

## 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 21<sup>st</sup> Tanite dynasty ceased to exist, as described by Manetho, with the death of Aakheperre Psusennes 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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

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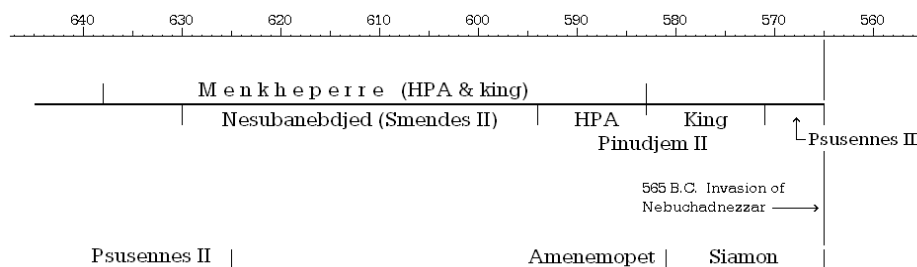
<sup>1</sup>It is true that the name Amenemopet bears a striking resemblance to Manetho's Amenophthis, but so also do the names of multiple Egyptians bearing names compounded with that of the god Amon. Amenhotep, for example, was a most popular name with dignitaries, used by at least one notable high 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 "Rameses 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

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 6<sup>th</sup> century argues that Siamun'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. Siamun 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 "21<sup>st</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup>. 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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, 4<sup>th</sup> Akhet, 1: bandage on mummy No. 105 having also Year 48 "n" Menkheperre and braces of the HPA Pinudjem (II)" (TIP 388 XI 51).<sup>2</sup> This shows that the high priesthood of Pinudjem II extended back in time at least to the 48<sup>th</sup> 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 49<sup>3</sup>, leading us to conclude that the reign of Amenemopet also extended back in time to at least the 49<sup>th</sup> 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 49<sup>th</sup> year of 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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,

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<sup>2</sup>We assume this bandage was kept for six years before being used in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Pinudjem as king – hence the year 1 date, which references the kingship of Pinudjem II which began in 584.

<sup>3</sup>Livre des Rois III 293 IV

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.<sup>4</sup> Even more curious was the fact that several inscriptions associated with Harnakht identified him as a high priest of Amun, a revelation that caused Egyptologists to scramble for explanation.<sup>5</sup> Near the coffin were found several artifacts which are believed to be out of context, raising questions which also require answers.<sup>6</sup> 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, Amenemopet, 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 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty king who ruled for 9 years around 990 B.C. Harnakht, on the other hand, was an equally insignificant youth of the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty who died prematurely sometime during the reign of his father Osorkon II, say around 850 B.C. How do

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<sup>4</sup>This 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 the tomb of Psusesses II.

<sup>5</sup>The 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.

<sup>6</sup>The 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 8<sup>th</sup> century, would be a contemporary of the king’s Ramses V-VIII. Pashedbast could well be a son of Ramses III.

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 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty successor of Psusennes II would so honor a child of a 22<sup>nd</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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 40<sup>th</sup> 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 40<sup>th</sup> 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 40<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>7</sup>We 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.



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 10<sup>th</sup> 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 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 Amenemopet 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.<sup>8</sup> As usual on these bandage epigraphs, it is unclear to whom the year dates belong. Both read simply: “Bandage made by the high

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<sup>8</sup>The 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

priest of Amun Psusennes, son of Pinudjem, for his father/lord Amun, year (5 or 12)". Seven other mummies have 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.<sup>9</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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 died<sup>10</sup> 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 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

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<sup>9</sup>As 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 dockets 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".

<sup>10</sup>Nothing changes if he was taken captive or driven from the country. His reign effectively ended in 565 B.C.

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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> Then they stop. This is precisely what we expect if the kingship of Pinudjem ran from 584 to 572 B.C. He died in his 13<sup>th</sup> 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

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<sup>11</sup>We 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 6<sup>th</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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 48<sup>th</sup> 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 9<sup>11</sup>, the first of these being five years prior to his death.

<sup>12</sup>Besides 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 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 6<sup>th</sup> 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.

reign of Pinudjem I.<sup>13</sup> These include only a single dated inscription from the Deir el Bahri finds, the year 8 bandage<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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 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 42<sup>rd</sup> 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

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<sup>13</sup>Cf. M. Henri Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Egypte 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.

<sup>14</sup>TIP 386 VII #40.

<sup>15</sup>See Kitchen TIP 388 XI #50 for a list and for references.

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.<sup>16</sup> 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 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

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<sup>16</sup>The 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.

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.<sup>17</sup> 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.

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"<sup>18</sup> 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 Amenemnise, not Smendes I (Nesubanebdjed). Thus they

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<sup>17</sup>Eric Young, "Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-First Dynasty," JARCE 2 (1963) 104-108.

<sup>18</sup>Pierre 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."

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 21<sup>st</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> And what occasion would have prompted such a gift? 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

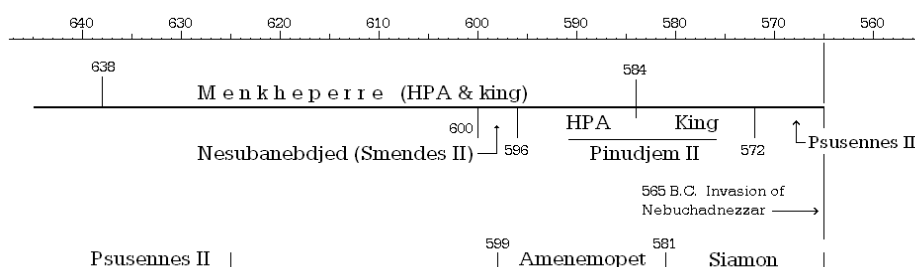
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<sup>19</sup>We assume the gift was not a funeral gift, which would be even more difficult to explain. If sent around 630, as we have hypothesized, Smendes II cannot have been more than eighteen years old at the time. Menkheperre began his rule in 638. He was likely at most around 25 years of age at the 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.

his father beginning at the latest around 630 B.C. This is unlikely<sup>20</sup>, but still within the realm of possibility. In this 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 “21<sup>st</sup> Theban” priest/kings and their Tanite counterparts (duplicate of figure 20).  
Short pontificate for Smendes II.



Enough said.

<sup>20</sup>We 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.