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On the use of a historic mode of kingship in visual material produced by the early Third Intermediate Period rulers of Lower Egypt, 1070-909 BCE

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An abstract of a thesis submitted to the Faculty of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Art History
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Abstract

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By Rachel P. Kreiter

The so-called Third Intermediate Period has been a much-contested subject in Egyptology, largely due to a number of conflicting philological approaches that have produced no consensus among scholars as to chronology and the ordering of kings. This paper proposes that the visual material created by or for the Tanis-based rulers of dynasties 21 and 22 is a deliberate attempt to legitimize their reigns through a historic mode of kingship. Moreover, the possible Libyan character of this period is harmonious with such an approach, as the tribal-influenced social structure proposed by scholars is compatible with the basic continuity of cosmological kingship that was the source of all royal authority in Egypt, regardless of ethnicity.

A secondary focus of this paper is an assessment of the current state of Libyan Period scholarship, which has been defined by the methods through which the subject has previously been approached, and suggested directions for further study with emphasis on visual material in conjunction with the philological and chronological work that has previously dominated the discussion of this period.

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On the use of a historic mode of kingship in visual material produced by the early Third Intermediate Period rulers of Lower Egypt, 1070-909 BCE[1]

The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1070-712 BCE), sometimes called the post-imperial epoch[2] or Libyan period[3], has been problematic for Egyptologists.[4] At the collapse of the New Kingdom after the 20th dynasty (1070 BCE), the country had split into two halves, and during the 21st and 22nd dynasties, the South was ruled from Thebes by the priests of Amun, and the North primarily from the Delta capital of Tanis by families originally from Libya, who nevertheless assumed the position of king with all its accoutrements. **[FIGURE 1]** A definitive chronology of this period has proved difficult to establish, with disagreement among scholars on the organization and dating of kings' reigns. The humid climate of the Delta makes archaeological data scarce, as material remains fare far worse there than at sites farther south. Finally, the "Egyptianization," or lack thereof, of the Libyan rulers has never been firmly established.

In a 1985 paper, Anthony Leahy wrote that the Libyan "use of Egyptian iconography can be seen as a pragmatic concession to Egyptian sensibilities … since the visual demonstration that a Horus King continued to rule will have been one

[1] All dating is approximate, following Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 8-9.
[2] K. A Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, 1100-650 B.C*, 2nd ed. (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1996), xii.
[3] *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st-24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, October 2007* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2009).
[4] In this paper, to avoid repetition, 'Third Intermediate Period' and 'Libyan Period' will be used interchangeably, with no intended bias or judgment toward either term.

means of reconciling Egyptians to foreign domination."[5] This paper aims to further this idea by proposing that the visual material produced by the early Third Intermediate Period kings legitimizes their dynasties by functioning within a mode of historic kingship.

Within the context of the present paper, I am using the phrase "historic kingship" to mean actions taken and materials produced by a single ruler that are subordinate to the continuous mythology of kingship, that is, both the cyclical role of 'king of Egypt' itself and those previous monarchs who had at some point in the past inhabited the part. Perhaps "historic" is not an ideal term, as the Egyptians did not have an analogous word to our modern conception of history.[6] Nevertheless, in light of the disparity between Middle Egyptian and modern English, it is the most elegant approximation.

That so much of the history of the Libyan period is difficult to establish reflects to a certain extent the general inability of Egyptologists to write a definitive history of ancient Egypt itself.[7] The extended duration of Egyptian society severely complicates this task. This is not for lack of trying, and in fact the Egyptians themselves wrote what could be seen as a genre of 'history' in the form of king-lists. These texts were a Middle Kingdom outgrowth of the ritual cults of ancestor kings; the first was written for Amenemhat I of Dynasty 12, probably in an attempt to

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[5] Anthony Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985): 57.

[6] Donald B Redford, *Pharaonic Annals, King-Lists, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, vol. 4, SSEA Publication (Mississauga, Ont. Benben, 1986), xiii.

[7] For the development of this contention, see Donald B Redford, "The Historiography of Ancient Egypt," in *Egyptology and the Social Sciences: Five Studies* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1979); Donald B Redford, "History and Egyptology," in *Egyptology Today* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

legitimize his claim to the throne by showing himself at the end of a long line of previous rulers.[8] The king-list tradition continued throughout the New Kingdom.

The concept of pharaonic dynasties, such as we know it, comes to us predominantly from Manetho, a third-century B.C. priest who recorded these in his *Aegyptiaca*, a work that survives solely in quotation by other writers.[9] This work has proved valuable, as it has given generations of scholars a framework for historical details. In the context of Third Intermediate Period historiography, the reconstruction of chronology differs from scholar to scholar, at times dependent on how strictly the writer wishes to adhere to the *Aegyptiaca*, which orders kings into well-defined dynastic groups.

Kenneth Kitchen, who has been called the *éminence grise* of Third Intermediate Period scholarship, has even gone so far as to lament the general mess of the Third Intermediate Period while excusing Manetho thus:

> *Manetho (in his original state) knew better than we do, having had access to documentation that we can only dream of. He is not responsible for the present lamentable state of the text of the compendium of kings added by him (or others?) to his main work; our reproaches should be directed at the bad copyists, impatient abridgers and mischievous adaptors who have left us a poorer text than the original ever was. The "good bits" hint at what we have lost in that process.*[10]

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[8] Redford, *Pharaonic Annals, King-Lists, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, 4:151-161.
[9] Manetho, *Manetho*, trans. W. G Waddell, Loeb Classical Library 350 (London: W. Heinemann Ltd, 1940).
[10] *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 171. Also in due fairness to Manetho, M.L. Bierbrier has called him "particularly accurate" in regard to the dating for Dynasty 21. That said, Kitchen has written the forward to Bierbrier's book. M. L Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.): A Genealogical and Chronological Investigation*, Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1975), 46.

It is possible that all these mistakes in transmission have left the dynastic concept in such disrepair in the Libyan Period that it cannot be reconstructed in its entirety, barring future unforeseen archaeological discoveries. Therein lies a larger point about Egyptology: perhaps there are periods that simply do not fit the dynastic paradigm, and forcing kings, however well- or poorly attested, to fit into such a scheme is a self-defeating pursuit. In this vein, consider that the Libyan kings did not compose king-lists but rather, elaborate genealogies that scholars believe reflected the tribal nature of their society.[11] Furthermore, the transmission of the *Aegyptiaca* from Manetho to us is not the only problem to consider. As a work it was specifically compiled and composed in a political Ptolemaic context; we do not know exactly what the text said and cannot verify who Manetho actually was.[12] We can, however, assume that he was writing his history from sources stored in temple libraries rather than monuments themselves, and that the *Aegyptiaca* in its final form was likely a comprehensive king-list with some supplementary glosses.[13]

In order to discuss how the Third Intermediate Period kings took advantage of the historic aspect of kingship, it will be necessary to examine the Egyptian relationship to and attitude toward the past and the underlying mythos. A review of the literature surrounding the Third Intermediate Period is also called for in order to establish the current attitude toward the Third Intermediate Period within Egyptology and how it has developed since the turn of the 19th century. Finally, we

[11] David O'Connor, "The Nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) Society in the Later New Kingdom," in *Libya and Egypt c. 1300-725* (London: Center of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, 1990); Redford, *Pharaonic Annals, King-Lists, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, 4:62-3.
[12] Redford, *Pharaonic Annals, King-Lists, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, 4:205-6.
[13] Ibid., 4:228-30.

will look at visual evidence from the Libyan Period in order to see examples of how these Egyptian-Libyan rulers legitimized their dynasties through art and iconography. The large amount of this visual material prohibits a comprehensive discussion, so this paper will limit itself to selected royal material from the sites of Bubastis and Tanis, particularly the festival hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis, and the burials of King Shoshenq II and King Psusennes I at Tanis.

The rulers of dynasties 21 and 22 did not invent the use of the past as a feature of kingship in ancient Egypt. This conceit had been a fundamental part of Egyptian religious thought since the earliest dynasties. But in a corner of the discipline in which very little is able to be firmly solidified, turning to visual material to learn more about the Third Intermediate Period will be a profitable exercise. After all, chronology and strict history are useful only in that they can tell us what *happened*. Art and iconography, which are open to multiple meanings and several interpretations, can tell us much about what their creators and patrons wanted or needed to believe, and in a much-contested subject area, that should prove invaluable.[14]

I. On kingship and its uses of the past

In his contribution to *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, David O'Connor has documented that the frequently mentioned archaism of the subsequent Late Period (712-332 BCE) has been traditionally considered a "national schizophrenia

[14] Of course, art and history are in no way diametrically opposed; they merely have distinct types of usefulness. An understanding of historical context is generally imperative in understanding art, and it is only because so much groundwork has been laid by the scholars of ancient Egyptian history that we are able to turn to iconography as a tool for interpretation.

characteristic of a culture in a state of advanced decay. … Archaism reflected a deliberate effort to expunge the memories of the Third Intermediate Period."[15] O'Connor reframes this as the complex response of a society trying to collectively manage "greatly changed circumstances," but that the Late Period was not a time of utter disrepair. To this effect, the term "Saite renaissance" has been used to describe Dynasty 26 (664-525 BCE), implying that the preceding Third Intermediate Period was without stable government and quality art, roughly analogous to how until recently, the Italian Renaissance has been viewed as a light at the end of the European dark ages.[16] Such a vocabulary is damning from the outset. Moreover, it disregards the recent, still-developing idea that the inception of this trend toward archaism actually occurred during the Third Intermediate Period itself.[17]

Archaism as a worldview implies a certain kind of nostalgia. But the inclination to look back at Egyptian history was not a new feature in the Third Intermediate or Late periods. A heightened attention to the past is merely a re-focusing, or a sharpening of a societal tendency that was in place long before this time. It should also be noted that the Egyptian worldview never included the

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[15] O'Connor in *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, p. 195. For a comprehensive treatment of the archaism of the Late Period, see P. D. Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993).

[16] See, for example, Claus Jurman, "From the Libyan Dynasties to the Kushites in Memphis: Historical Problems and Cultural Issues," in *The Libyan Period in Egypt* (Leiden: Peeters Leuven, 2009), 131.

[17] Ibid., 129-132; "Summary of the Discussion Sessions During the Conference," in *The Libyan Period in Egypt* (Leiden: Peeters Leuven, 2009), 443.: "On the topic of archaism in the art of the reign of Takeloth III, John Taylor referred to a statuette in the British Museum (EA 37326) … it has only been published by Petrie in his *History of Egypt* … its proportions, with a short distance between the waist and neck, are archaising. Moreover, the king wears an amulet around his neck identical to those on sculptures of late 12th dynasty kings. … Fazzini expressed his opinion that archaism may be found already earlier in the Libyan Period and that it appears to be of growing importance throughout the period as a whole." See also Robert Ritner, "Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian," in *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko Upon His Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005* (Providence, R.I. Dept. of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, Brown University, 2008), 309.

tendency to look forward to anything other than death, which was ideally a continuation of daily life itself. Contemporary Western society is aspirational, but ancient Egyptian society was constantly focused on maintaining the status quo.[18]

At its heart, the most basic underlying tenet of ancient Egypt was *maat*, the concept often personified as a goddess (due to the grammatically feminine gender of the term) or represented by the *maat* ostrich feather glyph,[19] which is frequently translated as something like "justice" or "order."[20] These are fair approximations of the term, which (like most Egyptian concepts) is best defined by its diametric opposite, in this case, *isft*, or chaos. *Maat* was brought into being when the world was first created, perfect from the start and forever after under the auspices of the king.[21] Therefore, for the ancient Egyptians, to reflect on and glory in the past was to revel in the static, balanced nature of their society. To look forward was to strain for a glimpse of uncertainty, a notion that may very well have terrified an Egyptian.

Egyptian religious thought developed as a multiplicity of approaches, which manifested themselves through layering older concepts inside of newer concepts.[22] Layers of religious thought buried inside other layers also manifested themselves visually in iconography and images. A prominent example of this phenomenon is the

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[18] Obviously, in practice this is not always 100 percent realized, as Egyptian art does develop and evolve considerably.
[19] Gardiner's H6, itself an abbreviation of C10.
[20] This concept is so pervasive in Egyptology and so nuanced that it defies definitive reference. Nevertheless, for a basic overview see Emily Teeter, "Maat," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), http://www.oxford-ancientegypt.com/entry?entry=t176.e0423.
[21] Bruce G Trigger, ed., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 186; Redford, *Pharaonic Annals, King-Lists, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, 4:131.
[22] Ann Macy Roth, "Buried Pyramids and Layered Thoughts: The Organization of Multiple Approaches in Egyptian Religion," *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, England, 1995* 82, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (1998): 991-1003.

burial of King Tutankhamun, in which a body is wrapped in linen, covered in a mask, sealed in three coffins, and entombed in a sarcophagus, which is then shrouded in four shrines.[23] This assemblage is interred in an inner chamber of a tomb, which would have required traveling through an antechamber and a passageway to enter. A parallel type of burial is established at the royal necropolis in Tanis, where the mortal remains of kings are interred inside varying numbers of multiple coffins and sarcophagi and physically brought together in a group tomb, which is located within the precinct of the temple of Amun there. From a standpoint of sheer practicality, these types of burials are excessive, because a corpse really needs only one coffin, if that. To the Egyptian mind, however, more is almost always better.

So too it is with the concept of kingship itself. The ideal world was one in which a king was forever on the throne of Egypt, and every successive king was merely an aspect of the cosmological office of king of Egypt, which had been in existence from the inception of the known world, or the separation of order from chaos.[24] The distinction between the physical king living on earth and the greater office of which he was merely a successive holder must be acknowledged, for the idea that the king is an everlasting fixture is at odds with the basic fact that human beings die.[25] The king was a religious figurehead and the holder of a divine office, but he was also a temporal monarch whose responsibilities included sitting at the head of a large bureaucratic administration that ran ancient Egypt, the political

[23] Ibid., 996-997.
[24] Redford, *Pharaonic Annals, King-Lists, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, 4:xvii-xviii.
[25] David O'Connor and David P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), xix-xx.

entity, on a daily basis.[26] To this extent, the exact meaning of kingship, that is, which aspects of the institution were emphasized or embraced in any given epoch or reign, shifted over Egyptian history.[27]

One of the prevailing approaches to the study of the Third Intermediate Period over the past 50 years has been the question of how ethnically Libyan or Egyptian its monarchs were. If "these people were culturally Egyptian but retained a defining ethnic and military identity" from their Libyan origins, what are we to do with the fact that they were iconographically presented as Egyptian kings visually indistinguishable from those of the New Kingdom,[28] or that they often and extensively reused monuments and relics of previous rulers in their own capital city of Tanis?

Scholars have seen the Libyan characteristics of these dynasties as contradictory to their representations as Egyptian rulers.[29] These Libyan-Egyptians tended to write extensive genealogies that reflected the tribal/nomadic Libyan culture and social structure, often in lieu of constructing extensive king lists.[30] That said, "The notion of 'tribe' is particularly valuable for understanding the nature of Libyan kingship," and is in harmony with the historic mode of kingship we have already established.[31] The genealogical focus of the Libyan dynasties is analogous to the ideal continuum of kingship, passing from father to son. If inherent in every

[26] Trigger, *Ancient Egypt*, 208.
[27] O'Connor and Silverman, *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 49.
[28] Ibid., 35-6.
[29] Robert Ritner, "Fragmentation and Re-integration in the Third Intermediate Period," in *The Libyan Period in Egypt* (Leiden: Peeters Leuven, 2009), 327-340.
[30] Redford, *Pharaonic Annals, King-Lists, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, 4:29, 62.
[31] Ritner, "Fragmentation and Re-integration in the Third Intermediate Period," 333.

Egyptian king is the reign of every previous Egyptian king, the institution of kingship itself is something like a multi-layered concept, in which each previous king represents his own layer. In this way, the institution of kingship can be described as resembling a snowball rolling down a hill, becoming increasingly larger as it accumulates snow. As we shall see, to inter a number of kings together in a group tomb, with multiple relics of previous rulers, within a temple precinct at a site constructed largely from material that had *already been reused by a previous king*, is a physical manifestation of the aspects of kingship the Third Intermediate Period rulers wanted to emphasize. Their Libyan cultural values were not in opposition to the basic tenets of Egyptian religious thought. The Libyan genealogies trace the relationships between office-holders, just as the father-son dynamic of the Egyptians intends to do.

These tenets of the Egyptian approach to the past can be discerned in the visual material the culture produced. A significant aspect of the cycle of history was the re-establishment of *maat* following periods of disruption.[32] An example of this trope is on display in the restoration stela of Tutankhamun (1330 BCE), in which the text laments that the

> *temples of the gods and goddesses … [had] fallen into neglect … The land was in confusion, the gods forsook this land. … If an [army was] sent … to widen the frontiers of Egypt, it met with no success at all. … If one prayed to a god to ask things of him, [in no wise] did he come.*[33]

[32] Redford, *Pharaonic Annals, King-Lists, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, 4:xix, 259-275.
[33] John Bennett, "The Restoration Inscription of Tut'ankhamun," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25, no. 1 (June 1939): 9.

Clearly, chaos reigned. But with the fortitude of Tutankhamun, this situation was rightly ameliorated:

> *Behold His Majesty was in his palace … and His Majesty was administering this land, and making daily governance of the Two Riverbanks. Then His Majesty took counsel with his heart, searching out every excellent occasion, seeking what was beneficial to his father Amun … He has added to what was done in former time, he has fashioned (an image of) his father Amun upon thirteen carrying-poles … whereas formerly the majesty of this august god had been upon eleven carrying-poles.*[34]

A few themes emerge from this stela. One is the assertion of the king's ability to effectively govern the land in an administrative capacity. Another is the duty of the king to glorify the gods. There is an inherent reference to continuity: there had been order in Egypt before the gods were abandoned and the military floundered; there will be disorder again in the future, but it will be righted again. There is also a statement about adding to works done by previous kings. Tutankhamun has not only reestablished and perpetuated the cycle of ritual dedication; he has in fact expanded it and improved upon it. In a seminal thesis on the treatment of predecessors' royal monuments, Gun Bjorkman pointed to Thutmose I's proclaiming, "I have strengthened (*srwḏ*) what was in ruin (*w3sw*), I have surpassed what had been done before … I give in excess of what was done by the other kings who existed before me."[35]

[34] Ibid.
[35] Gun Bjorkman, *Kings at Karnak: A Study of the Treatment of the Monuments of Royal Predecessors in the Early New Kingdom*, vol. 2, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilization (Uppsala: Ka-We Tryck, 1971), 29.

A physical example of this idea exists in the form of the temple. A genre of text popular in the New Kingdom was the restoration dedication.[36] As will be discussed later, the Libyan ruler Shoshenq I actively participated in this narrative of temple restoration by building the so-called Bubastite portal at Karnak Temple.[37] Karnak Temple itself is a synthesis of these ideas about layering, enlarging, strengthening, and surpassing; the initial temple was added to by a succession of later kings, radiating out from the original structure in a series of pylons and courts. Shoshenq's addition to Karnak is a way of inserting himself into this narrative. Similar actions were taken by Osorkon II at Bubastis; arguably, the Tanis necropolis is a variation on the same theme.

Perhaps the piece of evidence that best ties together the themes of history as used by Libyan Period kings is the site of Tanis itself, which was comprised of multiple reused monuments, most of which had been imported from Ramses II's Delta capital of Pi-Ramses (1290 BCE). Many of the Pi-Ramses monuments were themselves reused items, some coming from as early as the Old Kingdom. Pillars from the Eastern Temple at Tanis, part of the larger Temple of Amun complex, came to Tanis in this way, and were ancient by the time they were re-installed at Tanis.[38] **[FIGURE 2]** To further link himself to the past, Osorkon II reinscribed the pillars

[36] For an overview, see J. McClain, "Restoration inscriptions and the tradition of monumental restoration" (United States -- Illinois: The University of Chicago, 2007).
[37] Robert Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 193-213.
[38] Pierre Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau d'Osorkon II a Tanis* (Paris, 1947), 29-33.

with his cartouches. While the king's given name, Osorkon, seems Libyan in origin, he shares his prenomen, *Usermaatre*, with Ramses II.[39]

The site of Tanis is littered with re-used monuments. Egyptologists have been in the habit of referring to this type of material as having been "usurped."[40] This word has unmistakable pejorative connotations. It is also the product of a modern Western culture that sees objects as belonging specifically to one person, and ownership as a concrete status. One of the findings of this paper is that with regard to royal monuments, the continuum of kingship allows for the current king to be the 'owner,' of all that belonged to or was commissioned by previous monarchs. Therefore, for a Third Intermediate Period king to re-use a monument at Tanis should not be viewed as an act that in the modern view amounts to stealing. Simply put, a column from Pi-Ramses does not 'belong' to Ramses II; it belongs to the king of Egypt, which is both a temporal office and a cosmological role. Materials and human beings are transitive, but the idea of the king of Egypt is not.

It is perhaps too much to ask that this term be forever banished from Egyptology. The idea that the Tanite kings were 'usurpers' who essentially stole things that did not 'belong' to them, though, is at best a gross oversimplification, and at worst thoroughly erroneous. Any work dealing with the reuse of earlier visual material should avoid confusing the re-appropriation of a monument with outright usurpation, which it surely was not.

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[39] "Le nom de banniere est celui de Ramses II," Ibid., 32. See also Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch Der Ägyptischen Königsnamen* (P. von Zabern, 1999), 152-7, 186-7.

[40] Perhaps this phenomenon is most egregious in Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, and Paintings*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1934). , in which nearly every monument at Tanis is described as 'usurped.'

II. Egyptological approaches to the Third Intermediate Period, and a historiography of the site of Tanis

Before anything about Tanis or its kings can be discussed, it is imperative to review the literature on this subject. This will give us good insight as to why and how the current state of thinking came to be. Today there are essentially three approaches to dealing with the Third Intermediate Period: one which is grounded in social history, one which is concerned with the visual material found primarily at Tanis in the Eastern Delta, and one which is wholly devoted to questions of chronology. Each of these is an outgrowth of larger trends in the field of Egyptology itself. At a 2007 conference on the "Libyan Period in Egypt" held at Leiden University, Aidan Dodson opened his paper with the following remarks:

> *When looking back at the writing of Egyptian history over the past two centuries, one sees — very much like Egyptian history itself! — periods of stability alternating with periods of chaos. Thus, for a given era of history, there will be a decade or so during which there is something approximating consensus on what was going on, with historical studies aimed at refining that common understanding. Then, these studies begin to raise issues that challenge the consensus, leading to its collapse and the development of a number of more-or-less incompatible theories that may, in time, lead to a new consensus.*[41]

It is interesting to me that Dodson brings together the cycle of continuity and disruption with the study of the Libyan Period. For many decades, little was known about this epoch, aside from what was gleaned from Manetho. It was thought to be a time of "anarchy," although that conception was dismissed by the 1980s.[42]

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[41] *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 103.
[42] Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," 58; Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, 1-2.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Delta, the primary locus of dynasties 21 and 22, was attached to Pi-Ramses, the capital city constructed by Ramses II. A possible connection to the Old Testament store cities of Pithom and Ramses fueled farther speculation.[43] Pi-Ramses' exact location, however, was unknown. A number of monuments littering the site of Tanis bore inscriptions of Ramses the Great, leading Egyptologists at this time to assume that Tanis and Pi-Ramses had to have been one and the same. During the 1883-84 season, W.M.F. Petrie worked at the site of Tanis, and later described it as follows:

> *Beyond the civilized regions of modern Egypt, past even the country palm-groves, where a stranger is rarely seen, there stretches out to the Mediterranean a desolation of mud and swamp, impassable in winter, and only dried into an impalatable salt dust by the heat of midsummer. To tell the land from water, to say where the mud ends and the lakes begin, requires a long experience; the flat expanse, as level as the sea, covered with slowly drying salt pools, may be crossed for miles, with only the dreary changes of dust, black mud, water, and black mud again, which it is impossible to define as more land than water or more water than land. The only objects which break the flatness of the barren horizon are the low mounds of the cities of the dead; these alone remain to show that this region was once a living land, whose people prospered on the earth.*[44] **[FIGURE 3]**

Petrie left Tanis after digging for one season.[45] His departure may have been due to his apparent dislike for the environs, although Petrie was notoriously peripatetic. In 1933, Alan Gardiner announced that "*unless Tanis is Pi-Ramesse*, not one single

[43] Exodus 1:11: "So [the Egyptians] put slave masters over [the Israelites] to oppress them with forced labor, and they built Pithom and Ramses as store cities for Pharaoh." Colin A. Hope, *Gold of the Pharaohs* (Museum of Victoria: International Cultural Corporation of Australia Limited, 1988), 9.
[44] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tanis: Part I, 1883-4, Second Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund* (London: Messrs. Trubner & Co., 1885), 1.
[45] Patricia Spencer, ed., *The Egypt Exploration Society - the early years*, Occasional Publication 16 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), 38, 48.

mention of Tanis would be forthcoming in all the papyri, ostraca, and hieroglyphic inscriptions surviving from the Ramesside period."[46]

The re-use of New Kingdom visual material is obviously notable, if not necessarily unusual, but scholars who argued for the identification of Tanis with the Hyksos capital of Avaris or Pi-Ramses were misguided. Early Egyptologists may be excused for conflating these important Delta capitals, because there is certainly a surplus of archaeological material bearing the name of Ramses at the site.[47] Moreover, the precise location of Pi-Ramses has to this day never been confirmed, although current guesses place it between Qantir and el-Khata'na, an opinion advanced by Eric Uphill as early as 1969. That same year, Labib Habachi also wrote of the strong candidacy of Qantir as the site of Pi-Ramses, which he felt *was* the Biblical city of Ramses.[48] Despite this, the identification of Pi-Ramses with Tanis persisted until at least the mid-1980s.[49]

Useful sources for descriptions of these re-used monuments are Petrie's 1885 memoir and volume No. 4 of Porter and Moss' *Topographical Bibliography*, which has not been revised since 1934, five years prior to Montet's discovery of the royal necropolis, but which lists in convenient catalogue-fashion everything known

[46] Alan H. Gardiner, "Tanis and Pi-Ra'messe: A Retractation," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 19, no. 3/4 (November 1933): 126.
[47] Including that of his mother. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, and Paintings*, 4:14.
[48] Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archèaologischen Instituts Kairo. ptische Reihe Bd. 5 (Glèuckstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1969), 27.
[49] Edgar B. Pusch, "Piramesse," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); John van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966), 132; E. P. Uphill, "Pithom and Raamses: Their Location and Significance," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 28, no. 1 (1969): 15-39; Trigger, *Ancient Egypt*, 235.

at the site up to that date.[50] What sorts of things have been found at Tanis? In brief, a bit of everything: "obelisques, colonnes, bas-reliefs, muraux, stèles, statues de tout format."[51] Petrie records statue bases in black granite with both 12th-dynasty and Ramesside inscriptions;[52] "early obelisks" previously re-used by Ramses II;[53] and monolithic columns with shaft and capital carved from a single block, originally belonging to Ramses but later re-inscribed by Shoshenq III.[54]

It was not until Pierre Montet uncovered the royal tombs at Tanis in 1939 that attention began to shift from guessing games to the rich visual material excavated there. Montet's final publication of his discoveries, *La Nécropole Royal de Tanis*, was published in three volumes from 1947 to 1960.[55] Unfortunately, due to any number of factors, including the disruption of excavation during the Second World War, Montet's discovery never received the type of media fanfare that the tomb of Tutankhamun had received 17 years previously. Surely it did not help that Dynasty 18 kings are overall better attested than those of the Libyan Period, as monuments at Thebes, which does not share the Delta's fertile environs, remain visible and well-preserved.[56] Nevertheless, some scholarship on the visual material from the Tanis tombs exists, although this has tended to manifest itself in the form of exhibitions and their catalogues, with sensational titles like *Gold of the Pharaohs*

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[50] Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, and Paintings*, 4:13-26.
[51] Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau d'Osorkon II a Tanis*, 23.
[52] Petrie, *Tanis: Part I, 1883-4, Second Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund*, 19.
[53] Ibid., 16.
[54] Ibid., 14.
[55] Pierre Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis* (Paris, 1951, 1960).
[56] "It is commonplace that the survival of ancient remains there has historically been much worse than in the Nile Valley, and that the higher water table has made excavation both technically difficult and expensive, hence comparatively rate." Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," 52.

or *Tanis: Tresors des Pharaons.*[57] More recently, Gerard Broekman and Aidan Dodson have treated the canopic and funerary equipment in the tombs; Kenneth Kitchen has also issued a recent entreaty to further investigate the meaning of the falcon-headed coffins found in the royal necropolis.[58]

In 1972, Kitchen produced *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, 1100-650 B.C.*, which received a subsequent revision in 1986, and a new preface in 1995, which detailed advances that had been made in the 23 years since the book's initial publication and the ways in which Kitchen disagreed with nearly all of them.[59] Kitchen's book has framed the study of this period around chronology, and remains the point from which most work on this period has since departed.[60]

Kitchen's book is strictly concerned with chronology, which and how many kings belong to each dynasty, and how long each ruled. Kitchen is preoccupied with filling in every gap in this period's history to the point of near-obsession. Without his book, there would be little if any ongoing conversation to be had about the Libyan Period. Kitchen's method seems to be using archaeological evidence to faithfully reconstruct the work of Manetho.[61]

A second group of scholars, often referred to as "the Birmingham school," has emerged, trusting Manetho far less than Kitchen, to the extent that they have raised

[57] Klaus Baer, "The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt: Notes on the Chronology of Dynasties XXII to XXVI," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32, no. 1/2 (April 1973): 4-25; Hope, *Gold of the Pharaohs*; *Tanis: L'or des Pharaons* (Paris: Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, Association Francaise d'Ation Artistique, 1987); Henri Stierlin and Christiane Ziegler, *Tanis: Tresors des Pharaons* (Fribourg: Office du Livre S.A., 1987).
[58] *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 190.
[59] Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, 1100-650 B.C*.
[60] As Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," 52.
[61] Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, 1100-650 B.C*, xxviii.

numerous and substantial doubts about Kitchen's reconstructions.[62] David Aston, Anthony Leahy, and John Taylor have continued to contribute intermittently to the discussion of Libyan period chronology. Since the publication of *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, two conferences have been held on the topic: in 1986 at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, organized by Leahy;[63] and again in 2007 in Leiden, organized by Gerard Broekman.[64] At the conclusion of the Leiden conference, the papers from which were published in a single volume two years later, the attendees were able to reach only one consensus, on the order and numbering of kings named Shoshenq.[65]

There has also been discussion over the years concerning to what extent the Libyan kings were Egyptianized. This relates to a type of writing about the Third Intermediate Period that may as well be classified as social history, as it is primarily concerned with the organization and character of governance at the time, and what ethnic identity may or may not have had to do with it. O'Connor has written on this,[66] but more focused work has been produced by Robert Ritner and Leahy, both of whom argue that the tenor of kingship during the Third Intermediate Period was, essentially, Libyan in character rather than Egyptian.[67]

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[62] *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, vii; K. A Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact and Fiction," in *The Libyan Period in Egypt* (Leiden: Peeters Leuven, 2009), ??.
[63] *Libya and Egypt, C1300-750 BC* (London: SOAS Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies and the Society for Libyan Studies, 1990).
[64] *The Libyan Period in Egypt*.
[65] Ibid., 444-5.
[66] O'Connor, "The Nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) Society in the Later New Kingdom."; Trigger, *Ancient Egypt*, 183-242.
[67] Ritner, "Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian."; Ritner, "Fragmentation and Re-integration in the Third Intermediate Period."; Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," 54-60.

To Leahy, the persistent visual representations of the Libyan kings as indistinguishable from earlier rulers in keeping with the iconographic canon are little more than "trappings of Egyptian kingship maintained by people to whom they have little meaning."[68] Ritner has written that the fragmentary nature of government in this period reflects the basic Libyan societal structure: "The retention of tribal structure, with its basis in kinship confederations, is indicated not only by the multiplicity of tribal titles but by a concomitant — and tolerated — political fragmentation (or decentralization) that perverts traditional notions of a united Egyptian kingship."[69] The idea that it is possible to determine how people who lived 3000 years ago felt about their own identity is best left aside for now.

In 2009, Broekman published a paper on the iconographic significance of falcon-headed coffins and cartonnages.[70] Ritner has also recently produced a volume of translations from the Third Intermediate Period under the title *The Libyan Anarchy*.[71] Yet even as our knowledge of the Libyan period increases and more scholars enter the discussion, there remains little if any consensus on dating and numbering kings, and even less consideration for the greater relevance of this information. It is possible that further archaeological evidence may come to light, advancing our ability to draw conclusions about this period. But barring any future discoveries, it is now necessary to formulate theories about, essentially, what it all means. The present undertaking is then an effort to use that data which is already

[68] Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," 59.
[69] Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, 2-3; See also Ritner, "Fragmentation and Re-integration in the Third Intermediate Period."
[70] G. P. F Broekman, "Falcon-Headed Coffins and Cartonnages," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 95 (2009): 67-82.
[71] Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*.

available, namely visual material from the Delta cities of Tanis and Bubastis, to form a concrete hypothesis about the greater meaning of Third Intermediate Period kingship.

III. On the so-called festival hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis

Third Intermediate Period kingship was concentrated in the Delta region, particularly at the sites of Tanis and Bubastis. Today, the primary feature of Tanis is the remnant of its great temple to Amun, underneath which Montet discovered the royal tombs. Bubastis was the cultic center of the goddess Bastet, where King Osorkon II created an entryway decorated with reliefs portraying his Sed festival of the 22nd year of his reign.[72]

The Sed festival reliefs of Osorkon II were published in 1892 by Edouard Naville, as an expansion of his earlier work on the site of Bubastis.[73] Naville had discovered a number of fragmentary inscriptions, a "heap of granite blocks," which he realized belonged to the same monument.[74] Upon further consideration, Naville determined that the structure the fragments belonged to was a great hall of about 80 by 120 feet, largely uninscribed, and that the relief fragments all belonged to the entranceway. **[FIGURE 4]** References to the "festival hall," therefore, are something of a misnomer, as only the entryway is inscribed. The hall was seemingly originally

[72] Edouard Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)*, Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund 10 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trèubner, 1892).
[73] Edouard Naville, *Bubastis. (1887-1889)*, Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 8 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trèubner & co, 1891).
[74] Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)*, v.

constructed by Pepi I, and was subsequently destroyed and rebuilt repeatedly, first by Ramses II, then Osorkon I, and finally by Osorkon II.[75]

Naville estimated that his reconstruction incorporated roughly one-third of the original inscription, and cautioned that much of his work was that of conjecture.[76] The only extensive subsequent analysis of the gateway, conducted by Eva Lange, does not question Naville's work of 120 years before.[77] Ritner, in *The Libyan Anarchy*, provides the most complete translation to date, but does not offer much beyond brief and cursory speculation in his introduction to the text.[78] Other works dealing with Sed festivals generally have been produced by Eric Uphill and by Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin.[79]

The subject of the reliefs is that of a Sed festival held during regnal year 22 of Osorkon II.[80] Lange notes that while there are many known representations of a king dressed for or participating in the Sed festival, very few depictions of the entirety of the festival are extant. In particular, she addresses those of King Amenhotep III (18th Dynasty, 1391-1353 BCE) at Soleb and in Theban Tomb 192, that of Kheruef; and those of King Niuserre (5th dynasty, 2416-2392 BCE) at Abu Ghurob.[81] Naville's interpretation is focused on Soleb, but also uses the Harris

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[75] Ibid., 2.
[76] Ibid., v-vi; Eric Uphill, "The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24, no. 4 (October 1965): 365-6.
[77] Eva Lange, "The Sed-Festival Reliefs of Osorkon II at Bubastis: New Investigations," in *The Libyan Period in Egypt* (Leiden: Peeters Leuven, 2009), 203-218. The paper is a synopsis of Lange's dissertation, to be published as *Ritualepisoden: Das Sedfest-Tor Osorkons II. in Bubastis* (forthcoming).
[78] Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, 291-341.
[79] Uphill, "The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites."; Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Neue Studien Zum Sedfest*, Aegyptiaca Helvetica Bd. 20 (Basel: Schwabe, 2006).
[80] Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)*, 6.
[81] Lange, "The Sed-Festival Reliefs of Osorkon II at Bubastis: New Investigations," 212-3.

Papyrus of Ramses III as a textual reference.[82] Lange addresses the lack of a definitive publication concerning the context and meaning of the Sed festival, which complicates interpretations of the scenes of Osorkon participating in one: "In the majority of the cases they [studies of Sed festival scenes] treat the subject in a cursory way, basing [sic] on a methodless synopsis of the sources."[83]

As detailed outlines of the exact inscriptions at Bubastis are provided by Naville, Uphill, Lange, and Ritner, there is no need to recreate one here. A compelling question about the Sed reliefs remains, why did Osorkon stage his jubilee in year 22 of his reign, rather than waiting for what the Egyptological community has come to accept as a standard 30-year marker?[84] Unfortunately, at this time there is no concrete answer, although Naville theorizes that Osorkon may be counting 8 additional years of his predecessor.[85]

A more accessible route of inquiry may begin with the nature and meaning of the Sed festival itself. Apart from Lange, scholars seem to be intent on reconstructing exactly what it was that occurred at a jubilee. But searching for an exact blueprint for a Sed festival may be unproductive, since the ephemeral nature of the ritual may defy exact reconstruction. It is highly unlikely that each festival,

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[82] Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)*, 4-5.
[83] Lange, "The Sed-Festival Reliefs of Osorkon II at Bubastis: New Investigations," 215.
[84] Doubts have been raised about the authority of the 30-year sed; see Andrzej Cwiek, "Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom: Studies in the Development, Scene Content and Iconography" (Warsaw: Warsaw University, 2003), 225. Hornung and Staehelin have written that the Greek term for the Sed festival supports the 30-year claim, and kings such as Amenhotep III are said to have celebrated Sed festivals in regnal year 30. See Hornung and Staehelin, *Neue Studien Zum Sedfest*, 9; David O'Connor, *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign* (University of Michigan Press, 2001), 17-8.
[85] Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)*, 6. Naville is also careful to note that there is no room in the inscription for a missing glyph V 20, *md*, that would bring the regnal year up to 32. Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 2005), 524.

even those of a king who held more than one, was exactly the same. Of the scenes of funeral rites in private tombs, Jan Assman has written, "The depictions present us with a picture, sanctified by tradition, of something that might actually have occurred at an early point in time, but which is only marginally related to what was done later."[86] There is no reason to approach Sed festival scenes differently. Even in 1892, Naville felt that, "The ritual grew by degrees, as time went on, and probably never was so complicated as under the Ptolemies."[87] This fits the Egyptian pattern of building upon, rather than outright altering, iconographic representations or religious beliefs. It is doubtful that what *happened* at a Sed festival in terms of which gestures, which incantations, and the order in which this took place, was exactly the same over the course of 3000 years, so that each jubilee was essentially a carbon copy of the previous one.

What is left to be said about the meaning of the Sed festival? From context, it is possible to determine the motivations behind individual Sed festivals, or at least their depictions. Uphill focuses on the gift by the gods of millions of years and millions of Sed festivals, assuming that this "suggests the king's desire for a means to increase the length of his life and reign."[88] Ritner calls these reliefs a depiction of a "pivotal ritual of divine kingship," adding that the festival was "designed to reinvigorate the waning powers of an elder king."[89] Lange also notes the repetition of the "millions of years" and "millions of Sed-festivals" granted to the king by the

[86] Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2005), 299.
[87] Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)*, 6.
[88] Uphill, "The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites," 373.
[89] Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, 291.

gods directly, in particular by Thoth and Bastet, who is understandably prominent at Bubastis.[90]

On the northern side of the eastern façade, that is, the exterior of the gateway, and on the wall to the viewer's right if he is entering the hall, Osorkon is followed by Thoth, and approached by the goddess Bastet.[91] **[FIGURE 5]** She offers life, literally, an *ankh,* to the nose of the king, and says, "I shall give life and dominion to your nose. I shall give to you the years of Re." Between Bastet and Osorkon, the text is descriptive: "She [will give] to you jubilees of 12 [years] each […], you appearing on the Horus throne, having overthrown the Libyans by your might (?), which came forth from me." The King is labeled "Usima'resetepenamon, Osorkon, beloved of Amon, Son of Bastet," and so forth. Additionally, Thoth is here labeled "resident in Bubastis."[92]

Although Osorkon is *s3 b3st.t*, the son of Bastet, all over the Bubastis reliefs, it is appropriate to understand this epithet in the context of the goddess offering life to the king directly. Third Intermediate Period kings are often given the label "Son of Bastet" or "Son of Isis" (*s3 3s.t*).[93] Egyptologists have debated what this means. For Jean Yoyotte, these epithets indicate a distinction between north and south; Brian Muhs has theorized that they distinguish between competing dynasties.[94] For Kitchen, the use of the epithet "Son of Bastet" is obviously related to Bubastis, where

[90] Lange, "The Sed-Festival Reliefs of Osorkon II at Bubastis: New Investigations," 204.
[91] Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)*, pl. xvii.
[92] Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, 299.
[93] Brian Muhs, "Partisan Royal Epithets in the Late Third Intermediate Period and the Dynastic Affiliations of Pedubast I and Iuput II," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 84 (1998): 220-223.
[94] Ibid., 222.

Bastet is the focus of worship.[95] There is no reason to dispute this. Kitchen also discards the theory that the Bastet and Isis epithets relate to Lower and Upper Egypt, respectively: " 'Son of Isis' was the perfect alternative to 'Son of Bast,' and fitted their new palatial context precisely for new rulers in Leontopolis, a century of so after Shoshenq I had had his country estate nearby."[96] This is in contrast to an older theory that the "son of Isis" tag may refer to a possible relationship to Thebes.

It is easy enough to accept that this pair of epithets relates to regional affiliation within the Delta itself. It seems, though, that a strong point to make would be their interchangeability. Based on the role of the goddess in the cycle of continuous kingship, it is likely that Bastet is simply in this case an avatar of Isis at Bubastis. The fact is that the king is both the son of Isis and the son of Bastet simultaneously. The function of a goddess giving life to the king, whether literally (as in the Bubastis reliefs, where he breathes in the life she offers to him) or figuratively, assumes the idea that a goddess is a kind of 'type,' and that all different goddesses are merely aspects of the same idea. Therefore, it seems that these epithets are not the result of factionalism, but a basic representation of the continuous cycle of divine kingship. On the small golden shrine of Tutankhamun, for example, the king is both "born to Sekhmet" and "born to Mut."[97] All of these goddesses are representative of the divine queenship that helps perpetuate divine kingship;[98] these epithets cannot possibly be contradictory. The cult of Isis and

[95] Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact and Fiction," 175.
[96] Ibid., 175-6.
[97] Gay Robins, "The Small Golden Shrine of Tutankhamun: An Interpretation," in *Millions of Jubilles in Honor of David P. Silverman 2*, ed. Zahi Hawass and J. H. Wegner (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2010), 207-232.
[98] Ibid. 213-218

Horus in the Delta at Khemmis also grew in popularity at this time, which strengthens Osorkon's association with Isis, Bastet, and mother goddesses in general.[99] The proliferation of figurines depicting Horus receiving strength from Isis in the form of milk echoes the image of Bastet bestowing upon Osorkon literal years of rule.

To conclude this overview of the Sed festival reliefs from the hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis, here is what we can surmise. It is likely that something approximating a copy book would have existed and been consulted, although there is no archaeological evidence to support this, and while logical, such an idea remains in the realm of conjecture. Although there are few visual records of Sed festivals surviving from ancient Egypt, none of which are complete, it appears that this one does not deviate substantially from other extant examples. For reliefs at Bubastis to so closely mirror those at Soleb in Nubia, either the ritual would have had to have been so deeply ingrained in Egyptian culture that artists or priests working with or for Osorkon had a common frame of reference for it, or someone would have had to have specifically gone to Sudan on what constitutes a pilgrimage to look at the temple, which seems highly unlikely. It is less even likely that Theban Tomb No. 192 would have been consulted, although it was much closer, due to the fact that scenes in the tomb of Kheruef do not correspond to those at Bubastis. The cult of the deified

[99] Marie-Ange Bonhême and Annie Forgeau, *Pharaon: Les Secrets Du Pouvoir* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1988), 70-2.

Amenhotep III as maintained at Soleb would have been of great interest to a ruler emphasizing his place in the greater continuum of kingship.[100]

It stands to reason that there was some motivation on the part of Osorkon II to faithfully reproduce this basic ritual of kingship. As Lange has surmised, the Sed ritual seems not to be a literal reinvigoration of a dying old ruler, but an affirmation of the divine role of the king.[101] The question of why Osorkon II celebrated this ritual in year 22 of his reign should remain open, although it is unlikely to lead to a definitive conclusion given the lack of evidence that the Sed festival was, in fact, 'canonically' celebrated in regnal year 30, or at any fixed point. Moreover, further comparison of the Bubastis reliefs with those from Soleb, as well as those from Abu Ghurob, is due. For now, Lange's theories about the nature of jubilees as "periodic renewal of the royal legitimacy"[102] can be accepted, and bolster our argument about the Third Intermediate Period use of historic kingship. It seems reasonable to assume that both the Bubastis reliefs and the possible ritual event they depict are seeking to embody a kind of cultural memory. The jubilee had been performed in the past and, presumably, would be performed again at a later date. Osorkon is inserting himself into a recognizable continuity of ritual.

IV. On the burial of Shoshenq II

[100] Arielle P Kozloff, Cleveland Museum of Art and Kimbell Art Museum, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (France), *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art in cooperation with Indiana sity Press, 1992).
[101] Lange, "The Sed-Festival Reliefs of Osorkon II at Bubastis: New Investigations," 216-8.
[102] Ibid., 218.

The burial of Shoshenq II[103] (Dynasty 22, 900 BCE) is a secondary or intrusive interment contained in the vestibule of the greater tomb of Psusennes I (Dynasty 21, 1040-992 BCE).[104] The royal necropolis at Tanis itself is a physical representation of historic kingship, in that it is an example of layering, and contains the burials of multiple rulers. Although Shoshenq's mortuary equipment is not the Tanis find best-known to the general public who would be more familiar with Psusennes' gold death mask, from the same tomb,[105] his burial is probably the most striking, as evidenced by Montet's initial sketch of the silhouette it cast on first view of the vestibule.[106] **[FIGURE 6]** This assemblage will provide a suitable analytical tool with which to approach the subject of historic kingship.[107] Of particular note are Shoshenq II's falcon-headed silver coffin and black-and-gold cartonnage.[108]

[FIGURES 7 & 8]

There is precedent for falcon-headed burial assemblages in Egypt and six total are known at this time.[109] All of these burials are dated to the Third Intermediate Period or slightly thereafter, and the context of this feature is assumed

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[103] As per the findings of the 2007 Leiden conference, the king buried in the vestibule of the larger tomb of Psusennes I at Tanis, Heqakheperre Shoshenq, is currently considered a 'Sheshonq IIa,' where there are also Shoshenqs IIb and IIc —Shoshenqs Tutkheperre and Maakheperre, respectively. For simplicity's sake, as well as in acknowledgement of the fact this is likely to shift at some point, Shoshenq IIa will here also be referred to as Shoshenq II throughout.

[104] Pierre Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis* (Paris, 1951), 36-50; Guy Brunton, "Some Notes on the Burial of Shashanq Heqa-Kheper-Re," *Annales du Service des Antiquities de l'Egypt* 39 (1939): 546.

[105] In some contexts, Psusennes' mask is presented in lieu of that of Tutankhamun as something of an also-ran — it was included in some iterations of the Tut-related traveling exhibition of 2005 to 2010, where Tut's was not.

[106] Pierre Montet, "Decouverte d'une Necropole Royale a Tanis," *Annales du Service des Antiquities de l'Egypt* 39 (1939): pl. xcii.

[107] The prohibitive size of Montet's three-volume tomb publication is evidence of the amount of material extant. The scope of this paper warrants selectivity.

[108] Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, pl. xvii-xx.

[109] Broekman, "Falcon-Headed Coffins and Cartonnages," 69.

to be royal in all cases.[110] The shape of all coffins, cartonnages, and sarcophagi with falcon heads is anthropoid, that is, the bodies of these mummy cases are essentially human, and it is only the facial features that are hawk-like.

The mummy of Shoshenq was not in good condition upon discovery, to the extent that Montet sent for specialists to deal with the human remains, which he felt his team was not prepared to handle.[111] The outermost container is a silver coffin; inside of that was a painted cartonnage with gold foil forming the face of the falcon and some of the details. The original color of the cartonnage was not black, but blue with red details; it had become discolored due to age and poor conditions.[112] The cartonnage now on display in the Cairo museum was in such bad condition that what is currently on view is primarily a reconstruction incorporating the original gold foil work.[113] Within the cartonnage, the corpse was draped with a bead net that had decayed, as well as a gold mask. Guy Brunton, in his analysis of the burial, records a wooden coffin as well.[114] This has proved confusing, as Montet never mentioned such a thing in any of his publications concerning the burial.[115] The mummy was also adorned with a belt of electrum, and a surfeit of jewelry, including amulets, rings, pectorals, pendants, and so forth. He was also shod in gold sandals and his fingers bore gold sheaths. Many of the bracelets which adorned the wrists of

[110] Ibid., 81.
[111] Brunton, "Some Notes on the Burial of Shashanq Heqa-Kheper-Re," 542; Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, 40.
[112] Brunton, "Some Notes on the Burial of Shashanq Heqa-Kheper-Re," 541, 543-4.
[113] Ibid., 542.
[114] Ibid., 544.
[115] G. P. F Broekman, "On the Identity of King Shoshenq Buried in the Vestibule of the Tomb of Psusennes I in Tanis (NRT III). Part I," *Gottinger Miszellen* 211 (2006): 14.

Shoshenq II bear the name of Shoshenq I.[116] Shoshenq II was also buried with canopic equipment which seems not to have originally belonged to him.[117]

The jewelry worn by Heqakheperre Shoshenq is notable because much of it bears the name of Hedjkheperre Shoshenq I, whose own burial has not been discovered, or at least identified. Shoshenq I himself is a particularly notable figure in the Libyan Period; he was the founder of Dynasty 22, and his significant works at Karnak include victory reliefs in which he boasts of having conquered 150 enemy settlements during his Palestinian campaign.[118] At the quarry of Gebel es-Silsilah, he completed a restoration inscription in which he proclaimed, "The Falcon-of-gold … descendent of Horakhty, whom Amun placed upon his throne in order to embellish that which he has begun, in order to found Egypt again … that he made the opening of the quarry anew for beginning the work which the son of Re, Shoshenq-meriamun, did."[119] This is in keeping with a tradition of "great builder kings" of dynasties 18 and 19, who often augmented pre-existing shrines.[120] Shoshenq I, in pursuing serious military and building campaigns, was acting in reference to these strong New Kingdom rulers.

As such, the jewelry of Shoshenq Hedjkheperre found with the mummy of Shoshenq Heqakheperre ties the bearer not only to his recent predecessor, but that longer tradition of kings. One example of such jewelry is a scarab pectoral of gold

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[116] Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, pl. xxix-xxx.
[117] Broekman, "On the Identity of King Shoshenq Buried in the Vestibule of the Tomb of Psusennes I in Tanis (NRT III). Part I," 17.
[118] Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, 193-218.
[119] J. McClain, "Restoration inscriptions and the tradition of monumental restoration" (United States -- Illinois: The University of Chicago, 2007), 261-2.
[120] Ibid., 228-9.

and lapis, which reads *Hedjkheperre*, a rebus formed by the white crowns worn by the snakes flanking the scarab, the scarab itself, and the sun disk atop the scarab's head.[121] **[FIGURE 9]** The white crown belongs to the South, and something could be made of that, but the simplest answer is probably the best; the crown is being used for its phonetic value.

In solar iconography, the scarab beetle generally pushes the sun, but here the arms of the scarab are not to be found. Instead, the pectoral is given balance by the tails of the two snakes, which run through *shen* signs and frame the body of the scarab, finally curling around the sun disk possessively.[122] If the snake tails and the scarab itself are seen as fusing into a single entity with the sun disk, all the while forming the name of Shoshenq I, this object can be read as yet another example of layering, as the name of a king is encoded in a piece of jewelry in the form of the iconographic representation of the rising sun. The pendant can therefore be read in several ways, or as a single object incorporating multiple readings.

Given the importance of naming to the discussion of the identity and burial assemblage of the King Shoshenq interred in the Psusennes I tomb, it is worth noting here that both Shoshenq I and II use prenomens closely related to those of Dynasty 18 rulers. Shoshenq I and II are called "Hedjkheperre" and "Heqakheperre," respectively.[123] These names reflect the patterns established by multiple kings of Dynasty 18, including highly visible rulers. A prominent example is Thutmose III,

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[121] *Tanis: L'or des Pharaons*, 242; Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, pl. xxix.
[122] V 9 in Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 522.
[123] Beckerath, *Handbuch Der Ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 184-7.

who was called "Menkheperre."[124] It is my belief that these Libyan Period prenomens are modeled after that of Thutmose III in particular. Menkheperre Thutmose is a highly visible ruler who would have been admirably, even reverently remembered by these later kings.[125] His extensive building program includes the construction of a 'Hall of Ancestors' originally erected at Karnak Temple and now in the Louvre, a sort of king list in which previous rulers were named and depicted as statues.[126] Thutmose is here depicted as offering to his 'royal ancestors'; the purpose of the installation is "to inscribe the names of the fathers, to set down their offering portions, to fashion their images in all their likenesses, and to offer to them great, divine oblations."[127] A king linking himself to a previous ruler, especially one like Thutmose who had demonstrated his own reverence for royal ancestors, can be seen as a deliberate attempt to visually reconcile Libyan given names with Egyptian kingship. The structure of such a name incorporates three glyphs, the most auspicious of which is the scarab beetle, or *kheper*.[128] Visually, then, the name of Shoshenq I is a reference to Thutmose III. Conceptually, by invoking Thutmose, Shoshenq is also invoking all of the earlier "ancestors" Thutmose had depicted himself revering.

This phenomenon is not limited to kings named Shoshenq, either; as previously mentioned, Osorkon II later took the prenomen "Usermaatre," which

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[124] Ibid., 136-41.
[125] Piotr Laskowski, "Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program of Thutmose III," in *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (University of Michigan Press, 2006), 183.
[126] Redford, *Pharaonic Annals, King-Lists, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, 4:24.
[127] Ibid., 4:32.
[128] L 1 in Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 477.

copies the prenomen of Ramses II directly.[129] On the whole, such a trend further establishes the intent of Third Intermediate Period kings, including and specifically those under discussion here, to establish links to strong kings of the past. The visibility of such a strategy is apparent in the Hedjkheperre rebus pectoral. In regard to the uncertain degree of Egyptianization of Libyan kings, Leahy has written that while an "Egyptian name may mark a stage in the process of Egyptianisation, it does not make its bearer Egyptian, any more than the double crown made Shoshenq I native."[130] Perhaps not, but the birth name Shoshenq is, for Leahy, the only way to tell that a king bearing such a name was not a native Egyptian.[131] Of course, the Libyan kings all have and, with the case of jewelry such as the rebus pectoral, literally bear, names and titles of Egyptian kingship. Moreover, with the use of the scarab beetle glyph, the translation of which is "become," and the white crown, which can be read ideographically, the piece of jewelry is literally declaring the wearer king of Egypt.

Another example of a Shoshenq I heirloom in the Heqakheperre burial is an openwork pectoral, rectangular in shape and representing the totality of the universe.[132] **[FIGURE 10]** Perched on the top bar of the pectoral are two Horus falcons which face each other, each wearing the double crown. The bar underneath them represents the sky lined with stars, symbolic of both the night sky and the

[129] Beckerath, *Handbuch Der Ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 154-5, 186-7.
[130] Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," 55.
[131] Ibid., 54.
[132] Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, pl. xxviii.

underworld, or *dw3t*, due to the phonetic value of the star glyph, *dw3*.[133] The bottom bar of the pectoral represents Earth, specifically water, with multiple *N* signs turned 90 degrees so that they resemble currents of a river. Underneath this bar on the pectoral runs a wire. Attached to this are alternating water lilies and what seem to be water lily buds, which appear to be growing downward from the pectoral, but should be understood as growing on the edge of the water. The inclusion of both flowers in bloom and those about to bloom is an obvious reference to the life cycle. It has been suggested that the yellowish coloring inside the flower, which is revealed when the lily is in bloom, was thought to relate to the sunrise.[134] A carved wooden head of Tutankhamun appearing from a blossoming lily supports this idea, in that it likens the reborn king to the risen sun.[135]

Inside the pectoral is the solar barque, which carries the sun. On the sun disk sits Amun-Re-Horakhty, enthroned before Maat. On the barque and flanking the sun disk with their wings are Hathor on the left and Maat on the right. The sides of the pendant are formed by a water lily stalk and a papyrus stalk, seemingly growing from the water and supporting the sky, although they curl underneath it and inside of the pectoral itself. Respectively, these plants represent Upper and Lower Egypt, and therefore, North and South. If the water is taken to represent the temporal realm, or East, and the night sky is meant to represent the *duat*, or West, this is yet another invocation of the totality of the universe on this pectoral, as all four cardinal

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[133] This glyph is No. N14. See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 487.
[134] W. Benson Harer, "Pharmacological and Biological Properties of the Egyptian Lotus," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985): 52.
[135] C. N Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun: The King, the Tomb, the Royal Treasure* (New York, N.Y: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 66.

points of the compass are represented. In the bottom corners of the pectoral are rectangular inscriptions that read: "May Amun-Re-Horakhty travel the heavens every day to protect the great chief of the Ma, the greatest of the great ones, Shoshenq, justified, son of the great chief of the Ma, Nimlot."[136] That is, like the scarab pendant, the pectoral names Shoshenq I. Essentially, this piece of jewelry depicts exactly what is inscribed on it.

The title "chief of the Ma" is a clearly Libyan one, rather than Egyptian. The title, however, is written in Egyptian, and though most of the population of Egypt was illiterate, anyone close enough to the king's person would likely have known that it was a text, and an Egyptian text at that. The inscription describes the motif depicted on the pectoral. The inclusion of the "great chief of the Ma, Nimlot" relates to the ancestry of the bearer, which in turn relates to the cycle of rebirth depicted on the pendant, as the implication of a descendent of a great chief of the Ma wearing the pendant is that the cosmological cycle of renewal is in effect. This, again, is the central tenet of kingship. So while the scene itself is relatively generic, it is the text that links the theme of the visual motif of rebirth to the cycle of kingship.

Something does not sit right with scholars in regard to Shoshenq II and his burial. Kitchen has expressed the opinion that Shoshenq II was a son of Osorkon I, who never reigned solely.[137] Broekman has written a persuasive argument in which he theorizes that there are four possible identities of Shoshenq II:

[136] Broekman, "On the Identity of King Shoshenq Buried in the Vestibule of the Tomb of Psusennes I in Tanis (NRT III). Part I," 16.
[137] Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact and Fiction," 189.

(1) He may be the same High Priest Shoshenq, son of Osorkon I, as Kitchen and others believe;

(2) He may be a son of Shoshenq I;

(3) He may be a son of Takeloth I; or

(4) He may actually be Shoshenq I Hedjkheperre, reburied in the tomb of Psusennes I[138]

After much deliberation, some of which includes the jewelry described here, Broekman concludes that the possibility that it is Shoshenq I reburied in Psusennes' tomb is strong, and "should seriously be taken into consideration."[139] Dodson has proposed that there is a second Third Intermediate Period necropolis somewhere in the Delta, as yet unfound:

> *As to the location of our suggested second Third Intermediate Period royal necropolis, there may be two theoretical options: the first is that, given the lack of traces at Tanis, the kings could have been buried at Bubastis, which Manetho names as their family seat. However, the reburial of one, if not three of them in the old necropolis makes it far more likely their necropolis likewise lay at Tanis, where it might still await discovery, or have been totally destroyed as were a number of private tombs, of which only a few re-used fragments still survive.*[140]

Dodson's theory of a second royal necropolis seems reasonable, if only because there are multiple Third Intermediate Period kings for whom no burial has been discovered or identified, and it stands to reason that they would have been interred *somewhere*. The notion that Shoshenq I may have initially been laid to rest in some other, disparate location and later re-buried in the necropolis of the kings of

[138] Broekman, "On the Identity of King Shoshenq Buried in the Vestibule of the Tomb of Psusennes I in Tanis (NRT III). Part I," 12.
[139] G. P. F Broekman, "On the Identity of King Shoshenq Buried in the Vestibule of the Tomb of Psusennes I in Tanis (NRT III). Part II," *Gottinger Miszellen* 212 (2007): 26.
[140] Aidan Dodson, "Some Notes Concerning the Royal Tombs at Tanis," *Chronique d'Egypte* 63 (1988): 231.

Dynasty 21 is attractive because it advances the idea that a king has been buried specifically within a context of earlier rulers, which is a physical manifestation of a layered continuum of kingship. If the mummy is actually not Shoshenq I but rather, the High Priest Shoshenq, son of Osorkon I (the second likeliest suggestion), the same principles are still at work, due to the copious number of relics adorning the mummy, and the fact that the mummy is still buried with ancestors in a group tomb. As to why this body was reburied, it is impossible to say given the present state of our knowledge. The security and condition of the body in its original location may have been a factor in the reburial. Without more information, though, the exact motivation for such a transfer must remain the subject of conjecture.

There is also the issue of the falcon iconography, particularly the coffin and cartonnage. It bears noting that this tomb is full of falcon, Horus, Sokar, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris iconography.[141] Kitchen favors a reading of the coffins as Horus: "Having each [Shoshenq and Harsiese A] died [sic] without finally achieving the supreme rank and power of sole king-regnant—and then dying as one (but as a Horus who never reigned to die as a full Osiris), they remained in their premature deaths each a Horus-in-waiting, even in death."[142] But knowing what we do about the Egyptian worldview, it would be naïve to limit the meaning of the coffin, or the identity of the king, to one thing or another.

While from a chronological point of view it would indeed be satisfying to tie a firmly established identity to Heqakheperre, it is in fact possible to glean much from

[141] Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, 33-6, pl. xi.
[142] Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact and Fiction," 190.

this burial without doing so. Whether we are actually dealing with an older man reinterred in the mortuary equipment of a younger man, or a younger man buried with relics of an ancestor, the fact that so many items in this burial cross generations implies a decided focus on the continual line of kings, and the everlasting control they exerted over Egyptian history, a phenomenon that was intended to continue *ad infinitum*. Shoshenq II is buried in a tomb with two other reining monarchs, Amenemope and Psusennes I, the latter being buried in the re-used sarcophagus of Merenptah.[143]

V. The re-use of the sarcophagus of Merenptah in the burial of Psusennes I

The two previous sections of this paper have dealt with two manifestations of the historic aspect of kingship during the Libyan Period. The festival hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis is an example of the propagation of a historical trope that Osorkon II uses to associate himself with previous rulers. In the burial of Shoshenq II, we have seen an example of a king's burial creating a continuity from immediate predecessors to immediate successors, reflecting both the mythological underpinnings of Egyptian thought and the social structure of Libyan society. Now, we will briefly address a third type of manifestation of the historic mode of kingship.

In the burial of Psusennes I at Tanis, we have an example of a ruler using a relic of an ancestral king to whom he is not directly related in any actual way. Yet the historic mode establishes that all rulers are related to each other through the

[143] Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, 112.

continuity of kingship itself. Lanny Bell has established that each king is related to his predecessors and successor through a shared royal *ka*:

> *It turns out that the king's ka is the thread which ties all the loose ends together. The concept of the ka in Egyptian religion is a complicated one, but it may be described, for the moment, as the divine aspect of the king, linking him both with the gods and with all the royal ancestors.*[144]

Bell writes specifically of the *ka* statues erected by certain monarchs, like those in the tomb of Tutankhamun[145] and those erected by Ramses II at Luxor Temple.[146] We have also seen that Thutmose III had himself depicted as offering to statues, presumably *ka* statues, of deceased kings. The reuse of a sarcophagus of a Dynasty 19 king by a later ruler is not, then, usurpation, but both an acknowledgment of this shared *ka* and an attempt to create an idealized line of descent from Merenptah to Psusennes I.

Both the exterior and the interior of the lid of the rose granite Merenptah/Psusennes sarcophagus are decorated in sculpted high relief. The exterior decoration is that of a mummiform king, framed by a shallow shape that, along with the platform on which the king stands, suggests a cartouche.[147] **[FIGURE 11]** The head of the king is embraced by a kneeling perpendicular figure, which looks to be upright when the lid is lying flat, but is facing down when the lid is stood up and the figure of the king appears to be standing.[148] The effect of this placement, in addition to the platform on which the king 'stands,' suggests that the lid was

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[144] Lanny Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44, no. 4 (October 1, 1985): 256.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid., 269-70.
[147] Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, pl. LXXVI.
[148] Ibid., pl. LXXVII.

meant to be stood upright and observed, probably during funerary rites. The king's arms are crossed and his fists clenched around the crook and flail; he wears a belt with an oval bearing the name of Merenptah, into which is tucked a dagger. The king also wears a collar and false beard.

On the inside of the coffin is the figure of the goddess Nut, her arms outstretched.[149] **[FIGURE 12]** She is cloaked in stars, which suggests both her traditional role as the night sky, and, as previously discussed, the more directly relevant iconography of the star glyph *dw3*, part of the word *dw3t*, the underworld.[150] Surrounding Nut are depictions of the solar barque processing through the night sky, a commonplace motif for a deceased king's mortuary equipment.[151]

The iconography on this sarcophagus lid is fairly typical, and the artifact itself is both well-made and well-preserved. We are most concerned with the fact that the lid was created for the king Merenptah, who reigned hundreds of years before Psusennes, and with whom Psusennes has certainly no biological link. Montet writes that "Psousennès a donc usurpé son sarcophage," and theorizes a meaningful reason for the reuse of the lid, albeit not before referring again to "les usurpateurs."[152]

We cannot learn from the sarcophagus itself its point of origin, which would be necessary in order to determine why it was *this* particular sarcophagus that is

[149] Ibid., pl. LXXIX.
[150] Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 487.
[151] Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, 119-20.
[152] Ibid., 111.

incorporated into Psusennes' burial. As stated, it is an attractive piece in good condition, incorporating both generally pertinent themes, and the name of an earlier king. Montet notes that, "Le sarcophage de Merenprah usurpè par Psousennés s'apparente pour la construction à ces sarcophages du Moyen Empire."[153] If the intent of the original Dynasty 19 designer(s) of the sarcophagus, then, was to reference that of a Middle Kingdom sarcophagus, its re-use in Dynasty 21 intensifies its historical functionality by deepening the connection between Psusennes and the line of rulers stretching back to the earliest periods of kingship. This is also a period when, due to the opening of older tombs at Thebes and the dispersal of their mortuary equipment, historic material, both private and royal, would have been circulating.[154] Merenptah's actual lineage as son and direct successor of Ramses II, a highly visible king, may also have made this sarcophagus particularly attractive.

Inside the Merenptah sarcophagus is a secondary sarcophagus, this one black-granite and mummiform, with arms in low relief crossed over the chest, fists clenched.[155] **[FIGURE 13]** The deceased wears a false beard and the iconography is limited to that of a winged goddess across the torso of the deceased; further inscriptions are bands of hieroglyphs. The knees of the deceased are visibly articulated as well. Inside this sarcophagus was a coffin of silver; the mummy itself was clad in a gold mask.[156]

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[153] Ibid., 119.
[154] Erhart Graefe, "The Royal Cache and the Tomb Robberies," in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 78-82.
[155] Montet, *La Nécropole Royale De Tanis: Lex Constructions et la Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, pl. XCVII.
[156] Ibid., 130-2.

The black granite sarcophagus is notable in that it is also appears to be a relic of the Ramesside period.[157] Montet would like to associate this sarcophagus with Merenptah as well, noting that the face on the black granite sarcophagus resembles that of the rose granite sarcophagus. He pushes the point further by insisting that, "Le pillage des tombes royales de Thèbes et de bien d'autres nécropolis a remis en circulation de sarcophages et des objets funéraires que les Égyptiens de la XXI^{e} dynastie se sont empresses d'utiliser."[158] The origins of the black granite sarcophagus remain uncertain. It is either an additional reuse of a piece of Ramesside burial equipment, or it is intentionally archaizing.

Finally, recall that the Shoshenq II assemblage was an intrusion in the earlier tomb of Psusennes I. Given all that has been discussed here, relics of historical kings, historicizing king's names, archaizing motifs and styles, the tomb of Psusennes I should be viewed as a physical manifestation of the layering concept in the context of historical kingship.

The Third Intermediate Period is generally remembered as the time when kings and high priests looted the tombs of New Kingdom rulers and took the treasures therein for themselves, reburying the earlier kings in caches at Thebes. This is a Western narrative construction of an actual phenomenon, [159] but as evidenced by Montet's use of the term "usurpé," it is a pervasive misconception. Writing in 2009, Ritner continued to advance the idea that "The 're-Osirification' of the nobility of the empire may have been motivated by more than the purely pious

[157] Ibid., 127.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, 114-7, 158-60.

concerns traditionally invoked. With the loss of the Nubian gold mines, the older royal tombs became veritable 'bank deposits' for contemporary authorities."[160] The reburial of these ancestor kings' mummies in group contexts, however, mirrors the contemporary burials of the Libyan Period kings at Tanis. The justification of the reburial of Ramses I, Seti I, and Ramses II under Siamon is said in an inscription on the wooden coffin of Ramses I to be, "What is fine in my presence, without any harm in it, is their bringing them out from within this royal tomb in which they are, and their causing them to enter into this crag-tomb of (Queen) Inhapi, which is an important place, and in which Amenhotep (I) rests."[161] While a gold shortage may have been a motivating factor in the reburial undertaking, the consolidation of so many rulers into group tombs, both at Thebes and Tanis, is the very essence of historic kingship.

VI. Conclusion, and suggestions for further research

There remains much to be learned about the Third Intermediate Period. It is unlikely that any type of consensus on chronology will be reached in the near future, and it is equally unlikely that popular or Egyptological interest in this period will ever force it into the limelight. It seems that the fundamental differences on dynastic reconstruction that exist between scholars may be irreparable.

Yet Tanis has yielded intact royal tombs filled with objects of gold and silver, with coherent aesthetic motifs and strong mythological themes. The kings of the Libyan period, and especially those of dynasties 21 and 22, have left plenty of visual

[160] Ibid., 114.
[161] Ibid., 159.

material, both at the royal necropolis and in (relatively) small but nevertheless important temple reliefs, stelae, and statuary. The emergence of aesthetic approaches to the iconography and thematic coherence of Third Intermediate Period material is integral for the continued study of this period. It is a daunting task, given that much of this available material has either yet to be published, or published well. The walls of the tomb of Osorkon II, for example, bear remarkable depictions of Book of the Dead Chapter 125, yet there is no really satisfactory photographic reproduction of these images, even in Montet's comprehensive 1947 volume. The falcon-headed coffins of Shoshenq II have been photographed artfully in the French catalogue publications from the breast up, but there is no available full image of comparable quality, in color, anywhere to be found.

It is the intention of this paper to further the discussion of the Third Intermediate Period by proposing a well-defined strategy for legitimization on the part of its rulers. I have established that there is a historic mode which links all rulers in all periods to a perpetual continuum of kingship, which relates to the basic ideals of Egyptian society. Many kings produce artworks that evoke this mode, but it is particularly at work in the visual material of the rulers of the Libyan Period. The creation of a royal necropolis at the site of Tanis consisting of group tombs is in keeping with the historic mode, as such a custom emphasizes the relation of each king buried there to the other kings interred with him. The mortuary equipment accompanying these burials reflects the historic mode as well due to the preference for relics of previous kings over new material.

A secondary intention of this project is to remind the reader of the current status of the study of this period, where it has been, and where it is possible to go. A more comprehensive analysis of the burial assemblages from Tanis is called for; while Montet's tomb publication series is comprehensive, the emphasis is on archaeology rather than iconographic analysis. There is also the need for a comparative study of the group tombs of the Third Intermediate Period kings and the Theban burials of their contemporaries, the high priests of Amun. While excellent studies, mainly typologies, of the mortuary equipment of the Amun priesthood have been completed,[162] visual material from Tanis is often brought in as comparanda without explanation or justification.[163] Finally, it remains to be determined what the basic mortuary principle was during the Libyan period, or how it might have shifted over the course of dynasties 21 and 22. While the present paper has established that the kings of the Third Intermediate Period certainly considered themselves kings of Egypt and demonstrated this through their visual output, it will be useful to study what, if any, commonality royal and private mortuary customs shared at this time.

There is much to be learned from the Libyan Period; while this paper has offered a tangible and viable conclusion, it is certainly not the end point of this particular inquiry.

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[162] Andrezej Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C*, Orbis biblicus et orientalis 86 (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitèatsverlag, 1989); Andrzej Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological S*, Theben Bd. 5 (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1988); Lisa Swart, "A Stylistic Comparison of Selected Visual Representations on Egyptian Funerary Papyri of the 21st Dynasty and Wooden Funerary Stelae of the 22nd Dynasty (C. 1069-715 B.C.E.)" (Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 2004).

[163] Many studies are guilty of this. For an egregious example see Beatrice Laura Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period: The Twenty-First Dynasty* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979).

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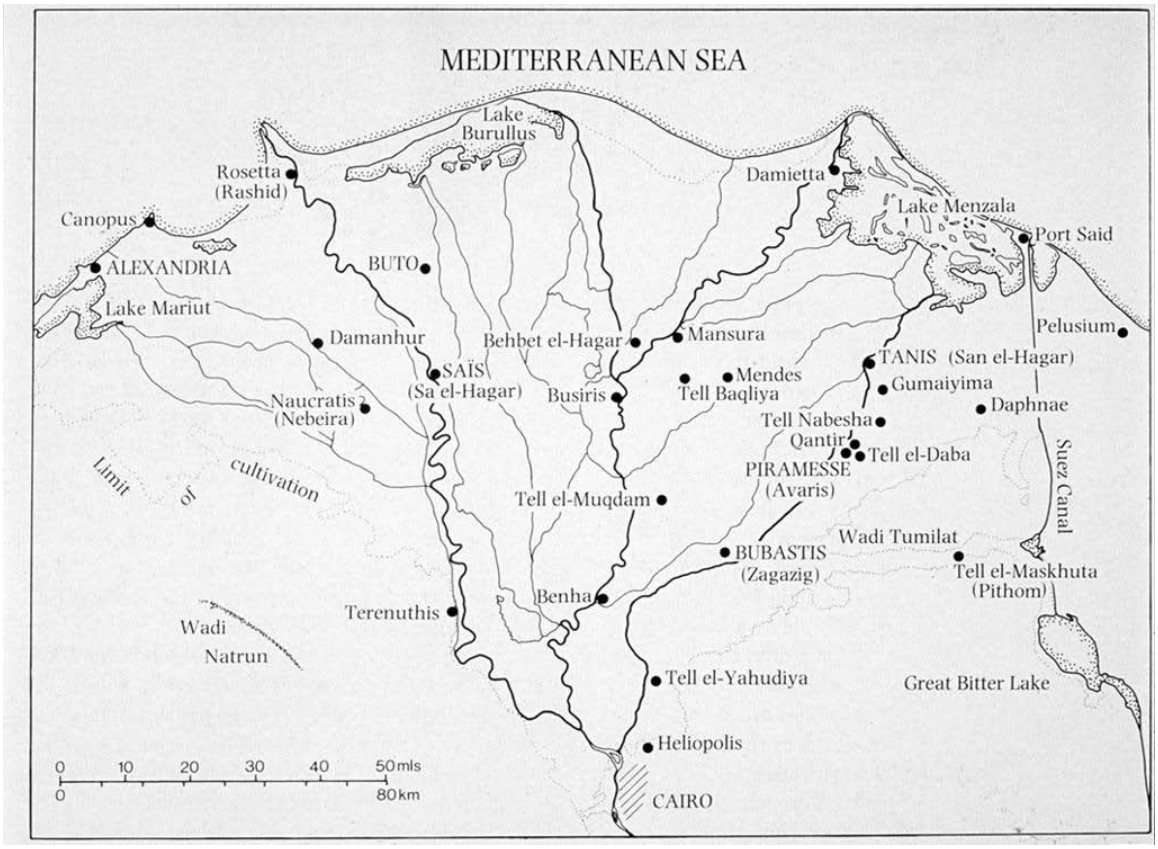

FIGURE 1. A map of Lower Egypt, including the Memphis area and the Nile Delta. Tanis and Bubastis are located in the Eastern Delta.

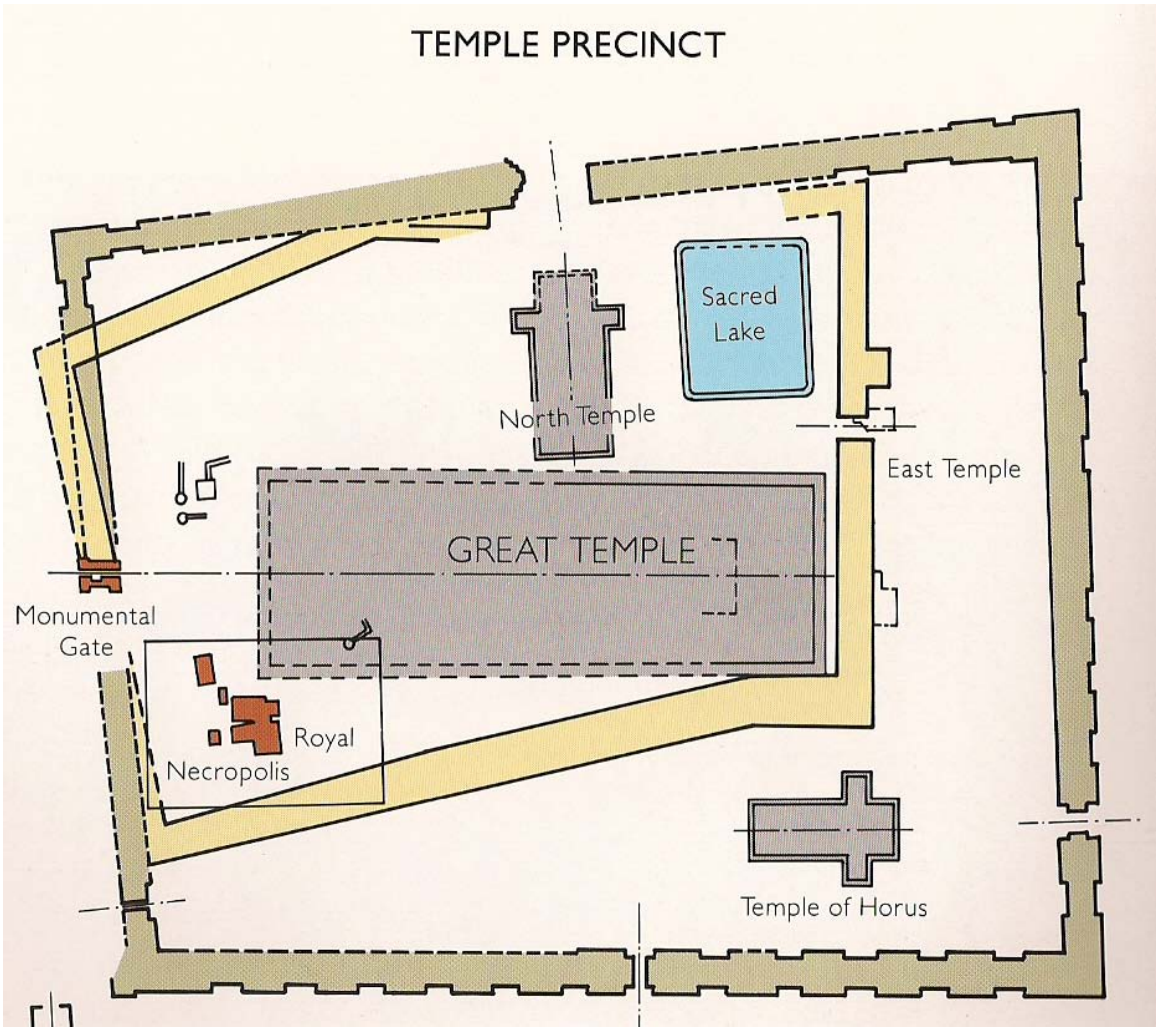

FIGURE 2. Plan of the Temple of Amun complex at Tanis, including the royal necropolis.

FIGURE 3. The site of Tanis as photographer by W. M. F. Petrie in 1884.

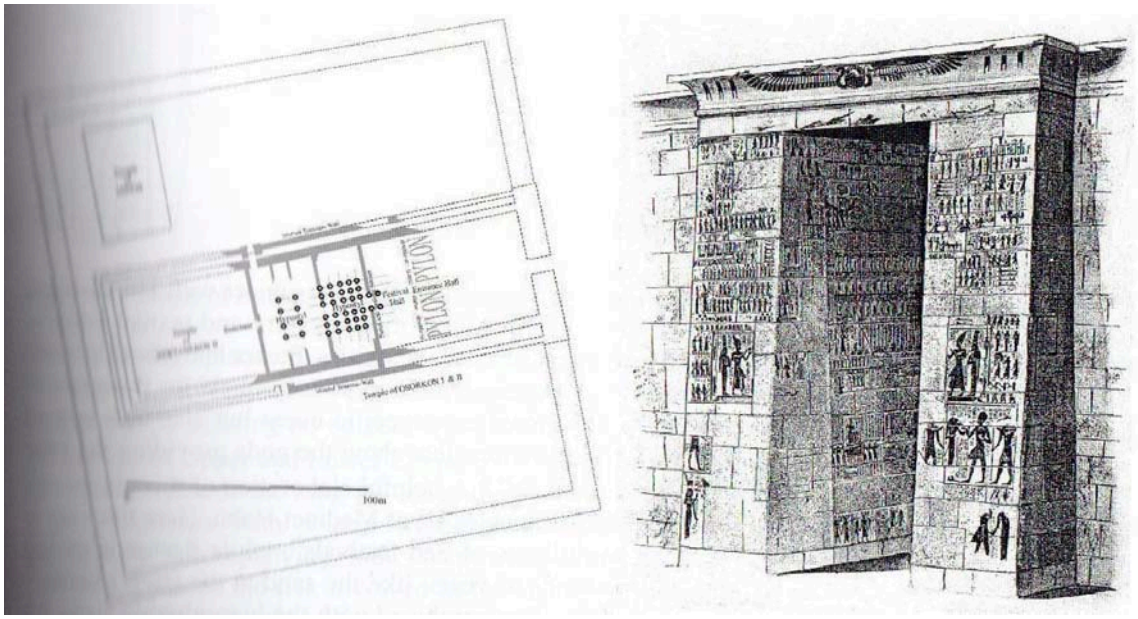

FIGURE 4. [left] Plan of Bubastis temple complex site. [right] Reconstruction of festival hall entranceway by E. Naville, 1892.

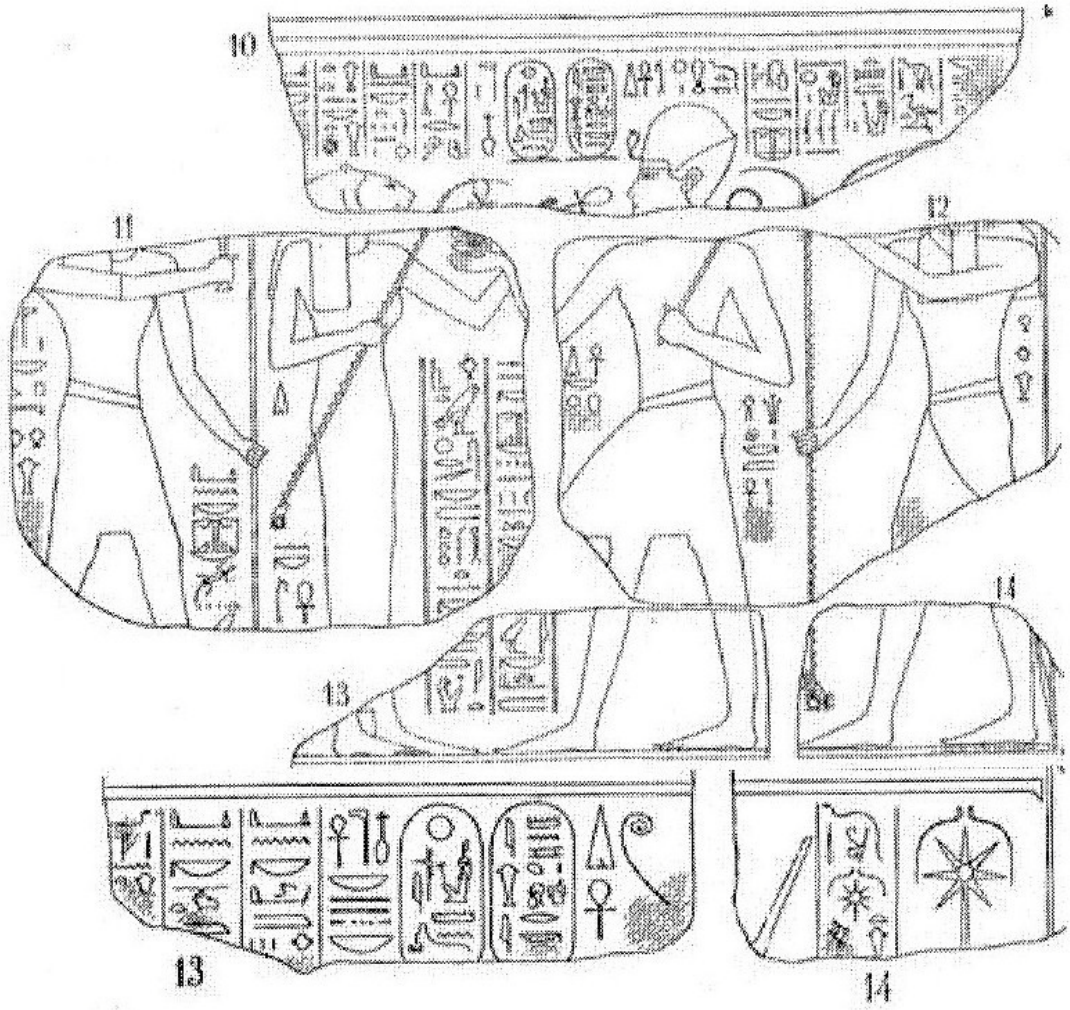

FIGURE 5. The goddess Bastet offers King Osorkon II life, a hundred thousand years of rule, and "jubilees of 12 [years] each." From the entryway of the festival hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis.

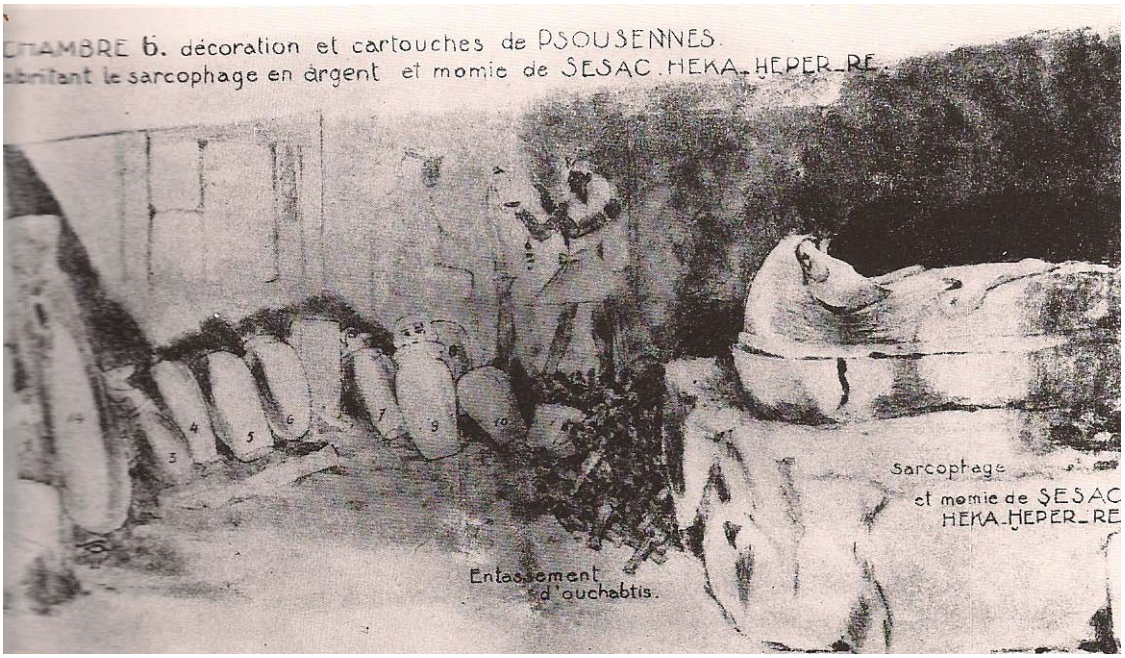

FIGURE 6. View of the undisturbed antechamber of the tomb of Psusennes I as sketched by Pierre Montet. The falcon-headed silver sarcophagus of Shoshenq II is visible on the right.

FIGURE 7, 8. [left] The cartonnage and [right] sarcophagus of Shoshenq II.

FIGURE 9. The rebus pectoral of Shoshenq I, as buried with Shoshenq II.

FIGURE 10. The openwork barque pectoral of Shoshenq I, as buried with Shoshenq II.

FIGURE 11. View of the lid of the sarcophagus of Merenptah as reused by Psusennes I at Tanis.

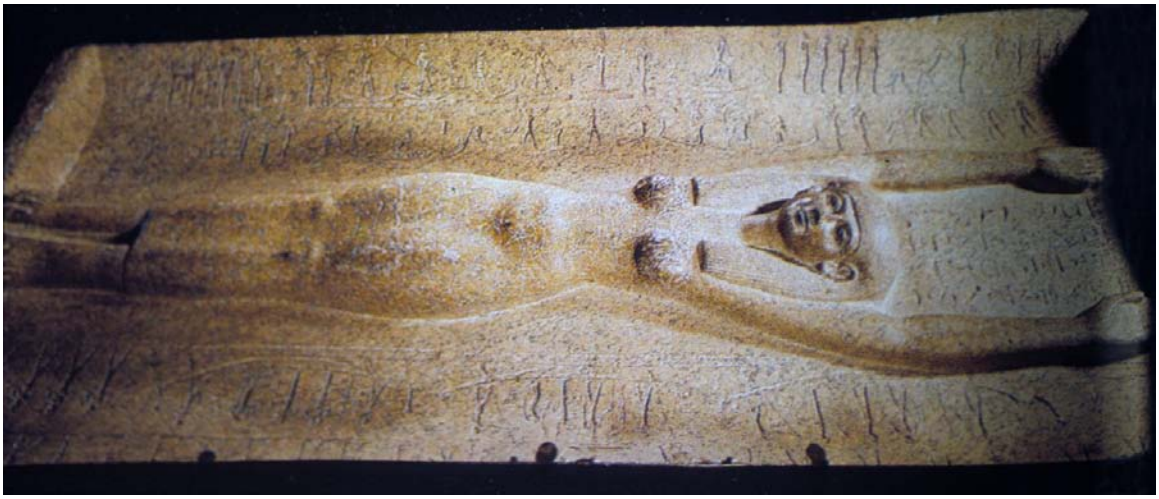

FIGURE 12. View of the goddess Nut from the interior of the lid of the sarcophagus of Merenptah, as reused by Psusennes I at Tanis.

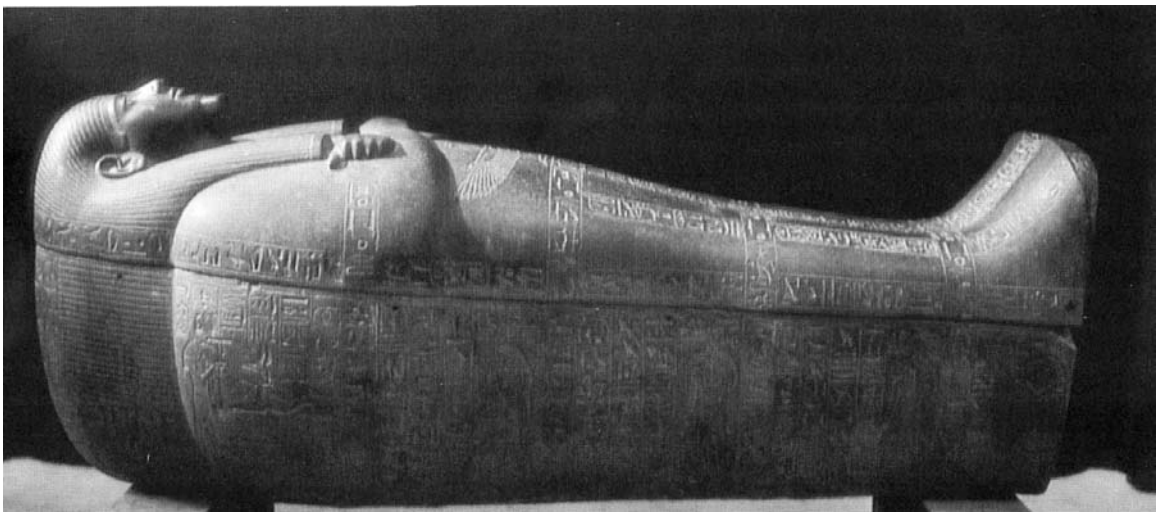

FIGURE 13. Inner black granite sarcophagus of Psusennes I.