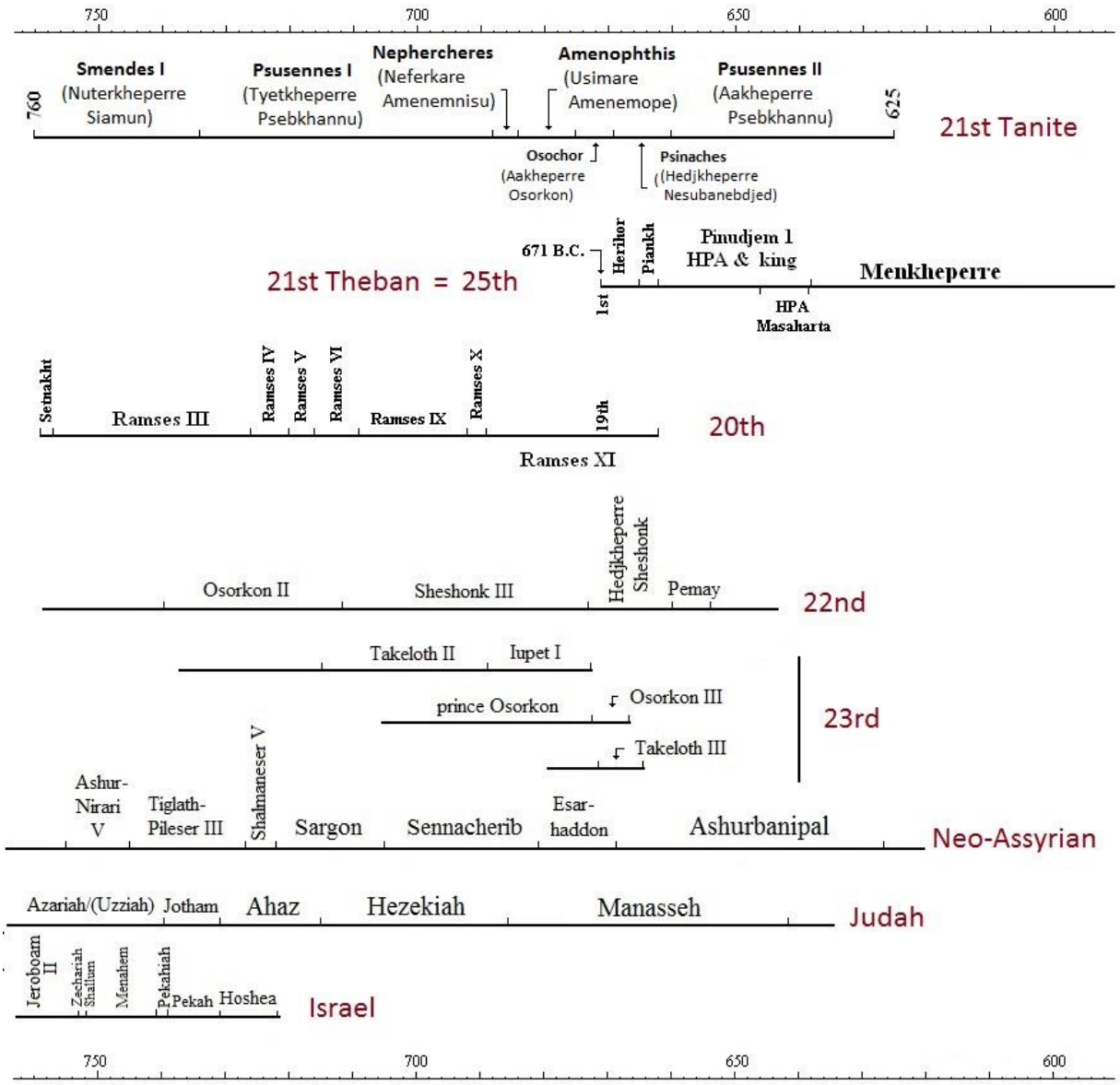
Paper #6 The fact that Egypt was governed by five overlapping dynasties in the century following the Santorini mega-explosion (ca 760-650 BC) is confirmed by the Dibabiyeh stele, the Petrie version of Pasenhor's genealogy, the Berlin & Louvre stelae, and a fragmentary relief on a building south of the main temple of Amun in Tanis.

In our previous paper we began by producing a timeline chart depicting our revised positioning of Egyptian dynasties 20, 21 Tanite, 21 Theban, 22 and 23, alongside the established chronologies of the Neo-Assyrian kings and the kings of Israel and Judah from the Hebrew Bible, all in the 760-650 BC time frame. The primary objective then was identical to that of this paper, i.e. to confirm that those timelines are correct in every respect. We begin by duplicating that timeline chart as our Figure 1, but only after making a few cosmetic changes.

The changes we refer to are related to a secondary aim of this sequence of papers. We want to provide actual cartouche names for all of the pharaohs named on that chart, beginning with those listed on our 21st Tanite dynasty timeline. This objective is largely motivated by comments we made at the conclusion of our previous paper, where we repeated our frequently voiced opinion that the two 21st dynasty kings named Psusennes have been confused by traditional history scholars, and that the cartouche names Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed, linked to Smendes I by those same traditional historians, actually belong to Manetho's king Psinaches. Thus we begin this paper by including the correct cartouche names for Psusennes I & 2, and for Psinaches. And since in the course of this essay we will supply Smendes with his actual cartouche names, and reveal the true identity of Manetho's king Osochor, we include those names as well in our Figure 1. Proof will follow.

As in paper #5 we provide here a sequence of stand-alone points. The paper is longer than usual (over 30 pages), but is well worth a carefully reading. If subject to time-constraints the reader may find it convenient to spread the task out over time, allowing opportunity to evaluate the argument and read the links to online sources. In the last paper we produced six independent articles, each focussed on the same objective. In this paper, due to the complexity of the arguments, there are only five, labelled A to E below.

Figure 1: Revised history timelines of the kings of Israel, Judah, Assyria, and Egypt in the approximate time frame 750-650 BC, with the inclusion of cartouche names for all seven 21st Tanite dynasty kings.



A. Identifying our Figure 1 king Psusennes II as a king named Aakheperre Psebkhannu and our Figure 1 king Psinaches as a king named Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed, verifies the accuracy of our positioning and absolute dating of all of the dynasties in that timeline chart.

We begin this discussion by clarifying a feature of the Figure 1 chart that we ought to have explained previously, but didn't, this because our four books on the subject of Egyptian chronology were directed toward Egyptologists and others well acquainted with Egyptian history. Those readers were already aware of the fact that all of the names on our 21st Tanite timeline were derived from Manetho, via excerpts copied by Josephus and by later Greek speaking scholars such as Africanus and Eusebius. A few of Manetho's names do actually resemble those possessed by known pharaohs, but at least three key names are not so clearly identified. Thus there exist absolutely no Egyptian inscriptions containing the names Smendes, Psusennes, and Psinaches, as written by Manetho, a regrettable absence since those are precisely the names we are most interested in in this paper.

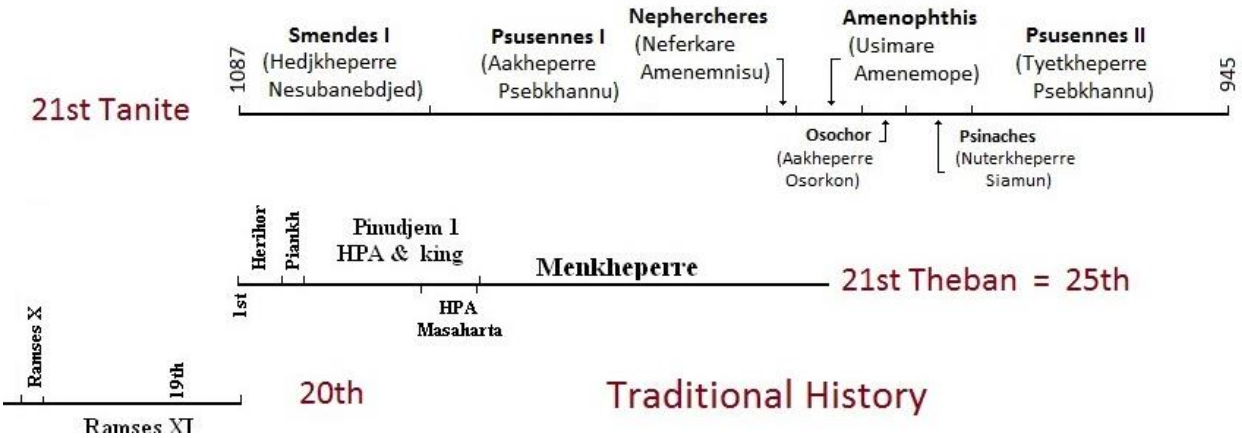
Consequently Egyptologists, following the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script in the 3rd decade of the 19th century, had to determine from a limited number of resource documents which pharaohs should be associated with which of Manetho's Greek names. They did their best, early on determining that two kings bearing the "birth name"/nomen Psebkhannu (or Pasebkhannu) must be identified with Manetho's two kings named Psusennes. But they guessed wrong on which Psebkhannu should be identified with which Psusennes. They also chose the wrong king to identify as Manetho's king Smendes. We have commented frequently on the cause of the latter mistake. Here we review the details again.

The story of Wenamon's travels, discussed at the end of our previous paper, was largely the source of the mistaken opinion. That story clearly identified the fact that Ramses XI, the terminal king of the 20th dynasty was succeeded by Herihor, the initial king of the 21st Theban dynasty. It also identified as Herihor's contemporary in Tanis an individual named Nesubanebdjed. And since traditional historians already believed, entirely without evidence, that the 21st Tanite

dynasty in the north of Egypt, along with the 21st Theban dynasty in the south, together replaced Ramses XI in governing the whole of Egypt, it followed that Nesubanebdjed must be the nomen of Smendes, identified by Manetho as the founder of the 21st dynasty. And finally, since there existed then, and there still exists today, only one Egyptian king with the nomen Nesubanebdjed, this king was the unanimous choice as the 21st Tanite dynasty founder. His name – Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed.

Thus, from the middle years of the 18th century till today, Egyptian chronology has been cemented in place as diagrammed in Figure 2 below. Argument still exists on the absolute dates assigned each king, but the relative positioning has remained unchanged, with one possible exception, noted later in this paper.

Figure 2: Traditional Egyptian chronology of the 21st Theban, and 21st Tanite dynasties in relation to the death of Ramses XI.

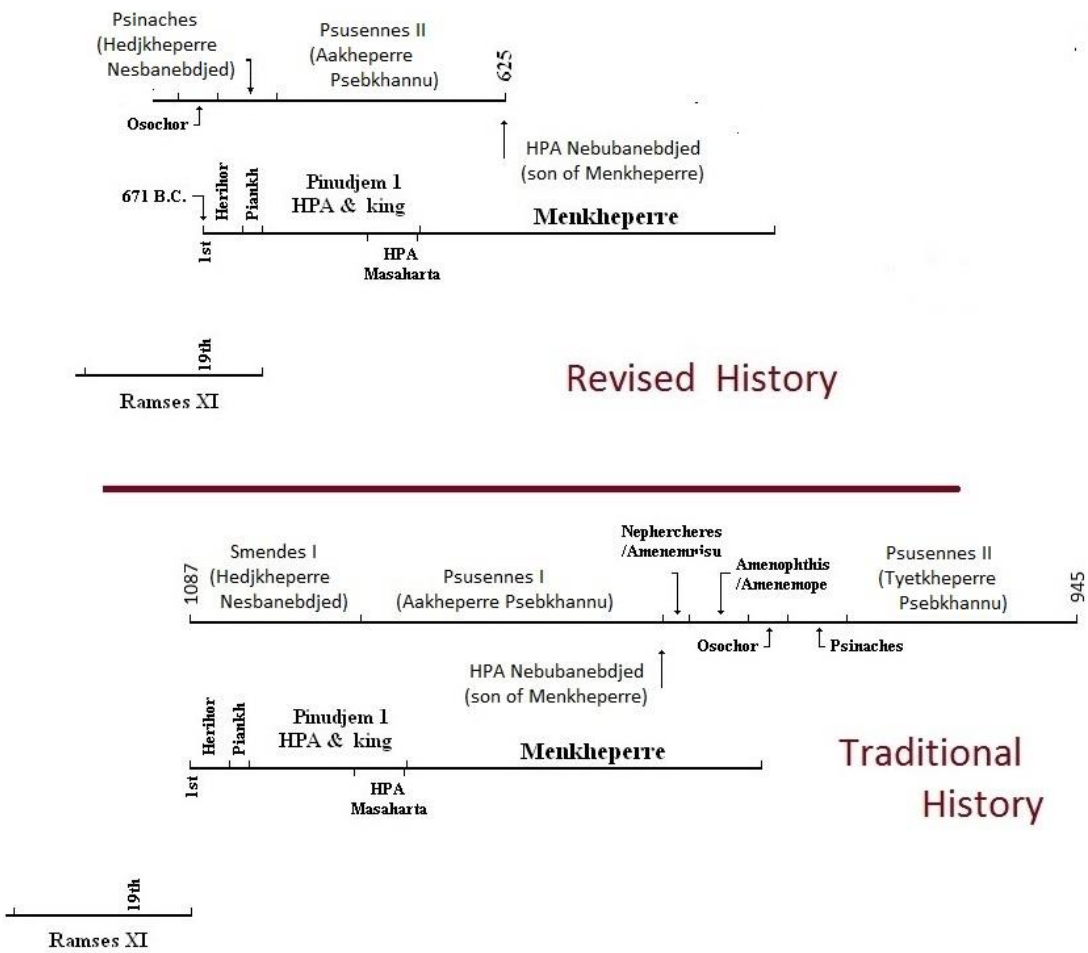


Our revised chronology of these three dynasties, as diagrammed in our Figure 1, differs from the traditional history in three respects. One is the absolute dates assigned these pharaohs. The second is the fact that we have switched the identities of the kings Psusennes I & II, and assigned the name Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed to Psinaches, not Smendes. And finally, early on we recognized that Smendes, the 21st dynasty founder, was not a contemporary of Herihor and Ramses XI, but was instead a contemporary of Setnakht, the founder of the 20th

dynasty. Thus the 21st Tanite dynasty timeline in Figure 2 had to be displaced approximately 100 years to the left, 100 years being the approximate length of the 20th dynasty. This displacement brought the 21st dynasty kings Osochor and Psinaches to a position contemporary with Herihor, where they appear in our Figure 1.

It is time to defend the changes we have made to our Figure 1. In this first section of our paper our arguments all relate to the time frame from Herihor to Menkheperre, as represented by the timelines of both the traditional and revised histories. For convenience we reproduce those timelines as they appear in our Figures 1 and 2, duplicating them in a single chart, our Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Traditional History and Revised History timelines describing Egyptian history following the death of Ramses XI.



At this time we make only four comments in defense of our "Revised History" as displayed in Figures 1 and 3.

1) The reader will notice that we have added to both sections of our Figure 3 an entry related to the bracelets found on the mummy of king Aakheperre Psebkhannu in his intact tomb in Tanis, as discussed at the end of our previous paper. Those bracelets named Aakheperre, and claimed they were "made by" a dignitary named "Nesubanebdjed, son of Menkheperre", undoubtedly a reference to the High Priest of Amon (HPA) named Nesubanebdjed, a son of the priest/king Menkheperre. At first we questioned whether the bracelets were indeed a gift from Menkheperre via his son, but in the end we accepted the identification, knowing full well that this attribution demanded that we identify Psusennes II as the king Aakheperre Psebkhannu. Those mummy bracelets made absolutely no sense in our Figures 1 & 3 before we made the name change, but fit perfectly the situation as now diagrammed. And while they make sense also in the traditional history timeline, our revised history is able to explain a fact for which the traditional history has no explanation, namely, why the priest king Menkheperre (alias Piankhi), early in his life, relinquished his titles as the High Priest of Amon to his son Nesubanebdjed. In our revised history we argued the case that in the year 637 BC Menkheperre led a rebellion that drove the Assyrians out of Egypt, and established himself as the *de facto* ruler of the whole of Egypt. Subsequently he relinquished his clerical titles to his son Nesubanebdjed, and later, when Aakheperre Psebkhannu died, he directed this son to make bracelets to adorn the body of the 21st dynasty king. And in a moment we will comment on the genealogical link between the 21st Tanite and 21st Theban (= 25th dynasty) families that would explain this act of devotion.

2) On pages 3 & 4 above we cited the travels of the Egyptian dignitary Wenamon as the primary evidence supporting the traditional history in their belief that Smendes I and Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed were one and the same person. But a glance at our Figure 3 should convince our readers that we can cite precisely the same arguments for identifying Hedjkheperre and Psinaches, thus removing the only deficiency in the argument we proposed at the end of the previous paper. And there we had the advantage of a mass of evidence from the

annals of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal to support our argument. And since our dating of Herihor and Piankh and Psinaches, contemporaries of king Nesubanebdjed , was arrived at long before, and independent of, any consideration of the Wenamon papyrus, the timelines in Figures 1 and 3 absolutely confirm the equation Psinaches = Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed.

3) Speaking of timelines which confirm the fact that Psinaches must be identified as Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed, and that this king lived around the middle years of the 8th century BC, we need to examine one further document - the so-called Dibabiyeh/Dibabieh quarry stele. Along with the Wenamon story, the inscription on this stele is cited in the literature of the traditional history as one of the few mentions of king Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed in an actual historical context. Indeed the Wenamun papyrus and the Dibabieh stele are the only mentions of this king in a recognized historical context. How convenient therefore that we are able to cite them both as evidence supporting the equation Psinaches = Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed.

We introduce the Dibabieh stele by quoting Robert K. Ritner, who produces both a transcription and a translation of the entire stele inscription on pages 101-104 in the volume *Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, edited by Edward Wente. In his introductory note on page 101 Ritner describes the stele and its contents:

> A hieroglyphic stela carved on a pillar in the western gallery of the limestone quarries at Dibabieh, near the town of Gebelein, preserved a rare mention of Smendes in Upper Egypt. Below a winged disk, the stela was framed by vertical bands of text recording the titles of the king, although only the right band remained for modern copyists. In addorsed scenes above the primary inscription, Smendes was depicted worshiping Amon and Khonsu on the right and Amon and Mut on the left. The main text of seventeen lines adopts the standard *Königsnovelle* format, in which the king is informed of disturbance and promptly orders corrective action. Particularly noteworthy is the royal presence at Memphis (rather than at Tanis) and the destructive flooding of Luxor temple, encountered again during the tenure of Osorkon III. A broken passage in line 15 suggests a census of project workers, noting deaths and new births. The primary textual edition is in places unreliable, but the stela is now destroyed below the cornice and winged disk (personal communication, James A. Harrell, 19 October 1999).

According to Ritner's introductory note, the stele inscription is entirely concerned with a massive flood of the Nile, so large that it threatened the Luxor temple in Karnak, reminiscent of a flood that took place "during the tenure of Osorkon III".

Identifying the author of the inscription is not problematic. Multiple times Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed proudly displays both of his cartouche names, as in the following excerpt from the introductory portion on p. 102.

> nṯr nfr nb tꜣ.wy Ḥḏ-ḫpr-Rʿ-stp-n-Rʿ sꜣ Rʿ nb ḫʿ.w Ns-bꜣ-(nb)-Ḏd.t mrỉ-ʾImn mꜣ[…] Ḥr-ꜣḫ.ty(?) […]n r ny-sw.t nb […] dỉ ʿnḫ ḏd wꜣs nb snb nb mỉ Rʿ
>
> The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Hedjkheperre-setepenre, the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Smendes, beloved of Amon, […] Horachty (?) […] more than any king […], given all life, stability, and dominion and all health like Re.

We have included in this quoted paragraph the transliteration of the hieroglyphic text from which the translation derives, this for a reason. We want to advise our readers to be careful when reading Ritner's translation, because he never does actually transcribe the name of Nesubanebdjed when it occurs in the stele inscription. He merely follows the traditional party line, referring to Nesubanebdjed as Smendes in each and every instance where that name occurs, including his reference to Smendes in his introductory note, duplicated above.

On page 103 Ritner translates the critical section of the Dibabiyeh stele, that which documents the massive flood with which the inscription is solely concerned. Here we provide only his translation.

Now His Majesty was in the city of Memphis, his noble residence of valor and victory like Re [... He went (?) to the estate of Ptah,] (4) lord of Ankh-Tawy, and Sakhmet the great, the beloved of Ptah [...], Montu and the Ennead who are in the "Wall of the Sovereign."[2]

Now His Majesty was seated in the columned [hall, and one came to say to] (5) His Majesty: "The canal bed[3] that formed the borders of Luxor temple and that was made by King Menkheperre (Thutmosis III) is fallen [into ruin. ...] (6) There is a great flood and a strong current with[in] it on the great pavement of the temple. It has encircled the front [...]."

[Now His Majesty said] (7) to them: "If it is a matter said before me, yet it is not something at all in the experience[4] of My Majesty, anything similar being unknown [...] (8) protect from the calamity[5] there. It was a canal harnessed seasonally for the borders of [...] (9) in ignorance of my property (?), all these being remote from the sovereign."

Then His Majesty [sent architects] (10) and 3,000 men with them, comprising the best of the comrades of His Majesty. To them His Majesty commanded: "Go to [the south (?) ...] (11) desert [...] the commanders of His Majesty as subordinates at his heels to create heaps (of stones) in [the quarry (?) ...] (12) witness [...] in the vicinity of this[6] quarry from the time of those who have passed away until today, Gebelein [...] (13) the temple of Montu, lord of Tod. They engraved this decree that causes that His Majesty remain [...] (14) excavated[7] by themselves monthly. His command arrived to sanctify the works of the decree [...] (15) in reckoning those who had passed away and the child at the breast of his mother up to [... Never was anything] (16) done similarly in the time of the ancestors.

And what is the point we are attempting to make in the above documentation. Perhaps the astute reader will already have guessed, particularly if he/she has our Figure 1 in view. When Ritner reads this stele inscription one notorious flood comes to his mind immediately, that which took place in the days of Osorkon III, a king dated by the traditional history to the first decade of the 8th century BC., thus roughly three hundred years after the reign of Smendes I, dated ca 1087-1061 BC by traditional scholars. But let us set the record straight. The flood described on the Dibabiyeh stele is not just reminiscent of one that took place in the time of Osorkon III*, it is Osorkon's flood*.

Nile floods were documented carefully by Egyptian officials, and Nile flood levels were carefully recorded on the walls of the quay at Karnak. Only two are of proportions comparable to what is described in the Dibabiyeh stele. The largest took place in the third year of the reign of Osorkon III, as noted by Ritner. The second largest took place in the 6th year of the 25th dynasty king Taharkah. We discuss both floods on pages 119-120 of our first book, where at the time we

made the mistake of trusting older Egyptologists, who assigned the earlier flood to the reign of Osorkon II, not III, an error corrected since the writing of our first book.

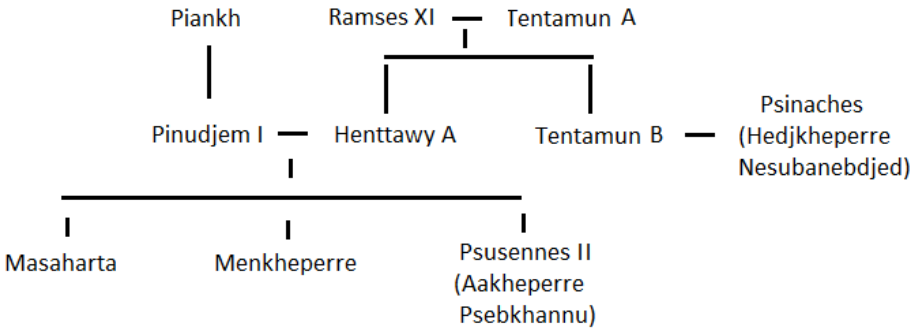
And why the length of the above preamble? A glance at our Figure 1 tells the tale. The reign of Psinaches overlaps the 3rd year of king Osorkon III, the known date of the massive Nile flood. Coincidence? We think not. The Dibabiyeh stele now becomes support for our identification of Manetho's Psinaches with Hedjkheperre Nesbanebdjed. By contrast, the traditional history is now bereft of any support for its association of the name Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed with Smendes I.

4) Our final defense for both the Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed and Psebkhannu name changes is actually a structural argument. One feature of our Figure 3 should immediately strike the reader, in this particular instance, as truly coincidental. With our name changes, and our shifting of the 21st Tanite dynasty backward in time a full century, the revised history and traditional history relative positioning of the main characters in our drama are almost exact duplicates, absolute dates excepted. In both histories two of the key figures involved in our name changes, Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed and Aakheperre Psebkhannu, end up overlapping completely the reigns of the 21st dynasty Theban clerics Herihor, Piankh, Pinudjem I, and Masaharta, and partially at least the tenure of the priest/king Menkheperre. It follows that the vast majority of relationships between the 20th, 21st Tanite, and 21st Theban dynasty kings in this limited time frame, as determined by Egyptologists based on extant inscriptions, are precisely those which our revised history would confirm and endorse from those same documents. And without exception Egyptologists have determined that all three dynasties are related by marriage, two daughters of Ramses XI featuring prominently in the resulting genealogies.

Egyptologists differ on some of the genealogical details, but are in general agreement with the overall schema. We follow here the version proposed by Kenneth Kitchen, who diagrams two variant interpretations of the available source documents in sect. 441 (p. 538) of his classic TIP (2nd edition with

supplement). We summarize the details common to both variants in our Figure 4 below. Almost all Egyptologists accept the basic facts summarized in that flow chart, with Pinudjem I marrying Henttawy A, a daughter of Ramses XI, and fathering the three future kings, Masaharta, Menkheperre and Aakheperre Psebkhannu, though some would argue that Masaharta was the father, not the brother of Menkheperre, and others that Masaharta and Menkheperre were children of Pinudjem I by a different wife than Henttawy A. Regardless, this genealogy provides a probable explanation for why Pinudjem's son Menkheperre would name his son *Nesubanebdjed* (after his maternal uncle), and why he would direct that son to make bracelets for the funeral of *Aakheperre Psebkhannu* (his brother or half-brother). And Kitchen's genealogy absolutely confirms the fact that Psusennes II in our revised history must be identified as the king Aakheperre Psebkhannu.

Figure 4: Key descendants of the 20th dynasty king Ramses XI, and the 21st Theban dynasty king Piankh, according to Kenneth Kitchen, (replacing Kitchen's names Smendes and Psusennes I with the revised history equivalents Psinaches and Psusennes II).



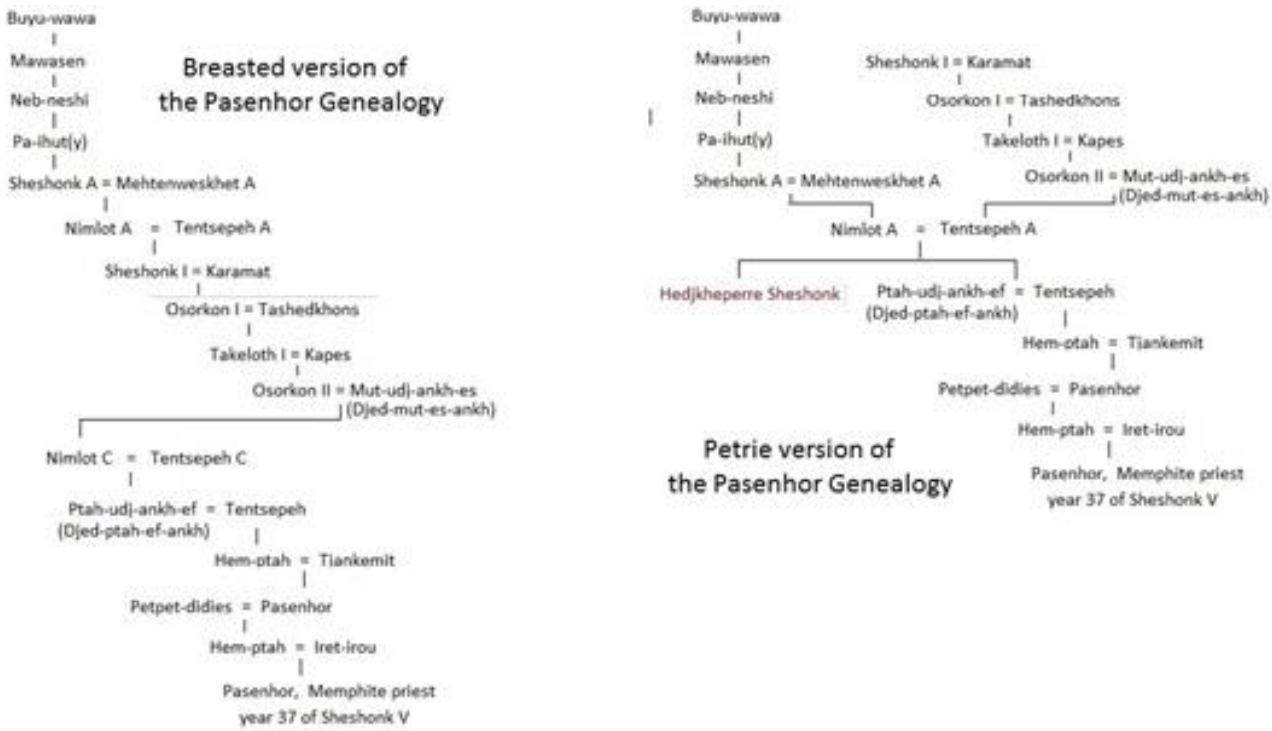
B. Adding "Osorkon the Elder" to the Flinders Petrie version of the Pasenhor genealogy confirms the relative positioning of our 21st and 22nd dynasty timelines in Figure 1.

In Appendix A of *Piankhi the Chameleon,* the second book in our *Displaced Dynasties Series*, we discussed the genealogy of a Memphite priest named Pasenhor, and diagrammed the two ways his genealogy could be interpreted. We rejected the interpretation of the well-respected Egyptologist James Henry

Breasted (the version now adhered to by almost every Egyptologist on earth) and we adopted the version approved by the equally highly respected Egyptologist Flinders Petrie (the version followed in the 20th century by Petrie and no one else). In the course of doing so we made one addition to Petrie's version, adding the name of a recently discovered pharaoh named Hedjkheperre Sheshonk as a son of Nimlot A and Mehtenweskhet A. And we spent the whole of Appendix B in our book two discussing this pharaoh, his discovery by the Egyptologist Aidan Dodson in 1993, and his approximate positioning in the 22nd dynasty between the reigns of Sheshonk III and Pemay. Since we will spend time in a moment discussing the Pasenhor genealogy, we highly recommend that the reader digest the contents of both Appendix A and Appendix B in book two.

In our Figure 5 below we reproduce from Appendix A both the Petrie and Breasted interpretations of the Pasenhor genealogy, copied respectively from Figures 25 and 21 in that Appendix.

Figure 5: The Breasted and Petrie versions of the Pasenhor genealogy (reproduced from Figures 21 and 25 of Appendix A in the book *Piankhi the Chameleon*)

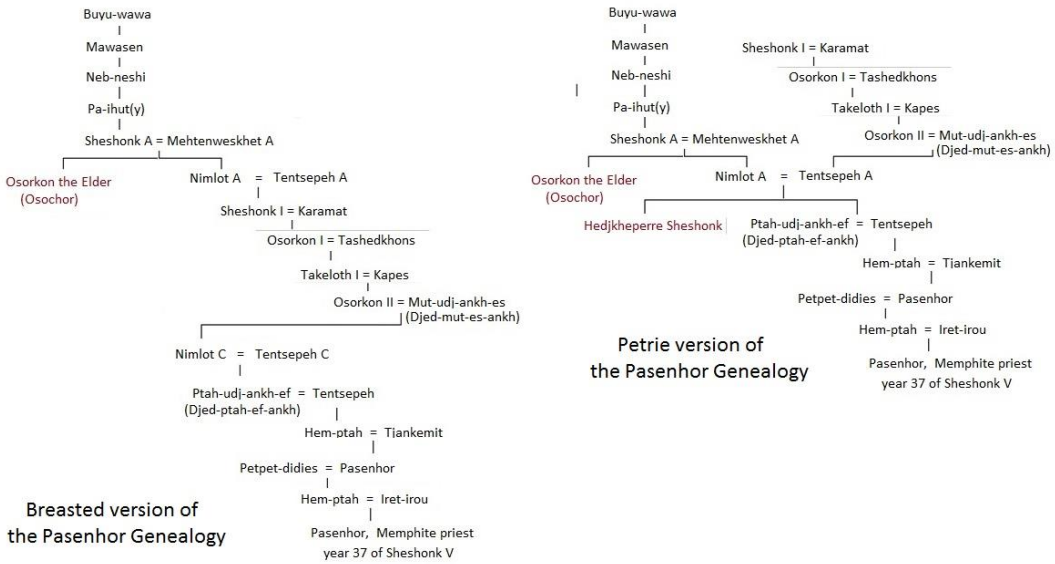


The reader should take note of one major difference between the two interpretive versions. In Breasted's opinion Nimlot A and Mehtenweskhet A feature as the parents of a son named Sheshonk (I), the reputed founder of the 22nd dynasty (hence the numeral I affixed to his name), and the claim is made that this son had the prenomen Hedjkheperre – a claim supported by absolutely no evidence. In Petrie's opinion Nimlot A and Mehtenweskhet A feature as the parents of an otherwise obscure son named Djed-ptah-ef-ankh, whose burial in the tomb DB320 is discussed in our Appendix B, and is mentioned again later in this paper. We have added a second son, Dodson's newly discovered pharaoh Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, in precisely the same position as Breasted's Sheshonk I, but in this case we are certain that this Sheshonk, son of Nimlot A, bore the prenomen Hedjkheppere, and we are informed by the genealogy that he is not Sheshonk I. We should point out, of course, that Petrie had no knowledge of the existence of a "second" Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, and like Breasted was of the opinion that the king identified as Sheshonk I in his version of Pasenhor's genealogy had the throne name Hedjkheperre.

We now want to make additional changes to Pasenhor's genealogy, this time to both the Breasted and the Petrie versions, not only to further validate our 22nd dynasty timeline in Figure 1, but the 21st dynasty timeline also. After all, confirming the accuracy of the timelines in that initial Figure 1 is the main purpose for which this paper is written.

We begin by adding a single name to both charts, namely, that of Osorkon the Elder, the 5th priest/king of the 21st dynasty, an individual known to Manetho by the name Osochor. We add the name in Figure 6 below as a second son of the parents Sheshonk A and Mehtenweskhet A .

Figure 6: Chart showing the contrasting Breasted and Petrie interpretations of the Pasenhor genealogy (with later additions in red).



The name of Osochor is already part of our 21st Tanite dynasty timeline in Figure 1. Precisely how a 22nd dynasty Libyan, son of non-royal parents, emerged as the 5th king of a 21st dynasty of priest/kings, is beyond the understanding of this author. Suffice to say, absolutely every Egyptologist today agrees with that placement of this king Osochor, as do we. We restrict our explanation here to that provided by the Wikipedia article on Osorkon the Elder, a portion of which is quoted below.

> Akheperre Setepenre Osorkon the Elder was the fifth king of the twenty-first dynasty of Egypt and **was the first pharaoh of Libyan extraction in Egypt**. He is also sometimes known as "Osochor," following Manetho's Aegyptiaca.
>
> Osorkon the Elder was the son of Shoshenq, the Great Chief of the Ma by the latter's wife 'Mehtenweskhet who is given the prestigious title of 'King's Mother' in a document. Osochor was the brother of Nimlot A, the Great Chief of the Ma, and Tentshepeh A the daughter of the Great Chief of the Ma and, thus, **an uncle of Shoshenq I, founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty.**
>
> **His existence was doubted by most scholars until Eric Young established in 1963 that the induction of a temple priest named Nespaneferhor in Year 2 I Shemu day 20 under a certain king named Akheperre Setepenre - in fragment 3B, line 1-3 of the Karnak**

> **Priest Annals - occurred one generation prior to the induction of Hori, Nespaneferhor's son in Year 17 of Siamun, which is also recorded in the same annals. Young argued that this king Akheperre Setepenre was the unknown Osochor.** This hypothesis was not fully accepted by all Egyptologists at that time, however.
>
> But in a 1976-1977 paper, Jean Yoyotte noted that a Libyan king named Osorkon was the son of Shoshenq A by the Lady Mehtenweshkhet, with Mehtenweshkhet being explicitly titled the "King's Mother" in a certain genealogical document. Since none of the other kings named Osorkon had a mother named Mehtenweshkhet, it was conclusively established that Akheperre Setepenre was indeed Manetho's Osochor, whose mother was Mehtenweshkhet. The Lady Mehtenweshet A was also the mother of Nimlot A, Great Chief of the Meshwesh and, thus**,** Shoshenq I's grandmother.

The reader needs to be cautioned not to accept every word in this article. We have emphasized three sections that need correction. "Osorkon the Elder … **was the first pharaoh of Libyan extraction in Egypt**" only if you accept the Breasted version of the Pasenhor genealogy. In the Petrie version he is preceded by Sheshonk I, Osorkon I, Takeloth I, and Osorkon II, as he is in our Figure 1. Likewise for the statement that Osochor was "**an uncle of Shoshenq I, the founder of the twenty-second dynasty**". He was instead an uncle of Dodson's second Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, who is definitely not Shoshenq I (see Figure 1). The second error can be quickly corrected if the reader simply deletes every mention of the name Sheshonk 1 in that article and substitutes the name Hedjkheperre Sheshonk. We have already multiple times argued our case, and will argue it again in a moment, that Sheshonk I, the founder of the 22nd dynasty, did not possess the prenomen Hedjkheperre. At minimum there is absolutely no evidence that he did.

A third error is the whole of the third quoted paragraph which discusses the discovery of Eric Young. Absolutely nothing in that paragraph concerns the king Osochor. When Young mentions king Siamun he is talking about our Figure 1 king Psinaches, who reigned after king Osochor. But later in this paper, and already in our Figure 1, we identify Siamun as Manetho's king Smendes I, whose reign precedes Osochor by over half a century. If Young is correct in relating the facts cited (and we have no reason to doubt the *facts* he reports) then a king Aakheperre Setepenre preceded the 17th year of king Siamun by several decades, and was possibly, even probably, one of the contestants for the throne vacated by the death of Merenptah in the year 765 BC. Later in this paper we will discuss the

proliferation of aspirants to pharaohic status in the post Santorini era, which would necessarily include Young's king Aakheperre Setepenre.

Having corrected the Wikipedia article, and dismissed Eric Young's discovery as irrelevant, at long last we get to the point we are attempting to make. We agree entirely with the discovery of Jean Yoyotte, that Sheshonk A and Mehtenweskhet did have a son named Osorkon, who became a king. And we do believe the throne names of this Osorkon were Aakheperre Setepenre, not because of Eric Young's discovery, but because of the facts described by Yoyotte, and because there does exist a set of cartouches, inscribed in stone, documenting the existence of a King Aakheperre Setepenre Osorkon, throne names which match no other known pharaoh Osorkon. And for the record, the identification of Yoyette's king Osorkon as Manetho's Osochor is in no way dependent on any determination of his throne names. All that is important is that a king Osorkon can legitimately be added to our Figure 6 as shown, since in the revised history that positioning demands that this Osorkon be identified as Manetho's king Osochor.

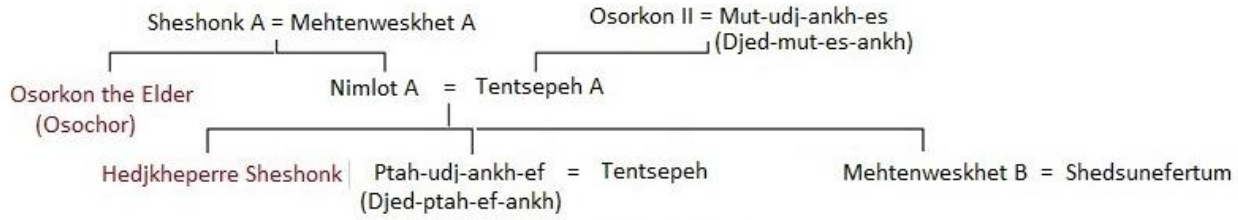
And why do we care if Osochor is the king Osorkon identified by Yoyotte. One reason only. Without the inclusion of Osorkon the genealogy of Pasenhor is entirely concerned with 22nd dynasty kings. The addition of Osochor firmly links the 22nd dynasty and 21st dynasty timelines together. And it links them together precisely as they exist in our Figure 1 set of timelines. That, in effect, proves our thesis that the 20th, 21st Tanite, and 22nd dynasty timelines began around the same time, and it absolutely confirms the positioning of the 21st and 22nd dynasty timelines in our Figure 1.

We remind the reader that we did not create our Figure 1 timelines so that they agree precisely with Petrie's interpretation of the Pasenhor genealogy. They were fixed in place as they now exist by independent arguments long before we discovered the existence of Pasenhor. Petrie's interpretation of Pasenhor's genealogy, especially now with the inclusion of Dodson's Hedjkheperre Sheshonk and Yoyotte's king Aakheperre Osorkon, simply authenticates timelines which were already firmly entrenched in their revised positions. What our Figure 6 does is supply the actual genealogical connections between the kings Osorkon II, Yoyotte's Osorkon the Elder, and Dodson's Hedjkheperre Sheshonk. A glance at

the Petrie genealogy in that Figure 6 informs us that **Osochor** was an uncle of **Hedjkheperre Sheshonk** and that **Osorkon II** was Sheshonk's maternal grandfather. By contrast, the Breasted version presents a radically different version of history, by now thoroughly discredited by a thousand pages of argument in the first three books of our Displaced Dynasties Series. And it follows that the more we can do to verify the accuracy of Petrie's version of Pasenhor, the more certain we become that our Figure 1 is correct.

Thus, before we proceed with our third section of this paper, we add yet another pair of names to the Petrie version of Pasenhor. Already that version, as shown in our Figures 5 & 6, confirms the fact that Nimlot A and his wife Tentsepeh A had a son named Djed-ptah-ef-ankh A married to another Tentsepeh, this in addition to the son Hedjkheperre Sheshonk that we have already added. And Egyptologists, without exception, will confirm the fact that Nimlot A and Tentsepeh A also had a daughter named Mehtenweskhet, married to a priest named Shedsunefertem. This pair of names needs to be added to the Petrie genealogy. The resultant Petrie flow chart, restricted in this case to just the relevant section, appears as diagrammed in our Figure 7 below.

Figure 7: The Petrie version of the Pasenhor genealogy with the addition of the names of Mehtenweskhet and Shedsunefertem.



One further chronological detail needs to be mentioned before we move on. It surely has not escaped the attention of our readers that Petrie's version of Pasenhor agrees not only with the relative positioning of our 20th, 21st Tanite, and 22nd dynasty, but also agrees perfectly with the dates 740-712 BC we have assigned to Osorkon II, dates we determined as early as chapter 3 in our first book *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*. At no time in our succeeding volumes have we ever ventured to make sense out of the mass of detail recorded by Manetho

concerning the early years of the 22nd dynasty, other than to dogmatically assert that the dynasty must have begun around the year 760 BC, as did the 20th and 21st Tanite dynasties, this because of the 765 BC devastation caused the mega-explosion of the Santorini volcano. We now are able to authenticate that 760 BC date, thanks to Pasenhor, and thanks to Petrie. The reasoning goes as follows.

The reader will first observe that Pasenhor cites precisely three Egypt based Libyan ancestors prior to Osorkon II, the earliest, Sheshonk I (married to wife Karamat), identified by all Egyptologists as the founder of the 22nd dynasty.

We assume that Sheshonk, a Libyan tribal leader, was part of the influx of Libyan refugees fleeing the ravages of the Santorini series of eruptions, those that began in the 5th year of Merenptah and continued for the next several decades. Without fear of contradiction we can date his arrival in Egypt to the approximate year 760 BC. Assuming 1) a father-son relationship between the four earliest 22nd dynasty kings in Pasenhor's genealogy, and 2) that each generation occupied roughly 20 years, and 3) that Sheshonk arrived in Egypt as an elderly tribal leader (roughly 60 years old) with family in tow, all perfectly reasonable assumptions, then we can assume that Sheshonk (I), born around 820 BC, brought with him his 40 year old son Osorkon I (born ca 800 BC), Osorkon's 20 year old son Takeloth (born ca 780 BC), and Takeloth's newly born son Osorkon, the future Osorkon II (born ca 760 BC). We have no quarrel with Manetho assigning 21 years to Sheshonk (I), 15 years to his son Osorkon (I), and an indeterminate number of years, possibly 13, to Takeloth (I), providing we assume that the reigns of the latter three of the four named kings overlapped to some extent that of their fathers, a distinct possibility considering the chaotic conditions that prevailed in Egypt post Santorini.

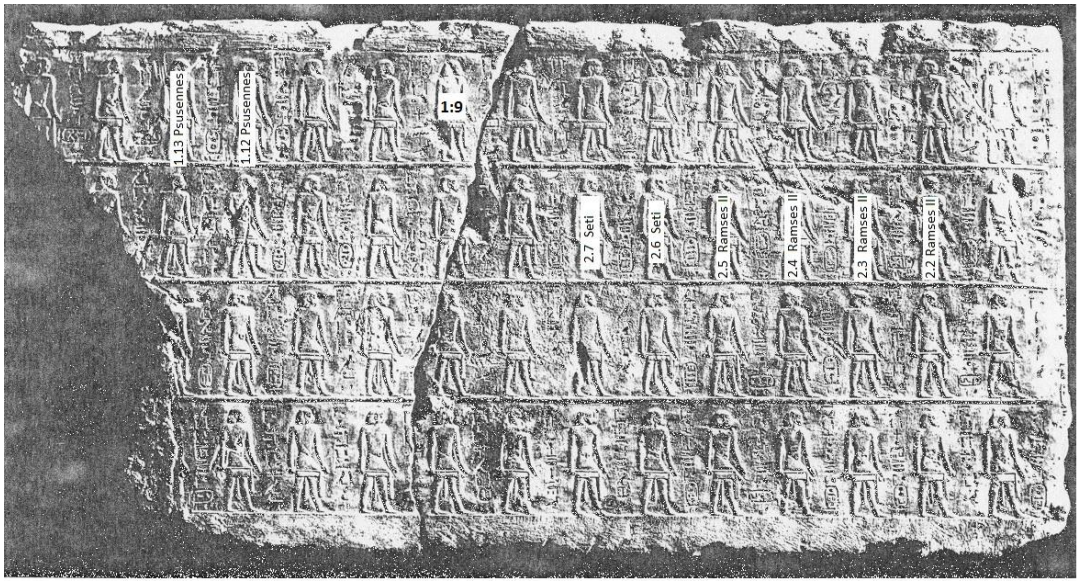
C. The absolute dates assigned to our Egyptian dynasties 20, 21 (Tanite), 21 (Theban), and 22 in Figure 1 are corroborated by multiple sources, including the Berlin and Louvre stele genealogies.

Many times already, and certainly as recently as our last paper, we made reference to the Serapeum stele *Louvre 96 (Cat #52)*, a monument inscribed with the genealogy of a priest named Ashakhet. That genealogy overlaps, in multiple consecutive positions, a sequence of names of high priests/prophets of the Memphite cult of Ptah in Memphis inscribed on a massive monument that now

resides in the Egyptian Neues Museum of Berlin (#23673), hence our reference to it as the Berlin stele. Not all spaces on the Berlin stele contain the names of high priests who served the cult at a particular time, but most do, and many also name a pharaoh under whom they served or with whom they associated. Combining the two documents we were able to create a hybrid genealogy, or minimally a listing of named predecessors of Ashakhet, which we have called the "genealogy of Ashakhet" and which Egyptologists generally refer to as the "genealogy of Ankhefensekhmet", the name of the Memphite priest who apparently commissioned the Berlin monument. From the title of the last two books in our Displaced Dynasties series, both prefaced by the phrase "The Genealogy of Ashakhet", it is apparent that we have depended heavily on the data supplied by this monument in the writing of those volumes.

In Table 2 on page 9 of chapter one in book three we produced a synchronized genealogy, showing where on the Berlin stele we find the names of the ancestors of Ashakhet as featured on the Louvre stele. One of these, a prophet named Shedsunefertem, appears in position 1.9 on the Berlin monument, as indicated by a tag we have added to a photograph of that monument (see Figure 8 below).

Figure 8: The Berlin stele with tags showing the positions occupied by high priests who served under the 21st dynasty king Psusennes I and the 19th dynasty kings Seti and his son Ramses II.



This dignitary Shedsunefertem appeared in this paper in the previous section, where he was identified in Petrie's version of the Pasenhor genealogy as a brother of Dodson's king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk and also of a priest named Djedptahefankh. Therefore, according to our Figure 1, both Shedsunefertem and Djedptahefankh must be dated in the third, fourth, or fifth decade of the 8th century BC, since Dodson's king Hedjkheperre certainly governed the western Delta in the time frame 673-660 BC, and we have conjectured that his reign likely began independently at least a decade earlier, ca 681 BC. We are convinced that Djedptahefankh was the older of the three brothers. His body was found in the Deir-el-Bahari cache DB 320 covered by bandages inscribed by his brother Hedjkheperre Sheshonk (not by king Sheshonk I as erroneously claimed by Egyptologists). And in our point D, which follows, we assign the date range 661-645 BC to Shedsunefertem's position (1.9) on the Berlin stele, which suggests that he was a younger brother of Hedjkheperre.

In Petrie's Pasenhor genealogy Shedsunefertem is a grandson of Osorkon II, whom we have independently dated 740-718 BC. The dates of Osorkon II and Shedsunefertem are thus roughly consistent with the grandfather/grandson relationship assigned them by Pasenhor. And on the Berlin stele we see that two generations of Memphite high priests separate Shedsunefertem's tenure in office, which began in 661 BC, from the last mention of a king Psebkhannu in position 1.12. Since each position on this stele represents approximately 16 years, a king Psebkhannu must still have been reigning around the year 693 BC (661 + 32), absolutely consistent with our dating of Tyetkheperre Psebkhannu to the years 734-688 BC. And for good measure we notice that seven positions separate the time of Shedsunefertem from the last mention of king Ramses II in position 2.2. And since those seven high priests spanned 112 years (7x16), the assumed beginning of the high priesthood of Shedsunefertem around the year 661 BC presumes that the reign of Ramses II ended around the year 773 BC (661 + 112), an excellent approximation since we have previously dated the reign of Ramses II to the years 840-774 BC.

The bottom line in the detail discussed in the preceding paragraphs is this: Petrie's version of the Pasenhor genealogy is absolutely consistent, both in structure and in absolute dating, with the data contained on the Berlin stele and with our timelines in Figure 1.

But before we move on to our next section (D) we need to note, in passing, one set of additional data from the Berlin stele that needs to be explained. We have noted the fact that a king Psebkhannu governed Egypt in the vicinity of the Memphite cult of Ptah during the tenure of priests in positions 1.12 and 1.13 on the Berlin stele. That at most represents a time span of 32 years. It follows that this king, whom Manetho calls Psusennes, and to whom he credits a reign of 46 years, must have also governed additional years partially in both of the time slots 1:14 and 1.11. In spite of that the position 1.14 is assigned to a king whose throne name is translated by Borchardt, the discoverer of the Berlin monument, as Aakheperre Setepnamun. Additionally, position 1.15 is assigned to a king Amenemnisu, and 2.1 to a king whose name is illegible. Thus three names separate the earliest mention of Psebkhannu from the last mention of Ramses II, at least consistent with our independent determination that Ramses II died in 774 BC and Psebkhannu I (Tyetkheperre) began ruling forty years later in 734 BC. Egyptologist are clearly perplexed at this data, but not so our revised history.

What we are most concerned with in this paper is not the absence of the 20th dynasty on the Berlin stele, but the presence of the names Aakheperre and Amenemnisu in positions 1.14 and 1.15 respectively. In the traditional history the reign of Psusennes 1, regardless of whether we identify him as Aakheperre Psebkhannu or Tyetkheperre Psebkhannu, is preceded immediately by a king Smendes 1, identified in that history as Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed, and whose reign lasted 26 years. When Borchardt first translated the Berlin stele he would have been astounded, not just by the absence of the entire 20th dynasty, but by the absence of any mention of Hedjkheperre in positions 1.14 and 1.15. In the traditional history there exists absolutely no explanation for this omission of Smendes' name, which should actually have occupied both positions or, minimally, position 1.15. Borchardt "solved" part of the problem by translating the name in 1.14 as Aakheperre Setepnamun, the prenomen of Psebkhannu I in the traditional history, a problematic solution since it assumes that the artisans who inscribed the monument twice used the birth name of Psebkhannu and once his throne name Aakheperre. But that partial solution only made the name in 1.15 more problematic. Amenemnisu is not Hedjkheperre and it is not Nesubanebdjed. Again Egyptologists interject a "partial solution". Some reverse the order of Manetho's second and third 21st Tanite kings Psusennes and

Nephercheres, this because Neferkare had the birth name Amenemnisu; others, like Borchardt himself, who read the position 1.15 name as Amenemopet, place Manetho's king Amenophthis before Psusennes I. In either case the name problem was thus completely solved. Or was it? Now there is absolutely no room for either of the names Hedjkheperre or Nesubanebdjed, especially since the reign of Ramses II was followed by the reign of his son Merenptah, whose name presumably occupied the now damaged position 2.1. Now scholars have to resort to an even more drastic solution to explain the lack of mention of Smendes I. They must conjecture the fact that since the Berlin stele has "inadvertently" omitted the entire 20th dynasty, the name of Smendes I is just another casualty of the faulty construction of that monument. Let the reader decide the merits of that argument.

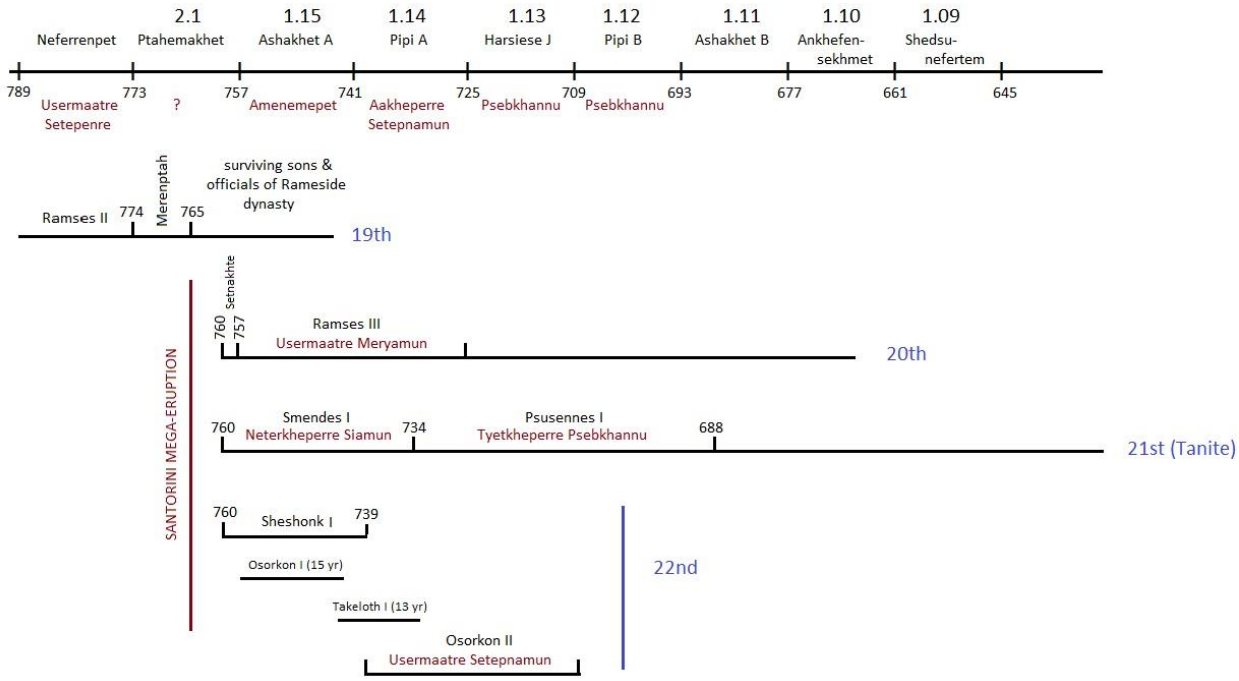
The critic will surely question at this point how our revised history handles the identical problem, that of explaining the apparent absence of the name Neterkheperre Siamun, our choice as Manetho's king Smendes I, the founder of the 21st Tanite dynasty. Fortunately, for the revised history the problem of names preceding the two mentions of Psebkhannu simply does not exist. We have discussed this entire issue already in chapter one of our book three, in particular on pages 15-16. We will not repeat the entire argument here, but we will elaborate in a separate discussion in our point D following.

D. The fact that the name Neterkheperre Siamun does not appear on the Berlin stele can be explained by the revised Egyptian chronology, which indicates the presence of multiple other kings in this time frame who may have been served by the Memphite high priests of Ptah.

Unlike Borchardt, who was almost certainly confused by the absence of the name Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed in either of the two end positions (1.14 & 1.15) on the uppermost line on the Berlin stele, we are extremely comfortable with the present selection of names. The difference in expectation is attributable to a single fact. In the traditional history only one of two kings could possibly be mentioned in position 1.14 (either Psebkhannu again or Smendes I), and only a single king (Smendes I) in position 1.15. Alternatively, in the revised history upwards of a dozen possibilities are viable, since we believe that in the time

frames 757-741 and 741-725 BC, represented respectively by position 1.15 and 1.14, the north of Egypt was governed by upward of a dozen kings, many of which have no confirmed cartouche names. We illustrate that point via our Figure 9 below.

Figure 9: A listing of time frames represented by positions 1.9 through 2.2 on the Berlin stele, in association with timelines for dynasties 19 through 22.



Our Figure 9 chart is illustrative only, featuring as it does only the dynastic groups cited by Manetho. But in the preceding paper we discussed the true situation that prevailed in the several decades that followed the Santorini explosion. Not only does the Harris papyrus document the early intrusion of Syrian migrants under the leadership of Rezin, but that same papyrus, plus auxiliary hieroglyphic texts, inform us that mass invasions of Libyan asylum seekers took place in the 5th year of Merenptah (770 BC), the 5th year of Ramses III (753 BC), and again in the 11th year of Ramses III (747 BC), not to speak of the Sea Peoples migrants who invaded in the 8th year of Ramses III (750 BC). We have absolutely no idea how many of the tribal leaders of these groups remained in Egypt and claimed sovereignty over an Egyptian nome/district in the north of Egypt. One group only, led by Sheshonk I, spawned a dynasty recognized by Manetho.

We must also add to this group of possible self-styled pharaohs, a number of individuals with some legitimate claim to the Egyptian throne, most of whom we have barely mentioned in our Egyptian volumes. Not all the offspring of Ramses II and Merenptah perished in the Santorini holocaust. Read any history of Egypt and you will find names of multiple sons of these two kings, as well as several powerful dignitaries, that contested for power following the death of Merenptah. Gardiner, in his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, cites five – Sethos II, Amenmesse, Siptah I, Siptah II, and the female aspirant Twosre. Monuments exist bearing the cartouche names of these five "kings", each citing regnal numbers ranging from one to 8 years, probably all overlapping in the late pre-Santorini or early post-Santorini era, but it has long been acknowledged that there were other Ramesside contestants, and at least one powerful dignitary, the chancellor Bay/Bey, aspiring for kingship. Most, if not all, of these wanna-be pharaohs were confined to small, regional districts of Egypt, and most, if not all, quickly faded from view during the period 1.15 on our Figure 9 chart. But one, named Amenemepet (or some variant thereof) was apparently acknowledged as pharaoh in this era by the priests of Ptah, and thus apparently governed in the vicinity of Memphis. Unfortunately his identity remains a mystery. If a Libyan, he may well be Sheshonk I, though scholars would do well to search the sons of Ramses II and Merenptah for other suitable candidates. After all, for over a century the priests of Ptah had been associating with 19th dynasty Ramesside pharaohs. They may well have wanted to continue that association into the "new age", even if the adopted pharaoh had extremely limited authority.

As stated earlier, much of this speculation is not new to our revision. On pages 15 and 16 of our 3rd book we discussed the issue, and there we note the varying interpretations of the name in position 1.15 on the Berlin stela. We repeat here one small segment of that conversation, which begins by citing the fact that even the name inscribed in that position is a mystery. It is, in fact

> transliterated Amenemnisu by Kitchen (following Grdseloff and Kees) [Cf. Kitchen TIP 152 n.6 for bibliography] but Amenophthis by Borchardt , who first published the Berlin document [see Ludwig Borchardt, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der Agyptischen Geschichte* (1935) 96-112]. Borchardt transliterated the cartouche name, which unfortunately lies near the broken left end of the inscription, as 'Imn-m-ip-t-rs-t, a considerably different reading than that provided later by Grdseloff and Kees. All three scholars suffer from the same handicap. They are attempting to read a 21st dynasty

> name into the damaged section of hieroglyphs, one believing that the name must refer to Manetho's Amenophthis (identified as Amenemepet by the traditional history), the other Manetho's Nepherkare (Amenemnisu). But the orthography actually resembles neither name as found elsewhere. We believe that the reading Amenmesse Heka-waset may be the correct reading but confess that we are influenced in our judgment by the revised chronology and the desire to read here a name from the period of civil unrest which followed the death of Ramses II. It may well be that the king named here is otherwise unknown to historians. It could be one of Ramses many son's, some of whom no doubt contested for power but left no other record of their existence. We note that Ramses did have a son named Amenemopet with orthography close to what is visible in the inscription. Perhaps Borchardt was correct in the reading but wrong in the assignment of the name. We leave the matter there. [Book 3, chapter 1, pp. 15-16]

So much for the name in position 1.15. We actually did not expect to see there the name of our king Smendes – Neterkheperre Siamun. The reason is simple. In our previous paper we assumed that Smendes, in the aftermath of the Santorini explosion, was the High Priest of Amun (HPA) in Thebes, and as HPA he was also the commander of the Egyptian army in the south. His counterpart in Tanis, assuming there was one, was likely killed in the aftermath of Santorini, whether by the elements associated with volcanism, including tidal waves, or by invading migrants. Early on, perhaps at the behest of Setnakht or Ramses III, Neterkheperre travelled north to combat the waves of advancing Libyans and Sea Peoples. At the time, and for much of the time frame 757-741 BC represented by the Berlin stele position 1.15, he remained simply a high priest and army commander. Only near the end of that time frame did his political aspirations change, and he assumed cartouche names. We are not guessing. At least one document exists which confirms this thesis (see below in our section E).

But it we are correct in our theory of 21st dynasty origins, the reader may still legitimately raise the question of why the Memphite priests did not begin to embrace the new Tanite king as he emerged in the 1.14 time slot. One possible answer has already been mentioned. Chaos still reigned supreme in Egypt. Perhaps the priests of Ptah determined to continue their association with Ramesside kings, or side with the newly arrived Libyan 22nd dynasty descendants of Sheshonk I (assuming they had begun this association in the earlier time frame). Both Osorkon I or Takeloth I are possible claimants for the prenomen Askheperre Setepnamun. Or is it possible that the Memphit priests did actually

begin to recognize and associate with the newly declared pharaoh in Tanis? Is it possible that the name of the pharaoh in position 1.14 has been misrepresented by Borchardt, and confirmed in that misrepresentation by multiple other Egyptologists in the generations since his publication of the Berlin stele inscription? Should Borchardt's transcription of the name in position 1.14 be changed from Aakheperre Setepnamun to Neterkheperre Setepnamun, the full prenomen of our king Smendes I?

Of course we would not pose the question if we did not expect an answer in the affirmative. Keep in mind that we are dealing here with a 2600 year old inscribed piece of stone, buried for much of that time, but damaged nevertheless, and particularly near the extremes. Keep in mind also that Borchardt expected to read one of two names in position 1.14, either the name Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed (which was a non-starter) or the name of Aakheperre Psebkhannu. We will not accuse him of bias. He was, after all, a highly skilled and reputable scholar (in spite of the fact that his Nefertiti statue has received critical revues, suspected of being a forgery). But if faced with a decision as to how to read a particular hieroglyph, particularly in a worn-out/damaged section of a 2600 year old monument, we cannot fault him for producing a reading consistent with the traditional history he espoused. And the readings Aakheperre and Neterkheperre, quite distinct in English translation, differ by a single character in the Egyptian hieroglyphic text. And the two competing hieroglyphs, if at all weathered by the elements, would be virtually indistinguishable. Thus we propose, as one possible solution of the problem of names in position 1.14, that Borchardt has read the hieroglyph "Netjer/Nṯr" (Gardiner's Grammar sign #R8) as if it were an "Aa" (Gardiner's Grammar sign #O27). See our Figure 10 below for clarification

Figure 10: Explanation of how the pharaonic name in position 1.14 on the Berlin stele was mistakenly read by Borchardt as Aakheperre rather than Neṯerkheperre.

If we are correct in our assumption that the king's name in position 1.14 is that of Neterkheperre Siamun (and we emphasize the *if*), then we can safely rest our case. Smendes I is Siamun. Psinaches must be Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed. The 21st Tanite dynasty did not begin in the days of Herihor and Piankh. It began a century earlier. Our Figure 1 is entirely correct. Petrie's version of Pasenhor is correct in every detail, especially as augmented with the names of Seshonk and Osochor. And the Berlin stele chronology is 100% reliable, assuming we have correctly determined its internal chronology.

E. Assigning the correct cartouche names to Smendes absolutely confirms the fact that this 21st dynasty founder lived at the same time as Ramses III, thus authenticating our Figure 1 timelines.

We use this final section not only to provide further argument equating Siamun with Manetho's Smendes, but also to summarize our finding throughout this paper. In our opening statement on page one we suggested that a secondary purpose of this paper was to supply cartouche names for all of the named kings on the 21st Tanite dynasty timeline in Figure 1. Prior to the publication of this paper we had deemed it sufficient to simply list the seven Greek names precisely as passed down to us by Manetho, a 3rd century BC Greek speaking Egyptian priest. Two of Manetho's names were already sufficiently clear in previously published lists that we considered it sufficient in Figure 1 to simply replace, without comment, Manetho's *Nephercheres* with Neferkare Amenemnisu and Manetho's *Amenophthis* with Usimare Amenemope. We then singled out for attention Manetho's two kings by the name Psusennes and the king Psinaches, supplying the true names of these kings, identifying Psusennes I as Tyetkheperre Psebkhannu, Psusennes II as Aakhepere Psebkhannu and Psinaches as Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed. The accuracy of those names were defended in the first section of this paper. That left only two of Manetho's kings to identify.

In the course of writing the second section we were favored by Egyptian scholars with the identity of Osochor, aka Osorkon the Elder, aka Aakheperre Osorkon, leaving us with but a single unidentified king – Smendes (I) the founder of the dynasty. Many times in the course of our revision of Egyptian history we noted the fact that Smendes, for going on 200 years, had been incorrectly identified as

the king Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed by 18th and 19th century scholars, and our transference of his former cartouche names to Psinaches left Smendes bereft of both birth and throne names. We now set the matter straight. Scholars have for over a century been aware of the existence of a 21st dynasty king named Nuṯerkheperre (or Neṯerkheperre) Siamun, and debate has continued over the centuries as to which, if any, of Manetho's 21st dynasty names he should be associated. One popular choice was Psinaches, but that spot is now filled. And the only remaining possibility is Smendes. And so, without hesitation, we identify Smendes as Nuṯerkheperre Siamun. This is not, as it may seem, an afterthought. We have long considered these to be the true cartouche names of Smendes, and stated as much in the first chapter of our third book, a book written over a dozen years ago. We are not guessing. We cite below five reasons for our selection, beginning with the obvious fact that

1. After identifying Manetho's other six kings, Smendes is the only king remaining to be identified, and Nuṯerkheperre Siamun is the only remaining unassociated king. Let the reader draw the obvious conclusion.

To which we add the following four reasons:

2. The king names **Sm**e**n**des and **S**ia**m**u**n** are so remarkably similar that they almost demand association, especially in the ancient world where consonants were king and vowels were optional in written texts, Egyptian texts being one prominent example.

3. When we identify Nuṯerkheperre Siamun as Smendes I, we are not in conflict with any documentary evidence to the contrary. The inscriptional landscape regarding Smendes is a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate, assuming of course that scholars insist on looking for documents from this time frame citing the name Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed. There are none. According to Kenneth Kitchen:

> From the reign of a quarter of a century, hardly any monuments have so far been recovered that explicitly name the new pharaoh [Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed] himself in their datelines. (TIP sect 213 p. 255). [bracketed addition supplied by this author].

In Kitchen's massive volume (*The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.*) 2nd ed. with supplement), consisting of almost 600 pages of small print

heavily detailed notes, this authority on the *3rd Intermediate Period* could only find material enough on Smendes I to fill two pages of text (pp 255-257). And most of that material has absolutely nothing to do with Smendes. Kitchen references a long series of year dates on burial items and graffiti *without royal name* (that are almost certainly attributable to Aakheperre Psebkhannu), and he attempts to draw some conclusion from the so-called "Banishment stele" (aka the Maunier stele), which we discussed earlier in this paper and which we analyze at length on pages 273-279 in our book two, an inscription which also has absolutely nothing to do with Smendes. The year 25 mentioned in that stele belongs to Pinudjem I, not Smendes, and it references Pinudjem's death and the ascendancy of his son Menkheperre, who proceeded immediately to drive the Assyrians from Egypt and to free the hundreds of Egyptians banished to the eastern desert decades earlier by the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. The year this took place, according to our revised history, was 637 BC, not the end of the 11th century BC.

The only other subjects discussed by Kitchen, indeed his primary focus in the several pages of his text, are the travels of Wenamen and the Dibabieh stele, both of which we have previously dismissed, arguing earlier in this paper that both sources are supportive of our revised history, not of the traditional association of the names Nesubanebdjed and Smendes.

4. We saw in our previous point D discussion, in our analysis of the Berlin stele, that the name in position 1.14 on that monument, immediately preceding the dual mentions of a king (Tyetkheperre) Psebkhannu, was definitely not that of Hedjkheperre Nesubanebdjed, nor of Psebkhannu, but possibly belonged to Nuterkheperre Siamun, thus confirming our identification of Smendes I.

And finally,

5. In our previous section D we explained the absence of the name Nuterkheperre Siamun in position 1.15 as a result of this king's lack of cartouche names in the first decade of his tenure in Tanis, and his role as military commander of the Egyptian army in the south of the country, moving north to assist Ramses III in combatting the Sea Peoples Libyan intruders. We discussed some of these facts also in our previous paper when they arose as part of our

discussion of 21st dynasty origins. While we cannot absolutely prove that the 21st dynasty began with the military intervention of Smendes, at the time the HPA in Thebes, we can at minimum substantiate two aspects of that theory.

On the one hand there is absolutely no doubt that the 21st Tanite kings were first and foremost High Priests of Amun in Thebes, and commanders of the Egyptian army, and only secondarily Tanite pharaohs. We need go no further than the reign of Tyetkheperre Psebkhannu, the successor of Nuterkheperre Siamun, to establish that fact. A glance at the Wikipedia article related to this king Psebkhannu provides sufficient proof of those facts, especially one statement in the opening dialogue:

> The Egyptologist Karl Jansen-Winkeln notes that an important graffito from the Temple of Abydos contains the complete titles of a king *Tyetkheperre Setepenre Pasebakhaenniut Meryamun* "who is simultaneously called the HPA (i.e., High Priest of Amun) and supreme military commander."[4]This suggests that Psusennes was both king at Tanis and the High Priest in Thebes at the same time, meaning he did not resign his office as High Priest of Amun during his reign.

As for Smendes' participation in the battles with the Sea Peoples, alongside Ramses III in that king's 8th year, we need only turn our attention to an inscription on a badly damaged building south of the main temple of Amun in Tanis, cited by Kenneth Kitchen in his TIP (sect. 235, pp 280-81):

> At this point, it is apposite to cite (as others have done) a fragmentary relief of Siamun from a thoroughly-destroyed building which had been erected by Psusennes I and Siamun, east of the royal tombs and just south of the main temple of Amun in the great precinct of Tanis. This relief shows Siamun in the pose of smiting with uplifted mace a group of prisoners who grasp a double axe of a type reminiscent of the Aegean and West Anatolian world. A merely conventional temple-scene of this king would of itself prove nothing, and least of all that the pharaoh had ever actually gone to war. But such reliefs were commonly carved under kings who did, and here the detail of the very special form of axe-head suggests that this relief was a commemoration, in traditional 'theological' form, of a real campaign against the Philistine and Sea-peoples population in South-West Canaan.

The reader needs to remember, when reading Kitchen's comment, that when he references king Siamun he is referring to Manetho's king Psinaches. But apart

from that errant association we agree entirely with absolutely everything in the above statement, save for Kitchen's suggestion that the wall mural created by Siamun is merely a "commemoration" of some earlier battle conducted by some other pharaoh, a "stretch" to say the least. We argue instead that Siamun created these reliefs because he himself fought against the Philistines and other Sea-Peoples in the approximate year 750 BC, a fact which confirms, as does no other inscription, that Siamun must be identified as Smendes 1, not Psinaches. We understand completely Kitchen's reluctance to accept the fact that Psinaches fought battles against Sea Peoples, a chronological impossibility. But for our revised history, which believes that Siamun must be dated in the time frame 760-734, that he must be identified as Smendes I, the founder of the 21st dynasty, and that he was a contemporary of king Ramses III and almost certainly fought against the Sea-Peoples in his capacity as commander in chief of the Egyptian army, this fragmentary relief discussed by Kitchen is a god-send. We might well have simply included it on our page one, and gone on to our next paper.

Needless to say, Kitchen's analysis of the Tanis relief attributed to Siamun has encountered resistance within the community of Egyptologists. Thus in later years Kitchen defended his TIP remarks in an article entitled *Egyptian Interventions in the Levant in Iron Age II,* on pages 113-132 of an anthology entitled *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past*, eds. W.G. Dever & S. Gitin ASOR (2000). We end this paper by quoting, on the following page, Kitchen's remarks on pp 118-19 of that article.

2. Siamun and the Levant. Here we plumb new depths of hypercritical overkill. From Tanis, home base of the 21st Dynasty, there has long been known part of a triumphal relief scene showing a king—agreed to be Siamun—smiting captured foes. First of all, astonishingly, Weinstein (1998: 192–93) has dismissed this scene as showing "an unidentified king." Unidentified? Before this blundering remark is taken up by biblical scholars who may not know one hieroglyph from another, let the facts about this piece be stated clearly once and for all. In front of the king's face there appears for all to see a cartouche containing the personal name and epithet "Siamun, Beloved of Am[un]." All of the signs are legible and complete, except for loss of the second Amun's head and plumes at the top right. Numerous other intact examples of Siamun's nomen guarantee the reading absolutely. A trace of the first cartouche, adjoining at right, would have contained this king's unique and very distinctive throne name, Neterkheperre Setepenamun.[17] Second, the dating of Siamun: as amply demonstrated elsewhere (Kitchen 1996a) and summarized in excursus 1 below, this king reigned for 19 years, from 979 to 960 or 978 to 959 B.C.E., or very close to this. Third, the object held by his foe in this scene: despite much nonsense written to the contrary, this is very clearly a *crescentic* double-bladed *ax*—not a shield (Lance 1976: 216–17; Green 1978: 364), a halter (Ash 1999: 45), or still less, handcuffs (Ash 1999: 45).[18] Such a weapon in this precise form is not found in the armories of Nubia, Egypt, Libya, Syria–Palestine, Mesopotamia, or Anatolia; but doubled-bladed axes (real or ceremonial) *do* occur prominently in the Aegean cultures and in the Balkans.[19] From across the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean came the "Sea Peoples," including the Pilasti or Philistines. Therefore, whether as weapon or symbol, the ax is appropriate for the first major population group that Siamun would meet as he marched into southwest Palestine.

The ax is clearly marked as such by a visible socket with a trace of the handle running down from it onto the now-lost lower wall surface.[20] The foe's hand is clearly visible, holding the ax awkwardly at the socket, so that he cannot wield it against the king.[21] Such a feature is unique in the long series of triumph scenes and implicitly speaks for its commemorating a historical event. It should be remarked that, as far as can be determined, the *monumental* examples of such scenes on temple walls do seem to belong to pharaohs who had gone to war. Thus, we find such scenes of the 18th Dynasty warrior-kings, of Sethos I, Ramesses II, and Merenptah in the 19th Dynasty, and of Ramesses III and Ramesses VI in the 20th Dynasty; thereafter, only of such kings as Siamun, Shoshenq I, and Shabako/Taharqa before the Late Period. Examples in purely decorative contexts (on the sides of sacred barges, in jewelry contexts, etc.) are merely ideograms of victory in the abstract,[22] not to be confused with real records on temple walls, where triumph scenes often form the terminal scene of those showing real campaigns (19th/20th Dynasties) or substitute for them (18th Dynasty). Thus, the whole tissue of arguments against the probable historical significance of Siamun's relief can be dismissed as the special pleading it in fact is.