Chapter 38
Restoring the 23rd Dynasty

The formation of the new city of Tanis was likely due to the silting up of the Nile branch that ran by Pi-Ramesses, forcing people to seek an alternative riverside location. Tanis was a brand new city and served as a parallel religious center to Thebes, becoming known as the Thebes of Lower Egypt. The kings at Tanis saw themselves as the legitimate successors of the throne of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Here the 23rd Dynasty is understood as the 23rd Tanite Dynasty based on data handed down from Manetho. Transcription or transmission discrepancies are obvious, but some data may be reconstructed. The placement of Takeloth II, and the identification of Orsokon III in the 23rd Dynasty, including Pedubast, occupied much of the previous chapter. Manetho’s versions report the following for the 23rd Dynasty:

DYNASTY XXIII
Fr. 62 (from Syncellus). ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS.
The Twenty-third Dynasty consisted of four kings of Tanis.
1. Petubatês, for 40 years: in his reign the Olympic festival was first celebrated.
2. Osorchô, for 8 years: the Egyptians call him Heracles.
3. Psammûs, for 10 years.
4. Zêt for 31 years (34).
Total, 89 years.

Fr. 63 (a) (from Syncellus). ACCORDING TO EUSEBIUS.
The Twenty-third Dynasty consisted of three kings of Tanis.
1. Petubastis, for 25 years.
2. Osorthôn, for 9 years: the Egyptians called him Hêracles.
3. Psammûs, for 10 years.
Total, 44 years.

(b) ARMENIAN VERSION OF EUSEBIUS.
The Twenty-third Dynasty consisted of three kings of Tanis.
1. Petubastês, for 25 years.
2. Osorthon, whom the Egyptians named Hercules: for 9 years.
3. Psammus, for 10 years.
Total, 44 years.

In The Book of Sothis, the following kings and reigns are supplied, discussed earlier regarding the length of Shoshenq I’s reign.
68. Petubastês, 44 years.
69. Osorthôn, 9 years.
70. Psammus, 10 years.

For comparative purposes, Table 38.1 presents the above data.

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Table 38.1: Manetho’s versions of 23rd Dynasty kings of Tanis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kings</th>
<th>Africans no. of years</th>
<th>Eusebius/Armenian no. of years</th>
<th>The Book of Sothis no. of years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Petubates/Petubastis</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Osorcho/Osorthon</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Psammus</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Zet</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>(not given)</td>
<td>(not given)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>89</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, for ease of reference, the chart of contemporary dynasties displayed in chapter 35 is reproduced below (Table 38.2) to show connections between the dynasties that affect chronological positioning.

Table 38.2: Traditional succession of kings for the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, and 25th Dynasties, based on Kitchen’s model in 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>22nd Dynasty</th>
<th>23rd Dynasty</th>
<th>24th Dynasty</th>
<th>25th Dynasty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq I</td>
<td>Osorkon I</td>
<td>Shoshenq II</td>
<td>Osorkon II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(co-regency)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Harsiese A, south)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takeloth I</td>
<td>Osorkon II</td>
<td>Shoshenq III</td>
<td>Pedubast I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shoshenq VI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq IV</td>
<td>Osorkon III</td>
<td>Pimay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq V</td>
<td>Takeloth III</td>
<td></td>
<td>Piye/Piankhy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rudamun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osorkon IV</td>
<td>Shoshenq VIa</td>
<td>Tefnakht</td>
<td>Shabako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Iuput II</td>
<td>Shebitku/Shabataka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bocchoris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taharqa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manetho locates the 23rd Dynasty at Tanis (although this is disputed), becoming known as the Thebes of Lower Egypt. It should be noted that the 23rd Dynasty kings are recorded in the Nile Level Texts at Thebes, which appears to indicate their recognized status in the Thebes of Upper Egypt.

Table 38.2 does not represent all the kings identified by Kitchen as belonging to the Tanite 23rd Dynasty. He provides the following Table 38.3.

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2 Africanus adds to the record for Petubates (Pedubast I) “in his reign the Olympic festival was first celebrated” (Manetho, 161). The date is usually fixed at 776–775 BCE, but this kind of annotation is usually secondary and not reliable.

Table 38.3: 23rd Dynasty of Tanis according to Kitchen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date BCE</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Regnal years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>818–793</td>
<td>Pedubast I, Si- Bast&gt; Si-Ese, Usimare Setepenamun</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>804–792</td>
<td>Iuput I, &lt;……..&gt;</td>
<td>12 (11 CR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>792–786</td>
<td>Shoshenq VI Meriamun, Usimare Meriamun</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>786–758</td>
<td>Osorkon III Si-Ese, Usimare Setepenamun(re)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>763–744</td>
<td>Takeloth III Si-Ese, Usimare Setepenamun</td>
<td>5 (5 CR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>744–741</td>
<td>Rudamun Meriamun, Usimare Setepenamun</td>
<td>ca. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>741–736</td>
<td>Shoshenq VII (VIa) Si-Ese, Hedjkheperre Setepenre</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>736–715</td>
<td>Iuput II (Si-Bast), Usimare Setepenamun(re)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>818–715</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CR = co-regency.

In approaching this chapter, I am indebted to the work of Gerardus Broekman on the Nile Level Texts and his commentary. I endeavor to place this data and his observations into the wider chronological narrative of this period, and propose the list of kings, as shown in Table 38.4, based on various chronological anchor points.

Table 38.4: 23rd Dynasty kings with anchor points

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Regnal years</th>
<th>Dates reigned</th>
<th>Anchor points BCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedubast I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Began to reign in Yr 8 of Shoshenq III (NLT 24 Shoshenq III’s Yr 12 = Pedubast I’s Yr 5). Yr 7 induction on 1 šmw [1] = 1 šmw 5 new moon in 826. Yr 14 induction on 1 šmw 19 new moon; (incorrectly attributed to Yr 8) in 819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iuput I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NLT 26 Yr 16 = Yr 2 Iuput I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq VI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khons roof date?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osorkon III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NLT 13 yr 28 = Yr 5 Takeloth III (5 yrs attributed to Osorkon III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takeloth III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>None known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudamun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>None known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq VIa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yr 19 = Yr 12 of Piye of 25th Dynasty in 738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iuput II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Present at Leontopolis in Piye’s 20th yr invasion in 730</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NLT = Nile Level Text.

Pedubast I

Only Pedubast I and Osorkon III in Kitchen’s line-up are identifiable as the Pedubast and Osorcho/Osorthon of Manetho’s list. Pedubast I founded a dynasty in Tanis according to Manetho. This accords with the fragmentation of the country with the warring factions of the kings of Lower Egypt and the Theban high priests at the end of the 22nd Dynasty and beginning of the 23rd Dynasty.

The 23rd Dynasty began as an offshoot of the Bubastite/Tanite 22nd Dynasty under Pedubast I in Shoshenq III’s eighth year. The synchronism comes from Nile Level Text No. 24 in which year five of Pedubast I is year 12 of an unnamed king. On the basis of its orthography and structure, the year 12 must refer to Shoshenq III. The High Priest during the concurrent reigns was Harsiese B, named on Nile Level Text No. 23 in Shoshenq III’s year six, on Nile Level Text No. 24 (as given), Nile Level Text No. 28 in Pedubast’s year 18 (= Shoshenq III’s 25th year), and Nile Level Text No. 27 in Pedubast’s year 19 (= Shoshenq III’s year 26). In Pedubast’s 23rd year, the High Priest has changed to a Takeloth (Takeloth E) who is last heard of in year six of Shoshenq VI, successor to Pedubast I.


5 Ibid., 173.

Concerning the regnal years for Pedubast I seen in the versions of Manetho, Africanus credits him with 40 years, Eusebius/Armenian with 25 years, and The Book of Sothis with 44 years. The excessive 40/44 years is probably explained by the numbers given to Osorkon [III], the next name on Manetho’s list. Osorkon has eight years in Africanus and nine years in the other versions. However, in Nile Level Text No. 13 Osorkon III (Usimare Setepenamun Osorkon Meryamun Si-ese), has a year 28 together with Takeloth III with a year five. This indicates a co-regency between father and son. Therefore, Osorkon III reigned at least 28 years, and the eight or nine given him in Manetho must have lost the “20.”

Pedubast Attributed a Reign of 25 Years

Pedubast is given an extra 20 years by Africanus and The Book of Sothis, not given by Eusebius and the Armenian. We may conclude that an extra 20 years has been attributed incorrectly to Pedubast, which should be returned to Osorkon III. Various scholars attribute 25 years to Pedubast I and 28–29 years to Osorkon III.

My previous chapter asserted Shoshenq III’s accession in 839 BCE, since the new moon date in his 39th year fell on 29 November, with the possibility that more of his accession year occupied 838 than 839. On the same basis, his eighth year and Pedubast I’s first year may be dated to 832/831.

I also pointed to three Tepi Shomu/Amun festival dates for the inductions of priests recorded on Pedubast I’s 7th, 8th, and 14th years,7 and stated that the seventh year-date of I šmw [1], coming five days before the new moon on the fifth, seemed to be deficient—it should fall within five days after the new moon—and the eighth year-date coming on I šmw 19 seemed to be a mistake because the date of the new moon was the 23rd. On the other hand, I šmw 19 was the date for the new moon induction in the 14th year as shown in Casperson’s table.8 Since Shoshenq III’s Tepi Shomu date on I šmw 26 fell within five days of the new moon on I šmw 23 in his 39th year, the 7th, 8th, and 14th years of Pedubast I are assigned to the years 826, 825, and 819 BCE, with the feasts all falling in November.

The transfer of 20 years from Osorkon III to Pedubast I must have taken place after the list for the 23rd Dynasty had lost its full complement of names, because between Pedubast I and Osorkon III there were two other kings, now only known from recovered inscriptions: Iuput I and Shoshenq VI.

Iuput I: Co-regency with Pedubast?

Nile Level Text No. 26 has Pedubast I with a year 16 and an Iuput with a year two (= Shoshenq III’s year 23 in 816/815 BCE). The High Priest of Amun (HPA) is not mentioned. Scholars designate this Iuput as Iuput I. Jacquet-Gordon identifies this person as the Iuput(y) mentioned in a hieratic inscription on a block on the Temple roof of Khons at Karnak, known as Inscription 244.9 It is the uppermost of three inscriptions grouped together, and the only one that mentions his name.

He has no titles and his name is not in a cartouche, but the inscription has a date: “Year 9, third month of summer (during the reign of) Iuput.”10 It is barely two lines, including the name of the maker and his lineage. The lowest and oldest of the three inscriptions, 245A, appears above footprints flanked by a leg of beef and dates to a

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7 See chap. pp. 553ff.
8 See Table 37.6, p. 555.
10 Ibid., 84.
“Year nine and second month of summer, day 2.” Warnings follow if any should destroy the graffito.

Between 244 and 245A, another inscription, 245B, is inserted, dated to a year 12 but without month or day. The inscriptions are each accompanied by the name of the “proprietor” of the graffito, a certain “Khonsu-hat-neter-neb, son of Hori, son of Khonsu-hat-neter-neb”, and extended in 244 to include a “son of Nes Khonsu, [son of] Nakht <ef>-Mut(?).”

Iuput(y), however, is given no lineage. His year 12 is his highest known regnal year. Assuming him to be the king mentioned in Nile Level Text No. 26, the nature of the regnal relationship between Upper Egypt’s Pedubast I (of Thebes where the Nile Level Texts were recorded) and Lower Egypt’s Iuput I at Tanis remains unclear.

The only other King Iuput known is one with the prenomen Usimare Setepenamun/re who resided in Leontopolis at the time of Piye’s invasion of Egypt and consequently is associated with the end of the 23rd Tanite Dynasty. Being some 80–90 years after Pedubast I, the second Iuput is dubbed Iuput II. He may have been a grandson or great-grandson of the former.

Iuput I Allocated One Year of Sole Reign

In any case, it appears that Iuput I reigned simultaneously with Pedubast I, and was possibly his son. Iuput’s first year coincided with Pedubast’s 15th, and the latter reigned 25 years. If Iuput I reigned 12 years, as indicated by the Khonsu Temple Roof graffiti No. 245B, and Pedubast I died in Iuput I’s 11th year, that allows Iuput I one year of sole reign, though this is not indicated on the Khonsu temple inscriptions. Tentatively, Iuput I may be allocated 807/806 BCE.

Shoshenq VI (Usermare Meriamun Shoshenq Meriamun)

A Usermare Meriamun Shoshenq Meriamun with a year six and the name of a High Priest Takeloth, is engraved on Nile Level Text No. 25. This High Priest Takeloth, now known as Takeloth E, is also mentioned in Nile Level Text No. 29 in Pedubast I’s year 23.

The name, Usermare Meriamun Shoshenq Meriamun makes this Shoshenq distinct from others with the Shoshenq name and is now known as Shoshenq VI. He is understood by most scholars to be the immediate successor at Thebes of Pedubast I. Year six of Nile Level Text No. 25 is his highest known year.

A Six-year Reign Ending in 800 BCE

Shoshenq VI’s first year equates to Shoshenq III’s 33rd year in 805, so if the former reigned only six years, he died in 800 equating to the 39th year of Shoshenq III. The assumption that Shoshenq VI was “the enemy” whom Osorkon II and his brother Bakenptah “overthrew” in Shoshenq III’s 39th year, makes Shoshenq VI’s death in 800 explicable. On the other hand, it is not certain that he was “the enemy” or that he was killed by the army of Bakenptah and Osorkon B.

Osorkon III

Osorkon III succeeded Shoshenq VI. Curiously, as Broekman points out, Version One of h’pj (“Nile Flood”) is last found on Nile Level Text No. 5 giving an Osorkon a
year three. This is Osorkon III not Osorkon II.\textsuperscript{14} The first instance of the \textit{Second} Version of \textit{h\textsuperscript{p}j} is found on Nile Level Text 22 giving the name of Shoshenq III with his year 39 together with Osorkon B as HPA. If the change from Version One to Version Two is indicative of the order of kings, then the death of Shoshenq VI and the \textit{third} year of Osorkon III, 	extit{preceded} the 39th year of Shoshenq III (22nd Dynasty).

Broekman suggests that there was a time of transition when Version One (of the Nile Level Text epigraphy) was being replaced by Version Two. In fact, he says Version Two was used before Version One.\textsuperscript{15} From the 39th year of Shoshenq III the remaining kings of the 22nd Dynasty are not represented on any Nile Level Text as far as can be determined. The engravings of the Nile Level Texts continue with kings of the 23rd Dynasty all using the Second Version of \textit{h\textsuperscript{p}j}, with the exception of Osorkon III.

\textbf{Identity Difficulties: Was Osorkon B Also Osorkon III?}

The coincidence of Shoshenq VI’s death occurring in the 39th year of Shoshenq III, and the absence of any later mention of Shoshenq III, Osorkon B, and Bakenptah,\textsuperscript{16} has led to speculation that Shoshenq VI’s successor was Osorkon B, known as Osorkon III. But, as Kitchen has pointed out, the 23rd Dynasty people would hardly be likely to welcome as king their foe of the rival 22nd Dynasty who had just killed their king!\textsuperscript{17} On the other hand, Osorkon B, heir to the 22nd Dynasty throne, did not succeed his father. Instead, another Shoshenq (IV) came to the throne. In 2008, Kitchen reconsidered his position, and found certain points of similarity as well as difference between the two Osorkons. As well as the coincidence of the timing, he notes that a Japanese excavation at Tihna (Akoris) in Upper Egypt in 1982\textsuperscript{18} found a stela of Osorkon III giving his full titulary, “‘High Priest of Amen-Re, King of the Gods’ immediately in front of his first cartouche and its accompanying titles.”\textsuperscript{19}

This would be applicable to Osorkon B who was the only Osorkon known to have been a High Priest of Amun at Thebes.\textsuperscript{20} The genealogies also provide that “Prince Osorkon B is (i) son of a king [Takeloth II] by (ii) a queen-mother Karomat/ma (D), and (iii) has a daughter Shepenupet by a lady Tent[…].”\textsuperscript{21}

Kitchen goes on to say that, “The insatiable desire to merge Osorkon B and Osorkon III has been a driving-force for some, to crush down the internal chronology of the mid-22nd Dynasty \textit{specifically} to obtain a valid lifespan/career for the merged Osorkon(s).”\textsuperscript{22} He then points out that even with his chronology it is possible to have Prince Osorkon B reign 28 full years. Table 38.5 compares the years Kitchen gives to the kings thus far in the 23rd Dynasty, and the years assessed above in my chronology.

\textsuperscript{14}~Broekman, “Nile Level Records,” 167.
\textsuperscript{15}~Ibid., 166.
\textsuperscript{16}~Kitchen, \textit{TIP}, 340 §300.
\textsuperscript{19}~Kitchen, “Overview of Fact & Fiction,” 184.
\textsuperscript{20}~Ibid.
\textsuperscript{21}~Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22}~Ibid.
Table 38.5: Assumed Lifespan for Osorkon B if he is also Osorkon III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kitchen’s chronology</th>
<th>My Proposed chronology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age of Osorkon B at Induction</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Takeloth II Yrs 11–25</td>
<td>Under Takeloth II Yrs 11–33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Shoshenq III hypothetical 7-year co-regency between Takeloth II and Shoshenq III; yrs 8–38</td>
<td>Under Shoshenq III no co-regency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 = 65</td>
<td>61 = 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Osorkon III</td>
<td>As Osorkon III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 = 93</td>
<td>28 = 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 5-year co-regency</td>
<td>Before 5-year co-regency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= 88</td>
<td>= 104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kitchen attributes only 25 years to Takeloth II, when the proposal here is that an original 33 years became 13 in Manetho’s list by the omission of two ten-signs as proposed also for Shoshenq I and Osorkon I. As well as the deficit of eight years in Takeloth II’s reign, Kitchen proposes a hypothetical co-regency for the last seven years of Takeloth II’s 25 year reign with the first seven years of Shoshenq III’s reign. He actually deletes eight years—because Shoshenq III is attributed 39 years—but Kitchen reckons him with only 38 full years. However, as pointed out above, the Amun feast dated to III 3ḥt 17 fell in the year 799 BCE, and if attributable to Shoshenq III as Spalinger assumes, then it has to be either at the end of his 39th year or even in his 40th year because an earlier Amun feast on I ʿsmw 26 (about six months earlier) in his 39th year fell in 800 BCE (−799). See Casperson’s Table 37.7 in chapter 37.

It appears that Kitchen has deleted not seven but eight years from the reign of Shoshenq III. This hypothetical co-regency is proposed because Kitchen has to eliminate some years in order to fit the reigns into his timeframe of 818–715 for the 23rd Dynasty. Noting that men lived into their 80s or 90s he concludes, “So, it is perfectly possible for the two Osorkons to have been the same man—but we do not as yet have final clinching proof.”

Kitchen’s reckoning gives Osorkon B/Osorkon III 93 years. My chronology would require 109 years when he died, assuming that he became priest at age 20. But, it would be quite possible that Osorkon B/Osorkon III was older than this when inducted, so even older at death. I conclude they were separate individuals.

Osorkon B and Osorkon III are Separate Individuals
Prince Osorkon B did not succeed Shoshenq VI on the throne of the 23rd Dynasty. Whether Shoshenq III, Osorkon B, and Bakenptah were responsible for Shoshenq VI’s death, and whether the “disappearance” of these men so soon after the death of Shoshenq VI indicates that the three were victims of a reprisal, remains entirely unresolved.

As determined above, Shoshenq VI’s successor was Osorkon III, but not the same man as Osorkon B. Osorkon III was also an HPA before or after his accession, possibly at Thebes.

Osorkon III’s Attributed Length of Reign of 28 years
Osorkon III is to be identified with Manetho’s Osorcho/Osorthon, where he is given a reign of only eight or nine years, although others attribute 28 years to him. This

23 Ibid., 185.
26 Ibid., 184.
is because the 40 years given to Pedubast I by Africanus, and the 44 years given to him by *The Book of Sothis*, are presumed to be 20 years in excess, having been appropriated from the reign of Osorkon in the row beneath. Eusebius and the Armenian versions give Pedubast I only 25 years, thus indicating the excess of 20 years in the other records. A reign of 28 years for Osorkon III is supported by Nile Level Text No. 13, which gives to Osorkon Si-Ese Netjerheqawast (god, ruler of Thebes) a year 28 and to Takeloth Si-Ese Netjerheqawast a year five.\(^{27}\)

This confirms that Osorkon III reigned at least 28 years, and the eight or nine years given by Africanus/Eusebius and the Armenian can be emended to 28 or 29 years.\(^{28}\) Furthermore, Nile Level Text No. 4 dates solely to Takeloth III’s year six without mention of Osorkon III which seems to indicate that Osorkon III did not fulfil a 29th year. Therefore, Osorkon III is credited with 28 years. Kitchen comments that the High Priest Takeloth (E) who officiated during the last few years of Pedubast I’s reign and the following six years of Shoshenq VI’s reign, mentioned on Nile Level Texts Nos. 29 and 25, also “disappeared” at the same time as Shoshenq VI together with the assumed victors, Shoshenq III, Osorkon B, and Bakenptah.\(^{29}\)

A Takeloth G succeeded Takeloth F, the son of Osorkon III, who was to become Takeloth III.\(^{30}\) This Takeloth G is the Takeloth in Nile Level Text No. 13 whose year five was year 28 of Osorkon III, indicating a co-regency between father and son.

Apart from the 39th year of Shoshenq III (discussed previously), Osorkon III is the first king to have Version Two of *h pj* applied to his Nile Level Texts. The remaining Nile Level Texts all have Version Two, which means they all came after Osorkon III. Only five Nile Level Texts remain (apart from those of the 25th and 26th Dynasties) and these are all attributed to kings of the 23rd Dynasty with the possible exception of a king Hedjkheperre Setepenre, on Nile Level Text No. 3, tentatively attributed to the successor of Shoshenq III, namely Shoshenq IV, and therefore, of the 22nd Dynasty.

The reign of Osorkon III can be dated 800–772 BCE. He, rather than his son, is credited with the co-regent years (see below). From the end of Osorkon III’s reign in 772 BCE to the year 730 when the 22nd Dynasty ended with the invasion of Piye, and thus also the end of the 23rd Dynasty, there are 42 years. Therefore, the remaining kings need to fill these 42 years, and some are represented by the remaining Nile Level Texts.

**Takeloth III (Usimare Setapenamun Takeloth Meryamun Si-Ese)**

Takeloth III is distinguished from Takeloth I and II by his prenomen, Usimare, whereas Takeloth I and II use Hedjkheperre.\(^{31}\) Takeloth succeeded his father after he had been co-regent with him for five years as indicated by Nile Level Text No. 13. Nile Level Text No. 4 credits him with a year six without mention of Osorkon III. It seems his father had died by then.

Manetho’s copyists all name a certain Psammus after Osorkon [III], attributing 10 years to him. A king by this name is not known from contemporary sources. The only other king mentioned by Manetho (only noted by Africanus), is a certain Zet who is attributed 31 years. His identification has been problematic, and various scholars have

\(^{27}\) Broekman, “Nile Level Records,” 169.

\(^{28}\) Osorkon III also has Nile Level Text No. 5 giving him his full name of Usimare Setapenamun Osorkon Meriamun Si-Ese with a year three and Version One of *h pj* discussed above, Nile Level Text No. 6 with year five and Version Two of *h pj*, and Nile Level Text No. 7 with year six and Version Two also of *h pj*.


\(^{30}\) Ibid., 180.

\(^{31}\) Kitchen, *TIP*, 96 §76.
suggested the reference might indicate “a query”; that is, the years of the remaining kings.

The 10 years of Psammus and the 31 years of Zet amount to 41 years, which is interesting in light of the fact that only 42 are needed to complete the dynasty to the year 730. Since Takeloth III is known to have been a son of Osorkon III and king of the 23rd Dynasty, the question arises whether Psammus could have been Takeloth III?

Until 2004, only a year seven of Takeloth III was known from a graffito on the roof of the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak. In 2004, Frederic Payraudeau argued from Papyrus Berlin 3048 that a year 14 referring to Takelot Si-Ese Meryamun, actually referred to Takelot III, not Takelot II, to whom it had been previously attributed. However, by 2008 he had changed his mind. He reappraised the genealogical links, which were not too secure. A fourth prophet of Amun Harsiese was noted as a witness in Nile Level Text No. 17 and assumed him to be the same as the fourth prophet Harsiese known from the reign of Takeloth II. Furthermore, he writes, “It is probably more secure to allocate the year dates in the papyrus (years 13, 16, 23, and even 26) to Takeloth II and not to Takeloth III, even if some questions remain unsolved.” He notes that a year 26 is not known for Takeloth II and could refer to another reign, but as we have determined in chapter 37, Takeloth II reigned 33 years, so a year 26 for him is not a problem.

In February 2005, US excavators from the University of Columbia unearthed a stela from the ruins of a temple in the western part of the Dakhla Oasis. Written in hieratic, it recorded a year 13 of a king’s reign. Originally thought to belong to Harsiese A, on further examination, it has been definitively identified as belonging to Takeloth III. Published by Dr. Olaf Kaper and Robert Demarée in 2005, the following is an excerpt:

The stela belongs to a group of finds documenting the temple of the God Thoth … [in the western part of the dakhla Oasis] … during the Third Intermediate period. One block of temple decoration was found in the name of king Petubastis (I), and the stela under discussion was set up in the temple to which this block belonged. The stela's principal text has five lines, in which the date of the stela is given as Year 13 of Takeloth III (c. 740 BCE), as well as the name of the god Thoth of SA-wHAt, the local deity. The stela records a land donation to the temple on the part of the local governor, chief of a Libyan tribe, and it concludes with a list of eleven priests who are beneficiaries of this donation.

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32 F. Payraudeau, “Le règne de Takélot III et les débuts de la domination Koushite,” GM 198 (2004) 79-90. Briefly, the four arguments were: (1) The document is written in abnormal Hieratic, the earliest in this style of writing dating to the 21st and 22nd years of Piye’s reign of the 25th Dynasty, therefore, not applicable to the much earlier reign of Takeloth II; (2) The document records a marriage contract witnessed by Vizier Hor and two Royal Treasurers: Bakenamun and Djedmontuuiufankh. According to Payraudeau in the period from Osorkon II to Osorkon III only one treasurer from one family served in this office, having three direct descendants, allowing no opportunity for a treasurer of another family to intervene at the time of Takeloth II. Therefore, Djedmontuuiufankh must have served under Takeloth III, for whom no other Royal Treasurers are known; (3) The Vizier Hor, who witnessed the marriage contract referred to in Papyrus Berlin 3048, appears to be the same person as the father of Vizier Nebneteru mentioned in several Nubian and Saite era genealogical documents (Herman De Meulenaere, “La Vizir Nebneterou,” BIFAO 86 (1986) 143-49). Since Hor would have served as Vizier shortly before Piye’s reign, this places Hor at the time of Takeloth III not II; (4) The genealogy of the above-mentioned Djedmontuuiufankh, son of an Aafenmut, is given on this papyrus. Though there are two Aafenmuts listed the first was buried under Osorkon I and was a “scribe of the Treasury”, indicating the lineage to which Djedmontuuiufankh was descended. Therefore, Djedmontuuiufankh was the son of the second Aafenmut, and the Royal Treasurer associated with the Year 14 of Takeloth on Papyrus Berlin 3048.


34 Ibid., 294.

35 Ibid., 294 n. 15.
… Another donation stela erected by the same governor is known from the temple of Seth in Mut (Dakhleh).\textsuperscript{36}

This donation stela was found at Amheida, and is linked to the Smaller Dakhleh Stela because the supervision of the donation was undertaken by the Chief of the Shamin, Nesdjehuty, mentioned in both texts.\textsuperscript{37} The smaller Dakhleh Stela dates to year 23 of King Piye of the 25th Nubian Dynasty, therefore the only Takeloth to which both these stelae could refer is Takeloth III, since Takeloth II had long since died. The highest known year, therefore, for Takeloth III, is his year 13.

The remaining Nile Level Texts not yet identified with a king are those written above Nile Level Text No. 4 referring to Takeloth III with six years, located on the right-hand side of the quay wall. They have Version Two of $h^{r}py$.\textsuperscript{38} Briefly, pending further comment, at the far right side is No. 10, a Usimaatre […] with a year 5, 6, 13, or 14. To its right is No. 43 with a Meriamun […] with year three. (To its right is No. 14, that of Osorkon II with 29 years.) To the right of No. 14 is No. 3 referring to a Hedjkheperre Setepenre […] with a year five, and to its right, without any names legible but with a structure the same as No. 3, is Nile Level Text No. 45 with a year, 17, 18, or 25.

The only remaining kings of the 23rd Dynasty to whom these Nile Level Texts might be attributed are: Takeloth III, Rudamun (Takeloth III’s half-brother, a son of Osorkon III) to whom scholars assign only a short reign; a possible Shoshenq VIa thought to be the same king on No. 3 and No. 45, in which case he could have 17, 18, or 25 years; and an Iuput II who was present at Piye’s invasion of Egypt and is credited with a reign of 21 years.

It is possible to see, in Nile Level Text No. 10, a further reference to Takeloth III, in which he could be assigned a reign of 13 or 14 years. Only year 13 is known from contemporary sources. Manetho’s Psammus, given a year 10, could be a deficient year 13 with only the “ten” remaining so Psammus could be Takeloth III.

**Rudamun (Usimare Setapenamun Rudamun Meryamun)**

Rudamun, a son of Osorkon III, succeeded his half-brother Takeloth III. No contemporary source gives the length of his reign, though Nile Level Text No. 43 with a year three might be his. Rudamun’s daughter, Irbastudjnefu, married Peftjauawybast, who was ruler of Herakleopolis at the time of Piye’s invasion in 730 BCE.

Manetho does not mention Rudamun, and the king succeeding Psammus, mentioned only by Africanus, is an otherwise unknown Zet, who is attributed a reign of 31 years. If these 31 years are understood to be the remaining number of years assigned to the dynasty by kings not now mentioned, we can venture to suggest that three of these years should be appropriated to Rudamun, leaving 28 years.

**Shoshenq VIa and the Wadi Gasus Graffito**

Crucial to the identification of the next king of the 23rd Dynasty is a graffito found at Wadi Gasus near the Red Sea. The style of writing identifies it as belonging to the early 25th Dynasty, and in particular to the reign of Piye. It reads: “Year 12 [—] Adoratrix of the God Amenirdis (I) and ‘Year 19 [—] God’s Wife, Shepenupet (I).’\textsuperscript{39}
From this, most scholars understand that Piye installed his sister (or half-sister), Amenirdis, as God’s wife elect at Thebes, and had her adopted by Osorkon III’s daughter, Shepenupet I.\(^{40}\) The year 12 is understood to refer to Piye’s reign, but the king with the year 19 is unidentified, but presumed to be of the 23rd Dynasty because of the mention of Shenenupet, half-sister to Takeloth III and Rudamun. The 12th year of Piye can be dated because in his 20th year he led the invasion of Egypt bringing the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties to an end in 730 BCE.\(^ {41}\)

Eight years earlier, Piye’s 12th year fell in 738 BCE. This has to correspond to the 19th year of a king of the 23rd dynasty. If Takeloth reigned 13 years from 772 to 759, followed by Rudamun for two or three years, 759–758/757, the 19th year of Rudamun’s successor would fall in 738 BCE, thus synchronizing with the 12th year of Piye in accord with the Wadi Gasus graffito.

A Hitherto Unknown King Named Shoshenq

The identity of the king who reigned at least 19 years, 12 of which were concurrent with Piye, has long been debated. However, Broekman asserted in 2002 that the name of the king of Nile Level Text No. 3 could be read as Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Si-Ese Meriamun. The inclusion of the epithet Si-Ese distinguished him from Shoshenq IV, because his nomen included Si-Bast. Broekman discusses other difficulties in identifying this king as Shoshenq IV and concluded that Nile Level Text No. 3 belonged to a hitherto unknown king.\(^ {42}\) The similarity of the structure of No. 3 with No. 45 to its left, which suggests that it was written after No. 3—Egyptian being written from right to left—led Broekman to suggest that it also should be attributed to this Shoshenq.\(^ {43}\) This Shoshenq is now known as VIa following the Leiden Conference in 2007.

However, in 2009, Payraudeau contested the identity of the king on Nile Level Texts Nos. 3 and 45 as being a king Shoshenq because he was otherwise unattested. He pointed out that even Rudamun with a short reign was frequently attested, that the word Shoshenq was not legible, and that Version Two of ḫpery, which was already partly destroyed when observed by von Beckerath, could be a progressive form.\(^ {44}\)

In 2007, Jansen-Winkeln had suggested to Broekman that Version Two could be a variant of Version One used elsewhere only once with No. 25 referring to Shoshenq VI (predecessor of Osorkon III).\(^ {45}\)

Payraudeau says that if Shoshenq VIa did exist, his reign would have to have been short, no more than the five years of Nile Level Text No. 3. He prefers instead to attribute the texts to Takeloth II.\(^ {46}\) But von Beckerath had earlier pointed out and affirmed to Broekman that “the space after the st-sign would be too small for the name ṭkrtj (Takelot).”\(^ {47}\) Furthermore, the identification of the name in No. 3 relies more on the

\(^{40}\) Ibid.

\(^{41}\) The year 730 is 267 years from the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty in 998/997, given as subtotals of [1]25 and [1]42 years, respectively, by Manetho via Africanus. See previous chapter.

\(^{42}\) Broekman, “Nile Level Records,” 176.

\(^{43}\) Ibid., 177, 178; idem, “The Chronological Position of King Shoshenq Mentioned in Nile Level Record No. 3 on the Quay Wall of the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak,” SAK 33 (2005) 87.

\(^{44}\) Payraudeau, “Takeloth II: Considerations,” 296.

\(^{45}\) Broekman, “Takeloth III and the End of the 23rd Dynasty,” Libyan Period, 98.

\(^{46}\) Payraudeau, “Takeloth III: Considerations,” 296.

\(^{47}\) Broekman, “Nile Level Records,” 176.
occurrence of Version Two rather than on the name, as Kitchen had pointed out to Broekman in a private letter.\footnote{Idem, “Takeloth III,” 97.}

With the first occurrence of Version Two appearing with the year 39 of Shoshenq III together with the name of the High Priest, Osorkon (B), and then from Osorkon III’s year five onwards,\footnote{Ibid.} if Nile Level Text Nos. 3 and 45 belonged to Takeloth II, his earliest year, his fifth, would date in \textit{this} chronology to 868 BCE, and Shoshenq III’s 39th to 800 BCE. That makes an interval of \textit{68 years} before Version Two is used again!

In Broekman’s chronology, he claims a space of 37 years elapsed (based on Aston’s chronology?) during which seven Nile Level Texts were inscribed with Version One. He thinks, “This is very unlikely.”\footnote{Ibid., 98.} It is even more unlikely with an interval of 68 years! Broekman has conceded that, “We have to accept that only the prenomen \textit{Hedjkheperre Setepenre} and the occurrence of the epithet \textit{Son of Isis} in the nomen-cartouche are indisputable.”\footnote{Ibid.}

He accepts that the options for Nile Level Text No. 3 are Takeloth II or a new king Shoshenq. However, Takeloth II can be virtually excluded on the above arguments. Attribution to Takeloth II would remove from the Nile Level Texts the existence of a king whose reign can fill the years between Rudamun and Iuput II and whose 19th regnal year coincides with Piye’s 12th year in accordance with the important Wadi Gasus graffito synchronism. This synchronism implicitly supports the identification of a “new” king, whether named Shoshenq or not, but for clarity we continue to refer to him as Shoshenq VIa.

\textbf{Shoshenq VIa}

The highest year on Nile Level Texts Nos. 3 and 45 is the possible year 25 on No. 45. Von Beckerath shows the number as a ten-sign followed by shading (damaged area) with five vertical strokes beneath. It could be 17 or 18 years with the addition of two or three vertical strokes, or with the addition of another ten-sign, becomes 25.\footnote{Von Beckerath, “The Nile Level Records at Karnak and their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period (Dynasties XXII and XXIII)” \textit{JARCE} 5 (1966) 55; Broekman, “Nile Level Records,” 172.} Attributing 25 years to Shoshenq VIa with his 19th year synchronized with Piye’s 12th year in 738/737 will give him the dates 756–731. There is no mention of Shoshenq VIa as a king in the Delta at the time of Piye’s invasion in 730, which would seem to indicate that Shoshenq VIa had already died.

Three of the kings who submitted to Piye were Osorkon [IV] of the 22nd Dynasty, Iuput [II] of Leontopolis, and Peftjauawybast of Herakleopolis. Iuput II is identified on several monuments from Lower Egypt with the name Usimare Setapenamun/re Iuput II (Si-Bast). Therefore, Iuput II could not have been the king of Nile Level Texts Nos. 3 and 45 (assuming they belong to the same king), because that king has the prenomen Hedjkhepererre, said to be clearly legible on No. 3. Iuput II is understood to be Shoshenq VIa’s successor.

Shoshenq VIa’s 25 years fills the time period between Rudamun and Iuput in compliance with the Wadi Gasus graffito synchronism, and allows Iuput to have begun to reign before the invasion of Piye in 730 when he submitted to Piye as recorded in the Victory Stela. Shoshenq VIa is the only king who could fill this slot with the required number of years. From this we understand that in Piye’s year 12 in 738 he installed his sister Amenirdis as God’s wife at Thebes who was adopted by Osorkon III’s daughter.
Shepenupet I. The latter must have been born sometime before 772 when Osorkon III died, which means that she had to have been at least 34 and most likely older when she adopted Amenirdis.

In the past, some scholars have assigned the Wadi Gasus graffito to Takeloth III and even to Rudamun, supposing that the latter had a long reign, and not being aware of the proposed “new king” of Nile Level Texts 3 and 45. In the belief that the Wadi Gasus graffito was wrongly attributed to Takeloth III, in 2006 Claus Jurman proposed that the Wadi Gasus graffito did not refer to Shepenpet I and Amenirdis I, but to a later Amenirdis I in year 12 of Shabako (Piye’s successor) and to a Shepenupet II in year 19 of Taharqa. He cited palaeographic and other evidence from Karnak and noted that the graffito and year date formulas were written in two different handwriting styles suggesting that they were not composed at the same time.

I will show later that Shabako’s year 12 dates to 708 BCE and Taharqa’s year 19 to 671 BCE, involving a separation of 37 years between the two kings of the same dynasty, which in itself requires an explanation as to what the graffito was intended to convey by placing them in apposition on the one stela.

It is correct that Takeloth III reigned too early to be the king of the Wadi Gasus graffito, but there is no need to transfer the Wadi Gasus inscription to the reigns of Shabako and Taharqa since the year 12 of Piye synchronizes with year 19 of Shoshenq VIa in 738/737 BCE. Thus, in this year, Piye’s sister Amenirdis I was adopted as God’s wife of Amun at Thebes by Shepenupet I, the daughter of Osorkon III, and it was recorded on the Wadi Gasus graffito, whether or not the graffiti were both written by the same hand at the same time.

The existence of Shoshenq VIa is made almost certain by the Wadi Gasus synchronism in conjunction with Nile Level Texts 3 and 45. An incorrect chronology has led Kitchen to dispense with the Wadi Gasus inscription identification of year 12 with Piye and his sister Amenirdis I, and year 19 with Osorkon III’s daughter Shepenupet I. He assigns to Shoshenq VIa only five years when the true period of his reign is 25 years.

Candidates for Shoshenq Meriamun of the Temple of Montu Graffiti

Kitchen, however, follows Broekman in proposing another attestation of Shoshenq VIa. The information has been provided by Helen Jacquet-Gordon. A graffito, No. 145 (Broekman’s No. 10), scratched onto the roof of the Temple of Montu at Karnak has a year four of a Shoshenq Meriamun. It was written by a wab priest, Djedioh A, whose grandson of the same name, identified as Djedioh B, is inscribed on graffito No. 146 (Broekman’s No. 11), just east of No. 145, along with a year five and the date of III Šmwi 10 referring to a king Iny Si-Ese Meriamun.

Graffito No. 147, just west of graffito No. 145, refers to a year two and a third month with name lost, and someone’s father with the name of Khonsu. Kitchen suggests that this Khonsu is the son of Djedioh A and the father of Djedioh B. Also near Nos.

54 Kitchen, “Overview of Fact & Fiction,” 175. Note that Kitchen wrongly attributes Nile Level Text No. 13 to Shoshenq VIa when he really meant Nile Level Text No. 3.
55 Ibid., 177.
56 Ibid., 175, 177, 189, 198.
57 Ibid., 175.
58 Jacquet-Gordon, Graffiti on the Khonsu Temple Roof, 5-56.
145 and 146 is graffito No. 148 (Broekman’s No. 19) on the same roof slab, which mentions a certain Irethoreru (Iret-Hor-eru), son of a Djedioh, carved in hieroglyphic—not hieratic—writing, which would date it to the 24th or 25th Dynasty or later, the hieroglyphics being characteristic of the 26th Dynasty, as well as the name Irethoreru.\(^{60}\)

If Irethoreru is the son of Djedioh B it places Djedioh B and Iny in the 25th Dynasty. Broekman suggests that Iny reigned shortly before Shabako conquered Egypt when there was a revolt against Piye’s overlordship, and the slaughter by Shabako of those “who had rebelled against him in both south and north and in every foreign land” commemorated on a scarab.\(^{61}\)

Broekman, following Yoyotte, links this to Louvre stela C.100, which has the partial erasure of both a figure of a king, Iny with the prenomen Menkheperre, and that of his daughter Mutirdis. The king’s name appears in the columns three times and in each case has been erased leaving only two reed signs ending in y, which suggests that this stela belongs to Iny.\(^{62}\) According to Kitchen the style of the stela is consistent with the early 25th Dynasty.\(^{63}\) This “damnation memoriae” was not a usual practice of the Libyan dynasties but could be attributed to the 25th Dynasty.\(^{64}\)

Kitchen defines this more closely by identifying Iny as the successor of Nimlot D and his successor Thutemhat, in Hermopolis. As Nimlot D was present at Piye’s invasion, it places Iny after Nimlot and Thutemhat. Kitchen proposes that Shabako destroyed Iny’s presence at Thebes and perhaps at Hermopolis before sweeping north and conquering other “petty royalties” in Lower Egypt.\(^{65}\)

If Iny was the contemporary of Djedioh B as stated on graffito No. 146, the question remains as to when Djedioh A lived. Who was the king Shoshenq Meriamun on graffito No. 145 in whose reign the graffito was written at the time of Djedioh A?

Shoshenq III as a contender for the “Shoshenq Meriamun” is ruled out by Broekman because it would place Iny in the reign of Osorkon III.\(^{66}\) Since Shoshenq III reigned in the chronology I have established from 839 to 800 BCE, the distance between grandfather Djedioh A and grandson Djedioh B—assuming Iny reigned in his locality ca. 720 when Shabako began to reign\(^{67}\)—makes it very unlikely that Shoshenq III is the Shoshenq Meriamun of graffito No. 145.

If Shoshenq VI’s reign is dated to 806–800 (as here) at which time Djedioh A was alive, and the graffito referring to Djedioh B and Iny inscribed sometime ca. 720 BCE, some 80 years ensued. This may seem a long time between grandfather and grandson, but it is not improbable since two generations can span more than 80 years.\(^{68}\) A son of Djedioh A could have been born near to, or after, the death of Shoshenq VI ca. 790, and his son some 30 years later (ca. 760 BCE), thus Djedioh B could have been contemporary of Iny, and be aged not much more than 40 years when the graffito was carved in the reign of Piye or Shabako.

\(^{60}\) Jacquet-Gordon, *Graffiti on the Khonsu Temple Roof*, 56.
\(^{63}\) Kitchen, *TIP*, 137 §110.
\(^{64}\) Broekman, “Chronological Position,” 84-85.
\(^{66}\) Broekman, “Chronological Position,” 84.
\(^{67}\) Kitchen’s date of Shabako’s accession in 716 (“Overview of Fact & Fiction,” 189) is four years too late as we shall discuss presently.
\(^{68}\) As known from personal experience!
Therefore, Djedioh B’s grandfather, two generations earlier than Iny, could have been a contemporary of Shoshenq VI, identifying him with Shoshenq Meriamun on graffito No. 145. It is worth recalling that Iuput I who preceded Shoshenq VI has been identified as Iuputy of Khons Temple roof graffito Nos. 244 and 245A–B.\(^{69}\) His 12 years (11 as co-regent with Pedubast I) spanned the years 818–806 BCE. With Iny being dated to ca. 720, the 23rd Dynasty is covered by the graffiti.

**Another Candidate: Shoshenq VIa**

The only other candidate for Shoshenq Meriamun of Khons roof graffito No. 145 is Shoshenq VIa. Presumably this king reigned when an adult and he reigned 25 years (757–732), which could make him over 45–50 when he died. It is quite possible that he had a grandson when he died, and that the grandson would have been an adult by the time of the Piye/Shabako changeover in 720 BCE, and contemporary with Djedioh B and King Iny.

Therefore, Shoshenq VIa, living at the time of the early 25th dynasty, might be a more likely candidate for the Shoshenq Meriamun of graffito No. 145 than Shoshenq VI.

However, the latter cannot be ruled out. It is not certain that the Shoshenq Meriamun of graffiti No. 145 is a further attestation of Shoshenq VIa. What is certain is that year 19 of Shoshenq VIa coincides with year 12 of Piye in my chronology, in accordance with the Wadi Gasus inscription. No other king’s reign is applicable. The existence of this king with a year 19, and up to a year 25, is attested; even if his name Shoshenq cannot be confirmed.

**Iuput II (Usimare Sepepenamun/re Iuput Si-Bast)**

Iuput II is mainly known from the Victory Stela of Piye as ruler or king of Leontopolis who submitted to Piye in the latter’s invasion of Egypt in his 20th year in 730 BCE. Kitchen assigns Pedubast I, the founder of the 23rd Dynasty, to Leontopolis (Ta-Remu), which had strong Bubastide connections to the 22nd Dynasty. Kitchen says Iuput II first had the epithet Si-Bast at Memphis; but after moving to Ta-Remu changed it to Si-Ese.\(^{70}\) The fact that Iuput II is placed at Leontopolis, and no mention is made of Shoshenq VIa alive at the time of Piye’s invasion recorded in the Victory stela, leads Kitchen and others to identify Iuput II as the last king of the 23rd Dynasty.

A stela from Mendes (a city in the central Delta area) featuring Smendes the son of Harnakht bears Iuput’s name without his prenomen and attributes to him a year 21.\(^{71}\) Shoshenq VIa’s 25 years’ reign is dated in my chronology to 757–732 BCE and indicates that Iuput II reigned about two years as king of the 23rd Dynasty before Piye invaded Egypt. Iuput II was not killed by Piye’s army. Piye allowed him to remain as local governor of Leontopolis.\(^{72}\) Assuming Iuput reigned 21 years and not longer, his last year would date to 711 when apparently Smendes too was alive.

Kitchen’s chronology runs into problems when he works downwards from his date for Pedubast I’s accession in 818 (taken from the Nile Level Text No. 24 giving a year 12 of Shoshenq III synchronized with a year five of Pedubast [I]), and upwards from 715 when he believes the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties came to an end—rather than at the time of Piye’s invasion in 730 BCE. By selecting 715 as the end of the two dynasties

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\(^{69}\) Jacquet-Gordon, *Graffiti on the Khonsu Temple Roof*, 84-85.

\(^{70}\) Kitchen, “Overview of Fact & Fiction,” 188.


\(^{72}\) “Victory Stela of Piye.” [http://www.yare.org/essays/pianky.htm](http://www.yare.org/essays/pianky.htm)
he actually allocates an extra 15 years that were not included in Manetho’s reckoning (that is 267 years for the 22nd Dynasty spanning 997–730 BCE).

By assigning Iuput II’s 21 years to 736–715, only 5 years are allowed for Shoshenq VIa because the combined years of Pedubast I (25 years), Iuput I (1 sole year), Shoshenq VI (6 years), Osorkon III (28 years), Takeloth III (14 years sole reign, should be 13), and Rudamun (3 years), amount to 77 years, giving Rudamun the years 744–741 BCE. So between 741 and 736 there are only 5 years. Kitchen relies on Nile Level Text No. 3 with a year five and its attribution to Hedjkheperre Setepenre [Shoshenq VIa] without also attributing Nile Level Text No. 45 with its 17, 18, or 25 years to this same king as Broekman had earlier proposed.

This king is, therefore, not assigned any years in Kitchen’s chronology. Seventeen years is the least number of years this king reigned. And, because he cannot accommodate Shoshenq VIa’s 25 years reign, Kitchen cannot identify Shoshenq VIa as the king of the Wadi Gasus inscription. So he dispenses with it—as noted above.

**Remainder of Nile Level Texts**

Resulting from the above discussion, it is possible to assign Nile Level Text No. 10 with a year 13 to Takeloth III, No. 43 with a year three to Rudamun, and No. 3 with year five and No. 45 with year 25 both to Shoshenq VIa.

The only king of the 23rd Dynasty not so far represented on at least one Nile Level Text is Iuput II. (Iuput I shares Nile Level Text No. 26 with Pedubast I.) However, there is a possibility that Iuput II is represented in Nile Level Text No. 44, which is very badly damaged. Broekman assigned it to Shoshenq VI because its structure was most similar to Nile Level Text No. 25 attributed to that king, and he suggested that the six strokes legible following a damaged area could have had two more strokes, thus six plus two equals eight. However, the chronology, as discussed above, indicates that six years is all that can be assigned to Shoshenq VI, and he already has a year six on Nile Level Text No. 25. (The king is not named but the presence of High Priest Takeloth has led to the identification of it as belonging to Shoshenq VI.)

Broekman said that the traces of the prenomen seem to read Usermaatre Meriamun or Usermaatre Setepenamun. The version of ḫpꜣy is not legible. While the position of this text on the wall was not recorded by Legrain and not seen since, it is said that Legrain numbered the texts in what he thought was their chronological order (which was inaccurate). It therefore seems that a No. 44 would appear chronologically near to No. 43, which is now proposed as that representing Rudamun, and No. 45 representing Shoshenq VIa, both of which are Iuput’s immediate predecessors. Furthermore, Iuput II’s prenomen is Usimaatre (alternatively Usimare or Usermare) Setepenamun/re. It may be possible, therefore, to attribute the six strokes on Nile Level Text No. 44 to Iuput II for six years, with the possibility of a higher number, which includes at least six digits, such as seven to nine, and with a ten-sign, 16–19. It is not known if Iuput II reigned longer than 21 years.

If No. 44 is assigned to Iuput II, then all the kings of the 23rd Dynasty are represented on the Nile River quay texts. The only other text noted by Legrain and not seen since, is that of No. 15 about which Broekman says, “is too badly damaged to yield any useful information.” About the only clue then to the king’s identity is its numbering given by Legrain according to his understanding of the chronology. The only king remaining of the 22nd Dynasty who does not have a Nile Level Text attributed to

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74 Ibid.
him, but comes before Shoshenq III, who is the last to be attributed a Version One of $h\textsuperscript{3}\text{py}$, is Takeloth II. He, of course, comes immediately after Osorkon II.

The fact that both of the badly damaged texts of Nos. 44 and 15 are associated with the section of the quay wall where Nos. 43, 45, and 14 (together with Nos. 3 and 10) are found at the same level on the right-hand side, suggests that Nos. 44 and 15 may have once been seen in this area, though they have now eroded away. Perhaps significantly, Osorkon II’s Nile Level Text with his year 29 is No. 14! So it would be appropriate for Takeloth II’s Nile Level Text to be given the number 15!

Nile Level Text No. 14, referring to Osorkon II with a year 29 (873 BCE) was engraved more than 110 years before those adjacent to it. It is positioned on the quay wall between No. 43 (Rudamun’s Nile Level Text dating to 759–757) and No. 3 (Shoshenq VIa’s Nile Level Text, with No. 45 to its left, dating to 757–732), which were after Osorkon II died and Takeloth II began to reign in 872. Therefore, a Nile Level Text No. 15 could belong to a king who reigned after Osorkon II and be reasonably attributed to Takeloth II. The almost illegible state of the text might indicate an earlier king, especially as those on the lower part of the wall were subject to more erosion caused by flooding over the centuries. Von Beckerath wrote, “There are still traces of other inscriptions on the quay wall which I could not identify.”

Legrain’s numbering of the texts does not follow the now known chronological sequence, but even so it is instructive to see how he numbered them. After correctly assigning No. 1 and No. 2 to Shoshenq I and Osorkon I, respectively, he applies No. 3 to the row we have been discussing, which is somewhat removed and to the right of Nos. 1 and 2. This suggests that Legrain thought that the king’s prenomen, Hedjkheperre Setepenre (nomen not legible), indicated Takeloth I, whom he would have thought had succeeded Osorkon I of Nile Level Text No. 2, since the existence of King Shoshenq IIa who was the immediate successor of Osorkon I is a relatively recent discovery. (His Nile Level Text texts appear above and below Nos. 1 and 2.)

No. 4, below and to the right of No. 3, is now known to belong to Takeloth III, but Legrain may have understood it also to belong to Takeloth I. Thereafter, the Nos. 5–14 are all attributed to an Osorkon, whereas chronologically, Nile Level Texts Nos. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, belong to Osorkon II, and Nos. 5, 6, 7, to Osorkon III, with No. 13 to Osorkon III and Takeloth III (co-regents).

Then Legrain places Nos. 16–21 together, which refer to the sons of an Osorkon; whereas, it now appears that 16, 20, and 21 probably refer to the reign of Shoshenq II, and 17, 18, and 19 to Takeloth I. Nos. 22–28 all refer to the time period of Shoshenq III, and Pedubast I (although No. 22, which refers to the 39th and last year of Shoshenq III, is the first numbered). That just leaves Legrain with Nos. 15, 43, 44, and 45, with 15 and 44 unplaced, and 43, 44, and 45 numbered in his compilation as kings of the 25th and 26th Dynasties, presumably because he did not know to whom or where they belonged. But, as discussed above, they seem to be the last three kings of the 23rd Dynasty: Rudamun, Shoshenq VIa, and Iuput II.

Reconciliation with Manetho’s 23rd Dynasty

Having established the chronology as above, it is now possible to make suggestions about the names of the kings and regnal years handed down by Manetho via Africanus for the 23rd Dynasty. They may be compared with my proposed chronology in the right-hand column in Table 38.6.

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75 Von Beckerath, “Nile Level Records,” 43 n. 9.
Table 38.6: Comparison of Manetho and the proposed chronology for the 23rd Dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kings</th>
<th>Manetho; The Book of Sothis (BoS)</th>
<th>Proposed regnal years</th>
<th>Dates BCE (sole-reign years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedubast I</td>
<td>40/25; BoS 44</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>832/831–807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iuput I</td>
<td>Omitted</td>
<td>1 sole, 11 co-regent</td>
<td>807–806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq VI</td>
<td>Omitted</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>806–800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osorkon III</td>
<td>8/9; BoS 9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>800–772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammus/Takeloth III</td>
<td>10; BoS 10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>772–759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudamun</td>
<td>Omitted</td>
<td>2–3</td>
<td>759–758/757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zet/Shoshenq VIb</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>758/757–732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iuput II</td>
<td>Omitted</td>
<td>2 prior to 730, 19</td>
<td>732–730 to 709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>89/94</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>132 yr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As previously explained, the 40 years given to Pedubast I by Africanus (and the 44 by The Book of Sothis) seem to include 20 years appropriated from the reign of Osorkon III who should be attributed 28 or 29 years, not 8 or 9. Pedubast then needs five extra years in Africanus to bring his total to 25 years given him by Eusebius/Armenian. The 44 from The Book of Sothis, possibly indicates an original 24 attributed to him, thus 24–25 years, rounded to 25 years as above. Nile Level Text No. 29 gives Pedubast I 23 years, just two short of the 25 years. Six years are required for the reign of Shoshenq VI not given by Manetho’s copyists, but indicated by Nile Level Text No. 25. Osorkon III’s 8 or 9 years are to be emended to 28 as given on Nile Level Text No. 13.

If Psammus is equated with Takeloth III, then three more years should be added to his 10-year reign to give him the 13 years attested on the donation stela from the Dakhla Oasis. The five years of Takeloth III’s co-regency with his father is attributed to Osorkon III’s regnal years. Rudamun, attested as a king of the 23rd Dynasty, is not mentioned by Manetho, but a two- to three-year reign can be attributed to him between the end of Takeloth III’s reign and the accession of Shoshenq VII in 757 BCE, as previously discussed on the basis of Nile Level Text No. 43 with a year three.

Zet?

An otherwise unknown Zet, mentioned only by Africanus, is given 31 years. Thirty of these 31 years can be accounted for by recognizing 3 for Rudamun, 25 for Shoshenq VIa and 2 for Iuput II before Piye’s invasion. The extra year is probably to be divided among Shoshenq VIa and Iuput II as the 19th year of Shoshenq VIa fell in the 12th year of Piye in 738 BCE. The only years not represented by Manetho’s versions are the six years of Shoshenq VI, and the two years of Iuput II. Eight years represent the difference between the total of 94 for Manetho’s versions and the 102 of this chronology. The 23rd Dynasty may be allocated the years 832–730 BCE.

This chronology makes sense of the numbers in Manetho’s 23rd Dynasty, which has been a complete enigma to Egyptologists. One of the reasons is that the actual length of the dynasty was not known due to the dates imposed on it by its synchronization of Pedubast I’s first year with an incorrect date of 818 BCE for Shoshenq III’s eighth year.

Furthermore, the 13 years now credited to Takeloth III has only been known since 2005. The 23rd Dynasty is synchronized to the 22nd Dynasty by Pedubast’s first

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77 It is possible that just as the 20 years has been brought up a line to the reign of Pedubast from that of Osorkon III in Manetho’s list via Africanus, that the notation after the name of Osorkon, “in his reign the Olympic festival was first celebrated” was originally attached to the name of Osorkon. Since the first Olympic festival is dated conventionally to the year 776 BCE, this applies to Osorkon III’s reign (800–772 BCE) not Pedubast I’s.
If the 22nd Dynasty is given the starting date of 945 BCE for the accession of Shoshenq I, a date applied to it from Thiele’s incorrect Hebrew chronology based on the Assyrian Eponym Canon, which is 52 years too low, then the dates used by Kitchen to give him the dates for the 23rd Dynasty will correspondingly also be too low, although by the time of Pedubast I’s accession the number has been reduced to 14 years difference (Kitchen’s 818 instead of 832 BCE). The date of 945 has no corroboration, although Kitchen thought his “dead reckoning” was supported by Thiele’s date for Rehoboam’s fifth year/Shoshenq I’s 20th year in 925 BCE. The entire reconstruction of the 22nd to 25th Dynasties suffers from the imposition of Shoshenq I’s accession date of 945 instead of the correct 997 BCE, making the chronology too short to accommodate the kings’ regnal years. This is seen above in the years given to Osorkon IV when he is dated to 730–715 by Kitchen, when Osorkon IV should be dated to 741–730 BCE as the last king of the 22nd Dynasty and then as governor under Piye and Shabako. Osorkon IV eventually came up against the Assyrian king Sargon in 716/715 BCE to whom he gave 12 horses as tribute. After that, Osorkon IV is not heard of again.

Table 38.7 gives the chronology of the 23rd Dynasty as discussed above.

Table 38.7: The 23rd Dynasty with regnal years and dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Regnal years</th>
<th>Dates reigned BCE</th>
<th>Anchor points BCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedubast I</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>832/831–807</td>
<td>Began to reign in Yr 8 of Shoshenq III (NLT 24 Shq III’s Yr 12 = Pedubast I’s Yr 5). Yr 7 induction on 1 šmw [1] = I šmw 5 new moon in 826. Yr 14 induction on 1 šmw 19 new moon; (incorrectly attributed to Yr 8) in 819.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iuput I</td>
<td>12 yrs (11 co-reign of Pedubast I)</td>
<td>807–806</td>
<td>NLT 26 Yr 16 = Yr 2 Iuput I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq VI</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>806–800</td>
<td>Khons roof date?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osorkon III</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>800–772</td>
<td>NLT 13 yr 28 = Yr 5 Takeloth III (5 yrs attributed to Osorkon III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takeloth III</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>772–759</td>
<td>None known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudamun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>759–758/757</td>
<td>None known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshenq VIa</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>758/757–732</td>
<td>Yr 19 = Yr 12 of Piye of 25th Dynasty in 738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iuput II</td>
<td>2 to 730 + more</td>
<td>732–730 (+ 19 after invasion)</td>
<td>Present at Leontopolis in Piye’s 20th yr invasion in 730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>102 yrs</strong></td>
<td><strong>832–730</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NLT = Nile Level Text.