Chapter 37

Finishing the 22nd Dynasty

The previous chapter considered Manetho’s framework for his account of the 22nd Dynasty, located at Bubastis in Lower Egypt. It established the first section of Manetho’s two-part structure. This chapter finishes his chronological presentation consisting of Takelothis and a vague reference to “three other kings” as it was known to him. Table 37.1 presents the framework of the later period, with lunar anchor points and year periods, which form the structure for discussion for finishing Manetho’s 22nd Dynasty.

Table 37.1: The later period of 22nd Dynasty kings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Regnal years</th>
<th>Dates reigned BCE</th>
<th>Lunar anchor points or year periods BCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Takeloth II</td>
<td></td>
<td>Starts to reign 125 years after 997. 11th yr. Amun feast new moon on I šmw 11 in 860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq III</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yr 28 installation of Apis bull in Yr 28 on II ḫkt 1 date of full moon in 810. This Apis bull died after 26 years in the second yr of Pimay in 784. Yr 39 Amun feast on I šmw 26 on third day after new moon on I šmw 24 in 800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>None known. A Yr 10 attested</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pami</td>
<td></td>
<td>In second yr. 785/784, Apis bull died that was installed 26 years earlier in 28th yr of Shoshenq III in 810</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq V</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yr 12 installation of Apis bull on IV prt 4 full moon date in 769</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osorkon IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>Present at Leontopolis at invasion of Egypt in Piye’s 20th year in 730. End of dynasty in 730 is 142 years from Takeloth’s accession in 872, and 267 years from beginning of dynasty in 998/997</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manetho Total</td>
<td>142 yrs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Takeloth II (Hedjkheperre Setepenre Takelot Si-ese Meryamun)

The name of Takelothis begins the latter part of Manetho’s list in the version of Africanus, where he is the sixth king (following two named and three unnamed kings) and is assigned 13 years.¹ Scholars have traditionally recognized Takelothis as Takeloth II, successor to Osorkon II, but since the publication of an article by David Aston in 1989 the position of Takeloth II in the 22nd Dynasty has been hotly debated.

Aston Removed Takeloth II from the 22nd Dynasty

Aston proposed that Takeloth II was not a king of the 22nd Dynasty, but of a 23rd Dynasty located at Thebes in Upper Egypt.² He updated this in 2009 to a Herakleopolitan/Theban 23rd Dynasty.³ This view is supported by Aidan Dodson,

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¹ See Table 36.5 in the previous chapter.
Jürgen von Beckerath, Karl Jansen-Winkeln, Rolf Krauss, and Gerard Broekman. Kenneth Kitchen, on the other hand, has vehemently opposed Takeloth’s removal from the Lower Egyptian 22nd Dynasty where Manetho places him. The debate illustrates the problems of the artificially shortened chronology by which both sides are constrained. Some material from chapter 35 is necessarily amplified here, preliminary to proposing the sequence of kings, and establishing the dates and lengths of reign by the available chronological evidence, including lunar anchor points and year periods.

Kitchen’s Viewpoint
Kitchen proposes that Takeloth II was a son, possibly third son of Osorkon II, with his two older brothers Shoshenq D and Nimlot C, predeceasing him. It is certain, however, that Takeloth II married Karomama (or Karomat D), daughter of Nimlot C (and, therefore, his niece), and they became parents of Crown Prince Osorkon, who became High Priest of Amun (Osorkon B). According to The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, Osorkon B officiated from the 11th regnal year of Takeloth II down to the 29th year of Shoshenq III, with a re-appearance in the 39th year. Since Osorkon B’s benefactions are dated to both kings, it seems that Shoshenq III succeeded Takeloth II in the same dynasty. Otherwise Osorkon B, unprecedentedly, would be dated to kings of two different dynasties. The sequence of generations in the major genealogies sets Takeloth II after Osorkon II and before Osorkon III of the 23rd Dynasty.

Aston’s Reasoning
Aston believes that the family relationships of Takeloth II show that he lived about 25 years later than Kitchen allows, thus down-dating him from 850–825 to 825–800 BCE. To place Takeloth II in this timeframe, Aston overlaps Takeloth II’s reign with that of Shoshenq III. He appeals to The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, which recounts the history of this period.

List of Benefactions in The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon
The Chronicle lists regnal years for the benefactions of Osorkon B in terms of the reigns of Takeloth II (Osorkon B’s father) and Shoshenq III (his brother). Caminos refers to a tabulation of “surviving portions of the summary of Osorkon’s benefactions” with Table 37.2. He comments that, “The dates in which the above occur show with a degree

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4 Aston, “Takeloth II ... Revisited,” Libyan Period, 2 nn. 11-15.


8 Caminos, Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, 1-2, 173, 180.


11 In 2009, Aston readjusted the length of the generation to make it longer, therefore, allowing a slightly higher date for Takeloth II (“Takeloth II...Revisited,” 1).

12 See n. 7 above.
of probability amounting almost to certainty that year 24 in col. 7 (date-row 2) is Takelothis II’s while dates 3 to 8 all belong to Shoshenq’s reign.”

Table 37.2: The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon—regnal years for the benefactions of Osorkon B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Regnal years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6–7</td>
<td>Year 11 of Takelothis II to year 28 of Shoshenq III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Year 24, fourth month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Year 22 to year 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Year 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Year 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Year 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Year 22 (?) to year 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Year 29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While on the surface the list appears sequential as understood by Caminos, Aston thought he’d found an overlap because the 24th year of Takeloth II (row 2) is followed by the 22nd year of Shoshenq III (row 3).

Traditionally, it is understood that a gap occurs in the account between columns 7 and 12 (rows 2 and 3), which presumably held information now missing. Aston has interpreted it to infer that year 24 of Takeloth II was closely followed by year 22 of Shoshenq III, implying that Takeloth II began to reign just three years before Shoshenq III, which is, in the third-to-last year of Osorkon II’s reign.

To Aston’s mind, Takeloth II and Shoshenq III could not both belong to the 22nd Dynasty. In 1989, he proposed that Takeloth II was misplaced by Manetho and ruled over a different dynasty. He observed that there was little evidence of Takeloth II in Lower Egypt, so his residence in Upper Egypt at Thebes seemed plausible. As confirmation that Takeloth II should be associated with Thebes, he pointed out that Takeloth II is the only Third Intermediate Period king to have the epithet ntr-hq3-W3st (“God, Ruler of Thebes”) added to his name. However, Broekman notes that the epithet Si-Ese Netjerheqawaset occurs not only with Takeloth II as observed by Aston, but also with the names of Osorkon III and Takeloth III with Year 28 and Year 5 respectively (a co-regency) on Nile Level Text No. 13. These kings are traditionally associated with the 23rd Tanite Dynasty located in Lower Egypt, but the epithet Si-es is presumed by Aston to suggest a Theban location. In 2009, Aston added Herakleopolis to Takeloth II’s place of residency.

A mummy of a Takeloth was discovered in the anteroom of Osorkon II’s tomb at Tanis. It was previously assigned to Takeloth I, but has now been reassigned by Jansen-Winkeln to Takeloth II since a scene in Osorkon II’s tomb shows him honoring his father, which can only be Takeloth I with an accompanying text that includes the names of Osorkon II and Takeloth as his son. Having the same prenomens, the two

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13 Caminos, Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, 128.
14 Ibid., 128.
15 Aston, “Takeloth II,” 143.
16 This idea was also proposed by Anthony Leahy in 1990 in “Abydos in the Libyan Period,” Libya and Egypt c. 1300-750 BC (ed. A. Leahy, London: SOAS, 1990), and promoted again in the same book by D. A. Aston and J.H. Taylor, “The Family of Takeloth III and the ‘Theban’ Twenty-Third Dynasty,” 131-54.
17 Aston, “Takeloth II,” 142.
19 Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period, 332.
Takeloths are differentiated by the nomen epithet Si-Ese attached to the name of Takeloth II.

**Filling the Gap**

Having removed Takeloth II from the 22nd Dynasty, Aston fills what has now become a “gap” between Osorkon II and Shoshenq III in Kitchen’s chronology. Like Kitchen, he allows Takeloth II only 25 regnal years. After discussion, Aston concluded, in 1989, that Osorkon II should be attributed a *further* 15–20 years (up from 22) and gave him 39–44 years. In 2009, he reduced this amount to around 28–30 years, bringing Osorkon II’s reign up slightly to a date earlier than ca. 874–835/830 BCE.

Having made Takeloth II and Shoshenq III contemporary, Aston then has to account for the fact that Nile Level Text No. 24 equates year eight of Shoshenq III with year five of Pedubast [I]. Pedubast [I] is the first king of Manetho’s 23rd Dynasty located at Tanis and is credited with 25 regnal years. Thus Aston has three contemporary kings to explain: year one of Pedubast I = year eight of Shoshenq III = year 11 of Takeloth II.

**Discussing the Rebellion Scenario**

To repeat chapter 35, Aston describes a rebellion in Takeloth II’s 11th year at Thebes, and Prince Osorkon (Osorkon B) sailed forth to bring it under control. This coincides with the year Pedubast I became king, so Aston removes Pedubast’s identity as a Tanite king and makes him out to be a king of Thebes and in opposition to Takeloth II who is assumed also to be in Thebes. Pedubast is held responsible for fomenting the opposition that Prince Osorkon (Osorkon B) went to quell.

In Shoshenq III’s 39th year, Osorkon B and his brother Bakenptah, head of the army, “Overthrew everyone who had fought against them.” Since Takeloth II and Pedubast I are not still alive, who was the enemy? Aston considers Iput [I] named on Nile Level Text No. 26 whose second year coincides with Pedubast’s 16th, and then opts for a fairly recently identified king, a Usermaatre Meryamun Shoshenq, now known as Shoshenq VI (previously IV). Shoshenq VI’s death (year six) coincides closely with the 39th year of Shoshenq III, and allows the presumption that Shoshenq VI was “the enemy.”

Curiously, the victors, Shoshenq III and Osorkon B, are never heard of again. Aston inclines to the view that Prince Osorkon (B) became Osorkon III, and took up the position of the defeated Shoshenq VI to be king in the 23rd Theban/Herakleopolitan Dynasty. This means that Osorkon B did not succeed Shoshenq III in the 22nd Dynasty by whom his benefactions had been dated, but transferred his allegiance to the 23rd Dynasty that he and Bakenptah had just overcome. Certainly, it was not Osorkon B who succeeded Shoshenq III, but a recently identified king, Shoshenq IV. However, the
reason for Shoshenq IV’s accession is not known, which means Osorkon B could have died at the same time as Shoshenq III soon after their victory—unless Osorkon B became Osorkon III.

Because Aston has assumed that the reigns of Takeloth II and Shoshenq III overlap for about 22 years, the pontificate of Osorkon B does not include these 22 years. This allows Osorkon B to be of an appropriate age for him to take on the kingship under the name of Osorkon III allowing him the reign of 28 years attributed to him.

Following Osorkon III, Aston adds the kings Takeloth III and Rudamun to the Herakleopolitan/Theban 23rd Dynasty, who are traditionally assigned to the 23rd Tanite dynasty. Then he attaches to the end of the dynasty, a little known Iy Si-ese Meriamun whose year four was found scratched onto the roof of the temple of Montu at Karnak, and then Peftjaauawybast, son-in-law of Rudamun, otherwise known from Piye’s Victory Stela of his year 20 invasion of Egypt where the former is king of Herakleopolis.

All of this leaves three kings who must be appropriately located. They are Pedubast I whose year five equates with Shoshenq III’s 12th year on Nile Level Text No. 24; Iuput I whose year two equates with Pedubast I’s year 16 on Nile Level Text No. 26 (which equates with Shoshenq III’s 23rd year); and Shoshenq VI whom Osorkon B (= Osorkon III) is supposed to have replaced.

Pedubast I and Shoshenq VI are traditionally attributed to Manetho’s 23rd Tanite Dynasty with no regnal years assigned to Iuput I. But Aston allocates them to the 23rd Dynasty as “Theban Rebel Kings” who reigned prior to Osorkon III.

Aston Rearranges the Lists of Kings

In order to place Osorkon IV, who is mentioned as king of Leontopolis in Piye’s Victory Stela, Aston reverses the positions of Manetho’s first two listed kings of the 23rd Dynasty: Pedubast I and Osorkon III. (Between them, unlisted by Manetho but recognized by scholars, is the reign of Shoshenq VI, which Aston now ignores.) He then appropriates Osorkon III’s [2]8-year reign to Osorkon IV whom he places after Shoshenq V at the end of the 22nd Dynasty. (He gives to Osorkon IV the date preferred by Krauss of 747/744–716 and to Shoshenq V the dates of ca. 783/780–747/744 BCE). Aston then identifies a Pedubastis, the first king of Manetho’s 23rd Dynasty, traditionally identified with Pedubast I Si-Bast, with Pedubast II (Sehetepib(en)re). Pedubast Sehetepib(en)re’s provenance is uncertain but Kitchen places him in the late 25th or early 26th Dynasty. Aston gives Pedubast II 22 or 23 of the 25 years Manetho gives Pedubast I, and the dates ca. 716/715–694/693 BCE. They are the last two kings of the 23rd Dynasty as understood by Aston. Aston follows these with five ephemeral kings who supposedly ruled under the authority of the 25th Dynasty kings.

Aston has used Manetho’s 23rd Tanite Dynasty kings, Pedubast I with 25 years and Osorkon III with [2]8 years, twice. The first time Pedubast I is in Thebes contemporary with Takeloth II and Shoshenq III [and Iuput I?] (and Osorkon is presumed to be Osorkon B who became Osorkon III). The second time, Aston inverts the

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32 Ibid., 153.
33 Idem, “Takeloth II ... Revisited,” 25.
34 Ibid., 22-23. Krauss’ dates for Takeloth II’s first year are 845 or 834.
35 Usimare Setapenamun Pedubast Meryamun Si-Bast/Si-Ese is traditionally recognized as the founder of the 23rd Tanite Dynasty, see Kitchen, “Overview of Fact & Fiction,” 173.
37 Aston, “Takeloth II ... Revisited,” 22-23.
order and name number so that Osorkon III becomes Osorkon IV and precedes Pedubast I who becomes Pedubast II. All this is a result of taking Takeloth II out of his original position as the sixth king of the 22nd Dynasty where Manetho placed him! Kitchen vehemently opposes Aston’s proposal.38

**Kitchen Refutes Aston’s Proposal for the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties**

Kitchen holds to the traditional view that Takeloth II was king in the second half of the 22nd Dynasty, succeeding Osorkon II and preceding Shoshenq III. Kitchen responds to Aston’s main tenets. Concerning family relationships, Kitchen protests that having relatives at Thebes does not infer that Takeloth II lived there, nor is there any trace of his burial at Thebes, and nothing has been discovered to prove he resided there.39 Furthermore, Kitchen points out that the title ‘‘God, Ruler of Thebes,’’ is used also of Shoshenq V at Tanis (22nd Dynasty) and means nothing as to the location of Takeloth II or the 23rd Dynasty.40 He explains that the epithet Si-Ese ‘‘Son of Isis’’ refers to the god living in the East Delta used by kings of the 23rd Dynasty and used as an alternative to ‘‘Son of Bast’’ referring to the god Bast worshiped in the vicinity of Bubastis and Leontopolis by the coexisting 22nd Dynasty kings.41 He says the epithets are not equivalent to the north and south of Egypt.42 Pedubast I’s use of both epithets is explained because he was the offspring of the Tanite/Bubastite 22nd Dynasty, and began his own dynasty at Ta-remu (Leontopolis) in Isis country, not far away.43

**The Identity of Osorkon III**

The other reason to discuss Aston’s and Kitchen’s chronology is to identify Osorkon III of the 23rd Dynasty (located in the north or the south). Noted above, Aston’s chronology allows the possibility that Osorkon B (Prince Osorkon, son of Takeloth II) became king of the 23rd Theban Dynasty after he and his brother Bakenptah overcame ‘‘the enemy’’ understood to be Shoshenq VI, in Shoshenq III’s 39th year. Subsequent to Aston’s proposal that Takeloth had been taken out of the 22nd Dynasty, and that Osorkon B might have become Osorkon III of the 23rd Dynasty, Kitchen was greatly opposed to the idea, but in 2007, at the Leiden Conference, he conceded the possibility that Osorkon B might have become Osorkon III.44

**Kitchen’s Two Options for Osorkon II’s Length of Reign**

One point of contention between Aston’s and Kitchen’s chronologies has been the length of Osorkon II’s reign. As noted above, Aston wanted to give him from 28 to 30 years. In 1996, Kitchen credited Osorkon II with 24 years,45 but in 2006 he recognized the possibility that Osorkon’s jubilee figure of 22 could be a damaged 30. He gave two revised chronologies, option A and B. In option A he assigned Osorkon II 25 years, but reduced Shoshenq IV’s reign from 13 years to 10, thus eliminating the extra three years for Osorkon II’s reign. In option B, he gave Osorkon II 30 years, but made Shoshenq III co-regent with Takeloth II for seven years, and the excess two years he

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40 Ibid., xxiv. Emphasis his; idem, “Strengths and Weaknesses,” 298.
42 Ibid., 175 §32.
43 Ibid., 176; also earlier in “Strengths and Weaknesses,” 298.
attributed to Shoshenq IV, thus eliminating the five extra years he had given to Osorkon II.\(^{46}\)

**Kitchen’s 2009 Option**

In 2009, Kitchen assigned Osorkon II 30/32 years based on indications that he celebrated a 30-year jubilee.\(^{47}\) Kitchen then had to delete the excess years from somewhere else because he had to keep Shoshenq I’s first year in 945 BCE. So he overlapped the end of Osorkon II’s reign (874–ca. 840) with Takeloth II’s first three years (reigned 843–818), then he overlaps the last seven years of Takeloth II’s reign (825–818) with the first seven years of Shoshenq III’s reign (825–786) thus reducing Takeloth’s (assumed) sole reign from 25/24 years to 14 years.\(^{48}\)

Kitchen’s explanation for this is that some good reason must account for the fact that Pedubast I split off from Shoshenq III in the latter’s fifth year. He proposes that the rebellion that started in Takeloth’s 15th year caused Shoshenq III to become king in Takeloth’s 18th year, and seven years later in Shoshenq’s year eight Takeloth II died, and then Shoshenq III and Pedubast I jointly buried him, thus legitimating Pedubast I as king of a new dynasty, the 23rd.\(^{49}\)

The Nile Level Text No. 24 stating that year five of Pedubast I was the year 12 of an unnamed king, could only refer to Shoshenq III, but Kitchen has made Shoshenq III king seven years earlier, making his “year 12” actually his 18th year.\(^{50}\) This scenario is proposed because Kitchen’s chronology does not have room for the regnal years he requires for the dates he gives to the 22nd Dynasty; that is, his 945–715 BCE.

Kitchen’s chronology keeps Takeloth II in the 22nd Dynasty where Manetho undoubtedly places him, and seeks to do justice to Manetho’s records (even though he does not recognize the significance of the [1]24 years and [1]42 years for the early and later periods). But his chronology suffers the same handicap as Aston’s in attributing the date of ca. 945 BCE to the first year of Shoshenq I, thus causing him to claim co-regencies to accommodate excess years.

Moreover, both Kitchen and Aston assume that the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties end at about the date of 716/715 when Shilkanni—otherwise Osorkon IV—(the same as “So” in 2 Kgs 17:4) submitted to the Assyrian king Sargon II. They don’t realize that Manetho’s 267 years for the 22nd Dynasty conclude in the year 730 BCE, which can be the only date for the Nubian invasion of Egypt led by Piye in his 20th year when the kings of the Delta submitted to him.

The order of kings proposed for the second half of the 22nd Dynasty are shown in Table 37.3.

**Table 37.3: Proposed order of kings in the later 22nd Dynasty**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Takeloth II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shoshenq III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shoshenq IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Shoshenq V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Osorkon IV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Determining the Actual Reign-lengths of Takeloth II and His Successors**

The previous discussion of the Aston and Kitchen chronologies shows the

\(^{46}\) Idem, “Strengths and Weaknesses,” 308.


\(^{48}\) Ibid., 182, 202.

\(^{49}\) Ibid., 179, 182; see also idem, “Strengths and Weaknesses,” 300.

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speculation that has arisen from an absence of certainty, incorrect terminal dates, and neglect of astronomical evidence. The next section will consider lunar evidence at some length, and include dates pertaining to Tepi Shemu feasts, and the induction of Apis Bulls in the reigns of Takeloth II and his successor, Shoshenq III. These lunar dates relate to specific years of their reigns, and provide anchor points that establish their chronological positioning.

Chapter 36 determined that the first part of the 22nd Dynasty covered the 125-year period from 998/997 to 872 BCE. Osorkon died, and the first year of Takeloth II’s reign was 872/871 BCE.

Lunar Dates for Tepi Shemu Feasts and the Induction of Apis Bulls

If Takeloth II’s first year was 872–871, his 11th year dates to 861/860 BCE. Referring to Takeloth II’s year 11, Kitchen notes that when Prince Osorkon arrived in Thebes he presented “handsome offerings to Amun … Having outwardly crushed opposition by main force, Osorkon made new appointments and issued no less than six new decrees …”51 According to Caminos this took place at the feast of Nehebkau on I prt 1.52 Kitchen continues: “Four months later, at a festival on 1st Shomu Day 11, a priest Hori successfully petitioned Prince Osorkon to obtain his father’s place in temple services, when the prince was again in Thebes.”53

Krauss thinks that the wording justifies the assumption that this is an Amun feast or what is referred to as a Tepi Shemu feast (first month of šmw). He reckons that Amun feasts were held on the first to fifth days of the lunar month in the (civil) month of I šmw and not, as Kitchen says, on I šmw 1–5 (civil).54

Tepi Shemu Feast in Takeloth II’s 11th Year

By my chronology, Takeloth II’s 11th year was 861/860 BCE. that is, −860/−859. A new moon in −859 fell exactly on I šmw 11, as seen in Casperson’s table here (Table 37.4).

Table 37.4: Takeloth II’s 11th year −859 (new moon listing for −859)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Julian Yr</th>
<th>Gregorian Yr</th>
<th>Egyptian Yr</th>
<th>DoW</th>
<th>ToD</th>
<th>Morning visibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>−859</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>−11:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−858</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DoW = day of week; ToD = time of day.

Two lunar dates in the reign of Pedubast I in the 23rd Dynasty and two dates in the reign of Shoshenq III in the 22nd Dynasty provide further confirmation that the 11th year of Takeloth II fell in −859. These dates will demonstrate that Manetho’s allocation of 13 years’ reign to Takeloth II cannot be correct, and that, as I noted previously, a year 24 is attested in The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon,55 and a year 25 referring to the King Takeloth together with Osorkon is noted on an endowment stela of the princess Karama.

52 Caminos, Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, 175.
53 Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period, 331 §292 and n. 486.
55 Caminos, Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, 128.
Two bandage fragments (Brussels E. 7047b, c) have a Year 24 referring to a Nespa(u)re and a Nesamun, and a year 26 with just Nesamun. Nespare is shown in the Neseramun genealogy as being contemporary with Takeloth II.\(^56\) Thus the year 26 must belong to Takeloth II.

**Are 33 Years for Takeloth II Correct?**

Previously, I proposed that the number of regnal years for Takeloth II in Manetho’s list was originally 33, having had two ten-signs eliminated (as proposed also for Shoshenq I and Osorkon I), leaving the number 13. To demonstrate the validity of 33 years for Takeloth II’s reign, I refer to the reigns of Shoshenq III and Pedubast I. The latter split off from Shoshenq III in the latter’s fifth year to form a new dynasty, understood to be the 23rd Dynasty (of Tanis as described by Manetho).

Two new moon dates in the reign of Pedubast I, plus a full moon and a new moon in the reign of Shoshenq III, anchor their reigns and provide the length for Takeloth II’s prior reign. Furthermore, Nile Level Texts indicate that Shoshenq III and Osorkon I), leaving the number 13. To demonstrate the validity of 33 years for Takeloth II in the latter’s fifth year to form a new dynasty, understood to be the 23rd Dynasty (of Tanis as described by Manetho).

Two new moon dates in the reign of Pedubast I, plus a full moon and a new moon in the reign of Shoshenq III, anchor their reigns and provide the length for Takeloth II’s prior reign. Furthermore, Nile Level Texts indicate that Shoshenq III and Pedubast I were contemporaries.

Nile Level Text No. 24 equates the 12th year of Shoshenq III (Usimare Setapenamun/re Shoshenq Si-Bast/Si-Ese) with Pedubast I’s fifth year. Pedubast I began his dynasty in Shoshenq III’s eighth year. This Pedubast is understood to be Usimare Setapenamun Pedubast Si-Bast/Si-Ese Meryamun and not Sehetepibre Pedubast, whose provenance is uncertain, but who probably lived at the time of the late 25th or 26th Dynasty.\(^57\) If Takeloth II reigned 33 years from the latter part of 872 BCE (the date for the beginning of the later period of the 22nd Dynasty) Shoshenq III’s accession can be dated to 839. His 12th year and Pedubast I’s fifth year will then be 828/827, with the latter’s accession in 832/831 BCE.

**Tepi Shemu Feasts in Pedubast I’s Seventh, Eighth, and 14th years**

Pedubast I has two new moon dates, in his seventh and eighth years, respectively, ca. 826 and 824 BCE (−825 and −823). These are *Tepi Shemu* dates noted on the Medinet Habu calendar at Karnak, which record the inductions of priests during an Amun feast, the celebrations lasting five days.\(^58\) According to Krauss, based on MHC 1451ff., the feast began on lunar Day one and ended on lunar Day five (see Table 37.5).\(^59\)

**Table 37.5: Pedubast I’s seventh and eighth years in −825 and −823 (new moon listing from −825 to −823)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Julian</th>
<th>Gregorian</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>DoW</th>
<th>ToD</th>
<th>−2</th>
<th>−1</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yr 1</td>
<td>Mo 2</td>
<td>D 3</td>
<td>Yr 1</td>
<td>Mo 2</td>
<td>D 3</td>
<td>Yr 1</td>
<td>Mo 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−825</td>
<td>11 17</td>
<td>−825 11 9</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>9 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>6:33</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 17</td>
<td>−825 12 9</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>10 5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6:47</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 4</td>
<td>−824 17 4</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>11 4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6:47</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 6</td>
<td>−824 12 4</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>12 4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6:33</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 6</td>
<td>−824 13 4</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>13 4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6:34</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 7</td>
<td>−824 12 7</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>14 7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6:13</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−823</td>
<td>14 4</td>
<td>−824 14 4</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1 27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21:25</td>
<td>5:51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{56}\) Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 107 §86 and n. 115; 202 §166.

\(^{57}\) Ibid., 98 §78; idem, “Overview of Fact & Fiction,” 173-74 n. 33.


Kitchen notes that the Karnak Priestly Annal fragment No. 1 line 1 records that in year seven of Pedubast (which was year 14 of Shoshenq III), Pediamonet, a lesser son of the king Pedubast I, was “justified into the places of Mut and Khons,” that is, “into priestly service for Amun’s fellow deities in Thebes.”⁶⁶⁰ The date for Pedubast I’s seventh year is given as I šmw [1] by both Krauss and Kitchen, indicating some uncertainty in the day-date.

In Table 37.5 the new moon falls on I šmw 5 in the year –825, which means that the feast should have fallen on days five to nine. Neither the preceding nor following year gives a date on these days. It is possible then that the uncertain date should be emended from I šmw [1] to a day in I šmw 5–9. This would assume that additional vertical strokes were once written but are now lost.

In year eight, there was the induction of another Pediamonet (fragment No. 2 of the Karnak Priestly Annals) “of long lineage into the ranks of the bearers of Amun’s processional images.”⁶⁶¹ Also in year eight on I šmw 19, “the much-betitled vizier Pentyef-ankh, son of a former vizier Hori” was also inducted. Kitchen then adds, “The events of Year 14 (Shoshenq III, Year 21; 805 B.C.) are lost.”⁶⁶² This is from “Annals fragment 5, line 4 (2nd horizontal line) the Year 14, 1st Shomu, [1].”⁶⁶³

These two latter dates are curious. In the eighth year of Pedubast I, the first lunar day falls on I šmw 23, so the 19th falls five days before the given date and is not applicable. But in year 14, the new moon falls on I šmw 19—the date attributed to year eight! (See Casperson’s Table 37.6, below.) If the date for the 14th year is I šmw 19, the date for the eighth year fell on I šmw 23 (as in Table 37.5, above), giving the dates for the induction of the second Pediamonet and said to be also for the vizier Pentyef-ankh. It seems, however, that the inscription actually attributed Pentyef-ankh’s induction to the 14th year on I šmw 19, the events of which are said to be lost.

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⁶⁶⁰ Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period, 337-38 §298.
⁶⁶¹ Ibid., 337-38 §298.
⁶⁶² Ibid.
⁶⁶³ Ibid., 337-38 §298 n. 526.
Table 37.6: Pedubast I’s 14th year –818 (new moon listing from –818)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Julian</th>
<th>Gregorian</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>DoW</th>
<th>ToD</th>
<th>Morning visibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DoW = day of week; ToD = time of day.

Apparently the year 14 date of I šmw 19 is incorrectly attributed to Pedubast’s year eight, with the year 14 date only being partially preserved as I šmw [1] being Pedubast I’s 14th year in 819 BCE (–818), which equates to Shoshenq III’s 20th year.

**Tepi Shemu Feast in Shoshenq III’s 39th Year**

Krauss notes that Shoshenq III also has the date of another Tepi Shemu feast on I šmw 26 in his year 39. In this year the aged prince Osorkon had his younger brother, Bakenptah, appointed as General of Herakleopolis and Army Leader. Kitchen writes,

“In that year, Prince Osorkon in his old posts ‘was within Thebes, celebrating the festival of Amun, in one accord with his brother, the General (etc.) Bakenptah, all […] resting/at peace in […]. Then they overthrew everyone who fought against them. On this day, induction of the vizier (etc.), Har[sies](e), [son of x and Ta-]hent-Ese, into the great, noble, festal shrine of Amun (etc.). He said…’ (inaugural address).”

Although Kitchen does not note the dates for the Amun festival, it is obviously the same event to which Krauss gives the date of I šmw 26. Spalinger also refers to a feast of Amun at Karnak in the reign of Shoshenq III but without giving a regnal year. He writes, “The date [of the Amun feast] is I šmw 26 and the event took place in the temple … Kruchten wisely concluded that in [sic] was in the first month of the third and final season that the so-called ‘introduction’ of new prophets of Karnak occurred. The key date of inscription seven (and others) proves that once more this is the Amun feast of List 67 in Medinet Habu (set on the new moon day).”

Table 37.7: Shoshenq III’s 39th Year in –799 (new moon listing for –799)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Julian</th>
<th>Gregorian</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>DoW</th>
<th>ToD</th>
<th>Morning visibility</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New moon III šmw 24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>–2</th>
<th>–1</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

New moon III šmr 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>–2</th>
<th>–1</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>–798</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>–798</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15:16</td>
<td>5:02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DoW = day of week; ToD = time of day.

64 Krauss, Sothis- und Monddaten, 166.
65 Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period, 340 §300.
Table 37.7 shows a new moon on I šmw 24 in –799, therefore, I šmw 26 fell on the third day of the feast thereby coming within the five-day period. It would seem likely that the same was also true for the inductions in the reign of Pedubast I, and therefore, the above dates should be emended as proposed. That is, the date for the Amun feast inductions in Pedubast’s seventh year fell on a day in I šmw 5–9 in –825; in his eighth year on a day in I šmw 24–28 in –824; and in his 14th year on I šmw 19 in –818.

Spalinger continues, “Another inscription belonging to the same series of priestly records [the Karnak Priestly Annals] is set on day seventeen of the third civil month.” He understands that this came after the Opet feast, which ended on III 3ḫt 15 in the 19th Dynasty. The regnal year is not noted. Assuming that the date in Shoshenq III’s reign also refers to the induction of priests on or near to the new moon occurring on III 3ḫt 15, in Shoshenq III’s reign of 39 years it is possible for the date to occur twice since it recurs every 25 years. In –798 (as above) it fell on III 3ḫt 15 in Shoshenq III’s 39th year. In –823, 25 years earlier, the new moon fell on III 3ḫt 16 (see Table 37.5 on pages 553-554) which equates to Shoshenq III’s 15th year and Pedubast I’s eighth. This confirms that the date for the Tepi Shomu feast given for I šmw 19 for Pedubast I’s eighth year is actually the date for the feast in Pedubast I’s 14th year in –818. The III 3ḫt 15 date refers to Shoshenq III’s 39th year, thus providing a regnal year for the Karnak Priestly Annals’ date. With the Tepi Shomu date on I šmw 24 in –799 and the Karnak Priestly Annals’ date in Shoshenq III’s 39th year on III 3ḫt 15 in –798 (799 BCE), Shoshenq III’s 39th year is confirmed for the years 800/799 BCE.

Apis Bull Installed in Shoshenq III’s 28th Year

Krauss, on investigating dates given for the enthronement of Apis bulls, concluded that they were installed on the 15th lunar day ± three days. According to stela CSSM 22, an Apis bull was enthroned at Memphis in the 28th year of Shoshenq III on II 3ḫt 1. By my chronology, this event should date to 810 BCE (−809; see Table 37.8).

Table 37.8: Shoshenq III’s year 28 in −809 (full moon listing for −809)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Julian</th>
<th>Gregorian</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>DoW</th>
<th>Time of Day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−809</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>−809</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−809</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>−809</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−809</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>−809</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DoW = day of week.

The table shows that a full moon did occur on II 3ḫt 1 in −809 (810 BCE), thus agreeing with the date for the enthronement of the Apis bull in Shoshenq III’s 28th year. The above lunar dates are consistent with each other for the reigns of Takeloth II, Pedubast I, and Shoshenq III, based initially on the proposition that Takeloth II reigned 33 years. They confirm that his length of reign is 33 years and not the 25 given him by Kitchen (which he reduces to 15 years by using co-regencies: three years with Osorkon II and seven years with Shoshenq III).
Takeloth II’s Reign Length

Takeloth II’s reign was 33 years, dating from 872/871 to 839 BCE. Shoshenq III succeeded Takeloth II in 839. Pedubast I split off from the 22nd Dynasty in Shoshenq III’s eighth year in 832/831 and began the 23rd Dynasty.

Manetho’s 13 Years for Takeloth II

The 13 years now given by Manetho’s copyists were presumably transcribed from a damaged number 33, the original writing of which is shown in Figure 37.1

![Figure 37.1: The original number 33 from Manetho’s list (damaged).](image)

The omission of two of the ten-signs, whether on the top row or from the right side, leaves one ten-sign plus three vertical strokes and the number 13. As noted previously, this same circumstance appears to have reduced Shoshenq I’s 41-year reign to 21 years, and Osorkon I’s reign of 35 years to 15 years.

Nile Level Texts for Takeloth II?

The Nile Level Texts discussed by Broekman in 2002 do not include any texts that represent the reign of Takeloth II. In his article of 2009, Broekman considered a suggestion by Karl Jansen-Winkeln that Nile Level Text 3 might belong to Takeloth II.

Broekman had previously and tentatively assigned Nile Level Text 3 to a new king, Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Siiese Meryamun, based on the name Shoshenq in its orthographic Version Two for ḫḥpj (“Nile Flood”) and its position on the wall.

That identification was re-evaluated by Broekman in 2005, taking into account that a Wadi Gasus graffito mentioned the 19th year of an unnamed king equated with the 12th year of another king understood to be Piye of the Nubian 25th Egyptian Dynasty, who, in his 20th year, invaded Egypt and caused submission of its kings and kinglets. Broekman’s conclusion then was that the king of Nile Level Text No. 45 was Shoshenq VII (now VIa) and probably the king of the Wadi Gasus inscription.

However, this identification has been reconsidered because the name Shoshenq is not now discernible and Jansen-Winkeln wonders whether the Version Two could be better understood as a variant of Version One as used once only in Nile Level Text 25 dated to year six of Shoshenq VI (name not given in the text). Broekman, weighing the evidence again, considers that it more likely refers to the new king Shoshenq, tentatively given the designation Shoshenq VIa.

The conclusion is that Takeloth II is not the king of Nile Level Texts Nos. 3 and 45. The absence of a Nile Level Text for Takeloth II is somewhat surprising because in the first division of the 22nd Dynasty all but the “ephemeral” kings (and these are probably Shoshenq I with different prenomens) have at least one text that can be attributed to them, and Takeloth II’s immediate successors, Shoshenq III and Pedubast I, have several between them.

If Takeloth II had a text it would no doubt have had the First Version of “Nile Flood” since the style changed with Shoshenq III’s 39th year on Nile Level Text No. 22.

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71 Broekman, “Nile Level Records,” 163-78.
If Takeloth II was represented it may have been by the illegible texts 15 and 44. If not, his text(s) did not exist, or are no longer legible. It is not known what circumstances or rationale prompted the engraving of one flood height in any one year—some being quite close and others being distantly removed in time.

**Shoshenq III and Shoshenq IV Reigned Between 839 and 787/786 BCE**

Beginning to reign in 839 BCE, Shoshenq III’s last *attested* regnal year is his 39th in the year 800. *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* records the benefactions of Prince Osorkon (High Priest of Amun: Osorkon B) from Takeloth II’s 11th year to Shoshenq III’s 29th, with another mention of Osorkon in Shoshenq III’s 39th year, inferring that Shoshenq III succeeded Takeloth II.\(^76\) Shoshenq III’s parents are not known—though Kitchen plausibly presumes him to be a son of Takeloth II.

It was formerly thought that Shoshenq III reigned 52–53 years, reckoned from the records of Apis bulls buried at the Serapeum. One such bull buried in the second year of king Pimay (now identified as Pami), had 26 years earlier been inducted in the 28th year of Shoshenq III.\(^77\) If no king came between Shoshenq III and Pami, Pami would have ascended the throne 25 years after year 28 of Shoshenq III,\(^78\) indicating that Shoshenq III reigned 52 years. However, another king, now known as Shoshenq IV, has recently been assigned approximately 12 years on the basis of a new proposal that there were two kings named Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Meryamun, one being Shoshenq I, and the other a much later king, now recognized as Shoshenq IV.\(^79\) The previous Shoshenq IV of the 23rd Dynasty is now renumbered as Shoshenq VI.

**Shoshenq IV (Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Meryamun)**

The existence of Shoshenq IV is inferred from a donation stela of a chief of the Libu, Niumataped. The stela was dated to the 10th year of the reign of a Hedjkheperre Shoshenq, and on another stela, a Niumataped, also a chief of the Libu, was in office in the eighth year of Shoshenq V, suggesting the two references referred to the one Niumataped.

In the tomb of Shoshenq III at Tanis, a second uninscribed sarcophagus was found. In the debris, a canopic jar with the full name of Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Meryamun Si-Bast Netjerheqaon was also discovered.\(^80\) The use of the nomen epithet *Netjerheqaon* (god, ruler of Heliopolis), on the jar was never used by kings before Shoshenq III.\(^81\) so could not refer to Shoshenq I or IIa. This evidence supports the proposal that there was a second Hedjkheperre Shoshenq in whose reign Niumataped dated his stela to the king’s 10th year.

Niumataped’s title first appears in year 31 of Shoshenq III,\(^82\) equating to 809. Along with other evidence, Dodson, Kitchen, and most other scholars, now view Shoshenq IV as the successor to Shoshenq III.\(^83\) Like Shoshenq III, his parentage is

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\(^{76}\) Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 128.


\(^{78}\) Ibid., 102-03; see 348-49, 350; see. Klaus Baer, "The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt: Notes on the Chronologies of Dynasties XXII to XXVI," *JNES* 32 (1973) 7.


\(^{81}\) Ibid., 55.

\(^{82}\) Ibid., 53 and n. 7.

\(^{83}\) Ibid., esp. 57; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, xxvi; Jansen-Winkeln, “Third Intermediate Period,” 244.
unknown. The highest attested regnal year for Shoshenq III is his 39th year (Nile Level Text 22). Therefore, assigning him 39 years and his successor, Shoshenq IV, 13 years, fills the 52 years from Shoshenq III’s death to Pami’s accession. This accords with the Apis bull’s 26-year lifespan from the 28th year of Shoshenq III to the second year of Pami, from 810–784 BCE.\(^8^4\) Shoshenq III’s reign may be dated 839/838–800/799 BCE, and Shoshenq IV can be attributed 13 years from 800/799–787 BCE.

**Pedubast I’s Tanite 23rd Dynasty**

As noted above, Pedubast I formed an offshoot dynasty in Shoshenq III’s eighth year, designated by Manetho as the 23rd Dynasty. The two dynasties, 22nd and 23rd, co-existed from this point on until their termination by submission to the 25th Dynasty kings, firstly to Piye (formerly known as Pinakhya), and then to Shabako.

**Pimay/Pami/Pamiu (Usimare Setapenamun Pimay Meryamun Si-Bast)**

Shoshenq IV’s successor is variously spelled as Pimay, Pami, or Pamiu. Some scholars identify him as the third son of Shoshenq III, though some say he was a different man, Pami, whose parentage is unknown. A year 11 Serapeum stela cites Pami as the father of Shoshenq V.\(^8^5\) Shoshenq IV’s successor will be called Pami here.

Year six of Pami on a votive stela in the Louvre was formerly the highest known for Pami.\(^8^6\) However, in 1998, a paper was published of a reused block from a doorway at Heliopolis, which preserves a section chronicling Pami’s donations to local gods. A seventh regnal year is clearly visible for Pami, and in the following erased section “a brief 8th Year” is possible before the end of the damaged block.\(^8^7\) If Pami reigned seven years, his dates are 787/786–780 BCE, with his second year in 785/784 BCE.\(^8^8\)

**Shoshenq V (Aakheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Meryamun Si-Bast Netjerherqaon)**

The Apis bull installed in year two of Pami died in year 11 of Shoshenq V. Pimay’s second year is 785/784 and Shoshenq V’s 11th is 770 BCE, indicating that the bull lived ca. 14 years, which is within a normal life span.\(^8^9\)

Another bull was installed in Shoshenq V’s year 12 on IV pr 4 according to Stela CSSM 31\(^9^0\) regarded to be a date within three days of a full moon. On the above dates, Shoshenq V’s 12th year should be ca. 769 BCE (−768). Casperson provides a full moon table in Table 37.9.

**Table 37.9: Apis bull installed in Shoshenq V’s 12th year −768 (full moon listing for −768)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Julian</th>
<th>Gregorian</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>DoW</th>
<th>Time of Day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−768</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>−768</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−768</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>−768</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DoW = day of week.

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\(^8^6\) Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 103.


\(^8^9\) Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 156 §126 (iii); idem, “Strengths and Weaknesses,” 294, table 306.

\(^9^0\) Krauss, “Die Mahler-Borchardtsche These,” 345 table 5.
A full moon fell on IV prt 4 confirming Shoshenq V’s 12th year in 769 BCE. It also supports the proposal that the installation of the Apis bull fell on or around the time of a full moon. This bull died in Shoshenq V’s 37th year in 744/743, having lived 25–26 years. So Shoshenq V reigned at least 37 years. Another year is possible. A record from a donation stela at Buto mentions the prince Tefnakht (of Saïs) and a year 38 of a king of Upper and Lower Egypt whose name is left blank. In all probability, this is Shoshenq V as identified by Kitchen who assigns him 37 or 38 years as his highest year. If Shoshenq V began to reign in 780 and reigned into his 38th year (not being a complete year) his years would be 780–743 BCE.

Osorkon IV (Aakheperre Setepenamun Osorkon Meryamun)

An Osorkon of Bubastus, known in Egyptian records only from the Victory Stela of Piye of the 25th Nubian Dynasty, is assumed to have been the successor of Shoshenq V. The fact that Shoshenq V is not mentioned on the stela dated to I ḫt 1 of Piye’s Year 21 and records his invasion of Egypt in his 20th year, infers that Shoshenq V had died. After the death of Shoshenq V in 743 only 13 years remain before the dynasty came to an end in 730 BCE. These 13 years can be allocated to Osorkon IV. However, he did not die at this time.

According to Piye’s Victory Stela, Osorkon and other kings of the Delta, such as Iuput II of Leontopolis, Peftjauawybast of Heracleopolis, and Nimlot of Hermopolis, submitted to Piye, so that Piye became king over all of Egypt. These kings were not killed. They were allowed to retain their royal position while at the same time under the control of Piye, and then his successor, his brother Shabako.

Osorkon IV is also the most probable candidate for the king “So” of Egypt to whom Hoshea of Israel appealed for help to avoid subservience and paying tribute to Shalmaneser V, king of Assyria. Hosea was subsequently imprisoned in Samaria in 722 BCE before the death of Shalmaneser V that same year.

Correlating Osorkon IV, Hoshea of Israel, and Sargon of Assyria

Sargon II’s first three regnal years, 722/721–719 BCE, correspond to Hoshea’s seventh to ninth years. This period can be extended by an Assyrian record that tells how Osorkon IV (Shilkanni) presented 12 great horses to Sargon II when the latter had arrived near the border of Egypt at the fort of Sile, an action that appears to have avoided an attack by the Assyrian army. From Assyrian records, this campaign can be dated to 716 BCE. Thus, Osorkon IV was alive during the years of Sargon’s first three years and Hoshea’s seventh to ninth years.

The End of the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties

Following Osorkon’s tribute of horses to Sargon, he is not heard of again. Kitchen assumes Osorkon IV died about 715 BCE. Kitchen uses 715 as the end of the 22nd Dynasty, thereby including an extra 15 years into it after 730, which helps him

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93 The Victory stela of Piankhyy/Piye is a large granite slab found in 1862 in the ruins of the temple of Amun at the foot of Gebel Barkal, in Napata, the capital of Nubia.
94 B. Yare, “The Victory Stele of Piankhyy,” http://www.yare.org/essays/pianky.htm
95 Tetley, Divided Kingdom, 157-60.
96 Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period, 376. The report is from a prism fragment from Nineveh.
offset the shortening of his chronology. This is an important point to observe because it explains how most scholars now view the end of the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties. But Manetho attributes the date of 730 BCE to the end of Dynasty 22—and with it implicitly the end of the 23rd Dynasty too, as we shall elaborate in the next chapter.

If Shoshenq V reigned no longer than into his 38th year, his death and Osorkon IV’s accession took place in 743 BCE, so that by 730 Osorkon IV has reigned ca. 13 years. Since he was still alive in 716 BCE when he “gave” Sargon II the 12 great horses, he survived at least another 14 years. But it is the 13 years Osorkon IV reigned prior to the invasion of Piye that are credited to the 22nd Dynasty, not the additional 14 or more years after it.

In Kitchen’s 2009 chronology, Shoshenq V’s death is dated to the year 730 BCE, and Osorkon IV begins to reign in 730, two years before Kitchen’s date for Piye’s invasion in 728. Kitchen extends the dynasty down to 715 BCE believing that that is where it ended.

Incorrect Chronology from an Erroneous Starting Date

All the dates Kitchen gives for the 22nd Dynasty are incorrect because instead of starting it at 998/997 BCE for Shoshenq I’s first year, he has it start at 945 BCE reliant on Thiele’s faulty date of 925 for Rehoboam of Judah’s fifth year, 20 years after the accession of Shoshenq I.

For ease of reference, in Table 37.10 I repeat the table of years for the early period of the 22nd Dynasty that was shown in chapter 36, and then provide the table for this later period in Table 37.11, with their important anchor points. Both the early and later periods of the chronology are confirmed by the synchronisms of lunar dates attested in the inscriptions and the astronomical data presented in the tables provided.

Table 37.10: The early period of 22nd Dynasty kings with regnal years and dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Regnal years</th>
<th>Dates reigned BCE</th>
<th>Lunar anchor points or year periods BCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq I</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>998/997–957</td>
<td>Yr 2, Shoshenq I “justified” at feast III ḫt 14; new moon III ḫt 13 in 996. Yr 5, weresh feast IV ṯrt 25; new moon IV ṯrt 20 in 994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osorkon I</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>957–922</td>
<td>Yr 1 bequests beginning on I šmw 7 is new moon in 957 (and lasting 3 yrs 3 mths and 16 days till Yr 4 on IV šmw 25). Yr 3 induction of Hor, II ḫt 14; new moon II ḫt 11, 954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq IIa</td>
<td>4½</td>
<td>922–917</td>
<td>Nile Level Text 16 appears to give him 5 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takeloth I</td>
<td>13½</td>
<td>917–903</td>
<td>Serapeum stela with 14 yrs, and Nile Level Text 18 with 13 or 14 yrs is probably his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osorkon II</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>903–872</td>
<td>125 years (emended from Manetho’s subtotal [1]25 ends in 872, last year of Osorkon II’s reign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manetho Total</td>
<td>125 yrs</td>
<td>998/997–872</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 37.11: The later period of 22nd Dynasty kings with regnal years and dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Regnal years</th>
<th>Dates reigned BCE</th>
<th>Lunar anchor points or year periods BCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Takeloth II</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>872–839/838</td>
<td>Starts to reign 125 years after 997, 11th yr, Amun feast new moon on I šmw 11 in 860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq III</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>839/838–800/799</td>
<td>Yr 28 installation of Apis bull in Yr 28 on II ḫt 1 date of full moon in 810. This Apis bull died after 26 years in the second yr of Pimay in 784. Yr 39 Amun feast on I šmw 26 on third day after new moon on I šmw 24 in 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq IV</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>800/799–787/786</td>
<td>None known. A Yr 10 attested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In second yr. 785/784, Apis bull died that was installed 26 years earlier in 28th yr of Shoshenq III in 810.

Yr 12 installation of Apis bull on IVPRS 4 full moon date in 769.

Present at Leontopolis at invasion of Egypt in Piye’s 20th year in 730. End of dynasty in 730 is 142 years from Takeloth’s accession in 872, and 267 years from beginning of dynasty in 998/997.

The later division of the 22nd Dynasty, starting with Takeloth II, was concurrent with the 23rd Dynasty starting with the reign of Pedubast in the eighth year of Shoshenq III in 832 BCE. The focus now shifts to the kings who, according to Manetho, reigned from Tanis—a city in the north-eastern region of the Delta.