Chapter One
Chronological Foundations

19th Dynasty Chronology

In our previous book we set in place the chronologies of the 20th, 21st, and 22nd dynasties, arguing that the three dynastic groups set foot in Egypt around the year 760 B.C., as part of the forced migration of multiple nations bording on the Mediterranean, nations referred to in the traditional history as the "Sea Peoples". We promised that we would, in this book, lay the groundwork for that event, explaining its probable cause, and establishing its dates with some degree of certainty. Our first task in this endeavor is to assign provisional dates to the 19th dynasty kings, particularly to Ramses II and Merenptah.

19th Dynasty Chronology

In the traditional history the 19th dynasty ended in a period of civil unrest in which four or five of the immediate descendants of Ramses II vied for power. There is even conjectured a brief interregnum at the end of the 19th dynasty, based on a solitary (but reliable) historical reference in the *Harris Papyrus*, a document we will examine momentarily. The end of the 19th dynasty is also associated with at least one major physical catastrophe, which contributed both to the downfall of the famed Anatolian Hittite Empire and the end of the Canaanite culture which flourished in the city state of Ugarit. These were troublesome times, from which emerged the 20th dynasty under its patriarch Setnakht, the father of Ramses III.

This is not the time to examine the details of this physical and social upheaval. Needless to say that, according to our reconstruction of history, these events must all be dated to the middle years of the 8th century B.C., and that there emerged from the ashes of the 19th dynasty not one, but three Egyptian dynasties, numbered 20 through 22 in Manetho's numeration schema. Our interest in this chapter lies strictly in the chronology of the times.

The traditional history, as represented by Alan Gardiner in his epic *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, assigns to Ramses II and his son and successor Merenptah the years 1290-1224 B.C. and 1224-1214 B.C. respectively, while Setnakht is dated in the years 1184-1182 B.C. In the thirty years which lie between Merenptah and Setnakht (1214-1184 B.C.) is placed the internecine feuding among those vying to succeed Merenptah, including Sethos II, Amenmesse, Siptah and Twosre. This chaotic interlude also included the machinations of the "king maker" Bay. Since Twosre, the last of the interlopers, is assigned the years 1202-1194 B.C. by Gardiner, there is clearly assumed an interregnum of ten years between Twosre and Setnakht. All of these dates, however, are pure conjecture. Most of the (few) extant monuments from this time frame are undated and there is no clear evidence that these kings ruled in succession to one another. In fact, the evidence suggests otherwise.

We believe that the interval between Merenptah and Setnakht was much shorter than that suggested by Gardiner, possible as little as five years. As we will soon see, Merenptah's activity was confined to the north of Egypt. The strivings of Sethos II and the other named contestants for power seem to be restricted to the vicinity of Thebes. We believe they overlapped to a large extent the rule of Merenptah in the delta. And we cannot fathom any reason for assuming an interregnum longer than a few years. Accordingly we reduce the interval between the 10th year of Merenptah and the 1st year of Setnakht from thirty years to five. And since in book two we dated the first year of Setnakht to the year 759 B.C., not the 1184 B.C. of the traditional history, we must reduce the dates of Ramses II and Merenptah to 840-774 B.C. and 774-764 B.C. respectively, a 450 year reduction from the traditional dates. Needless to say, if we are correct, the famed warrior king Ramses II could not possibly be the pharaoh of the Exodus, as is typically claimed, no matter how much scholars lower the dates for that event. He was a contemporary of Jeroboam II of Israel. Moses was not a contemporary of Ramses II as proponents of a late date Exodus maintain. He died over seven hundred years before Ramses began his lengthy rule in Egypt.

The balance of this book will be devoted to proving either the relative or the absolute chronologies herein proposed. In particular we need to justify our moving the 21st dynasty of Theban priest/kings forward in time

over four hundred years to overlap the latter part of the 22nd dynasty. We also need conclusive evidence that the 20th, 21st, and 22nd dynasties all followed, almost immediately, the 19th dynasty rule of Ramses II.

The balance of this chapter presents three broad strands of evidence that contribute to this goal: 1) the Berlin and Louvre genealogies of the Deltite high priests of Ptah; 2) the sequence of deaths of the sacred bulls of the Osiris/Apis cult from the famed Serapeum near Memphis; and 3) the evidence related to the ordering of the Theban high priests of Amun. We examine them in reverse order.

The Missing High Priests of Amun

To date we have outlined a chronology strictly in terms of the kings of the various dynastic groups. But the clergy were almost as vocal as the kings, and they have left behind a considerable body of literature, some of which contributes significantly to proving our case. In particular the Theban high priests of Amun, at least those few who functioned during the latter half of the 22nd dynasty and beyond, lend support to our cause, not by what they say, but by what they do not say, i.e. by their apparent silence in the literature of the traditional history. While not directly related to 8th century chronology, the mysterious silence of the high priests of Amun during the late 22nd through early 25th dynasties indirectly supports our cause. Clearly a word of explanation is necessary.

When we moved the 106 years of the 21st Theban dynasty forward four hundred years into the 7th century, placing Herihor, Piankh, Pinudjem I, Masaharta, Menkheperre, Pinudjem II and Psebkhannu III as successors to the high priest Takeloth, at precisely the time when this pontiff assumed the kingship and became Takeloth III (Tarqu), there should have resulted some serious conflict with the traditional history. At the time we refrained from asking the question we now propose. But it needs to be asked. On the assumption that the traditional history has no Theban high priests positioned in the 100 year interval which separated the high priest Takeloth (672 B.C.) and the 6th year of Taharka (565 B.C.), where they would clearly conflict with our revised history, we wonder what happened to them?. And while we are pondering that question we take the

opportunity to go further afield and pose a related query. Since we have argued that there existed, following the Babylonian invasion of Egypt in the early years of Taharka, a twenty year interregnum which preceded the advent of Psamtik I and the beginning of the recovery of temple worship, we wonder whether the traditional history has recorded this additional twenty year gap in the high priesthood. Both questions receive the expected response from traditionalist historians. The Theban high priesthood was inexplicably (but conveniently) vacant precisely where it had to be for our thesis to be credible!

According to Kenneth Kitchen

> What happened to the high-priesthood of Amun of Thebes after the accession of Takeloth III *remains a total mystery*. While perhaps some record of a couple of incumbents for the 40 years down into the reign of Shabako remains to be found, yet the simplest explanation may well be that the office was actually left in abeyance. TIP 164 (italics added)

We can disregard Kitchen's figure of 40 years in the above statement. The problem is much larger than this. In his table 13[1] Kitchen admits that the hiatus in the high priesthood lasted at least 50 years. And according to him the silence ended only with the arrival of a high priest named Haremakhet, son of Shabako, who was followed by his son Harkhebi, who was in office in the 9th year of Psamtik I. There then followed *another half-century gap* in the high-priesthood until the arrival of the god's wife Ankhnesneferibre, who also claimed for herself the office of high priest of Amun. All together Kitchen is compelled to leave the high priesthood vacant for a total of 100 plus years, and he achieves this low number only by lowering the dates for Takeloth III, and by assigning to Haremakhet 44 years in office, based on nothing but speculation.

We reproduce below as our table 1 the relevant section of Kitchen's table 13. Note that for the years 775-765 Kitchen records "an unattested pontiff," (equivalent to saying there was no high priest) in the spot where our revised history names as HPA the Prince Osorkon, who later became Osorkon III. Kitchen lists this Osorkon two spots earlier in his table. Clearly he follows a different relative chronology than our revised history.

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[1] TIP p. 480

Table 1: High Priests of Amun from the late 22nd through the 26th dynasty (latter half of Kitchen's table 13)

800-775	Takeloth E – possibly a younger son of Nimlot C
775-765	*An unattested pontiff*?
765-754	Takeloth, son of Osorkon III, who became king Takeloth III
754-704	*Half-century interval*: two unattested pontiffs, or office left vacant
704-660	Haremakhet, son of Shabako (max tenure; could begin later)
660-644	Harkhebi, son of Haremakhet
644-595	*Half-century interval*: two unattested pontiffs, or vacant
595-560	God's wife Ankhnes-Neferibre
560-550?	Nitocris B, daughter of Amasis II

We argue, against Kitchen, that the high priesthoods of Haremakhet and Harkhebi existed back to back in the recovery period which began with the death of Taharka, over twenty years after the 565 B.C. invasion of Nebuchadrezzar. Since Haremakhet is associated with Tanuatamon in several inscriptions, his dates are probably c.a. 543-535 B.C., while those of his son and successor must be roughly 535-510 B.C.[2] We also believe that Nitocris, not long after her "adoption" and at the time of death of Harkhebi, took over the role of high priest at the behest of Psamtik I, and in time handed that office over to Ankhnesneferibre. In the revised history the only vacancy in the Theban high priesthood took place during the first half of the Egyptian exile (564-543 B.C.). The problem of empty pulpits simply does not exist. Egyptologists are searching for what they will never find, high priests to fill a void they have artificially created by moving the 21st Theban dynasty priestly successors of Takeloth III hundreds of years back into the remote past.

Enough said about temporal concerns related to the latter part of our revised chronology. The other two priestly sources speak to issues more directly concerned with our 8th century chronology.

[2]Haremakhet must have been a son of Shabaka's old age, since Shabaka died around 580 B.C. We believe Haremakhet lived in exile in Napata with Taharka and likely moved to Egypt during or immediately following Tanuatamon's invasion in 544/3 B.C.

Missing Apis Bulls of the 21st Dynasty Osiris Cult

Many times already we have had cause to seek the testimony of various stelae found by Mariette in the vaults of the Memphite Serapeum of the Osiris/Apis cult in the latter half of the 19th century. Much of the relative chronology of the late 22nd through 26th dynasties (of both the traditional and revised histories) depends on documentation found on the official stelae deposited by clergy of the cult at this location. What surprised Mariette at the time of his discovery, and has continued to perplex Egyptologists in the century and a half following, is the complete absence of evidence attesting the involvement of priests from the 21st dynasty and the initial years of the 22nd dynasty, a time span of several hundred years. Did the cult cease to exist for this extended length of time?

On the desert surface east and south-east of the ground above the "lesser vaults" Mariette found a series of tombs built individually for the sacred bulls which died in the 18th dynasty under Amenhotep II and his successors. These tombs continued through the reign of Haremheb and into the time of Seti I. The subterranean "lesser vaults" (see Figure 3 below) had their origin under Ramses II, in whose reign at least five vaults were built (Mariette's G - K) with a common corridor. Vault construction was extended northward in succeding generations with the addition of four vaults (L-O), three attributed to Ramses III and his successors, and one left unidentified (inconnu). Though Mariette attempted to associate several of these individual crypts with more than one Apis, there is no evidence in any of these tombs to suggest that fact, other than the presence of dedicatory material in one of the tombs naming multiple 20th dynasty kings. On the assumption that an Apis bull in these times lived an average of around 13 years[3] these four tombs can represent at most around 50 years. Thus, whether we are speaking of the traditional or the revised histories, they can represent only the time interval between Ramses II and the ephemeral successors of Ramses III. In the revised

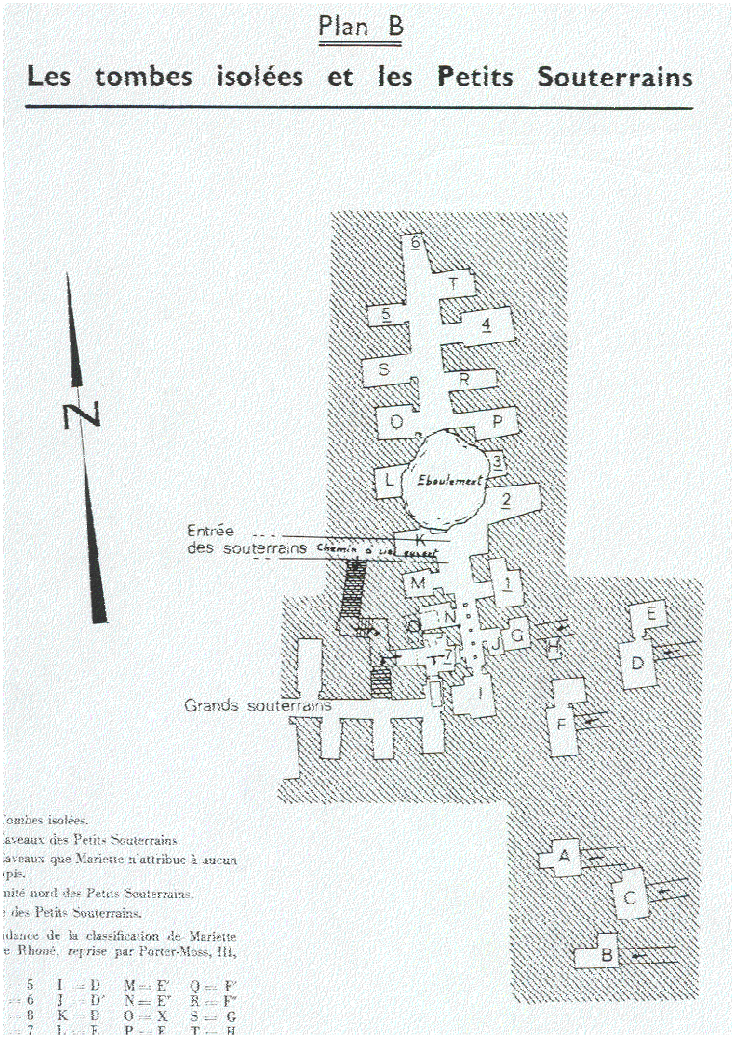
[3]Egyptologists have reckoned that the average life-span of pre-Ptolemaic Apis bulls is around 16/17 years (cf. TIP 126), but we are here dealing with bulls that lived in the midst of twenty years of political and geological upheaval. We do not mean to imply by the dates given that each bull lived 13 years. The probability is that several of these bulls died prematurely resulting from the turbulent conditions which surrounded them. This would lessen the average life span considerably.

history, on the assumption that the first bull died mid way through the reign of Merenptah, the deaths of the four bulls might be dated 768, 755, 742 and 729 B.C. respectively. We are not concerned with the fact that later Ramesside kings might have left dedicatory inscriptions in these vaults; it is the probable sequence of bulls that is important.

After the bulls from the Ramesside era the corridor was gradually extended much further north by the 22nd dynasty kings and their 24th and 25th dynasty successors, though the first bull, that belonging to the 23rd year of Osorkon II (718 B.C.) must have been laid to rest somewhere in the southern complex, where the stela which records the event was discovered by Mariette. These later burials, which ran sequentially from Osorkon II through the early years of Psamtik I were all built off this extended corridor (P-T). The most northerly burial (T) belongs to Psamtik, in his early years, after which a "cave-in" (*eboulement*) over vault L caused Psamtik to begin a new sequence of vaults (the "greater vaults") extending to the west. At least six vaults were built off the corridor in these "lesser vaults" which were apparently intended to be used, but which were left unoccupied because of the cave in (Nos. 1-6).

Egyptologists rightly ask themselves what happened to the bulls that died during the reigns of the 21st and early 22nd dynasty kings. The Serapeum vaults seem to preclude their (independent) existence. But we know what happened. We have already suggested dates for the death of all bulls between Ramses II and the 23rd year of Osorkon. They fit perfectly, leaving no gaps in the sequence. The 21st dynasty kings were contemporaries, first of the early Ramessides and then of the later 22nd dynasty pharaohs. Apparently they were not associated with the cult of Osiris. Their preoccupation was with the god Amun. The early 22nd dynasty kings were contemporaries of the early Ramessides. They were probably confined to the north-western region of the delta and had little association with Memphis. Only with Osorkon II did the seat of power shift to the Bubastis region and the 22nd dynasty become involved with the Apis cult. In the revised history there is no 200 year-long break in the sequence of Apis bulls. All is well with the Osiris cult as it was with the Theban high priests of Amun. The problem lies squarely on the shoulders of the errant chronology of the traditional history.

Figure 1: Mariette's Plan B of the Lesser Vaults of the Serapeum



The Berlin & Louvre Genealogies of the Memphite High Priests of Ptah

The high priests of Amun and of the Osiris/Apis cult are not the only clerics who lend support to our thesis. The high priests of Ptah, listed in

two important genealogies, have a word to add. The most economical means of introducing these genealogies is to quote from Kenneth Kitchen's massive *Third Intermediate Period* which has this to say:

> Two major genealogical documents form the core of our knowledge of Memphite pontiffs for this period, and (combined with contemporary data) have an important and direct bearing on 21st-Dynasty chronology. These are the remarkable genealogies of Memphite priests, one of which is in Berlin (23673) and the other is a partial parallel from the Serapeum, which is now in the Louvre ('96; Cat. 52). (TIP 151)

We have listed in the following chart twelve consecutive generations based on the two genealogical sources.

Table 2: A synchronized genealogy based on the Berlin and Louvre stelae

Named Kings	Priests (Berlin)	Priests (Louvre
2.5 Ramses II	HPM (Karnak), architect	---
2.4 Ramses II	HPM, [---]nashanet(?)	---
2.3 Ramses II	HPM, Ptah-em-akhet	---
2.2 Ramses II	HPM, Neferrenpet	---
2.1 ---	HPM, Ptah-em-akhet	---
1.15 Amenemnisu	HPM, Ashakhet (A)	---
1.14 Akheperre Setepnamun	HPM, P(i)p(i) (A)	7: HPM, Pipi (A)
1.13 Psusennes	HPM, [Har]siese (J)	6-7: HPM, Harsiese (J)
1.12 Psusennes	Prophet, P(i)p(i) (B)	5-6: HPM, Pipi (B)
1.11	Prophet, Asha-khet (B)	5: HPM Asha-khet (B)
1.10	Prophet, Ankhefensekhmet	4: HPM, Ankhefensekhmet
1.9	CS, Prophet, Shedsunefertem (A)	3-4: Shedsunefertem (A)

It almost goes without saying that the two genealogies identify each cleric as the son of the priest in the preceding generation. And since several of these priests are said to have exercised their trade under specific kings, they provide a valuable tool for reconstructing the chronologies of

dynasties 21 through 18, since kings from each of dynasties 18 and 21 are clearly identified. And if we extend the Louvre genealogy downward to its beginning, we can trace the family lineage back to its origins beyond the end of the 22nd dynasty.

The Louvre Serapeum stele was dedicated at the death of an Apis bull by a priest named Ashakhet, son of Pakher, son of Osorkon, son of Takelot, son of Osorkon, son of Sheshonk, son of Shedsunefertem, the HPM named in table 2 (item 1.9) above. It follows that if we can date this Ashakhet, and if we can determine the approximate number of years in each generation of these high priests, we can work backward to establish a rough dating for Ramses II.

The dating of the Louvre stele is simplified somewhat by the fact that Mariette, its discoverer, assigned it, probably on stylistic grounds, to the time of Bocchoris, approximately 610-600 B.C. in the revised chronology. Traditional historians discount this creditation, arguing that the time of Bocchoris is much too late to complement other data of the traditional history. We argue that Mariette has dated it about twenty to thirty years too early. It was found near the entrance to the lesser vault of the Serapeum, and any explanation of its date must take account of the fact that it was not found within the confines of any vault occupied by a deceased Apis. It appears to have been deposited in haste. The location of the bull which died during the reign of Bocchoris is well known (tomb S), and it contained several stelae. Ashakhet's was not among them. Ashakhet cannot date precisely to that time. Another bull, two generations removed, supposedly died early in the reign of Taharka, only shortly before the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar in the revised chronology (perhaps in the initial stages of that conflict). Considering the location of Ashakhet's stela it is tempting to date his priesthood in this time frame, around 565 B.C. If so then we should date the birth of Ashakhet around the year 600 B.C. This is, of course, a rough approximation, but sufficiently accurate to prove the point we are about to make.

There remains the task of determining the length of a generation in the structured lives of the priests of the god Ptah. Initially we are inclined to adopt, for various reasons, a figure of around 15 or 16 years. These priests were very likely among the first born of their respective families, and

they were likely set aside to perform their lifelong tasks at a very early age (witness the fact, which we observed in *Piankhi the Chameleon,* that the youthful Harnakht, son of Osorkon II, was already, at the age of 7 or 8 years, designated as a high priest of Amun). We can assume that they were provided with a wife in their early teens, and likely produced their first offspring by their mid-teens. This is not all speculation. The genealogies themselves provide a clue.

We can see already in the table 2 genealogy that four generations of priests from this same family served during the 66 plus years of the reign of Ramses II. Were we to extend the genealogy upward in time two more generations we would see that these two forefathers served under Seti I, Ramses's father. Seti is only credited with 10 years of independent rule by the traditional history. Taking the two reigns together we see six consecutive generations of priests serving kings whose combined reigns spanned at most 77 years. Clearly our estimated figure is not excessive. In the table below we list the entirety of the Louvre genealogy as extended by the Berlin genealogy back through the reign of Ramses II. Allowing 16 years per generation, and assuming that Ashakhet was born around 600 B.C., we arrive at approximate dates for the birth of each priest. The fact that our assumptions are reasonably accurate will be borne out as we examine the results. Henceforth we will consistently refer to this combined genealogy as the *Berlin Genealogy* or the *Genealogy of Ashakhet*. On the assumption that it summarizes the meticulously kept records of the priests of the Memphite cult of Ptah, it will be utilized extensively in this book and the next. There is no justifiable reason to assume it is errant in any respect. Thus it is that both books utilize it extensively and consequently that both bear the subtitle "*The Genealogy of Ashakhet*".

Table 3: Genealogy of Ashakhet (C) from
Serapeum stele Louvre Cat. #52,
extended via the Berlin stele

Priest (Berlin and/or Louvre)	Approximate Year of Birth	Name of King Served
Ashakhet C	600 B.C.	---
Pakher	616 B.C.	---
Osorkon	632 B.C.	---
Takeloth	648 B.C.	---
Osorkon	664 B.C.	---
Sheshonk	680 B.C.	---
Shedsunefertem	696 B.C.	[Hedjkheperre Sheshonk]
Ankhefensekhmet A	712 B.C.	---
Ashakhet B	728 B.C.	---
Pipi B	744 B.C.	-- Psebkhannu (Psusennes I)-
Harsierse J	760 B.C.	Psebkhannu (Psusennes I)
Pipi A	776 B.C.	Aakheperre Setepnamun
Ashakhet A	792 B.C.	Amenemnisu (?) [=Amenmesse Hekawaset?]
Ptahemakhet	808 B.C.	---
Neferrenpet	824 B.C.	Usermaatre Setepenre (Ramses II)
Ptahmakhet	840 B.C.	Usermaatre Setepenre (Ramses II)
j[---]nashanet?	856 B.C	Usermaatre Setepenre (Ramses II)
Ptahhotep	872 B.C.	Usermaatre Setepenre (Ramses II)

There remains for us to comment on the general reliability of the data supplied by this table. At least four generations of this genealogy are attested elsewhere on assorted monuments. Again Kitchen speaks to this issue, noting that ...

> some first-hand confirmation of this genealogy and its dates of dignitaries is available. Happily, the high priest Shedsunefertem is securely attested in office under Shoshenq I, in the early 22nd Dynasty. He named his own son Shoshenq (who succeeded him in office), after his royal patron and relative-by-marriage; his own father is likewise confirmed as the high priest Ankhefensekhmet (A). Two generations before Ankhefensekhmet and Shedsunefertem, the high priest Pipi B is attested under Siamun on a temple building at Memphis, where the well-sculptured gateways included a lintel of the high priest 'Neterkheperre Meryptah who is called Piupiu'. He attends on Siamon in whose honor he adopted this loyalist name which is based on the king's prenomen. TIP 152

We take issue with only two of Kitchen's statements. The Hedjkheperre Sheshonk of which he speaks (calling him Shoshenk I) is not the first king of the 22nd dynasty, as we have previously argued.[4] We have assigned to him the years 681-660 B.C., in perfect agreement with our hypothesis that Shedsunefertem was born around the year 696 B.C. The inscription about which Kitchen speaks may well come from the last years of Sheshonk's reign, which would mean that Shedsunefertem was in his early thirties at the time, consistent with the fact that his father Ankhefensekhmet was apparently still alive and active.

We also question the identifications in Kitchens second remark. We can as easily consider the high priest in question to be Pipi A rather than Pipi B, and as we argued in our previous book we believe that the king Neterkheperre Siamon should be identified as Smendes I, the founder of the 21st dynasty, not Psinaches as Kitchen is arguing. We have dated Smendes to the years 760-734 B.C. and the birth of Pipi A to the year 776 B.C. The fit is perfect.

Traditional historians generally (though not unanimously) identify the two references to Psebkhannu as allusions to Aakheperre Psebkhannu, the first Psusennes in that historical scheme. We agree that we are here

[4]See Appendices A & B in *Piankhi the Chameleon*.

dealing with Psusennes I, though we believe that this is the Tyetkheperre Psebkhannu of the monuments. We have assigned to him the years 734-688 B.C., a time frame which agrees perfectly with the assumed birth dates of the two pontiffs who served him. Harsiese J (b. 760) and Pipi B (b. 744) would each have been around 40 years of age at the end of the first and third quarters of Psusennes' reign.

As for the Aakheperre Setepnamun who was served by Pipi A we again find substantial agreement with the chronology of table 3, though here some explanation is required. The traditional history typically identifies the king mentioned here as Aakheperre Psebkhannu, as in the two adjacent generations which provide the nomen, instead of the prenomen of this king. That is, of course, impossibility in the revised history, wherein the rationale for much of the argument depended on placing Aakheperre Psebkhannu at the end of the 21st dynasty, not near its beginning. Even many Egyptologists question why the author of the inscription would refer to Psusennes by his prenomen once and his nomen twice, and thus they assign the reference in question to Psusennes I and the two following instances of the name Psebkhannu to Psusennes II (thereby effectively discounting the reliability of this genealogy as an historical source). Fortunately we have an explanation ready at hand.

There are two *known* Egyptians kings who had the identical prenomen Aakheperre Setepnamun - Psusennes I (our Psusennes II) and the 22nd dynasty king Osorkon IV to whom we assigned the dates 618-607 B.C. in *Piankhi the Chameleon*. We might add to this list Osorkon's predecessor Sheshonk V, whose prenomen was similar (Aakheperre Setepenre). Kitchen also documents the existence of another Aakheperre Setepenre, whom he tentatively identifies as Menetho's 21st dynasty king Osochor. (TIP 4, 388 #56) It can be argued that the names Setepenre and Setepnamun are merely variants of one another.[5] Apparently the prenomen Aakheperre followed by one or the other variant Setep-en-

[5]In his discussion of the king named variously Usimare Setepnamun and Usimare Setepenre, Kitchen comments: "Differing solely in the use of either Amun or Re in the complement Setep-en-x, 'Chosen of (the god) x', Nos. IIIa and b have been well discussed long since, and their identity affirmed, by Gauthier, an identity which is now generally accepted." TIP 66 Amun and Re were the same god; the only change is in which of the variant names is used.

Amun/Re was an extremely popular name in the late 21st/22nd dynasty time frame, where (as we argued in the earlier book) names were frequently borrowed from illustrious predecessors. Keeping this in mind, and also bearing in mind our discussion in Piankhi concerning the three enigmatic kings who founded the 22nd dynasty, we have the likely solution to our problem. We have dated the 22nd dynasty kings Sheshonk I, Osorkon I, and Takeloth I, to the years 760-740 B.C., precisely in the two decades which preceeded the reign of Psebkhannu I. We have also argued that we do not know the prenomen of any of these kings. It should surprise no one to discover that one of them bore the prenomen Aakheperre Setepnamun, which name was borrowed in the next century by at least two, and possibly as many as four kings. Assuming that the name Aakheperre Setepnamun refers to either Sheshonk I or Osorkon I, it is not surprising that this king was served by Pipi A who was born in 776 B.C. Nor should it be surprising that this same Pipi served Siamon of the 21st dynasty. The two competing dynasties had only recently come into existence, and the overlapped one another. These were difficult times in which a symbiotic relationship likely existed between the delta kinglets of the 21st and 22nd dynasties.

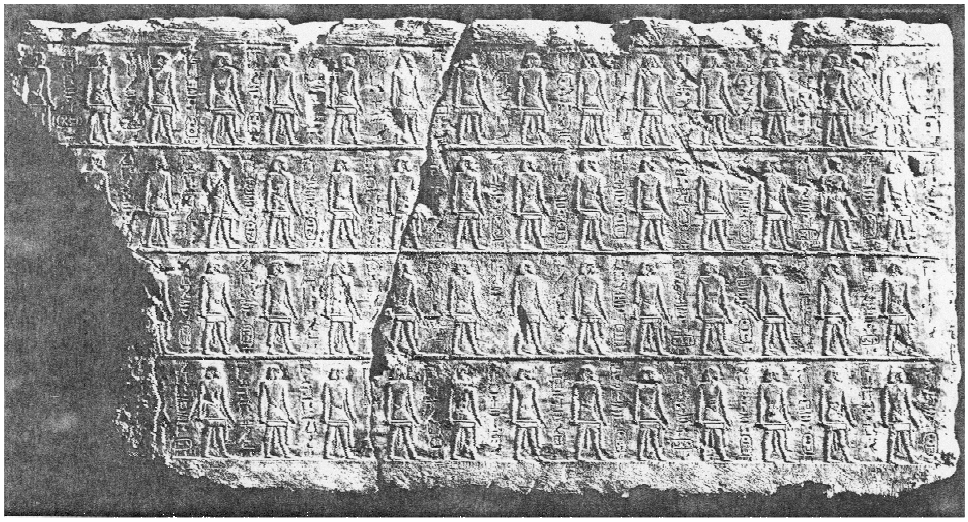
Only one piece of information in the entire listing in table 3 is problematic for the revised history (as it is also for the traditional history). On the Berlin stele (see figure 2 below), at the left end of the uppermost register, we find the 15th generation name of the king served by Ashakhet A (thus numbered 1.15 in Kitchen's table for 1st row, 15th element reading right to left) transliterated Amenemnisu by Kitchen (following Grdseloff and Kees)[6] but Amenophthis by Borchardt, who first published the Berlin document. [7] Borchardt transliterated the cartouche name, which unfortunately lies near the broken left end of the inscription, as 'Imn-m-ip-t-rs-t, a considerably different reading than that provided later by Grdseloff and Kees. All three scholars suffer from the same handicap. They are attempting to read a 21st dynasty name into the damaged section of hieroglyphs, one believing that the name must refer to Manetho's Amenophthis (identified as Amenemepet by the traditional history), the other Manetho's Nepherkare (Amenemnisu). But the orthography actually

[6]Cf. Kitchen TIP 152 n.6 for bibiliography.
[7]Ludwig Borchardt, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der Agyptischen Geschichte* (1935) 96-112.

resembles neither name as found elsewhere. We believe that the reading Amenmesse Heka-waset may be the correct reading but confess that we are influenced in our judgment by the revised chronology and the desire to read here a name from the period of civil unrest which followed the death of Ramses II. It may well be that the king named here is otherwise unknown to historians. It could be one of Ramses many son's, some of whom no doubt contested for power but left no other record of their existence. We note that Ramses did have a son named Amenemopet with orthography close to what is visible in the inscription. Perhaps Borchardt was correct in the reading but wrong in the assignment of the name. We leave the matter there.

One last argument for the accuracy of our historical revision is clearly provided by the Berlin genealogy. The second row of names begins on the extreme right (2.1) with a high priest who served an unknown king (perhaps Merenptah) followed by four others (2.2-2.5) who served Ramses II. Since we have dated Ramses II to the years 840-774 B.C. there is perfect chronological agreement with the revised history. The four priests who functioned under Ramses were born between the years 872-824 B.C.. Conceivably all four could have been in their mid to late 30's when they served at various times under Ramses II.

Figure 2: The Berlin Stele Genealogy



This discussion of Ramses II brings to the fore the obvious question for which the traditional history has no *reasonable* answer. Why is the 21st dynasty (21st/22nd dynasties according to our interpretation) preceeded immediately by the 19th dynasty in the *Berlin Genealogy*? What happened to the 20th dynasty?

The problem has been debated since Borchardt first published the inscription. Kitchen acknowledges the fact that "for roughly 150 years or more from the death of Ramesses II to the early 21st dynasty, the Berlin document has only one generation (Ptah-em-akhet B) between Ramesses II and Amenemnisu" (TIP 153) He goes on to suggest that "it is theoretically possible to argue a simple omission of six or seven names (a haplography?), or even that further names in the top row are lost on some slab that was once contiguous with it", and then he goes on to point out other flaws in the Berlin sequence that cannot be so easily dismissed. But we should not pass by Kitchen's explanation so quickly. Neither proposal is even remotely possible considering the structure of the genealogy and the careful planning that has gone into its construction.[8] And we challenge Kitchen to cite chapter and verse of any other inscription where such a lengthy haplography has occurred. Perhaps a single hieroglyph; occasionally a word or phrase; but a whole line of text and figures on a block which in all probability was carefully drawn out on the polished surface before the artisan inscribed it - impossible! And why, we ask, did the distinguished priestly family, whose genealogy is here reproduced, not object to the supposed omission?

This stele at minimum shows the bankrupt state of the traditional chronology and thus of the history enmeshed within it. And it establishes, as does no other single document, the essential reliability of the relative chronology of the revised history. And the mere fact that we *could* construct a genealogy *with dates included*, as in Table 3, which explains

[8]The notion that a slab precisely the depth of only the top row in the inscription was originally present and that it extended precariously to the left but has subsequently broken off, is, frankly speaking, absurd. The left side of the block is clearly preserved to its original extent on the first row. To my knowledge there exists no other monument among the tens of thousands of extant monuments in Egypt that is constructed with the odd dimensions suggested by this remark. To his credit Kitchen later states his preference for the alternative suggestion, i.e. the haplography.

every aspect of the Berlin and Louvre genealogies, goes a long way to proving the essential reliability of our absolute chronology.

In passing we should answer one anticipated objection to the discussion related to the High Priests of Ptah in Memphis (HPM). The critic will surely point out that there are other high priests of Ptah which are not included in the Louvre and Berlin documents, names such as Sheshonk, Merenptah, and Pediese to name a few. In the traditional history these are appended to the end of the Louvre genealogy. The claim is made by the traditional history that the Louvre and Berlin lists take us into the 22nd dynasty at the time of Shedsunefertem, this on the assumption that Hedjkheperre Sheshonk, the contemporary of Shedsunefertem, is Sheshonk I, the founder of the Dynasty. It is then claimed that the remaining names on the list take us further into the 22nd dynasty (roughly to the time of Osorkon II) and that the additional high priests of which we speak (one, the son of Osorkon II, one from the time of Takeloth II, one a contemporary of Sheshonk III, etc) continue through the balance of the dynasty.[9] But according to the revised history the last priest of the Louvre stele lived decades beyond the close of the 22nd dynasty. There is no room for additional high priests. Then where do we place these superfluous names? The answer is simple. We place them alongside the names from the Louvre and Berlin genealogies. Throughout much of the 22nd dynasty period there must have existed at least two high priests of Ptah, one in Memphis to be sure, but also at least one elsewhere, possibly though not certainly in Bubastis, associated more intimately with the 22nd dynasty kings. After all, this was the age of competing dynasties. None of the titles of any of these high priests contains a specific mention of the city of Memphis as if to imply that they must be associated with the Ptah cult centered there. Enough said.

[9]We can see why Kitchen is insistent on a lengthy reign for Osorkon II. He has to fit the six generations which follow Shedsunefertem in the Louvre genealogy between the reigns of Sheshonk I and the end of the reign of Osorkon II. The reader should keep that fact in mind should Egyptologists question the 15 years we have assigned to each generation of Memphite priests, claiming it to be too low. Kitchen's scenario assumes a figure much less than ours.