, 339) that the retention of the high priesthood by the line of Piankh eventually led to tension, even warfare, between his house and the descendants of Herihor.

⁸⁷ Thijs, “In Search of King Herihor,” 84–87.

that the “priest-kings” of Thebes during this period could have had all the trappings of monarchy, including the right to accord themselves regnal years and appoint a new High Priest when elevated to pharaonic status themselves. It hopefully satisfies all the available evidence and is offered as a resolution to some long-standing disputes.

Postscript

This article was completed in draft form in June 2008. Since then, the proceedings of the Leiden conference on *The Libyan Period in Egypt* (October 2007) have appeared. The published version of Kitchen's paper contains a surprising and most welcome change of mind regarding the relationship of Herihor and Piankh:

To save a few blushes over such vagaries, maybe we could suggest an alternative to both views that might prove helpful. Namely, that during Year 1–6 of the *wḥm-mswt*, Herihor exercised all his other known functions (*i.e.* high priest; viceroy of Kush; generalissimo, briefly(?) vizier), but not that of “King”. Then in Year 7, and feeling his age, he delegated active high-priesthood, vicerealty, military command, etc., etc., to Piankh (a younger man and a son-in-law?), while himself concentrating at home on the building and decoration of the forecourt of the Khonsu-Temple – but now as a purely high-priestly “King” (as his highly aberrant prenomen denotes), who – like a visiting King – acted as ceremonial leader in the great Theban festivals, such as Opet as shown in the forecourt (for the barque for which, Wenamun had gone for Phoenician timbers previously...).⁸⁸

This article offers in detail a model along these very lines, but with two notable differences. Piankh would appear to be the father-in-law, rather than son-in-law of Herihor. Further, Kitchen adheres to his belief that Herihor's kingship was not “real,” and that he donned royal style “like theatrical dress!”⁸⁹ This view of Herihor as some kind of mock king is hard to square with the idea that he could delegate the high priesthood and other offices to his relative Piankh.

⁸⁸ Kitchen, “The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt,” 200.

⁸⁹ Kitchen, “The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt,” 194.

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