

Chapter Eight

Herihor, Piankh & Pinudjem I

Herihor, Ramses XI, & the Whm Mswt

The *Whm Mswt*

In the revised history the 27 year rule of Ramses XI belongs roughly in the time frame 689-662 B.C.¹⁴⁵ The methodology used to arrive at those dates left considerable room for minor adjustments. As it turns out the dates are remarkably accurate¹⁴⁶

One of the primary arguments in defense of the accuracy of these dates for Ramses XI relates to the final decade of his reign, during which something quite revolutionary happened in Egypt. In the 19th year of Ramses' reign, for reasons not fully appreciated by Egyptologists, an alternative dating schema was instituted in the south of Egypt by those who had previously dated events solely in reference to the years of this king. Beginning in that 19th year (671 B.C. based on the assumption that 689 B.C. was his 1st year), the years on Egyptian monuments and in numerous papyri were numbered instead in relation to an era bearing the bizarre title "repeating of births", in Egyptian, *whm mswt*. Precisely what constituted this new era has been the subject of considerable speculation by scholars, though nothing is to be gained by surveying opinion on the subject. Suffice to say that the new era, which lasted approximately 10 years, is connected in the monuments with the advent of a new regime in Egypt, headed by an obscure figure named Herihor, whose rule not only coincided with the final years of Ramses XI, but apparently superseded in authority and prestige the reign of that terminal 20th dynasty king. We will let Kenneth Kitchen tell the story of this unique time, which he calls the "Renaissance Era". But before we quote Kitchen on the subject we let the noted Egyptologist set the stage, as he

¹⁴⁵See table 15 on page 209 and figure 15 on p. 210

¹⁴⁶We are assuming throughout our discussion that the 20th dynasty kings followed a non-accession year dating system.

describes a prolonged period of social upheaval which *immediately preceded* the arrival of Herihor, a lengthy period of civil unrest wherein took place a “war of the high priest” in which a man named Panehsy, a “king’s son of Cush”, played a vital role.

In this epoch, the weakness of the central government allowed the natural geographic regions of south and north to change from areas of mere administrative convenience into distinct political entities. The self-sufficient pride of the Theban hierarchy and weakness of the kings, who lived almost entirely in the northern capitals, helped to accentuate the practical cleavage between south and north which was now to be formalized politically. TIP 209a

In the revised history the events described by Kitchen coincide with the era chronicled by prince Osorkon, the future Osorkon III, on the walls of the Karnak temple near the Bubastite gate, as documented in the 1st book of our *Displaced Dynasties* series. In that earlier book we used the name “great disruption” to refer to this prolonged period of unprecedented civil strife, which followed immediately the night when the “sky did not swallow the moon” in 701 B.C.¹⁴⁷ The “great disruption” began in 701 B.C. and ended in 671 B.C.

In the revised history the dates of Herihor are 671-665 B.C

The reader will immediately see the significance of the dates mentioned. The end of the “great disruption”, the arrival of Herihor in the 19th year of Ramses XI, the beginning of the *wḥm mswt*, and the invasion of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, all took place at precisely the same time. The year was 671 B.C. It was the beginning of a prolonged period of foreign occupation of Egypt.

It is one of the unfortunate consequences of the errant Egyptian chronology that Kitchen is unaware of the fact that the time of Panehsy, and the time of the “great disruption” are one and the same. But this is not the time to discuss Panehsy, nor to document his role in the evolving story.

Kitchen goes on to describe the arrival of Herihor and the ensuing revolution called the *wḥm mswt*.

¹⁴⁷See *Nebuchadnezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, chapter 3 (esp. pages 70-73).

Panehsy's virtual sole rule of Upper and Middle Egypt as well as Nubia was irregular. By Year 19, he had fallen into disgrace, at least in Thebes. Instead, from that year on, a new regime ruled, termed 'the Renaissance' (*wḥm mswt*, lit. 'the repeating of birth'), and in datelines one meets 'Year 1 ...', corresponding to Year 19'. The anomalous union of Upper Egypt and Nubia was now regularized to adapt the administration to the new status quo. A new man, one Herihor, now appeared as High Priest of Amun, as Generalissimo and Army-leader (*h3wty*) - more specifically 'Captain at the Head of the Army of All Egypt' - and also as Viceroy of Nubia to replace Panehsy who was now himself a rebel in Nubia. Thus, for the first time ever, this man united in himself wide military powers, the Theban high-priesthood, and the rule of Nubia. To these he for a time added the office of (southern) Vizier. This was the situation in Year 6 of the 'Renaissance Era'. Northwards, Herihor's rule probably extended to El Hibeh to the north of Hardai (raided by Panehsy) and some 20 miles south of Heracleopolis and the approaches to the Fayum. In Thebes itself, Herihor's accession to power was seemingly endorsed by oracles of the Theban deities, who promised him 20 years of power as their protagonist. TIP 209b

Egyptologists remain perplexed at this usurpation of power by a nondescript army commander with absolutely no pedigree. Herihor says nothing about his ancestry. He claims no dynastic affiliation. He appears on the scene out of nowhere and immediately seems to rule the whole of Egypt, with a status equal to, if not superior to that of Ramses XI. In fact, in all of the literature in which Herihor is mentioned, Ramses at best appears as an absentee landlord. In a moment we will explain why.

By now the reader will have determined precisely what is happening. The 19th year of Ramses XI and thus the 1st year of the Renaissance Era occurs in 671 B.C. in the revised chronology. That same year Assyria ended the period of the "great disruption" by attacking and conquering Egypt. Esarhaddon, the Assyrian king, immediately apportioned rule over the various administrative districts of Egypt to at least twenty kings and princes. We documented this traumatic period in Egyptian history in the first book of our series.

It is our contention that Herihor was the army commander assigned by Esarhaddon the responsibility of oversight over the newly conquered country. Thus his title - "Captain at the Head of the Army of All Egypt." His name is not mentioned in the Assyrian annals because the attention of those documents is focused on the civil administration, not on the occupying army. But from the annals we know that an army of

occupation did remain in Egypt to supervise the new acquired Assyrian state. It was not a large military force, and was consequently unable to suppress a rebellion in 668 B.C. initiated by Takeloth III (Tarqu) following the death of Esarhaddon. This failure made necessary the 667 B.C. 1st invasion of Egypt by Ashurbanipal, Esarhaddon's successor. But the resident Assyrian army did successfully discover and quash a second coup attempt in 666 B.C., and was actively involved in the punishments and administrative changes which followed. We assume that Herihor was the central figure in these actions

If Herihor is indeed the head of the Assyrian army of occupation it is important that we review several details glossed over in our earlier discussion of the early years of Assyrian rule in Egypt. There we were concerned only with confirming the fact that the Assyrian invasion took place in a 22nd/23rd dynasty context, this in order to defend our hypothesis of a 121 year reduction of dates for those dynasties. By design, and for obvious reasons, we omitted any reference to the presence of the 20th dynasty, and especially to the involvement of Herihor and Piankh, pending the laying of an appropriate groundwork for their inclusion. We now return to the period of Assyrian domination for a second look, beginning with a reminder of the chronology of the Assyrian campaigns as outlined in our earlier book.

The Assyrian Context

According to the Assyrian annals Esarhaddon conquered Egypt in 671 B.C. and left the country under the administration of an elaborate system of public officials, "(local) kings, governors, officers (saknu), harbor overseers, officials and administrative personnel." He himself never returned. In 668 B.C. he died en route to revisiting Egypt and the crown passed peacefully to his son Ashurbanipal (668-628 B.C.). Takeloth III (Tarqu), a renegade king of the 23rd dynasty, who along with his father Osorkon III had led Egypt in its earlier opposition to Assyria, and who had apparently been banished from Egypt during the 671 B.C. invasion, immediately seized the opportunity to reassert his influence in Egypt. Ashurbanipal responded, leading the first of two expeditions to Egypt. This 1st campaign took place in 667 B.C.

In my first campaign I marched against Egypt (Magan) and Ethiopia (Meluhha). Tirhakah (Tarqu), king of Egypt (Musur) and Nubia (Kusu), whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my own father, had defeated and in whose country he (Esarhaddon) had ruled, this (same) Tirhakah forgot the might of Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods, my lords, and put his trust upon his own power. He turned against the kings (and) regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt. He entered and took residence in Memphis (Me-im-pi), the city which my own father had conquered and incorporated into Assyrian territory. An express messenger came to Nineveh to report to me. I became very angry on account of these happenings, my soul was aflame. (ANET 294)

The rebellion was successfully quashed. Takeloth III was driven southward to Thebes, and ultimately expelled from Egypt entirely, presumably into Nubia. According to his annals, Ashurbanipal confirmed the administrative structure set in place by his father, apparently with little change, though it is possible that some kings who had sided with Takeloth III in the rebellion were removed from office. The annals contain a list of the vassal kings and princes who were confirmed in office following the rebellion. The list is instructive.

Necho (Ni-ku-u), king of Memphis and Sais (Sa-a-a), Sharruludari, king of Si'nu, Pishanhuru, king of Nathu, Pakruru, king of (Pi)Shaptu, Bukkununni'pi, king of Athribis (Ha-at-hi-ri-bi), Nahke, king of Hininshi, Putubishti, king of Tanis (Sa-a-nu), Unamunu, king of Nathu, Harsiaeshu, king of Sabnuti, Buaima, king of Pitinti, Shishak (Su-si-in-qu), king of Busiris (Bu-si-ru), Tabnahti, king of Punubu, Bukkananni'pi king of Ahni, Iptihardeshu, king of Pihattihurunpi (ki), Nahtihuruansini, king of Pishabdi'a, Bukurninip, king of Pahnuti, Siha, king of Siut (Si-ia-a-u-tu), Lamentu, king of Himuni (Hermopolis), Ishpinatu, king of Taini, Mantimanhe, king of Thebes; these kings, governors and regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt and who had left their offices in the face of the uprising of Tirhakah and had scattered into the open country, I reinstalled in their offices and in their (former) seats of office. (Thus) I seized anew (control over) Egypt (Musur) and Nubia which (already) my own father had conquered; I made the garrisons stronger than before and the(ir) regulations (more) severe. With many prisoners and heavy booty I returned safely to Nineveh. (ANET 294)

The 1st campaign by Ashurbanipal was followed in short order by a second coup attempt, important in this revision because it resulted in an organizational restructuring. In 666 B.C., months after Ashurbanipal's return to Nineveh, several of the administrator/kings conspired to retake their country, in connection with which they sent messages seeking the assistance of Tarqu. The plot was discovered by the resident Assyrian

army and the plot was foiled.

(But) my officers heard about these matters, seized their mounted messengers with their messages and thus learned about their rebellious doings. They arrested these kings and put their hands and feet in iron cuffs and fetters. The (consequences of the broken) oaths (sworn) by Ashur, the king of the gods, befell them. I called to account those who had sinned against the oath (sworn by) the great gods (and those) whom I had treated (before) with clemency. And they (the officers) put to the sword the inhabitants, young and old, of the towns of Sais, Pindidi, Tanis and of all the other towns which had associated with them to plot, they did not spare anybody among (them). They hung their corpses from stakes, flayed their skins and covered (with them) the wall of the towns(s). Those kings who had repeatedly schemed they brought alive to me to Nineveh. From all of them, I had only mercy upon Necho (Niku) and granted him life. I made (a treaty) with him (protected by) oaths which greatly surpassed (those of the former treaty). I clad him in a garment with multicolored trimmings, placed a golden chain on him (as the) insigne of his kingship, put golden rings on his hands; I wrote my name (phonetically) upon an iron dagger (to be worn in) the girdle, the mounting of which was golden, and gave it to him. I presented him (furthermore) with chariots, horses and mules as means of transportation (befitting) his position as ruler. I sent with him (and) for his assistance, officers of mine as governors. I returned to him Sais as residence (the place) where my own father had appointed him king. Nabushezibanni, his son, I appointed for Athribis (thus) treating him with more friendliness and favor than my own father did. The terror of the (sacred) weapon of Ashur, my lord, overcame Tirhakah (Tarqu) where he had taken refuge and he was never heard of again. (ANET 295)

In our earlier book we dated the second uprising to the year 666 B.C. and the reestablishment of Niku in Sais, and the elevation of his “son” Nabushezibanni (to rule in Athribis) to the following year, 665 B.C. The year 666 B.C. was the 6th year of the “Renaissance Era” on the assumption that it began in 671 B.C. We recall from Kitchen’s remarks quoted earlier that the 6th year of the *wḥm mswt* was the year that Herihor added to his titles that of the southern vizier. Apparently the additional title resulted from the fact that Thebes was at that date occupied by the Assyrian army. Herihor, who must have formerly resided in central Egypt, now moved to the south, acquiring the additional benefice.

What we did not stress in our earlier discussion, an omission which must now be corrected, is the fact that the administrative structure of Egypt changed dramatically following the 666 B.C. attempted coup. The

Assyrian annals specifically state that Ashurbanipal proceeded to arrest the kings who were involved in the attempt to overthrow Assyrian rule, and we are further informed that “the inhabitants, young and old, of the towns of Sais, Pindidi, Tanis, and of *all the other towns* which had associated with them to plot” were put to death. The Assyrians “hung their corpses from stakes, flayed their skins and covered (with them) the wall(s) of the town(s)”. We are told explicitly that of all the kings who had schemed against Ashurbanipal only Niku was spared. The list of administrators contained in the annals of the 667 B.C. campaign was by the following year obsolete.

“Putubishti, king of Tanis (Sa-'a-nu)” was one of the casualties of the failed coup. We are not told who ruled in Tanis in place of this king Pedubast. Perhaps no-one did, since the majority of the inhabitants of the city had been slain by the Assyrians.

Ramses XI in Exile

The chronology of the career of Herihor, as outlined thus far, certainly fits the circumstances of the fourth decade of the 7th century. But what about Ramses XI? How is he to be fitted into the already crowded framework of the fourth decade of the 7th century? The answer has already been hinted at. By way of explanation we look back to the beginning of Ramses' reign. The initial two thirds of his kingship fits neatly into the framework of the revised chronology. We have previously argued that the reign of Takeloth II ended around 690 B.C. For at least 16 years following, during much of the period of the “great disruption”, there appeared to be no strong claimant to the throne in Thebes. Without fear of contradiction we can place the rule of Ramses XI in the Theban area during those turbulent years (689-673 B.C.). But what about our claim in *Nebuchadnezzar* that Osorkon III began his reign in 673 B.C. and that he elevated his son Takeloth to become king alongside him in 672. Were they not Theban pharaohs? In fact, in our earlier book we avoided making that claim. It is extremely likely that these two kings ruled in central Egypt during the years 673-71, likely in the area of el-Hibeh where Osorkon is known to have exercised his authority as prince. We believe Ramses XI continued to rule in Thebes during the two additional

years (673-671). This situation changed abruptly in 671 B.C. when, according to our revised history, Esarhaddon's army arrived in Egypt. There is no doubt that Esarhaddon conquered the whole of the country, including the Theban area. Though he did not occupy Thebes at this time, his army must have met and defeated the army of Ramses XI. It is our belief that Ramses was not only defeated in battle, he was afterward expelled from the country. Either that or he fled the country voluntarily in order to save his life. Where he went is the only question.

For reasons that will soon become apparent, we argue that Ramses XI vacated the Theban area along with a large multitude of his subjects, and that he and they ultimately ended up in the western desert oasis at Kargheh or Bahariya, exiled, as it were, by Esarhaddon. And therein lies not only the answer to the question of his whereabouts during the critical years of the *whm mswt*, but also a more compelling explanation for that era. It is the fact that Ramses was no longer on his throne in the years 671-662 B.C., visible to the inhabitants of southern Egypt, that prompted officials to use *datelines referenced to the years of his absence*. The *whm mswt* is nothing more nor less than the time of Ramses' exile from Egypt during the first ten years of the Assyrian domination of the country.

If Ramses' name is not present in the list of kings preserved in Ashurbanipal's annals, that is the explanation. He may have been the Theban king, but he lived and ruled in exile. And in exile he reigned over tens of thousands of Egyptians who had been deported with him by the Assyrians. In the next chapter, in our examination of the early years of Menkheperre Piankhi, we will find reference to this displaced community. We should not be surprised at this situation. The Assyrians are renowned for deporting entire populations of captive cities in the aftermath of conquest. The Theban area of Egypt was apparently no exception.

But *is* the name of Ramses absent from Ashurbanipal's list of administrator kings? And are there other indications in that list that we are in the time frame of the *whm mswt*, the time of Ramses, Herihor and Piankh? These questions suggest the need for a reexamination of the Assyrian list of administrative names, two of which are relevant to our discussion - Mantimanhe, king of Thebes, and Unamunu, king of Nathu.

It is anticipated that we will find in these names further confirmation that the days of Herihor and Piankh overlapped the first decade of the Assyrian domination of Egypt, as they must, judging from the dates assigned them in table 14¹⁴⁸.

Mantimanhe, king of Thebes.

In the initial book in our series we spent considerable time demonstrating that Mantimanhe, the administrator of the Theban district in the aftermath of Esarhaddon's victory over Egypt, is not to be identified as the 4th Prophet of Amun Mentuemhet, as claimed by the traditional history. We will not repeat the argument here. We suggested instead that the name might refer to Mutemhet Maatkare, the wife, and by 667 B.C. the widow of Osorkon III, a woman whose cartouche names on several documents suggested the possibility that she exercised kingship at some time in her life. That possibility, raised in lieu of viable alternatives in our earlier book, is problematic for a variety of reasons, and should now be set aside.¹⁴⁹ *A priori* we might have expected the name of Ramses XI in the Assyrian list (even if he were living in exile), or perhaps Piankh who, according to several papyri, was nominally in control of the pivotal Theban cultus during the latter part of the *whm mswt*. Is it possible to see in the name Mantimanhe a reference to either dignitary? The answer is - decidedly yes.

In the monuments Ramses bears the title Menmaatre Setepenptah Ramesses Khaemwase. The prenomen Menmaatre was used singularly by this king on smaller surfaces where the fuller titulary would be cumbersome or awkward. We have already encountered several possible instances of this name when we examined earlier the scarabs from the graves at Carthage. At the time we noted the opinion of several scholars that materials bearing the name of Seti I (Menmaatre) of the 19th dynasty were found in the necropolis of Carthage, founded at the earliest in the 8th

¹⁴⁸See page 207.

¹⁴⁹It is possible that Mutemhet Maatkare was the wife of Osorkon II, not Osorkon III, a possibility we will discuss in the third book of this series. This woman was the daughter of Psusennes I who ruled in the north of Egypt during the years 734-688 (if we can trust the revised dates, based on Kitchen's traditional dates, in table 13, p. 201).

century, five hundred years removed from the supposed time of Seti. The only explanation available to the excavators was that the scarabs were amulets, recrafted in the 8th (or 7th) century for sale to superstitious sailors, an opinion we strenuously rebuffed. We promised to explain those anomalous artifacts as occasion arose. In passing we offer here the first of such explanations. Many of the Seti I scarabs must belong to Ramses XI, a namesake king. They were made by Ramses early in the 7th century, during the heyday of Phoenician expansion, precisely when we expect that the Carthaginian necropolis saw the light of day. There is no anomaly involved in the occurrence of his name on artifacts at this time in history. The king was alive and well.

But the name Menmaatre is also of possible relevance in relation to Ashurbanipal's list of administrators. The name of the Theban king in this list is Mantemanhe. With only a single inversion of two consonants *Mntm* becomes *Mnmt*, a reasonable equivalent to the Egyptian Menmaat. Such metathesis of consonants has precedence elsewhere in Ashurbanipal's list. In our earlier book we remarked on the fact that the king named Limintu in the Assyrian list is universally acknowledged to be a king Nimlot. If Limintu can refer to Nimlot, then Mantem could certainly refer to Minmaat. But what of the "anhe" ending, where we expect the name of "Re", the Egyptian sun god par excellence. Assyriologists have chosen to simply transliterate the three cuneiform signs an-he-e which follow "Mantem". But the "an" sign is the common determinative (*dinger* sign) for a king (AN), and the "he" sign following is also an ideograph for "king" (ŠAR). In combination AN ŠAR is a common designation of the Assyrian god Aššur, possibly used here by metonymy for the Egyptian god Re. The final cuneiform sign is problematic, but may simply be a phonetic complement "e" to distinguish the Egyptian god R(e) from his Assyrian counterpart Assur. Such substitution of equivalent god names in dialogues involving two cultures is commonplace in Near Eastern literature, though we wonder at the substitution in a compounded personal name. For this reason, and because Ramses could hardly govern Thebes while living in exile, we question the identification, and consider a second possible rendering of Mantemanhe.

On the assumption that our chronology is correct, the only other possible

identification of Mantemanhe is with Piankh, the commander of the Nubian contingent of the Assyrian army under Herihor. Though Egyptologists are adamant that Piankh was merely an influential army commander and high priest of Amun, the fact that he was succeeded by kings Pinudjem I and Menkheperre suggests otherwise. We will comment more on this matter shortly. For the present we merely enquire whether the name can possibly belong to him. At first glance there appears to be little resemblance to the known names of Piankh. But this opinion is based on the transcription of the original cuneiform signs reproduced in the journals. At the turn of the 20th century at least one influential Egyptologist, Flinders Petrie, a scholar with unique access to the original clay tablets on which the Assyrian annals were recorded, determined that the second “m” in the name should read as a “p”. In consequence he argued, in the face of considerable opposition, that the name in this list belongs to a king named Sneferra Piankhy (his Piankhy II), whom he identified as a “local king of Thebes under the Assyrians.” In his influential *History of Egypt* he argued that

The name of the ruler of Nubia, Thebes, in the annals of the first expedition of Ashurbanipal, 668 B.C., is Manti-me-ankhe or Manti-pi-ankhi. It has been supposed to be Mentuemhat, but the ending ankhi cannot be intended for *hat*; the uncertain middle sign is therefore probably pi, and the reading is “mer nuti Piankhi.” If this is Piankhy II, and the bandage is accepted as reading 40 years or more, it would imply his ruling at 708 B.C. or earlier. This would not be at all impossible for his Ethiopian rule. HE III 291

We can safely omit much of the quoted paragraph. Petrie had some bizarre theories about the Ethiopian period in which he identified at least four kings by the name Piankhi. What is relevant for our discussion here is his revised translation of the Assyrian cuneiform text, and his suggestion that Mantemanhe should be interpreted as a reference to a king named Piankhi. In view of this we should not be overly hasty in discounting the possibility that Piankh (not Piankhi) was given oversight of the Theban cultus by either Esarhaddon or Herihor, and this as early as 671 B.C. We leave the matter there.

Wenamun & Nesubanebdjed

The Travels of Wenamun

The other relevant name in the Assyrian list, “Unamunu, king of Nathu”, leads us to examine the life and times of Wenamun, whose colorful adventures on the eastern Mediterranean coast and on Cyprus are recounted in a hieratic papyrus thankfully preserved by the dry Egyptian climate through two and a half millenia. Wenamun’s travels took place during the tenure of Herihor, a short time before the 5th year of the *whm mswt*.¹⁵⁰ In the traditional history this would be around 1090 B.C.¹⁵¹ In that history there exists no possibility of any genealogical link between Wenamun and “Unamunu, king of Nathu”. They were namesakes, but they were separated in time by over 400 years. In the revised history the situation is dramatically different. Their identity is not just possible, it is all but demanded by the evidence.

The importance of the Wenamun papyrus is reflected in the fact that Gardiner, in his epic *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, expends fully five pages retelling the tale contained therein. We let him introduce the story:

This fascinating document was bought in Cairo by Golenischeff in 1891 together with two other literary papyri of which one at all events was written by the same hand. It tells the story of the misfortunes of Wenamun, a Theban sent on a mission to Syria at the very close of Dyn XX. The narrative is dated in a year 5 which, in the light of what is now known, must belong to the Renaissance explained above. Hrihor is the high-priest at Karnak, while Tanis is ruled by that Nesbanebdjed who subsequently became the first king of Manetho’s Dyn XXI. These two great men are on good terms with one another, neither of them as yet claiming the kingship. The real Pharaoh, namely Ramesses XI, is mentioned

¹⁵⁰The Wenamun papyrus has a dateline referencing the 5th year of some era. Most Egyptologists believe that the reference is to the 5th year of the *whm mswt*. This may or may not be the case. It might also refer to the 5th year of Herihor or the 5th year of Nesubanebdjed. We proceed on the assumption that Egyptologists are correct in this instance. If not, much of the following discussion needs to be amended. The papyrus gives a retrospective account of Wenamun’s journey. His travels must have begun a year or two earlier than the 5th year.

¹⁵¹The *whm mswt* began in the 19th year of Ramses XI. The 5th year of this era would thus be the 23rd year of Ramses. Since this king ruled for 27 years the travels of Wenamun took place at least 5 years before the death of Ramses and the end of the 20th dynasty. The 20th dynasty ended in 1087 according to Gardiner; 1080 according to Kitchen. Thus Wenamun’s adventures should be dated somewhere in the range of dates 1092-1085 B.C. in the traditional history.

only once in a cryptic utterance. In such circumstances Egypt was evidently too weak to command respect abroad, and the conversations of Wenamun with the princes whom he met afford a revelation of the contemporary world unequaled in the entire literature of the Nearer East. It is for that reason that, departing from our usual habit, we give in the following pages a virtually complete translation.
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We would be remiss if we proceeded to examine Wenamun's story without first commenting on Gardiner's rather innocuous remark concerning Nesubanedjed. When he states that this Tanite authority "subsequently became the first king of Manetho's Dyn XXI", he is not basing this opinion on any known fact. The first king of Manetho's 21st dynasty goes by the name Smendes. And Gardiner is well aware of the fact that there exists absolutely no evidence that Nesubanebdjed was otherwise known as Smendes. His statement is merely the concluding line in a syllogism that goes something like this. Wenamun's travels took place around the 4th year of the *wḥm mswt*, thus during the 22nd year of Ramses XI, the terminal king of the 20th dynasty. Since Ramses ruled for only 27 years, the 20th dynasty must end within five years. Since *the 21st dynasty followed on the heels of the 20th*, and the 21st dynasty kings ruled in Tanis, Nesubanebdjed, the Tanite ruler, must become the initial king of the 21st dynasty in four years time. Therefore he *must* be identified as the future Smendes of Manetho's list of kings. Let the reader decide where this syllogism breaks down. We have italicized a single line to assist in the deliberation. It is time to return to Wenamun's story.

A detailed examination of the Wenamun papyrus would be interesting, since the narrative describes conditions which existed on the Phoenician coastline in the early days of Ashurbanipal. But our interest is with chronology, not social history, and thus we restrict our comments to a few select passages, beginning with the opening paragraph, where, following the year 5 dateline, we are informed that "Wenamun, the elder of the portal of the state of Amun, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, set forth to fetch the timber for the great noble bark of Amun-Re, King of the Gods". This introductory remark, spoken in the third person, was apparently added to the narrative later, since in the next sentence Wenamun takes up the story, speaking personally.

On the day of my arrival at Tanis, the place where Nesbanebded and Tentamun are, I gave them the dispatches of Amen-Re, King of the Gods. And they caused them to be read before them and they said: We will surely do as Amen-Re, King of the Gods, our lord has said”

Thus, at the very beginning of the narrative, as good stories are wont to do, we are introduced to the central figures, Wenamun and Nesubanebdjed, the former a dignitary acting on behalf of Herihor, the latter an important official residing in Tanis. We learn quickly, as the narrative continues, that Wenamun has been sent to Phoenicia to procure lumber with which to build a “bark” for the god Amun-Re in Thebes. Herihor does not figure prominently in the story. He is mentioned only in passing in an oblique remark by Wenamun who, almost immediately on arriving in Phoenicia, is robbed of the money which was intended for purchase of the lumber, and asks for redress from the local Phoenician authority, the prince of the town of Dor.

I have been robbed in your harbour. But you are the prince of this land and you are its controller. Search for my money, for indeed the money belongs to Amen-Re, King of the Gods, the lord of the lands, it belongs to Nesbanebded, it belongs to Hrihor my lord and to the other great ones of Egypt. EP 307

It is significant that Ramses XI is not mentioned in this monologue, at least not by name, consistent with our belief that he is absent the country, living in exile. Only much later in the story, in an offhand and obscure reference to envoys of the Ramesside king who had died in Phoenicia, do we have mention of the 20th dynasty king, using his nomen Khaemwase. The Phoenician prince of Dor is speaking to Wenamun.

Assuredly I have not done to you what was done to the envoys of Kha'emwise when they passed seventeen years in this land and died on the spot. And he said to his butler: ‘Take him and let him see their tomb where they lie.’ But I said to him: ‘Do not make me see it. As regards Kha'emwise, those envoys whom he sent to you were men, and he himself was a man. But you have not here one of his envoys ... EP 311

What are we to make of the persons and events described thus far in the Wenamun story? Egypt is said to be in the control of men named Nesubanebdjed and Herihor and “other great ones”, but apparently not Ramses XI, else we should have expected his name to be included. The envoys of Ramses have been confined on the Phoenician coast for 17

years and have died in an apparently “involuntary exile”. And these events are taking place in an unprecedented era in which Egyptians, at least in the Theban area, are confused as to who is ruling Egypt, compelling them to number the years according to the date when this chaotic state of affairs began. Who is Nesubanebdjed? And why were the envoy’s of Ramses unable to return to Egypt, only a few days journey removed? Our revised chronology supplies the answer.

We assume, along with virtually all Egyptologists, that the dateline of the Wenamun papyrus refers to the 5th year of the *whm mswt*, 667 B.C. in our revised history. Wenamun’s journey has by this time ended. His travels must have begun, at the latest, the year before, thus in 668 B.C., or perhaps a year earlier. The envoys of Ramses XI must have been sent to Phoenicia at least seventeen years prior, around 685 B.C. Apparently they were prevented from returning to Egypt by some intervening crisis which deprived Ramses of his political authority. The crisis might have been the “war of the high priest”, near the end of the “great disruption,” or, more likely, the conquest of Egypt by Esarhaddon and the exile of Ramses himself, an event which deprived the envoys of political status and stranded them in Phoenicia where they ultimately died.

Nesubanebdjed

The identity of Nesubanebdjed is a more difficult question. He is never called a king in the narrative, though he may have been one. His authority seems to be likened to that of Herihor in the only statement that names the latter. That statement, quoted earlier, bears repeating. In Phoenicia, speaking about the stolen money, Wenamen laments that “ the money belongs to Amen-Re, King of the Gods, the lord of the lands, it belongs to Nesbanebded, it belongs to Hrihor my lord and to the other great ones of Egypt.” We have already identified Herihor as the high priest of Amon in the south of the country and commander of the resident Assyrian army in charge of policing Egypt. It is likely that Nesubanebdjed holds similar benefices in the north of the country, though he is possibly subservient to Herihor. But there is at least one alternative identification to consider.

The alternative is furnished by our timeline. The launch date of his journey is around 668 B.C. Egypt is governed at this time by at least twenty “kings (and) regents” appointed to the task by Esarhaddon. If so it is at least theoretically possible to identify Nesubanebdjed as the “Putubishti, king of Tanis (Sa-'a-nu)” whose name is cited in the Assyrian annals of 667 B.C. However, there are problems with this identification, besides the obvious difficulty in explaining the difference of name. From among all the “great ones” of Egypt Wenamun seems to single out Nesubanebdjed for special mention, suggestive of the fact that this individual has some unique status. But in the Assyrian annals Pedubast, king of Tanis, is just one name among many equals. If anything he is inferior to Necho, the king of Sais. Why would he be treated in the Wenamun papyrus as if an equal to Herihor. And if Wenamun is correctly identified as “Unamunu, king of Nathu”, himself one of the appointed regents, why does Wenamun appear in the narrative to be subservient to Nesubanebdjed? These criteria combine to negate the suggestion that Nesubanebdjed and Pedubast are alternative names for the same person.

Our ultimate clue to the identity of Nesubanebdjed lies in the nature of Wenamun’s mission. He is commissioned by Herihor, acting in his capacity as high priest of Amun in Thebes, to buy lumber for an ark for the Theban temple of Amun. Wenamun is on a religious mission. We should expect that his final port of call would be to Herihor’s counterpart in the Amun temple of Tanis, the high priest of Amun in the North of Egypt. In context Nesubanebdjed must be the high priest in Tanis. Egyptologists have correctly identified him as part of the 21st Tanite dynasty of priest/kings, but as we have repeatedly lamented, they have mistakenly identified him as Smendes, the founder of the dynasty. If we are correct he is instead the king named Psinaches by Manetho. We will not belabor the point, since our interest here lies primarily in the Theban branch of the 21st dynasty. But in passing we do provide some substantiation of our claim that Nesubanebdjed is Psinaches.

In our earlier listing of the revised dates of the Tanite 21st dynasty kings (table 13, p. 204) we noted the fact that the priest/king Psinaches was high priest of Amun in Tanis during the years 669-660 B.C. While these dates are “iffy” and are subject to change, they are probably not in error

by more than a few years. As such they appear to confirm the fact that Psinaches was the Tanite cleric during much of the *wḥm mswt*, and more importantly, functioned in that capacity during the time when, according to our revised chronology, Wenamun visited with Nesubanebdjed. What is more, this Psinaches is said by Manetho to be a successor to Osochor, a name most Egyptologists view as a corruption of Osorkon. And he, in turn, is succeeded by a king Psusennes (Psebkhanu), the second Tanite king by that name. At the end of our Appendix C (below, pp. 313-4) we will examine an artifact from the tomb of this Psusennes and see that he was in fact the successor, if not the son, of a high priest of Amun in Tanis named Nesubanebdjed. And we have already, both in this book and in Nebuchadnezzar, confirmed that Psinaches was preceded by a thirty year period we have called the *great disruption*, a time known as the “war of the high priests” in the traditional history. We should not be too surprised to find a HPA named Osorkon functioning in Tanis in that time frame.¹⁵² If Nesubanebdjed and Psinaches have the same lineage, and lived and ruled at the same time in the same Amun temple, it is extremely likely that they are one and the same person.

This discussion does raise a question the critics are sure to ask. If Pedubast, the appointee of Esarhaddon, was the regional regent/king of Tanis in 668 B.C., as he must have been if he was listed as such in the Assyrian annals dated to the next year, then how do we explain the presence of two powerful dignitaries in the same location in the same time frame? The question is not difficult to answer, but it needs to be asked. The answer lies in the jurisdiction of the office of the two individuals. Pedubast was responsible for the secular administration of local or regional affairs of limited scope. After all, there were twenty such administrators regulating affairs in Egypt for the Assyrians. He was not unique. On the other hand, Nesubanebdjed likely administered issues of a more religious nature, and his jurisdiction would encompass the whole of the Nile delta, and southward into central Egypt. He would also be in control of the Amun temple treasury in the north of the country. It was apparently in the latter capacity that he was called upon by Herihor to

¹⁵²If found, this Osorkon will likely turn out *not to be* the father of Psinaches/Nesubanebdjed, since our Appendix C document specifically states that the HPA Nesubanebdjed was the son of an otherwise unknown Menkheperre. The fact that we have difficulty at present identifying this Osorcho should not be surprising. Followers of the traditional history have the same difficulty.

release money (gold or silver?) to purchase building materials for use by the Amun temple in Thebes. There is no contradiction.

We are impressed with the timing of Wenamun's travels vis-à-vis the revised chronology. Our revised dates for Herihor's "reign" and Ramses' 19th year were arrived at with little or no thought of their relation to the Assyrian occupation. Yet in both instances the year 671 B.C. appeared near at hand allowing us to make only the slightest of adjustments to the numbers in order to arrive at the "coincidental" sets of correspondent elements discussed earlier. And it is fortunate that Wenamun began his travels before the 5th year of the *whm mswt*, rather than a few years later. According to Kitchen Herihor died in the seventh year of that era (665 B.C. in the revised history). And according to the Assyrian annals Pedubast was deposed and much of the population of Tanis was slaughtered in the 6th year (666 B.C.). We are not sure if the Amun temple in Tanis was also damaged, but if so then, at least for a few years, Nesubanebdjed/Psinaches may well have moved his residence elsewhere. Considering this timeline it is significant that Wenamun's adventures were ancient history by the year 666 B.C. The fact that his travels were dated in the first half of the *whm mswt* is fortuitous, to say the least. But then we have been most fortunate every time we have displaced dynasties by hundreds of years. It always seems to happen that events fall nicely into place in the new location.

We will say little else at this time concerning Herihor. Since our interest lies more in Piankh than in Herihor, we leave the matter there.

Herihor-Piankh Succession

For much of the 20th century it was considered that Piankh, a "king's son of Cush" and commander of the southern army under Herihor, was a son of that same Herihor. The opinion was based on a 19th century misreading of an inscription in the temple of Khonsu, an error only recently recognized and rectified. There is, in truth, no reason to suspect a family connection between the two individuals, other than the fact that Piankh is deemed to have succeeded Herihor in office, if only for a brief period of time. But even that opinion is suspect.

In table 11 on page 190 we listed Kitchen's dates for the 21st Theban dynasty. In that table Herihor's term in office lasted 6 years, from 1080-1074 B.C. Piankh succeeded him and lived an additional 4 years (1074-1070 B.C.). In the revised history, with the Theban kings moved into the 7th century, the tenures of Herihor and Piankh respectively fall in the years 671-665 and 665-661 B.C. But was Kitchen correct in his assignment of these relative dates?

In the revised history Piankh acted as the commander of a Nubian contingent of the Assyrian army in Egypt. It is our belief that he functioned in that capacity from the onset of the Assyrian occupation in 671 B.C. through to the end of the *whm mswt*, around the year 661 B.C. Kitchen's dates ought to reflect this extended term in office, whether or not Herihor died in the interim. We will discuss this aspect of the life of Piankh in more detail below.

We also question Kitchen's dates for Herihor. The supposition that he died in the 7th year of the *whm mswt*, thus in 665 B.C., and was succeeded by Piankh as "commander of the army of all of Egypt," is predicated entirely on the belief that at least by year seven of the Renaissance period Piankh bore the title High Priest of Amun, which formerly he supposedly did not possess. On the assumption that there could not exist two contemporary high priests, Kitchen argues that Herihor must have died by that date. But this reasoning is flawed.

In the first place any argument about when Piankh became "high priest of Amun" is necessarily an argument from silence. There exist only a few inscriptions and papyri that reveal any detail about this intriguing character. It is conceivable that he bore the title through the duration of the *whm mswt*, a possibility that leads to our second point.

We argue additionally that there is no necessary objection to the fact that two high priests existed at the same time. We know that during the time of the great disruption (701-671 B.C.), in a conflict known as the "war of the high priest", there existed multiple claimants for the title of "high priest of Amun." Egyptologists are also unanimous that during the 21st dynasty there always existed at least two high priests of Amun, one in the north and one in the Theban area. That circumstance must have prevailed

at least into the period under consideration. And we should add yet another high priest into the mix. We have previously argued that the Napatan area temple cultus continued through the time in question. We cannot imagine how that temple would function without its own high priesthood. It follows therefore, that at the time of the Assyrian domination of Egypt there would have existed at least three high priests of Amun.

Even if Herihor did relinquish the high priestly title in 665 B.C., it does not follow that he died that year. We reasoned earlier that in the 6th year of the *whm mswt* Herihor added to his titles that of the southern vizier, indication that the Assyrian army had by this time moved south to occupy Thebes. The move resulted from the several coup attempts involving Tarqu (Takeloth III), whose residence up to this time appears to have been in the Theban area. Soon thereafter, on the walls of the Khonsu temple in Thebes, in inscriptions and reliefs, Herihor depicted himself as a king. It is entirely possible that by this date he had relinquished the high priesthood to Piankh. But he is not deceased. He is now a self-styled king, looming larger than life.

It will be our contention in the pages which follow that Herihor continued in office through the duration of the *whm mswt* and died in 661 B.C. On his death Pinudjem, a son of Piankh, claimed the throne. Since Piankh is not Herihor's son and did not succeed him in "office", Herihor's dates have no further bearing on our revision. Our primary interest is with the Piankh-Pinudjem-Menkheperre succession.

While we argue that the "reign" of Herihor should be extended to 661 B.C., Kitchen is possibly correct that Piankh died around that same year, perhaps only months after the death in exile of Ramses XI in 662 B.C., an event which effectively ended the *whm mswt*.¹⁵³

There is at least one positive argument for excluding Herihor from the genealogy of Piankh, namely, the sequence of names of the priest/kings

¹⁵³ In our first book we argued that Ashurbanipal was engaged in a third campaign in 661 B.C., fighting with Tushamilli, king of Musur and Gyges, king of Lydia, in south-eastern Anatolia. The Assyrian army contingents controlled by Herihor and Piankh may well have been called into service in support of the main Assyrian army, and Herihor and/or Piankh may have been casualties of this conflict. This, of course, is only speculation.

who succeeded him. Those names, with one notable exception, are Nubian¹⁵⁴, not purely Egyptian as is the name Herihor. In fact, the sequence of names Piankh, Pinudjem, Menkheperre, Pinudjem is yet another strong argument supporting our contention that the third name in this sequence, Menkheperre, is an adopted name. It is purely Egyptian and clearly distinctive when compared with the other names. As such it is completely out of place. On the assumption of patronymy in the naming process, we would have expected the name Piankh(i) in that position. The fact that this *a priori* expectation agrees completely with our thesis is a compelling argument for its accuracy.

If Piankh and his son Pinudjem are in fact the grandfather and father respectively of Menkheperre Piankhi, it is clearly imperative that we examine the inscriptions related to each of them. We begin with Piankh.

Piankh

Piankh is known to have inscribed but a single monument. Additionally he is credited with authorship of several papyri and his name appears on several bandage epigraphs and docketts from the Deir el Bahri tombs. Nowhere is he referred to as a king, though like Herihor he may well have entertained aspirations to kingship in some limited sense. His only extant monument pictures him enthroned as a king, though self styled as a prince. Flinders Petrie suggests for him some quasi royal status. We should remember, as we read Petrie's interpretation of the monument, that in his day it was believed that Piankh was Herihor's son.

This prince, though he inherited the high priesthood, does not seem to have ruled independently. It is supposed that Herhor left Thebes to consolidate his power in the north, and appointed his eldest son as high priest to rule in the south. Only a

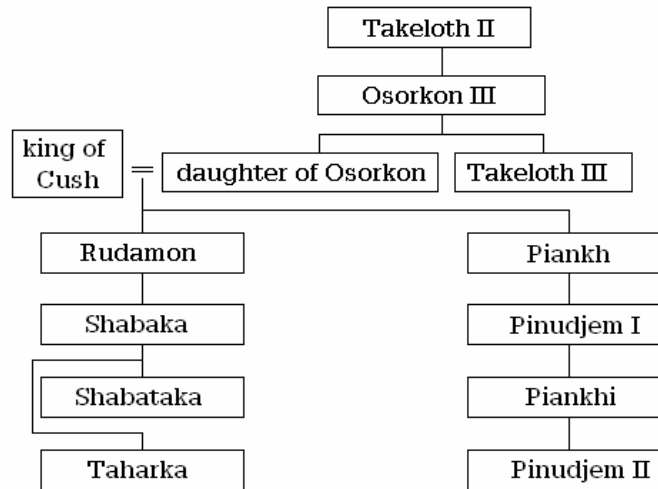
¹⁵⁴We should perhaps qualify our claim that the names Piankh and Pinudjem are Nubian. They are not spelled out with consonantal hieroglyphs as are the names of 22nd dynasty kings such as Osorkon, Sheshonk and Takeloth. Instead they are all compounds of the identical Piye with the addition of the hieroglyphic ideograms "ankh" and "nudjem", signs which mean respectively "life" and "sweet". As such the *Pi* might be taken as a definite article and the names might be read as "the living one" and the "the sweet one" respectively. Some Egyptologists have read them in roughly this manner and in consequence consider the names to be purely Egyptian. But the opinion is a minority one, and even if correct, the resulting names are exceptional in structure and quite atypical. They can only be regarded as epithets.

single monument of him is known, a stele, on which he is called the royal fanbearer, scribe, general, prince of Kush, chief of the southern lands, high priest of Amon, chief of the granaries and chief of the archers. The title prince of Kush shows that he was not independent at that time, and there is no proof that he survived his father. HE III 203

A better explanation of the title “prince of Cush” used by Piankh is provided by the present revision. We suggest that Piankh calls himself a prince of Cush (king’s son of Cush) because he was the son of a Cushite king, unnamed in the monuments. There is no other reasonable explanation of this epithet. Several possibilities arise by way of explanation.

On the one hand, bearing in mind our discussion of the genealogy of Rudamon and Shabaka discussed in the first book of this series, there is a possibility that Piankh, like Rudamon, might be the offspring of a marriage alliance between an unnamed daughter of Osorkon III and a Cushite king.¹⁵⁵ The situation is diagrammed below as our figure 17.

Figure 17: First Possibility for the Genealogy of Piankh

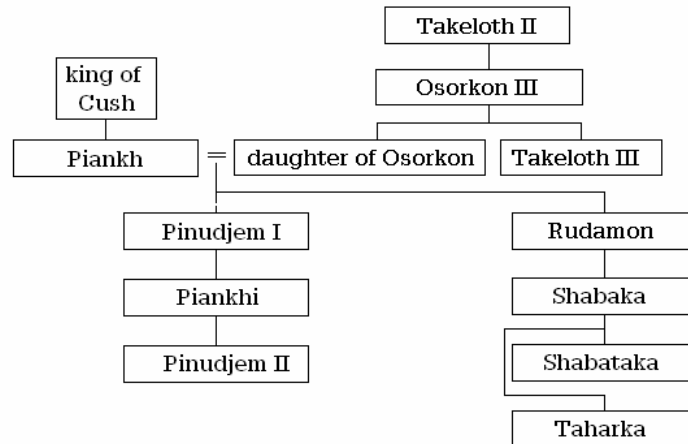


¹⁵⁵In our first book we speculated on the possibility that the Cushite king might be the Melukhkan king Shabataka named on the Tang-i-Var inscription (see figure 19 on page 100 of the earlier book). We now set aside that speculative element and refer to the husband of Osorkon’s daughter merely as a Cushite king.

In this scenario Piankh and Rudamon are brothers, both nephews of Takeloth III (Tarqu), and both grandsons of Osorkon III. This genealogy, if true, would explain both the affinity of the two family groups and their mutual attachment to both Napata and Egypt. On the one hand they were related to the 23rd dynasty kings. On the other were in line for the Napatan throne. They claimed both Egypt and Cush as their homeland. Many of them lived their lives ruling parts of Egypt; yet retired to Napata to die.¹⁵⁶ This dual allegiance would continue for the next 100 years to influence the lives of the offspring of both lines – being evident first in Piankhi, grandson of Piankh and then in the 25th dynasty offspring of Rudamon –Shabaka, Shabataka, and Taharka

A second possibility for the genealogy of Piankh, still maintaining the dual connections with Osorkon III and the Cushite kingdom, is one in which Piankh and Rudamon were not brothers, but rather father and son. This alternative is diagrammed below as figure 18.

Figure 18: Second Possibility for the Genealogy of Piankh



¹⁵⁶The graves of Piankhi (Menkheperre), Shabaka, Shabataka, and Taharka at Barkal and Nuri, in the vicinity of Napata, have been found. We suspect that Rudamon and Piankh were also buried in the Barkal cemetery, though their graves have not been identified. Their remains have never been found in Egypt. The bodies of Pinudjem I and Pinudjem II were discovered in Egypt in DB320, and over a hundred descendants of Piankh were buried in the “second find” at Deir el Bahri. These Egyptian tombs are discussed later in this chapter.

There are many attractive features in this second possibility.¹⁵⁷ Piankhi and Shabaka are now more closely related (first cousins) and of the same generation, which agrees favorably with our conjectured history of their relationship. The king of Cush, their mutual great-grandfather, may well be the Shabataka, king of Melukhkha, discussed in our earlier book. The timeline here agrees more favorably with that hypothesis than does the earlier genealogy.

In either scenario we have an explanation for a potential criticism of our revised timeline. We have assumed throughout our discussion a fact which is confirmed in our treatment of the late Ramesside letters which follows, that Piankh was the commander of a Nubian contingent of the Egyptian army stationed in the extreme south of the country, possibly ranging as far south as Napata. And he functioned in this capacity into the tenth year of the *whm mswt* (671-662 B.C.), thus during the years when Takeloth III (Tarqu), and then Rudamon, attempted to overthrow the Assyrian occupation force in Egypt. How is it that these 23rd dynasty Cushite kings were able to enter and leave Egypt seemingly at will, without being opposed by Piankh and the southern army. The answer is provided by the genealogy of Piankh. It is all but certain that Piankh sympathized with the insurrections, at least in part because the leaders of the rebellion were his close relatives. Takeloth III and Rudamon were not the only ones who wanted to remove the Assyrian intruders. In the pages that follow we will see that Piankh's son Pinudjem entertained similar notions, and that his grandson Piankhi, in 638 B.C., finally expelled the Assyrians from the country.

The Late Ramesside Letters

Before we shift our attention to Pinudjem, son of Piankh and father of

¹⁵⁷In our earlier book we discussed why, in the midst of the turmoil of the "great disruption", Osorkon III might have given his daughter in marriage to a Cushite king in order to secure his southern border. It makes even more sense that he would give his daughter in marriage to a son of the Cushite king. We might even conjecture a guess as to the identity of the daughter. It is well known that a daughter of Osorkon III named Shepenwepet functioned in the capacity of God's Wife of Amun in the Karnak temple in Thebes, where (presumably) Piankh held the rank of high priest. Assuming that Egyptologists are wrong, and that God's wives were not celibate, the possibility that Piankh was married to Shepenwepet needs to be entertained.

Piankhi, we should examine briefly several of the papyri which allude to Piankh's military actions in Nubia, part of the collection of documents known generally as the "Late Ramesside Letters", edited by Cerny¹⁵⁸ in 1939 and later, in 1967, collated, translated and provided with commentary by Edward Wente¹⁵⁹. This collection consists of approximately 50 papyri and fragments, remnants of correspondence (letters) between Theban officials and various military field officers, all contemporary with Ramses XI, and most from the final years of the *whm mswt*. Collectively they provide an intriguing picture of social conditions in the south of Egypt in the final years of the 20th dynasty.

Gardiner describes the collection at the conclusion of his translation of the Wenamun papyrus.

We now stand on the threshold of an entirely different Egypt, but before we pass to the consideration of Dyn. XXI mention must be made of an important series of letters discovered early in the nineteenth century and now scattered among many museums and private collections. The excellent edition by J. Cerny shows that they are all concerned with the life and doings of a scribe of the royal tomb at Thebes named Dhutmose and with his son Butehamun, together with their relatives and friends. Much of the contents turns upon domestic affairs, but there are many allusions to current historic events. Herihor's son and heir pay'onkh is now the high-priest of Amen-Re and it is certain that he never claimed the kingship. The correspondence seldom mentions him by name, but no doubt it is he who is often alluded to as the 'Commander of the Army'. The close relationship between this exalted personage and Dhutmose was due to the latter acting as a sort of agent for him at Thebes, while Pay'onkh was engaged on a campaign in the south, apparently against the former King's Son of Cush Pinhasi. The kinsfolk of Dhutmose express great anxiety for the safety of Dhutmose in his journeyings to bring weapons and other supplies to his chief. Almost a dozen letters emanate from Pay'[onkh] himself, written by his secretaries in a trenchant style. In three almost identical letters to his mother Nodjme, to Dhutmose, and to another official, the general instructs them to stop the mouths of two madjoi-policemen who have spoken indiscreetly by killing them and having them thrown into the river by night. It would be interesting to know the exact reason for so sinister an order, but at least it testifies to the unhappy state of affairs prevailing at this troubled moment in Egyptian history. There are added to the letter addressed to Dhutmose some words that can hardly be construed otherwise than as a reference to the absentee Ramesses XI: 'As for Pharaoh, how shall he reach this land? Whose master is Pharaoh still? HP 313-314

¹⁵⁸Jaroslav Cerny, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca XI) (1939).

¹⁵⁹Edward F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (SAOC 33) (1967).

According to Wente's analysis of the "chronology of the letters", the majority date to the 10th year of the *whm mswt*. But only two of the papyri are actually dated, one to the 2nd year and one to the 10th. We suspect that Wente's conclusions are wrong.¹⁶⁰ Having said that, it is probably true that most originate from between years 6 and 10.¹⁶¹ All but a few of these confirm that Piankh was the general in command of an Egyptian army fighting an unnamed enemy in Nubia. This does not imply that he is fighting against Nubia; only that he is defending Assyrian interests in Nubia against an unspecified intruder, identified by Gardiner, and less confidently by Wente, as Pinhasi.. Only two of the papyri provide us with information relevant to our current discussion. Both are alluded to by Gardiner. We look briefly at each.

In none of the late Ramesside letters is there any mention by name of the ruling party in Thebes. Scholars assume that most of the letters were written after Herihor had died, but there is no evidence that this was so. Ramses XI is the sole Egyptian pharaoh throughout, though it is assumed, again without evidence, that Ramses is merely absent from Thebes, perhaps travelling in the north of Egypt, and that Piankh is temporarily in control of the city. But the only papyrus that specifically mentions the pharaoh, in the passage quoted by Gardiner above, clearly implies that Ramses is out of the country, a fact consistent with our claim that he is

¹⁶⁰Wente in his *Late Ramesside Letters* (SAOC 33) (1967), dates the letters by developing a hypothetical itinerary for Dhutmose, the scribe of the royal tomb. He argues that all of the letters which appear to originate from the Nubian area were written in the year 10 because he assumes that Dhutmose only made one trip to the south in response to needs expressed by Piankh. That trip took place in the year 10 according to one of the two papyrus letters that actually bears a date. On page 5 of his article Wente admits that "the assumption that all the letters written by Dhutmose from the south relate to a single expedition is tentative." On page 6 he reiterates this word of caution. "The reader is warned, however, that this conclusion is based on my assumption that Dhutmose made only one trip to Nubia. If this assumption is not correct, we are faced with a highly complicated situation with regard to the relationship of the letters one to another." In our revised history the general Piankh was commander of the Nubian contingent of the Assyrian army. Dhutmose would not have made a single trip south to supply Piankh with requested items; he would have made dozens of such trips. We can safely disregard many, if not most of the year 10 datings assigned by Wente to various papyri, particularly the eight papyri to which the noted Egyptologist affixes a question mark beside the year 10 date. These include letter number 21 discussed below.

¹⁶¹These dates are important. If Piankh replaced Herihor in office in the 7th year of the *whm mswt* we wonder at the secrecy which surrounds his actions in many of these papyri. If Piankh has no superior in office, then who or what is he afraid of? Our previous argument concerning Herihor's duration in office is germane here. Only if Herihor remains as Piankh's superior, and Piankh is concerned that his indiscretions may be discovered, is his stealth explicable.

living in exile.

The papyrus in question is the first papyrus fragment of interest to this revision (Berlin 10487, no.21 in Cerny's numeration). It is written by "the general of (the) Pharaoh," i.e. Piankh, "to the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy". The quoted statement concerning Ramses XI is unambiguous concerning the pharaoh's loss of political influence. Piankh's few remarks take on added significance in the revised context in which we place his letter. "As for Pharaoh, how shall he reach this land?¹⁶² Whose master is Pharaoh now?" Wente dates this letter to year 10 of the *whm mswt*, further proof that his dating schema is likely flawed (see note 160). Ramses XI is still referenced as if he is alive. Yet Ramses ruled for only 27 years. We have dated his reign in the years 689-662. He died in the 10th year of the *whm mswt*. It is possible, of course, that the letter was written only a short time before Ramses' death, or even a short time after the fact, assuming that news of the event had not yet reached Piankh.

The second relevant papyrus (British Museum 10375, no.28 in Cerny's numeration) is in all likelihood related to the letter we have just finished quoting. Both the former letter (#21) and this letter (#28) allude to the killing of the majoi policemen mentioned by Gardiner. But this papyrus, written by the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon to the general Piankh, suggests a reason why the majoi needed to be killed. It alludes to a previous order issued by Piankh. That order was for Butehamon to excavate one of the tombs in the king's valley (the necropolis), leaving its seal intact until Piankh's return.

Now see you have written saying, "Uncover a tomb among the foremost tombs and preserve its seal until (I) return," so said he, our lord. We are executing commissions. We shall cause you to find it (still) affixed. Made ready is that which we know. You are to dispatch the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy to cause him to come so that he may look for an inspector for us. Indeed we get going and go astray, not knowing a place for our feet. (papyrus 28)

Apparently the general Piankh was involved nefariously in a series of late

¹⁶²Some would suggest that "this land" in the relevant passage is a reference to Nubia, where Piankh is engaged in military exercises. But the phrase actually enquires how pharaoh could reach "the land" (p'y t'), not this land, and in context it can only refer to Egypt as Gardiner suggests.

20th dynasty tomb robberies mentioned elsewhere in multiple documents, especially in the Amherst and Meyer A & B papyri. The frequency of these robberies intensified during the latter years of Ramses XI, not surprising considering that those years, in the revised chronology, correspond to the time of the Assyrian occupation. It is likely that the majoi policemen, whose executions were ordered by Piankh, were about to inform someone, perhaps Herihor, about the thefts.

We will return momentarily to examine the tomb robberies. *They are an extremely importance part of our argument.* Much of what we know about the 21st Theban dynasty priest-kings Piankh, Pinudjem I, Menkheperre and Pinudjem II, derives from epigraphs they left on the mummified remains of the kings and queens preserved in the Deir el-Bahri tomb DB320, bodies no doubt recovered from the tombs they robbed. And as the reader might already have guessed, *the remains of these ancient pharaohs, robbed of their treasures, provided the inspiration for the borrowing of names which has contributed so significantly to the chronological confusion we are attempting to unravel.*

Pinudjem I & Psusennes II

Pinudjem I

According to Egyptologists, Pinudjem was the son of Piankh and the father of Menkheperre, a fact supported by numerous bandage epigraphs on the mummies from DB 320.¹⁶³ There is no doubt that during his life he functioned both as high priest of Amon and king. At question only are the dates when these titles were held. We have previously expressed our opinion that both his high priesthood and his kingship should be dated from the time of his father's death in 662 B.C. In our opinion, supported by the content of the Maunier papyrus (to be examined shortly), he died in 638 B.C. in his 25th year, and yielded his titles to his son Menkheperre.

¹⁶³The HPA Pinudjem consistently refers to himself as the son of Piankh, confirming a paternal relationship. Without that genealogical addendum there is no way, other than context, of distinguishing Pinudjem I and II, nor for that matter, of determining whether some other Pinudjem is being referenced.

The traditional history knows almost nothing of the activities of Pinudjem during his 25 years as HPA and king. His mummy was found in DB 320, its wrappings in some disarray but with the book of the dead intact between his legs. The body was resting in the coffin of the 18th dynasty king Aakheperkare Thutmose I, the grandfather or father of Thutmose III (depending on which interpretive tradition we follow). The body of Thutmose I, removed from its coffin, was deposited elsewhere in the same tomb. The inscription on the coffin had been altered to read simply “king Pinudjem”, omitting any throne name. Only the incomplete erasure of the name of Thutmose I allowed the excavators to determine the original owner of the coffin.

We ask the obvious question. Why did Pinudjem, or those who buried him, dispossess Thutmose I and steal his coffin? The answer follows naturally from remarks made moments ago. We believe that Pinudjem, during the years of his high priesthood, following his father’s example, robbed Thutmose’s tomb, and disinterred the 18th dynasty king. We also believe that a few years later, on becoming king, he stole Thutmose’s name. In the previous chapter we detailed the results of the anatomical investigations of the mummy of Thutmose I. According to those findings the body belonged to an 18 year old youth who could in no way be identified with the king Aakheperkare Thutmose on the monuments, a king who ruled Egypt for around ten years and who successfully invaded and conquered both Syria and Nubia. From that observation we determined that there must be two kings bearing the identical name - Aakheperkare Thutmose, the 18th dynasty king who died prematurely, and the conqueror of Syria, whose identity was hinted at but not disclosed in our earlier discussion. We now identify him as Pinudjem I.

It is clear from these remarks that a fourth 18th dynasty namesake king must be introduced into the 7th century. We recall from our analysis of the Annals of Menkheperre how Piankhi, on reaching the Euphrates during his 8th campaign, boasted of setting up a tablet east of the great river “beside the tablet of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare”¹⁶⁴ At the time we argued that Piankhi may have been referring to an 18th dynasty “ancestor” by that name, one toward whom he felt some affinity, since he had recently adopted the titulary of that king’s

¹⁶⁴BAR 478.

(grand-)son Thutmose III. Though this interpretation remains viable, we now suggest otherwise. We believe that sometime during his kingship Pinudjem adopted as his own the titulary of the 18th dynasty king Thutmose I, and in that name set out to free Egypt from its 26 year long domination by Assyria. The monuments which describe the whirlwind conquest of Syria as far as Niy on the Euphrates, as well as several expeditions southward into Nubia, must belong to him. This rapid territorial expansion is at least consistent with the thesis expressed in the first book in our series, namely, that Assyria continued to exercise nominal control over Egypt until late in the reign of Ashurbanipal, when age and internal strife weakened the Assyrian king's hold on his most distant provinces.¹⁶⁵ A detailed study of the history of Assyria, Syria and Palestine during the years 662-638 B.C. should prove fruitful in demonstrating the accuracy of our claim. But such an endeavor would deflect our attention from the task at hand. We leave the matter for another time or another researcher.

The identification of Aakheperkare Thutmose with Pinudjem I is not entirely dependent on the fact that Pinudjem borrowed the coffin of the earlier king, in effect identifying himself as that king's replacement. Nor is the 7th century date assigned this second Aakheperkare supported only by the fact that his Syrian and Nubian wars fit perfectly in the late Assyrian time frame assigned to him in the revised chronology. The results of at least two other archaeological excavations combine to support the identification. We refer to the unearthing of the tombs of Ramses XI and Psusennes II. It is imperative that we examine both tombs.

The Tanite Tomb of Psusennes II

In the early years of World War II Pierre Montet, excavating in the ruins of Tanis in the Egyptian Delta, stumbled on the long sought tombs of several of the most prominent 22nd/23rd dynasty kings, Osorkon II, Takeloth II, and Sheshonk III. In the same temple enclosure he also

¹⁶⁵It is not necessary to assume that Egypt freed itself from Assyrian suzerainty at this time. Pinudjem might have been acting in league with Assyria to put down insurrection in the Euphrates region.

found a large compartmentalized tomb containing multiple members of the 21st dynasty family of Aakheperre Psebkhannu, identified by Montet, following the traditional history, as Psusennes I, son of Nesubanebdjed (Smenes I?), the supposed founder of the dynasty. Hopes were raised in scholarly circles that new light was about to be shed on the history of the two dynasties, particular on the problematic Tanite branch of the 21st dynasty. But almost immediately a host of problems surfaced, not the least of which were several indications that the family vault which enclosed the remains of Psusennes, and several members of his extended family, actually postdated the time of Osorkon II!

On the one hand it was clear that the tomb of Psusennes was constructed later than the tomb of Osorkon II (occupied also by the remains of Takeloth II). Those who constructed the 21st dynasty tomb were apparently unaware of the existence of, or the extent of, the tomb belonging to the 22nd dynasty kings, and in consequence were required to dismantle a section of one wall of Osorkon's tomb in order to complete their own construction. It is probable, based on other considerations, that they used the opportunity to rob the earlier tomb.

Further evidence that the tomb postdated the time of Osorkon was forthcoming from the enclosure site itself. About thirty years ago the details were reviewed by the revisionist Immanuel Velikovsky in the second book of his *Ages in Chaos* series. We reproduce his comments below.

Psusennes, son of the Nesubanebdjed who figured in the travels of Wenamon as the military prince with a residence in Tanis, inherited from his father the residence and the title, and added to it those of high priest and first prophet of Amon, the titles of his father-in-law Herihor, and on a number of occasions used the title "king". In this northern capital, in the compound of the great temple area, Psusennes built an enclave of his own surrounded by a massive wall of bricks. The temple area was explored by Pierre Montet, the identity of the builder of the enclave was immediately obvious to him: in the northeast corner of it there was a foundation bearing the name of Psusennes; that name was also on many bricks of the walls of the enclosure.

In a corner between the temple and the brick wall Montet discovered the tomb of the same priest-prince. But instead of being strengthened in his first expressed view that the enclave was erected by Psusennes, Montet found himself obliged to evoke it:

"This view expressed in our recent publications is not correct. Now we

know that the great temple in its final form dates from a much later date because under the northeastern and southwestern corners we have found deposits of Osorkon II and in the south-eastern corner a deposit of Nectanebo I [Neckht-nebef].”

Of course, a pharaoh of the eleventh century before the present era could not have built on foundations from under which comes a deposit made by a king of the ninth or eighth century.¹⁶⁶

Velikovsky was setting out to prove that the 21st dynasty postdated the 22nd dynasty by upwards of four hundred years, an impossibility according to this revision. But in his appraisal of the evidence from Tanis the famed revisionist is essentially correct. There is no getting around the fact that Psusennes must have ruled years after the death of Takeloth II, who is arguable the latest occupant of the tomb of Osorkon II.¹⁶⁷ In the revised history Takeloth II died in 689 B.C. Psusennes must be dated at least several decades later (sufficient time for the location of the tomb to be forgotten considering the political turbulence of the intervening years).

We accept the argument of the traditional history that Aakheperre Psebkhanu (Psusennes), the occupant of the Tanite tomb, was the son and successor of a king Nesubanebdjed. We also agree that he was the 21st dynasty HPA, resident in Tanis, encountered by Wenamun at the beginning of his travels. But Nesubanebdjed was not Smendes, the founder of the 21st dynasty. We have dated Wenamun's meeting with Nesubanebdjed to the 3rd or 4th year of the *whm mswt*, 669/8 B.C. If Aakheperre Psebkhanu is his son, then this Psebkhanu cannot be Psusennes I, who ruled from 734-688 B.C. in the revised history (see table 13, p. 204). Instead, he must be Psusennes II, the second of the namesake kings of the 21st Tanite dynasty.¹⁶⁸ According to Manetho

¹⁶⁶Immanuel Velikovsky, *Peoples of the Sea* (1977) 152-53.

¹⁶⁷The tomb did contain an infant son of Osorkon II named Harnakht, who was undoubtedly brought into the tomb after Takeloth II, from his original burial site elsewhere. We discuss this reburial of Harnakht in our Appendix C.

¹⁶⁸Throughout the balance of this book this renumbering of the kings named Psusennes by Manetho will be a source of possible confusion. The reader should be constantly mindful of the context of each reference, particularly in quoted material. When the traditional history talks about Psusennes I they are discussing Montet's king Aakheperre Psebkhanu. When they talk about Psusennes II they are referring to another king by the name of Tyetkheperure Psebkhanu. In the revised history these two kings change position.

This is perhaps a good context in which to discuss one otherwise insignificant find in the tomb of Montet's king Aakheperre Psebkhanu. It concerns the 21st dynasty priest/king named

Psusennes II was the last king of that dynasty. We have dated his reign in the years 660-646 or 660-625 B.C., depending on whether we accept the data provided by Eusebius or Africanus.¹⁶⁹

There are many bits of evidence supporting our contention that Aakheperre Psebkhanu belongs in the time of the Assyrian occupation of Egypt. The fact that his tomb contained the remains of a 22nd dynasty king Heqakheperre Sheshonk, otherwise unknown and therefore most reasonably dated to the chaotic years of the great disruption or to the time of the Assyrian domination, is at least consistent with our hypothesis.¹⁷⁰

Nephercheres who, according to Manetho, immediately followed Psusennes I and ruled for 4 years. If the traditional history is correct he should follow Montet's Psusennes. On the other hand, in the revised history, where Aakheperre is identified as Manetho's Psusenes II, Nephercheres must have preceded him by about a quarter century. Up until the middle of the 20th century the very existence of this king was suspect. No monument existed bearing his name. But that situation changed abruptly with the excavation of Psusennes' tomb when Montet found two gold bow-caps bearing the twin cartouches of both Psusennes and a king named Neferkare Amenemnisu. According to Kitchen, who is representative of scholarly opinion on the matter, "This at once confirmed the existence and provided the identity of 'Nephercheres', besides linking him firmly with Psusennes I, in so far as the two prenoms and two nomens were grouped together in pairs and not by separate kings." (TIP 56)

These bow caps could not possibly be viewed by scholars as confirmation of the traditional history unless the reigns of the two kings overlapped significantly, allowing either Psusennes the opportunity to associate himself with *king* Neferkare, or for Neferkare to affix his cartouche names alongside those of *king* Psusennes on a gift. And scholars have found the notion of overlapping reigns difficult to accept. Thus they position Neferkare immediately preceding Psusennes, ignoring Manetho. Kitchen provides a representative discussion of the reasoning: "However, if the association of names on the bow-caps merely indicated a wish of Psusennes to link his name with his predecessor's for some reason, then no co-regency need be postulated. One would assume that Psusennes I wished merely to emphasize his legitimacy and the continuity of the kingship on this ceremonial object (and perhaps on others?), and that this piece ended up in his tomb as a personal heirloom from his earliest years, and a ceremonial weapon for the hereafter. (TIP 56)

We agree wholeheartedly with Kitchen, except on one point. Neferkare did not *immediately* precede Psusennes, as Egyptologists argue. According to the dates suggested earlier he died twenty-four years before Psusennes' reign began, after a very brief reign. That reign fell near the start of a prolonged period of civil disruption we have called the "great disruption" and Egyptologists call "the war of the high priest". We assume that Neferkare died as a result of this conflict and that his successors Amenophthis and Osochor may have been interlopers. While it is unlikely that Neferkare was Psusennes' father, he may well have been his grandfather, or related in some other way. The bow under consideration undoubtedly originally belonged to Neferkare and as Kitchen suggests, the engraved bow caps merely express "a wish of Psusennes to link his name with his predecessor's."

¹⁶⁹There is considerable controversy surrounding the dates of this king. Either the short or the longer reign length can be accepted without seriously conflicting with the inscriptional evidence. We prefer the longer of the two reign lengths.

¹⁷⁰It is possible, though not likely, that the tomb was originally constructed for this Sheshonk and that Psusennes (or those who buried him) merely dispossessed the original occupant, moving his

Additionally, the burial of king Heqakheperre included “a pectoral which had originally been inscribed for ‘the Great Chief of the Ma, Chief of Chiefs, Shoshenq, son of the Great Chief of the Ma, Nimlot, justified, and a pair of bracelets of Shoshenq I as king.”¹⁷¹ In our Appendix B we identify this second king Sheshonk, not as Sheshonk I, but as a king Hedjkheperre Sheshonk who lived and ruled near the end of the reign of Sheshonk III, thus near the beginning of the Assyrian domination. Under no circumstances can he be dated earlier than the first quarter of the 7th century.

Psusennes’ throne name Aakheperre, and the impoverished state of the tomb in which he was buried, also argue for the 7th century context in which we place him. We have already noted that Aakheperre Sheshonk V ruled in Bubastis in the same general time frame (656-618 B.C.) while Aakheperre Osorkon IV ruled in Memphis at the end of that period. Both of these kings were merely regional kings or nomarchs. Psusennes meagre funerary trappings suit this 7th century environment perfectly. Nothing in his burial suggests that he was the all powerful ruler of the north of Egypt that he is made out to be in the traditional history. Perhaps the shared throne name suggests the fact that there existed some family ties between the 21st, 22nd and 23rd dynasty kings named Aakheperre.

One other find from Psusennes’ tomb is even more telling vis-a-vis the dating of this king. Two objects in his tomb, a cylinder found on the mummy of Heqakheperre Sheshonk¹⁷², and a neck bracelet from the mummy of Psusennes himself¹⁷³, contained cuneiform inscriptions. The inscriptions took the excavators completely by surprise. Assyriologists were called in to assist in translation. As Montet explained to E. Dhorme, to whom the bracelet inscription was assigned for translation, “the discovery of cuneiform signs in a royal tomb in Egypt is such a rarity” that he had no specialist on hand to read the inscription immediately. According to Dhorme the inscription identified the

body into the vestibule. But the tomb walls bear no inscriptions of Sheshonk, suggestive of the fact that his body was a late addition to the tomb. Perhaps this king should be identified with the prince Sheshonk, commander of the army at Busiris at the time when Piankhi invaded the Delta.

¹⁷¹Kitchen, TIP 93.

¹⁷²Pierre Montet, *Les Constructions et le Tombeau de Psousennes a Tanis* (1951) 46-48

¹⁷³*Ibid.*, pp 139-143.

necklace as the property of a lady Napalte, made for her by the great vizier Ibashi-Ilou. It was an Assyrian artifact. The cylinder was apparently from the Akkadian period, an heirloom, apparently a gift to Sheshonk from an Assyrian king.

The original dates of these two objects are immaterial. They are probably, though not certainly, heirlooms.¹⁷⁴ What intrigues us is not what they say but whence they came into Psusennes' tomb. The fact that he was wearing the necklace suggests that he received the gift personally. The same can be said for the cylinder found among other personal artifacts alongside the body of Sheshonk. Only the revised history provides a satisfactory explanation. Both kings lived and ruled as subject kings in the administration of Ashurbanipal's Egypt. They were no doubt funerary gifts from Assyrian officials. We can understand why Assyrian objects would appear in 7th century Egypt, as at no other time in Egyptian history.

One last funerary artifact brings us back to the reason we digressed and examined Psusennes tomb. It was our stated belief that his tomb would confirm Pinudjem as a 7th century king, ruling during the time of the Assyrian domination. A single artifact achieves that objective. In Psusennes crypt lay a chalice, inscribed by and in all likelihood a gift from Pinudjem, son of Piankh. The two kings were apparently contemporaries. Thus everything which identifies Psusennes as a 7th century king, ruling during the Assyrian domination, also confirms Pinudjem in that same setting. In arguing that the reigns of Pinudjem and Psusennes overlapped we are in agreement with the traditional history. But we identify the Tanite Psusennes as Psusennes II, not Psusennes I. And we date the beginning of the reign of both kings within two years of one another, at the end of the fourth decade of the 7th century B.C., upwards of four hundred years later than their dates in the traditional history.

One last tomb remains to be examined before we leave Pinudjem behind.

¹⁷⁴A search for an Ibashi-Ilou in the late Assyrian period may prove fruitful.

The Tomb of Ramses XI

Pinudjem I was a thief. In all likelihood he opened the tomb of Thutmose I and stole that king's crown jewels. He also pilfered his coffin and borrowed his name. But his thievery did not end there. Evidence suggests that he also confiscated the tomb of Ramses XI and used it for his own burial. A word of explanation is in order.

The location of the tomb of Ramses XI has been known at least since the time of the Copts, who used it to house their animals and as temporary living quarters. As such it was of little interest to archaeologists, having been swept clean of all artifacts save the partially completed murals on its walls, which provided only one item of historical interest - an inscription of Pinudjem I superimposed on a Ramesside text. The tomb was clearly unfinished. Apparently something prevented its use by Ramses. The revised history provides the explanation. Ramses had been driven from Egypt in his 19th year. He died in exile. His body has never been recovered. Pinudjem, or those who buried him, opportunistically appropriated the abandoned tomb. We surmise that Pinudjem was initially buried at this site.

Only recently did interest in the tomb resurface. One feature in particular attracted the attention of the archaeologist John Romer, who in 1979 began excavations of the tomb on behalf of the Brooklyn Museum. In the center of the vaulted burial chamber, recessed almost 100 meters into the tomb, lay a large vertical shaft or pit, roughly 3 by 5 meters square. Romer guessed that the pit might conceal a "hidden door" entering into another corridor or chamber. He carefully removed the debris. The contents were surprising.

What Romer did find were three of an original four foundation deposits placed at the corners to the mouth of the shaft, and a good many objects which had been tipped into the shaft at the end of the New Kingdom and later - the topmost layers including the remains of a burnt 22nd dynasty burial with fragments of its cartonnage covering and a wooden coffin, and sundry Coptic pieces. Within the undisturbed layers at the bottom of the shaft, Romer was surprised to find 'broken pieces of burial equipment of several New Kingdom pharaohs': 'two fragments of an extremely large blue faience vessel that bore the Horus name shared by Thutmose I and Ramses II'; fragments of gilded gesso, some perhaps hacked from the coffin of Thutmose III; the chopped up remains of royal funerary

statuettes originating in KV 34 [the king's valley tomb of the 18th dynasty Menkheperre], two with yellow hieroglyphs incorporating the throne name of Thutmose III; fragments of a female pharaonic coffin, presumably belonging to Hatshepsut; and three calcite 'lost contour shabtis of Ramesses IV.¹⁷⁵

How do we explain the presence of artifacts bearing the names of the 18th dynasty kings Thutmose I and Menkheperre Thutmose in a tomb built by the 20th dynasty king Ramses XI (who lived three hundred years later) and occupied for the first time by Pinudjem I of the Theban 21st dynasty. In the revised history the explanation is readily at hand. Artifacts of Pinudjem I bearing the borrowed names of Thutmose I, and perhaps even some artifacts of the 18th dynasty king stolen from his tomb, would have been placed in Ramses tomb at the time of Pinudjem's interment. And that interment would have been supervised by Pinudjem's son Piankhi, who had by this time adopted the names of Thutmose III. We are not surprised to find his name accompanying that of his father. Everything in the undisturbed layer at the bottom of the shaft fits perfectly the circumstances of the time of Pinudjem as outlined in the revised history. The identification of artifacts supposedly belonging to Hatshepsut is conjectural at best. They may well belong to Pinudjem's wife Maatkare, whose name is patterned after that of Hatshepsut.

Romer's explanation of the artifacts is strained: "Evidently, during Pinudjem I's reign, the tomb had been used as an ad hoc workshop for processing material from the burials in KV20 (Hatshepsut), KV34 (Thutmose III) and conceivably KV38 (Thutmose I)"¹⁷⁶ We let the reader judge the reasonableness of this proposal.

There is more to be said concerning Pinudjem, but additional remarks must await our discussion of the beginning of the reign of his son Menkheperre, a subject reserved for the following chapter.

¹⁷⁵Nicholas Reeves & Richard Wilkinson, eds. *The Complete Valley of the Kings* (1996)172-73.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 173