

Chapter XI

# *Tsawi Terhaq and Ameres*

*Part IX of the Sabbath and Jubilee  
of 701/700 and 700/699 B.C.E.*

Two other Ethiopian kings now draw our interest and will prove to be connected with the Tirhaqah mentioned in Scriptures: Tsawi Terhaq, the king of Ethiopia during the entire reign of King Sennacherib of Assyria, and Ameres, the first king of Dynasty XXVI. Tsawi Terhaq is found in the Ethiopian Archives as ruling during the period of Sennacherib and will prove to be the Tirhaqah of the Scriptures. Ameres, meanwhile, can be identified with the famous King Piye of Kush, whose connection with the Tirhaqah of the Scriptures will be fully demonstrated in our next chapter and in our Appendices.<sup>1</sup>

## **Tsawi Terhaq**

The Tirhaqah of the Scriptures, as previously demonstrated, could not have been Khu-Re' Nefertem Taharqa of Egypt's Dynasty XXV.<sup>2</sup> Yet a close examination and analysis of the relevant ancient records also reveal the existence of another Kushite king named Tirhaqah. It is true that both were Ethiopians, and that the Ethiopians controlled Egypt at the end of the 8th and first half of the 7th centuries B.C.E. Nevertheless, here the similarity ends. Historians have simply ignored the fact that both the lands of Egypt and Kush during this period were ruled by a confederation of Ethiopian kings and that two of these kings carried the name Taharqa (Tirhaqah). One of these kings is found in the Ethiopian King List from the Nubian archives (Chart F).<sup>3</sup> He is named Tsawi Terhaq Warada Nagash. The other, as already shown, was Khu-Re' Nefertem Taharqa, the third pharaoh of Egypt's Dynasty XXV.

The evidence will also show that the King Tirhaqah of Kush who came out against King Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. was Tsawi Terhaq Warada Nagash, Terhaq (Terhak) being but a later Aramaic form of the name Tirhaqah. We begin to uncover the identity of the earlier king named Tirhaqah, the contemporary with King Sennacherib of Assyria and his third campaign in 701 B.C.E., with the following details.

First, the king list from the Ethiopian archives reveals that there was a monarch named Tsawi Terhaq Warada Nagash who ruled Kush for 49 years.<sup>4</sup> Khu-Re' Nefertem Taharqa, on the other hand, ruled Egypt as pharaoh for

<sup>1</sup> See below Chap. XII and App. B, D-I.

<sup>2</sup> See above Chap. IX.

<sup>3</sup> CBN, p. 266, Dynasty IV, no. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> CBN, p. 266, Dynasty IV, no. xiii.

only 26 full years and died.<sup>5</sup> Regardless of whether we read the evidence, as Macadam does, to indicate that Nefertem Taharqa was born around 711/710 B.C.E.,<sup>6</sup> or use the longer chronology of Kenneth Kitchen,<sup>7</sup> making Nefertem 20 years old before 701 B.C.E., there is a substantial difference in the reigns of these two kings. Tsawi Terhaq reigned over Kush 23 years longer than Nefertem Taharqa ruled Egypt. Nefertem came to Egypt at the age of 20 with no historical record that he was ever crowned as the king of Kush. Yet even if we assume that he became the king of Kush at the same time he became the king of Egypt (of which there is no evidence), he only ruled 26 years.

Second, by comparing the Ethiopian King List with other historical records, we have the dates for Tsawi Terhaq. An examination of these records show that he reigned 49 years, from 706 to 658 B.C.E.<sup>8</sup> His last year as monarch came 6 years after the death of his son, Nefertem Taharqa.<sup>9</sup>

Even if we use the longer chronology proposed by Kenneth Kitchen, which would have Nefertem arrive in Egypt at 20 years of age in about 702/701 B.C.E.,<sup>10</sup> for Nefertem Taharqa to be Tsawi Terhaq, he would have ascended the throne of Kush at age 11. This circumstance is not impossible but extremely unlikely since there were plenty of seasoned men of royal blood already ruling at the time (e.g., Piye and Shabaqo).

Third, assuming for the moment that Kitchen was correct in his theory that Nefertem Taharqa gained some kind of political power in the year 701 B.C.E. at the age of 20, by this date Tsawi Terhaq would have already been in power over Kush for 5 years.<sup>11</sup>

Fourth, the above theory of Kitchen would place Nefertem Taharqa in power in Kush (presumably as Tsawi Terhaq of the Ethiopian King List) before Shebitku, the son of Shabaqo, had gained authority in Egypt. This arrangement is impossible due to the fact that it was King Shebitku who summoned Nefertem Taharqa, along with Shebitku's own brothers, out of Nubia to come to Egypt to be with him. In such a scenario, Shebitku, being ruler of Egypt and not Kush, is made to be the senior king. He could hardly command such authority over another king of Kush who was already ruling. Yet in Nefertem's own inscriptions, he clearly places himself in a lesser status to Shebitku at the time he came north to be with him and never even hints to any previous kingly status for himself.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Nefertem Taharqa only gained the throne of

<sup>5</sup> See above, Chap. IX, pp. 151f, n. 7; App. F; and see ARAB, 2, §§775, 884, "the fate of his night," i.e., the night of his death.

<sup>6</sup> TK, 1, pp. 18ff, n. 30.

<sup>7</sup> TIP, pp. 154–172.

<sup>8</sup> App. D & E; CBN, p. 266, Dynasty IV, no. xiii.

<sup>9</sup> App. D, E, J.

<sup>10</sup> TIP, pp. 164–172, 383–386.

<sup>11</sup> See App. D, E, J.

<sup>12</sup> TK, 1, pp. 14–44. Kitchen makes an issue out of the fact that, when Nefertem Taharqa went to Egypt as a 20-year-old, he came north "with an army" (TK, 1, p. 15, l. 10; see TIP, p. 157). Obviously, the members of the royal family would be escorted from Nubia to Egypt (the roads being filled with various threats). But this circumstance does not prove that Taharqa led that army against the Assyrians, as Kitchen would have us believe. In fact, that the text mentions the army

Egypt after Shebitku was in power. None of these details would allow Nefertem Taharqa to rule Kush before Shebitku held power in Egypt.

These differing records reveal that Nefertem Taharqa and Tsawi Terhaq could hardly have represented the same monarch. More importantly, Tsawi Terhaq was ruling as a king of Kush during the time of Sennacherib's third campaign in 701 B.C.E. By the year 689 B.C.E., when Nefertem Taharqa became a ruler of Egypt's Dynasty XXV, Tsawi Terhaq had already completed 17 years of reign over Kush. In the spring of 701 B.C.E., as previously mentioned, Tsawi Terhaq would have been in power in Kush for over 5 years. Since a king's early years are his most active, and the most likely for leading armies into military expeditions, the timeframe of Tsawi Terhaq perfectly matches that of the Kushite king named Tirhaqah who is mentioned in Scriptures.

## Different Realms

Not only did the two Tirhaqahs begin to rule at different times, but they ruled from different realms. To begin with, it is true that Manetho refers to all of the kings of Dynasty XXV as "Ethiopian kings."<sup>13</sup> Yet this is tempered by the fact that neither Shebitku nor Nefertem Taharqa had, to any real degree, actual control over much of Kush Proper, except in name only. Piye, on the other hand, ruled all of Kush from Napata. In the records of Nefertem Taharqa, for example, he only refers to himself as "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt," never as the king of Kush.<sup>14</sup> Nefertem also states that he was "fetched from Nubia" and "came from Nubia" to Egypt, first to Thebes and then north to Memphis where he was placed on the throne.<sup>15</sup> Nefertem Taharqa's claim makes no sense if he was already the only king in Kush. Yet his words are compatible with the fact that he was an Ethiopian from Kush who had been placed on the throne of Egypt, while someone else from his family was directly ruling the homeland in Kush. This other Kushite king was Tsawi Terhaq (Taharqa).

To support the idea that Nefertem Taharqa was the king of Kush Proper, it is pointed out that the Assyrians referred to him as the king of Egypt (Muzur, Muzri, Mizri, etc.) and Kush.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, this view is a clear misrepresentation of the Assyrian definition. The term Kush, also defined as Meluhha,<sup>17</sup>

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proves just the opposite. First, it expressly states that the army belonged to "his majesty," i.e., King Shebitku (TK, 1, p. 15, l. 10; also see App. G). If Nefertem Taharqa was a king at that time, he would have led his own army. Second, if he had led this army against Sennacherib he most certainly would have mentioned this glorious deed in his texts. Yet all that the text informs us is that on his journey Taharqa found a temple in the nome of Amun of Gempaten in poor condition. These are hardly the words of a man who had caused the army of the Assyrian king to flee.

<sup>13</sup> Manetho, frags. 66–67.

<sup>14</sup> TK, 1, pp. 4–41; ARE, 4, §§888, 895, 918.

<sup>15</sup> TK, 1, p. 15, l. 8, p. 28, l. 13.

<sup>16</sup> Esarhaddon refers to Nefertem Taharqa as "the king of Egypt and Kush" before driving him out of Memphis (ARAB, 2, §580). Assurbanipal calls him the "king of Egypt and Kush" when he names Taharqa in his records dealing with the Assyrian invasion against "Egypt and Kush" (ARAB, 2, §§770, 771, 875).

<sup>17</sup> HA, p. 48; cf. ARAB, 2, §§568, 770, 875.

was applied by the Assyrian scribes to Upper Egypt and only the northernmost parts of Lower Kush, possibly as far south as Kawa.<sup>18</sup> Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, for example, both claimed that they invaded and conquered Kush/Melubha.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, the Assyrian records reveal that their army never drove further south than Thebes (Ni'), the capital of Upper Egypt.<sup>20</sup> In fact, Thebes (Ni'), which also served as a capital city for those pharaohs who governed both Upper and Lower Egypt, is said in the Assyrian records to be the capital of Muzri and Kush.<sup>21</sup> Muzri was a definition the Assyrians applied primarily to Lower Egypt. The city of Napata, on the other hand, was the capital of Kush Proper,<sup>22</sup> not Thebes (cf. Map 3). Thebes was a capital city of all Egypt for those pharaohs who also held Lower Egypt during this Ethiopian period.

George Smith, likewise, concludes that Kush "appears in the Assyrian inscriptions to include part of Upper Egypt as well as Ethiopia; for although Esarhaddon's conquests did not extend higher than Thebes, he is said to have conquered both Muzur and Kush."<sup>23</sup> Another definition used by Esarhaddon was that he conquered "Muzri, Patursu and Kush"<sup>24</sup> (Patursu being the regular name applied to Upper Egypt), despite the fact that he never actually reached any further south than the districts of Thebes. This definition was merely the Assyrian way of dividing Egypt into Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt—divisions which have long been applied to that country. Middle Egypt, a district normally included by the Egyptians in their definition of Upper Egypt (Patursu), represented all of Patursu for the Assyrians. Since the Kushites now dominated Thebes and the southernmost districts of Egypt, the Assyrians saw it as part of greater Kush.

Indeed, the Assyrian king, Esarhaddon, after his conquest of Thebes, called himself the "king of the kings of Muzri, Patursu, and Kush."<sup>25</sup> Yet when Assurbanipal, whose Egyptian conquests went farther than that of his father Esarhaddon, lists the subkings of "Egypt and Kush, which my father

<sup>18</sup> This detail is extrapolated from the fact that Nefertem Taharqa made annual visits to Kawa in order to make offerings at the temple located there (e.g., TK, 1, pp. 4–9). Nothing is stated that he went further south to Napata or Meroe. Only one statue of Nefertem Taharqa has been found further south. It was located at a royal site at Dangeil, above the Fifth Cataract (S&N, 13, pp. 78–86). Yet this statue is associated at a temple along with the statues of two later Kushite kings (Senkamanisken and Aspelta). They appear to be statues to whom offerings were made. There is no evidence that Nefertem Taharqa actually made offerings at the site himself. The data is too limited at the moment to offer any strong assertions. Piye, on the other hand, made his residence at Napata and was clearly dominant over all of Kush as well as, for a good period of time, over Egypt.

<sup>19</sup> ARAB, 2, §§571, 710, 770–771, 778, 846, 892, 901, where Assurbanipal states his objective was to drive Tarkû (Taharqa II) out of both Egypt and Kush, which he equates with Memphis (Lower Egypt) and Thebes (Upper Egypt), 939, 944.

<sup>20</sup> Accomplished by Assurbanipal in his second campaign (663 B.C.E.), see ANET, p. 295 (ii); ARAB, 2, §§776–778, 900–906.

<sup>21</sup> ANET, p. 295, n. 12.

<sup>22</sup> CAH, 3, pp. 268, 313; CAH, 3.1, p. 570; EP, p. 335.

<sup>23</sup> HA, p. 48.

<sup>24</sup> ARAB, 2, §§575, 710, 758; ANET, p. 290.

<sup>25</sup> ARAB, 2, §583.

had conquered," he only mentions those cities located in Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt—and then, as we have already noted, only cities that extended as far south as Thebes.<sup>26</sup>

The Assyrian definition of the southern half of Upper Egypt as Kush arose because that part of Egypt was then under direct Kushite control. This definition also helped aggrandize the deeds of the Assyrian kings, making it appear as if their conquests included all the land of Kush Proper.<sup>27</sup> In fact, no foreign power outside of Egypt had conquered any part of Kush Proper until that feat was accomplished many years later by the Persian monarch Cambyses II in 524 B.C.E.<sup>28</sup> The Assyrian definition of Kush, therefore, is not to be confused with the scriptural definition of Kush, which, as supported by the LXX, Josephus, and other ancient Jewish writers, is applied only to the regions south of Syene (modern Aswan) and the First Cataract.<sup>29</sup> When the Assyrian scribes said that Nefertem Taharqa was king of Muzri (Egypt) and Kush, it is certain that they meant only Lower and Upper Egypt, the same definition that is applied by Nefertem Taharqa to himself.

Accordingly, the pharaohship of Nefertem Taharqa of Egypt presents a problem. If the scribes of Scriptures anachronistically meant that the Tirhaqah

<sup>26</sup> ANET, p. 294; ARAB, 2, §771. Also see Map 3.

<sup>27</sup> Assyrian geography often reinterpreted boundaries to give the impression of a greater conquest. Their use of the term Khatti-land (Hatti-land, Khitti-land, etc.), which properly belongs to central and western Asia Minor, to designate Syria-Palestine is well-known. Another example, one that is related to Egypt, is the Assyrian reference to the Wadi el-Arish—located south of Raphia (called Rapikhu, Rapihu, etc. in the Assyrian inscriptions) and near Arzani—as the "river of Egypt" and the "border of Egypt." Sargon's defeat of an Egyptian force at Raphia, to demonstrate, is framed as a defeat of his foes and as conquering as far as the "borders of Egypt" and the "river of Egypt" (cf. ARAB, 2, §§18, 54f, 82, 92, 96–99, 118, 515, 529, 550, 557, 712). Esarhaddon even mocks this definition, stating that Raphia is by the river of Egypt, "where there is no river" (ARAB, 2, §557), the wadi often being dry. Yet because Egypt up until that time controlled this district, the Assyrians included it as part of their definition of Egypt.

While it is true that during Sargon's period the Wadi el-Arish was considered by the Assyrians and the Egyptians as their empire border with their Asiatic neighbors, it was certainly not the border of Egypt Proper. This honor belonged to the Shihor arm of the Nile River (the Nile also being called the Gihon and Yaur River) and its Bubastis mouth, located near the city of Pelusium. The Shihor was understood even by the Israelites as the river, border, and gateway into Egypt (e.g., cf. Gen., 15:18, with Philo, *Gen.*, 3:16; *Josh.*, 13:2–3; *Jer.*, 2:18 [& LXX]; *Isa.*, 23:3; *1 Chron.*, 13:15 [& LXX]; *2 Kings*, 24:7 and *Jos.*, *Antiq.*, 10:6:1; *Jos.*, *Wars*, 4:10:5; *Yashar*, 10:21–22, 15:1–3, 8; *Gen. Apoc.*, 19:11–14; *Diodorus*, 15:42, 18:6; and so forth; also cf. *Gen.*, 2:13, with LXX; *Gen. Apoc.*, 21:15, 17f; Philo, *Leg. All.*, 1:19, 21, 27; *Jos.*, *Antiq.*, 1:1:3).

<sup>28</sup> See App. E.

<sup>29</sup> The LXX translates the name Kush where it is found in the MT text as Ethiopia, e.g., *Gen.*, 2:13; *4 Kings*, 19:9 (cf. MT *2 Kings*, 19:9); *Esther*, 8:9; *Job*, 28:19; *Ps.*, 86:4 (cf. MT *Ps.*, 87:4); *Isa.*, 18:1, 20:3, 5, 37:9, 43:3, 45:14; *Ezek.*, 29:10, 30:4, 38:5; *Nah.*, 3:9; *Zeph.*, 3:10. Josephus, likewise, states that those called by the Hebrews "Kushites" are by others called "Ethiopians" (*Jos.*, *Antiq.*, 1:6:2). Thebes (Noa, Noa Ammon, Ammon, Diospolis, etc.), meanwhile, is described in the Hebrew and LXX texts, as well as by the works of Josephus, as located in Mizraim (Egypt), see *Jer.*, 46:25 (LXX *Jer.*, 26:25, Ammon); *Ezek.*, 30:13–19 (LXX Diospolis); *Nah.*, 3:8 (LXX Ammon); *Jos.*, *Wars*, 7:10:1, *Antiq.*, 11:8:6, *Apion*, 1:14. At the same time, *Ezek.*, 29:10, and *Jos.*, *Wars*, 4:10:5, both state that Kush (Ethiopia) laid south of Syene (Aswan), Egypt. The country of Kush, as described in Scriptures, therefore, started at the First Cataract, well over 120 miles south of Thebes. It should not go unnoticed that the Israelites referred to Upper and Lower Egypt by the plural Mizraim (SEC, Heb. #4714), i.e., the two Mizri (cf. SEC, Heb. #4693). The Assyrians, meanwhile, only named Muzri, indicating only one of the two regions. Kush/Meluḥha became their designation for Upper Egypt.

who opposed Sennacherib was the pharaoh of Egypt by that name, they should have more properly labeled him “the king of Egypt,” or at least “the king of Egypt and Kush.” Nevertheless, their failure to do so implies that Nefertem Taharqa was not the person whom the Israelites believed to be the king of Kush in the early days of Sennacherib. Thereby, the contrast in definition again casts doubt upon Nefertem’s identification as the Tirhaqah of Kush who came out to fight against Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E.

These details indicate that someone else was dominating Kush during the years that Dynasty XXV ruled Egypt. This other Kushite king is reflected in the king list from the Nubian archives (Chart F). The kings of Kush and the Kushite kings ruling Egypt, therefore, would have been in confederation. It was part of a family system wherein certain members of the royal clans held power as pharaohs in Egypt while others handled the affairs at home (although together these both held some authority over parts of Egypt, especially Thebes).

According to the Ethiopian archive list, Shabaka (Shabaqo) ruled Kush for 12 years and held the throne there before Tsawi Terhaq came to power.<sup>30</sup> Herodotus similarly writes that Shabaqo was the king of Ethiopia when he conquered Egypt.<sup>31</sup> Meanwhile, references to “Year 1” of Shabaqo in Egypt are wholly missing, although there are several for years “2” and “3.”<sup>32</sup> This fact indicates that it was in Shabaqo’s 2nd year as a king of Upper Egypt and Kush that he conquered Lower Egypt. During Shabaqo’s 2nd year as Pharaoh (706 B.C.E.), he took full control over Lower Egypt by killing Bekenranef (Bocchoris), the last king of Dynasty XXIV.<sup>33</sup> At the same time, it was also in 706 B.C.E. that Tsawi Terhaq came to his throne in Kush. One dominated Egypt while the other dominated Kush.

The confederation of Kushite kings also helps explain a statement made by Josephus. He remarks that, “Tharsikēn (Tirhaqah), the king of Ethiopia, was coming to the aid of the Egyptians with a large force and had decided to make the journey through the desert and fall upon the Assyrians suddenly.”<sup>34</sup> If Sennacherib was fighting against Egypt, and Tirhaqah was Pharaoh of Egypt, why would it be said that he was coming to aid the Egyptians? Would he not be coming to his own aid? Rather, it proves that a king of Ethiopia was coming to the aid of his confederate, Shabaqo, the Ethiopian king who was ruling Egypt.<sup>35</sup>

## 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

<sup>30</sup> CBN, p. 266, Dynasty IV, nos. xi–xiii.

<sup>31</sup> Herodotus, 2:137.

<sup>32</sup> TIP, p. 142.

<sup>33</sup> Manetho, frags. 66 & 67; TIP, pp. 141f; CAH, 3.1, p. 575.

<sup>34</sup> Jos., *Antiq.*, 10:1:4 §17.

<sup>35</sup> For a much deeper examination of the issues surrounding the chronology for the 24th through 26th Egyptian dynasties, see App. B–L.

other Near Eastern kingdoms. For example, among others, there were several kings of Assyria named Shalmaneser, and Tiglath-pileser, and Adad-nirari.<sup>36</sup> Likewise, there were several pharaohs of Egypt who used the name Ramesses, and Tuthmosis, and Amenophis, and Shoshenq.<sup>37</sup>

Even among the two nearby Israelite nations, Israel and Judah, we have the example of two contemporary kings, both named Yahuram, ruling at the same time, one over each country.<sup>38</sup> Later, the same thing occurred in Israel and Judah with two kings named Yahuash.<sup>39</sup> In ancient Syria there were several generations of kings named Ben-Hadad (Adados, Hadad, etc.).<sup>40</sup> In Egypt the line of Ptolemies was famous while in Syria there ruled the Seleucids.<sup>41</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>42</sup>

Furthermore, 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>43</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 Tirhaqah? Only a rare few, like John C. Laughlin, will admit to the possibility that "another pharaoh may have been involved in the 701 siege."<sup>44</sup>

## Who Was Ameres?

There was another Kushite king who ruled Lower Egypt and, as we shall see, has a direct bearing upon the identity of the Tirhaqah who came out against Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. His importance has generally been missed due to the strained chronology that has been developed for the Ethiopian kings who

<sup>36</sup> There were at least five Shalmanesers, four Tiglath-pilesters, five Shamshi-adads, three Adad-niraris, two Assur-uballits, two Assur-dan, and so forth (ARAB, 1, pp. xiii-xvi, 2, pp. vii-xii, pp. 439-442).

<sup>37</sup> For example, there were at least two kings named Ramesses in Dynasty XIX and eleven in the so-called Dynasty XX (EP, pp. 445, 446). The book of Sothis lists a Dynasty XVI with six kings named Ramesses (Waddell, *Manetho*, p. 237). There were at least three kings named Tuthmosis and four named Amenophis in Dynasty XVIII (EP, p. 443), and four kings named Shoshenq (Soshenk, etc.) in the so-called Dynasty XXII.

<sup>38</sup> 2 Kings, 8:16-25. Jehoram in English.

<sup>39</sup> 2 Kings, 13:1-14; 2 Chron., 25:17-25. Joash and Jehoash in English.

<sup>40</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>41</sup> In the Seleucid dynasty of Syria there were at least six kings named Seleucus and thirteen kings named Antiochus (PHP, pp. 270f). Fifteen kings named Ptolemy ruled in the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt (HEUPD; cf. Eusebius, *Chron.*, pp. 169ff; Sec. Hier. Cod., p. 15).

<sup>42</sup> Gauthier (LR, 4, pp. 2-59) determined four or five kings named Piankhi, while Petrie (AOHE, 3, pp. 267-277, 290f) understood at least two and possibly as many as seven. The Ethiopian list reports at least four Piankhis in the early Middle Kushite Dynasties, along with two Kashtas, two Waradas, five Queen Kandakes, and six Atserks (CBN, pp. 266f). Makeda, the queen of Shaba (Saba, Sheba), was also known as Kandake (Kebrä Nagast, 34).

<sup>43</sup> HP, 1, pp. 61-77. We should not forget that the Kushite kings were fully Egyptianized and followed Egyptian custom in the use of several throne names.

<sup>44</sup> MDB, p. 680.

governed Egypt. Contemporary with the Ethiopian monarchs ruling Dynasty XXV of Egypt, were the first four kings of Dynasty XXVI. Manetho, for example, speaks “of nine kings” who formed Dynasty XXVI of Egypt, the first being “Ameres the Ethiopian.”<sup>45</sup>

According to Eusebius, the 12-year reign of Ameres (Merres, Amaes, Ammeris, etc.) preceded the 7-year reign of Stephanates (Tefnakht II) (684–677 B.C.E.), the 6-year reign of Nechepsos (677–672 B.C.E.), and the 8-year reign of Nekau I (671–663 B.C.E.).<sup>46</sup> Nekau I was subsequently followed by his son, Psamtik I, whose 54-year reign is firmly established as beginning in the year 663 B.C.E.<sup>47</sup> Ameres, therefore, ruled Lower Egypt from 696 to 685 B.C.E.,<sup>48</sup> parallel in part with the 15-year rule of Shabaqo (707–690 B.C.E.), the highest number mentioned on the monuments, the 14-year rule of Shebitku (697–684 B.C.E.), as reported by Africanus from the information found in Manetho, and the 26-year rule of Nefertem Taharqa (689–664 B.C.E.), found on an inscription about the life of an Apis bull put into service during his reign.

Kenneth Kitchen refers to Ameres of Dynasty XXVI of Egypt as a “mysterious” figure.<sup>49</sup> Yet Ameres’ identity has remained mysterious only because scholars have disassociated Ameres from his full name and his correct chronology. The birth name of Ameres was (መሪ ዳሙኒ), read as Meri Amun Piye (Beloved of Amun Piye).<sup>50</sup> Meri was translated into Latin as *Merres* and *Ammeres*, and from an Armenian translation into Latin as *Ameres*, and into Greek as Αμμερις (*Ammeris*) and Ἀμαῆς (*Amaes*).<sup>51</sup> The famous Ethiopian king known as Meri Amun Piye ruled from Thebes and also took control of Lower Egypt and the region of Sais. Like Shabaqo, Piye made himself a pharaoh. It was only because modern-day historians misdated Piye, placing him in a time prior to Shabaqo rather than contemporary, that they falsely assumed that Meri Amun Piye had been left out of the ancient list of kings found in Manetho’s work on the pharaohs of Egypt. He was not.

Why was Piye placed too early? This view took root in 1862 with the discovery at the foot of Gebel Barkal among the ruins of the temple of Amun at Napata (an early capital of Kush) the Victory Stela of King Meri Amun Piye.

<sup>45</sup> Manetho, frags. 69a & b, Sothis, no. 78. The wild speculation by some, who out of thin air define Ameres not as a king but as an Ethiopian “governor” of Sais (e.g., TIP, p. 145), is nonsense and without any historical support. Neither is there any merit to identifying Ammeris (Ameres) with Ta-Nuat-Amun (Tantamani, Tandamané, etc.), e.g., JEA, 34, p. 60. Ta-Nuat-Amun began to govern parts of Egypt no earlier than 665 B.C.E. As a result, he ruled much too late to be Ameres.

<sup>46</sup> Manetho, frags. 69a & b, Sothis, nos. 78–82.

<sup>47</sup> See App. B & F; and see above Chap. IX, pp. 152f, n. 12.

<sup>48</sup> The Armenian version of Eusebius gives Ameres 18 years (Manetho, frag. 69b), 6 of them paralleling the reign of Stephanates (Tefnakht II). In Tefnakht II’s 7th year, he revolted from Ameres. The Book of Sothis gives Ameres (Amaes) 38 years (Sothis, no. 78), which extends from 701 B.C.E., when Piye delivered Egypt from the Assyrians, until 664 B.C.E., the last year of Nefertem Taharqa. The next year, 663 B.C.E., the Assyrians drove the Kushites back to Kush Proper.

<sup>49</sup> TIP, p. 145.

<sup>50</sup> Cairo JE 48862, 47086-47089 (see LSTP); EHD, 2, p. 939, #357. Some read his birth name as Piye Meri Amun but the Victory Stela of Piye gives Meri Amun Piye.

<sup>51</sup> Manetho, frags. 69a & b; Sothis, no. 78; Eusebius, *Inter. Arm.*, p. 9; Sec. Hier. Cod., p. 34.

In this inscription, we read a report regarding how Tefnakht (Tefnakhte), the “chief of the west, the great prince of Neter,” also called “the chief of Sais,” and the “chief of the Ma (the Meshwesh Libyans),” revolted from Meri Amun Piye. Tefnakht II had both conquered and gathered many of the Delta kings to his side and had taken the city of Memphis.<sup>52</sup> In response, Piye gathered his Ethiopian forces and, being joined by his Egyptian allies, came against the rebels, resulting in the defeat and surrender of Tefnakht II.

At the time of the discovery of the Victory Stela of Piye, there was only one king known as Tefnakht. He was mentioned by both Plutarch and Diodorus of Sicily, being described as the father of Bocchoris (Bakenranef), who was the ruler of Sais and the last king of Dynasty XXIV.<sup>53</sup> Manetho and the Egyptian inscriptions further testified that Bocchoris (Bakenranef) was conquered by Shabaqo, who burned Bocchoris alive during the latter part of his 2nd year of reign over Egypt.<sup>54</sup> None of the ancient commentators on the ancient Egyptian king list of Manetho even discuss King Tefnakht of Dynasty XXIV.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, since at the time of the discovery of the Victory Stela there was no other king of Egypt, let alone of Sais, known by the name Tefnakht (Tefnakhte), it was assumed that this man must have been the same king by that name who opposed Piye. As a result, a chronology was formed that attached Piye to the time of Dynasty XXIV shortly prior to Bocchoris (Bakenranef) and the rise of Shabaqo and the Ethiopian kings of Dynasty XXV. Any inscription mentioning Tefnakht was, in turn, associated with this Dynasty XXIV monarch.

More recently it has been recognized that the king named Stephinates by the commentators of Manetho, being listed as the next king after Ameres in Dynasty XXVI at Sais, was also just another ancient Greek variant spelling for Tefnakht. Beginning with an article by Karl-Heinz Priese in 1970, attempts have been made to properly differentiate between the limited number of inscriptions that could be attributed to these two rulers.<sup>56</sup> To reinforce the fact that Stephinates was Tefnakht II, a papyrus from Tebtunis was revealed by Kim Ryholt in 2011 to have mentioned “Nakao, son of Tefnakhte.”<sup>57</sup> This Nakao can be none other than Nekau I of Dynasty XXVI, who was placed on the throne at Sais by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon in 671 B.C.E.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Victory Stela, Main Text, l. 1–8; (FHN, 1, pp. 61–69).

<sup>53</sup> Manetho, frags. 66 & 67. That Bocchoris was the son of Tefnakht I (Tefnakte I, Technactis, Tnephachthus, 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>54</sup> Manetho, frags. 64, 65a & b; and see App. B.

<sup>55</sup> Manetho, frags. 64, 65a & b; Old Chron., pp. 227f (Syncellus, 56–57); Sothis, no. 74.

<sup>56</sup> ZAS, 98, pp. 16–32; LAIE, pp. 436–442; CRAIBL, 146.4, pp. 1215–1244.

<sup>57</sup> GM.B, 10, p. 124. Nechepsos is mentioned as the king ruling between Stephinates (Tefnakht II) and Nechao (Nekau) I. For this reason, Nechepsos was most certainly another son of Tefnakht I. Yet because he had been a proven ally of the Kushites against the Assyrians, he was removed as too risky. Therefore, when Assyria conquered Egypt in 671 B.C.E., Nechepsos was replaced on the throne with Nekau I because Nekau I was believed to be more favorable to an alliance with Assyria.

<sup>58</sup> ABC, p. 127, Chron. 14, l. 25f; ARAB, 2, §§580f, 771, 774, 902–905.

By the time that chronologists realized that there was a second Tefnakht, they were so invested with connecting Meri Amun Piye with Tefnakht I that they never considered that his real contemporary was Tefnakht II. Yet Manetho makes it clear, as in the story found in the Victory Stela, that an Ethiopian king named Meri (Ameres, etc.) was in control of the Sais government immediately prior to Tefnakht II. Because Piye spent so much of his time in Napata, Kush, he no doubt placed Tefnakht II on the throne of Sais as his subject to manage the local affairs for him. Also, Manetho demonstrates that Meri reigned 6 years as co-regent with Tefnakht II.<sup>59</sup> This detail fits the commentary record found on the Victory Stela, which shows that Tefnakht rebelled from Meri Amun Piye in the latter's 19th year and then in Piye's 20th year, the Kushite king set out against him.<sup>60</sup> Ameres' connection with the Tirhaqah of the Scriptures will be fully demonstrated in our next Chapter and the Appendices.

## Conclusion

Several important pieces of evidence are acquired from the above information. First, there was another Kushite king named Tirhaqah, i.e., Tsawi Terhaq, who reigned in Kush at the very time that Sennacherib made his campaign against Egypt in 701 B.C.E. Indeed, there is no reason to doubt that there would have been another Ethiopian king named Taharqa (Tirhaqah) besides Nefertem Taharqa. As a result, there also is no reason to force Nefertem Taharqa of Dynasty XXV of Egypt into this role as Sennacherib's opponent and no need for a second-invasion scenario.

Second, there is also strong evidence that Meri Amun Piye was the king called "Ameres the Ethiopian," who was counted by Manetho as the first ruler of Dynasty XXVI of Egypt. He was the contemporary of Tefnakht of Sais, a detail which corresponds with the evidence from Piye's Victory Stela. Although Kush had a number of confederate kingdoms, very few kings rose to the rank of dominant monarch. In this regard, the powerful ruler, Piye, ruled Kush at the very time that Tsawi Terhaq is said to have held the chief monarch post. In addition, Tirhaqah's defeat of Sennacherib, which delivered Egypt from the hands of the Assyrians, would have allowed him to set up a throne over Egypt, just as Piye had done.

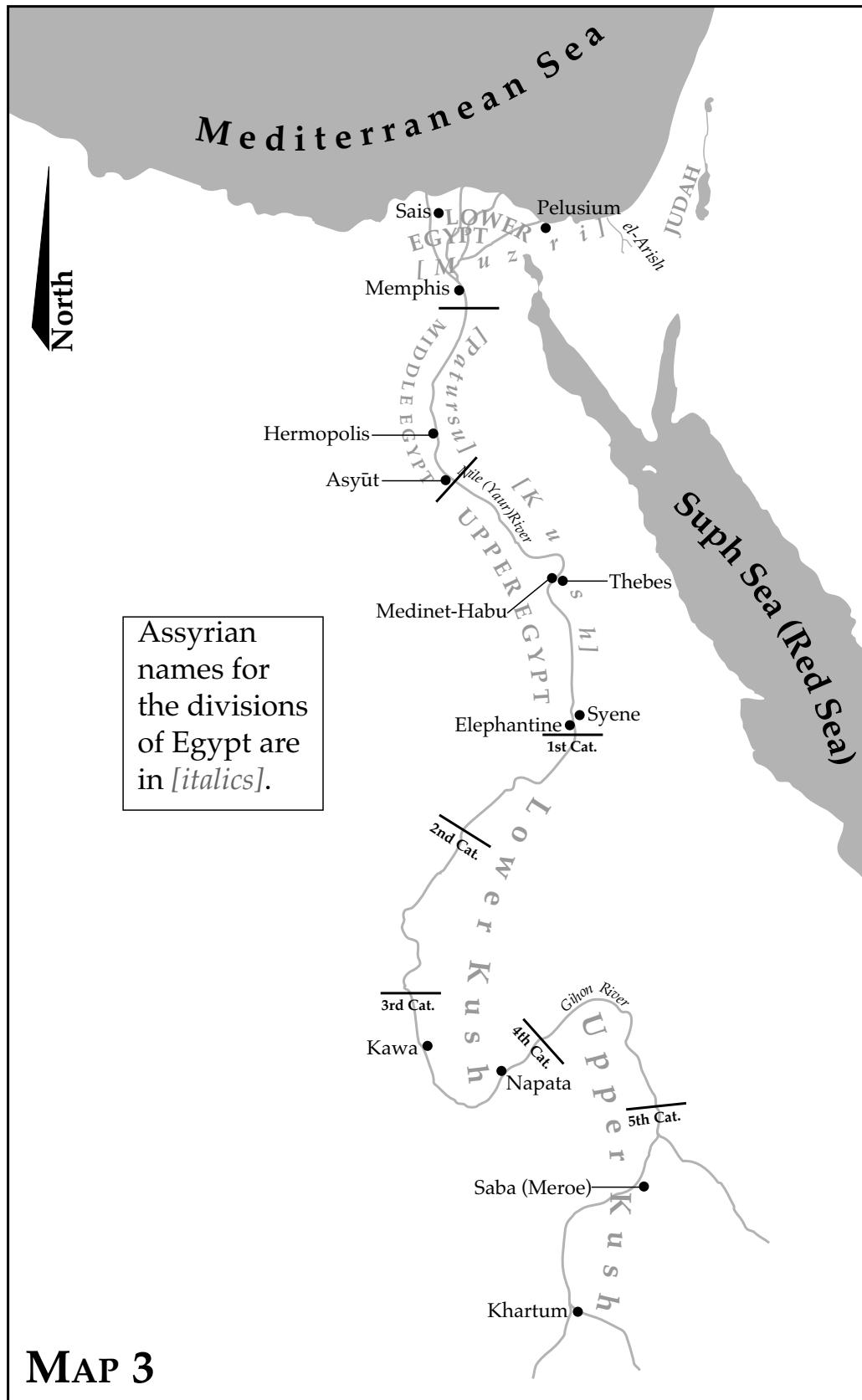
With these details in hand, we can now turn our attention to the issue of the identity of the great king named Tirhaqah, the king who came out of Kush against Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. in an effort to assist his confederate, Shabaqo, the Ethiopian king of Egypt. This evidence allows us to ask the question, "Were Tirhaqah, Tsawi Terhaq, Ameres (Meri) the Ethiopian, and Piye all the same person?"

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<sup>59</sup> In Manetho, frag. 69a, Eusebius notes that "Ammeris the Ethiopian reigned for 12 years," while in frag. 69b, the Armenian version of Eusebius gives "18 years," i.e., 6 years as co-regent with Stephanathes (Tefnakht II).

<sup>60</sup> For the evidence, see App. D.

### EGYPT AND KUSH: 701 B.C.E.



MAP 3

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