
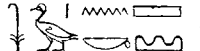


PROFESSOR DR. RICHARD LEPSIUS

ON THE

XXII. EGYPTIAN ROYAL DYNASTY, &c.

HAVING previously laid before the Academy the reconstruction of the XII. Manethonic Dynasty of the old Egyptian Kingdom, and afterwards the completion of the Ptolemaic Dynasty according to the monuments, I now turn my attention to one of the most important dynasties of the new Pharaonic rule—the XXII. of Manetho, which governed in the 10th and 9th centuries before Christ, and to which King *Šišaq*, a contemporary of Rheoboam, and conqueror of Jerusalem, belongs.

The first promise of the young government—which, springing up after the mighty struggle of the war against the Hyksos, began under the XVII. Dynasty, strengthened itself under Tuthmosis and Amenophis of the XVIII., reached with Sethos and Ramses of the XIX. its highest development, but towards the end of this same dynasty was already exhausted—had, under the Ramesides of the XX. Dynasty, through luxury, sloth, and the continued increase of the priestly power, gradually given way to an internal dissolution; and to which the royal Theban races, at the end of the XX. Dynasty, fell a sacrifice. A man of Tanis, a native of the eastern boundary of the Delta, *Herhor*, had raised himself, under the last of the Rameses, to the dignity of “First Prophet of Ammon-Ra,” and took at the same time the title  “Illustrious of Upper and Lower Egypt,” and  “Prince of *Kus*,” which appear to have denoted the highest administrative offices of the entire kingdom. After this king’s death, of whose offspring nothing is known, *Herhor* caused himself to be crowned¹ king *de facto*, took on him all the royal titles of his predecessors, and thus founded a new dynasty. He retained therefore, when king, his office of High Priest of Ammon, and assumed even this title in his first royal cartouche. In his second shield he added to his former name that of a son of Ammon, *Siamun*; as did later Alexander the Great, who also, after the conquest of Egypt, let himself be called in his hieroglyphical shield, *Siamun Alexander*, as this one *Siamun Herhor*. But under the successors of *Herhor* there are many who unite the dignity of high priest with the royal title; and when the king laid down the pontiff dignity it was only to transfer

it to his successor; so that thus the highest office of the Egyptian hierarchy was always combined in the closest manner with the crown.

The same relations were continued in the XXII. Dynasty, in which we too generally find the eldest son appearing on the monuments at first as High Priest of Ammon-Ra; sometimes conjoined with his royal father, but sometimes alone. This dynasty, therefore, with which we are here principally concerned, kept substantially its character as a pontiff dynasty. It is called by Manetho a *Bubastic* one; this means that its head, *Šešonk I.*, had his origin in the town of Bubastis, which lay north of Tanis, the birth-place of the founder of the XXI. Dynasty, which, like the other, was situated on one of the eastern arms of the Nile. The modern ruins of *Tel Basta* represent the site of the ancient Bubastis, which was in the neighbourhood of the Biblical *Goshen*; if indeed it did not belong to it. According to Herodotus, it was at Bubastis that the famed canal was drawn off from the Nile, which was carried by Ramses-Sesostris only eastward to the Low Plains of the Desert, afterwards by Neko to the Bitter Lakes, but taken by Darius into the Red Sea; and thus became the first junction canal betwixt the Red and Mediterranean Seas. It is well known that it was on this Ramses Canal that the Israelites were forced to build the towns Pithom (Patumos of Herodotus) and Ramses, so called from its founder, Ramses II.; after they doubtless had been compelled to the same hard serfdom on the canal which necessitated the building of those cities. We may therefore fancy that country immediately adjacent to the Arabian Desert as principally inhabited by a Semitic people and its descendants; and this explains to us the abnormal, un-Egyptian character in the royal names of this Bubastic Dynasty, which has been already frequently remarked by other parties, and to which we shall subsequently recur. We have now to do with a royal race of Semitic origin, which therefore may have been related to, and possibly were, the descendants of those harassed and expelled Israelites, that doubtless had settled for the greater part in Bubastis, the principal town of that neighbourhood. The conqueror of Jerusalem sprung from a Semitic family in Bubastis.

We have a pretty large number of monuments of this Dynasty. Isolated sculptures, and similar objects, formed portions of the first Egyptian collections brought to Europe. Champollion, as early as 1824, recognised in his first application of his great discovery of the royal names in his "*Précis du Système hiéroglyphique*," two of the new kings of this Dynasty, *Šešonk* and an *Osarkon*, the *Σέσωνχις* and *Ὀσορχών* of the Manetho List. In Turin, in 1826,² he found the third dynastic name of this Dynasty, *Takelot*, *Τακέλωθις* of Manetho, on the fragment of a wooden stele, the other portion of which is in Rome. In Egypt it is principally on a portion of the large metropolitan temple of Karnak that representations of this Dynasty have been preserved. It seems that the first court of this temple was erected by the Bubastides, or at least begun by



them. The plan of this court has this irregularity, that a separate smaller temple breaks through the circuit of the south wall, and projects with its front into the court. This irregularity is explained from the circumstance that this smaller temple, built by Ramses of the XX. Dynasty, was already existing when the plan for this court was determined on. Who completed the work cannot now be ascertained, because the walls are devoid of sculpture, with the exception of the angle betwixt the present second Pylon, on which this court abuts, and the before-mentioned temple, built by Ramses III. This interposed building, which also forms an outlet on the south side of the court, as well as the outer south side of the large temple, to the left of any one going out, is completely covered with figures and inscriptions of the kings of the XXII. Dynasty; and on this south side we find the well-known representation of 156 prisoners conducted by Ammon to King *Šešonk*, amongst whom the king of Judæa is introduced. In the interior of the court Wilkinson found, besides the three kings known to Champollion, also a second *Šešonk* and a second *Osarkon*; so that he could ascribe, in his "*Materia Hieroglyphica*" (1828), five monarchs to this Dynasty, and bring them into the present true series. The French-Tuscan expedition carried our knowledge no farther. Rosellini,³ who gave in the text of his great work a *résumé* of the historical results of the expedition, gives the five kings, which Wilkinson had already arranged, and in a better sequence. But Leemans, in his Letter to Salvolini (1838, p. 109, *seq.*) attempted to point out the entire Manethonic Dynasty on the monuments. He used many monuments from different museums, that had not been previously taken into consideration for this purpose; particularly the letters of a statue of the Nile in the British Museum, in which the names of a King Osarchon and of his son Scheschonk, with the name of the maternal grandsire of the latter, are contained. He put this Osarkon in the fourth place of the Dynasty, as Osarkon II., and his son as Scheschonk III., in the fifth place. He found also a second Takelot on some Leyden funeral urns, and a fourth Osarkon upon a seal-stone in the same collection.














The series, however, of the XXII. Dynasty was not completely distinguishable from that of the XXI. and XXIII., between which it was interposed; both of them sprung from the town of Tanis, a neighbour of Bubastis. Both these dynasties might be then said to have been almost entirely untouched. Champollion has certainly placed two kings of the XXI. Dynasty, which he read *Manduftep* and *Aasen*, and ascribed them to the *Smendes* and *Psusennes* of Manetho. Both hieroglyphical names, of which the latter appears only a private name, belong to the old kingdom. Rosellini followed Champollion's idea; not so Wilkinson, who omitted them, and Leemans gave them their proper places. As, however, no other names were put in lieu of them, the XXI. and XXIII. Dynasties continued void.




My restoration of these three Dynasties connectively, as I attempted in my "Egyptian Travels," according to the materials then accessible, was published in 1845⁴ in Bunsen's work, as I communicated it to him for that purpose. The three monumental names that I ascribed to the XXI. Dynasty, as well as the other three of the XXIII., may be taken as so far established. But still it has been truly remarked, and I think first by De Rougé, that the high-priest *Pianχ*, the father of *Pisem*,⁵ is not met with as king; his apposition, therefore, for Manetho's *Psinaches* must be very doubtful. I have further satisfied myself in Thebes that the king *Siamun Herhor* (read formerly Pehor) appears already at the end of the XXII. Dynasty as a private name,⁶ and cannot, therefore (as I formerly thought possible), stand for the Ὅσοχώροϋ of the lists, but belongs to the commencement of the dynasty.

The series of the kings of the XXII. Dynasty hitherto known, as given in Bunsen's work, has not since been altered. But as I could not previously take but few ascertained points from then existing materials, and had to settle the remainder from probabilities, so now many important monuments have since turned up, which permit an essentially improved restoration of this dynasty. We are indebted for these new lights principally to the very rich and important discoveries made by M. Mariette in the Apis sepulchres.

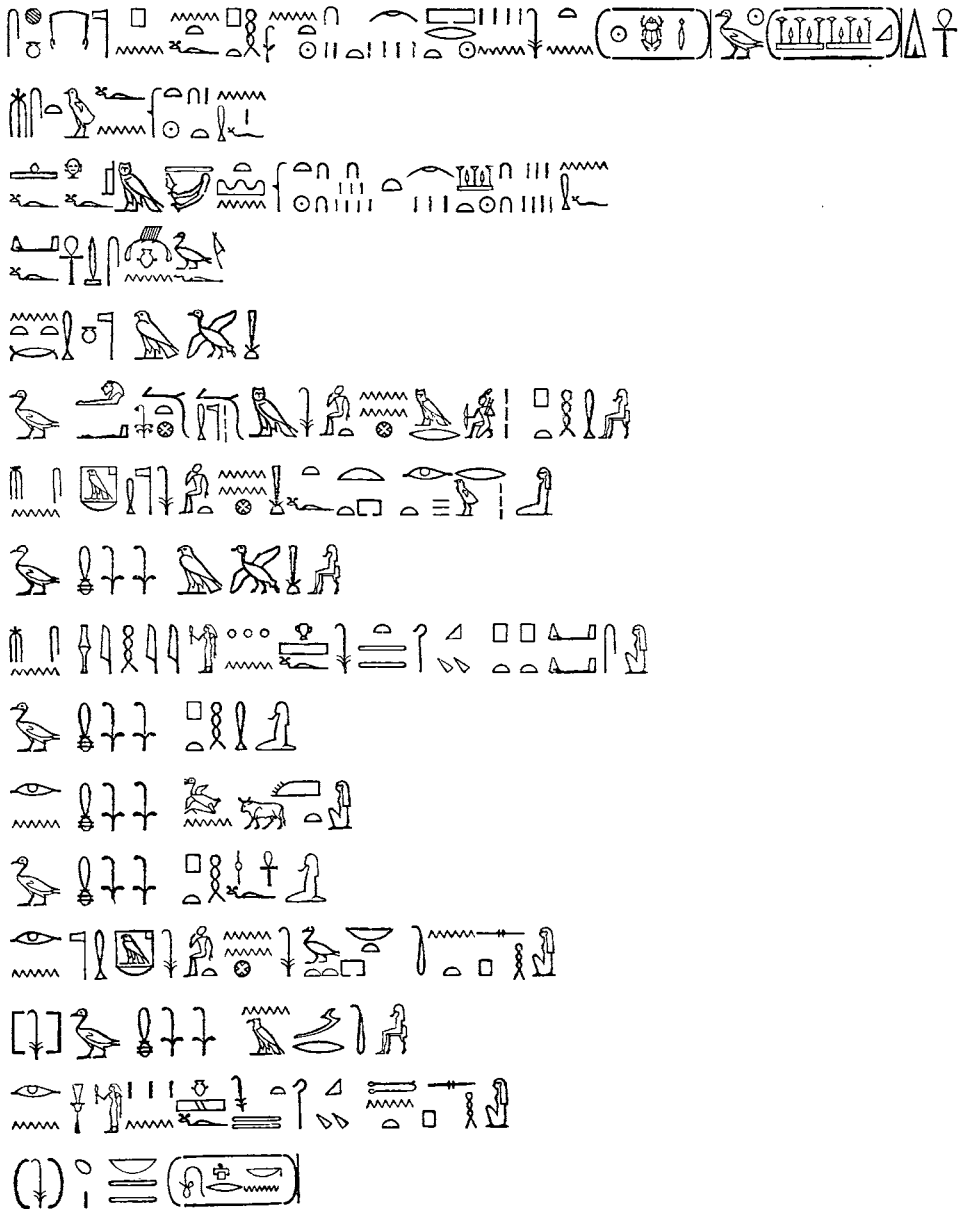
But while, unfortunately, no Apis of the XXI. or XXIII. Dynasties has been found, seven of them fall within the XXII. Dynasty. The years of their decease are noted during the reigns of five out of its nine kings, and of these five, two were previously entirely unknown. The most important of them for our restoration is one noted by M. Mariette as 1959. This was fixed by a priest of Neith, *Horpeson* (or *Pesonhor*?) in the year of the death of the seventh Apis, in the 37th year of the last of these nine monarchs, *Šešonk IV.*; whose cartouches have been first discovered by M. Mariette. It contains in its upper division the worship of Horpeson before the holy Apis Bull; in its lower one the relation of the year of the birth of this Apis, its enthronization or introduction into the Temple of Hephaistos at Memphis, and of its death, with a long genealogy of the sacrificer. He mentions not less than fifteen generations of ancestry, and comprehends in them not only the time of the rule of the entire dynasty, at the end of which he lived, but ascends even six generations higher. As far as the eleventh of these generations he adduces fathers and mothers, but after that only fathers. The circumstance most important to us, as no doubt also to the erector, is that in the sixth degree his descent from a king of the reigning family is given, and that from this king upwards the earlier kings are mentioned to the founder of the dynasty; and that the six earliest links also show us the private ancestors of the Bubastidian royal family, which carry us back to about the extinction of the Theban royal house, and the origin of Herhor, the head of the XXI. Dynasty, which took its rise at Tanis.

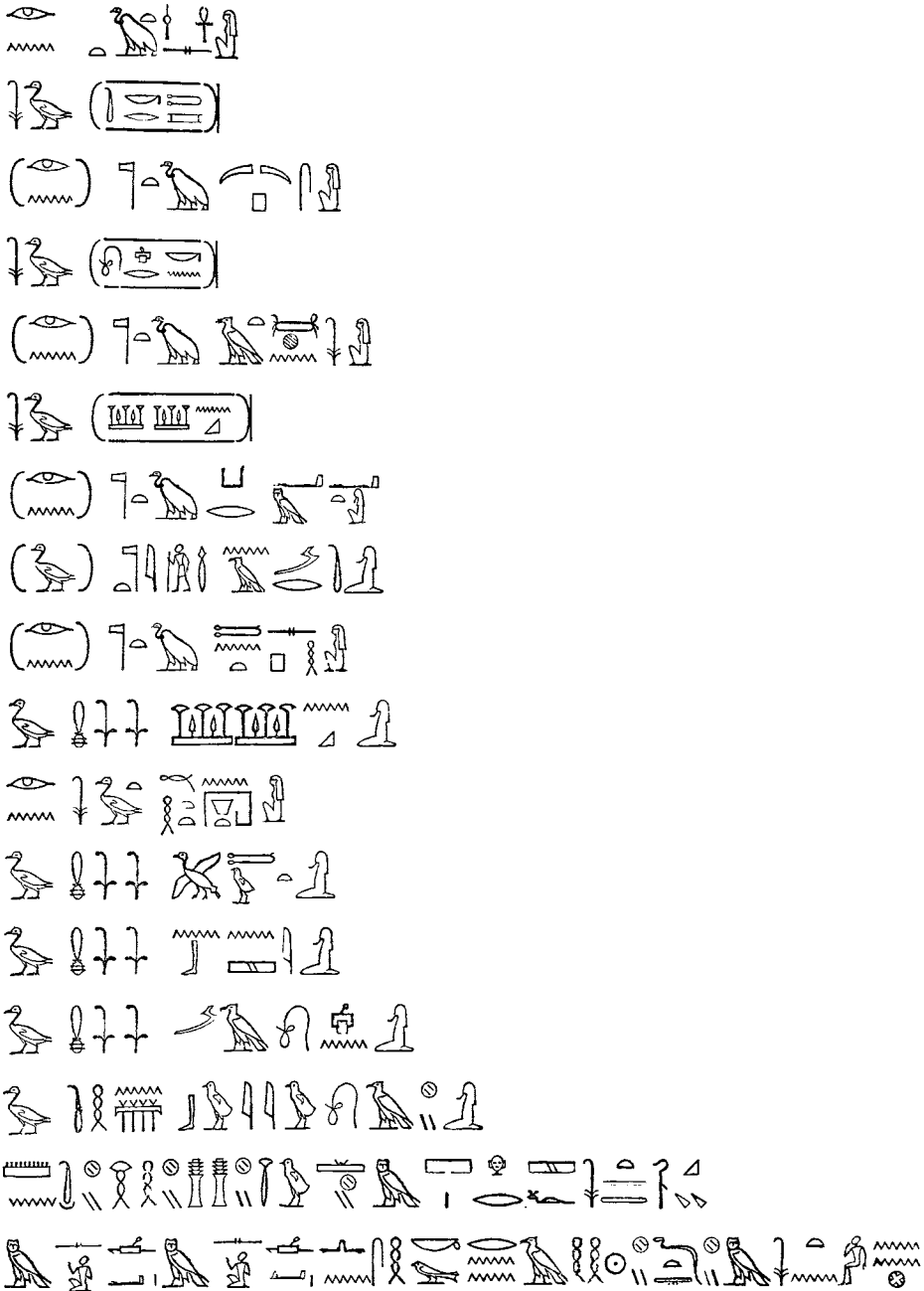
Mariette adduces, in his important essays on the Apis graves, this stele,⁷ naturally for his revision of the XXII. Dynasty; but he mistakes the unbroken upward series of genealogies in it. He takes only the first cartouche, which exhibits the title  *neb toni*, as a royal one; the three others he considers as the names of princes, as the preceding group  "royal son," as the proper title, instead of letting this cartouche-name belong to it as genitive of the father's name. He gets thereby three different breaks, and lets the gifts of Apis be supplicated, not only for the Priest Horpeson, but also for the three princes, and for their god-like father, Namurot. If the inscription were to be thus construed, all these persons would have to have been represented with the princes in the van, and these breaks would have been more strictly defined.⁸ Finally, it would be contrary to a rule which admits few exceptions to put the names of princes in royal cartouches, and the more so, as the same stele contains the name of an ascertained prince and princess, without the Rings.

M. Mariette has possibly been induced to refrain from the natural explanation of the inscription from the circumstance that the first shield of the kings  does not stand before the following ones. In inscriptions like the present this has no difficulty whatsoever, and M. Mariette adduces on the same page a king's shield from another Apis-stele, on which     "Son of the (king) *Pexi*" is written without other royal sign but the cartouche,⁹ and this is the case also on later Apis-stelæ and elsewhere. The true meaning of the four shield-names is hereby finally put beyond doubt, since the mothers of these four kings have the title  "god-like mother," a title especially given to the mother of a king, who was not queen, but the subordinate wife (*Nebenfrau*) of the regal father, or the wife of a private person whose son was raised to be king. In an analogous method, the non-regal father of a king, as here Namurot, the father of the first king, gets the title  "god-like father." Cases like this frequently occur in the XIII. Dynasty of Manetho, as well as later down to the Ptolemies. But some irregularities of the inscription fall to the share of the writer. For instance, the group  "son of" is four times wanting before the name of the mother; this was certainly, taken strictly, not necessary, since the denoting of the son before the father's name might suffice both for father and mother: once, however, the sign  of "son" is wanting, where it on no account ought to be so; and once there stands  "royal son," where  "son" solely ought to be. This error is plainly apparent, since both parents are private persons.¹⁰ The writer had, in transcribing the genealogy, clearly made the mistake of a line, for at his father, the sign  for "royal" where it was to be expected, is wanting. Strange, finally, is it that by the sign  "royal mother," is denoted the grandmother of the first king in the genealogy.

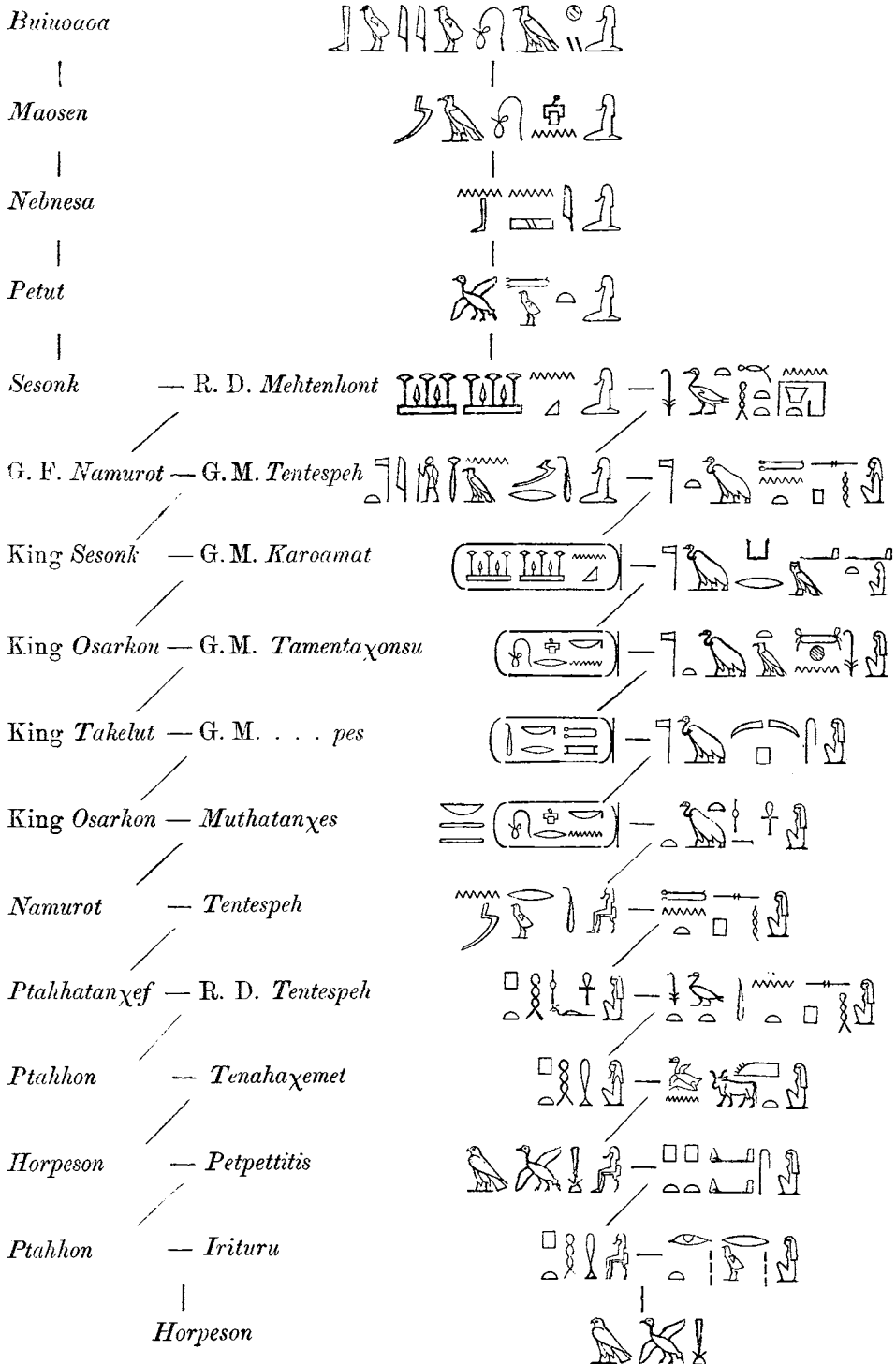
Here, certainly, we might more readily suppose a case which would justify this denotation;^{10*} perhaps the writer ought to have put  "royal daughter," instead of  "royal mother," the Goose instead of the Vulture, and was there-
 to led by the nine previous titles of the Vulture  to repeat it here again.

After these remarks the text of the inscription may be assuredly corrected and given synoptically, as follows :—





The sign [] in square brackets is to be rejected; the groups in round brackets must be supplied, and then we gain the whole in the following genealogical form :—



If (and we cannot assume it otherwise) the king *Šešonk*, from whose 37th year the inscription is dated, belonged to the XXII. Dynasty, nor is the name found in any other dynasty, it is evident that he belongs to the end, and his four royal ancestors to the beginning of this dynasty, which had, according to Manetho's Lists, nine kings; the first of these four named kings is the ninth forefather of the priest *Horpeson*. The number of these generations, therefore, shows that the inscription names the four first and the last kings of this dynasty. That the first of these four must have begun a dynasty is shown incontestably thereby that his parents here named were private persons; and it is perfectly in accordance with Manetho's Tables that the first name here, as in the Lists, is a *Šešonk*.

These Lists give us only three names in this dynasty. According to Eusebius, these three would comprise the entire dynasty, but Africanus, on the contrary, gives them with greater exactness as,

I.	Σέσωγχις	governs	21	years.
II.	'Οσορθών	,,	15	,,
III—V.	"Άλλοι τρεῖς	,,	25	,,
VI.	Τακέλλωθις	,,	13	,,
VII—IX.	"Άλλοι τρεῖς	,,	42	,,

These, therefore, together rule 120 years.

But the total of the specified years is not 120, but only 116. And also, instead of 'Οσορθών we ought certainly to read 'Οσορχών, as the hieroglyphical orthography *Osarkon*, pronounced in the Memphitic dialect *Osarχon*, proves. This List, therefore, shows that not only the first but also the second name in our inscription agrees with that of Manetho. The third, fourth, and fifth names are wanting in his List; our inscription supplies the two next following places; it gives us *Takelut* and a second *Osarkon* for the third and fourth king of the dynasty. The sixth is given in the List; he was a *Takelut*, and therefore the second of his name. Under him died an *Apis*; and the succeeding *Apis* tombs, whose epochs and successions we know by Mariette's careful investigations upon the spot, give us the names of the three following kings in a settled order, namely, a *Šešonk*, a *Peçi* (till then unknown), and the latest *Šešonk*, from whose 37th year the stele is dated.

There is therefore only the fifth king wanting, whom neither Manetho's List nor the stelæ name. The other monuments now step in. These name four different *Šešonks*, and we have in the List hitherto only three; so that, as the one wanting finds only one place open—the fifth—that must be filled with this *Šešonk*.¹¹

Thus the entire dynasty is produced with perfect surety, according to their family names, as follows:—

1. *Šešonk I.*
2. *Osarkon I.*
3. *Takelut I.*
4. *Osarkon II.*
5. *Šešonk II.*
6. *Takelut II.*
7. *Šešonk III.*
8. *Peçi.*
9. *Šešonk IV.*

From this series, in the first instance, an important error in our former adopted List is deducible, since the previous third king, *Hor-Petuchanu*, must be entirely removed, and ascribed to the XXI. The traces of his family connexion with the XXII. Dynasty made it previously specious, notwithstanding a break thereby in the direct succession, that he belonged to this dynasty. This supposition can now be rescinded, and no interruption in the direct succession need be shown.

Since, however, in the above List the same family name occurs three and four times, this List, as it must have stood with Manetho, is not sufficient to distinguish the kings of one name on the monuments. It is well known that each king, in addition to his family name, took at his accession a second shield-name; and we have therefore now to combine the proper throne-names with those of the family shields. As my present order varies from my previous one, I will now distinguish the similar and partly identical names by figures, according with the order of the above table.

Concerning the throne-name of *Šešonk I.* there is no difference of opinion. He is the king whose shields may be read on the south side of the temple of Karnak, in finely carved hieroglyphics. The figure of the king to whom the Asiatic prisoners are conducted by Ammon is only sketched, not finished. In the interior, too, of the portico, his shields are found on the architrave above the columns, where the builder of a new portion, named in the inscription, puts his name. This local situation of his sculptures gives him place before the other kings of this dynasty named there; nor is it possible to assign his shields to the place of the third or fourth *Šešonk*, as their succession is settled by the Apis-stelæ. Were we to place him in lieu of *Šešonk II.* in the fifth place of the dynasty, he must then come after *Osarkon I.*, which the Karnak sculptures prevent. With Manetho's duration of his twenty-one years' reign, it is in conformity that we find on a stele in Selseleh^{11*} mention of his XXI. regnant year.

Osarkon I. has also left sculptures in the portico of Karnak, worked with the same elaborate care as those of his predecessor. He has, as little as *Šešonk I.*,