

Clarity Order and Chronology of Late Ramesside Letters

The following is a portion from my forthcoming book, *Pharaohs of the Bible*.

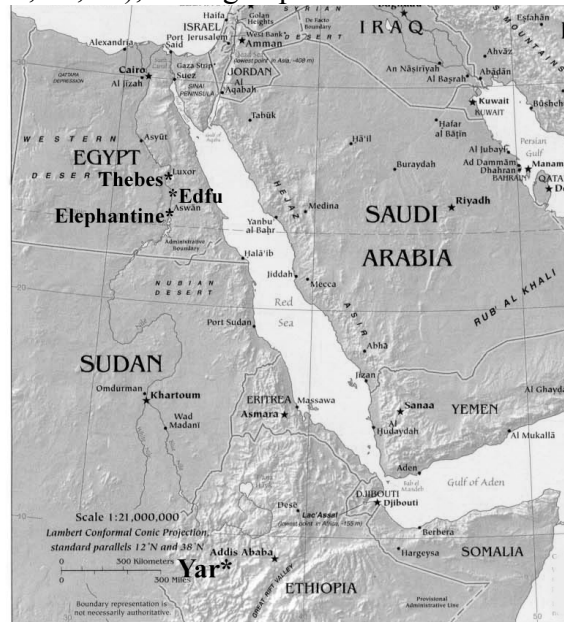
When Edmund Wenté translated the Late Ramesside Letters in 1967, he did not have Google Earth for locations; and he stated “my primary interest in translating these letters has been philological rather than historical.”¹ Cerny originally numbered the letters.

Late Ramesside Letters

The Late Ramesside Letters (LRL) are a group of roughly fifty official documents spanning the reigns of Rameses IX, X, and XI.² Only two of them give a year but not the name of the pharaoh: #37 in which chantress Hennutawi wrote in “year 2” (of Rameses IX) of strict grain measurement, grain in a sealed chest, and grain which she provided for offerings, and #9 in which scribe Dhutmose wrote in “year 10” (of Rameses XI) of being abandoned in Yar. The “Mayor of west of Ne, Paweraa,” is mentioned in #33. In #4 Dhutmose noted his superior, general Piankh (#13, 28, 40), “will go up to meet Panehsi”.

Theban Necropolis scribe Dhutmose placed Wenamun and other young wab-priests under the supervision of scribe Butehamon (#12), Dhutmose's younger brother or son. Dhutmose, nick-named Tjaroy, was sent to “Yar of Namekhay” (#1), a “far-off land” (#9). 1,100 miles south of Aswan (Elephantine) is the city Nekemte, Ethiopia; and 25 miles further south in the “hills” is the town of Arjo. The area is known for its gold and platinum. I suggest Dhutmose was sent to oversee the gold mines in Yar (Arjo, Ethiopia). When High Priest of Amun Amenhotep was suppressed (years 17-18 of Rameses IX), Dhutmose was recalled to Thebes, and 2nd prophets Hekanufe and Penhershefi took his place in Nubia.³

The island of Elephantine and its fort stood at the border between Egypt and Nubia, just before the first cataract of the Nile. It was an excellent defensive site for a city and its location made it a natural cargo transfer point for river trade. In LRL #2 Dhutmose stated, he left his superior (Piankh) in Elephantine in the company of Herere (his wife). Elephantine was likely the home of Piankh and Herere. Year 19 of Rameses' XI death was year one of *whm-mswt* of Rameses X.⁴ *Whm-mswt* means “rebirths”, as the gods are



1 Wenté, Edmund, translation of “Late Ramesside Letters”, University of Chicago, 1967, p.1

2 Ibid. One letter, #41, was written during King Herihor's reign.

3 LRL #23 and 24

4 Dollinger, Andre, Mayer Papyri at http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/texts/mayer_papyri.htm

considered reborn in the new pharaoh; so it is the transition time from the death of one pharaoh to establishing the reign of the next.

Ramesses X (1278-1269 BC)

Rameses X inherited the tomb trials and the foreign incursions into Upper Egypt. In the third year of Rameses X, the artisans did not work on the tombs for several days because of the Libyan marauders known as Meshwesh. Libyans also expanded into the western Nile delta. Problems delivering grain rations to workmen also continued. Panehsi ordered Dhutmose to collect grain from royal domains and temple estates and entrust it to Paweraa and Henuttawi to meet the needs of the workmen.⁵

A Karnak oracle mentioning Piankh is dated to Year 7 of the *whm-mswt*⁶ of Rameses X. In LRL #28, general Piankh⁷ is also given the titles “high priest of Amun, Viceroy of Kush, overseer of the southern foreign lands, overseer of granaries of Pharaoh's granaries, and leader of Pharaoh's troops.”⁸

Piankh ordered two necropolis scribes, Butehamon and Tjaroy (Dhutmose), to remove debris from a tomb entrance and to have an inspector ready upon his return from the south. Dhutmose and Butehamon's names are visible graffitos throughout the Valley of the Kings as they performed their duties to locate and loot tombs,⁹ and rebury the mummies in more secretive caches. Rameses X died in his ninth year. Papyrus Turin 2034 stated year 1 of *whm-mswt* corresponded to year 9 to indicate the gods reborn in Rameses XI.¹⁰

Ramesses XI (1269-1241 BC)

Ramesses' XI lineage is uncertain. He married Tentamun who bore daughters Tentamun and Henuttawi. Smendes, an official in Lower Egypt, later married young Tentamun.

Piankh died in Rameses' 11th year, and Panehsi became viceroy of Kush in the 12th year. Rameses' XI plan to “protect” the mummies from desecration while replenishing Egypt's treasury with their tomb furnishings continued, and used his own tomb as a workshop.¹¹ King's Valley tomb #35 (KV35) was the tomb of Amenhotep II and his son, but it was used as a mummy cache for Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye, Merenptah, Seti II, Siptah, Rameses' IV-VI, and a few others yet to be identified.¹²

Rameses XI sent Panehsi an order in his 17th year to cooperate with the king's butler,¹³ and to relinquish taxation and granary duties in Thebes back to the high priest who was now general Herihor, Piankh's son-in-law.¹⁴ They worked out the logistics by Rameses' XI

5 Papyrus Turin 1895

6 Nims, C.F., JNES 7 (1948), p. 157-162.

7 Piankh by name in #13, and simply as General in #18-21 and 34-35.

8 Wente, Edmund, “Late Ramesside Letters”, University of Chicago, 1967, p.59.

9 Mertz, Barbara, *Temples, Tombs and Hieroglyphs*, 1964, p.267. from Late Ramesside Letters (papyrus)

10 E., Tory, <http://disc.yourwebapps.com/discussion.cgi?disc=177754;article=9635>, accessed 11/12/10

11 “Twentieth Dynasty”, <http://www.touregypt.net/ldyn20b.htm>, accessed 11/12/10.

12 Sitek, Dariusz, *KV35*, <http://www.narmer.pl/kv/kv35en.htm>, accessed 11/12/10. Sealed with blocks dated with year 13.

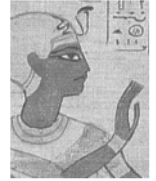
13 Turin Papyrus 1896

14 In LRL #35, general Piankh wrote to Nuteme, which could be his nick name for his daughter Nodjmet. Nodjmet later married Herihor.

19th year (1249 BC), in a way which allowed Panehsi to retain the honor of his people and pharaoh. Herihor was then given the titles which Piankh once held, thus fully combining military and sacred power again. Rameses' XI 27th year is inscribed on an Abydos stela.

Herihor, High Priest of Amun, then king

On walls at Karnak's Khonsu temple, high priest Herihor presents offerings in his own name, not that of pharaoh Rameses XI. Next, Herihor in the high priest's robe with the pharaoh's double crown and royal uraeus (cobra - pictured) had his high priest title and name in a royal cartouches.¹⁵ At the ruins of the temple of Mut (*Mut el-Krarab*) in the Dakhla Oasis (140 miles west of Thebes) is a block of an HPA with the broad collar and double shebyu collar (as pictured) wearing a short Nubian wig. The block ends at the eye.¹⁶ In Karnak, Herihor is depicted once wearing a short Nubian wig.¹⁷ Like Rameses II and III, Herihor has a wall devoted to his family of 19 sons and 19 daughters. The names of his sons begin with typical Egyptian names of Ankhefenmut and Ankhefenamon; but his seventh and seventeenth sons are Masaharta and Osorkon which are Libyan names. Although the HPA normally passed the position to his son, I think Panehsy may have made a condition that one of Piankh's sons would become HPA after Rameses XI died.



King Herihor

Because of *whm-mswt* debates, many Egyptologists do not accept that high priest Herihor became king Herihor. They point to the fact that all “administrative documents” are in Herihor's name with titles of High Priest, King's Son of Kush, or Vizier¹⁸, but not King; never reasoning that as king, he would have appointed others to take over his administrative duties – like elevating Smendes to vizier. Other kings are accepted with little or no physical evidence, whereas Herihor has his name in cartouches on several walls and columns as “king of upper and lower Egypt”. Sheshonq I didn't call himself pharaoh until his fifth year.

Herihor has a coronation scene and images of fulfilling his royal duty by offering Maat. He is even shown celebrating the (Heb) Sed Festival,¹⁹ which celebrates a pharaoh's thirtieth regnal year. The sed festival was a jubilee year of no taxation; thus all people prayed their pharaoh would have a long life.²⁰ To be prepared for his departure to the next life, he needed a sacred barque (wooden ship) to transport him. This ship was also central to the annual Festival of Opet and the Sed Festival. Not born of royalty, Herihor did not call himself pharaoh, but had the oracle at Khonsu proclaim his right to rule engraved on a stela there.²¹ On the official papyri of the Late Ramesside Letters, Wenamun is listed among 9 young wab-priests in the early years of Rameses IX to be placed under

15 Gardiner, Allen, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 1961, p. 304.

16 Kaper, Olaf, *Epigraphic Evidence from the Dakhleh Oasis in the Libyan Period*, *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 2009, p. 154-5.

17 Kaper, Olaf, *ibid.*, footnote #27, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, 1979, plate 33.

18 Until Rameses III, it was common for pharaoh to have one vizier in the north and another in the south.

19 Blyth, Elizabeth, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple*, 2006, p.183.

20 If Rameses XI had reigned 30 years or more, there would have been some memorial of it.

21 Blyth, Elizabeth, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple*, 2006, p.182.

Butehamon's supervision, and as a watchman with doorkeeper Dhutmose.²² “The Report of Wenamun” to obtain wood when no man was named pharaoh seems to be historical.

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Q for Quoting a letter within new letter; R for Response to a letter; TW=Thebes West; TE=Thebes East; MH=Medinet Habu; [] is not in text but my idea

#	From	To	Others	About	year
46	(mentions chief taxing master)	“Great official”- ThebesW	Efnamon, your eldest brother. Esamon. Henuttawi wants humor.	I was in the house when you were born. Should you be vizier	y1 Ram IX
42		Henuttawi, chantress-Thebes	Scribe Esamenope; field cultivation, copper, calf	“I am summoned before Pharaoh.” Palace	y2 Ram IX
37	Henuttawi-Thebes.	Esamenope- “don't worry about your father.” Hori. Menmaaren-akht overseer of granaries + treasury	Scribes Pentahunakht & Saroy; oi-pe-measure for emmer appraised; fishermen taking 2.5 khar each. Prenuemef case against father. Paunesh general takes men with oil from Thoth fort to MH	She provided own grain offerings. <u>Grain in sealed chest</u> with Pasesny. Wab-priest Espamedushepes Ship loaded with salt + goods from north. vizier + bread rations	Y2 “year 2” of Ram IX
12	[Dhutmose] Tjaroy-MH & and army scribe Pentahunakht	Deputy Hori, (returned to) Thebes East (near Ne)	7 Men of Necropolis in Ne: Pennestitawi, Neferamon, Horimose, Wenamon , Panakhtenope, Amenhotep, Kadjadja 2 be brought west to MH	No Meshwesh attack yet. Place 7 men under <u>scribe Butehamon</u> with Pakhor+Audjar =9 Have you paid pilot?	y3 of Ram IX
47	(“tell the Ombite”)	<u>Es</u> [amenope] -ThebesW, oversees distributing grain to workmen	Essobek, your scribe. vizir. scribe Efnamon; <i>watchman</i> Wenamon ; <i>doorkeepers</i> Khonsmose and Dhutmose (not Tjaroy)	Get to work! <i>Give grain</i> to men confined and workers lest they be idle, lest they fix blame on you	y5 of Ram IX
33	(mentions chief taxing master)		Mayor of west of Ne, Paweraa ; Eshor, son of Efnamon and Esmut	Men appointed to cultivate new land of Perdjadja; son of Omer	y9 Ram IX

22 Wente, Edmund, “Late Ramesside Letters”, University of Chicago, 1967. #12 and #47 respectively

36	Esamenope-south (notes chief taxing master CTM)	Chantress Mutenope-ThebesW	Deputy of temple, Esobek; for CTM, Sobeksankh+Sekhayeniot cut wood + clear brush	Plant fruit trees; Penhapi; deben + 5 kite for 15 weapons Onery makes	y9 of Ram IX
32	[general] Piankh-	controllers-ThebesW	Join with <u>chief taxing master</u> and build wall.	Wall in pasturage. [need a stonemason?]	y10 RIX
38	Herere, principle of the harem-Elephantine	Peseg-ThebesW troop commander	This is the second request.	“Give them rations” of grain from “it” [chest?].	y10 Ram IX
40	Paiankh -Nubia	Peseg-ThebesW		[possibly: do whatever my wife, Herere, says]	y10 RIX
39	Herere, chantress-Elephantine	Peseg-ThebesW troop commander	This is third request now backed by her husband's (Piank's) letter.	“look after the men” give rations of grain	y10 Ram IX
19	General	Tjaroy-ThebesW	Why have rations stopped? [feed the warriors or beware]	Have <u>Akhmenu</u> give bread rations to Meshwesh nearby	y10 Ram IX
22	General-south. scribe Pentahunakht	Tjaroy-ThebesW papyrus rolls	W/ Pentahunakht resolve matter of <u>Akhmenu</u>	“assemble men”- <i>rations</i> “give <i>coppersmith</i> job”	y10 Ram IX
	Dhutmose (Tj	aroy) is sent	on first expedition to	Nubia (Yar, Ethiopia)	
29	Butehamon-ThebeW	Shedsuhor-Nubia	Shedsuhor is troop commander	Assist weak Tjaroy on journey never taken b4	y10 RIX
43	[Butehamon+Shedemdud]-ThebeW DeirelMedina	[Shedsuhor]-Nubia; thru Akhmenu + Hadnakht	Q“When Hemesheri was here I sent you a letter.” I wrote twice; they didn't get to you.	Pilot Tjaroy in boat; look after him and be his man	y10 Ram IX
13	Amenopen-sakht, TW the <i>stonemason</i>	Dhutmose-Nubia	QD: “Send Amenhotep, I await him.” “I look after this Butehamon”	Cultivable land, barge to ground; Piankh 'haven't sent one letter'	y10 Ram IX
5	Dhutmose-Yar D is sick, and asked for prayer. (messenger	Bute+Shede-Thebes clear brush; trees on 3 riparian plots “take water	Donkeys to Medjay Chief Sermontu to get field grain to boat; wood to my house, <i>stone patchwork</i> . herdsman Esamon' oxen. “Paykamen, my brother”	Wab-priest Pentahunakht will supervise boat transport. Smaragdus vessels; Attend Hemesheri & Khonsmose' daughter.	y11 Ram IX

	Esamon)	to Amun” also in #3	Tapeses+Paturaa	Clothe housemen. 3 garments from Pakhor	
30	Pharaoh's general- Nubia	Workmen+ Butehamon+ Kar-TW	Tjaroy+Shedsuhor “have reached me”. Bute+Kar get copper from Heramen to give to Tutuy+Hori+2	Fetch chariot poles. Five servants are yours, don't give Heamenpenaf any; receive from Herere	y11 Ram IX
14	Amenhotep, prophet- Thebes	Dhutmose- Yar	Hemesheri's daughter: fine (R#5); “general, your lord”	Quotes that he attends Butehamon+Shedem “danger removed”	y11 RIX
51	Dhutmose-	(partial)	It is for payment . . .		
6	Dhutmose- Yar	Bute+Hemes heri-TW	Chantresses Baky +Shedemdua	“I am alive.I am well.” “bring me back alive”	y11 RIX
15	Amenhotep, prophet- Thebes	Dhutmose- Yar;taken by Nubians	Butehamon prays + <i>offers</i> <i>water</i> on your behalf. to give advice	“Stay on the boat!” it protects you “Write in your own hand”	y12 Ram IX
25	Dhutmose- Nubia	controller- ThebesW	Son of Amenpanufe – crew 3 deben of silver to pay for violate Hadnakht; work w/ [Shed]suhor, son of mine	“Give the money to Hori” I won't delay ; have written testimony	Y17 -18 Ram IX
	Dhutmose is	called back	to Thebes when Amen-	hotep is suppressed.	y18
23	Hekanufe is 2 nd prophet [Nubia?]	Tjerta (Tjaroy)- ThebesW	“servant of the general Penhershefi” [Hemesheri is Hek's wife]	Don't cease writing to me about your condition.	y19 Ram IX
24	Hekanufe 2 nd prophet	Tjuroy (Tjaroy)TW	Hemesheri is alive and well; Penhershefi	Write thru anybody who comes northward.	y19 RIX
26	Ne, Mayor- ThebesE	Dhutmose -ThebesW	Troop commander says harvest spoils from neglect	Workman says he was beaten. - send to me	y19 Ram IX
27	Panufenufe- ThebesE	Dhutmose Tjaroy-TW	Treasury scribe, prophet of Sobek, matter of Kassu	Don't make a claim against Sobek;hearcase	y19 RIX
48	-ThebesW	Dhutmose-	Grain vizier registering “this damage”	Determine loss, store all that's found	y19 RIX
17	Singer of general-south	Dhutmose+ Heme+Shed	“singer of General, Pentahures”	Requests sending letters thru messengers	y19 RIX
21	general-	Tjaroy-	General's scribe <u>Kenkhum</u>	“How shall pharaoh	y1

	Nubia Pentahunakht Kenkhum	ThebesW	+ controller Payshuuben W/ Nuteme throw two medjay into Nile by nite	reach Nubia? Ofwhom is pharaoh superior still?" barge, sendgold	of Ram X
34	general- Nubia	Payshuuben- ThebesW	W/ Nuteme +Tjaroy throw 2 medjay into Nile	"Do not let anybody of the land find out."	y1 RX
35	General- south <u>Kenykhum</u>	Nuteme/Nodj met harem- ThebesW	W/ Nuteme +Tjaroy throw 2 medjay into Nile by nite	"I have noted all matters which you have written."	y1 Ram X
20	general-south	Tjaroy- ThebesW	"You know this journey which I'm going to make"	Send cloth and rags for bandages for soldiers	y9 RX
28	workmen+Bu te+Kar-TW written 9days via Hadnakht, the Medjay	[Pi]ankh- Nubia HPA letter sent by Hori retrieved by Butehamon	KSOK, overseer granaries+ pharaoh's troops; Piankh's workmen <i>Amenpanufe</i> + Heramenpenaf; Tjaroy inspector to tombs	Demands clothes -wife? Uncover debris from foremost tomb; transport boat was sunk; brought back men from Ne	y1 Ram XI
18	general-south	Tjaroy- ThebesW	I've noted all matters about which you wrote.	"I have accomplished all commissions"Q#28	y1 RXI
	Piankh going	N to Thebes.	Dhutmose going South to	meet him Elephantine.	
4	Dhutmose- Edfu to fort Elephantine Nubia (rebellion)	Bute+Shede mdua-TW "another matter" Butehamon + Hermenpenaf	Workmen Amenhotep, Ese, Hermenpenaf, Bak- amon; scribe <u>Kenkhnun</u> "tell <i>Amenpanufe</i> to write letter to let man receive it" warden Penpawenher	Feed soldiers, send oil to delta, attend Khonsmose' daughter and Shedemdua Superior [Piankh] saying "I will go up to meet Panehsi "	y1 Ram XI
31	Singer Pentahures- Elephant	Butehamon- ThebesW	Confidant Akhmenu, craftsman, Hemesheri chantress Tuia, scribe Hori	Look after kids and father. Have spear +confections made; receive Taymedjay	y1 of Ram XI
3	Dhutmose- Yar "when I returned"gold	Butehamon- ThebesW	Tainuteme+Paadjadja l. "take water to Amun" bread-rations	Attend Shedemdua +Hemesheri Plant grain+Vegies	y2 Ram XI
45	? MHabu- ThebesW	Dhutmose- Nubia; "2 nd expedition"	Send thru Pentahunakht, general's scribe.	You've sent 3 letters to Bute, but none to me.	y3 Ram XI
2	Dhutmose- Yar hills "up"	Bute+Shede mdua-	Workmen Amenhotep, Kas Bakeamon, Henuaa	Herere with Piankh in Elephantine.welfare of	y4 of

	“write to me”	ThebesW	Takamene, Sedsumut; scribe <u>Khenkhnun</u> relay	Hemesheri; letters up with Elephantine men	RXI
49	-ThebesW	[Piank- Nubia]	General. After you left Ne daughter of slave-woman	She is to be brought back.	y5 RXI
1	Dhutmose- Yar ill when arrived	Butehamon- ThebesW	Chief workmen Bakenmut, Amennakht; Heramenpenaf guardian Kadere, Pakhor	Protect Shedemdua from fieldmen. D sent several letters, but received none.	y5 of Ram XI
27 A	Dhutmose	controller- ThebesW	Guardian of mine shall collect remainder	Illness; “you shall make for him”	y6 RX
50	Dhutmose- Nubia	Butehamon+ Shedemdua- ThebesW (Quoted in #16)	Young Takamene, Scribes Meniunufe+Amenhotep Shedsumut, Tainuteme, Tapeses, Medjay Kasy. “I will not be silent aboutit.”	You haven't written me about 17 spears and coppersmith Hori'sjob. You have not sent boat bearing general'sname.	y6 of Ram XI
10	Dhutmose-	Karoy +Bute -ThebesW	Another matter from Scribe <u>Khenkhnun</u> – Hemesheri “write your condition”	Wrote about spears prior to your letter. Give Hori copper for spears, not \$.	y6 of Ram XI
7	Dhutmose- Yar	Guardian Kar -ThebeW	Chantress Tauhenu D is sick.	Attend Shedemdua; prevent another wrong	y7 RXI
44	Shedemdua- Thebes	Dhutmose- Yar	<i>Coppersmiths</i> brought before vizier. Tabake (her)	Wax mouths of vessels of smaragdus. foreigner	y7 Ram XI
11	Heramenpena f-TW	Dhutmose	Write about your condition “presence of the general”	Look for Amenkeni	y7 Ram XI
9	Dhutmose- Yar Sick, but beer +good news	Butehamon + Shedemdua+ Hemesheri- ThebesW	Medjay Kas-weaver. Send Medjay Hadnakht (Sherden Hori); scribe Horsheri; ass of Nofreti, <u>Iunufe's son</u>	4 spears + balance- Hori for guardian Kar . Chariot donkeys. Documents; “my superior” abandoned	y 10 Ram eses XI
16	Butehamon + Shedemdua- Thebes	Dhutmose- Nubia “hills” “water” Q#5	Workman Heramenpenaf Payshuuben gets spears son of <u>Iunufe</u> , Hemesheri	“I wrote spears letter to guardian Karoy in Ne.” R#50 Medjays Kasy(Q#9)+Kahnakht	y10 of Ram XI
8	Butehamon- Thebes	Dhutmose- Yar	Heramenpenaf, Amenopenakht,	Quotes grain+vegie#3. Quotes 17 spears #9 to	y10 of

			<i>Amenpanufe</i> ; Pentahures (Q#17)-	Kar (oy). Q#2-“writing about your condition”	Ram XI
41	Bakenkhons-TE general's scribe and Dikonsiry	Ankhef-ThebesW Necropolis scribe	Don't listen to words of opposition Bakenkhons is wab-priest of king's food [Herihor]	“You wrote in opposition to this false testimony” “be firm with these 16 bread-rations”	20+ year later

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