

Appendix A

The Pasenhor Genealogy

The Pasenhor genealogy is contained on a Serapeum stela erected in the 37th (and final) year of king Aakheperre Sheshonk V (654-618 B.C.). It has served as the backbone of the chronology of the 22nd dynasty since its discovery by Mariette late in the 19th century. On the stele the dedicant, a young man named Pasenhor (earlier read as Horpasen), traces his ancestry back 16 generations, this according to all Egyptologists save one. For the record we quote the stela, using the translation provided by Breasted. Breasted's paragraph titles are included in italics. My own remarks are added in square brackets [].

Apis Record

This god was introduced to his father, Ptah, in the year 12, fourth month of the second season, fourth day, of King Okheperre, Son of Re, Sheshonk (IV) [Aakheperre Sheshonk is now numbered Sheshonk V], given life. He was born in the year 11 of his majesty; he rested in his place in Tazoser (the cemetery) in the year 37, third month of the first season, day 27, of his majesty.

Sixteenth Generation

May he grant life, prosperity, health, and joy of heart to his beloved son, the prophet Neit, Harpason [the author of the stela, now called Pasenhor];

Fifteenth Generation

Son of the count, governor of the South, chief prophet in Heracleopolis, commander of the army, Henptah; born of the prophetess of Hathor of Heracleopolis, his sister, the matron, Ireteru (*Yr.t-rw*);

Fourteenth Generation

Son of the like, Harpeson; born of the chief sistrum-bearer of Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands, ruler of the two shores, Petpetdedes;

Thirteenth Generation

Son of the like, Henptah; born of the like, Thenekemet (*A-n-qm.t);

Twelfth Generation

Son of the like, Uzphatenkhof (WD-PtH-anxf); born of the prophetess of Hathor of Heracleopolis, king's daughter, the matron, Tentsepeh (&nt.spH);

Eleventh Generation

Son of the like, Nimlot, born of the chief sistrum-bearer of Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands, ruler of the two shores, Tentsepeh;

Tenth Generation

Son of the Lord of the Two Lands: Osorkon (II), born of Uzmutenkhos;

Ninth Generation

Son of King Takelot (I), and the divine mother, Kepes;

Eighth Generation

Son of King Osorkon (I) and the divine mother, Temehkhonsu;

Seventh Generation

Son of King Seshonk (I) [identified as Hedjkheperre Sheshonk based on other documents] and the divine mother, Kerome;

Sixth Generation

The divine father, the great chief, Namlot, and the divine mother, Tentsepeh;

Fifth Generation

Son of the like, Sheshonk, born of the king's mother, Mehetnusekhet;

Fourth Generation

Son of the like, Pethut (PA-Tw . t);

Third Generation

Son of the like, Nebneshi (NbnSy);

Second Generation

Son of the like, Musen (MAwAsn);

First Generation

Son of the Libyan (Tyhn), Buyuwawa (Bw-yw-wA-wA). Abiding, abiding, remaining, remaining, enduring, enduring, flourishing, flourishing, in the temple of Harsaphes, king of the Two Lands, ruler of the two shores, one man the son of another man, without perishing, forever and ever, forever and ever, in Heracleopolis. BAR IV 791-792

The genealogy is diagrammed on the following page in a flow chart following a similar chart produced by Kenneth Kitchen.¹ Breasted's spelling of the names of the ancestors of Pasenhor has been altered to correspond to the currently accepted orthography, and Kitchens numbering (lettering) of the duplicate names has been followed throughout.

According to Breasted (whose translation was published in 1906) the ancestors of Pasenhor stretch back 16 generations to a Libyan chieftain named Buyuwawa. That early interpretation of the Pasenhor stela has been faithfully adhered to throughout the 20th century. To my knowledge there have been no dissenters.

¹TIP (1986) table 19

Figure 21: The Pasenhor Genealogy (Majority Opinion)

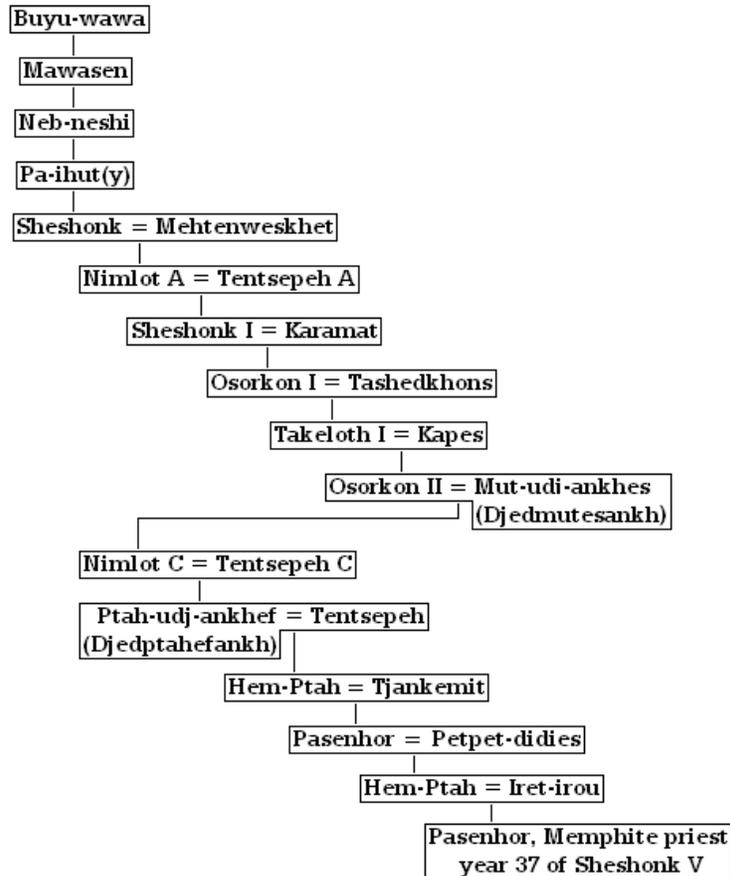
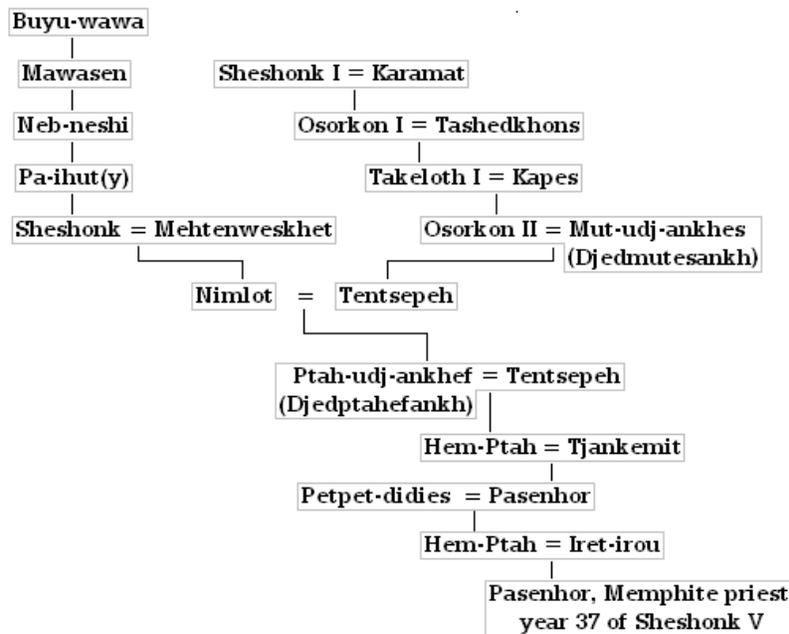


Figure 21 is, of course, the most straightforward way to interpret the data on Pasenhor's stele. But an alternative structuring of the genealogy had already been published a year earlier than that in Breasted's *Ancient Records*, notably by Flinders Petrie in his *History of Egypt* (1905), repeating claims he had made in an earlier article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 26 (p. 284). Petrie, noting the omission of the qualifier "son of" in the sixth generation of the genealogy, as well as the presence in both the sixth and eleventh generations of an ancestor named Nimlot, whose wife in both instances is named Tentsepeh, assumed that Pasenhor, after tracing his ancestry back through Nimlot's wife to king Sheshonk I, then doubles back and establishes his connections with

Buyuwawa through Nimlot himself. In this interpretation the Nimlot = Tentsepeh generation is repeated by Pasenhor before enumerating the ancestors in each of the two branches of the genealogy. The results of Petrie's analysis are summed up in the chart shown below (figure 22). Again we update the spellings of personal names following Kitchen.

Figure 22: The Pasenhor Genealogy: Flinders Petrie Opinion



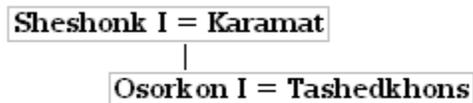
I omit from this discussion the several objections raised by Breasted to Petrie's version of the stela inscription (BAR IV p. 399 note a) as well as Petrie's own rationale for dealing with several of the identical objections, raised by himself. The interested reader can read the originals and form his/her own opinion. In the final analysis it was not the arguments of these two pioneering Egyptologists which won the day for Breasted's lengthened version of the genealogy. To understand we must first note several features of the genealogy of Pasenhor as understood by Breasted and Petrie.

1. Both scholars place the time of Sheshonk I in the ninth generation before Pasenhor and both identify Sheshonk I as the king

Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, well known at the turn of the twentieth century from multiple monuments, and especially from the Bubastite gate inscription recording the subjugation of multiple towns and districts of ancient Palestine. As stated earlier, based almost exclusively on this wall inscription Hedjkheperre Sheshonk I was identified as the Shishak who invaded Palestine and sacked the Jerusalem temple in the days of Rehoboam, son of Solomon, around 945 B.C. Thus the date of the beginning of the twentieth dynasty was established on multiple assumptions, all unproven. None of this assumed history is changed if Petrie's shortened version of the Pasenhor genealogy is adopted.

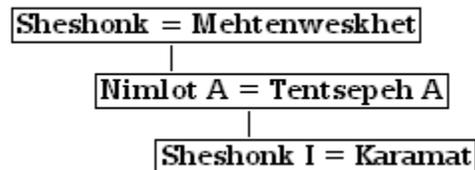
2. What does differentiate the two versions of the genealogy is the immediate ancestry of king Sheshonk I. In Petrie's version of the inscription the Pasenhor stela does not identify the parents of Sheshonk I, and it provides only two bits of information concerning this king. His wife (queen) is named Karamat and he fathered a son who became Osorkon I. None of these genealogical connections can be substantiated from the monuments. No monument names a Karamat as the wife of any king Sheshonk and none identifies a son Osorkon who became king.

Figure 23: Sheshonk I's family connections according to the Petrie interpretation of the Pasenhor stela



This lack of corroborating evidence, however, is no justification for rejecting Petrie's interpretation of the monument in favor of Breasted's. A similar objection applies to Breasted's lengthened version, where the existence of queen Karamat and a royal son Osorkon remain. But in the longer version other elements are supplied. Unfortunately they too are largely unsubstantiated in the 9th generation before Pasenhor.

Figure 24: Sheshonk I's family connections according to Breasted's interpretation of the Pasenhor stela



This is not the time to examine the subject in depth, since in the end we reject both interpretations of the Pasenhor stele, as interpreted by Petrie and Breasted. Sufficient to note that Breasted's interpretation has won the day. But the reader should be aware that when Kitchen states that Sheshonk I has been identified as the king with prenomen Hedjkheperre since the days of Champollion, and reviews "the rather limited evidence that actually underpins this axiomatic assumption" (TIP 88) his comments barely fill two short paragraphs. He notes that there exist three Karnak statues of a Theban family of DjedThutefankh (B) and some auxiliary monuments which provide a genealogy tracing itself back through a HPA Iuput to a king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk. Since the Bubastite portal inscription, a few bandage epigraphs, and the so-called Silsila stele, all mention a HPA Iuput as the son of a Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, according to Kitchen this Hedjkheperre must be Sheshonk I. Let the reader follow the logic of that argument. It is clearly a non-sequitur. We agree with every detail yet disagree with Kitchen's conclusions. Given time we could show that this Theban family belongs in the 7th century. And we have no quarrel with the inclusion of Iuput. There is no doubt that our "second" Hedjkheperre Sheshonk had a son by that name. He was an extremely influential high priest of Amon. The bandage epigraphs and Silsila stele are reviewed in our Appendix B.

In short, *there exists absolutely no monumental evidence that unequivocally identifies Sheshonk I as a king named Hedjkheperre.* Apart from this data, there does exist some evidence that confirms a genealogy that resembles the one shown in figure 20, but lacking the prenomen of the king Sheshonk. Needless to say, it is largely this evidence

which leads Egyptologists to adopt the Breasted rather than the Petrie version of the Pasenhor stela. For reference we include Kitchen's summary of relevant inscriptions.

A further area which is in need of clarification is the ancestry of Shoshenq I, and more especially his possible relationships with the 21st Dynasty and other notables of the time. The immediate ancestry of Shoshenq I given on the Pasenhor stela is confirmed by three sources: a family monument from Abydos, a stela seen in trade, and data concerning the contemporary high priests of Ptah in Memphis. The first item records a foundation at Abydos in favour of the deceased Chief of the Ma, Nimlot, son of a Chief of the Ma, Shoshenq (A), and his wife Mehtenweskheth (l. 24); Nimlot is often called simply 'son of Mehtenweskheth' (ll. 3, 10, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25). Acting for his father Nimlot, 'his son' Shoshenq (B) appears in line 1, being addressed by the unnamed king (ll. 5-6). It is precisely Nimlot A son of Shoshenq A and Mehtenweskheth who is given as father of Shoshenq I by the Pasenhor stela; thus our Shoshenq B is none other than the future king Shoshenq I, gaining favours from the reigning king for his own father's cult; that pharaoh would be Psusennes II. This picture is supplemented by the second item. The stela seen by Daressy names 'the Great Chief of Foreigners, Chief of Chiefs, Shoshenq justified, son of the Great Chief of Foreigners, Nimlot justified, his mother being the daughter of a Great Chief of Foreigners, Tentsepeh, justified for eternity'. Adding the name of Tentsepeh, wife of Nimlot and mother of the future Shoshenq I precisely as on Pasenhor's stela, this document agrees with the Abydos monument. TIP 90 (pp. 111-2).

Clearly these two documents argue for the Breasted versus the Petrie version of the Pasenhor genealogy, as does the third source named by Kitchen but omitted from our discussion.² But as we will show in a moment, they also argue for the a third possible interpretation of the Pasenhor stela, wherein Kitchen's Sheshonk B belongs to the early 7th century. And there at least we can confirm that his prenomen is Hedjkheperre.

As stated, there remains a third possible interpretation of the Pasenhor stela, one not open to Egyptologists restricted by the limitations of the traditional

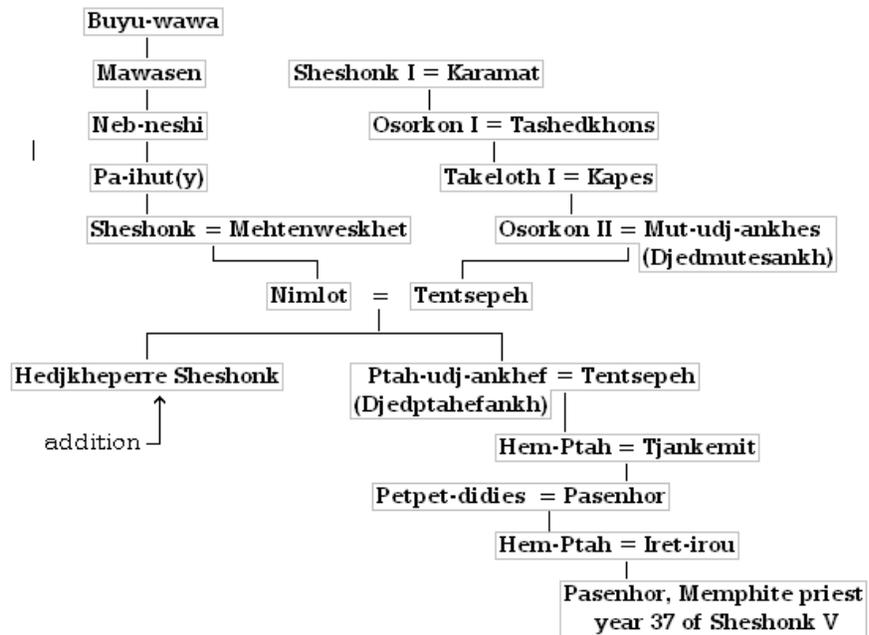
² The third source mentioned by Kitchen, the "data concerning the contemporary high priests of Ptah in Memphis", concerns a high priest named Shedsunefertem who mentions the names Tentsepeh and Mehtenweskheth on his statue Cairo Cat. 741. The argument is too detailed for inclusion here, but does provide some support for the existence of women by these names in the 10th century B.C., providing the Shedsunefertem alluded to belongs in that time frame. We suspect he does not. Further research might identify this high priest with the ancestor of Ashakhet on the Berlin stela and the Serapeum stela of Ashakhet discussed in an earlier chapter. This Shedsunefertem lived in the early 7th century.

history. It reverts back to the interpretation proposed by Petrie, with one refinement. It was first suggested to me by considerations related to the Bubastite wall inscription, and by other factors which will become apparent in our second Appendix.

In this third scenario the identity of Sheshonk I is left open. His prenomen is almost certainly not Hedjkheperre. In our opinion all of the monuments which name a Hedjkheperre Sheshonk and provide a genealogy resembling the one described in figure 20, refer to a king who ruled some portion of the Nile Delta in a time frame only a generation following Osorkon II. It follows that his reign must coincide in part with the last years of Sheshonk III. In short, he occupies the precise time frame recently proposed by the Egyptologist Aidan Dodson for a "second" king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, only recently "discovered" (see Appendix B).

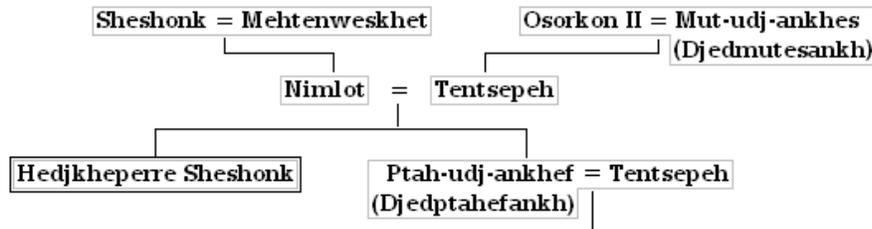
Dodson provides no ancestry for his new 22nd dynasty king Sheshonk. All he knows is that this king probably lived and ruled between Sheshonk III and Pemay. But our third scenario, diagrammed below in our Figure 25, provides his ancestry. The genealogical connections of this second Hedjkheperre are described in considerable detail in the traditional history, with one exception. They omit the name of Hedjkheperre. A quick glance at Petrie's interpretation of that genealogy will reveal his place in history. We merely duplicate Petrie's chart and make one addition - the name of Hedjkheperre as a son of Kitchen's Nimlot C.

Figure 25: A third variation of the Pasenhor genealogy which maintains the family connections of Hedjkheperre Sheshonk but dates this king in the 4th rather than the 9th generation back from Pasenhor.



If we are correct, the Pasenhor ancestry preserves the names of the father and grandparents of king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, but not that of the king himself. We need only add the name of Hedjkheperre to complete the historical connection. The revised genealogy, borrowed from figure 21, is listed below. The added name of Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, the one element of the genealogy which is not present on the Pasenhor stela, is emphasized in order to distinguish the addition..

Figure 26: The family connections of Hedjkheperre Sheshonk (= Dodson's second Hedjkheperre) according to a variant interpretation of Petrie's version of the Pasenhor genealogy.



The reader will appreciate that, with the exception of the references to Djedptahefankh and Osorkon II, this is precisely the genealogy typically credited to the 10th century Sheshonk I (compare figures 19 & 21). Yet it belongs to a maternal grandson of Osorkon II. Historians are in error by 250 years in their placement of Hedjkheperre Sheshonk. This is not the place to argue the case. Further support for this revised dating will be forthcoming in our Appendix B.

There is only a single feature of our argument related to this king that needs to be underscored. There are not two Hedjkheperre Sheshonk's, as Dodson argues; there is only one. The earlier king by that name is a fiction, a figment of the collective imaginations of contemporary Egyptologists. The 7th century Hedjkheperre maintains many of the identical immediate family connections typically credited to the 10th century founder of the 22nd dynasty by modern historians, since those family connections were mistakenly derived from monuments belonging to the "second" king. There is however, no queen Karamat, and there is no royal son Osorkon, since those features of the genealogy were derived from a faulty interpretation of the Pasenhor stela. They belong to the Sheshonk I who is nine generations removed from Pasenhor in his Serapeum stela. King Hedjkheperre Sheshonk IV, on the other hand, is only four generations removed.

Appendix B

Hedjkheperre Sheshonk – A Reevaluation

As early as the year 2000³, this author came to the conclusion that a king named Hedjkheperre Sheshonk ruled in the north of Egypt between Sheshonk III (712-673) and Pemay (660-654 B.C.) That conclusion was unavoidable for three reasons.

1. In the first place the revised history being developed in the online version of *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile* had already determined that the 22nd dynasty king Sheshonk III ruled in Egypt during the years 712-673 B.C. Several Serapeum stelaes demanded that a gap of 26 years must exist between the 28th year of this king and the 2nd year of one of his successors, named Pemay, whose reign lasted at least six years.⁴ This necessitated assigning to Pemay the regnal years 660-654 B.C., leaving a gap of 13 years in the chronology of the “22nd dynasty” that needed to be filled. Since much of this gap (673-660 B.C.) overlapped the first ten years of the Assyrian occupation of Egypt, and since the Assyrian annals of Ashurbanipal named a “*Su-si-in-qu, king of Bu-si-ru*” as one of the appointed rulers in the north of Egypt during these years, it followed that this otherwise unknown Sheshonk must be the missing king. At this point the second consideration came into play.

2. Our revised chronology had already determined that the 22nd dynasty did not begin in Egypt around the year 945 B.C. as argued by traditionalist Egyptologists. Its dates had to be reduced, minimally, by the identical 121 years applied to the 23rd through 26th dynasties, a reduction supported by a book full of evidence. This meant, in turn, that the king Sheshonk I from the Pasenhor genealogy could not be the biblical Sheshak who attacked Jerusalem in the days of Rehoboam, son of Solomon, in the

³The online publication of *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile* was begun on May 1, 2000 and was completed Dec. 31 that same year.

⁴See note 64, page 58 in the printed version of *Nebuchadnezzar* published earlier this year (A.D. 2008).

late 10th century. Of necessity the 22nd dynasty began, at the earliest, well over a century later. It followed from these considerations that there were absolutely no grounds for maintaining the fiction that the king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk who authored the Bubastite wall inscription must be identified as Sheshonk I. But if he was not Sheshonk I, then where did he fit into our revised historical sequence, and what was the nature of the attack on Palestinian cities described on his wall inscription? One consideration at least suggested that the wall inscription was inscribed around the end of the first quarter of the 7th century. If so, then Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, its author, must have reigned in this time frame. What was this consideration?

At least a year before composing the third chapter of the first book in A.D. 2000, I became convinced that both sides of the Bubastite wall/gate complex (the section between the 2nd pylon and the small temple of Ramses III) were inscribed within a short time of one another, and likely very soon after its construction - the inside by Prince Osorkon (whose revised dates before he assumed the kingship are c.a.705-673) and the outside by Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, who must have been a contemporary of Prince Osorkon. [Traditionalist Egyptologists must explain why the outside of the wall was inscribed first, supposedly in ca. 940 B.C., while the inside of the wall, that which is typically inscribed first, was left blank for well over a century, from the time of Shishak till the time of prince Osorkon (c.a. 800 B.C.)].

The Sheshonk inscription, in my opinion, predates the Chronicle of prince Osorkon by at most a few months. It may even have been inscribed slightly later. The Chronicle was composed in the last years of Osorkon's tenure as HPA, thus shortly before 673 B.C. The Bubastite wall had just been completed, or was in the process of completion. The inscription of king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, which adorned the outside of the gateway portal, was very likely part of the finishing work of the construction. It must also date around 673 B.C. It no doubt predates the 671 B.C. conquest by Esarhaddon, and perhaps records cities subjugated by Egypt in the immediate aftermath of the brief but illusory Egyptian victory over Esarhaddon in 674 B.C. Other interpretations, of course, are possible.

3. A final consideration, that which early on convinced this author absolutely that the king Sheshonk who ruled in the interval between Sheshonk III and Pemay was named Hedjkheperre, is the data on the Paserhor genealogy discussed in our Appendix A. Based on the alternative interpretation given to the Petrie version of the genealogy, we had already determined the possibility that a king named Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, with most of the family connections wrongly assigned to Sheshonk I in the traditional history, lived and ruled in Egypt early in the second quarter of the 7th century. Paserhor's stele was erected in the 37th year of Sheshonk V (654-618 B.C.), thus in the last year of that king's life (618 B.C.). On the assumption that Paserhor was at the time a young priest, say 20 years of age, and that a generation in priestly circles amounted to roughly 20 years, then Paserhor must have been born around 638 B.C. and Nimlot, in the 5th generation back, was born around 738 B.C. The birth of Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, the son of Nimlot, would therefore date around 718 B.C., and he would have been around 45 years of age when he replaced Sheshonk III in Bubastis in 673 B.C., if indeed he ruled in Bubastis. These calculations are admittedly crude, but well within reason.

Having reached these conclusions early in the year 2000 it was particularly gratifying to hear, three years later, that an influential Egyptologist had independently come to the same conclusion, using other evidence.⁵ In 1993 Aidan Dodson published an article in the journal *Göttinger Miszellen* entitled "A new King Shoshenq confirmed?"⁶, in which he argued the existence of a "second" Hedjkheperre Sheshonk ruling precisely in the interval between Sheshonk III and Pemay (his Pami). We leave it to our readers to peruse the article and follow the gist of his reasoning for themselves. Sufficient here to note the one aspect of his argument with which we strongly disagree. Dodson maintains the traditionalist view that the first king of the 22nd dynasty was also named Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, that this king authored the Bubastite inscription and must be identified with the king Sheshak who attacked Jerusalem in the days of Rehoboam. Nothing essential has changed in the traditional history, which still believes that the 22nd dynasty began with the reign of this "first" Hedjkheperre

⁵It has recently come to this author's attention that the historical revisionist David Rohl, several years earlier than 2000, had already concluded that there existed a second Hedjkheperre Sheshonk ruling after Sheshonk III. What is unique to this revision is the time frame in which this king lived and perhaps our conclusions regarding the pedigree of this king.

⁶GM 137 (1993) 53-58.

Sheshonk in the latter half of the 10th century. The “newly discovered” Hedjkheperre is a namesake king only, whose pedigree is yet to be determined. Egyptologists, who have universally endorsed Dodson’s argument, now refer to this newly discovered king as Sheshonk IV, renumbering the obscure king who formerly bore this number as Sheshonk VI.

Shortly after the publication of chapter 3 of *Nebuchadnezzar* I received an e-mail from one critic informing me that I had not incorporated into my chronological outline Dodson’s second king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk. My online response to that criticism is reproduced below.

“I am aware of Dodson's recent claim that a 2nd Hedjkheperre Sheshonk ruled in Egypt following Sheshonk III. The fact that I make no mention of this king in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile* is consistent with the summary treatment of the entire 22nd dynasty provided in that revision. I avoid all 22nd dynasty history prior to Osorkon II and I had no intention of opening a Pandora's box by identifying the conjectured successor of Sheshonk III, so I left a gap of 13 years between the death of Sheshonk III in ca. 673 B.C. and the beginning of the reign of Pemay in c.a. 660 B.C. But I am well aware that another Sheshonk ruled in that time slot (along with multiple other local dynasts throughout Egypt). That time frame corresponds to the beginning of the Assyrian occupation and it is clear from the Assyrian annals that a "Su-si-in-qu, king of Bu-si-ru" governed the north central delta from Busiris during those critical years, precisely in the interval between the death of Sheshonk III and the advent of Pemay. The conclusion that this king is the Hedjkheperre Sheshonk identified by Aidan Dodson is inescapable. What will be more surprising to you, and to traditionalist and revisionist historians alike, is my belief that this Hedjkheperre is the author of the inscription on the Bubastite Portal of the Karnak temple, that which is typically credited to Hedjkheperre Sheshonk I and which (wrongly) serves to identify him as the 10th century contemporary of Rehoboam of Judah. The matter will be discussed briefly in my second book.

In the recently revised and published paper version of *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile* (2008) the table outlining the kings of the 22nd dynasty is left precisely as it was published on-line in the year 2000. The blank between Sheshonk III and Pemay is left unfilled, save for question marks and a note at the bottom of the page stating that “A name will be supplied in the second book of our series”.

We might conclude this discussion at this point save for two features of the reign of our Hedjkheperre Sheshonk which are sure to provoke a response

from the critics. The first concerns his reign length and the second relates to our earlier discussion regarding the bodies in DB320. We briefly discuss these two issues, in the order cited.

The Reign Length of the second Hedjkheperre. We have argued that Hedjkheperre Sheshonk ruled in Busiris during the first ten years of the Assyrian domination of Egypt and that he must therefore be the king who fills the thirteen year gap between the death of Sheshonk III and the beginning of the reign of Pemay (673-660 B.C.). We have further argued that he authored the Bubastite gate inscription around the beginning of this time frame. All would be well and good save for several inscriptions bearing his name that assign to him upwards of 21 regnal years, and one in particular, the so-called Silsila stela (see above, p. 286) which suggests that the Bubastite wall/gate construction must be dated sometime around his 21st year. These two scenarios are clearly not compatible. How do we solve this problem?

The most straightforward solution is to assume that Hedjkheperre actually began ruling in Egypt as early as 694 B.C., though certainly not in Bubastis, the seat of government for the 22nd dynasty king Sheshonk III. His “reign” may have been nothing more than an auxiliary position in support of his relative⁷, and was perhaps located in nearby Busiris, where the Assyrians later positioned him as a regional governmental official. We remind the reader that the whole of Egypt at this time was in turmoil. It was a chaotic period we termed the “great disruption” in the first book of our series. Multiple claimants for kingships and high priesthoods struggled for power. Kings from four different dynasties, the 20th through the 23rd, claimed parts of Egypt as their own, each amounting to little more than a nomarchy. According to our admittedly crude calculation on page 296 above, Hedjkheperre Sheshonk was born around 718 B.C. In 694 he would be around 24 years old., a reasonable age for an ambitious young man to reckon himself a king.

But if Hedjkheperre conceived of his reign as beginning in 694 B.C., and if he is the Sheshonk who ruled in Busiris during the Assyrian occupation,

⁷We have adopted the position that Sheshonk III and Takeloth II, both of whom ruled in parts of Egypt in 694 B.C., were both sons of Osorkon II. Our Sheshonk IV was a maternal grandson of Osorkon II according to our interpretation of the Pasenhor stele.

then his reign continued at least through the year 667, the time when the Assyrian annals records that name. Thus his reign lasted at least into his 28th year. Where are the documents attesting this extended reign? If he ruled through to the time of Pelay in 660, his 35th year, the difficulty is compounded. How do we explain the absence of monuments beyond his 21st year? Again the answer is straightforward.

Very few of the Egyptian “kings and regents” listed in the Assyrian annals have recorded these years of captivity, and small wonder. They may have been called kings by the Assyrians, but they had limited power. We assume they authored few, if any, monuments. The king named Limintu in the Assyrian annals, who ruled in Hermopolis, may well be a known son of our Hedjkheperre Sheshonk named Nimlot, who functioned during the earlier years of his father in nearby Heracleopolis as “Leader of the entire army” (TIP 246-7). No records have been found documenting an Assyrian king by this name. Certainly none which entitle him as a king. Another Assyrian conscript is named “Buaima (or Puaima) king of Pitinti”. If this is Pelay, son and successor of Sheshonk III, as we suspect, then Pelay did not regard these years under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal as worthy of mention. For reasons unknown he began counting his years as of 660 B.C. We assume, though we cannot prove, that Sheshonk IV (Hedjkheperre) considered his reign to have effectively ended when in 671 B.C. Esarhaddon invaded Egypt and dispossessed its kings. How long he served under the Assyrians is unknown.

The Bodies in DB320. Many times already we have referred to the bodies of famous dynastic kings hidden by the “21st dynasty” Theban priest/kings in a tomb near Deir el-Bahri near Thebes. The first and only time we described this cache we quoted from Gardiner regarding its discovery and extent (see above, p. 145). Gardiner’s concluding remarks bear repeating.

Among the latest burials were those of Pinudjem II and his already-mentioned spouse Neskhons. After them the cache was sealed up in the tenth year of the Tanite king Siamun, but *was reopened once more in the reign of King Shoshenk I in order to inter a priest of Amun named Djedptahef'onkh.* EP320-21 (italics added)

Our concern at this time is with the 3rd prophet of Amun named Djedptahefankh. His remains have spawned an extensive debate among

students of Egyptian history, both professional and otherwise. The debate concerns not so much the identity of this individual, as it does the implications of his presence in the tomb on the timeline of the final days of the DB320 cache, as well as argument regarding the original owner of the tomb itself. Curiously, these questions do not concern us here. Instead we wonder about the accuracy of Gardiner's final remarks, and the precise identity of this priest. Who is he? And why was he deemed so important that the DB320 tomb, supposedly sealed near the end of the 21st dynasty, was reopened early in the reign of Sheshonk I of the 22nd dynasty, with the sole purpose of depositing his body. We speak here, of course, from the point of view of the traditional history? Critics supportive of that history argue from his presence that the 22nd dynasty king Sheshonk I followed successively on the heels of the 21st dynasty, a counter-argument to our present thesis. What is our response to this potential criticism of our revised timeline?

There is no problem providing the answer. A single sentence should suffice. *Djedptahefankh was not the last body deposited in the DB320 tomb.* He may even have been among the first. Gardiner is mistaken in his quoted comment. The body of Djedptahefankh was buried deep within the DB320 tomb. The arrangement of bodies and coffers in the shaft tomb, when it was first accessed by authorities, totally contradicts Gardiner's claim the the body of the 3rd prophet was a late intrusion. At minimum critics may argue that many of the DB320 bodies were moved from other locations into DB320, along with that of Djedptahefankh, this taking place sometime during the reign of Sheshonk I. But even this notion would deny the critic's claim that the death of Djedptahefankh necessarily postdates the death of Pinudjem II, or other late 21st Theban dynasty dignitaries who are also cached in this tomb, and often very much nearer the tomb entrance. Our thesis that Djedkheperre died early, probably before the Assyrian invasion, is in no way contradicted by the evidence in the tomb. If anything, the location of the bodies argues in favor of the fact that Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, who inscribed several of the bandages on the mummy of Djedptahefankh, must precede in time the reign of Pinudjem II.⁸

⁸Apparently late in the 20th century the revisionist David Rohl argued this very thesis and was severely criticized for his efforts. Unfortunately I am unaware of the precise context of his remarks.

As mentioned, the connection of Djedkheperre with Hedjkheperre Sheshonk IV (not I) derives from several of the bandage wrappings on the mummy, which contain inscriptions stating that the linen was made by, or dedicated by, king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk (both names are present) and by his high priestly son Iupet. The dates on the bandages range from year 5 to year 11. This implies that Djedptahefankh died sometime soon after the 11th year of Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, in the revised history 684 B.C. on the assumption that 694 B.C. was his first regnal year.

Though Hedjkheperre Sheshonk IV ruled in the north of Egypt, his son Iupet was apparently the high priest of Amun in the south, and Djedptahefankh, as 3rd prophet of Amun would be a functionary under Iupet in the Theban temple. It is therefore not surprising that when this dignitary died his superior performed the burial rites, using materials provided by and endorsed by himself. He undoubtedly added the inscriptions in his father's name. Thirty years later, perhaps more, Djedptahefankh's tomb was robbed by the Theban priest/kings, relatives of Menkheperre. The body was removed and deposited either in DB320 or elsewhere, whence it arrived at its present location.

Appendix C: The Descendants of Menkheperre

There are at least two reasons why the immediate descendants of Menkheperre have been misplaced chronologically. Two erroneous assumptions undergird all scholarly discussion vis-a-vis these Theban priest/kings, namely, the belief 1) that the 21st Tanite and Theban branches of the dynasty ran parallel with each other; and 2) that there could not exist at one and the same time multiple high priests of Amun. In a moment we will discuss the first of these errors, by far the most substantial. As for the second we need only add a few comments to those made earlier on the subject.

We have previously stated our opinion that throughout the duration of the Theban dynasty there likely coexisted at least three active “high priests of Amun”, one in Tanis, one in Thebes, and one in Napata. Though we agree with the experts that at any given temple at any one time there could only be one *acting* high priest, this is not to say that a priest/king could not pass on his duties as high priest to a successor, yet maintain the high priestly title in official documents. We have already seen in the case of Pinudjem I that a king can relinquish his high priesthood, or at least the official duties thereof, to a successor, all the while maintaining the honorific title “high priest”, much as any 20th century dignitary, a mayor for example, continues to be referenced by his former title long after leaving office. We pointed out how Pinudjem I took to his grave two funerary chests which ignore his kingship and address him only as “high priest”. Apparently he was a priest until the end, maintaining that title through the high priesthood of his son Masaharta. In such cases we have what amounts to overlapping priesthoods. For the duration there coexisted two high priests associated with the same temple, at least in name, though only one is actively involved in the temple worship. We will see this principle operating in the case of both Smendes II and Pinudjem II, both of whom, we argue, took over the high priestly duties of Menkheperre at various times in that king’s lengthy reign. Meanwhile Menkheperre continued to hold the title HPA. We are not guessing. The monuments argue in our favor.

The first of the two errant assumptions - that the Tanite and Theban 21st

dynasties ran parallel with each other – has introduced enormous error into scholarly discussion of the monuments. Repeatedly we read in the textbooks how Smendes II and Pinudjem II were contemporaries of a northern king Amenemopet, who in one document is associated with a regnal year 49, whether his own or that of some other king. Operating on the assumption that the Tanite and Theban dynasties of kings were contemporaries has forced traditional scholars to identify this Amenemopet with Manetho's Amenophthis, and in many cases to disregard the 9 years assigned Amenophthis by Africanus and substitute 49 years (or longer) in its place.⁹ A similar confusion has resulted from the mention of a northern king Siamun in documents associated with Pinudjem II, leading some scholars, like Kenneth Kitchen, to conclude that Psinaches and Siamun are the same king, with disastrous consequences for the interpretation of the documents concerned.

A glance at figure 15 on page 208 will illustrate to the reader the enormity of the problem faced by interpreters in the traditional history. In the revised history, in the year 625 B.C. (or thereabouts) the 21st Tanite dynasty ceased to exist, as described by Manetho, with the death of Aakheperre Psusennes

⁹It is true that the name Amenemopet bears a striking resemblance to Manetho's Amenophthis, but so also do the names of multiple Egyptians bearing names compounded with that of the god Amon. Amenhotep, for example, was a most popular name with dignitaries, used by at least one notable high priest, who not only has the right name and title, but is correctly positioned chronologically to be identified with Manetho's Amenophthis in the revised history. We have assigned Manetho's Amenophthis the dates 684-675 B.C. (table 13, p. 201) If we are correct a similarly named HPA should be found in this approximate time frame. This is in fact the case. According to our revised dates Ramses XI ruled during these critical years. We have assigned to him the dates 689-662 B.C. (table 15, p. 206). We mentioned in an earlier chapter that the early years of Ramses XI took place during the period we called the great disruption (701-671 B.C.). The traditional history calls this the time of the "war of the high priest." The central character in this war an otherwise unknown high priest named Amenhotep. All that can be said about him from the few documents which name him is that for a time he took control of the Theban temple, from which he was driven during one of the forays of the enigmatic viceroy of Nubia named Pinhasi. According to Kitchen "Ramses X reigned briefly (whether 3 years or 9) and left no mark. But fresh crises persisted into the early years of Ramses XI. In one of these reigns, disturbances arose in both Thebes and in the North; in Thebes, the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, was 'suppressed' for 8 or 9 months. He may have survived this experience for a time at least. The 'war of the High Priest' was long remembered." (TIP 208) There is no need to pursue the matter. The time is right. The name is also right. Amenhotep is arguably an intruder from the north, and thus can reasonably be identified as the high priest of the Tanite temple of Amun. That his high priestly role (rather than his kingship) is emphasized in the monuments cannot be considered a problem. This dignitary was clearly no mere cleric. Barring evidence to the contrary we can safely identify him with Manetho's Amenophthis

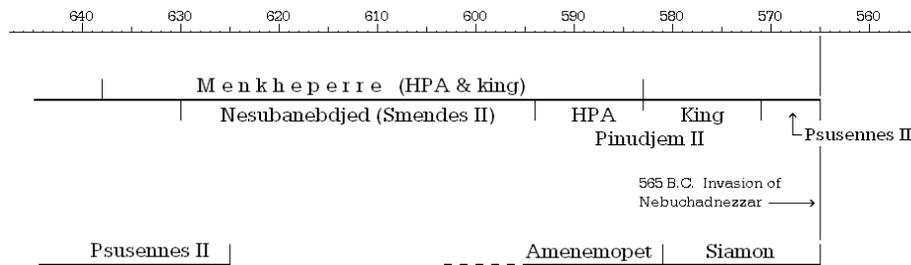
II. Thus, during most of the reign of Menkheperre (638-584 B.C.), and for almost the entirety of the terms in office of Smendes II, Pinudjem II, and Psusennes III, none of the 21st dynasty Tanite kings named by Manetho existed. Amenemope and Siamun must have followed Psusennes II in time. The only question is when the reigns of Amenemopet and Siamun began and ended.

We remain convinced that Amenemopet cannot be identified as Manetho's Amenophthis, in spite of the resemblance in name. The tomb of Amenemopet at Tanis was found by Montet. It arguably belongs to the late 7th or early sixth century, and since the body of Amenemopet had been removed from *his* tomb and was found in the tomb belonging to Aakheperre Psusennes, our Psusennes II, he was almost certainly a relative and a successor of that Tanite king. In a moment we will return to discuss Amenemopet's remains, and his despoiled tomb nearby that of Psusennes.

The claim that Siamun belongs in Manetho's list requires even less time to refute. Manetho does not seem to know a king by this name living in the last days of the Tanite dynasty. Egyptologists have wondered for years whether Siamun should be identified with Osochor or Psinaches in Manetho's list, and if not then why his name was omitted from the dynastic succession. They can stop wondering. Siamun postdated Amenemopet and ruled in the last days of the kingship of Pinudjem II and through the reign of Psusennes III. All of the evidence which dates Pinudjem II and Psusennes III to the early decades of the 6th century argues that Siamon's reign fell in that time frame. In a moment we will argue that he was the last Tanite king to rule before some disaster befell not only Tanis, but all of Egypt. And we will identify this calamity with the destruction of the country at the hands of the army of Nebuchadrezzar in 565 B.C. Siamon was not succeeded by a king named Psusennes, nor by any other king. He was likely a captive or a casualty of the invasion, and with his enforced exile, or death, the operations of the Tanite temple came to an end.

At long last we are ready to date the terminal priest/kings of the 21st Theban dynasty and their Tanite counterparts Amenemopet and Siamon. We begin with the Tanite kings. To enable the reader to better follow the discussion we reproduce our figure 20 from page 281, augmenting it only slightly.

Figure 27: Terminal "21st Theban" priest/kings and their Tanite counterparts (duplicate of figure 20).
Long reign for Smendes II.



Amenemopet and Siamon

The highest year date assigned with certainty to Siamon is his 17th. We assume that this was his last year as king in Tanis. It is known that in his tenth year Siamon buried Pinudjem II in the tomb DB320 and moved the bodies of at least three notable 19th dynasty kings - Seti I, Ramses I and II - into that same tomb. In the years that immediately followed, Psusennes III continued this consolidation by entombing at the site of the "second find" at Deir el Bahri, dozens of bodies of famous kings and queens from repositories elsewhere in Thebes. It is interesting to read in the textbooks the laudatory comments of 20th century scholars, praising the Tanite and Theban pontiffs for their careful treatment of these "revered" ancestors, blissfully unaware that the priests were merely disposing of the evidence of their tomb robberies. According to Kitchen:

Finally, Year 10 of Siamun (c. 969 B.C.) was a year of drastic upheaval in the necropolis of Western Thebes. In that year, Pinudjem II died and was succeeded by his son, Psusennes 'III'. For over a century, the new man's predecessors had striven vainly to check the plundering of the noble dead, the pharaohs and great families of the empire. Here and there, groups of mummies had been collected in one tomb or another for greater safety. Now at last it was decided to guard the ancestral dead in the same way as had been used by the priests themselves to secure the burials of their own company: by interment in one or two large groups in secret hiding-places. So the bodies of the revered Amenophis I, and of Ramesses I, Sethos I and Ramesses II were lodged in the secret tomb of Pinudjem II and his

wife. Psusennes 'III' then proceeded to inter almost forty mummies of empire pharaohs and their relatives and of his own line, together with the battered remains of their funerary equipment. TIP 233

There must have been good reason for this rush to action, perhaps some impending peril. We assume therefore that the reigns of Siamon in the North (and Psusennes III in the South) immediately preceded the arrival of Nebuchadrezzar in Egypt, and that the threatened Babylonian invasion was the catalyst which prompted the mass burials. We cannot be far wrong if we date the 17th year, and thus the end of the reign of Siamon, in the Julian year 565 B.C. Working backward 17 years from this date we tentatively assign the beginning of his reign to the year 581 B.C., three years after the death of Menkheperre Piankhi. The years 581-565 B.C. provide, at minimum, a working framework for discussion. Providing dates for Amenemopet is not so straightforward.

We have very little evidence concerning the date when Amenemopet began to reign in Egypt. There does exist, however, considerable data which suggests that the reigns of Amenemopet and Siamon ran consecutively, which would provide a date for the end of Amenemopet's reign. The argument is necessarily circuitous.

In the first place we know that Amenemopet's reign overlapped a good part (if not all) of the high priesthood of Pinudjem II, since both names occur in "various combinations on braces, pendants and (undated) linen from nine mummies, 'second find' at Deir el Bahri". (TIP 388 XI 50.) Secondly, there exists a "Year 1, 4th Akhet, 1: bandage on mummy No. 105 having also Year 48 "n" Menkheperre and braces of the HPA Pinudjem (II)" (TIP 388 XI 51).¹⁰ This shows that the high priesthood of Pinudjem II extended back in time at least to the 48th year of Menkheperre. Finally, we recall from comments made earlier that there exists a bandage fragment inscribed with the name of Amenemopet, followed immediately by a reference to a year 49¹¹, leading us to conclude that the reign of Amenemopet also extended back in time to at least the 49th year of Menkheperre. Ergo, the reigns of Amenemopet and the high priesthood of Pinudjem ran parallel to one another for many years beginning at the latest in the 49th year of

¹⁰We assume this bandage was kept for six years before being used in the 1st year of Pinudjem as king – hence the year 1 date, which references the kingship of Pinudjem II which began in 584.

¹¹Livre des Rois III 293 IV

Piankhi, 590 B.C. in the revised chronology. Since the reign of Siamun began in 581 B.C. it follows that the reign of Amenemopet probably extended on to the beginning of the reign of his successor.

As stated, determining the year when Amenemopet *began* his reign is much more difficult, there being little evidence on which to base a conclusion. Amenemopet's ransacked tomb was found by Montet near that of Aakheperre Psusennes II, and the body of Amenemopet had been transported into the tomb of Psusennes. This suggests, if it doesn't prove, that Amenemopet postdated Psusennes II, whose death we have placed in the late 7th century B.C. Amenemopet's tomb had been robbed of all but a few trinkets, one bearing the name of Siamon, understandable if Siamon had assisted in his burial. His body, left intact by robbers, was placed in the coffin Psusennes had provided for his wife, queen Mutnodjmet. This evidence raises the questions - who desecrated Amenemopet's tomb? and who moved his body to Psusennes' tomb? - questions to which we have no certain answer. We do note that another artifact bearing Siamun's name was found at the entrance to Psusennes' tomb, leading to speculation that it was he who reinterred his predecessor. That would imply that Amenemopet's tomb was desecrated during the lifetime of Siamon, either while Siamon was tenured in Tanis, or less likely, during the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, while Siamon lived in exile elsewhere, whence he must have returned surreptitiously when Babylonian garrisons guarded the country. But much of this is speculation, and none of this discussion tells us when the reign of Amenemopet began.

Only one artifact even remotely suggests an answer to the question. When Montet excavated the tomb of Osorkon II, he found in one of the adjoining rooms the body of a youth named Harnakht, whose mummy, according to "expert opinion", belonged to that of a child around 8 or 9 years old. A single bracelet inscription identified the child as the son of Osorkon and his wife Karoama. Surprisingly, while much of Osorkon's tomb had been looted by robbers, the crypt containing the remains of Harnakht, while in a state of disarray, contained a considerable number of gold and silver artifacts, including a silver coffin.¹² Even more curious was the fact that

¹²This suggests to us that Harnakht was a much later reburial. Perhaps the body, along with the gold and silver funerary objects, were "rescued" from an aborted tomb robbery elsewhere, and only later inserted into Osorkon's tomb, since the child was Osorkon's son. We argue momentarily that access to Osorkon's tomb was kept open for years after having been "exposed" during the construction of

several inscriptions associated with Harnakht identified him as a high priest of Amun, a revelation that caused Egyptologists to scramble for explanation.¹³ Near the coffin were found several artifacts which are believed to be out of context, raising questions which also require answers.¹⁴ The artifact which most concerns us here is a small lapis-lazuli statuette inscribed by “the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, first prophet of Amon, Amenemnapit, beloved of Amon.” In spite of the spelling error, the statuette clearly belongs to our king Amenemopet. How do we explain the presence of this artifact in the tomb of a young prince whose death and (original) burial undoubtedly took place prior to the death and burial of Osorkon in 712 B.C., almost 130 years before the earliest date thus far attested for Amenemopet’s reign (590 B.C.)? Before we attempt to answer this admittedly difficult question we should point out that explanation should also be required from traditional historians. In that history Amenemopet was an insignificant 21st dynasty king who ruled for 9 years around 990 B.C. Harnakht, on the other hand, was an equally insignificant youth of the 22nd dynasty who died prematurely sometime during the reign of his father Osorkon II, say around 850 B.C. How do historians explain the presence of a 140 year old artifact in the tomb of an infant belonging to another dynasty? This fragile statuette was not a toy and would have had no historical significance to a child barely reaching puberty. Whence did it come to lie in Harnakht’s tomb. To simply reason, as some do, that it must have been a present given to an ancestor of Harnakht and passed down as an heirloom, is to avoid the question. Why would Osorkon have placed the statuette in the (original) tomb of his infant son, as if it had some meaning for the child? And how did this delicate object survive the 140 year interval?

We see no possible viable explanation forthcoming from the traditional

the tomb of Psusesses II.

¹³The best that Kitchen can do is differentiate between the high priests at Tanis and those of the Theban temple. He argues that the Tanite high priesthood was more of a ceremonial position, not requiring the title bearer to perform any clerical function. We leave the matter at that.

¹⁴The most remarkable according to Montet was a lapis lazuli statuette inscribed by the “king’s son of Ramses, Pashedbast”, believed by him to be a son of Osorkon I (see Montet’s *Osorkon*, p. 66). Others have argued that he was another son of Osorkon II. We have alluded to this person previously, when we expressed our belief that the title “king’s son of Ramses” indicates descent from the Ramesside kings, and if so then the statuette is not out of context. Harnakht, in the late 8th century, would be a contemporary of the king’s Ramses V-VIII. Pashedbast could well be a son of Ramses III.

history. There are, however, several possible explanations available in the revised history, where Amenemopet followed, rather than preceded, Harnakht to the grave. In the first place, as suggested already, the proximity of the tombs of Amenemopet and Psusennes in the vicinity of the Amun temple, and the fact that the body of Amenemopet was later inserted into Psusennes' tomb, suggest that Amenemopet and Psusennes were near relatives and near contemporaries. We believe that Amenemopet was a 21st Tanite dynasty successor of Psusennes, and thus only three or four generations removed from the time of Osorkon II. We know that the tomb of Osorkon was only lightly sealed, kept open for the burial of subsequent generations. It certainly remained only lightly sealed through the end of the reign of Takeloth II, since it contained his body. But the evidence suggests it was accessible for much longer.

We know that one wall of Osorkon's tomb had been breached, probably by accident, during the construction of Psusennes' tomb, whether in 646 B.C. (assuming a reign of 14 years, following Africanus) or in 625 B.C. (assuming a reign of 35 years, following Eusebius). In fact, the breach may have taken place much later, as Psusennes' tomb was enlarged afterwards to hold the bodies of the cleric's extended family. We suggested earlier that some of the robbery which took place in Osorkon's tomb might be attributed to those who were digging that particular section of Psusennes' tomb. We also know that Psusennes tomb (and thus indirectly the tomb of Osorkon II) remained accessible through the reign of Amenemopet into the reign of Siamon (since it contained Amenemopet's body and an artifact naming Siamon). It follows that Amenemopet would have had ample opportunity to view the remains of all occupants of both tombs, including the youthful Harnakht, leaving a memento of his visit. It is even possible that the body of Harnakht, and the associated valuable grave goods, were brought into Osorkon's tomb from his violated tomb elsewhere, during the reign of Amenemopit and by that priest/king himself. The question might fairly be asked why a 21st dynasty successor of Psusennes II would so honor a child of a 22nd dynasty king. The answer probably lies in the fact that Harnakht was identified as a "high priest of Amun." and was thus, like Amenemopet himself, in the line of clerics of the Amun temple in Tanis.

These comments serve to argue the probability that Amenemopet was a descendant of Aakheperre Psusennes II, but they fail to inform us whether

or not he followed that king directly. If he did, then there remains the possibility that the year 49 bandage fragment we discussed earlier belongs to him. If so, and if his reign ended in 581 B.C. as argued earlier, then it began at minimum 49 years earlier, around the year 630. We would therefore have to change the year of Psusennes' death from 625 to 630 B.C., or even slightly earlier. Thus the rationale for this extensive discussion.¹⁵

Having argued that Amenemopet may have begun his reign immediately following that of Psusennes we now argue otherwise. In our figure 27 we have assumed that the reign of this king began in 599 B.C., the 40th year of Menkheperre. We have only one rationale for choosing this date. There exists a single inscription which proves that Amenemopet was alive and well in the 40th year of Menkheperre. Breasted records the inscription:

Year 40, third month of the third season, day of inspection of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods, the house of Amen[em]opet (Luxor), the house of Mut, the house of Khonsu, the house of Ptah, "South-of-His-Wall-in-Thebes," the house of Montu, lord of thebes, and the house of Mat; by the High Priest of Amon-Re, king of gods, Menkheperre, son of King Paynozem-Meriamon, ... BAR IV 660

Apparently Amenemopet had a residence, or a small temple, in the vicinity of Thebes, which was visited by Menkheperre in his 40th year (599 B.C.). This graffiti does not prove that Amenemopet began his reign that year, though that fact might explain this tour of inspection by Piankhi.

There is at least one other consideration that argues in favor of our date for the beginning of Amenemopet's reign. In the following pages we will argue that Pinudjem II began acting as HPA from around the year 594 B.C. and that this high priesthood lasted until the death of Piankhi in 584 B.C., after which he added a kingship to his credentials and ruled in Thebes until his death in 572 B.C., the 10th year of Siamun (see figure 23). Prior to Pinudjem becoming HPA, the eldest son of Menkheperre, named Nesubanebdjed (Smendes II in the textbooks), functioned in that capacity. As we have already stated, there is considerable evidence of an overlap

¹⁵We admit that we find no reference to a king Amenemopet on the great Piankhi stela, inscribed in the year 617 B.C. But this does not necessarily mean his reign had not begun. There were many unnamed delta dynasts who paid homage to Piankhi at the conclusion of Tefnakht's rebellion. The stela inscriptions omits any mention of Tanis or its ruler.

between the high priesthood of Pinudjem II and the reign of Amenemopet. But there is very little evidence of an overlap between the terms in office of Amenemopet and Smendes II. Kitchen is able to cite only a single example, noting the presence of the names of “Amenemope on braces, and Smendes II on pendants, from mummy No. 135, ‘second find’, Deir el Bahri.” (TIP 388 X) This suggests, though admittedly it does not prove, that the reign of Amenemopet began only shortly before the death of Smendes II and the beginning of the reign of Pinudjem II. Choosing the date 599 B.C. for Amenemopet’s first year leaves a five year overlap with the high priesthood of Smendes II, sufficient for the burial of that single mummy.

At present this is the best that we can do. We assume for the moment that the dates of Amenemopit were 599-581 B.C.

The stage is now set to assign dates to Smendes II, Pinudjem II, and Psusennes III, working in reverse order.

Psusennes III

This high-priest/king is known only from multiple bandage inscriptions on mummies from the second find at Deir el-Bahri. Only two are dated, one in year 4 or 5 and the other in year 12.¹⁶ As usual on these bandage epigraphs, it is unclear to whom the year dates belong. Both read simply: “Bandage made by the high priest of Amun Psusennes, son of Pinudjem, for his father/lord Amun, year (5 or 12)”. Seven other mummies have

¹⁶The first is found on mummy no. 17, the second on mummy no. 65 (Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* III I&II). Gauthier assigns both dates to Psusennes II, as do most Egyptologists (others chose Siamon and still others assume this high priest should not be distinguished from the high priest/king Psusennes II), based largely on the belief that the Theban and Tanite dynasties ran simultaneously and that Psusennes II should be living parallel with Psusennes III. Since we believe Psusennes III also became a king, there may be documents belonging to him that have mistakenly been assigned to his namesake Psusennes II (Montet’s Psusennes I) of the Tanite dynasty. If so they must bear year dates numbered 1-7, since the reign of Psusennes III lasted only that long (see below). Kitchen assigns the year 5 bandage to the reign of Siamon and the year 12 bandage to the reign of Psusennes II, entirely without evidence. This assumes that Siamon is Psinaches who must therefore be followed in office by Psusennes II. Assigning the two dates in this manner makes it necessary for Kitchen to assign to Psusennes III a pontificate lasting through years 5-19 of Siamon (note he assumes Siamon reigned 19 years) and years 1-12 of Psusennes, a time span of 26 years. No wonder Egyptologists have trouble with the chronology of this period

essentially identical inscriptions, omitting only the year date. We assume, consistent with our belief that the year dates belong to Theban kings (unless a Tanite king is specifically named), either that these datelines both belong to the kingship of Pinudjem II or that the year 12 bandage belongs to the kingship of Pinudjem II while the other refers to the kingship of Psusennes III, which followed immediately the death of his father.¹⁷ It matters little which of these situations holds.

The dates of Psusennes follow directly from our earlier discussion. Since he succeeded his father his reign began in the 10th year of the northern king Siamun, the year when Pinudjem II was buried. That would be 572 B.C. on the assumption that Siamun's reign began in 581 B.C. Psusennes must have died¹⁸ when the Babylonian army ravaged the delta in 565 B.C. His dates accordingly are 572-565 B.C.

Pinudjem II

We begin our discussion of Pinudjem II, son of Menkheperre, with two clear dates in mind. Our discussion thus far has determined that this cleric functioned as both high priest and king. A priori we would argue that his kingship must have followed immediately the death of his father. That same date (584 B.C.) would mark the end of a period of time in which he served as high priest during the kingship of Menkheperre. Thus his kingship must date from 584-572 B.C. and his sojourn solely as high priest

¹⁷As we will soon see, the high-priesthood/kingship of Psusennes III lasted only 7 years. No doubt the critics will claim that Psusennes III did not claim to be king and therefore cannot be assigned regnal years. But that is an argument from silence. None of the docket and bandages from Deir el Bahri, save one, specifically state that Pinudjem II was a king, yet we also argue that he was one, and that he assumed the prenomen Kheperkhare. For years Kitchen also argued that Menkheperre never claimed the kingship, relenting only in his most recent revisions of his book. Yet we have discovered that Menkheperre was one of the greatest warrior kings who ever reigned in Egypt. We should also point out the reverse situation, that none of the Deir el Bahri inscriptions of Amenemopet or Siamun ever claim that these *kings* functioned as *HPA*, yet other documents attest that they were. These epigraphs were highly condensed documents, employing an economy of words and stock phrases. We should not read too much into what they "do not say".

¹⁸Nothing changes if he was taken captive or driven from the country. His reign effectively ended in 565 B.C.

from some undetermined date through to 584 B.C. In our figure 27 timeline we assume a date around 594 for the beginning of his high priesthood. The following paragraphs provide support for these dates. The reader should keep in mind the one operative dating principle which guides our deliberations. We have previously argued the case that these clerics only dated the years of their kingships. The years of their high priesthoods, while they assisted during the reigns of their fathers, always cited the years of their royal parent. This enables us to determine which documents belong to which phase of their term in office.

Pinudjem II is clearly named on a bandage inscription belonging to mummy No. 124 from the “second find”, that which bears the damaged year date “[x} + 3”. (TIP388 XI #53) The “x” in this case is most likely another “3” since the dateline numbers are often inscribed so as to preserve symmetry. Besides, another linen bandage from that same mummy, with essentially the same inscription, has the year date 10. According to our dating theory both these dates belong to the kingship of our Pinudjem II.¹⁹ Besides these two bandages, Kitchen lists more than twenty other docketts and linen inscriptions naming Pinudjem II and bearing year dates from one to ten.²⁰ Then they stop. This is precisely what we expect if the kingship

¹⁹We mention these two bandage epigraphs specifically because the first of them does contain one anomaly that needs to be mentioned. The inscription actually begins with the name Amenemopet – “King Amenemopet. Linen made by the high priest of Amun Pinudjem, son of Menkheperre, for his father Amun, year x + 3.” We are hard pressed to explain the presence of the name of Amenemopet 6 years into the “kingship” of Pinudjem, since according to our timeline Amenemopet died 2 years after Pinudjem became king. Without actually viewing the location of the name on the bandage it is difficult to comment. These bandages seem to have been kept in storage sometimes for upwards of ten years. Perhaps the inscription in Pinudjem’s 6th regnal year was added to a bandage endorsed with Amenemopet’s name while he was still alive. There does remain the possibility that the year x + 3 refers to the year 53 and therefore that this date refers to the reign of Menkheperre. That would solve the problem of the inclusion of Amenemopet’s name, since he was the northern king at that time. In this case we would have to assume the bandage was left unused until the 10th year of Pinudjem’s kingship, about 12 years later. We should point out in passing, for the sake of those who might be bothered by our earlier argument that mummy bandages made and inscribed in Menkheperre’s 48th year (see page 306 and note 212 above) were not actually used until his death six years later, or generally, that bandages were kept for upwards of ten years, that the mummy of Pinudjem II contained bandages made by himself in his regnal years 7 and 9¹⁹, the first of these being five years prior to his death.

²⁰Besides the two linen bandages from mummy 124 already cited, Kitchen lists 23 inscriptions, mostly on docketts and bandages from Deir el Bahri, all bearing year dates ranging from 1-10. (TIP 389 #57-79). Other than the two bandages #73 & 74, nothing in any of these inscriptions precludes our referencing the dates to the regnal years of Pinudjem II. Most provide his name. The two

of Pinudjem ran from 584 to 572 B.C. He died in his 13th year as king.

To these two dozen documents from the reign of king Pinudjem we must add the many inscriptions which mention the name of a king Kheperkhare Pinudjem, and in consequence have been listed in the reference books under documents from the reign of Pinudjem I.²¹ These include only a single dated inscription from the Deir el Bahri finds, the year 8 bandage²² mentioned previously by Eric Young (see above page 254 & 257) and discussed in that earlier context. We argued at the time that in the traditional history this year date for Pinudjem I is clearly an anomaly.

So much for the documents attesting the kingship of Pinudjem II. What about his high priesthood which preceded the death of Menkheperre in 584 B.C. That year marks the dividing line between two distinct groups of documents of Pinudjem II. In the north Amenemopet died in 581 B.C., just three years later than Menkheperre. Thus Pinudjem's sojourn as "HPA only" overlapped Amenemopet's reign. Most of the documents which name both Pinudjem and Amenemopet must belong to this phase of Pinudjem's life in office. Earlier, in our discussion of Amenemopet's reign, we mentioned that he and Pinudjem II are named in "various combinations on braces, pendants and (undated) linen from nine mummies" of the second find at Deir el Bahri.²³ and on none of the inscriptions dated in the years 1-10, suggesting that they form a separate group from a distinct period of time. We place them all in the years preceding the death of Menkheperre. We expect that any dated documents from this era will incorporate the high numbered year dates of

exceptions are interesting, but hardly contradict our basic thesis. These two specifically reference the year date (year 8) to the reign of Siamun in the north, a date corresponding to Pinudjem's 6th year as king. The one complete inscription reads "Linen made by the high priest of Amun Pinudjem, son of Menkheperre, for his mistress Mut, year 7 of Siamun" (BAR IV 663) The second inscription probably read identically, but only the portion beginning with the name of Mut remains, and the second inscription reads "year 8". In spite of Breasted's translation naming year 7 on the first, both Kitchen and Gauthier read "year 8" on both bandages. Something unusual must have contributed to use of Siamun's datelines on these two bandages. We note the rare occurrence of the name of Mut, rather than Amun, suggesting that the deceased was a woman. Perhaps she was related to Siamon. The situation is interesting, but otherwise quite irrelevant.

²¹Cf. M. Henri Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte III*, pp. 243-252. There are listed here over twenty inscriptions bearing this name. Nearly all are undated, and in no instance is the year date higher than the 12 years we have assigned to the kingship of Pinudjem II.

²²TIP 386 VII #40.

²³See Kitchen TIP 388 XI #50 for a list and for references.

Menkheperre.

The reader will notice that we have thus far provided no firm dates for the beginning of the high-priesthood of Pinudjem II, stating only that he was in office at least by 48th year of Menkheperre (591 B.C.), and was a contemporary of Amenemopet in the north. Menkheperre died seven years later, in 584 B.C. Pinudjem must have functioned as high priest under Piankhi for at least those seven years. The fact that we move the beginning of his high priesthood back another five years to 596 B.C. is almost pure guesswork, though we did not choose the date entirely at random. In chapter 5 of the present book we learned that Piankhi abandoned his campaigning in Syria by his 42rd year (597 B.C.) and likely retired to Nubia soon after. We wonder at the timing of this event and suggest as one factor the possibility that his firstborn son Nesubanebdjed (Smendes II), who at the time functioned as HPA in his stead, had just died (or been killed in the Syrian conflict). This might have been a catalyst in his decision to cease his warfare. At the time he was perhaps as old as 70.

If we are correct in our dating, the combined high-priesthood/kingship of Pinudjem lasted 24 years, from 596 B.C. through 572 B.C. But we admit it might have lasted much longer.²⁴ We just don't know.

Smendes II

Pinudjem was apparently not the eldest son of Menkheperre. That honor fell to Nesubanebdjed (Smendes II), who was high-priest before Pinudjem. Since no documents of this high priest provide a year date we must fix his place in history on some other basis. There exist only a handful of inscriptions containing the name of this Nesubanebdjed, only two of which have any bearing on the years we assign to him.

Mummy No. 135 from the "second find" contains the name Amenemope on braces and Smendes II as high priest on pendants, confirming that this

²⁴The earlier we date the beginning of the high priesthood of Pinudjem, the earlier we must date the beginning of the reign of the northern king Amenemopet, since at least on one mummy Smendes II, Pinudjem's predecessor as HPA, is associated with Amenemopet.

high priest was a contemporary of Amenemope. We mentioned this mummy earlier in our discussion of the dates for Amenemope. According to our chronology Smendes II must therefore precede Pinudjem II in time, and is probably the eldest son of Menkheperre. This conclusion was reached a century ago by Daressy, who first published the inscriptions from the Deir el Bahri mummies, and it was accepted by the scholarly community long before Montet discovered a second inscription which, interpreted in one particular way, served to confirm that fact.

When Montet excavated the tomb of Aakheperre Psusennes (Psusennes I in the traditional history, Psusennes II in the revised alternative) he found on the body of Psusennes a pair of bracelets which contained inscriptions naming a "high priest of Amon Nesbanebdjed son of Menkheperre", a title consistent with the Deir el Bahri finds. But the inscriptions created problems for traditional historians, not the least of which was explaining how Psusennes I could be a contemporary of Pinudjem I while Pinudjem's grandson Nesubanebdjed, son of Menkheperre, was also HPA during that same reign, a situation particularly difficult to explain for those who assign to Menkheperre upwards of 50 years in office. Summarizing the reaction of scholars to the problem would be interesting, but not germane. We need say only that the difficulty was sufficiently serious to prompt at least one scholar, Eric Young, to suggest that the HPA Nesbanebdjed son of Menkheperre named on the bracelets should not be identified with the HPA Nesubanebdjed son of Menkheperre who was a contemporary of Amenemopet.²⁵ After all, the bracelet inscription omits any title for Menkheperre. Young's theory has not been widely accepted.

We might leave the matter there, pending further evidence. After all, the revised history has no major problem with the bracelet inscriptions, and in our figure 27 we have assumed that Smendes II actually began to assist his father Menkheperre as early as 630 B.C., allowing time for him to make and inscribe the bracelets and gift them to Psusennes. The dates for Smendes are listed accordingly as 630-596 B.C., what we call our "long pontificate of Smendes II." But for others reasons we continue the discussion. One reason stands out from the others. We do not believe the bracelets in question could possibly have been a gift from our Smendes II.

²⁵Eric Young, "Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-First Dynasty," *JARCE* 2 (1963) 104-108.

We do wonder if the Egyptologist Eric Young has been too quickly dismissed by scholars. The bracelet inscriptions contain more than simply the name and title of "Nesubanebdjed, son of Menkheperre". They contain, in parallel bands, the name of the HPA/king Psusennes himself, and the phrase "made by (*ir.n*) the HPA Nesubanebdjed, son of Menkheperre. The complete inscription, as translated by Montet, reads instead "Psusennes, *born of* the high priest Nesbanebdjed, son of Menkheperre"²⁶ Montet was clearly influenced in his translation by the fact that Manetho lists Psusennes I as a son of a king Smendes I, considered by the traditional history to be a king named Nesubanebdjed. Thus his unusual translation of the Egyptian hieroglyphs "*ir.n*" and his identification of the Nesubanebdjed on the bracelets.

In spite the fact that Montet's translation and identification lend support to the traditional history both are generally rejected by Egyptologists. On the one hand the hieroglyphs (*ir.n*) are almost always translated "made by", especially in inscriptions on artifacts. On the other, that community of scholars has come to believe that Manetho was wrong in his ordering of the kings, and now believe that Manetho's second and third kings should be listed in reverse order. Psusennes was the son of Neferkare Amenemise, not Smendes I (Nesubanebdjed). Thus they struggle to identify the Nesubanebdjed son of Menkheperre on the bracelets with the Smendes II. We respectfully disagree. This identification makes no sense.

The scholars correctly reject Montet's translation of "*ir.n*". But assuming that the bracelets were "made by" the HPA Nesbanebdjed specifically for Psusennes all but precludes Smendes II from consideration. On the one hand it makes no sense that a very young high priest would give such a gift, inscribed with his own name, to an elderly king from a separate branch of the 21st dynasty living hundred of miles to the north. A gift from king Menkheperre might be expected, but a gift from his teenage son seems out of the question.²⁷ And what occasion would have prompted such a gift?

²⁶Pierre Montet, *Les Constructions et Le Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis*, pp 155. Montet translates: "Le Roi Premier prophete D'Amon Psousennes-Miamoun, né du premier prophete d'Amon Nesbanibded, fils de Menkheperre."

²⁷We assume the gift was not a funeral gift, which would be even more difficult to explain. If sent around 630, as we have hypothesized, Smendes II cannot have been more than eighteen years old at the time. Menkheperre began his rule in 638. He was likely at most around 25 years of age at the

We would expect such personalized items to be forthcoming from a family member on some special occasion, not from a virtual stranger to an elderly statesman nearing death.

In our opinion the Nesubanebdjed named on the bracelets must be an intimate family member, probably Psusennes' father. And the gift was likely made upwards of thirty years before Psusennes died, possibly on the occasion of his becoming high priest of Amun, or even as a coronation gift. They needn't have been actually made by Nesubanebdjed, in spite of the wording on the inscription. Their construction may have been ordered by him in advance of his death, in anticipation of his son's replacing him. This is not to say that we agree with the traditional history that Manetho's Psusennes I was preceded by a king named Nesubanebdjed. The revised history has already identified the predecessor of Montet's Aakheperre Psebkhanu (our Psusennes II) as a king named Nesubanebdjed, who ruled in Tanis during the time of Wenamun (see above pp. 230-31). We have argued that he must be identified as the king called Psinaches by Manetho. If the father of Psinaches was named Menkheperre, we must assume a break in the family line after Osochor, the predecessor of Psinaches according to Manetho.

Returning to Smendes II, we can now proceed to assign dates to the beginning of his reign. If the bracelets in the tomb of Psusennes II were made by our Smendes II (Nesubanebdjed II, son of Menkheperre) then this HPA must have served under his father beginning at the latest around 630 B.C. This is unlikely²⁸, but still within the realm of possibility. In this

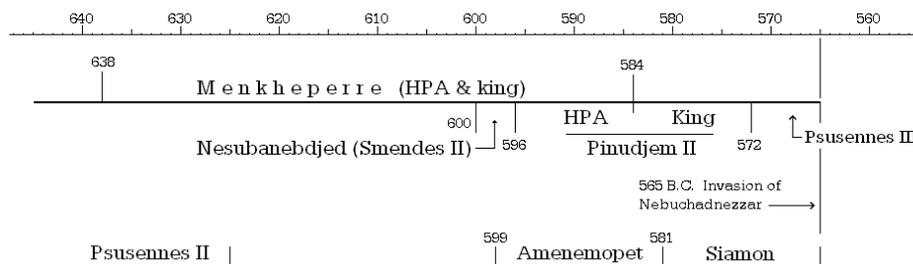
time, a fact we have argued in both of our books, since he reigned for 54 years, and was likely around 80 when he died. Assuming Nesubanebdjed was born when Piankhi was 15, he would be only 18 years old in 630 B.C. If the gift were sent earlier, he would, of course, be even younger. This difficulty is even more acute in the traditional history.

²⁸We have two objections to this hypothetical situation. In the first place we are at a loss to explain why a HPA from the south would give such a gift to the HPA from the north, other than perhaps at Psusennes coronation. But any date before 638 B.C., the first year of Menkheperre, is clearly out of the question. And after this date Psusennes is already 23 years into his reign. He is arguably an elderly man. Why would a youth from another dynasty favor him with such a personal gift? Our second objection relates to the age of Piankhi. The bracelets made by Nesubanebdjed for Psusennes II are not a funerary gift. They must have been made for king Psusennes during his lifetime, and probably long before his death. If they were made by our Smendes II, then Smendes must have served his father Piankhi as HPA many years before 625 B.C. In our timeline we have assumed his high priesthood began around 630 B.C., but even this date seems late. This means Nesubanebdjed must have been born *at the latest* around 650 B.C., and Piankhi *at the latest* about twenty years earlier (c.a. 670 B.C.). In turn, this implies that Piankhi was militarily active well into his 70s and died around the age of 87. While possible, these numbers are larger than expected.

scenario, assuming Nesubanebdjed made the bracelets years before Psusennes died, the dates for Smendes II would be c.a. 630-598 B.C. We do wonder at the virtually absence of inscriptional evidence attesting his high priesthood if he served Piankhi for so long. But then Piankhi was militarily active for much of this time and Nesubanebdjed, in addition to serving as high priest, may have served as a commander in the Egyptian army. His priestly duties would have been minimal.

On the other hand, if the bracelets were made by the father of our Psusennes II, named Psinaches by Manetho (Nesubanebdjed I, son of Menkheperre), then the only dateable inscription of our Smendes II, is the one on the pendants from mummy #135 in the early years of king Amenemopet. In this scenario we need only assign a few years to the high priesthood of Smendes II, say 600-596 B.C. In our figure 28 below we replace our earlier timeline representing the “long pontificate of Smendes II” (figure27) with the more reasonable, “short pontificate”.

Figure 28: Terminal "21st Theban" priest/kings and their Tanite counterparts (duplicate of figure 20). Short pontificate for Smendes II.



Enough said.

Appendix D: God's Wives of Amun

Mutemhet Maatkare

Pinudjem I not only had two sons who became high priest, he also had a daughter who became a high priestess, a so-called “god’s wife” or “divine votaress” of the god Amun. He named her Maatkare after the famous 18th dynasty queen Maatkare Hatshetsup, who also self styled herself as a god’s wife, this being yet another instance of the borrowing of 18th dynasty names by 25th dynasty royalty. A portrait of the second Maatkare is contained in the well known graffiti inscription on the wall of the Luxor temple, in which Pinudjem is shown followed by three of his daughters: Maatkare, still a young girl, and her elder sisters Henttawi, and Nedjemmut.²⁹ We mention her name and titles not only as confirmation of the common practice of name borrowing in the 21st dynasty, but in order to develop several themes related to our revision.

In the first place Maatkare’s place in history ought to make us doubly cautious in interpreting the monuments. In at least one interpretive stream of 18th dynasty history Menkheperre Thutmose III and Maatkare (Hatshetsup) are considered to be son and daughter respectively of Thutmose I, precisely the relationship that exists in the 25th Theban dynasty where Menkheperre Thutmose, alias Piankhi, and Mutemhet Maatkare and are offspring of Pinudjem I, who adopted the names of Thutmose I. It remains to be seen how much confusion has been introduced into 18th dynasty history by this duplication of names. We are mindful of the debate that existed throughout the 20th century concerning the succession of kings in the 18th dynasty, the so-called Thutmosid Succession problem. Without going into details of the correctionist theory of the Egyptologist Sethe, supported by no less an authority than Breasted, we wonder to what extent, if any, the 25th dynasty namesake kings and queens actually altered the 18th dynasty monuments to suit their purposes, giving rise to the bizarre genealogical theories of the two famous scholars. The first lesson related to Mutemhet Maatkare is that caution ought to be the

²⁹Maatkare was considered to be Pinudjem’s wife by early 20th century scholars, but the inscription clearly identifies all three as being “king’s daughters”. Cf. Kitchen TIP 48 A.

order of the day in any future reading of the monuments.

We also need to comment on the rather strange circumstance that exists in the traditional history wherein a solitary 21st dynasty princess adopted the office and title of divine votaress fully three hundred years before the institution emerged in its developed form in the time of Osorkon III (a four hundred year gap in the revised history). To our knowledge no other princess of the 21st dynasty inherited that office. Certainly the title is otherwise unattested. Maatkare, as god's wife, is literally hundreds of years out of place, an anomaly or anachronism that ought to have caused historians to question the time line that assigned her to the eleventh century. In the revised history she is appropriately positioned in the mid to late 7th century, only decades after Osorkon (re-)instituted the tradition by appointing his daughter Shepenwepet to the office. There remains the question where Maatkare fits into the sequence of god's wives of the 7th century B.C.

Our third observation is related to the last question and introduces us to the vexed problem concerning the identity of the king named Kashta, who according to some scholars was the father of Piankhi and whose daughter Amenirdis, according to one interpretive tradition, was installed in office by Piankhi as the adoptive daughter of Shenenwepet I, and later became the god's wife in her stead. A detailed examination of the problem is beyond the scope of this discussion. Sufficient here to outline its details and suggest a likely solution.

The problem referred to is simply stated. Who is Kashta and how do he and his daughter Amenirdis relate to Pinudjem and his daughter Maatkare, since in both cases we have individuals who are said to be the father of Piankhi and also the father of a divine adoratrix. The simplest solution to the problem is simply to argue that Kashta is an epithet, perhaps a title, of Pinudjem, used by this king in various contexts, and that Maatkare as divine votarix assumed the name Amenirdis as her adoptive name. But there are problems squaring this suggestion with the monuments which describe Kashta and his daughter. Thus we suggest an alternative explanation.

In the first place there is absolutely no evidence that Kashta was the father

of Piankhi. In fact, the only monument that explicitly connects the two personages identifies Kashta as Piankhi's father-in-law. According to Kenneth Kitchen:

Piankhy's predecessor was Kashta. Their sequence by generation (and so, also, by succession) is indicated by some doorjambs which were found at Abydos from a tomb or chapel of the princess Peksater; she is named as daughter of Kashta and Pebatma, and royal wife of Piankhy. TIP 120

Kitchen may be correct in suggesting that Kashta preceded Piankhi on the throne, but if so it was on the Nubian throne, not the throne of Egypt. We have already proposed a scenario in which Piankhi, sometime during his first twenty years in office, inherited the kingship in Napata, succeeding the line of kings that ruled the extreme south between the 3rd and 4th cataracts, a lineage which likely included Shabataka, the king of Melukkha, discussed in the first book of our series. Clearly Kashta was in that line. His tumulus is among those excavated by Reisner at El Kurru. Piankhi must have succeeded him. The Abydos inscriptions cited by Kitchen confirm our suggestion that a marriage alliance was in part the means to this end. According to those inscriptions Piankhi married Kashta's daughter Peksater; and according to the great Piankhi stele he ultimately succeeded to the Napatan kingdom. We should have no trouble accepting a cause and effect relationship between the two sets of facts.

The problem of Amenirdis and Maatkare is more complex. According to the traditional history there existed an unbroken sequence of four god's wives spanning the years between the inauguration of Shepenwepet, daughter of Osorkon III, and the adoption of Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I, who "ruled" in the late 6th century. For the record we tabulate the accepted list of god's wives (see below). For the sake of the uninformed reader we should perhaps point out that the dates, other than the one assigned to Shepenwepet I, represent when the existing god's wife "adopted" her future replacement. We do not know, in the case of any of the named dignitaries, when the god's wife died.

Table 16: God's Wives of Amun According to the Traditional History. Dates provided by the Revised History.

God's Wife:	Daughter of:	Given by	Approximate Date of Adoption:
Shepenwepet I	Osorkon III	Osorkon III	671-667 B.C.
Amenirdis I	Kashta	Kashta?	664-660 B.C.
Shepenwepet II	Piankhi	Piankhi	???
Amenirdis II	Taharka	Taharka	???
Nitocris	Psamtik I	Psamtik I	514 B.C.

Several aspects of this list are worth noting.

1. The fact that Amenirdis was adopted by Shepenwepet seven years into her “reign” is based entirely on a graffiti found in the desert region of the Wadi Gassus in which adjacent inscriptions refer to the 12th year of an adoratrix Amenirdis and the 19th year of a god’s wife Shepenwepet. Whether these inscriptions are meant to be read together, whether they refer to the first or second god’s wives bearing these names, and the precise meaning of the dates are all the subject of considerable debate.³⁰ We accept the relative dates as a possibility only because it seems likely that Shepenwepet would have adopted a “daughter” at an early date.

2. In the first book of our series we dated the “adoption” of Nitocris by Amenirdis II (apparently while Shepenwepet II was still alive) to the year 514 B.C.³¹ But this creates a major problem, regardless of the precise

³⁰See the extensive discussion by Kitchen TIP 344

³¹See *Nubuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, chapter 5 for the date. We assume that some unusual circumstance necessitated this adoption of two “daughters” by a single “god’s wife.” Certainly the existing “god’s daughter Amenirdis II was old, probably in her seventies since she was likely given up for adoption at the latest around 566 B.C. [a year before the invasion] and may have been in her twenties at the time). She may also have been ill. Alternatively the problem may have been the age and/or health of Shepenwepet II.

dates when the other god's wives were adopted. A quick glance at the chart shows that the combined terms *in office* of two consecutive god's wives (Amenirdis I and Shepenwepet II) must have spanned, *at minimum* (since Shepenwepet II is still alive and in office at the adoption of Nitocris), the 156 years from 660 B.C. to 514 B.C. This is clearly an impossibility. Of course the critic will argue that our analysis in the earlier book is incorrect and that we must accept a 535 B.C. date for the adoption of Nitocris. But even this would require that the two terms in office add up to 137 years, better - but still all but impossible. Clearly there is some error in the traditional schema, and the conclusion is inevitable that at least one god's wife has been omitted from the list. We should perhaps note that the difficulty is much the same in the traditional history, where all dates are consistently about 121 years higher than those provided above.

3. The table as presented assumes that Amenirdis is both the daughter of Kashta and the sister of Piankhi. But the only genealogical data given by the monuments shows only that Amenirdis was the daughter of Kashta and thus the (older) sister of Peksater, Piankhi's wife. Several of Amenirdis' inscriptions refer to her father by name. None mention Piankhi as her brother, a relationship which assumes that Piankhi was also Kashta's son and had married his sister Peksater. That suggested genealogy, supported by many Egyptologists, is absolutely without warrant. It is certain that Piankhi did not give Amenirdis to Shepenwepet as the later's adoptive daughter, as some suggest. Again there is no documentary support, and the chronology makes that event impossible. We maintain instead that Amenirdis was given to Shepenwepet by Kashta, who was probably related by marriage to Osorkon III. The range of dates when this event likely took place (664-660 B.C.) suggests that the Nubian viceroy Piankh might have had a hand in the matter. How else do we explain how Kashta had such influence in the Theban area other than by assuming some family relationship between him and the Nubian viceroy Piankh. Perhaps they are brothers.

4. The timeline clearly rules out the possibility that Mutemhet Maatkare and Amenirdis I are the same person. Besides, at least one inscription suggests that the prenomen of Amenirdis was Khaneferumut³², clearly

³²See Kitchen TIP 321

distinguishing her from Mutemhet.

5. The Nitocris stela, which we examined in brief in the earlier book, does state that Piankhi had a sister who was a god's wife.³³ But it does not name his sister. In the sequence of god's wives this sister must immediately precede Shepenwepet II. Scholars simply assume it was Amenirdis, but convincing evidence is lacking.³⁴ Since we know that Piankhi had a sister named Maatkare who was a god's wife, she must be the unnamed god's wife in the Nitocris stela. And she must have been placed on the throne by Pinudjem, since she already bears the title god's wife in the processional pictured on the mural from the Abydos temple.

6. The god's wife Amenirdis lived into the reign of Shabaka as attested by a document dated in that king's 12th year.³⁵ She seems also to have been alive in the days of Shabataka. Since we have argued that the reign of Shabaka overlapped that of Piankhi, and that Piankhi died in 584 B.C., at least a year into the reign of Shabataka, this creates no chronological problem for the revised history.

Collectively the evidence suggests that the list of god's wives should be emended as in table 17 following.

³³BAR IV 942

³⁴For sources see BAR IV 942 note e.

³⁵See Kitchen TIP 344

Table 17: God's Wives of Amun - Revised History

God's Wife:	Daughter of:	Given by	Approximate Date of Adoption:
Shepenwepet I	Osorkon III	Osorkon III	671-667 B.C.
Amenirdis I	Kashta	Kashta	664-660 B.C.
Maatkare	Pinudjem I	Pinudjem	c.a. 640 B.C.
Shepenwepet II	Piankhi	Piankhi	c.a. 584 B.C.
Amenirdis II	Taharka	Taharka	c.a. 566 B.C.
Nitocris	Psamtik I	Psamtik I	514 B.C.

Far from being a problem for the revised history, the god's wife Mutemhet Maatkare makes sense out of an otherwise confused sequence of god's wives and lends support to our suggestion that Kashta was the Napatan king contemporary with Piankh and Pinudjem, into whose family Menkheperre married prior to the beginning of the Tefnakht rebellion.

We conclude our discussion by outlining below a hypothetical genealogy representing this revised list of God's Wives of Amun and incorporating some of the data outlined in this chapter. Please note that we have assumed in this instance, following Kenneth Kitchen, that Shabaka is a son of Kashta and Pebatma, and that Shabataka and Taharka are sons of Piankhi. We do not necessarily agree with those conclusions, but they are one set of options worth considering. The reader can easily restore the genealogy on figure 18 on page 237 by making Shabaka a son of Rudamon, and Shabataka and Taharka sons of Shabaka. Nothing else in the figure would necessarily change.

Figure 29: Genealogy for the God's Wives of Amun. Third Possibility for the Genealogy of Piankh.

