

Appendix C

Demotic Papyrus

Berlin 13588

A number of recent Egyptian chronologists have misdated Nefertem Taharqa, the last king of Manetho's Dynasty XXV, 1 year too early. Unfortunately, as Leo Depuydt admits, this arrangement is based entirely upon "a single piece of evidence."¹ This assumed proof comes from a passage found in the Demotic *Papyrus Berlin 13588*,² composed in the 1st century B.C.E.³ In this story, which has a large number of lacunae and lost sections, a young priest of Daphnae (Tell Defenneh)⁴ complained to the king of Egypt, whose name in the text is now lost, that he had been deprived of his priestly revenue.⁵ During this discussion, the priest describes the pious act that he had performed for a deceased ruler named Psamtik (Psammetichus).⁶ In one part of the conversation, as translated by Mark Smith, the priest argued:

I heard in Daphnae, my town, that THE SKY HAD
SWALLOWED THE DISK. They said: [...] sky [...]
increase gradually after/behind the sun when it was
going to its houses of rest in the evening.⁷

This mentioning of an eclipse, either of the sun or the moon, is then used to date the death of Psamtik because this statement is followed by the words, "*t₃ w^cb.t n Pr^c3 [n n₃] t₃.w i^cbt n N₃w^c3m-n-nhs* [Smith "N₃y.w^c3m-p₃-nhs"]."⁸ Georg Möller, Mark Smith, and others have translated the term *w^cb.t* in this phrase to mean "death,"⁹ thus translating the verse to read, "The death of Pharaoh occurred in the lands east of *N₃y.w^c3m-p₃-nhs*." The German writer Wolja Erichsen, meanwhile, translates *t₃. w^cb.t* to mean "*Balsamierungsstatte* (the embalming place),"¹⁰ as does Wilhelm Spiegelberg.¹¹ Therefore, the relevant

¹ HdO, p. 267.

² For the text, see ENDE, pp. 49–81.

³ ZAS, 92, pp. 38f; OLP, 22, pp. 101–109; HdO, p. 267, n. 4.

⁴ Daphnae (Tell Defenneh) is located in the easternmost part of the Delta of Egypt, along Lake Manzala about 16 miles southward from Pelusium.

⁵ P. Berlin 13588, 2:8–11.

⁶ P. Berlin 13588, 3:8, "a protection (scripture) of breathing (which was) on the divine binding of the deceased king, Pharaoh Psamtik."

⁷ P. Berlin 13588, 3:1–2.

⁸ P. Berlin 13588, 3:2–3; see ENDE, p. 60. Mark Smith reads it as, "*t₃. w^cb.t n Pr^c3 n n₃ t₃.w i^cbt n N₃y.w^c3m-p₃-nhs*" (OLP, 22, p. 102).

⁹ E.g., ABKK, 39. 8, p. 13, also published by *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, col. 182; OLP, 22, pp. 101–104.

¹⁰ ENDE, p. 60, *Kolumnen III*, l. 2.

¹¹ ZAS, 65.1, p. 59.

line for them reads, “The embalming place of Pharaoh was located in the eastern lands of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs*.” Although the two different translations both involve the idea of death, there is a major difference, one which shall become important as we continue. One translation assumes that the death of Psamtik took place in “the lands east of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs*,” while the other understands that the deceased Pharaoh’s place of embalming was located in the eastern (east) lands of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs*.

In this debate, Erichsen, Spiegelberg, and those following their understanding are clearly correct. Georg Möller, Mark Smith, and their supporters seem to ignore the fact that the term *w'b.t* is used in two other places in the Demotic *Papyrus Berlin* 13588. In each case, it is a clear reference to the place of embalming. In column 3, line 3, for example, the young priest of Daphnae, while referring to his response at being called to assist at the mortuary, states, “I did not hesitate to go to the gates of the *w'b.t*.” And again, in column 3, line 7, the priest reports, “I spent the 70 days staying at the gates of the *w'b.t*,” where he occupied himself by composing a papyrus scroll called “an Inscription (Book) of Breathing.” A period of 70 days was required for the embalming of a corpse.¹² Clearly, *w'b.t* refers to a deceased person lying in a place of embalming and not simply to the death of that person. Furthermore, the term *Wsir* is used in *Papyrus Berlin* 13588 for someone deceased (dead), i.e., “The young priest said, What good thing did you do to the *Wsir* (deceased) King, Pharaoh?”¹³ and “a protection (scripture) of breathing (which was) on the divine binding of the *Wsir* (deceased) king, Pharaoh Psamtik.”¹⁴ The references used by Georg Möller and Mark Smith to provide support for their interpretation of “death” rather than “place of embalming” can be understood in the same way.

The Land of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs*

Mark Smith tries to make the case that *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* (Erichsen “*N3.w-‘3m-n-nhs*”) was located on the northeastern frontier of Egypt and not too far from Daphnae.¹⁵ Translating the statement found in the *Papyrus Berlin* 13588, column 3, lines 2–3, to mean, “The death of Pharaoh occurred in the lands east of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs*,” he equates the lands east of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* with Asia, east of the Egyptian frontier. Smith then points to the “tradition” that Psamtik I died abroad.¹⁶ Yet he only makes a circular argument. He cannot use his own interpretation of the text as a basis for claiming it as proof of a “tradition” without offering other support. No doubt, he had in mind the statement from Herodotus that Psamtik I (Psammetichus), whom he identifies with the deceased Pharaoh of the story, spent 29 years laying siege to the city of Azotus in Syria until he took it.¹⁷ Nevertheless, there is no ancient record, even from

¹² Herodotus, 3:86.

¹³ P. Berlin 13588, 2:15-16.

¹⁴ P. Berlin 13588, 3:8.

¹⁵ OLP, 22, pp. 101–103.

¹⁶ OLP, 22, p. 105.

¹⁷ Herodotus, 2:157.

Herodotus, to support Mark Smith's claim that Psamtik I died while in Syria or, for that matter, in any other region outside of Egypt Proper.

Mark Smith's entire argument is, unfortunately, built upon the details that (1) Daphnae was located in the eastern Delta, (2) it was a place of "embalming," and (3) the young priest of Daphnae "hastens when he hears of the events that he describes."¹⁸ Therefore, Smith construes, Daphnae was "obviously very close" to *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs*.¹⁹ Yet just because one "hastens" does not mean that the city is close by or that it was on the Egyptian border. The priest could just as easily have been located as much as three days' travel west of Daphnae and he could still make "haste" to get there. More importantly, if King Psamtik of the story died in an Egyptian territory located just east of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs*, and *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* was located not far east of Memphis (as we shall demonstrate below), then the land east of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* would set at not too great a distance west of Daphnae (not east). In fact, nowhere in the text does it say that this Pharaoh was embalmed in Daphnae. This view is merely an assumption made on the part of Mark Smith and those adhering to him.

Next, Mark Smith points to a demotic ostracon found at Karnak, which reports that during King Ptolemy II's 28th year he passed through *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* on his way to Syria.²⁰ Nevertheless, since the capital cities of the Ptolemies were at Alexandria and Memphis, this statement does not place *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* on Egypt's border. Indeed, Smith openly admits that the only real evidence of the area named *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* is found in the prologue to the *Instructions of Ankhsheshonqi*. This document locates the area of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* near Memphis!²¹ Smith was forced to admit that, "for the writer of the prologue, *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* was located not far from Memphis."²² Smith also acknowledged that the noun *T3* (land), which is used in the papyrus to describe the land east of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs*, was also "used to designate areas within Egypt itself."²³

Mark Smith then offhandedly dismisses the connection of the known area of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* near Memphis by saying that he knew of no such districts in the region which would qualify as described in *Papyrus Berlin 13588*. Yet his own conclusion is set aside by the fact that the *Instructions of Ankhsheshonqi* prove that a district of that name actually did exist near Memphis and not on the border of Egypt. In reality, the land of *N3y.w-‘3m-p3-nhs* laid well within the land of Egypt, probably north or northeast of Memphis, and not near some far-off foreign region of the Egyptian frontier. This detail removes any notion that the Pharaoh named Psamtik, who was embalmed in the story, died outside of Egypt during some otherwise unmentioned foreign exploit.

¹⁸ OLP, 22, p. 102.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ O. dem. L. S., 462.4, l. 2–4, see EVO, 6, pp. 15–31.

²¹ CDPBM, 2, P. BM 10508, iv, 5–8, v, 16–17; OLP, 22, p. 102.

²² OLP, 22, p. 102.

²³ OLP, 22, p. 103, n. 11.

The Eclipse

The relevant passage for our discussion is found in column 3, lines 1–3, of the *Papyrus Berlin* 13588. It has been variously interpreted to mean that either a solar or lunar eclipse had been seen in Daphnae, Egypt,²⁴ i.e., “I heard in Daphnae, my town, that THE SKY HAD SWALLOWED THE DISK. They said: [. . .] sky [. . .] increase gradually after/behind the sun when it was going to its houses of rest in the evening.” The next statement reads, “*t3. w^wb.t n Pr^c3 [n n3] t3.w i3bt n N3.w^c3m-n-nhs*,” which is interpreted by Mark Smith and those who follow him to read, “The death of Pharaoh occurred in the lands east of *N3.w^c3m-n-nhs*.” Smith and others connect these two statements and assume that Pharaoh Psamtik died at the time of this eclipse. As a word of caution, we should keep in mind that the passage does not directly make this connection. It is also possible that the eclipse took place during the 70-day period while the young priest was inside the mortuary composing his Book of Breathing. This detail is suggested by the fact that the priest of Daphnae never saw the eclipse. Instead, he was informed of its occurrence by the people from his hometown.²⁵ In either case, we shall consider both possibilities.

Generally ignored is the full implications of the phrase, “the sky had swallowed the disk.” These words are a clear reference to a total eclipse (or at least one of sufficient magnitude so as to be seen from Daphnae as being nearly total), thus the visual of being “swallowed.” There is also an implication that a lunar eclipse was intended, for the papyrus states, “when it (the disk) increase gradually after/behind the sun when it (the sun) was going to its houses of rest in the evening.” By saying that the waxing of the eclipsing disk followed “after/behind” the sun, it appears to equate the disk with the moon. Nevertheless, we shall consider all possibilities. The real questions are, “Is the eclipse mentioned in the story from *Papyrus Berlin* 13588 relevant to the date of the death of King Psamtik I?” and “Does this eclipse change the arrangement of Egyptian chronology by one year?”

Which Psamtik?

If the tale in *Papyrus Berlin* 13588 is true and there is also a connection between the death of a King Psamtik and the occurrence of an eclipse, who then was this king named Psamtik? This question is not as simple as one might at first think, since there were at least seven rulers in Egypt who held this name. Psamtik I, II, and III all belonged to Dynasty XXVI while the others, mostly minor monarchs, subsequently held power during the Persian period.²⁶ To begin with, the very name “Psamtik” implies a king descended from the old Libyan Saite line of Dynasty XXVI, Pharaohs who ruled from Sais, Egypt (Map 4) in the western Delta. This detail demands that we take a close look at the various Psamtiks to see whether or not any one of them is a

²⁴ HdO, p. 267, n. 4.

²⁵ P. Berlin 13588, 3:1.

²⁶ Lex. Aggypt., 4, pp. 1173–1175. There are two different kings labeled Psamtik IVa and IVb as well as a Psamtik V and VI.

viable candidate, someone who could answer to the events mentioned in the *Papyrus Berlin 13588*. Up front, we know that the timing and history of the last three known kings named Psamtik are irrelevant. By other historical data, Egyptian chronology is fixed in the year 525 B.C.E., the year King Cambyses II of Persia conquered Egypt.²⁷ Therefore, only the first three rulers named Psamtik are even relevant for our discussion about the chronology of Dynasties XXV and XXVI.

PSAMTIK I

The Pharaoh most often advocated by those connecting the death of the Psamtik found in *Papyrus Berlin 13588* is Psamtik I. Accordingly, some historians, reviewing the calculations for various possible eclipses during Dynasty XXVI, came upon a partial lunar eclipse which could be seen at maximum in Mumbai, India and took place on March 22nd, 610 B.C.E. Others pointed to a partial solar eclipse that could be seen in Daphnae, Egypt which took place on September 30th, 610 B.C.E. Since these two events occurred near the end of the reign of Pharaoh Psamtik I, the advocates of each view immediately associated their respective eclipse with the one mentioned in *Papyrus Berlin 13588*. Used in assisting their calculation, a donation stela has been found that proves that Psamtik I lived until sometime during his 55th year as king.²⁸ The combined evidence, it was felt, was sufficient enough to move the 55th and last year of Psamtik I back from the heretofore long-accepted year of 609 B.C.E. back to 610 B.C.E. This interpretation created a cascading effect that moved the dates for the reigns of all the previous kings of Egypt from Dynasties XXV and XXVI, including Nefertem Taharqa, back 1 year.

Nevertheless, a much closer look at all the calculations for any possible total or near total solar or lunar eclipse during this general period (from 611 to 608 B.C.E.) demonstrates that none were anywhere close to being visible as either a total or near total eclipse in the region of Daphnae, Egypt.²⁹ In fact, the evidence shows that not all is well with the conclusions that have been drawn. For example, the date of Psamtik I's death is unknown. Therefore, it is mere speculation to associate his death with either a March or September eclipse. We also know that during this period the Egyptian year began, according to the Julian calendar, on the 23rd of January.³⁰ Meanwhile, the earliest record of "Year 1" for the sole reign of Nekau II, the son and successor of Psamtik I, is dated to about August 31st.³¹ As a result, as observed by Mark Smith in 1991 and Rolf Krauss in 2006,³² the solar eclipse on September 30th of 610 B.C.E. is eliminated for two reasons:

²⁷ See Diodorus, 1:68, and see above App. B.

²⁸ STEAN, 2, p. 675.

²⁹ *Voyager Dynamic Sky Simulator* by Carina Software.

³⁰ HdO, p. 274.

³¹ Louvre A83, l. 1; see BSFE, 105 (1986), pp. 24–26, with fig. 1.

³² OLP, 22, pp. 101–109; HdO, pp. 377f.

- (1) By August of the year in which Psamtik I died, King Nekau II had already become sole king.³³ Therefore, a September 30th date for the death of Psamtik I would be impossible since he had already died prior to August.
- (2) The partial solar eclipse of that year occurred in the morning and nowhere near the description of following after sunset as the *Papyrus Berlin* 13588 reports.

These details left the advocates for changing the chronology backwards by 1 year with only the lunar eclipse of March 22nd of 610 B.C.E. Yet even here, the facts fall short. True, the time of the day might be considered more appropriate for the lunar eclipse that occurred on March 22nd of 610 B.C.E., its maximum being visible in Mumbai, India at about 7:53 p.m. (4:23 p.m. Daphnae time). Yet there are two major problems. First, from those places where this lunar eclipse could best be seen, its visibility only reached 50%,³⁴ far less than the expression "swallowed" would require. Second and far more important, this eclipse was not visible at all in Daphnae. Meanwhile, sunset followed at Daphnae at 6:00 p.m., about an hour and a half after the maximum of the eclipse in India. In turn, moonrise in Daphnae did not occur until 6:01 p.m. By the time the moon was seen in Daphnae, there was no visibility of any part of the eclipse.³⁵

Regardless of the claims made by E. Hornung (1966), Mark Smith (1991), and others, when based upon the actual evidence, it is not only highly improbable but impossible that the eclipse mentioned in the 1st century B.C.E. *Papyrus Berlin* 13588 was in any way connected with the death of Psamtik I. Once we set aside all speculations, and if there is a connection between a solar or lunar eclipse and the death of the Psamtik who was named in *Papyrus Berlin* 13588, it can only be a reference to a later king of Egypt carrying the name Psamtik.

PSAMTIK II

Psamtik II is dated under the more traditional system of chronology from 594 to early 588 B.C.E. Yet under the new interpretation, which is based upon Georg Möller and Mark Smith's interpretation of *Papyrus Berlin* 13588, he is considered to have ruled from 595 to early 589 B.C.E. Psamtik II is reported to have died during his 7th year on I Akhet, day 23.³⁶ Here we have an exact date of death. Under the traditional system, which certainly is correct, his death would have taken place on about February 8th, 588 B.C.E.³⁷ Those adhering to the new chronology date Psamtik II's 7th and last year to 589 B.C.E. Thus, they place his death on about February 7th of 589 B.C.E.³⁸ Yet in 589 B.C.E. there was no eclipse that could be seen from Daphnae. Indeed, there is only one

³³ OLP, 22, p. 105.

³⁴ *Voyager Dynamic Sky Simulator* by Carina Software.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ NPBKN, p. 170.

³⁷ The year 588 B.C.E. began for the Egyptians on Jan., 17th (HdO, p. 274).

³⁸ The year 589 B.C.E. began for the Egyptians on Jan., 18th (HdO, p. 274).

eclipse to consider during this period, the partial solar eclipse on July 29th, 588 B.C.E. It had a 50% visibility at Daphnae at sunset (6:50 p.m.).³⁹ Therefore, if the popular interpretation of *Papyrus Berlin 13588* by Georg Möller and Mark Smith is correct, the year 589 B.C.E. is impossible. In the year 588 B.C.E, meanwhile, we find that the date of Psamtik II's death and the timing of the partial eclipse do not match. Neither would it fall within the 70-day period of embalming. Yet even if it did correspond during this year, it would not change the traditional chronology for Dynasty XXVI. In either case, an eclipse cannot be connected with the death of Psamtik II.

PSAMTIK III

Psamtik III was the last Pharaoh of Dynasty XXVI of Egypt. He ruled only 6 months after the death of his father, King Amasis. Psamtik III was overthrown by the Persian king Cambyses II, who ended his reign in May of 525 B.C.E., a year precisely known.⁴⁰ Only 10 days after King Psamtik III and the city of Memphis surrendered to Cambyses II, the Persian king gave mercy to Psamtik III, making him governor of Egypt and part of his entourage.⁴¹ Nevertheless, shortly thereafter, Psamtik III raised a revolt against Cambyses II. When Psamtik III's plot was discovered, he met his end, choking to death when he drank coagulated bull's blood.⁴² Herodotus writes:

. . . and they led Psammenitus (Psamtik III) away to Cambyses; and there (in Memphis) he lived with no violence to be done to him for the rest of his life. And had he but been wise enough to mind his own business, he would have so far won back Egypt AS BEING GOVERNOR OF IT. . . . But as it was, Psammenitus plotted evil and got his reward; for he was caught raising a revolt among the Egyptians; and when this thing came to the ears of Cambyses, Psammenitus drank bull's blood and forthwith died.⁴³

The date of Psamtik III's death, accordingly, must have occurred sometime between mid-May, when Cambyses II had pardoned Psamtik III, yet before Cambyses II left Egypt during the spring of 522 B.C.E.⁴⁴ Becoming even more

³⁹ *Voyager Dynamic Sky Simulator* by Carina Software.

⁴⁰ See App. B.

⁴¹ Herodotus, 3:14f.

⁴² Godley, *Her.*, ii, p. 23, n. 2; cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, 3:19, "bull's blood is the quickest to coagulate." Some believe that this statement from Herodotus means that Psamtik III committed suicide. Yet the statements that he was "caught raising a revolt among the Egyptians" and it "came to the ears of Cambyses" could also indicate that Cambyses II might well have forced him to drink the bull's blood. No doubt, if Cambyses II forced Psamtik III to drink the coagulated bull's blood, the idea would most likely have been conceived out of the animosity that Cambyses II held against the Apis bull, which was worshiped by the Egyptians and Psamtik III (cf. Herodotus, 3:27–30).

⁴³ Herodotus, 3:15.

⁴⁴ See App. B.

specific, Herodotus discusses the revolt of Psamtik III in a digression immediately before discussing Cambyses II's visit to Sais, which took place just after Psamtik III was pardoned. Cambyses II went to Sais to deliberately scourge the dead body of King Amasis, the father of Psamtik III.⁴⁵ This episode would certainly have humiliated Psamtik III and others of the Egyptian royal families along with their allies. The scourging of the dead body of Amasis and the reducing of Psamtik III to the status as governor of Egypt worked together to cause a great deal of resentment towards Cambyses II. These things would easily have sparked the desire for a revolt among a great number of Egyptians.

Herodotus continues his report by noting that after Cambyses II left Sais he returned to Memphis, where Psamtik III was now governor. Cambyses II subsequently sent spies to Ethiopia and, after the spies returned, he launched his first war against Kush in October of 525 B.C.E.⁴⁶ The most appropriate time for Psamtik III (who was living in Memphis as governor)⁴⁷ to have been caught planning a revolt for which he met his death, therefore, would have been (1) during the period after Cambyses II scourged the body of Amasis in Sais (about June), (2) while Psamtik III, as governor, was staying in Memphis with Cambyses II, and (3) before Cambyses II undertook his first campaign against Kush, beginning his march to the south during October.

Many other events are discussed by Herodotus regarding the affairs of Cambyses II in Egypt after he returned from Kush. Among these, Herodotus makes no further reference to the execution (suicide?) of Psamtik III.⁴⁸ Such a construct indicates that the Psamtik III's revolt and death took place prior to Cambyses II leaving for Egypt to undertake his first expedition against Kush. As the Egyptologist Keith C. Seele remarks, "A few months" after Psamtik III's defeat, "after a revolt against the conquerors, Psamtik III was put to death."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Herodotus, 3:15f.

⁴⁶ See App. B.

⁴⁷ Herodotus, 3:15. Some have erroneously argued that Psamtik III was taken in chains to Susa in Persia (e.g., EA, p. 312). This view is based on Ctesias' story about Cambyses II's war against King Amyrtaeus of Egypt (Photius' Excerpt of Ctesias' Persica, 10). Ctesias writes, "Having taken Amyrtaeus alive he did him no harm, but merely removed him to Susa with 6000 Egyptians chosen by himself." Although Amyrtaeus is never called Psamtik, the present-day commentators have confounded him with Psamtik III for no other reason than a blind belief there was no other kingdom in Egypt at the time. It is manifestly wrong. Amyrtaeus was a member of a kingdom located in the northwestern Delta which ruled the marshlands and Sais. There were others of this family who carried that name, e.g., besides King Amyrtaeus who lived in the days of Cambyses II, we read of King Amyrtaeus of the marshlands who lived in the days of Inaros II (Herodotus, 2:140, 3:15; Thucydides, 1:110) and Amyrtaeus of Sais, Dynasty XXVIII (Manetho, frags. 72 a, b, and c). E. Bresciani believes that Amyrtaeus II was the nephew of Amyrtaeus I (Enc.Ir., 1.9, pp. 998f, s.v. **Amyrtaeus (II)**). In turn, King Amyrtaeus of the story found in Ctesias was most likely the ancestor of Amyrtaeus I. Neither Herodotus (c.450 B.C.E.), who lived a mere 75 years or so after Psamtik III's death and who personally spoke with the Egyptian priests about this matter, nor the Egyptian priest Manetho (early 3rd century B.C.E.), George Syncellus, or any other ancient writer make the claim that Psamtik III was taken to Susa. Amyrtaeus was taken. Psamtik III could hardly have been pardoned and set up as the governor of Egypt at Memphis and then caught raising a revolt among the Egyptians if he had been carried away in chains to Susa.

⁴⁸ See Herodotus, 3:17–26, for the first Ethiopian campaign, and 3:27–62, for the events that occurred after he returned to Egypt.

⁴⁹ CE, 19, p. 445.

To our main point, two lunar eclipses took place that year. A partial eclipse occurred on March 12th, 525 B.C.E. It reached its maximum visibility in Mumbai, India of 50% at 7:13 p.m. (3:43 p.m. Daphnae time).⁵⁰ Three details dismiss this partial eclipse from consideration: (1) Psamtik III was still alive 2 months later in May of 525, at which time he was pardoned by Cambyses II, (2) the visibility of this eclipse was too small to meet the description that “the sky had swallowed the disk,” and (3) moonrise at Daphnae did not occur until 5:56 p.m., which means the partial eclipse was never visible in Daphnae.⁵¹ The next lunar eclipse occurred on September 5th of 525 B.C.E. It reached 90% visibility in Mumbai, India at 6:58 p.m. (3:27 p.m. Daphnae time).⁵² Nevertheless, moonrise did not occur in Daphnae until 6:52 p.m. By that time, this eclipse was no longer visible. It too would not have been seen by anyone living in Daphnae. Therefore, neither of these eclipses support an identification of Psamtik III with the Psamtik in *Papyrus Berlin 13588*. Neither would it allow moving the chronology for Psamtik III back 1 year.

Major Flaws

There are a number of major flaws attached to the view that Psamtik I's date of death should be moved back 1 year due to the occurrence of the lunar eclipse of March 22nd of 610 B.C.E. or the solar eclipse on September 30th of that year. First, as already pointed out, there is the important detail found in *Papyrus Berlin 13588* which states, “I heard in Daphnae, my town, that THE SKY HAD SWALLOWED THE DISK.”⁵³ This statement can mean nothing less than a total or nearly total eclipse as seen from Daphnae, not a partial eclipse or an eclipse that occurred in another region. Yet even this detail hardly matters. When the computer data about eclipses from the period of Dynasty XXVI are investigated, as demonstrated above, we find that no eclipse, neither solar nor lunar, occurred at the time of the death of any Pharaoh named Psamtik during the entirety of Dynasty XXVI.

A second major problem comes with the authenticity of *Papyrus Berlin 13588* itself. If any one of the kings of Dynasty XXVI named Psamtik was intended as the Pharaoh of the story, it is contradicted by the mentioning of a Scroll of Protection (Scripture) of Breathing found in *Papyrus Berlin 13588*.⁵⁴ Here we are told that the priest of Daphnae, whose name was I'ahmes,⁵⁵ spent 70 days at the gate of the embalming place writing a Book of Breathing.⁵⁶ Yet the custom of writing a Book of Breathing did not exist during the time of Dynasty XXVI, thereby forming a conundrum. The earliest known copy of such a text, P. Louvre N 3154, stems from the end of Dynasty XXX (c.350

⁵⁰ *Voyager Dynamic Sky Simulator* by Carina Software.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ P. Berlin 13588, 3:1.

⁵⁴ P. Berlin 13588, 3:7–17.

⁵⁵ For the name of the young priest, see ISBAB, p. 258.

⁵⁶ P. Berlin 13588, 3:7f.

B.C.E.).⁵⁷ In addition, there are a number of copies derived from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in Egypt, coming as late as the second century C.E.⁵⁸ As a result, a number of historians believe that, if a Dynasty XXVI king was really intended, the entire story in *Papyrus Berlin* 13588 is fictitious. It would have been made up by the priests of the 1st century B.C.E. in order to warn any new king not to forebear paying them for services rendered. Rolf Krauss, for example, writes:

The context of the eclipse is fictitious, insofar as it would date the “Book of Breathing”—a creation of the Ptolemaic period—to the time immediately after the death of Psammetichus I. An eclipse that is reported in a fictitious tale cannot be deemed historical.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, the problem is not with the *Papyrus Berlin* 13588. Rather, it comes with the assumption that the king named Psamtik in the document was Psamtik I. To the contrary, there is adequate evidence to prove that there was a real king named Psamtik behind the story. Yet this king died late in 399 B.C.E., just at the time when these types of documents made their appearance.

A Book of Breathing was an Egyptian funeral text which supposedly enabled the deceased to continue his existence in the afterlife. The practice of composing such a document most certainly came about shortly after the death of the Persian king, Darius II, who died in September of 405 B.C.E. His death resulted in a successful revolt by Amyrtaeus II of Sais,⁶⁰ who in the spring of 404 B.C.E. was able to push Persian authority out of the Egyptian delta.⁶¹ Amyrtaeus II of Sais, a descendant of Pharaoh Psamtik I of Sais (Dynasty XXVI)⁶² then established his own kingship over northern Egypt (Dynasty XXVIII). He ruled for 6 years.⁶³ Amyrtaeus II was subsequently followed by the Egyptian dynasties labelled XXIX and XXX. During this period, which lasted from 404 to 343 B.C.E., the Egyptians were able to maintain their independence.

⁵⁷ AEBA, pp. 23–25.

⁵⁸ TETAP, pp. 462, 500, 521.

⁵⁹ HdO, pp. 377f.

⁶⁰ Egyptian (אָמָרְתִּי) (Amun-ir-dis, “Amun is the one who gave/created him”), in Hebrew (Amurtis) (APFC, p. 130, no. 35, l. 1), was Hellenized to read Ἀμυρταῖος (Amyrtaeus).

⁶¹ The Persian king Arta-xerxes II was still recognized in Upper Egypt by the Jewish colony at Elephantine during his 4th year (401 B.C.E.) (BMAP, pp. 270f, no. 12, l. 1). Some have dated this 4th year to 402 B.C.E., which is incorrect. Arta-xerxes II ascended to the throne on about April 10 of 404 B.C.E. (see HdO, p. 283, n. xxiii). Therefore, his 4th year was 401 B.C.E. For the correct date, see CAH, 6, p. 337; EB, 2, p. 662, 7, p. 833; etc. Amyrtaeus does not appear in Upper Egypt until his 5th year, i.e., in 400 B.C.E. (APFC, p. 130, no. 35, l. 1).

⁶² As we shall demonstrate below, see Diodorus, 14:35:1–5, esp. 4.

⁶³ Manetho, frags. 72a–c (a. Africanus, b. Eusebius, & c. Armenian Eusebius.); Old Chron. (FGrH, 3.1, 610 F2, p. 117; cf. Manetho, app. III, p. 231); Syncellus, 308; a contract dated Year 5 is known from Elephantine (AP, p. 130, l. 1, “On the 21st (?) of Phamenoth, year 5 of Amurtis (Amyrtaeus),” i.e., June 19, 400 B.C.E. (see AFE, p. 295; BMAP, p. 112), and a Year 5 and 6 is documented at ‘Ayn Manāwīr (BIFAO, 96, p. 411).

As the result of the elimination of Persian hegemony, which had suppressed Egyptian culture for many years, as Alan B. Lloyd points out, the Egyptians sought a “restoration of the glories of the XXVIth Dynasty.”⁶⁴ This cultural mood certainly explains, as we shall see, the reappearance of the name Psamtik at this precise time. It was also during this period, as noted above, that archaeologists began to find evidence that the Egyptians were now using the Book of Breathing. In this regard, as Hans Bonnet’s *Reallexikon* observes, these books were “compilations and excerpts from AN OLDER STOCK of death book verses and grave formulas.”⁶⁵ This description fits quite well with the Egyptian new longing for the good old days. At the end of this 60-year period of resurgence, the Persians reconquered the Egyptians in a battle at Pelusium (343 B.C.E.). Persian kings then ruled for a short time (from 343 B.C.E. to 332 B.C.E.),⁶⁶ after which Alexander the Great conquered Egypt and pushed the Persians permanently out of the region.

A third major flaw comes from the fact that we can identify the Psamtik named in *Papyrus Berlin 13588*. He is one and the same with Amyrtaeus II.

Amunirdi Psamtik

Amunirdi (Amyrtaeus) II can be identified with the Pharaoh labelled Psamtik VI (called Psamtik V by some Egyptologists, depending upon their interpretations and organizations of the Egyptian kings during this period). Amyrtaeus II is directly mentioned under the name Psammetichus (Psamtik) by Diodorus of Sicily. While discussing the events surrounding Tamos, the satrap of Ionia, and Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap of Caria and Lydia, which Diodorus dates to 400 B.C.E.,⁷⁴ he reports:

Tamos, then, in fear of Tissaphernes, sailed off with his fleet to Egypt and sought safety with Psammetichus (Psamtik), the king of the Egyptians, who was a descendant of the famous Psammetichus (Psamtik I).⁷⁵

Psamtik VI was most certainly the grandson of Psamtik V, who is known to have been alive in the winter of 445/444 B.C.E. Diodorus’ mentioning of the “famous Psammetichus” is a clear reference to Psamtik I, the true founder of the Libyan Dynasty XXVI of Egypt, “who fostered trade relations with the Greeks.”⁷⁶ In this regard, after Psamtik I had been exiled to his home districts in the marshlands of northwestern Egypt by 11 other local confederate kings of

⁶⁴ CAH, 6, p. 340; cf. OHAE, p. 378, where Alan B. Lloyd notes that Nipherites I and Hakor of Dynasty XXIX “were determined to associate themselves with the great rulers of the 26th Dynasty, the most recent ‘golden age’ in Egypt’s history.”

⁶⁵ RDAR, p. 59, s.v. *Atmen, Buch vom*, “Es sind Kompilationen und Auszüge aus älterem Vorrat von Totenbuchsprüchen und Grabformeln.”

⁶⁶ Arta-xerxes III (343 to 338 B.C.E.), Arses (338–336 B.C.E.), and Darius III (336–332 B.C.E.).

⁷⁴ Diodorus, 14:35:1.

⁷⁵ Diodorus, 14:35:1–5, esp. 4.

⁷⁶ Oldfather, *Diodorus*, vi, p. 118, n. 1.

Egypt,⁷⁷ he made contact with some Greek mercenaries who happened upon his coastland. As a result, during his 8th year (656 B.C.E.), Psamtik I utilized these Greek warriors to conquer the other parts of Egypt.⁷⁸ The above quote from Diodorus makes one thing clear: Psamtik VI traced his family of Libyan rulers back to the line of Saite rulers who governed Egypt as Dynasty XXVI.

Ancient writers make it clear that Amyrtaeus II was the only native king of Egypt during this period.⁷⁹ Alan B. Lloyd, for example, writes, "His position as the sole ruler is confirmed by the *Demotic Chronicle*,"⁸⁰ an ancient 3rd/2nd century B.C.E. prophetic Egyptian text. This document reports:

The first ruler who came after the foreigners, that is, the Medes (Persians), was Pharaoh Amenirdai (Amyrtaeus II). . . . The second ruler who came after the Medes (Persians), that is, Pharaoh Nafaurud (Nepherites I) . . .⁸¹

Amyrtaeus II of Sais remained in power for 6 years (404–399 B.C.E.), after which he was overthrown by Nepherites I (399–393 B.C.E.),⁸² who ruled from the city of Mendes. In late 399 B.C.E., Nepherites I founded Dynasty XXIX.⁸³ Therefore, the Psamtik mentioned by Diodorus as the ruler of Egypt in 400 B.C.E. would point directly to Amyrtaeus II, who was the sole ruler of Egypt. Psamtik would simply be one of Amyrtaeus II's throne names—the Egyptians carrying as many as five royal names.⁸⁴ Indeed, prior to 1996 C.E. most Egyptologists believed that it was of the highest probability that the two names belonged to the same person.⁸⁵ For example, E. Bresciani comments that Diodorus refers to Amyrtaeus II "as the Saite king 'Psammetichus,'" i.e., Psamtik.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, confirmation eluded these scholars because there were no monuments, cartouches, hieroglyphic writings containing his names, or other records found that belonged to Amyrtaeus II.⁸⁷ Then in 1996 C.E., two ostracas were found at 'Ayn Manāwīr (oasias de Kharga) that clarified the issue. Michel Wuttmann, et al., published their findings from this site, noting:

Finally, some ostraca mention other kings that must be located immediately after Darius II. Thus, two of them (nos 196 and 198) are respectively dated Year 5 and Year 7 of Néphérites, founder of the XXIXth Dynasty

⁷⁷ Herodotus, 3:151f; Diodorus, 1:66.

⁷⁸ Herodotus, 2:151–154, esp. 152; and see App. K.

⁷⁹ Cf. Manetho, frags. 72a–c.

⁸⁰ CAH, 6, p. 356.

⁸¹ Dem. Chron., 3:18, 20 (see AUA, p. 81; DSDC, pp. 11, 17).

⁸² For the 6-year reign of Amyrtaeus, see above n. 63. That he reigned from 404–399 B.C.E. and Nepherites I reigned from 399–393 B.C.E., see COTP, p. 201; EAM, pp. 7, 142; UEE, p. 2; DDDE, p. 385; and so forth.

⁸³ Manetho, frags. 73a–c; Syncellus, 308.

⁸⁴ A complete titulary for Pharaoh consisted of 5 names: the Horus name, Nebti name, Golden Horus name, prenomen, and a nomen or birth name.

⁸⁵ E.g., CAH, 6 (1927), p. 144, n. 1; BMAP, p. 112; CAH, 6, pp. 346f, n. 48.

⁸⁶ Enc.Ir., 1.9, pp. 998f, s.v. **Amyrtaeus (II)**.

⁸⁷ E.g., EP, 373; COTP, p. 201.

whose documentary certificates are particularly rare. Two others (nos 733 and 726 + 751), with protocols that are unfortunately somewhat erased, are dated to years 5 and 6 of a king whose name can hardly be read otherwise than "Psamtik." Such a royal name seems at first glance to refer to a time much earlier than our documentation. In fact, our Ostracas confirm what a passage from Diodorus of Sicily might suggest, namely that the founder of the XXVIIIth Dynasty, Amyrtaeus, ALSO USED THE NAME OF PSAMTIK.⁸⁸

David Klotrz subsequently wrote, "Amyrtaeus (Amenirdis), also called Psammetichus V,"⁸⁹ and Franco Cimmino admits there was "a Psammeticus (Psamtik), who seems to be identified with Amyrtaeus."⁹⁰

Date of Death

The evidence providing the date of the death of Amyrtaeus II Psammetichus (Amunirdi Psamtik) is meager. As Alan Gardiner points out, "We are in the dark alike as to how he [Amyrtaeus II] came by his throne and as to how he lost it."⁹¹ Our first indication of his date of the death is found in the Brooklyn Aramaic Papyrus 13, which discusses the war between Amyrtaeus II and the next king, Nepherites I. Yet as Bezalel Porten points out, "Unfortunately, the letter is too fragmentary to detect the feelings of the writer toward the change in ruler."⁹² Alan B. Lloyd describes this lacunae filled document by saying, "A badly damaged Brooklyn Aramaic papyrus refers to Nepherites' accession, but the precise circumstances remain obscure."⁹³ Indeed, interpretations by Emil G. Kraeling and those following him far overstate what this document actually states, adding words to their translation in an attempt to make it appear that a date of death is given. This view is simply wrong. The relevant parts of the text reads:

. [They brought to Memphis King Amurti[s
(Amyrtaeus II) . . .]. King Nephurith (Nepherites I)
sat (upon the throne) [on Elpippi . . .]⁹⁴

⁸⁸ BIFAO, 96, p. 411, "Enfin, certains ostraca mentionnent d'autres rois qui doivent se situer immédiatement après Darius II. Ainsi, deux d'entre eux (nos 196 et 198) sont respectivement datés de l'an 5 et de l'an 7 de Néphérites, fondateur de la XXIX^e dynastie dont les attestations documentaires sont particulièrement rares. Deux autres (nos 733 et 726 + 751), aux protocoles malheureusement assez effacés, sont datés des années 5 et 6 d'un roi dont le nom ne peut guère se lire autrement que «Psammétique». Un tel nom royal semble à première vue renvoyer à une époque bien antérieure à notre documentation. En fait, nos ostraca confirment ce qu'un passage de Diodore de Sicile pouvait faire soupçonner, à savoir que le fondateur de la XXVIII^e dynastie, Amyrtaée, a également utilisé le nom de Psammétique."

⁸⁹ UEE, p. 8.

⁹⁰ DDDF, p. 385, "uno Psammetico, che sembra sia da identificare con Amirteo."

⁹¹ EP, p. 373.

⁹² AFE, p. 296.

⁹³ CAH, 6, p. 340.

⁹⁴ BMAP, pp. 284f, Papyrus 13, l. 3.

The document is then dated to “the 5th of Epiphi,”⁹⁵ i.e., to October 1, 399 B.C.E.⁹⁶

Notice carefully that this letter never said that Amyrtaeus II was put to death as of the date of this letter. All that it claims is that Amyrtaeus II was brought to Memphis while Nepherites I sat on the throne “on Epiphi,” i.e., on the 1st day of the month of Epiphi (September 27th, 399 B.C.E.).⁹⁷ The next piece of evidence comes from the *Demotic Chronicle*. The key verses read:

As they found the law in his (Amyrtaeus II’s) own time, so they allowed its passing yesterday. He gave no rulership to his son after him.⁹⁸

Regarding the second ruler, Nepherites I, it states:

. . . after he had done what he did conscientiously, his son was allowed to succeed him. He was only given a short time to himself because of the many transgressions which began in his time.⁹⁹

The text then adds:

This is what it means: the first who came after the Medes (Persians). As he (Amyrtaeus II) had ordered, the law was not enacted; people have seen what they did to him. They did not let his son follow him. Besides, it was thus, that it was caused that HE HIMSELF HAD ALREADY LOST THE THRONE IN HIS LIFETIME.¹⁰⁰

Again, regarding the second ruler, it states:

The second ruler who came after the Medes, that is Pharaoh Nepherites (I), you see what happened to him. His son was allowed to follow him.¹⁰¹

Notice that Amyrtaeus II “lost the throne in his lifetime,” i.e., he was still alive AFTER Nepherites I usurped him! Therefore, Amyrtaeus II lived for at least a short period of time after being captured by Nepherites I and was sent to Memphis. The agreement made between the two rulers was that the son of Amyrtaeus II would not be allowed to succeed his father. Rather, after Amyrtaeus II’s death, his throne transferred to Nepherites I, who would then be recognized as chief ruler over all Egypt.

⁹⁵ BMAP, pp. 284f, Papyrus 13, l. 8.

⁹⁶ AFE, p. 296.

⁹⁷ BMAP, p. 288.

⁹⁸ Dem. Chron., 3:18f.

⁹⁹ Dem. Chron., 3:20f.

¹⁰⁰ Dem. Chron., 4:1f.

¹⁰¹ Dem. Chron., 4:3.

This detail brings us to the chronology for this period. Elias Bickermann, Emil G. Kraeling, and others point out that “the first regnal year of Nepherites began on December 1, 399 B.C.”¹⁰² while the last regnal year of Amyrtaeus II extended up to November 30th of that year.¹⁰³ This detail means that Amyrtaeus II died sometime between October 1st, when he was last mentioned as alive, and December 1st of 399 B.C.E., when Nepherites I began his first regnal year.

Despite claims made by some historians, there is no ancient statement that there was a war fought between Amyrtaeus II and Nepherites I. Neither is there any evidence that Nepherites I of Mendes murdered Amyrtaeus II. Rather, the best description one can use to explain the overthrow of Amyrtaeus II is that it came by means of a coup. Livius explains the circumstance much more correctly by noting that the reign of Amyrtaeus II “was unstable, and he was removed from the throne by Nepherites.”¹⁰⁴

This instability under Amyrtaeus II most likely arose due to some developing incompetency arising from his old age and/or a severe illness. Indeed, Nepherites I inherited an ongoing war against the Persians and a coalition that had been made with the Greek town of Sparta. The Spartans had already invaded Asia in 400 B.C.E.,¹⁰⁵ thereby further antagonizing the Persians. The continuance of the war with Persia implies that Nepherites I and his supporters believed Egypt could be in peril under an incapable Pharaoh. So Nepherites I acted to usurp the weakening king. This sequence of events explains the story provided by the *Demotic Chronicle*, that Amyrtaeus II (1) had not followed the law, (2) lost his right to pass his throne on to his son, and (3) lost his throne during his lifetime.

As an extension of courtesy for Amyrtaeus II, the old Pharaoh was transferred from Sais to Memphis, where he died shortly thereafter. This arrangement clearly indicates that Nepherites I, although in control, would legally gain the high throne of Egypt for himself after the death of Amyrtaeus II. In turn, as per Egyptian custom, Nepherites I would be responsible for the funeral and burial of the deceased Amyrtaeus II. This detail explains other issues found in *Papyrus Berlin 13588*. For example, the Brooklyn Aramaic Papyrus 13 states that Amyrtaeus II, while he was still alive, was brought to Memphis.¹⁰⁶ According to the *Papyrus Berlin 13588*, after Amyrtaeus II (Amunirdi Psamtik) died, he was taken to a mortuary located “in the east lands of *N3y.w-c3m-p3-nhs*,”¹⁰⁷ which as previously demonstrated was not far from Memphis. That the young priest in *Papyrus Berlin 13588* hurried to the mortuary shows that Amunirdi Psamtik died suddenly.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, we now have the reason

¹⁰² BMAP, p. 283. The Egyptian new year began on Dec. 1st for the years 401 to 398 B.C.E. (HDO, p. 280).

¹⁰³ E.g., BMAP, pp. 113, 283; MIFAO, 66.1, p. 79.

¹⁰⁴ Livius.org, s.v. **Nepherites I** (www.livius.org/articles/person/nepherites-i).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ BMAP, pp. 284f, l. 3.

¹⁰⁷ P. Berlin 13588, 3:2–3.

¹⁰⁸ P. Berlin 13588, 3:3.

why the young priest went to Pharaoh (i.e., Nepherites I) seeking payment. Nepherites I was responsible for the funeral.

One final issue should be mentioned. The story regarding the Book of Breathing composed by the young priest for the deceased King Psamtik was a major part of the story in *Papyrus Berlin 13588*.¹⁰⁹ In addition, unless it held some importance, why would this story be recopied from the 4th down to the 1st century B.C.E.? The implication is that this papyrus records the story of how the use of the Book of Breathing originated. Therefore, the young priest named I'ahmes was the original source for composing the Book of Breathing, establishing it and then being paid for it. The tradition began when Nepherites I, early in 398 B.C.E., approved payment to the young priest for creating the document. This practice was subsequently continued down to the time of the writing of *Papyrus Berlin 13588* and beyond into the 2nd century C.E.

The Eclipse of 399 B.C.E.

The evidence clearly proves that Amunirdi Psamtik (Amyrtaeus Psammetichus) was alive in Memphis as of October 1st, 399 B.C.E. but had been stripped of his right to have his own son succeed him. We also know that the 1st regnal year of his successor, Nepherites I, began on December 1st, 399 B.C.E. Amunirdi Psamtik would have died between these two dates. The question now arises, "Was there a total eclipse during this short period that could be seen from Daphnae?" The answer is a resounding "Yes!" On November 21st, 399 B.C.E. at 3:59 a.m. in the morning (Daphnae time) a total lunar eclipse took place that had 100% visibility in Daphnae.¹¹⁰ This detail fully supports the claim made in *Papyrus Berlin 13588*. The relevant part of this papyrus should correctly be translated as follows:

I heard in Daphnae, my town, that THE SKY HAD
SWALLOWED THE DISK. They said: [...] sky [...]
increased gradually after the sun, when it had gone
down to its houses of rest in the evening.¹¹¹

This total eclipse clearly fits the definition of the disk that was seen as being "swallowed." Whether one wishes to interpret the text to mean that this eclipse occurred when Amunirdi Psamtik died or it happened sometime during the 70 days of embalming, it perfectly fits the events surrounding the death of Amunirdi Psamtik. The young priest would have considered the eclipse a propitious sign that his work was approved by the gods.

Conclusion

If we accept that the story found in the Demotic *Papyrus Berlin 13588* is true, the evidence shows that, in no way, is it a reference to Psamtik I, let alone to Psamtik II and Psamtik III of Dynasty XXVI. There was no total eclipse visible

¹⁰⁹ P. Berlin 13588, 3:7–17.

¹¹⁰ *Voyager Dynamic Sky Simulator* by Carina Software.

¹¹¹ P. Berlin 13588, 3:1f.

in Daphnae around the times of their death. Furthermore, the statements that the young priest composed a Book of Breathing makes the story impossible until after the Persian XXVIIth Dynasty, which ended in 404 B.C.E. The evidence shows that the real Psamtik of the story was Amunirdi Psamtik (Amyrtaeus Psammetichus), king of Egypt's XXVIIIth Dynasty. This detail also identifies the missing name of the king in *Papyrus Berlin 13588* to whom the complaint of the young priest was brought. It was Pharaoh Nepherites I of Egypt's XXIXth Dynasty.

Accordingly, it would be a terrible mistake to change the chronology of Dynasties XXV and XXVI in order to accommodate such a gross misinterpretation of *Papyrus Berlin 13588*. The error of this more recent view of Egyptian chronology is made even more manifest by the detail that Psamtik III only ruled 6 months after the death of his father, Pharaoh Amasis. Psamtik III did not lose power until May of the 5th year of Cambyses II as the king of Persia—the Persian year beginning in the spring of 525 B.C.E. This year is also a confirmed year for the Persian conquest of Egypt. To force the alternate view on this data, one has to make the 44th and last year of Amasis, the father of Psamtik III, end a full year before Psamtik III came to the throne, thereby adding a mysterious and completely unaccountable year to the chronology of these kings. As a result, the traditional date for Dynasty XXVI should not be altered. Psamtik I came to power in 663 B.C.E. and Psamtik III, the last king of Dynasty XXVI, ended his reign in May of 525 B.C.E.

DELTA OF EGYPT: 4TH CENTURY B.C.E.

