Originalveröffentlichung in: Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, David A. Warburton (Hg.) Ancient Egyptian Chronology (Handbook of Oriental Studies 83), Leiden 2006, S. 218-233

II. 9 RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF DYN. 21

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At the beginning of Dyn. 21 Egypt was split in two, with two centres of power, each ruled individually. UE, whose northern frontier was located in the region of Herakleopolis, was governed by a military commander who, at the same time was HPA of Thebes.[1] In texts and depictions some of these UE regents (Herihor, Pinudjem I and Menkheperre) assume in varying degrees attributes which are reserved for a king. Kings reigned in LE, but at least two of them (Psusennes and Amenemope) occasionally bear the title of "HPA". Contemporaneous documents of which only a small number survived do not give any direct indication as to the reason for this partition of Egypt.[2] The only large group of finds are the graves of the kings in Tanis and the collective interments in the Theban necropolis (including replacements and re-interments of older mummies). Among these Theban funeral sites various dated objects can be found, but unfortunately most dates are anonymous and not ascribed to any explicit regent. Of this twofold line of regents, Manetho lists only the kings of LE, namely (1) Smendes, (2) Psusennes [I], (3) Nepherkheres, (4) Amenophthis, (5) Osochor, (6) Psinaches, (7) Psusennes [II]. Contemporary documents contain ample reference of the kings Psusennes (*P3-sb3-ḫ3j-m-nwt*; only in LE), Amenemope (*Jmn-m-Jpt*) and Siamun (*Z3-Jmn*) (both in LE and UE). The first two kings can be straightforwardly identified as Manetho's Psusennes (I) and Amenophthis. A king named Smendes (*Ns-b3-nb-ddt*) is attested by only a few, undated inscriptions, but the history of Wenamun shows clearly that he was a contemporary of Herihor and thus the first king of Dyn. 21. The identification of the remaining four kings, on the other hand, has caused some problems.

The Nepherkheres of Manetho is not attested as the personal name of any king. Two bow caps from the grave goods of Psusennes I dis-

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[1] The first two rulers also called themselves Viceroys of Nubia; the first three had the title Vizier.

[2] For an attempted explanation, see K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Orientalia* 70 (2001), 153–182.

play the throne-name and the personal name of Psusennes opposite the throne-name *Nfr-kȝ-Rᶜ (ḥqȝ Wȝst)* and the personal name *Mrjj-Jmn Jmn-m-njswt*.[3] Obviously the throne-name *Nfr-kȝ-Rᶜ* has been handed down as Nepherkheres by Manetho. The proper name Amenemnisut (*Jmn-m-njswt*) is attested only a second time on the relief Berlin 23673 from the reign of Shoshenq V, on which a long line of ancestors of the owner is named, sometimes together with the reigning king. On this relief, Amenemnisut is the predecessor of Psusennes I, whereas Manetho names him as the successor. His true position has not yet been identified. The Berlin genealogy was compiled only about 250–300 years after the reign of Amenemnisut and should, therefore, be given greater consideration than Manetho's frequently garbled tradition. But the fact that Psusennes and Amenemnisut appear together on one funeral object, strengthens the idea that Amenemnisut was the successor of Psusennes and that he donated the object.[4] Nevertheless, Amenemnisut (Nepherkheres) was without question an ephemeral king.

The Osochor of Manetho is attested contemporarily only by one inscription from Karnak, which registers the inauguration of a priest in year 2 of a king with the throne-name *ʾ-ḫpr-Rᶜ Stp.n-Rᶜ* (the personal name is missing in a lacuna).[5] E. Young has demonstrated[6] that this king cannot be Psusennes I, as believed in the past, because he always bears the epithet *Stp.n-Jmn*. Furthermore, a few lines further down, the text refers to the inauguration of the priest's son in the year 17 of Siamun. If *ʾ-ḫpr-ʾ Stp.n-Rᶜ* really were identical with Psusennes I, then the inaugurations of father and son had to have been almost three generations apart. Therefore this otherwise unknown throne-name from Dyn. 21 may well be that of Manetho's Osochor. In this case the second inauguration would have taken place only 21 years, or about one generation, later, if Manetho's 6 years for Osochor be accepted.

Actually, the personal name of the king is mentioned once, but not contemporarily.[7] An inscription (no longer traceable) from the roof of

[3] Montet, *Tanis* II, 105; 108, Fig. 44; pl. 72 (No. 413/414).

[4] See also Kitchen, *TIP*, 70–71. An alternative to this could be that the bow was made during a co-regency of the two kings, cf. *TIP*, 70–71 and Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 101. However the reign of Nepherkheres only lasted for a few years, and a co-regency is more likely at the end of a long reign. For the Berlin genealogy see Bochardt, *Mittel*, 96–112; Bl. 2/2a.

[5] No. 3B of the "Annals of the Priests", see G. Legrain, *RT* 22 (1900), 53; Kruchten, *Annales*, pl. 2; 17.

[6] *JARCE* 2 (1963), 100–101.

[7] Concerning the following see J. Yoyotte, *BSFE* 77–78 (1976/77), 39–54; cf. also Kitchen, *TIP*, § 437.

the temple of Khonsu from year 9 of Takelot III[8] mentions, among the author's ancestors, a king Osorkon and his mother *Mḥjt-m-wsḫt*. This Osorkon cannot be identical with one of the kings named Osorkon from Dyns. 22–23, because their mothers had different names.[9] A king's mother called *Mḥjt-m-wsḫt* is known from Dyn. 21; on the stela of *Pȝ-sn-Ḥr* from the Serapeum the grandmother of Shoshenq I is named likewise.[10] The two texts complement each other optimally and indicate the existence of a king Osorkon in Dyn. 21, the uncle of the later Shoshenq I, who can be identified as Manetho's Osochor. They also match in time: Psusennes II, father-in-law of Osorkon I, is assumed to have been a contemporary of Shoshenq I. Because "Osochor"[11] was the older brother of Shoshenq I's father, he might well have been the second predecessor of Psusennes II.[12] The identification of Manetho's Osochor by Young and Yoyotte has gained general acceptance.

Manetho's last king but one, Psin(n)aches, cannot be found in any Egyptian sources whatever. The only name that could be considered (with some modifications), would be *Pȝ-sbȝ-ḫʿj-m-nwt*,[13] but that name has already, and rightly so, been identified as Psusennes. On the other hand, contemporary documents reveal a King Siamun (*Zȝ-Ỉmn*) bearing the throne-name *Ntrj-ḫpr-Rʿ* as the last but one king of Dyn. 21, who does not appear in Manetho's history. It is tempting, therefore, to identify Manetho's Psinaches with Siamun,[14] even though the lengths of their reigns do not match: Manetho's Psinaches is supposed to have reigned for nine years, Siamun, by contrast, for at least 17 years. A solution would be to amend the number 9 to <1>9. This identification and emendation have become traditional, as the most obvious. Anyway, we should always bear in mind that this identification originates only

[8] *LD*, III, 258c; G. Daressy, *RT* 18 (1896), 51–52.

[9] Nor can Osorkon III and IV be considered, for chronological reasons.

[10] See *CSSM*, 30–31; Kitchen, *TIP*, § 85.

[11] This form of the Egyptian-Libyan word *Ws(j)rkn* ("Osorkon") is attested elsewhere in Manetho.

[12] F. Payraudeau, "Remarques sur l'identité du premier et du dernier Osorkon", *GM* 178 (2000), 75–80, is of the opinion that two objects of a king *ʿȝ-ḫpr-Rʿ stp.n-Ỉmn Mrjj-Ỉmn Wsjrkn*, which until now have been ascribed to Osorkon IV (whose throne-name is unknown), originally belonged to Osochor. If this is correct, Osochor would have taken turns using the epithets *stp.n-Rʿ* and *stp.n-Ỉmn* in his throne-name.

[13] Cf. M. Römer, *GM* 114 (1990), 94.

[14] Cf., most recently, J.v. Beckerath, *GM* 130 (1992), 17–19 and (concerning a possible explanation for the varying information in Manetho's work) *GM* 131 (1992), 11.

from the fact that we can neither find a king from the end of Dyn. 21 who is named in contemporaneous documents in Manetho's work, nor can we find Manetho's last but one king Psinaches on Egyptian monuments. The remaining two criteria for the identification have not been met: neither name nor length of reign being the same.

The identification of Manetho's second king called Psusennes with a *(Ḥr-) Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḫꜥj-m-nwt* is, on the one hand, unequivocal and undisputed. On the other hand, however, there is the question as to whether the last king of Dyn. 21 is identical with the last HP of Thebes of that dynasty who has the same name.[15] Actually, the evidence weighs heavily in favour of his being one and the same man, who was first HP and then successor to King Siamun in Tanis, without giving up his Theban office.

The only reference for the HP Psusennes can be found on shrouds and mummy-braces (etc.) from the priests' mummies in the so-called second Cachette (Bab el-Gusus).[16] From 10 references, 8 name him HP, whereas on the other 2[17] his name appears in a cartouche. No other titles are mentioned, which for H. Kees meant that he—in contrast to his predecessors—no longer possessed military power.[18] But this conclusion was perhaps overly hasty, because the HP Menkheperre, who held the highest offices,[19] is referred to on mummy wrappings from the second Cachette as only a HP,[20] his name otherwise appearing in a cartouche;[21] his military titles are not mentioned at all, and in the filiations of his descendants his name is often cited without any titles.[22] It can be established that the HP Psusennes' name is sometimes written in a cartouche like the names of Herihor, Pinudjem (I) and Menkheperre, whilst his father and predecessor Pinudjem II never used any royal

[15] In Kitchen, *TIP* they are distinguished from one another as Psusennes II (= the king) and III (= the HP).

[16] Burials A.17; 43; 48; 58; 65; 66; 125; 132; 133; 148, see G. Daressy, *ASAE* 8 (1907), 23–37.

[17] A.58 and 66, see Daressy (n. 16).

[18] H. Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit* (Leiden: PÄ 4, 1964), 79: "In contrast to all of his predecessors in Thebes he did not style himself supreme commander of the UE army."

[19] Cf. M. Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft am Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden: ÄUAT 21, 1994), 66–73.

[20] Burials A.2; 13; 96; 105; 109; 113, see Daresssy (n. 16), 22–31.

[21] A.11 and 64, Daressy (n. 16), 22; 27.

[22] A.12; 26; 32; 38; 81 (Daressy [n. 16], 22–28) and elsewhere.

attributes. A graffito from the Temple of Abydos[23] reveals the complete titles of a king *Tjt-ḫpr-Rᶜ Stp.n-Rᶜ Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḥᶜj-(m-)nwt Mrjj-Jmn*, who is simultaneously HPA and supreme military commander. Actually, the elements of the titles of his kingship, his duties as HP and his military titles blend into each other in a peculiar manner, not to be found elsewhere. He is called

njswt-bjt nb tꜣwj Tjt-ḫpr-Rᶜ Stp.n-Rᶜ <mrjj>(?) Jmn-Rᶜ njswt nṯrw[24]
ḥm-nṯr tpj n Jmn-Rᶜ njswt nṯrw
zꜣ Rᶜ nb ḥᶜw
ḥꜣwtj Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḥᶜj-(m-)nwt Mrjj-Jmn ntj (r-)ḫꜣt nꜣ mšᶜ[w n Kmt ḏrw]
ḥm-nṯr tpj n Jmn-Rᶜ njswt nṯrw
jrj ḥpw nfrw n Kmt
ḥꜣwtj pr-ᶜꜣ Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḥᶜj-(m-)nwt Mrjj-Jmn.

The military title, *ḥꜣwtj pr-ᶜꜣ Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḥᶜj-(m-)nwt ntj (r-)ḫꜣt nꜣ mšᶜ[w n Kmt ḏrw]*, is very informative. It reveals distinctly that this is the HP Psusennes, the successor of Pinudjem II, and not a king who has adopted the additional title of HP (as Psusennes I and Amenemope did). The reason is that this title is only to be found in connection with Theban HP and military commanders,[25] but never in connection with a Tanite king. The throne-name of Psusennes in this graffito also appears with slight variation (*Tjt-ḫprw-Rᶜ*) on a vessel fragment from Abydos.[26] A king bearing almost the same name, *Tjt-ḫpr-Rᶜ Stp.n-Rᶜ Mrjj-Jmn Ḥr-Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḥᶜj-m-nwt*, can be found outside Abydos on two Theban statues: (1) Cairo CG 42192, on which he is named as an ancestor of his grandson *Mꜣᶜ-ḫpr-Rᶜ Stp.n-Rᶜ Mrjj-Jmn Ššnq* (Shoshenq II);[27] (2) the Nile-statue London BM 8 of that particular grandson which also mentions the

[23] M. A. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos* (London, 1989), 36; pl. XXI; G. Daressy, *RT* 21 (1899), 9–10.

[24] Concerning this epithet, cf. M.-A. Bonhême, *Les noms royaux dans l'Egypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (Cairo: BdE 98, 1987), 61.

[25] See *GM* 99 (1987), 19. No. 8 is to be crossed out of this list, see JEA 81 (1995), 130; instead, the HP *Jwlt* is attested a second time on an altar-stand in Moscow, see S. Hodjash & O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), 157/161 (No. 105).

[26] E. Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos 1897–1898* (Paris, 1904), 146 (24).

[27] Shoshenq II donated the statue, and not Schoschenq I, as often reported; cf. J.v. Beckerath, *Orientalia* 63 (1994), 84–87 and K. Jansen-Winkeln, *JEA* 81 (1995), 145–148, who both render the text.

daughter of Psusennes and mother of Shoshenq II, *Mȝʿt-kȝ-Rʿ*.[28] The additional *Ḥr(-Pȝ-sbȝ-ḫʿj-m-nwt)*[29] is not a distinctive feature, but appears with reference to one and the same person[30] as demonstrated by the Decree for Maatkare.[31] Here the very same Psusennes and father of Maatkare is solely called *Mrjj-Ỉmn Pȝ-sbȝ-ḫʿj-m-nwt*. The obvious conclusion is that all these cartouches refer to the same person.[32] The graffito from Abydos also demonstrates that he was king and at the same time HP in Thebes; he had clearly not resigned this office.[33] He was probably buried in Tanis (and later re-buried in the Antechamber of the tomb of Psusennes I).[34] A limestone-fragment with his name has been found near Tell el-Daba.[35]

Dodson drew the conclusion that Psusennes did not have a reign of his own at all, but was only an UE ephemeral King next to Shoshenq I,[36] from the fact that many of his attestations are posthumous and that he is often mentioned together with Shoshenq I.[37] This is not at all convincing: on CG 42194 and BM 8 he is only mentioned in his grandson's genealogy, and together with Shoshenq I he only appears in the tomb TT A.18.[38] By contrast the latter inscription provides

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[28] C. R. Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Aegypischen Alterthums* (Leipzig, 1842), pl. XV.

[29] Another reference is an inscription on a bead of unknown provenance, see *GLR* III, 300 (IV). The ivory stick-handle, which in Gauthier's opinion also belonged to Psusennes II (*GLR* III, 302[IV]), more probably belonged to Psusennes I.

[30] In contrast to Bonhême (n. 24), 60, who inexplicably would like to recognize up to four different persons in *Ỉjt-ḫpr-Rʿ (Ḥr-)Pȝ-sbȝ-ḫʿj-m-nwt*; cf. also J. Yoyotte, *BSFFT* 1 (1988), 46(1).

[31] J. Winand, *Cahiers de Karnak* XI (2003), 672ff.; 707 (Fig.4), l.3, 5.

[32] Beckerath's distinction (*GM* 130 [1992], 18) between a Tanite king (Hor-) Psusennes with the throne-name *Ỉjt-ḫprw-Rʿ Stp.n-Rʿ* and a HP who, in the role of a (mock-) king (on the graffito in Abydos) bore the throne-name *Ỉjt-ḫprw-Rʿ Stp.n-Ỉmn* is not correct. The epithet is *Stp.n-Rʿ* in this graffito, too. Furthermore he is also called *Ỉjt-ḫprw-Rʿ Stp.n-Rʿ* on a vessel fragment from Abydos (n. 26, above) which cannot be connected to any other Psusennes than the one from the graffito.

[33] It is inexplicable why Beckerath (GM 130, 1992, 18) writes that if the HP Psusennes had inherited the crown from Siamun he would have had to appoint a new HP. A HP's and a king's office do not exclude each other in dynasty XXI.

[34] Cf. Yoyotte (n. 30), 41–53; idem, *Tanis, L'or des pharaons*. Exhibition-catalogue (Paris, 1987), 136–137.

[35] M. Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesse: Archaeological Exploration in the Eastern Nile Delta* (Oxford, 1981), 271; but cf. LÄ V, 131.

[36] *RdE* 38 (1987), 49–54; *BES* 14 (2000), 9–12.

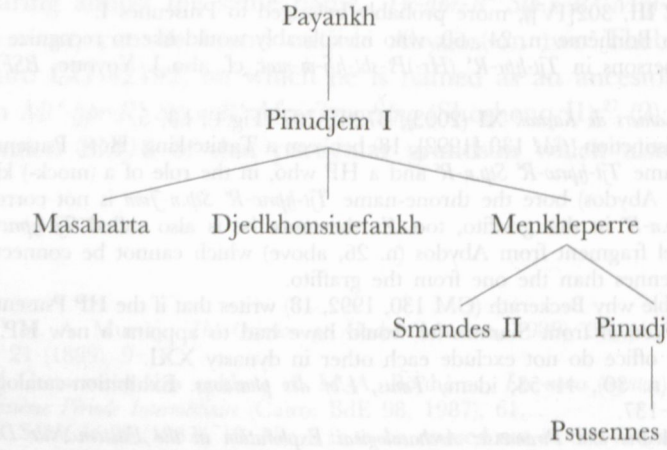
[37] The statues Cairo *CG* 42192; CG 42194 (name destroyed), London BM 8 and the Decree for Maatkare.

[38] A. Dodson, *JEA* 79 (1993, 267–268; pl. 28. On Cairo *CG* 42192, on the other hand, Psusennes does not appear together with Shoshenq I, but with another king called Shoshenq, see above, footnote 27.

weighty evidence that Shoshenq I was Psusennes's successor: someone is promoted by Psusennes (*sḫntj.f*), and is promoted once again during the reign of Shoshenq (*wḥm ḫntj.f*). There is no reference that the two kings reigned in parallel. Considering the fact that Psusennes II was buried in Tanis and appears in Manetho's list of kings, we cannot say that he was only an UE ephemeral king.[39]

There is thus evidence of the following LE kings in Dyn. 21: (1) Smendes, (2/3) Psusennes/Amenemnisut (Nepherkheres), (4) Amenemope, (5) Osorkon ("the Elder", Osochor), (6) Siamun ("Psinaches" in Manetho's work) and (7) Psusennes II (at the same time HP in Thebes). We do not know much about the familial relationships of these kings. There is nothing to be said about the origin of Amenemnisut, Amenemope and Siamun. Smendes I's wife, Tentamun,[40] is mother of Henuttawy, wife of Pinudjem I and mother of Psusennes I.[41] Consequently Smendes I would be father-in-law of Pinudjem I and grandfather of his successor(?) Psusennes I. Osochor, being son of Nimlot I and of *Mḥjt-m-wsḫt*, is uncle of Shoshenq I. Psusennes II is son of HP Pinudjem II and father-in-law of Osorkon I; the latter already concerns the relationship to the kings of Dyn. 22.

Nine UE rulers are known as belonging to Dyn. 21. Eight of them are part of a lineage of fathers and sons:



[39] Cf. also Beckerath, *GM* 130 (1992), 17f; Kitchen, *TIP*[3] 1995, XIX–XXI.

[40] Herself being the daughter of a man without any important titles, called Nebseni.

[41] Under the probable circumstance that the King's Mother who is mentioned on some funerary objects, Henuttawi is identical with Pinudjem's wife. Kitchen's postu-

Only Herihor does not belong to this lineage;[42] his position as a predecessor or successor of Payankh is the only one disputed (see below). The order of the others is clear, even though some overlap. There is evidence of the HP (and king) Pinudjem I until a year 15, and of his son Masaharta in the years 16 and 18 following. His son Menkheperre who is clearly younger takes up the duties of the HP in a year 25 and from then holds office for almost five decades. A third son of Pinudjem I, called Djedkhonsiuefankh, is recorded only once as a HP on a coffin which is at present missing;[43] he most probably held office for a very short time between Masaharta and Menkheperre.[44] However, Pinudjem survived his son's term of office and died in that of Menkheperre (see below). Evidence of Smendes II is, admittedly, somewhat better than that of Djedkhonsiuefankh, but his term of office can only have been very short, either as Menkheperre's successor or as his "co-regent" (see below). His brother Pinudjem II came next in office, followed by his own son Psusennes, who is probably identical with King Psusennes II (see above). Consequently we have the following order: (1/2) Payankh and Herihor (see below), (3) Pinudjem I, (4) Masaharta, (5) Djedkhonsiuefankh, (6) Menkheperre, (7) Smendes II, (8) Pinudjem II, (9) Psusennes III.

Some of the UE regents are related by blood or marriage to those of LE: Smendes I seems to be the father-in-law of Pinudjem I, Pinudjem himself is Psusennes I's father (see above). HP Psusennes himself becomes king in Tanis.

Concerning the succession of the first two HP, Herihor was on account of a copying error believed for a long time to be father and predecessor of Payankh. Since this error has been corrected,[45]

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late of a second (older) Henuttawi "Q" as a hypothetical second wife of Smendes and Psusennes' mother is only rooted in his wish for a genealogical bridge to the Ramessides for Psusennes on account of his occasionally being called "Ramses-Psusennes". This has only confused matters unnecessarily.

[42] Depending on whether he was predecessor or successor of Payankh, he might have been his father-in-law (Kitchen, *TIP*[2] § 438) or son-in-law (K. Jansen-Winkeln, *ZÄS* 119 [1992], 25) or he might have married his wife after Payankh died (J. Taylor, in: Eyre, *Proceedings*, 1143–1155).

[43] Kitchen, *TIP* § 392.

[44] We cannot totally exclude the possibility that he was a predecessor of Masaharta's who was in office only for a short period. According to A. Niwinski (*BES* 6, 1984, 83–6) he was a son of Pinudjem II; Torr's filiation data would in consequence not name his father but his great-grandfather (!) Pinudjem I.

[45] Cf. E. F. Wente, *(Fs Korostovtsev) Drevny Vostok* (Moscow, 1975), 36–38; *The Temple of Khonsu. I.* OIP 100 (1979), p. 13(d); pl. 26, l. 4.

the succession has had to be explained by other means. The term of office of both HP or at least part of it can be said to have taken place in the later years of the reign of Ramses XI. Records mention Herihor's years 5 and 6 (without any explicit relation), and Payankh's year 7 of the *wḥm-mswt*-era and a year 10. At first sight it would be logical if Herihor had held office in the first half of the *wḥm-mswt*-era and Payankh in the second. Even so, a series of arguments favour a reverse order:[46] (1) The form of the titles: We can recognise Payankh's origin from the rank of officers much more clearly than that of Herihor. He is mostly referred to simply as "The General", his military titles being much more prominent and detailed than those of Herihor. His titles are in general similar to those of Pinhasi, who was in charge of UE from the beginning of the *wḥm-mswt*-era. The titles of Herihor on the other hand are more related to those of the later HP. Furthermore, Payankh's titles almost always refer to the king (. . . *n pr-ꜥꜣ*), as was usual in the Ramesside period, whereas those of Herihor no longer do so. (2) Payankh never assumes any royal titles or attributes, whereas Herihor and the later HP do. (3) Herihor and Pinudjem I are both recorded as builders in Thebes, and Pinudjem directly succeeds Herihor with regard to the decoration of the temple of Khonsu. Payankh on the other hand is not recorded as a builder. A similar situation is to be found regarding the (re-)burials in the Theban necropolis. On shrouds, bandages etc. of these mummies, every single HP of Dyn. 21 is recorded, except Payankh. Thus these burials must have taken place after his term of office. (4) The genealogical information corresponds more to a Payankh-Herihor succession. The order of these HP is still being discussed,[47] but in my opinion the order Payankh-Herihor is the more probable solution. At any rate, this problem has a direct influence on the chronology of the whole dynasty.

Most of the dates preserved from Dyn. 21 are from Thebes, and most do not refer to a specific ruler. Breasted presupposed that all

[46] *ZÄS* 119 (1992), 22–25.

[47] The following authors do not agree with the thesis published in *ZÄS* 119 naming Herihor as Payankh's predecessor: A. Niwinski, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 346–47; J.v. Beckerath, in: D. Kessler & R. Schulz, eds., *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta* (Frankfurt: MÄU 4, 1995), 49–53; A. Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg: SAGA 17, 1996), 199–201; Kitchen, *TIP*[3] 1995, XIV–XIX (A–N). For a response see K. Jansen-Winkeln, *GM* 157 (1997), 49–74. In favour of the succession Payankh—Herihor are A. Egberts (*GM* 160 [1997], 23–25; *ZÄS* 125 [1998], 93–108) and J. Taylor (see above, footnote 42).

those dates were related to the LE kings[48] and in recent times this opinion has found general acceptance. The opinion is supported by some explicit dates which almost always mention the name of a Tanite King: There is a date which is explicitly related to Amenemope,[49] another one is related to Osochor,[50] and six are related to Siamun.[51] Furthermore Amenemope and Siamun are quite well documented in Thebes. On the other hand there is only one date which is explicitly related to a HP.[52] Under that condition, the following years would be recorded:[53]

Whm-mswt-era: 4; 5; 6; 7; 10
Smendes I: 1; 4(?); 6; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 15; 16; 18; 19; 20; 21; 25
Amenemnisut: –
Psusennes I: 6; 7; 8; 19; 27;[54] 30; 40; 48; 49
Amenemope: 1; 3; 5; 10(?)[55]
Osochor: 2
Siamun: 1; 2; 3; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10; 12; 14; 16; 17
Psusennes II: 5; 13(?)[56]

The currently recorded dates can be made compatible in this order with Manetho's lengths of reign as preserved by Africanus. He gives Smendes 26 years, Nepherkheres (Amenemnisut) 4, Psusennes 46 (41 according to Eusebius), Amenemope 9, Osochor 6, Psinaches (that means Siamun [?]) 9 and Psusennes (II) 14 (35 according to Eusebius). At the end of Psusennes I's reign there was supposedly a co-regency with Amenemope. On condition that this dating system was used, the famous linen-bandage with the inscription "King Amenemope; year 49" can be restored beyond doubt to "[year X under] King Amenemope; year 49 [under King Psusennes; linen made by HP NN . . .]",

[48] *BAR* IV, § 604–607.
[49] Kitchen, *TIP* § 388, no. 54.
[50] Kitchen, *TIP* § 388, no. 56.
[51] Kitchen, *TIP* § 389, no. 73; 74; 77; 82 (from LE); 83; 84.
[52] Kitchen, *TIP* § 387, no. 46. This latter record must be interpreted differently if we adhere to a continuing dating by LE kings, cf. e.g., E. Young, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 102–103, n. 21; Kitchen, *TIP* § 377.
[53] With reference to the evidence listed in Kitchen, *TIP* § 379–381. Only the underlined dates are connected explicitly with the king.
[54] A. Dodson & J. J. Janssen, *JEA* 75 (1989), 128, 134.
[55] This date may also refer to Siamun, cf. Kitchen, *TIP* § 388, no. 55.
[56] Possibly referring to Shoshenq I, cf. Kitchen, *TIP* § 391, no. 86; 87.

the juxtaposition of the years being evidence of a co-regency.[57] As a result, Amenemnisut must have been the predecessor of Psusennes, and the only contemporary record of this king would indicate a co-regency Amenemnisut—Psusennes[58] at the beginning of Psusennes I's reign. Various suppositions have been made concerning the length of these two (hypothetical) co-regencies,[59] almost all of them deriving from Manetho's information: Only 46 of the 49 recorded years were to be taken into consideration.

On the other hand, in the case of Psinaches/Siamun, Manetho has to be emended. Siamun's attested 17 years mandates the emendation 9 > 19 (θ > ιθ). Altogether Dyn. 21 would have lasted 124 years which is the result of adding the lengths of reign according to Africanus and this emendation. The difference between these 124 years and Manetho's sum of 130 years (indicated in all versions, regardless of the actual, correct total) might be explained by suggesting that Manetho calculated those years in which there was a co-regency for both rulers.[60] According to this hypothesis, the lengths of reign for the UE rulers would be as follows:

Herihor until year 6 (or 7) of the *wḥm-mswt*-era;
Payankh from year 6 (or 7) until year 1 of Smendes I at most;
Pinudjem at the earliest from year 10 of the *wḥm-mswt*-era onward, until year 15 (year 16 at most) of Smendes I in his position as HP, after that at least until year 8 of Psusennes I as king;
Masaharta from year 16 (15 at the earliest) until year 25 of Smendes I as a HP at the latest;
Djedkhonsiufankh only for a very brief period between Masaharta and Menkheperre;
Menkheperre from year 25 of Smendes I until (at least) year 48 of Psusennes I.
Smendes II for a brief period between Menkheperre and Pinudjem II;
Pinudjem II from year 1 of Amenemope or shortly thereafter;[61]
Psusennes "III" from year 10 of Siamun on.

If, however—which seems probable—Payankh is not the successor but the predecessor of Herihor, this system cannot easily be maintained.

[57] Kitchen, *TIP* § 29.
[58] See above, footnote 4 and Kitchen, *TIP* § 56.
[59] Cf. for example Kitchen, *TIP* § 29, 465 (table I) or Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 101–102.
[60] Cf. Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 101–102; idem (n. 47), 54–55.
[61] Kitchen, *TIP* § 388 (51).

The highest recorded date for Herihor is a year 6, 15/III/*Peret*.[62] This date could only refer to Smendes if Herihor followed Payankh and if the dates refer exclusively to the LE kings. But Pinudjem was already recorded in year 6, 7/III/*Peret* (of Smendes after this system). The above given dating-system could only be retained if Herihor's date was to be read 7/III/*Akhet*[63] instead of 7/III/*Peret* (or emended accordingly), but that would be an unhappy solution.

Even so, there is some information for Theban dates of the UE kings. There is a record of a year 48 of HP Menkheperre;[64] moreover, a closer look reveals a complementary distribution of the records concerning the rulers of that time. In the first half of Dyn. 21, HP Herihor, Pinudjem I[65] and Menkheperre have royal attributes and titles to differing extents. On the other hand, the LE kings of that time are virtually not recorded at all in UE: there is a graffito mentioning Smendes[66] and a rock-stela,[67] and nothing for Amenemnisut and Psusennes I, even though the latter reigned for a long time. Subsequently, however, Amenemope and Siamun are well documented in Thebes, and Osochor at least once, whereas HP Pinudjem II (who held office parallel to them), does not adopt any royal attributes or titles. It is, therefore, likely that the HP who called themselves kings counted their own years of reign whereas during the second half of the dynasty the dates refer to the LE kings. This would mean that the beginning of Amenemope's reign might have implied a change in the dating-system and concurrently a change in the political structures.[68]

A possible, but very hypothetical explanation would be that a new family or a new branch of the same family gained power in Tanis and

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[62] Kitchen, *TIP* § 379, no. 3

[63] Cf. *ZÄS* 119, 26; Beckerath (n. 47), 51.

[64] Kitchen, *TIP* § 387, no. 46.

[65] This does not, of course, apply to Masaharta and Djedkhonsiuefankh since their period is equal to that of Pinudjem I.

[66] A. Varille, *Karnak(-Nord)* I (Cairo 1943), 36, Fig. 26, pl. 98 (71); L. A. Christophe. *Karnak-Nord* III (Cairo 1951), 77.

[67] G. Daressy, *RT* 10 (1888), 135f. Already in Daressy's time part of the text was gone; in the meantime everything has been destroyed. The genre of the text (*Königsnovelle*) normally requires a date, but the structure of the text does not require a date in that part which was already missing in Daressy's time.

[68] P. Brooklyn 16.205 might contain some information with regard to a critical situation in UE, referring to a year 49 of Dyn. 21 as a "bad time" (*ḥ3w bjn*); concerning the dating of the papyrus to Dyn. 21, see J.v. Beckerath, *GM* 140 (1994), 15–17; Kitchen, *TIP*[3], XXVI (Y).

then successfully laid claim to supremacy over the whole of Egypt. We know that Smendes and Psusennes I were closely related to the UE family of HP (see above). No family relationships whatsoever are known for Amenemope and Siamun, but Osochor, who held office between them, was a son of the Libyan great chief of the Meshwesh, Shoshenq A, and the uncle of the later Shoshenq I. We do not know if this family was in any way related to the descendants of Payankh, although it is possible that Amenemope, Osochor and Siamun all belonged to this family, or to a branch of it. It is also striking that HP Pinudjem II, son of Menkheperre is not only called his son (*z3 Mn-ḫpr-Rˁ*), but also, sometimes even on the same object, the son (= descendant) of King Psusennes (I).[69] Thus it seems to have been important to stress his being part of this half of the royal family. A change of royal family with Amenemope could explain a change within the dating-system.

Assuming that the UE regents Herihor, Pinudjem I and Menkheperre counted their own regnal years, we can draw some conclusions. For the period of the LE kings Smendes I, Amenemnisut[70] and Psusennes I just one single date would have been recorded in Egyptian sources, and even that from later times: Year 19 of a king Psusennes is mentioned in retrospect on a stela from the Dakhla Oasis dated to year five of Shoshenq (I).[71] Under these conditions only the regnal years as given by Manetho could be used as evidence for the dates of these kings—which is precisely what scholars have done.

Uncertainty prevents us from precisely calculating regnal years for the first three UE rulers. Herihor reigned for at least 5 whole years (year 6 is recorded), possibly slightly longer (up to 8 years). In year 25 of Pinudjem, his son Menkheperre was installed as HP,[72] and soon after that a new count of years begins.[73] As a result we have to calculate at

[69] Daressy (n. 16), 23 (no. 24); 27 (no. 61); 28 (no. 81, no. 82); 31 (no. 113); 32 (no. 119, 120); 36 (no. 139).

[70] If the linen-band with the regnal year 49 (cf. above) is not to be associated with Psusennes but rather with Menkheperre, there is no need to propose a co-regency for Psusennes and Amenemope. As a result, the question of whether Amenemnisut was predecessor or successor of Psusennes reappears (see above, footnote 4.

[71] A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), 32; pl. VI, l.11. Concerning the dating see H. Jacquet-Gordon, in: *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron* I (Cairo: BdE 81/1, 1979), 180–182; O. Kaper, *BACE* 12 (2001), 77, n. 6; R. Krauss, *DE* 62 (2005), 43–48.

[72] "Banishment Stela," l. 1–8, see J.v. Beckerath, *RdE* 20 (1968), 10.

[73] In line 7/8 of the Banishment Stela a lower date follows (*RdE* 20, 10–11; 33). The two events described in the text should not lie too far apart from each other.

least 24 years for Pinudjem, at most 25 years. The highest date recorded for Menkheperre is the year 49 and in that year (his last?) Amenemope may have already reigned in Tanis.[74]

At first sight this seems to be contradicted by the fact that Smendes II, son of Menkheperre would have had to be HP at the latest when Psusennes I died,[75] because he donated goods for the burial. For this reason he cannot have been Menkheperre's successor if the reign of Menkheperre overlaps with that of Amenemope and even less so if Amenemnisut was Psusennes's successor. Niwinski presumed that Smendes II was only HPA in Tanis at that time, later becoming Menkheperre's successor for a short time.[76] This is possible, but in my opinion it is more probable that Smendes—like Masaharta previously—held office parallel to his father at the end of his father's reign, while the counting of regnal years continued to follow Menkheperre's reign. However that may be, 48 years is the most likely calculation for Menkheperre.[77]

Consequently, the first three UE rulers could be reckoned to have held office for at least roughly as long as the LE kings, namely 77 years (5 + 24 + 48), possibly 1 or 2 years less, if the overlap between Menkheperre and Amenemope is greater. A slightly longer period seems to be more probable, including some leeway for Herihor, altogether perhaps 80 years, hardly significantly longer. In other words, the dates we have from Manetho's tradition, 124 years (the sum of the lengths of reign according to Africanus with emendation 9 to 19 for Psinaches) and 130 years (sum total in all versions), set the limits of what is possible. Most likely is a total of about 126–8 years. If there is a difference in the lengths of the reigns of the HP Herihor, Pinudjem I

The lower date is probably the first year of Menkheperre, who grants an amnesty on New Year, which is an appropriate act at the beginning of a reign. Thus the event would mark the transition from Pinudjem to Menkheperre, not only the inauguration of a new HP under the royal authority of Pinudjem which would have been implied by the other dating-system.

[74] The linen-band with the inscription "[Year X under] King Amenemope; Year 49 [under NN]" (see above) under this circumstance would contain a common date of Amenemope and the HP Menkheperre.

[75] Cf. Kitchen, *TIP* § 25.

[76] A. Niwinski, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 59–60; idem, *21st dynasty Coffins from Thebes* (Mainz: Theben 5, 1988), 50–51 (§ 43).

[77] Less only if the overlap with the era of Amenemope lasted longer. But if the "bad time" for year 49 (footnote 68) is connected with the change of regency to Amenemope, year 49 of Menkheperre could be the same as year 1 of Amenemope.

and Menkheperre and the parallel reigning LE kings (from the reign of Amenemope onwards there is no difference in the two dating-systems anyway) it would only amount to a few years. And we do not know if Smendes and Herihor started their reign at the same time or whether the Manethonian numbers are all correct.[78]

At the beginning of Dyn. 22 there is a certain fixed point which links Dyn. 21 to absolute chronology, i.e. Shoshenq I's campaign in Palestine. According to the OT,[79] the Egyptian King Shishak besieged Jerusalem in year 5 of Rehabeam, king of Judah. On the Egyptian side, the campaign is attested by a victory scene in Karnak. Year 5 of Rehabeam can be pinned down to about 926/925 BC with the aid of the known lengths of reign of the kings of Israel and Judah and their synchronisms—although there are some inconsistencies—as well as by means of two synchronisms with the Assyrian chronology.[80]

From Egyptian sources we do not know when Sheshonq's campaign took place. Construction work on the pylon and the court, on whose exterior walls the scene of triumph is depicted, began in his year 21 (possibly his last year but one), as recorded on a rock-stela.[81] The majority opinion is that the construction work and the campaign were connected to each other and that the campaign did not take place very long before construction work started, in year 20 at the earliest. An essential point for the temporal connection between the campaign and the construction work could be that of the whole decoration which was planned in Karnak only this triumphal scene has been completed. So if this campaign really took place in year 20 or 21, Shoshenq's reign would have begun in 946 or 945 BC. However, we can in no way be certain that the campaign took place immediately before the construction work started.[82] There is no reason why it could not have

[78] When dating according to the High Priests' years of office, we nevertheless have to consider the necessity of adding a few (possibly 2–3) years to Herihor's term of office under Ramesses XI *subsequent to* Payankh's term of office. Anyway, Ramesses XI's absolute length of reign (or the length of the *whm-mswt*-era) is uncertain.

[79] *Kings* I 14,25; II *Chronicles* 12,2.

[80] Cf. Hornung, *Untersuchungen*, 24–29; Kitchen, *TIP* § 59; Beckerath, *Chronologie* 68–70. This fixed point is only valid if we work on the assumption that the information concerning the kings' lengths of reign in the OT has been taken from reliable sources.

[81] R. A. Caminos, *JEA* 38 (1952), 46–61.

[82] Almost unanimous in the literature: presumably supported by the wish for at least one fixed point.

taken place several years earlier.[83] In that case, the beginning of Shoshenq's reign would have to be set slightly later, and thus the entire Dyn. 21.

[83] Even if we could establish that there was a causal relationship between the campaign and the construction work, the work in Thebes could still have been begun long after the campaign. One could argue that the first priority was the enlargement and decoration of the LE temples and that simultaneous work in LE and UE was beyond the capacity of both the labour force and the architects. At least the temple of El-Hibeh in Middle Egypt had a depiction of the triumph, cf. *ASAE* 2 (1901), 85–87; 154–156; H. Ranke, *Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karâra und der Amontempel Scheschonks I. bei el Hibe* (Berlin & Leipzig, 1926), 50–52; pls. 19–21; E. Feucht, *SAK* 9 (1981), 105–117; pl. 2.