

## Chapter Six Aakheperure & Menkheperure

### *Duplicate Dynasties: the 18<sup>th</sup> & 25<sup>th</sup>*

#### Preamble

Five chapters thus far have been consumed establishing that the Theban Annals of Menkheperre Thutmose are the product of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty predecessor Meriamun Piankhi. That objective has been achieved. Throughout our discussion we accepted without question that there were two kings by this name, a pharaoh who ruled over the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Empire, and his 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty namesake. Our attention has been focused exclusively on the campaigns of the later. Momentarily we must turn our attention, albeit briefly, to the earlier pharaoh. But before we do that we must expand our list of kings who borrowed names of illustrious predecessors. In the last chapter we already began the process.

The 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king Menkheperre Thutmose is not the only 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty monarch whose life story is affected by our thesis. Hundreds of Egyptian monuments are demonstrably contemporary with the Annals, as attested by the fact that their inscriptions allude directly or indirectly to the campaigns described in the Annals. If the Annals belong in the 7<sup>th</sup> century then so also do these other monuments. But these sundry inscriptions have been used by Egyptologists, along with the Annals, to write much of the history of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. If we are correct in our thesis, much of this history belongs to the 7<sup>th</sup> century!

The historical error extends to the intricate genealogy of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings. It is stated in the textbooks that the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Menkheperre was the grandson of a king named Aakheperkare Thutmose (I) and the son of a king named Aakheperenre Thutmose (II), that he had a step-mother named Maatkare (Hatshepsut), who ruled Egypt during his infancy, a son Aakheperure Amenhotep (II) and a grandson Menkheperure Thutmose (IV), all based on the assumption that the documents which reveal these family connections belong to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. If in fact they are contemporary with the Annals, as we claim, then it follows necessarily

that much, if not all of this genealogy must be transferred to the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty patriarch Piankhi. We recognize the enormity of this claim and the difficulties inherent in proving it. But we have no alternative than to follow the evidence where it leads.

It is also clear from multiple inscriptions that many dignitaries served Menkheperre on his campaigns or in the administration of the vast treasure he brought back from those campaigns. Their tombs have been excavated and details of their lives, recorded in the memoirs inscribed on the tomb walls, have been woven into the fabric of the political and cultural history of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. But all of these notables, including Amenemheb, who alone has appeared thus far in our revision, must belong to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, not the 15<sup>th</sup>. The cultural milieu in which these men lived, revealed in the colorful murals which accompany their memoirs, must be moved forward in time by at least 800 years. The implications of this claim for such diverse subjects as the history of art, archaeology (including pottery typology), the evolution of hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts, and assorted other cultural developments too numerous to mention, are far ranging. But by far the most serious ramifications are historical. And the historical errors have not simply to do with Egypt.

We have already witnessed the historical confusion at first hand - the erroneous assumption that an Anatolian kingdom of Hittites existed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C.; the creation of an entirely fictional Mitannian kingdom based on references to 7<sup>th</sup> century Medians; the mistaken opinion that Phoenicians inhabited the Mediterranean coastline in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and the errant assumption that Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms existed centuries before these nations made their entrance onto the historical stage. And these are but precursors of a much broader confusion which remains to be described..

Where do we start unraveling the error?

It is apparent at the outset that we must prove, minimally, that the genealogy typically credited to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Menkheperre fits perfectly in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and does in fact belong to Piankhi. The balance of this book is devoted to that end. In the following chapters we intend to flesh

out the family connections of Piankhi, demonstrating that kings and queens bearing the names Aakheperure, Maatkare, Aakheperure Amenhotep and Menkheperure Thutmose are all part of his extended family.

### Duplicate Dynasties

It is clear from our stated objectives that our thesis has expanded significantly. No longer do we argue merely that a single 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty king (Piankhi) adopted the titulary of an illustrious predecessor from the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Menkheperre Thutmose). We are now compelled by the evidence to assume that many of Piankhi's extended family did likewise, creating what amounts to a duplicate dynasty of namesake kings. The truth of this proposition must be established in the chapters which follow. But lest the reader be unduly skeptical, at the outset we need to clarify several points at issue.

In the first place we do not argue that the two dynasties are parallel in their extent. We do not claim that every 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king finds his counterpart in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, nor that every 7<sup>th</sup> century king adopted the names of a member of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. On the contrary, we will argue that several of Piankhi's contemporaries favored names of notable kings from other dynasties, contributing to the confusion which we are now attempting to unravel. Several times already we have remarked on the fact, long recognized by scholars based on extensive excavations in Nubia, that Cushite kings habitually adopted, with little or no modification, the throne names of Egyptian kings long dead. The fact that the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty Menkheperre, and members of his extended family, favored the names of kings of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, is hardly a matter requiring explanation. But in fact a compelling explanation is readily at hand, and will be provided in the following chapter.

It should also be made clear at the outset that the two dynasties are not parallel in their genealogical connections. The family relationships of the 7<sup>th</sup> century kings, which we are about to disclose, are not necessarily the same as those attributed to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings in the textbooks, even though many of the same names are involved and the respective

genealogies are based on many of the same documents. The reader should not be surprised. Even Egyptologists are not in agreement concerning the sequence of kings in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. For well over a century scholars have been embroiled in a sometimes bitter feud concerning 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty genealogy, an issue the textbooks call the *Thutmoside Succession* problem. Not all scholars, for example, believe that Thutmose II is the father of Thutmose III, and at various times Hatshetsup has been considered to be the sister, the wife, and the step-mother of Thutmose III. It is our contention that one of the main causes of this disagreement are the source documents used by the contestants, some of which belong to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, others to the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Small wonder there is confusion, since the documents are describing different families. Another source of confusion is the ambiguity inherent in the Egyptian terms which describe family connections. As Alan Gardiner succinctly puts it in his *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, “the principal difficulty in dealing with Egyptian genealogical problems (is that) one never knows whether terms like ‘son’, ‘daughter’, ‘brother’, ‘sister’, and so forth are to be understood literally or not.”<sup>88</sup>

It follows from what has been said that just because 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty history identifies Menkheperre as the father of Aakheperure and grandfather of Menkheperure, this does not mean that the 7<sup>th</sup> century kings who borrowed these three names were also related in like fashion. A similar ambiguity exists in family connections between earlier kings in the dynasty. The relationship between the 7<sup>th</sup> century kings who borrowed 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty names must be determined on an ad hoc basis. When we claim, as we did earlier, that much of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty history, including the genealogy of its kings, belongs to the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty, we are not implying that we simply have to transpose that history, as presently written in the textbooks, to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. We are saying only that much of the information on which that history is based, including the genealogical references, relates to the 7<sup>th</sup> century - nothing more, nothing less. In their new 7<sup>th</sup> century context the inscriptions will take on an entirely new meaning, as we have already seen in our extensive analysis of the Annals of Menkheperre Piankhi.

As we search for Piankhi’s extended family, like himself namesakes of

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<sup>88</sup>Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 178.

the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings, we are immediately confronted with a problem. If indeed two sets of kings bearing identical names ruled Egypt centuries apart, how do we determine which documents belong to which dynasty? If we are to accurately rewrite 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty history we must be careful to use only 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty inscriptions. Our solution to this problem has already been suggested. We have demonstrated that the Annals of Menkheperre belong to the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. We must be careful to limit our analysis to documents clearly contemporary with the Annals, or unequivocally assigned to the 7<sup>th</sup> century on other grounds. Those documents at least must refer to 7<sup>th</sup> century kings.

Before we begin, we need to answer a question which must have come to the reader's mind in the course of these few remarks. If most of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty history is about to be transferred to the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty, what remains to illuminate the activities of the earlier kings. Indeed, how do we know that there even existed an earlier dynasty? For the most part we have no intention of addressing this question. An adequate response would lead us too far astray. Sufficient to say that there is no doubt of the existence of an 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Manetho includes a listing of its kings, albeit convoluted. They are also named in certain king lists. Additionally, many monuments exist which could, if time allowed, be clearly attributed to them. But most importantly, their tombs in the King's Valley have been discovered and extensively excavated over the past century. And their mummified remains now rest in the storage rooms and display rooms of the Cairo museum, where they were deposited immediately after their discovery in the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is most important that we examine those bodies before we proceed to examine the documents of their 7<sup>th</sup> century namesakes, this for two reasons. In the first place the skeptic must be convinced at the outset that there is reason to continue reading, that our hypothesis of duplicate dynasties is correct. And secondly, we need to be convinced that the documents we are about to examine, those which are contemporary with the Annals and which formerly furnished much of the history of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, were not written by the kings now resting at peace in Cairo.

### The Deir el-Bahari Cache and the Amenhotep Tomb.

The story of the 1881 discovery of the bodies of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings needs to be told, if only to draw to the attention of the reader several important facts related to their provenance. We listen to the story as told by the renowned Egyptologist Alan Gardiner.

In the last quarter of our nineteenth century objects belonging to Dyn. XXI had long been finding their way into the antiquities' markets, and their abundance and evident importance made it clear that some of the inhabitants of Kurna had lighted upon a tomb or *cache* of an altogether exceptional kind. By 1881 official investigation could no longer be delayed, and G. Maspero, then Director of the Antiquities Service, took the matter energetically in hand. In course of time suspicion narrowed itself down to the 'Abd er-Rasul family. All attempts to make the finders divulge the secret failed until the eldest of them, realizing that this was about to be betrayed by one or other of his brothers, resolved to steal a march upon them. Hence the discovery of the wonderful hiding-place of so many of the royal mummies which has been partially described or alluded to in earlier pages of the present work. A deep shaft to the south of the valley of Der el-Bahri led down into a long passage ending in a burial-chamber which had been originally occupied by a half-forgotten queen Inha'py. Coffins, mummies, and other funerary furniture were found piled up in this inconspicuous burial-place, having been brought there after considerable peregrinations by successors of HriHor. Almost since the times of their actual burial the mighty kings of Dyns. XVII to XX had been exposed to violation and theft on the part of the rapacious inhabitants of the Theban necropolis, and it was only as a last frantic effort to put an end to such sacrilege that the high-priests of Dy. XXI intervened. This they could do with greater confidence since the golden ornaments and other precious possessions had long ago disappeared, so that little more than the coffins and corpses remained to be salvaged. However, for the modern world thus to recover the remains of many of the greatest Pharaohs was a sensation till then unequalled in the annals of archaeology; to be able to gaze upon the actual features of such famous warriors as Thutmose III and Sethos I was a privilege that could be legitimately allowed to the serious historian, though it was for a time denied to the merely curious. Besides the nine kings who were found there were a number of their queens, as well as some princes and lesser personages. Hieratic docketts on certain coffins or mummy wrapping disclosed the dates of the re-burials and the authorities responsible for them. More important from the purely historical point of view were the intact coffins of high-priests of Dyn. Xxi and their womenfolk, the hieroglyphic inscriptions furnishing no small portion of the material for the discussions contained in Maspero's fundamental monograph on the find. Among the latest burials were those of Pinudjem II and his already-mentioned spouse Neskhnos. After them the cache was sealed up in the tenth year of the Tanite king Siamun, but was reopened once more in the reign of King Shoshenk I in order to inter a priest of Amun named Djedptahef'onkh. EP320-21

Included among the kings re-interred by the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty priests at this location, in addition to Thutmose III, were three of his immediate 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty ancestors - his father Thutmose II, his grandfather Thutmose I, his great grandfather Amenhotep I – as well as Amenhotep's father, the famous Ahmose I, whose victory over Hyksos intruders is credited with reestablishing native Egyptian rule following hundreds of years of foreign domination of Egypt. Ahmose, in the traditional history, is considered to be the patriarch of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings. The tomb also included the bodies of Seti I and of his son and successor Ramses II, the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty military genius whose fame exceeded by far that of Thutmose III in the ancient world. It is not without significance that the tomb was also used by the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty priests to bury several of their own kings - Pinudjem I (whose body was found in a coffin belonging to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king Thutmose I) and his grandson Pinudjem II. The mummified remains of several notable 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty queens were also present.

The sensational discovery of the Deir el-Bahari tomb (henceforth referred to as DB320, its official designation) was followed in short order by a remarkable archaeological “second find”, important for our ongoing story notwithstanding the fact that the discovery involved only the remains of many 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty dignitaries. For reference purposes we reproduce Gardiner's summary of the discovery, which follows on the heels of his discussion of the previous find.

In 1891, just ten years after the discovery above described, the same native of Kurna who had divulged the secret of the royal mummies pointed out to E. Grebaut, Maspero's successor as Director of the Service, a spot to the north of the temple of Der el-Bahri where a tomb of altogether exceptional importance could be expected. A few blows with a pick revealed a shaft leading to a gallery nearly 80 yards long followed by a rather shorter northerly gallery at a somewhat lower level. Here G. Daressy, placed in charge of the operations, came upon no less than 153 coffins, 101 of them double and 52 single, together with many boxes of ushabti-figures, Osirian statuettes of which some enclosed papyri, as well as other objects of lesser interest. Near the entrance the coffins were in utter disorder, but farther inwards they were stacked up against the walls in opposite rows leaving a passage-way in the midst. An innermost chamber had been reserved for the family of the high-priest Menkheperre, but later the galleries were used indiscriminately for members of the priesthood of Amen-Re. The actual mummy-cases were generally of anthropoid shape covered with polychromatic religious scenes and inscriptions finished off with a yellow varnish; for the historian they had little value except as giving the names and titles of their

owners, among whom there were a certain number of women, mainly temple musicians. Of great importance, on the other hand, are the leather braces and pendants found upon the mummies, for they frequently depict the contemporary or an earlier high-priest standing in front of Amun, or another deity; and of perhaps greater interest are the legends often written upon the mummy-cloth, since these usually state the date at which it was made. Here, in a word, we have the primary source for the clarification of this complicated dynasty. EP 320-21

Seven years later, in 1898, only seventeen years after the opening of DB320, another cache of comparable importance was discovered in the King's Valley, this one also showing evidence of the involvement of 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty priests. In that year the French Egyptologist Victor Loret, almost by accident, stumbled on the remains of the long sought tomb of Amenhotep II, in which were discovered, in addition to the intact remains of Amenhotep himself, those of many of the 18th-20th dynasty kings omitted from the Deir el-Bahri cache. Here were found the reinterred remains of an additional 13 kings, whose names fill the pages of the textbook histories of their respective dynasties, Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV, son and grandson respectively of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Thutmose III, Merenptah and Seti II, 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty successors of Ramses II, and the three immediate successors of Ramses III of the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

We will return to the Deir el-Bahri (DB320) and Amenhotep (KV35) tombs many times in the course of our discussions during the next several chapters. Their contents have been misunderstood and in consequence misinterpreted by scholars. At the moment we are concerned only with the bodies of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings recovered at these locations.

In the years immediately following the discovery of these two caches, the mummies of many of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings, and the artifacts associated with them, were carefully examined by archaeologists, Egyptologists and medical specialists. The physical remains were the subject of an intense anatomical investigation conducted in 1912 by G. Elliot Smith<sup>89</sup>, and duplicated on an ad hoc basis over the next half-century. In 1972 the bodies were again examined collectively, using advanced x-ray technology, by the Egyptologist Kent R. Weeks and the

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<sup>89</sup>G. Elliot Smith, "The Royal Mummies," *Catalogue General des Antiquites du Egyptiennes du Musee du Caire*, Nos. 61051-61100.



anatomist James E. Harris.<sup>90</sup> Several of the results of these investigations have been particularly troublesome for the traditional history, undermining as they do the credibility of the source documents on which 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty history is based. Particularly problematic for Egyptologists was the disparity between the physical remains of several of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings and the lives of those same kings as portrayed in the inscriptions supposedly authored by them. The remains of Thutmose I and Thutmose III are especially at odds with their lives as depicted in the textbooks. A few brief remarks concerning the bodies of these two kings is therefore in order.

## Thutmose I

According to Weeks and Harris, in reference to the x-rays of Thutmose I:

Egyptologists who have reconstructed the chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty from textual evidence generally have assigned a reign of ten years to Thutmosis I and have assumed that he died at about the age of fifty. However, several eminent physical anthropologists who have seen these x-rays have been absolutely convinced that this mummy is that of a young man, *perhaps eighteen years of age*, certainly not over twenty. Such an age is simply not compatible with the chronology of this period, and there does not seem to be any convincing explanation. *It is possible that the history of the period is in error*, that Thutmosis I was in fact a child-king whose reign was much shorter than is supposed. But the textual basis of the chronology seems fairly solid and not likely to allow such drastic revision. *It is also possible, as suggested by Smith, that the mummy labeled Thutmosis I is in fact the mummy of someone else*, perhaps mistaken for the king by later priests who re-wrapped his body. Or it may be the mummy of Thutmosis I, and he suffered from some disorder that delayed the normal maturation of the skeleton. Such disorders may have included those of nutritional origin (rickets), endocrinopathis (hypothyroidism), osteoporosis, and so on. It remains to be seen which of these explanations is correct. *But again, x-rays have cast doubt on the generally accepted reconstruction of New Kingdom history.*<sup>91</sup> (italics added)

The doubts expressed by the two named scholars have apparently not been shared by the community of Egyptologists, who continue to assign to Thutmose I not just the 10 year reign mentioned in these summary

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<sup>90</sup>Harris, James E. and Weeks, Kent R., *X-Raying the Pharaohs* (1973).

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 131-132

remarks, but up to twice that length. Alan Gardiner is a case in point. In his classic treatment of the *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, in complete disregard of the physical remains of the king, this influential scholar assigns the reign of Thutmose I to the years 1528-1510 B.C.<sup>92</sup> We understand the sentiment behind this action. The inscriptions are unambiguous in suggesting a moderately lengthy reign for this king. His many accomplishments, including the conquest of Syria, and repeated expeditions to Nubia, assume as a given that this king lived a lengthy and productive life. These must be acknowledged in any textbook story of his reign. And the mummified remains of the king, which stand at odds with this story, can all too easily be relegated to (entombed in) that ever expanding list of anomalies which the traditional history makes little or no attempt to explain.

The only reasonable interpretation of the x-rays of Thutmose's body is that proposed by our revision. The hieroglyphic inscriptions which refer to a king by the name Aakheperkare Thutmose are describing the actions of a namesake king, distinct from the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty occupant of the Deir el-Bahri tomb. Needless to say, this possibility has never been raised, much less entertained by the community of scholars. But the 18 year old mummified body of Aakheperkare demands that conclusion. This body, in and of itself, all but confirms our hypothesis of duplicate names. And the likelihood rises to a virtual certainty as our investigation extends to the bodies of the other kings in the Cairo Museum, whose remains are equally at odds with their historical documents. We will defer the examination of these kings until the histories of their namesakes are incorporated into our 7<sup>th</sup> century history in the balance of this book. But since we have already concluded our treatment of Menkheperre Thutmose we will take time here to examine the body of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king whose name he borrowed.

### Thutmose III

It is most fortunate that the mummy of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Menkheperre Thutmose was included among the remains preserved by the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty

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<sup>92</sup>Egypt of the Pharaohs, p. 443.

priests in the Deir el-Bahari tomb. If we are correct these remains will bear little resemblance to the 80 year old king who authored the Annals.

In commenting on the mummy of Thutmose III, Weeks and Harris, in their 1973 publication *X-Raying the Pharaohs*, restrict themselves to a single innocuous comment, and let the matter rest.

Thutmose III died after fifty-five years as king, on March 17, 1436 B.C., according to Hayes' calculations, although *the x-rays do not support such an advanced age*. p. 137-138 (italics added)

This terse comment, remarkable for its understatement, piques our interest and invites our further attention. Fortunately we are not restricted to this summary statement. Microfiche of the actual x-rays from the 1972 survey, together with extensive analysis and assessment, was published seven years later (1980) in *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*, edited by Harris and the Egyptologist Edward Wente. The x-rays had in the interim been subject to intense scrutiny by pairs of anatomists, working independently, whose results were then compared and collated. The results of their analyses are worth noting.

Examination of the teeth of Thutmose III (dentition analysis), whose moderate wear (attrition) closely resembled that of the youthful Thutmose I, revealed that this king was around 35 years old at the time of his death. Separate analysis of the vertebral column (lipping, intervertebral spacing, epiphyseal union, long bone development), the shoulder girdle, and the pelvis, yielded independent and comparable results, confirming beyond all doubt that the body preserved in the Cairo Museum was that of a man whose death occurred between his 35<sup>th</sup> and 40<sup>th</sup> years. *Under no circumstances can these mummified remains be assigned to the king who authored the Annals and reigned 54 years over Egypt.*

It goes without saying that Egyptologists have attempted to minimize the age of Thutmose III in hopes of ameliorating the devastating results of the anatomical examinations. Wente himself is typical of this process, suggesting in the *X-Ray Atlas* that Thutmose may have become king as an infant only three years old, thus placing his death as early as his 57<sup>th</sup> year. This strained interpretation focuses on the use of the Egyptian term *inpw* in reference to the youthful prince Thutmose in a document yet to be

examined, one which describes the circumstances which led to his enthronement. The argument is disingenuous at best, as we will soon see when we look at the beginnings of Thutmose's kingship in the next chapter and examine the inscription referred to by Wentz. And even if Thutmose III did begin his reign at the age of 3 and died at the age of 57, there is still no possibility that the 35-40 year old mummy in the Cairo Museum belongs to him.

If Wentz will not say it, let us say it for him, paraphrasing Weeks in his description of the body of Thutmose I (see above). The anatomically determined age of 35-40 years for Thutmose III is simply not compatible with the chronology of this period established from the monuments, and setting aside the strained exegesis of Egyptologists, there does not seem to be any convincing explanation for the discrepancy of 30 years between the lowest possible date of death of Menkheperre (70 years assuming he began his kingship at the age of 15), based on the monuments, and the 35-40 years assigned to his mummified corpse. With Thutmose III there is no possibility of discounting the textual basis of his lengthy kingship, well established by the Annals and the inscription of Amenemheb. And scholars are loathe to suggest, as they have done with the mummy labeled Thutmosis I, that the body represents someone else, perhaps mistaken for the king by the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty priests who re-wrapped his body (though in all fairness many books place a question mark beside the name of Thutmose III in the list of remains forthcoming from DB320). There is only one possible explanation of the evidence. The monuments and the mummified remains belong to two different kings by the name Menkheperre Thutmose!

Having said that, we proceed with our stated objective, to identify the contemporaries and extended family of Menkheperre Piankhi.

### *Aakheperure Amenhotep*

#### Back to Amenemheb's Tomb

When Piankhi invaded the delta in 616 B.C. he fought both with and against a coalition of kings and princes who ruled over various regions of

the north of Egypt. These included kings Peftjuawybast, Nimlot, Osorkon (IV) and Iupet, and many other notables, including a prince Pemou of Busiris and a Sheshonk, commander of the army of Busiris, whose names remind us of king Pemou and Sheshonk V, terminal kings of the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty. Prince Pemou and the commander Sheshonk must be related somehow to the royal family.<sup>93</sup> If we are correct in stating that Piankhi's Egyptian name was Menkheperre, and that within two years of suppressing the Tefnakht rebellion he began his Syrian campaigns as described in the Annals, then some of these kings must have assisted him in some fashion, perhaps commanding divisions of the Egyptian army. If so, then we expect to find some record of their military involvement among the extant monuments of the period. But we suspect that their accomplishments, like those of Piankhi, may have been wrongly credited to other kings, and for similar reasons, namely, failure on the part of Egyptologists to distinguish between namesakes on the monuments. In particular we are curious about the involvement of king Osorkon IV, who, along with Pemou and Sheshonk, must be related to Sheshonk V, recently deceased.

But if we are correct that other kings assisted Piankhi in his campaigns we must certainly look beyond the Annals for proof. The Annals, as we have seen, are focused narrowly on the tribute collected in Piankhi's campaigns, not on the campaigns themselves. The only Egyptian king specifically mentioned in that lengthy document is Menkheperre himself. It is thanks rather to Amenemheb the army officer, in his tomb inscriptions, that we were provided with insights into the day by day operations of the army. If other kings assisted Piankhi in his Syrian campaigns we might legitimately expect Amenemheb to record their names. With that hope in mind we return to Amenemheb's tomb in search of answers. The search ends immediately. The last lines of text we read from this tomb inscription recorded the death of Menkheperre Thutmose in that king's 54<sup>th</sup> year. Another nearby scene in the tomb provides a sequel to that story.

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<sup>93</sup>We are reminded by Breasted that "this mercenary commander from Busiris (Sheshonk) is subordinate to Pemou, prince of that city (l. 116). They are contemporaries, and neither bears royal titles; hence they cannot be identified with Pemou and Sheshonk IV [Sheshonk V in later numbering of the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty kings], the last kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Moreover, both Pemou and Sheshonk V held Memphis to the end of their reigns, but Memphis has for some time been held by Tefnakht, who was sem priest of Ptah there." BAR IV p. 423 note h.

In this scene we see a deceased(?) Menkheperre, standing and facing another king named Aakheperure Amenhotep, behind whom “appear Amenemheb and his wife bearing flowers and food”. An inscription accompanies the scene. For the last time we quote from Amenemheb’s journal:

When the morning brightened, the sun arose, and the heavens shone, King Okheprure, Son of Re, Amenhotep (II), given life, was established upon the throne of his father, he assumed the royal titulary. He [—] all, he mingled with [—] in —, the Red Land; he cut off the heads of their chiefs. Diademed as Horus, son of Isis, [he] took ----- [—]the Kenemetyew (*Knm.tyw*), every land, bowed down because of his fame; with their tribute upon their backs, [that he might grant] to them the breath of life.” BAR II 808.

There is a further section of this inscription which will be quoted shortly, but first we must comment briefly on this segment. At first reading it appears to be describing the coronation of Menkheperre’s successor in the days immediately following the funeral of his “father”. This would, of course, be a reasonable interpretation of the text. Menkheperre has died; his son Aakheperure has immediately adopted throne names and assumed the kingship. The king is dead; long live the king.

But reasonable or not, Amenemheb’s inscription must be construed otherwise. As we will see shortly, Egyptologists, with few exceptions, believe that the kingship of Aakheperure Amenhotep began during the lifetime of Menkheperre. There was a brief period of time during which the two kings ruled together, a coregency which will be described in more detail below. We agree entirely. This portion of the text must be understood as descriptive of the coronation of Aakheperure sometime before the death of Menkheperre. How much before remains to be seen.

But if the coronation took place before the death of Menkheperre Thutmose, thus establishing a coregency, then it should follow that the entire paragraph describes actions which took place during that coregency. There is no other reasonable interpretation of the text. Amenemheb is reminiscing. Having described the death of Menkheperre he continues on to highlight the accomplishments of one of the kings who ruled alongside him, beginning with an incident in which the neophyte king “cut off the heads” of some enemy chieftains, and how, resulting from his assorted military actions “every land bowed down because of his

fame.” All of these activities should likely be dated before the death of Menkheperre. In due course we will examine them as they are described in other monuments.

Amenemheb’s inscription continues without break, describing how the coregent king Aakheperure, soon after taking office, had taken note of his (Amenemheb’s) physical prowess, and in consequence had appointed him “deputy of the army” in charge of “the elite troops of the king.”

His majesty noticed me rowing won[derfully] with him in [his] vessel; ‘Khammat’ was its name. I was rowing [with] both hands at his beautiful feast of Luxor, likewise to the splendors ---- . I was brought to the midst of the palace, one caused that I should stand before [the king, O[khepru[re] (Amenhotep II), ---- [—]. I bowed down immediately before his majesty; he said to me, I know thy character; I was abiding in the nest, while thou wert in the following of my father. I commission thee with office that thou shalt be deputy of the army as I have said, watch thou the elite troops of the king.’ The deputy, Mahu, executed (all)\_ that his lord said.” BAR II 809

If we are correct this commissioning marks the beginning of Amenemheb’s life as a “commissioned officer” in the Egyptian army and is best equated with his promotion to the office of commander of the fleet, an event mentioned earlier in Amenemheb’s journal. This assumes, of course, that the Egyptian navy was conceived as one branch of the army and that “deputy of the army” and “naval commander” are compatible terms. This promotion to commander of the king’s fleet took place in Menkheperre’s 34<sup>th</sup> year, a fact we argued in the last chapter, and the date provides a *terminus ad quem* for the coronation of Amenhotep and the beginning of his coregency with Menkheperre. It is important to note that nowhere in his memoirs related to the first eight campaigns of Menkheperre does Amenemheb describe his rank in the army, stating only that he fought in company with the king, as a follower of the king. We assume he was an able soldier, functioning probably in some leadership capacity, certainly a notorious fighter of sufficient renown to be noticed by the youthful Amenhotep, but that he possessed no rank or title worth boasting about. In the 34<sup>th</sup> year of Menkheperre, early in the reign of Amenhotep, his years of service were rewarded. It follows that Amenhotep became king several years prior to the 34<sup>th</sup> year of Menkheperre.

When these scenes and inscriptions in Amenemheb's tomb were first viewed by Egyptologists late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was naturally assumed that they represented the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king Aakheperure Amenhotep II. The sequence of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings on the king lists, particularly the list contained on the walls of Seti I's Abydos temple, had already established that a king by this name was the son and successor of Menkheperre Thutmose III. Since Amenemheb served two kings bearing these same names there could be no doubt that he and they belonged to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. But if we are correct, and Menkheperre is Piankhi, then the Aakheperure Amenhotep depicted in Amenemheb's tomb must be a 7<sup>th</sup> century contemporary of Piankhi, though not necessarily a son. We have no choice but to argue that fact.

For the sake of the critic who wonders at the likelihood that two 7<sup>th</sup> century kings - Piankhi, and some unidentified (at least for the moment) contemporary of Piankhi - would adopt the names of a father and son from the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty we repeat our earlier promise to explain, in the following chapter, the circumstances under which this selective borrowing took place. Only then can doubts on this issue be laid to rest.

We continue by repeating our caution stated earlier, that there is no need to assume that the Aakheperure Amenhotep depicted in Amenemheb's tomb is either the son or the successor of Piankhi. The father and son/successor relationship between the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings derives from one set of monuments, the activities of the contemporary 7<sup>th</sup> century namesake kings derive from an entirely distinct set of monuments. The relationship between the later kings must be decided on other grounds. Even though Amenhotep refers to Menkheperre as his "father" in Amenemheb's tomb, uncertainty remains as to their actual relationship. Several times already we have mentioned that the hieroglyphic term here translated "father" need mean nothing more than "predecessor" (or in this case "associate" king) used obliquely to indicate kinship in office. It need not describe a familial relationship, though we do believe the two kings in this instance were related.

Before we attempt to refine our identification of Amenhotep we need to describe his life, hinted at in Amenemheb's memoirs, but described more fully in other inscriptions. If we are correct almost all of the monuments



which bear this name belong to the 7<sup>th</sup> century king (the most notable exceptions coming from the tomb KV35 and the mummy contained therein). But of course we will find them used in the textbooks to describe the life of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty successor of Thutmose III. It is important to note carefully what they say?

### The Coregency of Aakheperure & Menkheperre

According to the monuments Aakheperure Amenhotep ruled in Egypt for at minimum 26 years. Since Thutmose III is assigned the years 1490-1436 B.C. (or thereabouts) in the traditional history, his son's independent reign is placed in the years 1436-1413 B.C., allowing for an overlap of around three years in the two reigns. This two or three year assumed co-regency is an accommodation by Egyptologists to explain the fact that on numerous monuments the two kings are named as associates in various building enterprises and are pictured together.<sup>94</sup>

We wonder at this insistence that the co-regency of Thutmose and Amenhotep was brief. We saw in the inscription of Amenemheb clear indication that Amenhotep began his reign at least as early as the 34<sup>th</sup> year of Menkheperre. This would imply that almost the entirety of his reign overlapped that of his "father". When we examine the figures of the two kings in the inscriptions which portray them as associates (see note 94

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<sup>94</sup>Consensus on the fact of the coregency was reached early in the twentieth century. Alan Gardiner, writing in 1945, describes the two strands of evidence which lead to this conclusion: 1) the fact that Amenhotep's coronation date, known from a then unpublished stela discovered by Reisner at Semnah, differs from the date of death of Thutmose III recorded in Amenemheb's tomb, leading to the conclusion that he did not immediately succeed his father, and 2) the presence of the two kings together on various monuments. In explanation of the differing coronation dates he states: "But another possibility - it even amounts to a probability - is that Amenophis II had been associated on the throne with Thutmosis III for exactly four months before the latter's death. A brief co-regency has sometimes been supposed for these two kings [most notably Petrie, *History*, II, 135 and Breasted *BAR* II, 74 n. c] their names being several times placed opposite one another on the same lintel ..." *JEA* 31 (1945) 27. In a footnote to the second point he adds: "Besides the two doorways at Amada, there is a similar one in Thebes, tomb 42, The tombs of Menkheperassong, Amenmose and Another, pl. 39: the prenomen Aakheper[w]re is there damaged, but op. cit. p. 34 Davies produced grounds for the belief that the name was that of Amenophis II, rather than of Thuthmosis I or II. But by far the most important evidence is that in the Theban tomb of Dedi (No. 200), where the two kings were shown enthroned and inspecting a military display together; see Porter & Moss *Bibliography*, I, 153, (3)(4)." *Ibid*, note 7.

above), the two kings appear as if the same age and of the same stature. The same holds true for the two kings pictured in Amenemheb's tomb. Yet on the assumption that Amenhotep began his kingship as a young man in the last two years of the reign of his elderly father, these pictures do not correspond to reality. And how, we ask, do Egyptologists explain how this "son", who was less than twenty years of age<sup>95</sup> when he ascended the throne in the last years of the life of Thutmose III, thus born to a father who must have been around sixty at the time, managed to succeed to the kingship. Surely Menkheperre had multiple older living sons who had prior claims to succeed him.

To these objections there is no explanation forthcoming from scholars, the majority continuing to maintain that the coregency lasted at most two or three years. But there is a significant minority opinion which agrees with the extended coregency argued above. As recently as 1965 the Egyptologist Donald Redford, arguing strenuously for an historical coregency amounting to "not more than a couple of years" nevertheless acknowledged that "an aberrant hypothesis" was to be found in some quarters "which asserts that Amenophis II ruled as coregent with his father for a fantastic twenty-five years or more."<sup>96</sup> There is no point in outlining the main points of the argument and providing our own input. If the scholars concerned disagree on the interpretation of the evidence, our opinion will add little to the discussion. It is sufficient for our purposes to point out that the monuments can be construed both ways, arguing either for an extended or for an abbreviated coregency. The truth must ultimately be determined on grounds not considered by scholars. We have argued from one such source, Amenemheb's tomb, that the coregency began prior to Menkheperre's 34<sup>th</sup> year, necessitating a dual kingship of at least twenty years. When we have fine tuned our argument we will find that the adherents of the "aberrant hypothesis" were almost precisely correct.

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<sup>95</sup>According to a stele found near the Sphinx (see below p. 161) he was around 18 when he became king.

<sup>96</sup>Donald B. Redford, "The Coregency of Thutmosis III and Amenophis II," JEA 51 (1965) 107. According to Redford "the hypothesis which claims for Amenophis II a long coregency of a quarter-century or more apparently originated following Golenischeff's publication in 1913 of papyri 1116A and 1116B of the Hermitage, and was augmented by Glanville's publication in 1932 of the British Museum document 10056. It is important to note that the lengthy coregency had sufficiently widespread support in 1965 to warrant Redford's somewhat vituperative article in the prestigious *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

## The Campaigns

In the traditional history Amenhotep II is credited with at least three campaigns. Stelae found in the temples at Elephantine and Amada refer to a Syrian campaign which reached as far as Takhsi in the trans-Euphrates regions. The duplicate monuments at these two locations are dated in the third year, third month of the third season, day 15 of the king, and provide a graphic account of what they refer to as the king's *first* campaign.

Then his majesty caused that this stela be made and set up in this temple at the place of the Station of the Lord, engraved with the Great Name of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Son of Re: Amen-hotep-the-God-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, in the house of his fathers, the gods, after his majesty had returned from Upper Retenu, when he had overthrown all his foes, extending the frontiers of Egypt on the first victorious campaign.

His majesty returned in joy of heart to his father Amon, when he had slain with his own mace the seven princes who had been in the district of Takhshi, who had been put upside down at the prow of his majesty's falcon-boat, of which the name is "Aa-hkepru-Re, the Establisher of the Two Lands." Then six men of these enemies were hanged on the face of the wall of Thebes, and the hands as well." Then the other foe was taken upstream to the land of Nubia and hanged to the wall of Napata, to show his majesty's victories forever and ever in all lands and all countries ... ANET247-48

Another pair of duplicate stela from Karnak and Memphis describe two additional campaigns which took place in the king's 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> years, referred to respectively as his *first* and *second* campaigns. The first describes an expedition which extended as far as the Orontes and resulted in the capture of several thousand persons, including 550 Mariannu Arameans. The second extended even further north into Syria, resulting in the capture of 89,600 men, including 15,200 Shasu (easterners), alluded to in our previous chapter. In the aftermath of this second campaign "the prince of Naharin, the Prince of Hatti, and the Prince of Shanhar<sup>97</sup> heard of the great victory" of the king and begged peace from his majesty.

It is instructive to note that Amenhotep's campaigns appear to cease at the conclusion of his 9<sup>th</sup> year. Though other documents attest his continued

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<sup>97</sup>I.e. Senzar

reign in Egypt, the last dated in his 26<sup>th</sup> year, there is no further record of any military activity in Syria. This is precisely what we expect. It should be clear to the reader by now that we consider all of these campaigns to be identical to ones fought by Menkheperre. Amenhotep is merely leading a division of the Egyptian army and taking credit for victories won by troops under his command. In his Annals, Menkheperre claimed these same victories as his own. On the assumption that Amenhotep's reign began in Menkheperre's 31<sup>st</sup> year (see below), and overlapped the balance of that king's life, there exists a precise parallel between the three campaigns of Amenhotep and the 8<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> campaigns of Menkheperre. Since the campaigns of Menkheperre ceased soon after his 15<sup>th</sup>, we would be surprised if those of Amenhotep did not follow suit. A probable timetable for Amenhotep's campaigns, based on these considerations, will be provided momentarily. Pivotal to this chronology is the fact that Amenhotep fought successfully in Tahksi sometime prior to the erection of the Amada and Elephantine stelae in his third year. In the Annals of Menkheperre, the conquest of Takhsi took place during that king's 8<sup>th</sup> campaign. This was the only time in the reign of Menkheperre that the Egyptian army ventured that far north. The 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Amenhotep must coincide with that campaign.

We should interject at this point one note of caution. We assume in the discussions which follow, and particularly in the chronology provided for Amenhotep's campaigns, that all three campaigns belong to the 7<sup>th</sup> century king. But that is by no means certain, and this uncertainty attaches to much of what follows, including our tentative identification of Piankhi's associate. Egyptologists continue to question why two distinct campaigns of Amenhotep are referred to as his "first." Many explanations have been proposed, none gaining wide acceptance. It is entirely possible that the explanation can be found in our theory of namesake kings. Further research on this matter may one day confirm that the Amada and Elephantine stela were the creation of Piankhi's associate while the Memphis and Karnak stelae belong to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king. But for the time being we assume otherwise.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>If they belong to namesake kings our thesis is all but proved, at least with respect to Amenhotep II. However, many details of the discussion which follows must in that case be altered, including the identification of Amenhotep, which depends significantly on the provenance of the Memphis stela. If that stela, which contains an account of the campaigns of years 7 and 9, belongs to the earlier king, the proposed identification of Amenhotep is null and void. In that case he must be

## Amenhotep the Sportsman

One final remark is necessary before we venture to identify the 7<sup>th</sup> century Amenhotep. One of the most characteristic features of this king, at least in his own estimation, was his phenomenal strength and superb athleticism. He boasts on the Amada stela how, “raging like a panther when he treads the field of battle; there is none who can fight in his vicinity.” Single handedly he slew “with his own mace the seven princes who had been in the district of Takhshi.” (ANET 247-8) But the prowess about which he boasts is not confined to the battlefield. On a stele discovered near the Sphinx at Gizeh he proudly lauds his strength and skill with a bow and his superior ability as an oarsman. And of peripheral interest, he expresses his paramount love of horses - shades of Piankhi!

Now, further, his majesty appeared as king as a goodly youth. When he had matured and completed eighteen years on his thighs in valor, he was one who knew every task of Montu: there was no one like him on the field of battle. He was one who knew horses: there was not his like in this numerous army. There was not one therein who could draw his bow. He could not be approached in running.

Strong of arms, one who did not weary when he took the oar, he rowed at the stern of his falcon-boat as the stroke for two hundred men. When there was a pause after they had attained half an iter's course, they were weak, their bodies were limp, they could not draw a breath, whereas his majesty was (still) strong under his oar of twenty cubits in its length. He left off and moored his falcon-boat (only after) he had attained three iters in rowing, without letting down in pulling. Faces were bright at the sight of him, when he did this.

He drew three hundred stiff bows in comparing the work of the craftsmen of them, in order to distinguish the ignorant from the wise. When he had just come from doing this which I have called to your attention, he entered into his northern garden and found that there had been set up for him four targets of Asiatic copper of one palm in their thickness, with twenty cubits between one post and its fellow. Then his majesty appeared in a chariot like Montu in his power. He grasped his bow and gripped four arrows at the same time. So he rode northward, shooting at them like Montu in his regalia. His arrows had come out on the back thereof while he was attacking another post. It was really a deed which had never been done nor heard of by report: shooting at a target of copper an arrow which came out of it and dropped to the ground ... Now when he was (still) a lad, he loved his horses ... ANET 244

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identified as a son of Piankhi, hitherto unknown. There are no particular problems associated with that suggestion. In many ways it is the stronger of the two alternative proposals.

We mention Amenhotep's exceptional strength for a reason. It was our stated intention to contrast the mummified remains of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Amenhotep found in tomb KV35 with the inscriptions belonging to his 7<sup>th</sup> century namesake. But in the case of Amenhotep we are unable to compare, whether favorably or unfavorably, the ages of the two kings, this for an obvious reason. We are not certain which king is referred to in the majority of the dated inscriptions which attest regnal years up to a 26<sup>th</sup> year. Though we assume that our 7<sup>th</sup> century king ruled that long, we may one day discover otherwise. But while we cannot compare their ages, we can compare their physical stature.

When Weeks and Harris examined the body of Amenhotep II they determined it to be that of a man slightly over 5 feet in height, around 45 years old at death and suffering from arthritis, although "this inflammation and degeneration of the vertebral column had not advanced to a particularly severe stage."<sup>99</sup> The body also showed evidence of having suffered from some "systemic disease."<sup>100</sup> "On his neck, shoulders, thorax and abdomen were small nodules" probably resulting from the king's extended ill health. While we cannot rule out the possibility that the debilitating disease and arthritis revealed by this autopsy developed later in life, this body bears little resemblance to the powerful and athletic king who authored the Sphinx stela. We leave the matter there.

### Identity of Amenhotep

It is entirely possible that the 7<sup>th</sup> century Aakheperre Amenhotep was a son of Piankhi, a fact suggested by the most straightforward reading of Amenemheb's inscription. If we suggest otherwise in the discussion

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<sup>99</sup>X-Raying the Pharaohs, p. 139.

<sup>100</sup>The anatomists whose opinions are recorded in the later *X-Ray Atlas* suggest that he suffered from ankylosing spondylitis. (p. 292). We should also point out that their estimates of age at death run from 35-45 years. Egyptologists adopt the larger number for obvious reasons. There does exist some remaining controversy regarding the age of this king. Wente and Van Siclen ("A Chronology of the New Kingdom" in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes SAOC* (39) 1977, p. 227-229) have argued for a longer reign length, up to thirty four years, based on "data pertaining to the royal jubilee and the datum of Thumose IV's inscriptions on the Lateran obelisk. In this case we begin to see some significant discord between the autopsy reports and the monuments. Even choosing the figure 45 years from the x-ray analyses does not eliminate the problem.

which follows, it is due entirely to the provenance of the Memphis stela on which Amenhotep discusses his 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> year campaigns, and to the known family connections of the Delta kings whom we assume assisted Piankhi in his invasion of Syria. A few comments on these two criteria are therefore in order.

*The Delta Kings.* In the first book of our series a revised chronology of the 7<sup>th</sup> century was arrived at by the simple expedient of lowering the dates of the 9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century kings in the traditional history by 121 years. As a result, 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty kings by the names of Sheshonk III, Pemay and Sheshonk V were assigned dates of 712-673, 660-654 and 654-617 B.C. respectively.<sup>101</sup> The *relative* regnal years of these kings are well established in the traditional history based on data preserved on several Serapeum stelae erected by the priests of Ptah of the Osiris/Apis cult in Memphis. But the absolute dates assigned them in the revised history may be off by a few years. For reasons that will become clear in a moment, we now suggest that the regnal years of the three named kings be changed to 714-675, 662-656, and 656-619 B.C. respectively.<sup>102</sup>

We also included in *Nebuchadnezzar*, without comment, the names and dates of the successors of Sheshonk V as provided by the Egyptologist D.A. Aston - kings by the name of Pedubast and Osorkon IV. While we agreed with much of Aston's chronology we reserved judgment on his listing of these terminal kings of the dynasty. In fact, we believe that Osorkon IV, not Pedubast (as listed in *Nebuchadnezzar*), succeeded Sheshonk V, and in this view we are in agreement with the majority of Egyptologists. If so, then Osorkon's dates should be 619-604 B.C., assuming he directly succeeded Sheshonk and reigned for 15 years, or earlier if the reigns of the two kings overlapped. In the revised history he must be the Osorkon who was ruling in Bubastis when in 619 B.C. Piankhi invaded the delta.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup>See *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, table 8, p. 58.

<sup>102</sup>The absolute dates of the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty kings in the earlier book were admittedly an approximation only, and in need of some fine tuning. Only the relative dates are sacrosanct. If it be admitted that the reign of Sheshonk III in the earlier table began several years before the date listed, then the reigns of Pemay and Sheshonk V must move back an equal number of years. There was no need to make any adjustment earlier, since the arguments being put forward did not depend on strict accuracy for these 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty dates.

<sup>103</sup>The 619 date follows from our timeline in figure 4 on page 27. The great stela celebrating Piankhi's victory was erected early in 618 B.C. at the beginning of his 21<sup>st</sup> year. When we listed

The belief that the Osorkon on the Piankhi stele is Osorkon IV is by no means unique to this revision. That same identification is made by many, if not most Egyptologists. K.A. Kitchen in his *Third Intermediate Period* believes that this Osorkon may be related to the 23<sup>rd</sup> dynasty family of Rudamen, the father-in-law of Peftjuawybast, but he places him in the line of 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty kings, following Sheshonk V.

If our dates are correct, and Sheshonk V died in 619 B.C., it follows that his death coincided with the beginning stages of the Tefnakht rebellion. Perhaps he was a casualty of that conflict. He is noticeably absent from the inscription on the great Piankhi stela. We assume he is recently deceased, and has just been replaced by Osorkon IV. It is possible, even probable, that the prince Pemou and the commander of the army Sheshonk named on Piankhi's great stele, both residents of Busiris, are his sons.

It is of considerable interest to us that Sheshonk V bore the prenomen Aakheperre, and at times employed the variant spelling Aakheperure. So closely do the two names resemble each other in the monuments that the Egyptologist Flinders Petrie once cautioned his readers to be wary, claiming that "many objects of Amenhotep II have been misattributed to this reign [Sheshonk's reign], as the cartouches are almost the same".<sup>104</sup> Were it not for the disparity in the assumed dates of the two kings we would immediately suggest that Sheshonk V is the Aakheperure Amenhotep whose identity we are seeking. If so then Amenhotep would have been his personal name. [Sheshonk, like Piankhi, is more a title than a name, one borne by at least five 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty kings and an equal number of princes.] But we believe that the reign of our Aakheperure Amenhotep began in 608 B.C., over a year before the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> campaign of Menkheperre. The reign of Sheshonk V began 656 B.C. They cannot be the same king. But they might well be related.

*Memphis Tomb of Prince Sheshonk:* The second relevant piece of information relates to the Memphis stela on which Amenhotep discusses

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the date 617 B.C. for the Tefnakht rebellion in our earlier book we were providing only an approximate date, determined by reducing D.A. Aston's dates for the invasion of the delta by 121 years. That date was refined, ever so slightly, in our chapter one.

<sup>104</sup>Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt III* (1905) 259. Petrie numbers this Sheshonk as Sheshonk IV, as did Breasted in the same time frame.



his campaigns of years 7 and 9. This stela was found in a tomb near Memphis identified by the excavators as belonging to a 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty prince Sheshonk, high priest of Ptah in Memphis and son of a king Osorkon. The claim is made by A. M. Badawi, who published the inscription in 1943, that this Sheshonk was a son of Osorkon II and that the stele was “reused” by the priests who buried Sheshonk as a covering for the prince’s grave-chamber within the tomb.<sup>105</sup> This is highly unlikely and we should be forgiven for being skeptical. In the context of the traditional history we must assume that the stele was preserved intact in another location for approximately six hundred years before being laboriously transported to the grave site of the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty prince for the sole purpose of covering a pit within his tomb. No family connection is known to exist between the crown prince Sheshonk and the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king Amenhotep. The excavators make no attempt to explain why a 15<sup>th</sup> century monument might be chosen by the tomb builders to cover the remains of a 9<sup>th</sup> century prince. According to them it was a random selection. The stele was simply an appropriately sized piece of masonry, reused for its utilitarian value. We disagree. Surely there must be an historical connection between the crown prince Sheshonk and the king Aakheperure. A possible explanation is provided by the revised chronology.

We begin by questioning the identification of the crown prince Sheshonk. In the third book of this series we will examine the sequence of high priests of Ptah in Memphis, long known from lists contained on a Serapeum stela and a monument stored in the Berlin Museum. We believe that this sequence of priests has been misplaced historically, a result of the same confusion which has displaced dynasties 22-26 by 121 years. In our third book we will demonstrate that the high priest Sheshonk lived in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, possibly in the final decades of that century. If so, then it should follow that he is the son of Osorkon III or IV, rather than Osorkon II.. And more importantly, this would make him a contemporary of Piankhi and of our second Aakheperure Amenhotep. Perhaps they were part of the same extended family. There is even a possibility that the high priest Sheshonk himself became king

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<sup>105</sup>A.M. Badawi, “Die Neue Historische Stele Amenophis II,” ASAE 42 (1943) 1. According to Badawi the stele was used “als Decke für seine Grabkammer”. Its precise location within the tomb is not specified.

Aakheperure Amenhotep. This would certainly account for the presence in his tomb of a stele bearing that name.<sup>106</sup>

Alternatively, our king Aakheperure Amenhotep might be another son of Osorkon IV. We have already noted that Osorkon IV was ruling in Bubastis in 619 B.C. when Piankhi invaded the delta. It is unknown precisely how long his reign continued after the suppression of the rebellion, but a reign length of a dozen years (619-608 B.C.) would agree favorably with the monuments. Though no successor of this king is named by the traditional history, it seems reasonable to conclude that he was replaced in office, whether by the high priest Sheshonk, or by another son or near relative. Either possibility would account for the presence of a stela of the Aakheperure in the tomb of the high priest. And if Osorkon IV was the son of Sheshonk V, as is likely, we are not surprised that one of his sons adopted as a prenominal a variant form of the name Aakheperre used by his grandfather. Tentatively, therefore, we suggest that the Aakheperure Amenhotep we seek was a son and successor of Osorkon IV.

If we are tentative in our identification of Aakheperure Amenhotep the reader should understand the fragile nature of the evidence. The traditional history simply terminates the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty at the end of Osorkon's reign, and that without explanation. The monuments for the late 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty are ambiguous at best. We should not be held to a higher standard than the traditional history. We have at least provided a hypothetical solution to our problem.

Our tentativeness regarding the identity of the second Aakheperure

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<sup>106</sup>The problems with this final suggestion are significant, but not insurmountable. Assuming that the second Aakheperure Amenhotep became king at the age of nineteen then he must have become high priest some years earlier. We argue later in this book and throughout the next that the high priests of Ptah took office very early, certainly by the age of 16. If so, then this Sheshonk was high priest for only a few years before being elevated to kingship to assist Piankhi. Then why in his tomb does he mention only his high priesthood and provide no indication of his kingship other than on the stele which covers his grave pit? There is one possible answer. In the following chapters we will be examining the priest/kings of the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty. These high priests of Amun frequently held both the offices of "high priest of Amun" *and* king. Many of them were also army commanders. And in several cases, where their mummified remains have been examined, they ignore their kingships and document only their high priesthoods. This may also be the case with the high priest of Ptah Sheshonk. The excavation reports related to the Memphis tomb need re-examination to see if there are other indications that the tomb owner was a king.

Amenhotep does not extend to the chronology of his initial years. With some confidence we are able to date the activities of his first nine years in office.

### Chronology of the Campaigns of Aakheperure Amenhotep

Two separate documents, a stele from Semneh and the document B.M. 10056, inform us that the reign of Aakheperure Amenhotep began on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of the 4<sup>th</sup> month of the Egyptian civil calendar. Since we have previously concluded that the first day of the civil year (Akhat 1) took place early in July of the Julian year, it follows that the coronation of Amenhotep took place early in the fall, around the beginning of October. And according to our calculations the coronation of the king must have taken place in the year 608 B.C. We therefore have a very specific date for the beginning of his reign – the beginning of October 608 B.C. The rationale for the selection of the year 608 is threefold:

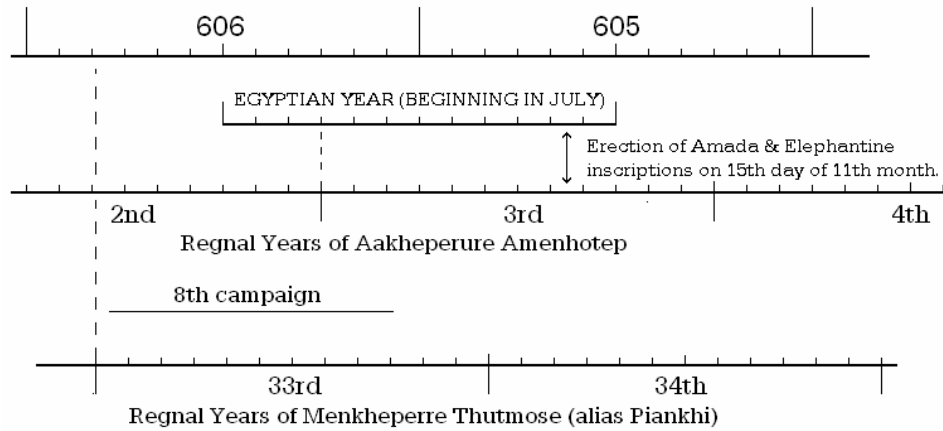
1) We observe that the 8<sup>th</sup> campaign of Menkheperre, and the campaign described in Amenhotep's 3<sup>rd</sup> year stele, closely resemble each other. On the assumption that the reigns of the two kings overlap significantly and that they must have fought together, these two campaigns provide the most reasonable synchronism.

2) Since the 8<sup>th</sup> campaign took place in the spring, summer and early fall of 606 B.C. the identical campaign described by Amenhotep must also have ended in the fall of 606 B.C. The end of that campaign must precede by at least several months the erection of the Amada/Elephantine stelae. Since the Amada and Elephantine inscriptions bear the date "15<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year" they must have been inscribed in May/June of 605 B.C.

3) Amenhotep's 3<sup>rd</sup> year must therefore span the time frame October 606 B.C. to October 605 B.C. and his first year must begin in October 608 B.C.

We summarize this data in a timeline in figure 11 below.

Figure 11: The 8<sup>th</sup> Campaign of Menkheperre  
= the 1<sup>st</sup> Campaign of Aakheperure Amenhotep  
(which ended in his 3<sup>rd</sup> Year).



If the above data is correctly interpreted and diagrammed, then we must date the campaigns described on the Memphis stela, those bearing the dates “year 7, 25<sup>th</sup> day of the ninth month” and “year 9, 25<sup>th</sup> day of the third month”, to late March 600 B.C. and late September 599 B.C. respectively.<sup>107</sup> These dates should correspond to early in the 14<sup>th</sup> and late in the 15<sup>th</sup> campaigns of Menkheperre.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup>The most easily accessed English translation of the Memphis stela is that by John A. Wilson in ANET 244-47.

<sup>108</sup>There exists multiple problems interpreting the dates on the Memphis stela (and on a partial duplicate found near the 8<sup>th</sup> Pylon at Karnak). Unlike the Amada and Elephantine stelae where the year 3 date records the time when the stelae were inscribed and/or erected, the dates on the Memphis stela appear to relate to the actual campaigns being described. But if so, then the year 7 campaign seems to be a duplicate of the year 3 incident, where the Egyptian army reached Naharin and the city of Niy (i.e. the 8<sup>th</sup> campaign of Menkheperre). Since both campaigns are referred to in the respective stelae as the “first” of Aakheperure Amenhotep, this would not be problematic, except that one dates the incident in year 3 and the other in year 7. If they relate to two different campaigns, not only is there a problem with the king having two distinct “first” campaigns, there is the additional problem (for the revised history) of reconciling the data for the 7<sup>th</sup> year on the Memphis stela with the 14<sup>th</sup> campaign of Menkheperre (as must be the case). We must assume that on the 14<sup>th</sup> campaign Egypt again reached the Euphrates, though the Annals of Menkheperre do not specifically say so, stating only that this year, the 39<sup>th</sup> of Menkheperre, “Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the fourteenth victorious expedition, after [his] going [to defeat] the fallen ones of Shasu (i.e. the East).” [BAR II 517] The reader will recall that this 14<sup>th</sup> campaign followed by months Egypt’s victory over the Shasu (= Nebuchadnezzar’s army). We might well expect that this tour of conquest would necessitate journeying as far as Carchemish to

There remains one other pharaoh to be examined before we take a retrospective look at the beginning of Piankhi's life and flesh out the history of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. In the first book of this series we noted that a king named Shabaka (the first of three 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings named by Manetho) acted on behalf of Piankhi in diplomatic dealings with Assyria prior to fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. We suggested at the time that he probably also commanded a division of Piankhi's army. If so then he must have attained royal status at least by Piankhi's 25<sup>th</sup> regnal year, though his reign could well have begun decades earlier.

According to the traditional history Shabaka was a brother (or son) of Piankhi. Herodotus tells us that he was responsible for killing Bocchoris, the son and successor of Tefnakht, thus placing his reign securely in the time frame covered by the Annals of Menkheperre. Surely this important king left record of his association with Piankhi and his involvement in Piankhi's wars. But as with other important kings of the period, Piankhi included, he may have used another name. In the next section we search for his name among the monuments.

### *Menkheperure Thutmose*

#### The Dream Stele

According to the traditional history the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king Amenhotep II was succeeded by a son Menkheperure Thutmose IV whose reign lasted either an abbreviated 8 years or an extended 32 plus years. The longer reign length is supported by such notable scholars as Wentz and Van Sicelen, based primarily, though not exclusively, on monuments which

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secure Egypt's renewed suzerainty in Retenu. Thus there is no fundamental conflict between the Annals of Menkheperre and the Memphis stela of Aakheperure Amenhotep for this year. There is no definite way of checking the year 9 data of the Memphis stela, since the 15<sup>th</sup> campaign of Menkheperre, to which it corresponds, is documented on the damaged and confusing sixth Pylon inscription which we discussed earlier. It is of some interest, however, that in the list of plunder obtained during the year 9 campaign the Memphis stela mentions 15,200 Shasu, this only a year and a half following Menkheperre's battle with the Shasu. We wonder if these prisoners are related to the earlier battle.

suggest that the king celebrated at least one heb seb (30 year) festival.<sup>109</sup> In our opinion there is no getting around the evidence supporting the longer reign length. Menkheperre ruled at least 30 years, probably much longer. Those who argue for the minimum figure are clearly influenced by the anatomical reports related to the mummy of Menkheperure. We will examine those reports shortly.

It is assumed that this pharaoh began his kingship at the death of his father, though in fact there is no evidence that this is so. The possibility remains that he ruled for a time as coregent with Amenhotep, more so if we accept the longer figure for his reign length.

One of the more prominent inscriptions attributed to this king is that contained on a stele found near the great Sphinx in 1818 by Caviglia, translated by Salt several years later and by others multiple times since. It's central theme is well known to those with even the most casual acquaintance with things Egyptian, due largely to well intentioned but mistaken attempts to relate this king to the time of Moses and the plague-ridden Exodus of Israel from Egypt. On this so-called "Dream Stele" Thutmose IV credits the god Re-Harakhte, the god of the sphinx, for elevating him to office, this in gratitude for Thutmose having cleared away the sand which buried the god's image. Portions of the inscription are worth noting. It is dated in "Year 1, third month of the first season, day 19, under the majesty of Horus ....King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheprure", i.e. in the first year of the king. This must be the date when the inscription was made. In the narrative which follows the newly crowned king celebrates his belated good fortune. From the language of

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<sup>109</sup>Edward Wente and Charles Van Siclen III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* SAOC 39 (1977) 227-230. These scholars suggest a reign length of 33 years for Thutmose IV. In defense of this extended reign they state: "Besides the jubilee evidence in favor of a long reign for Thutmose IV there are some additional bits of information that would indicate that his reign was not a short one. There are statues of Thutmose IV seated, not with his queen as is normal, but with his mother Tiaa. At the time when he acceded to the throne, Thutmose IV was called an inpw, a term applied to young princes and kings who had not yet reached puberty. Yet by the time he died, this pharaoh had produced a rather large family, comprising at least seven sons and twelve daughters. During his years as king, Thutmose IV had three queens, each of whom bore the title Great King's Wife. The Eighteenth Dynasty evidence seems to indicate that a king had only one Great King's Wife at a time, so that these three women must have held the title of principal queen consecutively. Another indication that Thutmose IV's reign was a long one is the large number of Theban tomb chapels that are assigned to his period. No fewer than nineteen tombs can be specifically dated to his reign ..."

the inscription there appears to have existed a lengthy period of time between the god's promise to the prince and its eventual fulfillment. It might be as long as twenty or thirty years. Thutmose may now be a middle aged man. He is certainly not the young man he was when the incident took place. His is a retrospective look back into the distant past.

Thutmose begins his narrative with an extensive list of epithets, and continues by documenting his carefree days as a youth, then probably in his mid to late teens, judging from the events he describes.

When his majesty was a stripling like Horus, the youth in Khemmis, his beauty was like the protector of his father, he seemed like the god himself. The army rejoiced because of love for him, the king's-children and all the nobles. Then his strength overflowed him, and he repeated the circuit of his might like the son of Nut. Behold, he did a thing that gave him pleasure upon the highlands of the Memphite nome, upon its southern and northern road, shooting at a target with copper bolts, hunting lions and wild goats, coursing in his chariot, his horses being swifter than the wind; together with two of his followers, while not a soul knew it. Now, when his hour came on for giving rest to his followers, (it was always) at the [shoulder] of Harmakhis, beside Sokar in Rosta ... over against the lords of Khereha, the sacred road of the gods to the necropolis west of On (Heliopolis). Now, the very great statue of Khepri, rests in this place, the great in prowess, the splendid in strength; upon which the shadow of Re tarries. The quarters of Memphis and all the cities which are by him come to him, (raising) their hands for him in praise to his face, bearing great oblations for his ka.. BAR II 813-14

One day, on maneuvers near the sand covered Sphinx, he paused to rest and encountered, as if in a vision, the god Harmakhis :

One of those days it came to pass that the king's son, Thutmose, came, coursing at the time of midday, and he rested in the shadow of this great god. A vision of sleep seized him at the hour (when) the sun was in the zenith, and he found the majesty of this revered god speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks with his son, saying: "Behold thou me! See thou me! My son Thutmose. I am thy father, Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum, who will give to thee my kingdom on earth at the head of the living. Thou shalt wear the white crown and the red crown upon the throne of Keb, the hereditary prince. The land shall be thine in its length and breadth, that which the eye of the All-Lord shines upon. The food of the Two Lands shall be thine, the great tribute of all countries, the duration of a long period of years. My face is thine, my desire is toward thee. Thou shalt be to me a protector (for) my manner is as I were ailing in all my limbs {—}. The sand of this desert upon which I am, has reached me; turn to me, to have that

done which I have desired, knowing that thou art my son, my protector; come hither, behold I am with thee, I am thy leader.” When he had finished this speech, this king’s-son [awoke] hearing this ...; he understood the words of this god, and he kept silent in his heart. He said: “Come, let us hasten to our house in the city; they shall protect the oblations for this god ... BAR II 815

Scholars are in agreement that Menkheperure is here taking a retrospective look back at his youth. But in order to maintain the fiction that his reign began as a young man, they suggest that the date on the inscription is incorrect. It is argued rather that Menkheperure is looking back on his youth from the prospective of a mature king, already many years in office, and that his kingship actually began only a few years after the dream he describes. Betsy Bryan, in her recent monumental work on the life of this king, provides the consensus view, reasoning that

the Year 1 date is very likely fictitious with respect to the stela’s erection. It might refer to the king’s first clearance efforts in the vicinity. It would be difficult to believe that the excavation at Giza had been completed, as well as the royal constructions at Heliopolis and Memphis referred to in lines 1-3, in the first regnal year. The abbreviated form of the introduction suggests that a summary of activities in the north has been provided because of the overall theme of the inscription - the royal attachment to the sun god at Giza.<sup>110</sup>

With that “wave of the wand” interpretation the difficulty is removed from view, though it lacks credibility. In due course we will discuss the Memphis and Heliopolis activities of his king. Sufficient here to note that the references to these two cities in the “Dream Stele” consist of two innocuous epithets included among many with which Menkheperure begins his inscription. Therein he refers to himself as “(the one) who purifies Heliopolis” and “(the one) who beautifies Memphis”, hardly the basis for disregarding the most obvious and the only reasonable interpretation of the inscription’s date line.

A two fold conclusion follows from our brief examination of this stele. In the first place Thutmose, at the moment when he first conversed with Re-Harakhte, was probably not in line for the kingship, else we wonder why this story would ever have been told. And secondly, his kingship began a significant number of years after his dream experience as a youth. We should be careful not to read any more into his remarks than that.

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<sup>110</sup>Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (1991)149



But if Thutmose was an adult, possibly middle aged, when he became king, and if he ruled 32 years in Egypt, then he must have been between 60-70 years old when he died. And this is a minimal figure. The physical remains of this king should confirm his lengthy life. But by now we have learned to anticipate an anatomical problem.

### The Mummy of Thutmose IV

We have previously mentioned the fact that the lower estimates of the reign of Thutmose IV have been unduly influenced by the anatomical examinations of the mummy of this king, found by Loret in 1898 in KV35. Bryan has summarized the earliest findings, those resulting from Elliot Smith's investigation at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

Anatomical studies of Thutmose IV's mummy have been available since the early years of this century. G. Elliot Smith, who studied the royal mummies for the Cairo Museum, published two different estimates of the king's age at death. In 1903 and 1904 Smith suggested 25 as the most probable age. He described the king as "a young clean-shaved effeminate, and extremely emaciated man, 5 feet 6 inches in height". Through x-ray examination Smith learned that the epiphyses of the tibia were fully joined, indicating to him an age of at least 20 and probably more than 24. Because the epiphyses of the crest of the ilium were not joined, however, he felt the king could not have been more than 25 years. In 1912 Smith published the royal mummies for the Cairo Museum and had by then revised his conclusions. Since he had observed other examples of incompletely joined epiphyses of ilia, he believed it was not uncommon for Egyptians to exhibit a delayed union of epiphysis cristae. The results of a skiagram of the epiphyses of the vertebral border of the scapula showed an apparent separation. This led Smith still to support a low age estimate, though perhaps as high as 28. He concluded that the texture of bones should admit that Thutmose IV might possibly have been even older than this." It should be added, however, that Smith's assessment of delayed union has not impressed all modern radiologists, whose work on providing age at death has been built up from increasingly larger numbers of radiological projects. The comparative "bone-age" material continues to be, however, the modern population.<sup>111</sup>

The influence of Smith's early studies of Thutmose's body was pervasive. For much of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Egyptologists felt compelled to "downsize" the reign of Menkheperure, bringing it into harmony with

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<sup>111</sup>Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, p. 9-10.

the anatomical evidence. The highest date of this king on the monuments, his eighth year, was selected as his optimum reign length, all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. The date on the “dream stele” was conveniently set aside and the stele was interpreted as the product of the young king, nearing the end of his eight year reign, taking a look back in time to the circumstance which led to his kingship. According to this viewpoint Thutmose began his reign as a youth, not long after his slumber near the Sphinx, and died only eight years later. This opinion has prevailed to the present, with one recent development.

The 1972 re-examination of the royal mummies by James Harris and Kent Weeks has resulted in a slight increase in Thutmose’s estimated “age at death”. In the years following the 1972 study, two anatomists, Krogman and Baer, examined the x-rays, working independently, and their results were published by Harris and the Egyptologist Edward Wente in *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies* (1980). These two medical specialists concluded that Thutmose died slightly later than the figures suggested by Elliot Smith. In their estimation his death took place between his 30<sup>th</sup> and 40<sup>th</sup> years, though they preferred the median age 35. This left scholars such as Wente and Van Siclen sufficient wiggle room to let the monuments speak for themselves. These two highly respected Egyptologists have recently argued that Menkheperure ruled at least 30 years, that he acceded to the throne while still an *inpw* (i.e. “youth”) not yet having reached puberty (p. 230), and that in consequence his maximum age at accession was only slightly over 13 years (13 + x years), making his age at death a maximum of slightly over 46 years (46 + x years). It was felt that this maximum age accorded reasonably well with the anatomical evidence. But the manner in which they presented their argument disguised the inherent problem. The dateline of the “dream stele”, and the language of that same monument, absolutely demand that the reign of Thutmose began when that king was an adult reasonably advanced in age, i.e., that a significant length of time intruded between Thutmose’s dream and his accession to the throne. The “x” in Wente’s argument is therefore a large number. That conclusion, and the fact that Wente’s “maximum” should rather be construed as a minimum<sup>112</sup>,

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<sup>112</sup>We can scarcely imagine a youth under the age of 13 boasting of hunting lions and wild goats, racing a chariot pulled by multiple speeding horses in company with others, with strength comparable to the gods. We also wonder at the fact that he was beloved by the other king’s

combine to argue much the same result as we outlined earlier. Thutmose began his kingship between 30 and 40 years of age and died at minimum 30 years later, between sixty and seventy years of age. Under no circumstances can the mummy from KV35 be the author of the monuments which speak of a heb seb festival. Only one reasonable conclusion follows naturally - there were two kings who bore this same name. The mummy belongs to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. There remains for us to locate the second king historically.

The conclusion that there were two kings who bore the name Menkheperure Thutmose is not entirely dependent on the results of x-ray analysis. The same conclusion, with the added information that the namesake king was a contemporary of Piankhi and Aakheperure Amenhotep, follows naturally from the analysis of the "dream stele" by the eminent German Egyptologist A. Erman at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1904 Erman argued that the sphinx stele of Menkheperure was inscribed sometime between the end of the 22<sup>nd</sup>/23<sup>rd</sup> dynasty and the beginning of the 26<sup>th</sup> Saite dynasty, precisely where we have dated the king by this name.<sup>113</sup> The argument by the great German scholar was thorough and irrefutable. It should have resulted in a reexamination of this king's place in history. Instead many Egyptologists, including Erman, reasoned that the 15<sup>th</sup> century stele was recopied by priests about 800 years after his reign ended, and the copy was substituted at the site of the sphinx in place of the original. Breasted came to an identical conclusion about the same time. In the prelude to his translation of the inscription he remarks on how

The form and content of the document are strikingly unlike the official or royal records of the Pharaohs. It is besides filled with errors and striking irregularities in orthography, and exhibits a number of suspicious peculiarities not to be expected in a monument of this class. It is therefore to be regarded as a late restoration. BAR II 810

Other explanations were provided by the community of Egyptologists for the apparently late orthography employed by the artisan who inscribed the monument,<sup>114</sup> but by far the majority agreed with Breasted and Erman.

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children, not to speak of the nobility and the army, if he was barely into his teens.

<sup>113</sup>A. Erman, "Die Sphinxstele," SB 6 (1904) 428-37.

<sup>114</sup>In a footnote Breasted underscores his agreement with Erman, but notes contrary opinion.

That understanding changed abruptly by the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when in 1937 a possible escape from the conundrum was afforded to scholars by the excavation, also from the immediate vicinity of the Sphinx, of the stele of Amenhotep II from which we quoted earlier.<sup>115</sup> In her recent analysis of Thutmose's stele, Betsy Bryan describes the opinion that prevails today:

There are few scholars remaining who accept Erman's proposal, but that is largely due to the discoveries made by Hassan at Giza (especially the 'Sphinx Stele' of Amenhotep II"). Many of the unusual writing and unattested words appeared on the great Stela of the earlier king, thus removing the major objections raised by Erman."<sup>116</sup>

The flaw in this reasoning is obvious. If Erman were alive today he almost certainly would have extended his analysis and his conclusions to the Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep. Even in 1904 he had applied the identical orthographic arguments to other documents, most notably to the inscriptions in the naos of the tomb of Amenmose, son of Thutmose I. He correctly reasoned that these inscriptions were the products of scribes and artisans who lived long after the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep does not provide a corrective to the reasoning of Erman, as Bryan seems to believe. It is the traditional date of the Sphinx stele of Amenhotep that is in error, not Erman's analysis. What Egyptologists ought to have concluded following Salim Hassan's excavation was that both the Dream Stele and the Sphinx Stele are the products of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. They may well have been designed and inscribed by the identical artisan. Almost every explanation conceivable has been given to the results of Erman's analyses except that which is most reasonable. Menkheperure's Dream Stele shows signs of being created during the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty because it was the creation of a 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty king. The same can be said for the Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep.

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"Erman has now put together the reasons for the same conclusion, which he also has reached. He would date the document between the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty and Saitic times. Spiegelberg's objections to this conclusion (*Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, 1904) would explain the mistakes and peculiarities in the orthography as due to the erasure of the inscription under Ikhnaton and the subsequent careless restoration, as in the Theban stelae (e.g. par. 878 ff.)." Breasted goes on to argue against Spiegelberg.

<sup>115</sup>We used the translation by John A. Wilson in ANET pp. 244-45. The inscription was first published by Selim Hassan in ASAE 37 (1937) 129-34.

<sup>116</sup>Op.Cit. p. 144-145.

We can only regret that Egyptologists are so deeply rooted in an errant chronology, and so convinced of the fact of the uniqueness of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty names (an unwarranted economy of exegesis), that they fail to recognize where the evidence is leading. We have already tentatively identified Amenhotep as the son of Osorkon IV and thus a terminal king of either the 22<sup>nd</sup> or 23<sup>rd</sup> dynasty. But who is the 7<sup>th</sup> century Menkheperure? We have already hinted at the answer.

### Menkheperure = Shabaka

There is but one king unaccounted for in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century - Shabaka. According to our analyses in *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile* this king was ruling within Egypt in 612 B.C., around the time of the fall of Nineveh. According to Josephus he was responsible for the death of Bocchoris, the son of Tefnakht, which would also date his reign to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. And at least one monument contains the name of Neferkare in conjunction with the name of Shabaka, leading to the errant assumption that this was a prenomen of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty king. Not so. Neferkare is well known as the prenomen of Osorkon IV. It should be of no surprise to anyone that the names of the two kings are associated together on a monument. Osorkon ruled over the district of Bubastis/Busiris at the time of Piankhi's invasion in 617 B.C. Shabaka/Menkheperure ruled over nearby Memphis/Heliopolis.

The fact that Memphis and Heliopolis figure prominently on Menkheperure's Dream Stele attest the fact that this king resided (and therefore ruled) in this region of the country. In our earlier book we argued that Shabaka likely ruled in Memphis prior to the Tefnakht Rebellion, but was absent from the country on a diplomatic mission when Piankhi put down the rebellion. Tefnakht apparently took over the city in his absence, since he was in control of the city when Piankhi advanced on the Delta. We assume that Shabaka resumed his Memphite kingship in 616 B.C., or soon thereafter, in the aftermath of the rebellion. Sometime in the following decade he apparently encountered and brutally murdered Bocchoris.

According to Herodotus this 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty patriarch ruled Egypt for 50

years, yet his inscriptions are few and far between. The traditional history credits him with around 15 years, since at least one inscription is dated that late. The two versions of Manetho assigned to him only 8 and 12 years respectively. Regardless, the few monuments which bear his name do not justify a reign of any significant length, no matter what tradition we follow. But Shabaka is a Nubian name. If, like Piankhi, he assumed an Egyptian name when he became pharaoh within Egypt - a likely event - and if that name was Menkheperure as we suggest, then his reign may well have lasted the 33 years argued by Wente and Van Sicilen, perhaps longer. In our previous book we argued that his reign may have lasted slightly over 50 years (637-585 B.C.), in agreement with Herodotus. We have no reason here to modify those earlier claims.

If no other evidence were available to substantiate the identification Menkheperure = Shabaka we should have chosen it nevertheless. Menkheperure's Dream Stele was composed in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. He must have ruled during that century, and the provenance and content of the Dream Stele suggests he ruled in the vicinity of Memphis and Heliopolis. There is no place for such a king in the days when the Assyrians ruled the country. Therefore his reign must follow the takeover of the country by Menkheperre Piankhi, whose name likely influenced his own name selection. And if he ruled for upwards of 33 years he cannot be anyone but Shabaka. But fortunately we do not have to speculate. There exist few inscriptions of any significant length which bear the name of Shabaka. It is therefore all the more significant that one of these clearly informs us that Shabaka adopted the names of the earlier Menkheperure Thutmose.

### The Fourth Pylon Inscription

According to Egyptologists the doorway through the fourth pylon in the Karnak temple of Amun was subject to many repairs and alterations over the centuries of its existence. It was presumably constructed by Thutmose I, reconstructed during the reign of Thutmose IV, renovated and improved again during the reign of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty king Shabaka, and repaired for the last time by Alexander late in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Evidence that it was constructed by Thutmose I is circumstantial, based

entirely on the fact that the balance of the pylon is attributed to this king. But no inscription of his is present on the doorway itself, which contains only inscriptions of Thutmose and Shabaka. Thutmose decorated the northern wing of the Pylon at the entranceway with a dedicatory inscription accompanied by scenes of the king in audience before Amun. On the uprights of the door there is another inscription, this time of Shabaka absent any representation. The entire entranceway gives the impression of having been constructed at one time. However, if the traditional history is correct, it must be the case that the inscription by Shabaka was added to the work of the earlier king 700 years after his reign ended.

A closer examination of the inscriptions suggests otherwise. According to the inscription of Thutmose IV, the entranceway and the porch which fronts the entrance were constructed at the same time, entirely by himself.

Then his majesty acted, making a great doorway as his monument, extending and magnifying greatly, more than that which his ancestors had done. Its height was great, it reaching the sky. Its rays inundated the Two Lands making festive the lord of the gods, Amun-Re.<sup>117</sup>

On two other monuments found elsewhere in Thebes the results of Thutmose's doorway construction are pictured. One of these provides detailed information about the entranceway, telling us that in front of the doorway Thutmose built "a large porch, finished with fine gold, the two columns being encrusted with electrum."<sup>118</sup>

When we turn our attention to the inscription of Shabaka we are surprised to see the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty pharaoh taking credit for the identical construction. According to his inscription it was he who built the large revetement wall and "the large porch finished with fine gold, the two columns being worked with electrum (and) the two bases supporting the latter with pure silver."<sup>119</sup>

Who are we to believe? The solution for Egyptologists was patent. Only

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<sup>117</sup>Translation according to Betsy Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, p. 170.

<sup>118</sup>The monument comes from the tomb of the Second Prophet of Amun, Amenhotep si-ese. Our translation comes from Yoyotte, "Un Porche Dore," *CdE* 28 (1953) 36.

<sup>119</sup>Yoyotte, *op.cit.* pp. 34-35.

one scenario was chronologically possible. Thutmose IV in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century refurbished a crude entranceway in the pylon built by Thutmose I, and 700 years later Shabaka repaired the work of Thutmose IV using identical materials. But there are strong objections to this interpretation. In the first place the two inscriptions at the doorway appear to complement one another. Thutmose IV gives credit to his ancestors who built and repaired the doorway originally, and provides no specifics about what he himself has done. Shabaka on the other hand gives prior credit to no-one, but goes into great detail about *his* construction, as if the entire work is his creation. There is absolutely no hint in Shabaka's inscription that he has merely repaired an earlier work by Thutmose I or IV. And who are these unnamed ancestors (plural) who preceded Thutmose IV in re-constructions of the doorway. If he is an 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king, less than a century removed from Thutmose I, we would have expected him to have acknowledged the work of his close ancestor (singular), rather than provide a generic reference to several nameless predecessors.

To be fair, Egyptologists have sensed the problem and have provided the ad hoc explanation noted above. But questions abound. Why did Thutmose IV place his only inscription at this site in such an obscure location, leaving the uprights of the entranceway uninscribed and available for Shabaka to insert his inscription seven centuries later (eight centuries in the revised history)? The uprights (montants) were favored locations for builders in antiquity to publicize their efforts, easily seen and read by passers by. Why were they left blank. And why did the kings in the intervening dynasties fail to avail themselves of the opportunity provided by the uninscribed and inviting surfaces. It is said of Ramses II of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty that he filled every available piece of masonry with his name. Why did Ramses ignore this prominent and available surface.? And how is it that Shabaka claims to have entirely remade the entranceway (he actually says he made it, not that he re-made it) yet left intact the inscription of Thutmose IV which claims that he had remade it.

There is only one explanation that makes sense of the 4<sup>th</sup> pylon doorway. Shabaka is entirely responsible for this major reconstruction of an entranceway built hundreds of years earlier and repaired many times in the interim by nameless and perhaps unknown pharaohs. He alone is



responsible for the porch which fronts the entranceway. Both inscriptions belong to him. In his adopted name Menkheperure Thutmose he began his inscription, acknowledging the work of his predecessors. In his Nubian name Shabaka, he completed his inscription, describing in great detail the nature of his work. Both inscriptions were made at the identical time, near the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

We have achieved our objective. We have demonstrated the possibility, if not the probability, that kings by the name Menkheperure Thutmose and Aakheperure Amenhotep lived and ruled over districts of Egypt in the days of Menkheperre Piankhi at the close of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. If the reader is uncomfortable about the thesis of duplicate names we can only hope that doubts will be dispelled by the revelations to be set forth in the following chapter, where for the first time we attempt to trace the ancestry of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty patriarch.