Appendix I

Wadi Gasus Graffito

A remarkable confirmation of our chronology is found on a rock wall graffiti inscription located at Wadi Gasus in Egypt.[1] Two inscriptions were placed in parallel columns (Fig. 7), indicating a joint rule. Each respective cartouche gives the name of a divine votaress of Amun, each dated by the regnal year of the king under whom they served. Since the Divine Wife of Amun was appointed to her post in the year that her father, the king, ascended to a throne of Thebes, the year of the votaress would be the same as that of the king under whom she served. For this reason, Louis-A. Christophe was correct when he argued that it is unparalleled for a regnal date followed by a cartouche to be understood as anything other than the date of the royal individual named in the cartouche.[2] Yet as others point out, the dates also represent the year of the king who appointed her to that office and under whom she served.[3] As Kenneth Kitchen observes, as is the case even with queens, the two women named at Wadi Gasus "did not have sole reigns with regnal years of their own, but used or took over those of the kings with whom they reigned."[4]

> Hence, one may well expect the dates of the Wadi Gasus graffito to be those of kings in like manner.[5]

Therefore, despite the fact that the kings behind the reigns of the high priestesses in the Wadi Gasus inscriptions are unidentified, the regnal year of each king is directly connected with the woman who is named within each respective cartouche. The two inscriptions read:[6]

> Regnal year 19. The Divine Wife, Shepenupet, Let her live forever.
>
> Regnal year 12. The Divine Adoratrice, Amenirdis, Let her live forever.

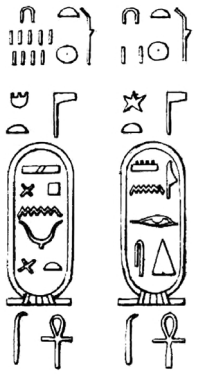

Fig. 7. Wadi Gasus Parallel Inscriptions

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[1] Wadi Gasus (26°33′ N, 34°02′ E) is a valley opening out from the Eastern Desert to the Red Sea coast, east of Thebes, about 37.28 miles north of Quseir about 49.7 miles south of Hurgada.

[2] BIE, 35, p. 143 n. 1.

[3] Cf. LAIE, p. 460; HdO, pp. 257f; TIP, pp. 175–178 §§143–145.

[4] TIP, p. 176 §144.

[5] TIP, p. 177 §144.

[6] LAIE, p. 461.

There are only four women who held this office at Thebes who are able to fit this description (two of each name):

- Shepenupet (I), daughter of Pharaoh Osorkon III and Queen Karoadjet of the Libyan Dynasty XXIII of Egypt. She held the office of Deity's Wife of Amun (Divine Wife), high priestess at Thebes.[7] She adopted Amenirdis I, the daughter of King Kashta of Kush, as her successor and, thereby, placed Amenirdis I as her chosen heir.
- Amenirdis (I), the daughter of King Kashta and Queen Pebatjma of Kush, sister of Pharaoh Shabaqo of Dynasty XXV. Adopted by Shepenupet I, she held the office of Deity's Wife of Amun, high priestess at Thebes.[8]
- Shepenupet (II), the daughter of Pharaoh Piye (Taharqa I). Based upon Manetho, Piye was the first king of Egypt's Dynasty XXVI.[9] She was the sister of Piye's son, Pharaoh Nefertem Taharqa of Dynasty XXV.[10] Shepenupet (II) was adopted by Amenirdis I and held the office of Deity's Wife of Amun, high priestess at Thebes.[11]
- Amenirdis (II), the daughter of Pharaoh Nefertem Taharqa (Taharqa II). She was adopted by Shepenupet II, the daughter of Pharaoh Piye, as heir to the office of Deity's Wife of Amun, high priestess at Thebes.[12]

At first it was assumed that the women named in the two cartouches were Shepenupet (I), daughter of Pharaoh Osorkon III, and Amenirdis (I), the daughter of King Kashta, king of Kush.[13] This idea flowed from the fact that (1) Shepenupet (Shepenwepet) I was either forced or agreed to adopt Amenirdis (Amonardis) I, thus making them contemporaries, and (2) the regnal years provided agree with the detail that Osorkon III was ruling Thebes prior to Kashta taking his own throne in that same city. It would also fit the detail, as we shall explain below, that the Divine Wife of Amun was appointed in the 1st year of her father's ascension to the throne at Thebes. Thus Robert K. Ritner argued:

> Far more reasonable is the conclusion that Amonardis I was adopted as junior votaress in the eighth year of Shepenwepet I, at the instigation of Kashta in his first year at Thebes. . . . The inscription of the twelfth year of Amonardis should thus fall within the reign of her father Kashta (ca. 13–19 years) and not that of her brother Piye.[14]

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[7] CRFAE, p. 231.
[8] BPENR, pp. 158, 313 & n. 36; CRFAE, p. 238.
[9] See discussion in App. B & D.
[10] TIP, pp. 148f §120; BPENR, pp. 161, 177, 185f; FHN, 1, p. 131, "Taharqo was son of Piye and his sister-wife Abar."
[11] CRFAE, p. 240.
[12] Adoption Stela, heading for ℓ. 4, 6f,12f, 15–17; see LAIE, pp. 575–582; CRFAE, p. 238.
[13] E.g., JNES, 32, p. 20; BIE, 35, pp. 149ff; KK, p. 149.
[14] LAIE, pp. 460f.

Unfortunately for this opinion, with so much chronological evidence coming from other sources about other kings during this period, no one was able to make the chronology for Osorkon III and Kashta workable. Then in 2006, new evidence, based upon paleographic and other evidence found at Karnak, was published by Claus Jurman that redated the Wadi Gasus graffito entirely within Dynasty XXV (and not to the earlier period of Dynasty XXIII Libyan dominance in Egypt).[15] For this reason, Shepenupet I of Dynasty XXIII was abandoned altogether as a possibility. Nevertheless, it was assumed that one votaress was Libyan and the other was Kushite. As a result, those trying to create a new chronology concentrated on either Amenirdis I, the daughter of Kashta, or Shepenupet II, the daughter of Piye, both being connected with the Kushites, as one of the two votaresses. Various speculations were then advanced regarding the other king, who they assumed came from the Libyan dynasty.

In this process, some claimed that Year 12 of Amenirdis (Amonardis) I was based on the regnal years of King Piye, although she was the daughter of Kashta and unrelated to Piye.[16] Year 19 of Shepenupet I, the daughter of Osorkon III, then fell to any one of a number of Libyan monarchs, e.g., Takelot III, Shoshenq V, Shoshenq VII,[17] Iuput II,[18] and so forth.[19] Karl Jansen-Winkeln, for example, brought forth as a candidate a king identified as Nimlot D of Hermopolis,[20] while Kenneth Kitchen proposed Takelot III.[21] Nevertheless, as Jansen-Winkeln had to admit:

> Chronologically, however, this does not aid at all: in temporal terms, neither Nimlot D nor the other possible candidates can be pinned down to sufficiently narrow slots in time so as to allow a direct link between the house of Osorkon III and Dyn. 25.[22]

Neither does it make any sense that a daughter of an Ethiopian king would date her reign by a king of a Libyan dynasty. There is also a major problem with abandoning the obvious fact that these women would have more properly counted their intended regnal year by the reign of the king who put them in office. The context for each woman leaving the king under whom she served unnamed while using his regnal year can only be explained by the fact that both she and the king came into their respective office together. That is, the regnal year listed for each votaress is equivalent to the regnal year of the

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15 GM, 210, pp. 69–91.

16 E.g., HdO, p. 257; TIP, pp. 175–178 §§143–145; CAH, 3.1, p. 570. That Piye was not closely related to Kashta, see App. F. Nevertheless, the explanation given to make their chronology work was that Piye was the son of Kashta.

17 SAK, 33, pp. 75–89.

18 CAH, 3.1, p. 570.

19 See discussions in HdO, pp. 257f; TIP, pp. 175–178 §§143–145; LAIE, p. 460, "Christophe, Bierbrier, and Kitchen linked the dates to the (unmentioned) rulers Piye and either Takelot III or Iuput II."

20 HdO, pp. 257f.

21 TIP, p. 178 §145.

22 HdO, p. 258.

king who originally placed her in the temple as a priestess. If the regnal year belonged to another king, by perforce, the women would have to provide the name of this new king. Otherwise, the woman named in the cartouche would have been in office well before that new king came to his new post, thus misdating her actual time of service.

The question should have been, "Why are we limiting the reign of one of the high priestesses of the two cartouches to a king from the Libyan dynasty?" Because of this false mindset, the solution to the problem has been overlooked. With this blind spot removed, the most obvious answer is that Year 19 belonged to Shepenupet II, the daughter of Pharaoh Piye, king of Sais, while Year 12 belonged to Amenirdis II, the daughter of Nefertem Taharqa, king of Memphis, both kings also being recognized as a king of Thebes in Upper Egypt. The co-regency and close relationship between these two kings, being father and son, would likewise better explain the unusual parallel inscriptions found at Wadi Gasus.[23]

Indeed, once we compare the chronology of these two Kushite kings,[24] we find that they agree perfectly with the Wadi Gasus Graffito. First, the Divine Wife of Amun, Shepenupet II (daughter of Piye), "was a contemporary of Taharqa,"[25] the son of Piye. Using the arrangement provided by Manetho, which has been fully supported in our investigation, the 19th regnal year of King Piye over Sais and Thebes does, in fact, equal the 12th regnal year of Taharqa II over Memphis and Thebes (678 B.C.E.)! The order of service, based upon the years of reign, further agrees. Shepenupet II was placed into office well before Amenirdis II. Therefore, Shepenupet II had the longer service and the 19-year office would naturally belong to her. For political purposes, as we shall next demonstrate, during Shepenupet II's 8th year, she would have adopted the much younger Amenirdis II for service as her heir.

The Purpose

Additional evidence that our construct is correct comes from the very purpose behind the role played by the king's daughter who was serving as the Divine Wife of Amun, high priestess, and player of the sacred sistrum rattle.[26] László Török defines the issue for us when he writes:

> As clearly indicated by the preserved data from the 8th and 7th centuries BC, the Divine Adoratrices of

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[23] Piye put his own son in power, and they were allies in their control over Egypt. In Year 12 of Taharqa II (= Year 19 of Piye), Taharqa II was in Napata with his father. It is very possible that Taharqa II attended Piye's *Heb Sed* during Piye's Year 20 and accompanied his father when Piye went north into the Delta in order to put down the rebellion in that district during that same year.

[24] See App. B, D, F, H.

[25] TIP, p. 148 §120.

[26] For the relevance of the royal women as sistrum-players, see DKFR, pp. 262f. The sistrum (rattle) was a sacred musical percussion instrument first used by the ancient Egyptians in the worship of the goddess Hathor. They believed that it held powerful magical properties that could frighten away Seth, the deity of the desert, storms, and violence and that it could also control the flooding of the Nile.

> the Twenty-third through Twenty-sixth Dynasty period were virgin princesses invested by their fathers and adopted by their living predecessors. This manner of appointment was chiefly intended to support the legitimacy of the Adoratrice's father both on a cultic and a practical political level on the one hand, and to avoid difficulties in passing on the office, on the other. In a broader sense, however, the Divine Adoratrice as wife of Amûn also secured the legitimacy of her father's successor.[27]

László Török then speaks of "the autonomous nature of the office of the Divine Adoratrice as guarantor of dynastic legitimacy in the realm of Amûn of Thebes."[28] In this regard, as an example, he uses Shepenupet I (Shepenwepet I) and Amenirdis I, stating:

> Some time after her appointment, Shepenwepet I adopted Amenirdis I, a Kushite princess and daughter of Kashta, into the office of God's Wife of Amûn Elect. The installation of Kashta's daughter as presumptive Divine Adoratrice is the key moment in the process of extension of Kushite power over Egyptian territories.[29]

Later on, László Török adds:

> The commitment of Alara's sister to Amûn and her installation as sistrum-player recalls the Egyptian concepts connected to the priestly office of the king's mother, consort and daughter in the royal cult and clearly indicates the interpretation of the role of the queen as mediator between god and the king. Either connected to a cult (temple) or to certain ritual functions associated with the enthronement/confirmation of royal power, the acting of the Kushite royal women (in their generational duality as mother and as wife of the ruler, patterned on the Hathoric prototype) as sistrum-players, i.e., priestesses of Amûn, is attested to textually as well as iconographically up until the Meroitic period. The installation of certain royal women as sistrum players was determined, however, by more concrete considerations: they were invested as priestesses in order to distinguish them

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[27] KK, p. 149.
[28] Ibid.
[29] KK, p. 148f.

> as predestined king's mothers. On the other hand, royal women could also be installed in priestly offices which were associated with the legitimacy and power of the ruler in the individual territorial units of the kingdom.[30]

The installation of several sister-wives in priestly offices at one and the same time in different parts of the kingdom is found in the enthronement inscription of Alamani, king of Kush. As an act of investiture at Kawa, the king writes:

> His majesty gave his sisters, four women, to the deities, to be sistrum-players: one to Amûn of Napata, one to Amûn-Rê of "Finding-(the)-Aton" (Kawa), one to Amûn of Pnubs, and one to Amûn-Rê, bull of Bow-land (Kush), in order to shake the sistrum before them, requesting life, prosperity, health and a long life for the king, every day.[31]

The role of the divine votaress at the temple of Amun in Thebes and the fact that she was the sister-wife of the heir to her father's throne is also thoroughly discussed by Roberto B. Gozzoli. In part, he writes:

> As stated by Török, the legitimization of the Nubian king happened at two different levels, the human and the divine: "The drama of the enthronement of the king of Kush was a ceremonial journey in time and space. It included two main parts: 1) a legitimization in the human sphere, i.e., the declaration and acceptance of legitimacy by rightful descent according to the concept and rules of succession, 2) a legitimization by the god."[32]

Gozzoli notes that, by using a system of sister-wives, "The royal sister acts as guarantor" that there will be a divine heir from the son of the king. Therefore, "The Nubian royal women consecrated to the god are there as physical reminder of what any king had to do in order to maintain the power of his family."[33] He adds:

> The royal sister—and wife—had to be given to Amun and any child coming from her literally had a divine father. As the children became divine, their legitimacy as sovereigns was no longer under dispute.[34]

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30 KK, p. 235.
31 FHN, 1, p. 223, ℓ. 24f.
32 BCNSC, p. 483.
33 BCNSC, p. 486.
34 BCNSC, p. 487.

Taharqa (Taharqo) II's legitimacy to the throne, for example, was confirmed by the line of his mother.[35] Robert B. Gozzoli comments:

> As I have remarked elsewhere, the royal mother is the fourth omen of Amun's predilection toward Taharqo . . . .[36] The prominence given to Alara's sister-wife in Kawa IV and VI justifies this assumption. Abalo ⟦Abar⟧ is the present result of an old act by Alara. In her role as Amun's *sistrum* player, she is the one through whom the god gives life to his earthly son, the king, specifically Taharqo himself. Therefore, the deal struck between Amun and Alara a few generations earlier also acquired a future dimension. As Török says, "In its terms, the god grants kingship to the descendants of Alara's sister, who is Taharqo's grandmother, in return for their loyalty".[37]

Gozzoli continues in his article by giving even more evidence from other inscriptions belonging to subsequent Kushite kings. This evidence further supports the concept regarding how the heir to the throne gained authority through the sister-wife votaress. Then in his concluding remarks, Gozzoli states:

> Summing up, I hope to have shown that the royal sisters, far from being a simple "offering" to the god, were the ideological justification of the entire process. The royal women gave birth to divine children, this is the background concept of the entire set of Nubian royal inscriptions here studied. Moreover, as many of the inscriptions mentioned here imply various generations of royal offspring camouflaged under the concept of divine sonship, it obviously happened that a generation of *snww nsw* ⟦royal brothers⟧ encroached with the successive. From among them the successor to the Nubian throne was chosen.[38] Why one prince was preferred to another is not entirely clear: Taharqo praises himself of god's love, Tanutamani and Aspelta through divine auspices (the dream and the oracle). Where the relevance of the royal sister as a legitimacy instrument is strongly emphasized—the cases of Taharqo and Aspelta, for instance—it might have been determined by their desire to legitimize their ascent to the throne. In any

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[35] TK, p.16, Kawa IV, ℓ. 15–20, p. 36, Kawa VI, ℓ. 21–25; LAIE, p. 540, ℓ. 15–20, p. 552, ℓ. 21–25; BCNSC, p. 485, *Table 1, The alliance in Kawa IV and Kawa VI*.

[36] For a full discussion, see JEA, 95, pp. 235–248.

[37] BCNSC, p. 487.

[38] Cf. DKFR, p. 242; BZS, 7, pp. 91f; JARCE, 38, p. 65; IBAS, p. 149.

> case, the number of Nubian royal texts pointing out the relevance of the royal mother and royal sister justifies the statement that these women were important to the process as such, independently of any specific circumstances. . . . As a working hypothesis, however, I have assumed that given the importance of the royal sister's role to the ideological implications, there is no reason to maintain a concept of matrilinearity for the Nubian succession rules. The fact that through her the successor will be born, does not imply anything else than (again) a divine sonship.[39]

After examining all of the various ways historians have speculated on how kings succeeded each other on the Ethiopian throne, Dan'el Kahn was forced to conclude that "the patrilineal succession pattern was the rule in the kingdom of Kush."[40] At the same time, due to the practice of brother-sister marriage in the royal families, Nicolaus of Damascus (last half of the 1st century B.C.E.) was also able to claim:

> The Ethiopians have a particular respect for their sisters; the kings do not leave the succession to their own but to their sisters' sons. When there is no successor, they choose as king the most handsome of all and the most warlike.[41]

Said another way, because primary legitimacy was passed down by means of a brother-sister marriage in the royal family, the heir to the throne was determined by a son who was born to the king from one of his sisters. It was not commonly passed down through other wives belonging to the king. Thus the statement from Nicolaus, "the kings do not leave the succession to their own but to their sisters' sons." An exception would be if the king did not have an heir and another Kushite king married that king's sister. In that case, the son from this other Kushite king could inherit the throne of his uncle.

We now have a good understanding of the religious and political concepts and procedures that were required during the time that Dynasty XXV flourished. These concepts and procedures had to be in place in order for a king to have the authority to rule over either Egypt or Kush. This construct provides us the backdrop of the Wadi Gasus graffito. Each of the kings of Thebes who began a new dynasty had to first place his daughter into the role as the Divine Wife and priestess of Amun, the sistrum shaker. She was the wife of Amun, yet the sister-wife of the heir to the throne. Thus she was both divine and human. A king could not legitimately rule Egypt during this period unless he had his daughter acting in the role of priestess in the temple of Amun, and she was commonly a sister-wife to the king's son and heir.

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[39] BCNSC, p. 492.
[40] MittSAG, 16, p. 163.
[41] Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 4.2; FHN, 2, p. 684.

Osorkon III set up his daughter Shepenupet I to establish his dynasty in Thebes. Then Kashta placed his daughter, Amenirdis I, in that role. To do so, Kashta had his daughter adopted by Shepenupet I in order to establish his own dynasty. After this, when Piye became Pharaoh in Egypt (696 B.C.E.), he established his daughter Shepenupet II into the same office by having Amenirdis I, the daughter of Kashta, adopt her. Piye subsequently placed his own son, Nefertem Taharqa (Taharqa II), as co-regent with Shebitku of Dynasty XXV. Taharqa II not only assumed the royal dignity in 689 B.C.E. but from that year forward he replaced Shebitku in the counting by regnal years. To give Taharqa II legitimacy in Thebes, Piye arranged for his daughter, Shepenupet II, the sister of Taharqa II, to adopt Amenirdis II, the very young daughter of Taharqa II. This made Amenirdis II her junior votaress and secured Taharqa II's right to a throne at Thebes in Upper Egypt.

Taharqa II died without a proper heir. In turn, Qalhata, another sister of Taharqa II—who had married Shabaqo as part of the arrangement to place Taharqa II, the son of Piye, on the throne with Shebitku, the son of Shabaqo—became the mother of Urud-Amun, the next heir, and his brother Ta-Nuat-Amun, who succeeded Urud-Amun.[42] Qalhata was also defined as a sistrum player, as was Ta-Nuat-Amun's wife, Piye-re. In the same way, Psamtik I, the king of Sais (Dynasty XXVI), after he conquered Thebes, forced Amenirdis II to adopt his daughter Nitocris.[43]

Conclusion

The Wadi Gasus inscription, accordingly, confirms our chronology. From the entrance of the Kushites into the affairs of the Egyptians until the rise to power of Psamtik I, the practice of the Divine Wife, sistrum shaker, being a priestess who served at the Temple of Amun in Thebes, was used as a method to justify the legitimacy of the king. In the order of events, Shepenupet II, the daughter of Piye, adopted Amenirdis II, the daughter of Nefertem Taharqa, at the time when Nefertem Taharqa came to the throne. Therefore, Year 19 of Shepenupet II (= Year 19 of Piye) equals Year 12 of Amenirdis II (= Year 12 of Nefertem Taharqa), which is precisely what the ancient records demonstrate (see Chart J).

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[42] See App. J.

[43] The last attested Deity's Wife was Ankhnesneferibre, daughter of Psamtik II, who was in office at the time of the Persian invasion in 525 B.C.E. (JEA, 82, pp. 145–165; JEA, 88, p. 186; CRFAE, p. 246).

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