

## Chapter VIII

# Tirhakah

### Part VI of the Sabbath and Jubilee of 701/700 and 700/699 B.C.E.

Ultimately, the entire debate over whether there was one or two invasions against Judah by Sennacherib can be reduced to a single issue: the mentioning in Scriptures of a Kushite king named Tirhakah (Tarku, Taharqa, Tarqu, Terhak, Tirhak, etc.),<sup>1</sup> who led an expedition against Sennacherib at the time that the Assyrian army was destroyed by a plague at Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

Who was this “Tirhakah, the king of Kush” (i.e. Ethiopia, the country which was later called Nubia) who opposed Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E.? According to popular presumption, the Tirhakah who came out to fight against Sennacherib is to be identified with Khu-Re’ Nefertem Tirhakah,<sup>3</sup> the Kushite pharaoh of Egypt’s Dynasty XXV.<sup>4</sup> Nefertem Tirhakah ruled Egypt from 691/690 to 666/665 B.C.E. (autumn reckoning). Upon this identification the entire scenario for the two-invasion hypothesis rests. For its advocates, since this Tirhakah did not rule in 701 B.C.E., a second invasion of Judah is deemed necessary. All other discussions arise merely as an outgrowth of this interpretation.

Opposed to the view that there was only one Tirhakah is the fact that all the available records left to us accommodate only one invasion of Judah by Sennacherib. Yet if the Tirhakah mentioned in the Scriptures was indeed Khu-Re’ Nefertem Tirhakah then a second invasion must be postulated and the evidence reorganized to explain his appearance in the story. And if there was a second invasion then the sabbath and Jubilee years in the days of Hezekiah must also, as a consequence, be radically different. It is paramount for our investigation, therefore, that we correctly identify the king of Kush from whom Sennacherib fled.

<sup>1</sup> The name Tirhakah—תִּרְהַקָּה (*Tirhakah*; *Tirhaqah*) in Hebrew; ⲧⲁⲓⲣⲁⲕⲁ (*Taharqa*) in Ethiopian/Egyptian; ܛܝܪܗܩܐ (*Tirhak*; *Tirhaq*) in the Aramaic text of Targ. Jon.; Θαράκκα (*Tharaka*) in the LXX; Θαρθακ (*Tharthak*) in the Lucian text; Θαρσίκην (*Tharsikēn*) by Josephus—is variously transcribed and given. E.g., AHOE, 3, p. 294, and TK, 1, p. 14, *Taharqa*; HE, 6, p. 142, *Taherq* or *Taharqa*; EP, p. 450, *Taharka*; CAW, p. 81, *Taharqa*; etc. He is called *Tarku* by the Assyrians, and *Eterarchos*, *Tarakos*, *Tearkos*, and *Saracus* by the Greeks and Latins (CAH, 3, p. 279; HPM, p. 280; Manetho, frags. 66–68; Strabo, 15:1:6).

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings, 19:9–36; Isa., 37:9–37; Jos., *Antiq.*, 10:1:4–5.

<sup>3</sup> Some writings have *Khu-Nefertem Re’* (TK, 1, p. 9, n. 2; TIP, p. 388, n. 834). Petrie gives *Nefertem-Khu-Ra* (AHOE, 3, p. 294). Breasted has *Nefertem-Khure* (ARE, 4, p. 452, #888; cf. TIP, p. 388). We shall follow the form “Khu-Re’ Nefertem,” used by Macadam (TK, 1, p. 5, et al), and for the sake of brevity the short form “Nefertem,” recognizing that the issue of just how this name is reproduced is not yet settled.

<sup>4</sup> George Smith summarizes the two-invasion premise when he writes, “It is his [the compiler of 2 Kings] preservation of the name of Tirhak\ah, who did not come to power over Egypt till 691, that enables us to separate the Second narrative and assign its different story to that second southern campaign of Sennacherib, which the Assyrian evidence gives us some ground to suppose took place between 691 and 689” (JTEH, pp. 173f). One can conversely conclude that if it had not been for the unwarranted identification of the Tirhakah of 2 Kings and Isaiah with Nefertem Tirhakah there would have been no basis for the two-invasion hypothesis.

## One Tirhakah?

The basic error made by the proponents of the two-invasion hypothesis, and for that matter even by those advocating a single invasion, is their careless assumption that there was only one king from this general period named Tirhakah: the Ethiopian pharaoh of Egypt's Dynasty XXV known by the names Khu-Re' Nefertem and Tirhakah.<sup>5</sup>

To begin with, it is unjustified to write off the problem of King Tirhakah, as some do, by rationalizing that his mentioning in Scriptures was either a mistake or a later scribal addition.<sup>6</sup> The name is testified to by several excellent early sources: Isaiah and 2 Kings (supported by the LXX versions), Targum Jonathan (first century B.C.E.) and Josephus (first century C.E.).<sup>7</sup> We simply have no reason to doubt their authenticity. In each case Tirhakah is claimed to be the king of Kush and is an integral part of the story. Indeed, the fact that the authors of these texts would remember the names of Hezekiah's officials,<sup>8</sup> relatively minor players in the story, yet would be confused about the identity of a major player, the king of Kush, is very improbable.<sup>9</sup>

John Bright, an advocate of the two-invasion hypothesis, frames the argument by suggesting that we should regard the verses from 2 Kings, 18:17 to 19:37, "as late, legendary, and of minimal historical value, or must at the very least regard the mention of Tirhakah as an error." He then admits that if Tirhakah's name is removed from the equation (assuming the reference is to Nefertem Tirhakah) various one-invasion scenarios are plausible.<sup>10</sup>

Even those who conclude that there could only have been one campaign against Judah have carelessly accepted this identification. In most of these cases they merely reason that Israelite scribes anachronistically referred to Tirhakah as a king years before he actually came to power.<sup>11</sup> The historian Kenneth Kitchen removes the problem by making the Hebrew words *melek Kush* (the king of Kush) a "gloss."<sup>12</sup> Martin Noth, who also believes in only one invasion of Judah by Sennacherib, dismissed the difficulty by simply declaring that the mention of Tirhakah in Scriptures was a "mistake."<sup>13</sup>

A close examination of the ancient evidence, nevertheless, reveals that this popular identification of the Tirhakah who attacked Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. is wrong. To cast this figure as Khu-Re' Nefertem Tirhakah of Egypt is not only unnecessary it is unwarranted. Ancient records show that in the early days of Sennacherib there lived another powerful monarch of Kush also

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<sup>5</sup> Until now, this narrow assumption about the identity of Tirhakah seems amazingly universal, this author not having been able to find a single contrary instance. Examples from those adhering to two invasions are TK, 1, pp. 18ff, n. 30; CAW, p. 82; HE, 6, pp. 148f; BASOR, 130, pp. 4-9; CAH, 3, p. 74; AHI, p. 297f; BS, 63, pp. 610f; AUSS, 4, pp. 1-11; AATB, p. 21. Examples from those adhering to only one invasion are AHOE, 3, p. 296; HI, p. 268; AHJP, pp. 143f; NOT, p. 55, n. 3; AOT, pp. 268f; TIP, pp. 157-172. Examples from those uncommitted to either view are SIP, p. 51; LAP, pp. 177f.

<sup>6</sup> As conclude Noth (HI, p. 268) and Tadmor (AHJP, p. 144); also see AHI, pp. 298-300.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings, 19:9; Isa., 37:9; LXX, 4 Kings, 19:9; LXX Isa., 37:9; Targ. Jon., 2 Kings, 19:9, & Isa., 37:9; Jos., *Antiq.*, 10:2:1.

<sup>8</sup> Eliakim, Shebna and Joah, see 2 Kings, 18:18; Isa., 36:3; Jos., *Antiq.*, 10:1:2.

<sup>9</sup> See comments in AHI, pp. 298-300.

<sup>10</sup> AHI, pp. 298, 300f.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. AHOE, 3, p. 296; AHE, p. 552; AOT, p. 269; SIP, p. 34., n. 112, p. 51; TIP, pp. 158f.

<sup>12</sup> TIP, pp. 158f.

<sup>13</sup> HI, p. 268.

named Tirhakah. This earlier Tirhakah, for a short time, ruled a vast empire covering western Asia and northern Africa. He is found in the Ethiopian archives as Tsawi Tirhakah Warada Nagash.<sup>14</sup> As we shall prove in our next chapter, he is also known from ancient inscriptions as Snefer-Ra Piankhi.

The failure of historians during the last two centuries to recognize two different Tirhakahs was, in part, the result of the ongoing process to recover Egyptian chronology. In the days when the issue was first considered, the chronology of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty of Egypt was sorely misdated. It was believed that Khu-Re' Nefertem Tirhakah of Egypt was a contemporary with the early years of Hezekiah.<sup>15</sup> Later on, as the Egyptian records became better known, the chronology of this dynasty was corrected to its proper place. It was then discovered that Nefertem Tirhakah of Egypt could not possibly have ruled at so early a date. By the time this mistake had been rectified, the association of the Tirhakah of Scriptures with Khu-Re' Nefertem Tirhakah was so deeply entrenched that no one questioned it.<sup>16</sup>

When records of another Tirhakah were unearthed (as we shall demonstrate in our next chapter), they were mistakenly grouped among those belonging to Khu-Re' Nefertem Tirhakah; and, at the same time, they were discredited and ignored because they did not agree with the known history of that Egyptian monarch. If it had not been for the subtle bias against Scriptures—ingrained in modern day schools of historical study (with their tendency to discredit scriptural history)—the solution of a second and earlier Tirhakah, which is presented by these other records, would have become evident long ago. But the unwillingness to accept the correctness of the account found in Scriptures resulted in a blind spot with regard to the issue. The possibility had not been considered because it was already decided that the report from Scriptures was fabricated or heavily flawed.

### **Khu-Re' Nefertem Tirhakah**

Could Khu-Re' Nefertem Tirhakah of Egypt's Dynasty XXV have been in command of an Ethiopian army as a Kushite king at the time of Sennacherib's third campaign in 701 B.C.E.? Nefertem Tirhakah's reign is dated by an Apis stele. This stele states that an Apis was born in the 26th year of Khu-Re' Nefertem Tirhakah and died in the 20th year, fourth month of the third season (twelfth month) of Psamtik (pharaoh of Dynasty XXVI). Its total life "makes 21 years, 2 months 7 days."<sup>17</sup> These figures show that one year intervened between the 26th year of Nefertem Tirhakah and the first year of Psamtik (i.e. Nefertem reigned 26 full years and at least part of year 27).<sup>18</sup>

Psamtik of Dynasty XXVI is known to have reigned a total of 54 years.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> CBN, app. A, p. 266, iv, xiii. Rey transliterates the name as *Terhak* instead of *Tirhakah*.

<sup>15</sup> Syncellus (died about 810 C.E.), for example, has Tirhakah of Egypt's D. XXV begin his reign seven years before the beginning of Hezekiah's reign (Syncellus, 2, pp. 208–211).

<sup>16</sup> The reaction of those who continue to follow the evidence of only one invasion is to maintain that Nefertem Tirhakah of Egypt was anachronistically referred to as a king. They assert that, at the time of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah, he was in reality only the general of Shabako's, or possibly of Shebitku's, army (for examples see above n. 11).

<sup>17</sup> ARE, 4, #959–962: CAW, p. 81.

<sup>18</sup> AUSS, 4, pp. 4f.

<sup>19</sup> ARE, 4, #974–979; Manetho, frag. 68; EP, p. 451; cf. MDA, 15, pp. 208–212; ZAS, 92, pp. 38f.

He succeeded his father, Nekao, to the throne at Sais.<sup>20</sup> Nekao was appointed as a king in Lower Egypt by the Assyrian monarch Esarhaddon in the spring of the latter's tenth year (671 B.C.E.), after a victory over Nefertem Tirhakah.<sup>21</sup> Nekao continued to rule parts of Lower Egypt for the eight years previous to his son Psamtik (i.e. 672/671–665/664 B.C.E., autumn reckoning).<sup>22</sup> "Year 1" of Psamtik, therefore, would be 664/663 B.C.E., autumn reckoning, which is confirmed as well by other records.<sup>23</sup> Tirhakah's 26th year, as a result, was 666/665 B.C.E., the year prior to the last year of Nekao. Tirhakah's 26 year reign, accordingly, began in 691/690 B.C.E. (autumn reckoning).

Nefertem Tirhakah did not reign a full 27 years. The one intervening year (665/664 B.C.E., autumn reckoning) between the 26th of Khu-Re' Nefertem Tirhakah and the first year of Psamtik was the year that Urdamane, the son of Shabako, obtained power.<sup>24</sup> He was driven back to Kush during the second invasion of Egypt by the Assyrian king Assurbanipal in 663 B.C.E.<sup>25</sup> At that time Psamtik, a loyalist to the Assyrians, was placed on the throne of his father, Nekao, king of Sais and Memphis—Nekao having been killed just before the Kushites retreated.<sup>26</sup>

There are two views towards calculating the age of Nefertem when he died. Inscriptions found at Kawa, dated to the sixth year of Nefertem Tirhakah, relate that, as a twenty year old youth, Nefertem Tirhakah was brought north from Nubia to Egypt by his brother, King Shebitku.<sup>27</sup> As he proceeded towards Egypt, the young man beheld a temple in Gempaten that had fallen into a ruinous state.<sup>28</sup> Nefertem Tirhakah then gives a statement which, by

<sup>20</sup> Manetho, frags. 68–69; Herodotus, 2:152.

<sup>21</sup> ARAB, 2, #771, 774, 902–905, cf. #554–558, 580, 582–585, 710; ANET, pp. 302f, iv, p. 303, 2 (rev.).

<sup>22</sup> Manetho, frags. 68–69. The name is variously spelled Necao, Neco, Necos, etc.

<sup>23</sup> MDA, 15, pp. 208–212; ZAS, 92, pp. 38f.

<sup>24</sup> ANET, p. 295.

<sup>25</sup> That this year was 663 B.C.E. see EP, p. 349; CAH, 3, pp. 285, 288 & n. 1; TIP, p. 394.

<sup>26</sup> That Nekao ruled Memphis and Sais see ANET, p. 294. Shabako murdered Nekao before he abandoned Egypt (Herodotus, 2:152). Herodotus adds that Shabako "fled" Egypt because of an oracle that he was only to rule that country for 50 years, which time was "now fulfilled," so he departed Egypt for Ethiopia "of his own accord" (Herodotus, 2:139). This statement implies that either Shabako left behind his son Urdamane, who shortly thereafter was defeated by the Assyrians, or that this was the Ethiopian explanation for their retreat (little resistance being offered to the Assyrians), cf. ANET, p. 295; ARAB, 2, #776ff. Herodotus also notes that it was the province of Sais that brought Psammethichus (Psamtik), the son of Nekao, back from Syria and placed him on their throne (Herodotus, 2:152). By this time all of Syria, as far south as Judah, Moab, and Edom, was once again under the complete control of the Assyrian empire in the person of King Esarhaddon (681/680–669/668 B.C.E., spring reckoning), see ARAB, 2, #690. In the Assyrian records Psamtik is called Tushamilk (ARAB, 2 #785; cf. EP, p. 353).

In the records of Assurbanipal's third campaign (which took place in the year 657 B.C.E., see JNES, 21, pp. 25–37), Psamtik is said to have revolted from the Assyrian king (ARAB, 2, #779–785). This evidence demonstrates that, when Psamtik was an Assyrian subject and when he achieved an Egyptian throne in 664/663 B.C.E., autumn reckoning, it was with Assyrian approval. At the same time, Psamtik should not be confused with another son of Nekao's called by the Assyrians "Nabusezibanni" (as some speculate, see CAH, 3, p. 286; EP, pp. 352f). He was placed on the throne of Athribis, Egypt during Assurbanipal's first campaign in 667 B.C.E. (ANET, p. 295). There is no evidence that the two are the same. But more important, if they had been the same person, Psamtik would have counted his reign from 668/667 and not from 664/663 B.C.E. Since he did not, and his reign is already counted as 54 years (664/663–611/610 B.C.E.), it seems better to conclude that Nabusezibanni was an older brother of Psamtik.

<sup>27</sup> TK, 1, pp. 15f, 23–28. Also see App. A.

<sup>28</sup> TK, 1, p. 15, *l.* 9–11.

the placement of a comma, can be translated and understood in one of two ways.<sup>29</sup> The first school of thought, led by M. F. Laming Macadam, renders this verse as follows:

Horus Lofty-of-Diadems, he called to mind this temple, which he had beheld as a youth in the first year of his reign.

This translation is understood by Macadam and those following him to mean that the temple was seen by Nefertem when he was 20 years old and that this was also the first year of his reign.<sup>30</sup> According to Macadam's reading, Shebitku died in the sixth year of a joint reign with his brother Nefertem Tirhakah.<sup>31</sup> This means that Nefertem was twenty years old at the time he began his 26 years as pharaoh (i.e. in 691/690 B.C.E.). If this be true, Nefertem Tirhakah was born in 711/710 B.C.E. and would have died at the age of 46.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, he would have only been about nine or ten years old in 701 B.C.E., an age hardly suitable for the leadership of a Kushite military expedition against a powerful Assyrian army.<sup>33</sup> It is also hard to believe that Sennacherib would have held much respect for such a youthful adversary.

The second view of this verse, held by Jean Leclant, Jean Yoyotte, Kenneth Kitchen and others,<sup>34</sup> reads:

Horus Lofty-of-Diadems, he called to mind this temple, which he had beheld as a youth, in the first year of his reign.

This translation of the inscription is understood to mean that the temple that Nefertem saw as a youth was called to mind in the first year of Nefertem's reign. The northward journey from Nubia for Nefertem, as a result, took place sometime during the reign of Pharaoh Shebitku. The longest date known for the reign of Shebitku is found in Africanus' version of Manetho,

<sup>29</sup> TK, 1, p. 15, l. 12f; TIP, p. 166.

<sup>30</sup> TK, 1, p. 17, n. 17, pp. 18–20, ns. 30, 31; BASOR, 130, pp. 8–9; ARI, pp. 297f.

<sup>31</sup> TK, 1, pp. 18f, n. 30.

<sup>32</sup> TK, 1, pp. 18–20, n. 30; BASOR, 130, pp. 8f. These writers would have Nefertem come to power in 690/689 B.C.E., placing his birth in 710/709 B.C.E. In our text we merely correct their error of leaving out the one year between Nefertem's 26th and Psamtik's first year (above pp. 87f).

<sup>33</sup> An excellent example of the age required for an Egyptian or Kushite king to lead a military expedition comes with the history of Tuthmosis III. Tuthmosis III ascended to the throne of Egypt in the last year of his father Tuthmosis II, being but a newborn child. After Tuthmosis II suddenly died, the consort Queen, Hatshepsut, proclaimed herself ruler and guardian of the child-king. This event took place during the child's second year (CAH, 2, pt. 1, pp. 316f). As he was maturing, Tuthmosis III was under the domination of Queen Hatshepsut (ibid.), p. 318). In that year Tuthmosis III led his first military expedition, directed towards the Asiatics (ARE, 2, p. 179). Since it is almost certain that, shortly after his birth, Tuthmosis III was placed on the throne of his seriously ill father, he would have been 21 or 22 years old during his first campaign.

<sup>34</sup> BIFAO, 51, pp. 15–29; TIP, pp. 161–172. Gardiner also does not accept the six year co-regency premise of Macadam for Shebitku and Nefertem Tirhakah (EP, pp. 345f, 450). Kitchen only gives Shebitku 13 years and ends his reign in 690 B.C.E. (TIP, p. 468). He, therefore, calculates the arrival of Tirhakah in Egypt in 701 B.C.E., in time for the war with Sennacherib (TIP, pp. 165–171). For a rebuttal to this view see AUSS, 4, pp. 1–11.

14 years.<sup>35</sup> Disregarding any co-regencies, and assuming Nefertem came north in the first year of Shebitku, the earliest that we could begin Shebitku's reign would be 705/704 B.C.E. Kitchen claims that Nefertem could have been twenty years of age by 701 B.C.E. and therefore old enough to lead a military expedition,<sup>36</sup> a pharaoh not being considered capable until he was at least twenty.<sup>37</sup>

Kitchen's understanding of the "Year 6" texts of Nefertem is better than Macadam's only in that the inscriptions do appear to mean that Tirhakah recalled the ruined temple in the first year of his reign. They do not mean that he was twenty years old at the time he took the throne. Yet Kitchen is certainly wrong by claiming that there was no co-regency of Tirhakah and Shebitku. This co-regency is demonstrated when we compare the words of the transmitters of Manetho with the data from the inscriptions (cf. Chart C). Also, the "Year 6" texts of Nefertem certainly allows for it.<sup>38</sup>

A co-regency is likewise inherent in Eusebius' comment about how Tirhakah came to rule Egypt as sole monarch, i.e. "*hic ab Ethiopia duxit exercitium atque Sebiconem occidit ipseque regnavit Egiptiorum*" (he led the army from Ethiopia to here and thus killed Shebitku and he himself ruled [over] Egypt).<sup>39</sup> These words do not fit the events of a youthful Nefertem Tirhakah being summoned by King Shebitku and then taken north to Egypt by King Shebitku's army so that Nefertem "might be there with him."<sup>40</sup> But it does relate to a later time, when Nefertem was in command of his own army (a right primarily retained by Egyptian and Kushite kings).

Accordingly, long ago, after examining this verse, Georg Unger presumed that Nefertem Tirhakah "already beforehand had possessed kingly power."<sup>41</sup> Whatever the dispute, Nefertem Tirhakah found it necessary to remove his brother from the throne, leaving himself as sole pharaoh. Since the death of Shebitku is mentioned in the stele dealing with Nefertem's sixth year, and since the records show that there was a co-regency, the death of Shebitku must have occurred sometime after Nefertem's first year but not later than his sixth. He is known to have returned to Kush to dedicate gifts at the temple

<sup>35</sup> Manetho, frag. 66.

<sup>36</sup> TIP, pp. 161–172.

<sup>37</sup> See above n. 33.

<sup>38</sup> This three year co-regency, found on Nile Level text no. 33 (ARE, 4, #887; CAW, p. 82), is also accounted for by Manetho's transmitters, Eusebius and Africanus. Africanus, starting from Shebitku's accession year, when he was associated with Shabako on the throne of Egypt, gives Shebitku 14 years. Eusebius, meanwhile, starting from the first year of his sole reign as pharaoh (though not the only king of Egypt), gives Shebitku only 12 years (Manetho, frags. 66, 67). Kitchen's attempt to overthrow the reading of the Egyptian inscription from the Nile Level text is unconvincing (TIP, pp. 170f). His effort is to avoid any co-regency, thereby lengthening the chronology so that Tirhakah could be 20 years old in 701 B.C.E. Kitchen is forced to totally dismiss the information from Manetho (TIP, pp. 153f, n. 298, 448f, 452f). His reasons for holding to this view are based upon the fact that Manetho's figures do not directly agree with the numbers found on the monuments and inscriptions. This view is unreasonable. Manetho's numbers are based upon an entirely different way of calculating the Egyptian reigns and can only be judged in the light of complimenting known Egyptian inscriptions. Interestingly, the figures from Manetho, when compared with the inscriptions, actually confirm the fact that there was a co-regency for Shebitku and Nefertem Tirhakah (see Chart C).

<sup>39</sup> CM, p. 251.

<sup>40</sup> TK, 1, p. 28, ∞. 13f. And see App. A.

<sup>41</sup> CM, p. 251.

of Gempaten every year from his second to eighth.<sup>42</sup> It must have been upon his return from one of these dedications in Kush that the plot to overthrow his brother was acted out.

Setting aside the issue of co-regency, there is no evidence at all that Nefertem came north from Nubia during Shebitku's early reign. Indeed, since the inscriptions of Nefertem Tirhakah suggest that this call to come to Egypt was intended to associate Nefertem on the throne,<sup>43</sup> it is much more likely that it occurred in the latter part of Shebitku's reign. Regardless, even if we did assume that Nefertem Tirhakah's inscriptions meant to say that he was brought to Egypt at the beginning of Shebitku's reign,<sup>44</sup> the logic of Kitchen and those following him is still flawed.

First, Bright is correct when he concludes that it is very unlikely, "that an untried youth of twenty who by his own statement had never before left his home in Nubia, would have been placed in command of an expeditionary force in Palestine" to oppose the mighty Assyrian military machine.<sup>45</sup>

Second, sidestepped is the issue of co-regencies (demonstrated by the transmitters of Manetho and evidence of at least a three year joint reign with Shabako in an inscription belonging to Shebitku).<sup>46</sup>

Third, this scenario passes off the term *מֶלֶךְ כּוּשׁ* (*melek Kush*; the king of Kush), which is used for the Tirhakah found in Scriptures, as either a gloss or an anachronism. Scriptures, Targum Jonathan, and Josephus all make it clear that it was the king of Kush named Tirhakah that came out to oppose Sennacherib, not his *turtānu* or a prince who would later become king. This reinterpretation of the words from Scriptures is wholly unwarranted.

Fourth, Nefertem Tirhakah, as Gardiner points out, "was nothing loath to publicize his fortunes and his achievements."<sup>47</sup> Yet, in the various inscriptions proclaiming how he came to power and the wondrous things of his reign, not once does he mention a victorious campaign occurring against the Assyrian empire, either before or after his rule began in Egypt.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, nothing of such importance is even implied in his inscriptions recounting the events of his first six years as pharaoh (i.e. 691/690–686/686 B.C.E.),<sup>49</sup> a time which would encompass any possibility for the proposed second invasion of Judah by Sennacherib.

These facts demonstrate conclusively that there is no evidence, nor is there a possibility that Nefertem Tirhakah was the Tirhakah from whom Sennacherib fled in 701 B.C.E. This being the state of the problem, we must look elsewhere for the Tirhakah of Scriptures.

## A Confederation of Kings

The next circumstance allowing for the existence of another Kushite king during Sennacherib's time named Tirhakah comes from the political system

<sup>42</sup> TK, 1, pp. 4–9.

<sup>43</sup> TK, 1, p. 15, ℓ. 8f, pp. 17f, ns. 17, 30; p. 28, ℓ. 13f.

<sup>44</sup> CAW, p. 82, also considers this possibility but concludes that, either way, it leaves Tirhakah too young to lead an expedition against the Assyrians.

<sup>45</sup> AHL, p. 298, n. 9.

<sup>46</sup> See above n. 38.

<sup>47</sup> EP, p. 344.

<sup>48</sup> See inscriptions in TK, 1, pp. 4–44; ARE, 4, #892–900, 918.

<sup>49</sup> TK, 1, pp. 4–9, 14–16, 22–28; ARE, 4, #892–896.

generally used among these ancient Middle Eastern kingdoms. Evidence strongly demonstrates that Kush, like many other countries in the ancient Near East, was ruled by a confederation of kings. For example, Scriptures speak of a confederation of kings for the Assyrians, the Hittites, the Egyptians, and many others.<sup>50</sup> Sennacherib's own records tell of his defeat of some "kings of Muzri (Lower Egypt)"<sup>51</sup> and a "king of Meluḥḥa" ("Meluḥḥa" being the Assyrian designation for Upper Egypt)<sup>52</sup> during his third campaign in 701 B.C.E.<sup>53</sup> At this time, the Ethiopian king named Shabako (714/713-700/699 B.C.E.)<sup>54</sup> was ruling Egypt as pharaoh in conjunction with other local Egyptian dynasts.

Pliny notes that Ethiopia was anciently divided into 45 kingdoms.<sup>55</sup> Among these, the island of Meroe was in his day ruled by Queen Kandake, "a name that has passed on through a succession of queens for many years."<sup>56</sup> Diodorus points out that a good part of Ethiopia was composed of several elective monarchies—the heads of which were chosen out of their priests—and that all these princes made the laws of their respective realms the basis of their government.<sup>57</sup>

Ancient records also prove that more than one Kushite king ruled Egypt at the same time. Herodotus, for example, reports that in the reign of an Egyptian king named Anysis, "Egypt was invaded by Shabako, king of Ethiopia, and a great army of Ethiopians."<sup>58</sup> Shabako began Manetho's list of Ethiopian kings of Egypt represented by the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.<sup>59</sup>

When Herodotus referred to the invasion of Egypt by Shabako, it was only to Lower and Middle Egypt. Upper Egypt had already been under Kushite control for a number of years. Diodorus, for example, reports that it was under "Actisanes, the king of the Ethiopians," that "Egypt fell under the rule of the Ethiopians."<sup>60</sup> Diodorus then lists Shabako as a later Ethiopian monarch of Egypt.<sup>61</sup> Kashta, the father of Shabako, likewise, had previously ruled Thebes in Upper Egypt.<sup>62</sup> Before Kashta, the king of Kush named Usimare Piankhi (Miamun Piankhi) held sway over Egypt (Charts D & E). In some quarters, the real reading of the name Piankhi is believed to be "Py."<sup>63</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Listed as a confederation of kings are the kings of the Assyrians (2 Chron., 28:16, 30:6, 32:4), kings of the Hittites (1 Kings, 10:29; 2 Kings, 7:6; 2 Chron., 1:17), kings of the Egyptians (2 Kings, 7:6), kings of Babylon (2 Kings, 25:28), kings of Persia (Ezra, 9:9), kings of Arabia (1 Kings, 10:15; 2 Chron., 9:14), kings of Aram/Syria (2 Sam., 10:19; 1 Kings, 10:29; 2 Chron., 1:17, 28:23), kings of Zobah (1 Sam., 14:47), kings of the Emori (Josh., 2:10, 9:10, 10:6, 24:12), kings of the Kanaani (Josh., 5:1; Judges, 5:19), kings of the Midiani (Judges, 8:5, 12). Also see our discussion in our forthcoming book entitled *Old World Chronologies*.

<sup>51</sup> A "king of Egypt" in some inscriptions (JTEH, p. 155).

<sup>52</sup> That the Assyrians referred to Upper Egypt as Kush/Meluḥḥa see Chap. IX, pp. 108–110.

<sup>53</sup> AS, p. 31, 2:78–80, p. 69, / 23–25.

<sup>54</sup> For Shabako's dates see below p. 95.

<sup>55</sup> Pliny, 6:35.

<sup>56</sup> Pliny, 6:35. The Queen of Saba (Sheba) is likewise called Kandake (Kebra Nagast, 24). There is also a Queen Kandake of the first century C.E. mentioned in Acts, 8:27.

<sup>57</sup> Diodorus, 3:5, 9; UH, 18, pp. 278–281.

<sup>58</sup> Herodotus, 2:137.

<sup>59</sup> Manetho, frags. 66–68; Diodorus, 1:65:1–8.

<sup>60</sup> Diodorus, 1:60:2–3.

<sup>61</sup> Diodorus, 1:65.

<sup>62</sup> EP, p. 343; AHOE, 3, p. 280.

<sup>63</sup> Edwards goes so far as to say that the name Py (Pye, Pi, etc.) was "formerly misread as Piankhy" (CAH, 3, pt. 1, p. 569). The belief being that the signs  $\rho$  with  $\varphi$  for the Ethiopians represented the sound *pi* or *p* instead of *ankh*. The Egyptian  $\rho\varphi$  (*Py*), therefore, becomes a variant of



Usimare Piankhi is called Piankhi I by modern day historians, though the ancient Ethiopian king list labels him Piankhi II. He made his royal residence at Napata in Nubia yet ruled Egypt from Thebes.<sup>64</sup> His chronological place is known from the monuments, which have him govern Egypt at the time when kings from Egypt's Dynasty XXIII held authority and during the time that Tefnakhte, a king of Dynasty XXIV, rose to power.<sup>65</sup> "Year 21" of Usimare Piankhi's rule over Upper Egypt was the first year of Tefnakhte (726/725 B.C.E.).<sup>66</sup> Tefnakhte governed Lower Egypt for eight years.<sup>67</sup> Meanwhile, after Shabako conquered Lower Egypt, he killed Bekenrinf (Bocchoris), the son of Tefnakhte, the last king of Dynasty XXIV.<sup>68</sup> We know from his records that "Year 2" of Shabako was the same as the sixth and last year of Bekenrinf (i.e. 713/712 B.C.E.).<sup>69</sup>

Usimare Piankhi's place is also upheld by the Ethiopian archives, which make him rule Kush before Aksumay Warada Tsahay, Kashta, and Shabako (Chart E).<sup>70</sup> Since it is known that Kashta followed Usimare Piankhi, partly as co-regent in Usimare's last years,<sup>71</sup> and that Shabako followed his father Kashta, the twenty-three year reign of Aksumay Warada Tsahay over Kush must have been as a co-regent with Usimare Piankhi and Kashta.

Usimare Piankhi's authority came as the result of intermarriage between the Egyptian and Nubian royal houses at the time that Egypt ruled Kush.<sup>72</sup>

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the Ethiopian  $\square\text{𐩧}\text{𐩢}$  (*Piankhi*). Also see MDA, 24, pp. 58–62; MIO, 14, pp. 166–175; JEA, 54, pp. 165–172; ZAS, 98, pp. 16–32. But even Parker (ZAS, 93, pp. 111–114), the first to propose the idea and whom Edwards and others cite, only believes it is possible that Py is but a hypocoristic version of the name Piankhi and not a better reading. Parker does not allow that even this equation is proven. The translation of the Ethiopian king list by Rey refers to this name as Piyankihi (var. Piankhi, Py-ankhi, Wiyankihi, etc.), see CBN, p. 266, xliv, viii, xvii. In either case, this debate changes nothing as far as the history of those carrying this name. We shall, accordingly, continue with Piankhi until further evidence is forthcoming.

<sup>64</sup> CAH, 3, pp. 271–273; AHOE, 3, pp. 268–277; AHE, pp. 539–546.

<sup>65</sup> ARE, 4, #816–883.

<sup>66</sup> TIP, pp. 139f, 142.

<sup>67</sup> LR, 3, p. 409, v; EP, pp. 340, 449.

<sup>68</sup> Manetho, frags. 66–67. That Bocchoris was the son of Tefnakhte (Technactis, Tnepachthus; etc.) see Plutarch, Isis, 8; Diodorus, 1:45:2; cf. EP, p. 449. Eusebius informs us that Dynasty XXIV, to which Bocchoris belonged, lasted 44 years (Manetho, frag. 65). The Old Chronicle points out that three kings ruled during these 44 years (Waddell, *Manetho*, app. iii, p. 229).

<sup>69</sup> TIP, pp. 141f; CAH, 3, pt. 1, p. 575.

<sup>70</sup> CBN, p. 266. The issue of just how many Piankhis there were is strongly contested among Egyptologists. Gauthier (LR, 4, pp. 2–4, 49–54, 59) postulates several while Reisner (ZAS, 66, pp. 94f) combines all the records under one king. Reisner's view is too extreme and discounts the evidence that there was a king who ruled prior to Kashta named Piankhi and another that was Kashta's own son. In this debate, Petrie is certainly correct in his arrangement, placing Usimare Piankhi first, then Kashta, and then Shabako and Snefer-Ra Piankhi (AHOE, 3, pp. 267–291). At least two Piankhis are also recognized by the CAH, 3, p. 760. Petrie's view is fully supported by the ancient Ethiopian archive list (CBN, p. 266, viii–xi). During Usimare Piankhi's 20th year, he came into conflict with the "great prince" Tefnakhte of D. XXIV (ARE, 4, #816–883; TIP, p. 146). Tefnakhte had just begun his reach for power at that time. This dynasty ended with the death of his son Bocchoris, killed at the hands of Shabako shortly after the latter came to power. Yet there are records that indicate that a king named Piankhi was not only ruling in Shabako's fifteenth year (CAH, 3, p. 277, n. 1) but that he was a contemporary in rulership with Shebitku (AHOE, 3, p. 287). This and other evidence, which we shall discuss at some length in our forthcoming text *Old World Chronologies*, proves that Usimare Piankhi is not the same as Snefer-Ra Piankhi, the son of Kashta.

<sup>71</sup> AHOE, 3, p. 280; HE, 6, p. 122; and see below ns. 74, 78.

<sup>72</sup> This intermarriage goes back at least to Dynasty XVIII. This union is demonstrated with the Queen of Saba (Sheba, Shaba), who lived in Solomon's day (see 1 Kings, 1–13; 2 Chron., 9:1–12).

Macadam, in fact, believes that the name Piankhi is suspiciously “Egyptian” and means “king.”<sup>73</sup> It, no doubt, was adopted by the Ethiopian kings descended from the Egyptian ruling house. Kashta, meanwhile, was a true Kushite and had no known hereditary right to the Egyptian throne. This detail, when added to Aksumay’s place after Piankhi in the Ethiopian list, indicates that Aksumay was the son of Usimare Piankhi.

It would have been during Aksumay’s reign that the Ethiopian Kashta came to power, politically joining with the house of Usimare Piankhi. It therefore stands to reason that Aksumay is to be identified with the Kushite king Piankhi Alara, often simply called Alara.<sup>74</sup> Piankhi Alara carried the Piankhi family name, reflecting his descent from Usimare Piankhi. He was also the contemporary of the Kushite king Kashta.<sup>75</sup> These details place him exactly in the position of Aksumay of the Ethiopian list.

Another Piankhi, called Snefer-Ra Piankhi, was the son of Kashta.<sup>76</sup> He was the father of both Shebitku and Khu-Re’ Nefertem Tirhakah (Chart D).<sup>77</sup> Khu-Re’ Nefertem Tirhakah, the son of Snefer-Ra Piankhi, traced his female ancestors back to a sister of Piankhi Alara (i.e. the daughter of Usimare Piankhi), deeming her importance as contributing to the greatness of his rank and supporting his ascent to the throne.<sup>78</sup> Abar, the mother of Nefertem, was

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Saba was located in the district of Nubia called Meroe, an important Ethiopian capital city (Jos., *Antiq.*, 2:10:2). Josephus states that this Queen was the ruler of both Egypt and Kush (Jos., *Antiq.*, 8:6:2, 5–6). Solomon had also intermarried with the Egyptian royal house (1 Kings, 3:1,11:1; 2 Chron., 8:11). According to the Ethiopian Kebra Nagast (1–39), the Queen of Saba (who ruled both in Egypt and Kush) was the mother of Menelik, the son of Solomon, founder of the Dynasty of Menelik in Nubia from which the family of Piankhi is descended (cf. CBN, p. 266). The connection between Egypt and Nubia at the time of Dynasty XXV is also demonstrated by their cultural ties. Dunham and Macadam write, “Anyone seeking to explain the cultural inheritance of Napata and Meroë sees at once that almost all that was received came by way of Egypt” (JEA, 35, pp. 139f). The Theban influence in Napata, Nubia was everywhere present. Breasted writes, “Of the Egyptian origin of this state there is no doubt; nor can there be any doubt of its Theban character, although there may be some differences of opinion as to how this last fact is to be accounted for” (AHE, p. 539). In some ways the Nubian ruling house of Napata was more Egyptian than the Egyptians. The Kushite conquest of Egypt was an attempt to return that country to their ancient Egyptian gods and culture.

<sup>73</sup> TK, 1, p. 123.

<sup>74</sup> Those following Reisner and the one Piankhi hypothesis are bewildered by the mentioning of Piankhi Alara. He is clearly set in the generation of Kashta and before Snefer-Ra Piankhi, the son of Kashta (TK, 1, p. 127). They admit that there is good reason for supposing that Alara and Piankhi Alara are the same (TK, 1, p. 123; TIP, p. 149, n. 282). It is likewise acknowledged that he should be identified with a Piankhi (TK, 1, p. 127). Yet, since Alara was in the second generation before Tirhakah, the son of Snefer-Ra Piankhi, the son of Kashta, they cannot identify him with Snefer-Ra Piankhi (whom they falsely associate with Usimare Piankhi). All confusion passes once we realize that Piankhi Alara, the important ancestor of Tirhakah of Egypt, and upon whom Nefertem Tirhakah based his right to the throne, was the king called Aksumay Warada Tsahay in the Ethiopian list, and that Aksumay (Alara) was the son of Usimare Piankhi.

<sup>75</sup> TK, 1, pp. 127f.

<sup>76</sup> JEA, 35, p. 146, #61; AHOE, 3, pp. 278f, 290.

<sup>77</sup> JEA, 35, p. 147, #69 & 74; EP, p. 450.

<sup>78</sup> Khu-Re’ Nefertem Tirhakah places emphasis on the line of Piankhi Alara, stating, “For the ‘mothers’ of my mother were committed to him (Amon- Re<sup>c</sup>) by their brother, the Chieftain, the son of Re<sup>c</sup>, Alara” (TK, 1, pp. 16, 120–122), and that by this connection he was set up as king (TK, 1, p. 36). The plural mothers of my mother indicates that the female line of Nefertem Tirhakah descended from the family of Piankhi Alara (the son of Usimare Piankhi). Brother-sister marriages and adoptions were common place in these ruling houses of Egypt and Ethiopia and rights to the throne of Kush were often determined by the female line. It is, therefore, concluded that Nefertem’s grandmother was the sister of Alara and the mothers were other sisters who adopted

also the daughter of Kashta and was the sister/wife of Snefer-Ra.<sup>79</sup> It is therefore apparent that Kashta married the sister of Piankhi Alara, the son of Usimare Piankhi.

Snefer-Ra Piankhi reigned Egypt jointly with both his brother Shabako and his own son Shebitku.<sup>80</sup> At least 30 plus an x number of years are recorded for him in an inscription from a fragmentary bandage found in western Thebes, indicating a long rule over Upper Egypt for this Kushite monarch.<sup>81</sup> Snefer-Ra would have chosen his name Piankhi after the family of his grandfather, Usimare Piankhi.

There is a record that Shabako, the son of Kashta, ruled 3 years jointly with Shebitku, the son of Snefer-Ra Piankhi.<sup>82</sup> A co-regency with Shebitku is also demonstrated by Manetho's transmitters.<sup>83</sup> Further, though only 15 years as pharaoh are found for Shabako on an Egyptian inscription,<sup>84</sup> Herodotus states that Shabako actually ruled a complete 50 years over Egypt. He adds that, before Shabako left that country, he killed King Nekao of Dynasty XXVI, the father of Psamtik (Psammethichus).<sup>85</sup>

This data from Herodotus makes Shabako reign from 714/713 to 665/664 B.C.E. (autumn reckoning), the beginning year being supported by the Assyrian records.<sup>86</sup> The year Shabako left Egypt (664/663 B.C.E., autumn reckoning) was the same year that his son, Urdamane, was driven out of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt by the Assyrians.<sup>87</sup> It was also the first year of Psamtik of Dynasty XXVI, who replaced Nekao as the Assyrian representative in parts of Lower Egypt. Shabako, therefore, reigned Upper and Lower Egypt in confederation with the king of Kush, Snefer-Ra Piankhi, and other Ethiopian pharaohs of Egypt: Shebitku, Nefertem Tirhakah, and Urdamane.

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Abar, the mother of Tirhakah (also see TK, 1, pp. 119–130; TIP, p. 149, n. 282). Kashta is made to be the father of Abar, explained by his marriage to Alara's sister. We might also add that Alara's daughter, Tabiry, married Snefer-Ra Piankhi (JEA, 35, p. 147, #72). What apparently happened was, by a process of intermarriage and adoptions, the house of Piankhi and Kashta joined to form the political foundation of Kashta's family over Egypt and Kush.

<sup>79</sup> JEA, 35, p. 141, #1.

<sup>80</sup> CAH, 3, p. 277, n. 1; AHOE, 3, p. 287.

<sup>81</sup> TIP, p. 152 and n. 292.

<sup>82</sup> ARE, 4, #887. Shebitku was the son of Snefer-Ra Piankhi see JEA, 35, p. 147, #69; EP, p. 450.

<sup>83</sup> Manetho, frags. 66, 67; Eusebius, *Inter. Arm.*, p. 10.

<sup>84</sup> A statue dated to day 11, 10th month, Year 15; CAH, 3, p. 277, n. 1; EP, p. 450; TIP, pp. 153f.

<sup>85</sup> Herodotus, 2:139, 152.

<sup>86</sup> The records of King Sargon of Assyria state that during his fifth *palū* (campaign) he received twelve horses as a present from "Silkanni (Osorkon), king of Muzri," i.e. from the king of Lower Egypt. This fifth campaign occurred in 716 B.C.E. (JCS, 12, pp. 77f). The next year, his seventh (715 B.C.E.), Sargon reports that he received tribute from "Pir'u (Pharaoh), king of Muzri" (ARAB, 2, #18, 55). Pir'u means "Pharaoh" (CAH, 3, p. 275; TIP, p. 143), king of Muzri (Lower Egypt in Assyrian terms). He undoubtedly must be identified with Bekenrines (Bocchoris) of D. XXIV (718/717–713/712 B.C.E.). The connection of these kings with only Muzri shows that they ruled no further south than Memphis. The Kushite kings of Upper Egypt, therefore, had not yet captured northern Egypt. Then, in 712 B.C.E. (JCS, 12, pp. 78–84, 92f), Sargon sent troops against Iamani, the king of Ashdod. Iamani fled to Muzri but was subsequently returned to the Assyrians by a new king of Egypt, "the king of Meluḥḥa (Upper Egypt)" (ARAB, 2, #62f, 194f), the title applied by the Assyrians to the Ethiopian monarchs who ruled Egypt. Muzri, the Assyrian wrote, "now belongs to Meluḥḥa" (TIP, p. 143). This evidence proves that between 715 and 712 B.C.E. Lower Egypt fell into the hands of the Ethiopian kings of Upper Egypt (TIP, pp. 143f). The information provided by Herodotus, that Shabako began to rule Lower Egypt in 714/713 B.C.E., autumn reckoning, is thereby demonstrably proven to be quite accurate.

<sup>87</sup> See above ns. 24, 25.

Manetho also listed an Ethiopian ruler of Sais at the beginning of Dynasty XXVI named “Ammeris the Ethiopian.”<sup>88</sup> The dates for Ammeris are 697/696 to 686/685 B.C.E.<sup>89</sup> These dates make Ammeris contemporary with Shebitku, Nefertem Tirhakah, and Shabako. Nefertem, the son of Snefer-Ra Piankhi,<sup>90</sup> also had a short co-regency with Ta-Nuat-Amun, the son of Shebitku, at the beginning of the latter’s eight year reign.<sup>91</sup> This means that the Egyptian Psamtik and the Kushite Ta-Nuat-Amun were, likewise, contemporaries in rulership.

Meanwhile, according to the Assyrian inscriptions, Urdamane, the son of Shabako, succeeded Nefertem Tirhakah.<sup>92</sup> Because Ta-Nuat-Amun and Urdamane ruled during the same period, today’s historians have often confused Urdamane with his nephew Ta-Nuat-Amun<sup>93</sup>—this despite the fact that the records specifically give them different fathers and the Ethiopian archives list them separately (Chart E), one ruling Kush immediately after the other.<sup>94</sup>

Just as important, even though Snefer-Ra Piankhi, the father of Shebitku and Nefertem Tirhakah of Egypt’s Dynasty XXV, is known to have ruled both in Kush and Egypt,<sup>95</sup> neither Manetho’s dynasty list nor the ancient Ethiopian king list mention him under these names. Instead, after Kashta the Ethiopian list gives Shabako (the son of Kashta), then Queen Nicauta Kandake, and then a king named Tsawi Terhak (Tirhakah) Warada Nagash,<sup>96</sup> which, as we shall see, is not the same as Khu-Re’ Nefertem Tirhakah, the son of Snefer-Ra Piankhi. We shall have more to say about the identity of Snefer-Ra Piankhi in our next chapter.

A comparison of these various records demonstrates that for Egypt, during the period of Ethiopian domination, emphasis was stressed in Manetho’s Dynasty XXV on only part of Kashta’s family: Shabako, Shebitku, and (Nefertem)

<sup>88</sup> Manetho, frag. 69. One must agree with Kitchen that there is no merit whatsoever in Rowton’s speculation that Ammeris is Ta-Nuat-Amun (TIP, p. 145, n. 259). This speculation does not match any known name for Ta-Nuat-Amun and it is placed by Manetho in the wrong dynasty and at the wrong date for any possible connection.

<sup>89</sup> Manetho, frag. 69 (Eusebius) gives two sets of figures: 12 and 18. The version from Africanus does not even mention Ammeris (Manetho, frag. 68). Africanus left him out because Ammeris was contemporary with both Dynasty XXV and the first rulers of Dynasty XXVI.

<sup>90</sup> JEA, 35, p. 147, #74; EP, p. 450.

<sup>91</sup> ARE, 4, #920; HE, 6, p. 158. For eight years of reign see EP, p. 349; TIP, p. 172, n. 382.

<sup>92</sup> ANET, p. 295 (ii). Urdamane is called both the “son of Shabako” and “son of his (Tirhakah’s) sister (ANET, p. 295; ARAB, 2, #845, 906). The term “sister” in ancient Semitic understanding had a wide latitude. Abraham, for example, referred to his niece/wife as his sister (Gen., 12:11–19, 20:1–12; cf. Gen., 11:27–31 and Jos., *Antiq.*, 1:6:5). Abraham calls his nephew Lot his brother (Gen., 13:8–11, cf. 11:27–30). Isaak similarly calls his cousin/wife, Rebekkah, his sister (Gen., 26:1–11, cf. 24:15). In fact, the word translated from the Assyrian as sister has as its usual meaning “lady” (HE, 6, p. 166, n. 2). In the above instance, it may refer to Tirhakah’s aunt, adopted sister, or sister-in-law; or it may mean that Shabako married his niece (ARE, 4, p. 468, n. a).

<sup>93</sup> Because of the association of these two kings, many have merged them by simply translating Urdamane as Tandamane (e.g. ARAB, 2, #775–777, 845, 908, 944, 1117; CAH, 3, p. 115, 284). Budge immediately recognized the problem and admitted that it seems “impossible that the Assyrian name Urdamane could represent the Egyptian Tanut-Amen” (HE, 6, p. 165). Rather than reason that there were two different Ethiopian kings ruling Egypt at this time, he tried to explain the discrepancy as an error in transliteration of the Assyrian characters (*ibid.*, pp. 165f).

<sup>94</sup> Urdamane was the son of Shabako (above n. 92). Ta-Nuat-Amun was the son of Shebitku (JEA, 35, p. 147, #76; EP, p. 450). In the Royal Ethiopian List they are catalogued as Erda-Amen and (Ta)-Nuat-Meawn (CBN, p. 266). Their reigns over Ethiopia were Urdamane 6 years (664/663–659/658 B.C.E.) and Ta-Nuat-Amun 4 years (658/657–655/654 B.C.E.), autumn reckoning.

<sup>95</sup> LR, 4, pp. 50f; TIP, p. 152.

<sup>96</sup> CBN, p. 266, x–xiii.

Tirhakah.<sup>97</sup> In Egypt, as we have said, an inscription shows that Shabako, the son of Kashta, governed as pharaoh for only 15 years, though he ruled for a total of 50 years as king. He apparently intermarried with an established royal Egyptian family to secure his claim to the throne. After these 15 years as pharaoh, Shabako turned direct power over to the descendants of Snefer-Ra Piankhi, who had legal rights to the Egyptian throne from Usimare Piankhi's family. Shebitku married Shabako's daughter to seal their alliance.<sup>98</sup>

Therefore, except for Shabako, Dynasty XXV of Egypt, which ruled in conjunction with the first part of the native Dynasty XXVI, represented members of the royal Kushite ruling house who were also descended by blood from an Egyptian royal family. They were sent to Egypt to govern that province. Though these two brothers were descended from Kashta, their Egyptian bloodline was certainly seen as important. Shabako was mentioned before them because it was he who seized Lower Egypt and established himself as an active pharaoh of the Delta (not just in name). The question naturally arises from this circumstance, "Why did Shabako submit his own authority to that of the sons of Snefer-Ra Piankhi?" The answer shall be forthcoming towards the end of our next chapter.

In Kush, meanwhile, other important members of the royal Kushite family continued to rule. In the period just before and during Dynasty XXV, except for Shabako, the Ethiopian king list differs from Manetho's list of Ethiopian kings of Egypt by reporting that in Kush ruled Aksumay Warada Tsahay (Alara), Kashta (the father of Shabako and Snefer-Ra Piankhi), and Queen Nicauta Kandake (Charts D & E). Also listed as following these is the mysterious king named Tsawi Tirhakah Warada Nagash.<sup>99</sup> These kings formed the confederation of kings from Kush.

### The Issue of Name

To disregard the fact that there would have been more than one king from Kush with the same name is short-sighted. It fails to consider the examples of other Near Eastern kingdoms. For example, among others, there were several kings of Assyria named Shalmaneser, and Tiglath-pilneser, and Adad-nirari.<sup>100</sup> Likewise, there were several pharaohs of Egypt who used the name Ramesses, and Tuthmosis, and Amenophis, and Soshenk.<sup>101</sup>

Even among the two nearby Israelite nations, Israel and Judah, we have the example of two contemporary kings, both named Yahoram, ruling at the same time, one over each country.<sup>102</sup> Later, the same thing occurred in Israel and Judah with two kings named Yahuash.<sup>103</sup> In ancient Syria there were several

<sup>97</sup> Manetho, frags. 66–67.

<sup>98</sup> That Shebitku married Shabako's daughter explains the statement by Manetho that Shebitku was the son (i.e. son-in-law) of Shabako (Manetho, frags. 66–67).

<sup>99</sup> CBN, p. 266, ix–xiii.

<sup>100</sup> There were at least five Shalmaneser, three Tiglathpilneser, five Shamshi-Adad, three Adad-nirari, two Assur-uballit, two Assur-dan, and so on (ARAB, pp. 439–442).

<sup>101</sup> For example, there were at least two Ramesses in D. XIX and eleven in the so-called D. XX (EP, pp. 445, 446). The book of Sothis lists a D. XVI with six Ramesses (Waddell, *Manetho*, p. 237). There were at least three Tuthmosis and four Amenophis in D. XVIII (EP, p. 443), and four Soshenk in the so-called D. XXII.

<sup>102</sup> 2 Kings, 8:16–25. Jehoram in English.

<sup>103</sup> 2 Kings, 13:1–13; 2 Chron., 25:17–25. Joash and Jehoash in English.

generations of kings named Ben-Hadad (Adados, Hadad, etc.).<sup>104</sup> In Egypt the line of Ptolemies was famous while in Syria there ruled the Seleucids.<sup>105</sup> In Ethiopia, meanwhile, where Egyptian custom was followed, there are the examples of several kings named Piankhi, and Atserk, and Warada and several queens named Kandake.<sup>106</sup>

Further, ancient Egyptian and Ethiopian kings, as was the case with most other Near Eastern monarchs, held several throne names: the Egyptians, to demonstrate, had a Hawk name, a Horus name, a Son of Ra name, a Reed and Hornet name, and so forth.<sup>107</sup> With so many throne names, it should be expected that similar names would be common. Why, then, is it assumed by almost everyone that there was only one king named Tirhakah?<sup>108</sup>

## Conclusion

To draw the conclusion that the Tirhakah of Scriptures is the same as Nefertem Tirhakah of Egypt's Dynasty XXV, based upon no other data than their similarity of name and despite the fact that Nefertem Tirhakah did not even reign at the time of Sennacherib's third campaign, makes no sense. Then, from this one Tirhakah premise, to deny the authenticity of Scriptures and postulate two different invasions against Judah lacks reason.

This much the advocates of the two-invasion scenario have determined correctly. Khu-Re' Nefertem Tirhakah, pharaoh of Egypt, could not have opposed Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. as the king of Kush. Their mistake is with the failure to ask whether or not there was another Tirhakah who could have been ruling Kush in Sennacherib's early days. Sidestepped is the fact that Kush was ruled by a confederation of kings. Selectively forgotten is the reality that royal names were commonly shared by more than one king in both Egypt and Kush. A closer look at the ancient evidence will reveal that there did exist in 701 B.C.E. another king of Kush named Tirhakah.

<sup>104</sup> That the line of Ben-Hadad (the son of Hadad) was known by that family name see Jos., *Antiq.*, 7:5:2, and cf. 8:14:1, 9:8:7, with 1 Kings, 20:1ff, 2 Kings, 13:24f.

<sup>105</sup> In the Seleucid Dynasty of Syria there were at least six kings named Seleucus and thirteen kings named Antiochus (PHP, pp. 270f). There were at least 11 kings named Ptolemy in the Ptolemaic Dynasty of Egypt (Eusebius, *Chron.*, 1, pp. 169ff; app. I, p. 15).

<sup>106</sup> Gauthier (LR, 4, pp. 2-59) determined four or five kings named Piankhi, while Petrie (AHOE, 3, pp. 267-277, 290f) understood at least two and possibly as many as seven. The Ethiopian list reports at least four Piankhi in the early Middle Kushite Dynasties, along with two Kashta, two Warada, five Queen Kandake, and six Atserk (CBN, pp. 266f). Makeda, the Queen of Saba, was also known as Kandake (Kebra Nagast, 34). Also see above ns. 70, 74, 78.

<sup>107</sup> HP, pp. 61-77. We should not forget that the Kushite kings were fully Egyptianized (see above n. 72) and followed Egyptian custom in the use of several throne names.

<sup>108</sup> John C. Laughlin does admit to the possibility that "another pharaoh may have been involved in the 701 siege" (MDB, p. 680).

# CHART C

## Kushite Rulers of Egypt's Dynasties 25 & 26

	<u>Source</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>B.C.E. (Autumn Reckoning)</u>
Shabako	H	50	714/713-665/664
	I	15	714/713-700/699
	E, EA	12	712/711-701/700
	EI	10	710/709-701/700
	A	8	710/709-703/702
Snefer-Ra Piankhi (Tsawi Tirhakah)	I	3(8)	702/701-665/664
Shebitku	I	3	702/701-700/699
	E, EA, EI	12	700/699-689/688
	A	14	702/701-689/688
Tirhakah (Khu-Re' Nefertem)	I	26	691/690-666/665
	E, EA, EI	20	688/687-669/668
	A	18	688/687-671/670
Ammeris	E	12	697/696-686/685
	EA	18	703/702-686/685
Urdamane	I	2	665/664-664/663
Ta-Nuat-Amun	I	8	665/664-658/657

### Early Dynasty 26, Native Kings of Sais

Stephinales	E, EA, EI, A	7	685/684-679/678
Nechepsos	E, EA, EI, A	6	678/677-673/672
Nekao (Necao)	E, EA, EI, A	8	672/671-665/664
Psamtik (Psammethichus)	I, A, H	54	664/663-611/610

- I = Inscriptions (highest date found or indicated)  
 E = Eusebius  
 EA = Eusebius Armenian  
 EI = Eusebius Interpretem Armenum  
 A = Africanus  
 H = Herodotus

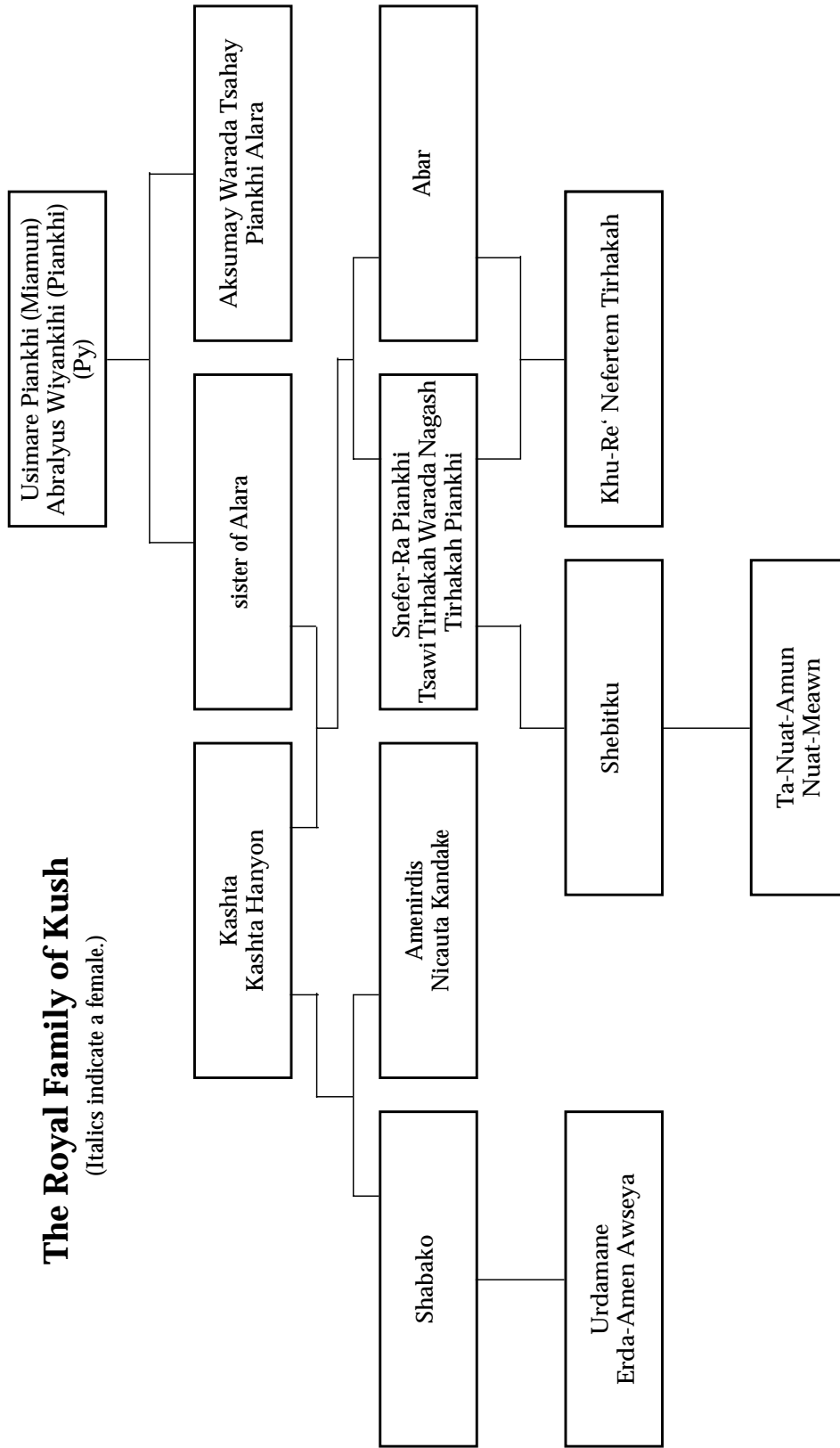




# CHART D

## The Royal Family of Kush

(Italics indicate a female.)





# CHART E

## The Ethiopian King List Dynasty of Menelik (Makeda to Nastossanan)

<i>(Transliterations used in CBN, p. 266)</i>	<u>Reign</u>	<u>Dates B.C.E.</u> <i>(Autumn Reckoning)</i>
Makeda (the Queen of Saba) <sup>1</sup>	31	952/951–922/921
Menelik (the son of Solomon) <sup>2</sup>	25	921/920–897/896
Hanyon	1	896/895
Sera I (Zerah) <sup>3</sup>	26	895/894–870/869
Amen Hotep Zagdur	31	869/868–839/838
Aksumay Ramissu	20	838/837–819/818
Awseyo Sera II	38	818/817–781/780
Tawasya	21	780/779–760/759
Abralyus Wiyankihi [Piankhi] II (Usimare Piankhi)	32	759/758–728/727
Aksumay Warada Tsahay (Piankhi Alara)	23	746/745–724/723
Kashta Hanyon	13	727/726–715/714
Sabaka II (Shabako)	12	714/713–703/702
Nicauta Kandake (Queen Amenirdis)	10	723/722–714/713
Tsawi Terhak Warada Nagash (Tirhakah Piankhi)	49	713/712–665/664
Erda-Amen Awseya (Urdamane)	6	664/663–659/658
Gasiyo Eskikatir	– days –	658/657
Nuat-Meawn (Ta-Nuat-Amun)	4	658/657–655/654
Tomadyon Piankihi III	12	654/653–643/642
Amen Asero	16	642/642–627/626
Piankihi IV	34	626/625–593/592
Zaware Nebret Aspurta (Aspelta)	41	592/591–552/551
Saifay Harsiataw II	12	551/550–540/539
Ramhay Nastossanan <sup>4</sup>	14	539/538–526/525
Handu Wuha Abra	11	525/524–515/514

<sup>1</sup> That Makeda is the Queen of Saba of 1 Kings, 10:1-13; 2 Chron., 9:1-12; the Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia of Jos., *Antiq.*, 8:6:2,5-6; and cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Cant. Hom.* 7; see Kebra Nagast, 21-32, which makes her the Queen of Ethiopia.

<sup>2</sup> That Menelik, the son of Makeda, was the son of Solomon see Kebra Nagast, 21-50.

<sup>3</sup> This Zerah was the king of the Kushites who invaded Judah during the reign of Asa (2 Chron., 14:9; Jos., *Antiq.*, 8:12:1, where Zerah is specifically called “king of the Ethiopians”).

<sup>4</sup> Nastossanan was a contemporary of Cambyses, king of Persia, when the latter invaded Egypt and Ethiopia in 525 B.C.E. (see App. B).

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