

Appendix L
The Dates
for Kashta

Our chronology for the Kushite Pharaohs of Dynasty XXV is enhanced by the dates provided for King Kashta of Kush. The Ethiopian King List reports that Kashta ruled Kush for 13 years immediately prior to the 12-year reign of Shabaqo.¹ Since Shabaqo began his reign over Kush and Upper Egypt in 707 B.C.E., this means that Kashta's sole reign over his dynasty in Kush was from 720 through 708 B.C.E. (NY). His full reign goes on to include part of the year 707 B.C.E., the year in which Kashta, before he died, made his son Shabaqo co-regent with him in both Kush and Egypt. This data is in agreement with the current reckoning for Kashta as being a king of Kush for about 14 years.²

During Kashta's reign as the king of Kush, T. G. H. James notes, Kashta "invaded Egypt, and penetrated as far as Thebes."³ "Invade" may be too harsh a word. As László Török points out:

There is no contemporary or later indication of a violent prelude to Kashta's appearance as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. On the contrary, a peaceful overture is suggested by the fact that the descendants of Osorkon III, Takeloth III, and Rudamun continued to enjoy high social status in Thebes in the second half of the 8th and in the first half of the 7th century BC and were buried there.⁴

Nevertheless, only in his last year (707 B.C.E.) did Kashta actually move to take legal authority as a Pharaoh of Upper Egypt and place himself upon the throne at Thebes. Egyptian records, for example, can only provide a "Year 1" inscription for Kashta, indicating a temporary reign.⁵ It was Kashta who caused his daughter Amenirdis I to be adopted by Shepenwepet I, the daughter of

¹ CBN, p. 266, Dynasty IV, no. x, "Kashta Hanyon."

² FHN, 1, p. 46.

³ CAH, 3.2., p. 682; cf. ZAS, 90, pp. 74–81; ZAS, 98, pp. 16–32.

⁴ KK, p. 149; cf. LE, pp. 131–154.

⁵ BPENR, p. 158; ZAS, 98, pp. 17f. FHN, 1, p. 46, "The monuments of Kashta from his lifetime are not numerous." László Török also writes, "While the dedication to Khnum-Rê expresses Kashta's claim to Lower Nubia, sovereignty of which was traditionally associated with the god of the First Cataract, his titles **Nsw-bi'ty Ny-M3t-R^c S3-R^c nb-T3wj**, 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'The Possessor of Truth is Rê', Son of Rê, Lord of the Two Lands' . . . reveal his claim to kingship over Egypt" (FNH, 1, p. 46, cf. p. 45, l. 1f). Also see Cairo JE 41013; ZAS, 90, 74ff, and fig. 1.

Osorkon III, allowing her to become the Divine Wife of Amun.⁶ The adoption of Amenirdis I, the daughter of Kashta and the sister of Shabaqo, by Shepenwepet I, the daughter of Osorkon III, further acknowledges that both a Kushite and a Libyan-Egyptian monarch were concurrent rulers in Thebes.⁷ This adoption not only allowed Kashta to rule as a Pharaoh at Thebes, but, as well, allowed his son Shabaqo the right to sit upon that throne. It was within this same Year 1 that Shabaqo worked to firmly establish his reign in Kush and Upper Egypt.⁸ The evidence, as we have said, also indicates that 707 B.C.E. was the year in which Kashta died—but not before Shabaqo had been made co-regent. For this reason, Manetho does not speak of Kashta's reign in Egypt. Instead, he begins Dynasty XXV with the 1st year of Shabaqo.

These dates (720 through 708 B.C.E.) for Kashta are confirmed by the records dealing with the reign of Hoshea, the king of Israel (717/716—709/708 B.C.E., spring reckoning).⁹ To begin with, Hoshea remained faithful to his Assyrian overlord, Shalmaneser,¹⁰ for only 3 years (716/715—714/713 B.C.E.). Then according to the MT version of 2 Kings, 17:4, during his 5th year (713/712 B.C.E., spring reckoning),¹¹ Hoshea formed a conspiracy with an Egyptian king when he “sent messengers to **סֻאֵ** (Sua), the king of Mizraim (Egypt)” and stopped paying tribute to the king of Assyria. The Vulgate calls this Egyptian king “*Sua regem Aegypti* (Sua king of Egypt),” while the different versions of the LXX variously name him Σηγωρ (Segor), Σουὰ (Soua), Σωά (Soa), and the like.¹² Josephus, meanwhile, writes that Hoshea “secretly sent to Σώαν (Soan), the king of Egypt, inviting him to make an alliance against the Assyrian king.”¹³ In the Latin version of Josephus the name is read *Soam*; while in Zonaras it is given as Σωβὰ (Soba).¹⁴

The form Σηγωρ (Segor) is insightful, for it is also the LXX translation of the name **צָעָר** (Tzuar; Zoar).¹⁵ Thus Sua was, likewise, pronounced by the Greeks something like “Soar” and “Segor.” These forms are clearly a foreigner’s

⁶ JNES, 32.1/2, p. 20; WIAE, p. 154; JARCE, 38, p. 69; BPENR, p. 158; FHN, 1, p. 47.

⁷ FHN, 1, pp. 46f; EP, p. 343; BPENR, p. 158.

⁸ See App. K & L.

⁹ See IC.

¹⁰ This Shalmaneser was Shalmaneser III, not Shalmaneser V as argued today. For a full discussion of the chronology for this period, see Vol. 2 of our present series, IC, and our forthcoming series entitled *Israelite Migrations* (IM).

¹¹ For the chronology of King Hoshea of Israel, see IC and IM.

¹² SAGE, p. 513, 4 Kings, 17:4; Origen, *Hex.*, 1, p. 684, 3, and n. 4; Marcus, *Jos.*, vi, p. 146, & n. a.

¹³ *Jos.*, *Antiq.*, 9:14:1.

¹⁴ Marcus, *Jos.*, vi, p. 146, n. 2, “ed. pr.: Ωαν codd. E; *Soam* Lat.; Σωβὰ Zonaras,” see Zonaras, *Hist.*, 2:22.

¹⁵ The Greek LXX translates the Hebrew name Tzuar as found in the MT to read Σηγωρ (Segor), see LXX Gen., 14:2, 8, 19:22, 23, 30; LXX Deut., 34:3; LXX Isa., 15:5; once as Ζογόρα (Zogora), see LXX Gen., 13:10; and another time as Ζογόρ (Zogor), see LXX Jer., 31:34 (= MT 48:34). Eusebius writes of “Σηγώρ (Segor), which is now called Ζωαρά (Zoara)” (Eusebius, *Onom.*, p. 231, no. 100:23). Among Greek writings, it is also variously translated to read Ζωοπά (Zoora), see Eusebius, *Onom.*, 149:6f, 159:23, Ζωοπόν (Zooron), Eusebius, *Onom.*, 123:11, Σεγώρ (Segor), Eusebius, *Onom.*, 149:6f (also see Jerome, *Heb. Quest.*, 326, “*Siquidem Segor transfertur in parvam, quae lingua Syra Zoara dicitur*”), Ζιγώρ (Zigor), and Ζογέρα (Zogera), see Eusebius, *Onom.*, p. 258, 159:2, “Ζοάρων (Zoaron), see *Jos.*, *Wars*, 4:8:4 §482, Ζόαρα (Zoara), see *Jos.*, *Antiq.*, 13:15:4 §397, Ζώαρα (Zoara), see *Jos.*, *Antiq.*, 14:1:4 §18; Ptolemy, *Geog.*, 5:17 §5, Ζαρά (Zara), see Marcus, *Jos.*,

attempt at the Egyptian name *Wsrkn* (Userkon), which is variously transliterated from Manetho into the Greek and Latin as follows:

- Osorkon (Dynasty XXI): Ὀσοχώρ (Osokhor), Latin “*Osochor*,” “*Osochoris*.¹⁶
- Osorkon (Dynasty XXII): Ὀσορθών (Osorthon), Latin “*Osorthon*,¹⁷ and Ὀσόρθων (Osorthon).¹⁸
- Osorkon (Dynasty XXIII): Ὀσορκώ (Osorko), Ὀσορθών (Osorthon), Latin “*Osorthon*,¹⁹ and Ὀσωρθών (Osorthon).²⁰

The name Ὀσοχώρ (Osokhor), with a soft O sound at the beginning, easily becomes Sokhor, which explains the LXX form of this name (processed through the Hebrew ear into the LXX Greek) as “Σηγώρ (Segor).” Therefore, Σιά (Sua) is merely a short form of the name Osorkon, with emphasis on the (O)so- sound at the beginning of the name. Indeed, many Egyptologists today—such as Kenneth Kitchen, Aidan Dodson, Richard D. Patterson, T. C. Mitchell, Peter A. Clayton, I. E. S. Edwards, and many others—openly acknowledge that the Hebrew name “Sua” for the Egyptian king, as well as the Greek name “Segor,” are merely translations of the Egyptian name Osorkon.²¹ In addition, Sargon of Assyria reports that during his 6th year (716/715 B.C.E., spring reckoning) “Šilkanni, king of Mušri (Muzri; Egypt)” paid him tribute.²² The name “Šilkanni (*Shilkanni*), as Hayim Tadmor and many others point out, is merely the Assyrian form of the Egyptian name Osorkon (*Osor* = *Shil* [*r* = *l*] and *kon* = *kanni*).²³ Notice carefully that the Assyrians, just as we find with the Israelites, did not pronounce the initial soft O or UU (W) sound of *Wsr-kn*.

Due to their exaggerated chronologies, many Egyptologists try to identify King Sua (Osorkon) of the biblical story with Osorkon IV.²⁴ Yet Osorkon IV was little more than a petty ruler in Tanis and Bubastis. He followed Shoshenq V

vii, p. 426, n. 6, and other like forms. In Latin, there are also several ways of writing this name. The Vulgate renders it *Segor*, see Vulgate at Gen., 13:10, 14:2, 8, 19:22f, 30; Deut., 34:3; Isa., 15:5; Jer., 48:34; while the Latin text of Josephus renders it *Zora*, see Marcus, *Jos.*, vii, p. 426, n. 6. *Tzuār* is also known as *Bela* (Gen., 14:8). Therefore, Jerome writes, “*Seora*, a city near to Sodom which is also *Segor* and *Zoara*,” and again, “*Segor*, which is also *Bala* and *Zoara*,” see Jerome, *Onom.*, p. 149, l. 6f, 28–31. In another text, Jerome writes that *Segor* was “first called *Bale*, and afterwards *Salisa*,” see Jerome, *Heb. Quest.*, 334. Regarding the variation on the name, Jerome writes: “Not at all be disturbed, on the other hand, because *Segor* at the same time is called *Zoara*, because it is the same name, meaning ‘small’ or ‘minor,’ but *Segor* is Hebrew, *Zoara* is a Syrian appellation” (Jerome, *Onom.*, p. 100, l. 28–30).

¹⁶ Manetho, frags. 58, 59a & b; Inter. Arm., p. 10; Sec. Hier. Cod., p. 34.

¹⁷ Manetho, frags. 60, 61a & b; Inter. Arm., p. 10; Sec. Hier. Cod., p. 34.

¹⁸ Sothis, no. 72.

¹⁹ Manetho, frags. 62, 63a & b; Inter. Arm., p. 10; Sec. Hier. Cod., p. 34.

²⁰ Sothis, no. 69.

²¹ That King Sua (So) of 2 Kings, 17:4, refers to a king named Osorkon, see CAH, 3.1, p. 576; TFMBC, pp. 6–12; TIP, pp. 372–375 §§333f, 551f §463; CAH, 3.2, p. 345; GSUU, pp. 196f; MGEM, 2, pp. 261–267; BPENR, pp. 13, 126f, 193.

²² JCS, 12.3, pp. 94f.

²³ JCS, 12.3, pp. 77, 78; AfO, 14, pp. 44f; BASOR, 141, pp. 23–25; TIP, pp. 551f §463; CAH, 3.1, p. 576; etc. These writers suggest Osorkon IV but our chronology verifies that it was Osorkon III.

²⁴ See above n. 23.

on the throne and was only one of the several minor kings who opposed Piye in the latter's 19th and 20th years. Tefnakht II of Sais was clearly far stronger. Under the dominance of Tefnakht II, Osorkon IV and a number of other petty dynasts were quickly conquered by Piye during Piye's Year 20 over Egypt.²⁵ Osorkon IV would hardly be someone that Hoshea would have communicated with in order to oppose the powerful Assyrian Empire. Furthermore, as we have already proven,²⁶ Piye did not become a king in Kush until 706 B.C.E. and Osorkon IV is not even mentioned until Piye's campaign against the Delta kings in 677 B.C.E., during Piye's 30th year as the king over Kush. In this regard, Osorkon III, who was a much more powerful figure in Egypt in his day, is a known ally of Kashta of Kush.²⁷

Therefore, Osorkon III was contemporary with both Sargon's 6th year (716/715 B.C.E.) and King Hoshea's 5th year (713/712 B.C.E.), which clearly dates him to the time that the Ethiopian King List places the 13-year reign of Kashta (720 through 708 B.C.E.). This detail is important because the MT is a truncated Babylonian recension of the original Hebrew (Palestinian) text.²⁸ As such, those using it as their primary source have been left with a shorter version of the story. In the Lucian recension (c.240–312 B.C.E.), for example, which became the standard text for the Eastern Christian Church, we find a fuller version of 2 Kings, 17:4. This text includes another king to whom Hoshea also sent messengers. This other king was named Ἀδραμέλεχ (Adramelekh, Adramelech). Syncellus, quoting from this early text, writes:

The Assyrian king Salmanasar (Shalmaneser) went against Osee (Hoshea) and made Samaria and Israel subjects. Then, upon finding out that Osee had sent an envoy to Adramelekh, king of Ethiopia, the one next to Egypt,²⁹ AND to the Egyptian king Segor to come to his aid, he confirmed Osee under guard and took as prisoners the ten tribes of Israel.³⁰

This evidence indicates the existence of another statement that was derived from a recension of an earlier text of Scriptures. In this version, the Israelite King Hoshea was trying to gain assistance from two allied kings: Adramelekh, the king of the country of Ethiopia that laid next to Egypt, and Segor (Osorkon III) the king of Egypt. Chrysostom reinforces this understanding when he writes, "but afterwards he (King Hoshea) revolted from

²⁵ Victory Stela, l. 19, 106, 114; LAIE, pp. 477–491, l. 19, 106, 114; FHN, 1, p. 63, Lower Register, l. 1, p. 66, l. 4, Main text p. 74, l. 19, p. 101, l. 106, p. 104, l. 114, pp. 114, 117.

²⁶ See App. D.

²⁷ KK, pp. 148f.

²⁸ That the MT is considered by scholars to be a truncated version of the earlier and longer Palestinian recensions, see BA, 28.3, p. 97.

²⁹ As opposed to the eastern land of Kush (Ethiopia) located near or as part of India (e.g., Herodotus, 3:94, 7:70; Severus, 2:11; Strabo, 1:2:26; Mela, 3:7 §67).

³⁰ Syncellus, 241. Cf. LXX 4 Kings, 17:3–6. In v. 4 some MSS substitute "Adramelech the Ethiopian, dwelling in Egypt" for "Segor king of Egypt." Also see Chron. Pasch., 1, p. 200, l. 10f.

Assyrian rule, and brought himself into an alliance with the Ethiopians.³¹ Sulpitius Severus clarifies further when he states that Hoshea “was preparing for rebellion, and HAD ASKED THE KING OF THE ETHIOPIANS, WHO THEN HAD POSSESSION OF EGYPT, for his assistance.”³² Theodoret contributes one more important detail, referring to “*Adramelech Æthiops habitaverit in Ægypto* (Adramelekh, the Ethiopian dwelling in Egypt).”³³ Bar Hebraeus does the same, calling him, “Adharmlech, the Kushite, who was dwelling in Egypt.”³⁴

This additional evidence shows that in the days of Hoshea there was an Ethiopian king named by eastern writers “Adramelekh” who not only possessed parts of Egypt but was personally dwelling in that land. Adramelekh cannot be Shabaqo because Shabaqo always ruled as a king of Egypt as well as Kush. Also, as we have already proven, Shabaqo only started to rule Egypt and Kush in 707 B.C.E. It cannot be Piye because, as we have shown, he did not begin to reign in Kush until 706 B.C.E. Neither did Piye make his dwelling in Egypt. Piye’s own records demonstrate that he always made his home in Napata, Kush. Yet the description of Adramelekh precisely fits the situation that we find for Kashta.

At the time of Hoshea, for example, Adramelekh is not called the King of Egypt but the king of Kush “who was dwelling in Egypt.” In the same way, for a number of years, Kashta lived in Thebes and Elephantine in Upper Egypt as a king of Kush. He continued to hold possessions in Egypt for 13 years, including the time encompassing the reign of King Hoshea of Israel (717/716—709/708 B.C.E., spring reckoning). Kashta did not take the title “king of Egypt” until his last year, the same year that his son, Shabaqo became a king of Egypt and Kush. Indeed, like Kashta, Adramelekh is clearly separated from the role as a king of Egypt by the statement that Hoshea sent messengers to “Adramelekh, king of Ethiopia, the one next to Egypt, AND to the Egyptian king Segor.” That Hoshea sought aid from both kings proves that these two kings were allies, just as Osorkon III and Kashta were. The eastern name Αδραμέλεχ (Adramelekh), in Hebrew אֲדָרְמָלֵךְ (Adar-Melek), means, “Magnificent (Great) King.”³⁵ To those in Egypt and Kush, he was better known as Kashta (K(3)št), i.e., the Kushite.³⁶ It is also highly likely that the Assyrians knew Kashta by his personal or Kushite throne name Shapatakuu

³¹ Chrysostom, *Hom.* 31, on John, 4:5–6.

³² Severus, 1:49.

³³ Theodoret, *Quaest. in IV Reg.*, chap. xvii, Interr. xlvi (paragraph 541); see PG, vol. 80, p. 782. The Greek text likewise reads, “Αδραμέλεχ ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ.”

³⁴ Bar Heb., 23.

³⁵ Adar- (Adra-, Adara-) Melek can mean “splendor of (the) king” (SEC, Heb. #152), but more likely means, “the magnificent king” (cf. SEC, Heb. #142, Adar = “to expand, i.e. be great or (fig.) magnificent”; HEL, p. 5, “great, powerful, glorious, majestic . . . amplitude, splendour”; CHAL, p. 5, “glorious”; SHL, p. 11, “prop. to wrap about, hence to be ample, large, great; then fig. to be powerful, honourable . . . Niph. to show oneself strong or magnificent.” Jewish writers tell us that the name is derived from *adar* (“magnificent”) and *melek* (“king”), and ascribed to the deity carrying that name the form of a peacock (J. A. Zar., 3:42d; JE, 1, p. 212, v.s. ADRAMMELECH).

³⁶ AHAE, p. 334; KK, pp. 2f; FHN, 1, p. 43.

(Shebitku I), as mentioned on the Tang-i Var inscription of 707 B.C.E., being Kashta's Year 1 on a throne in Upper Egypt.³⁷

Conclusion

When all of this evidence is taken together, it confirms that Kashta, an Ethiopian king who lived for a number of years in Upper Egypt and was an ally of Pharaoh Osorkon III,³⁸ lived during the time of King Hoshea's 5th year (713/712 B.C.E., spring reckoning). This fact helps confirm that Kashta reigned in Kush from the years 720 until sometime in 707 B.C.E. During his 14th and last year as a king of Kush, Kashta set up a throne in Thebes, making his son Shabaqo his co-regent. That year (707 B.C.E.), both kings were ruling over their realms located in Lower Kush and Upper Egypt. Due to Kashta's short reign as a king in Upper Egypt in 707 B.C.E., since his son, Shabaqo, was his co-regent, Kashta was not listed by Manetho as part of Dynasty XXV of Egypt. That honor fell to Shabaqo, who was counted by Herodotus, Diodorus, and Manetho as the first Ethiopian king of Egypt.³⁹ Then during Shabaqo's 2nd year (706 B.C.E.), now ruling as the sole monarch of his royal line, Shabaqo seized Memphis and brought Lower Egypt under his sway.⁴⁰

³⁷ See above App. F.

³⁸ Karl-Heinz Pries, using the expression a "personal union," argues that the Kushite and Theban religious domains formed an allegiance (ZAS, 98, p. 21; OATEK, p. 1).

³⁹ Herodotus, 2:137, 139; Diodorus, 1:65:2–8; and see above App. F, ns. 49–54.

⁴⁰ Year 2 of Shabaqo is the same as the 6th and last year of Pharaoh Bakenranef (Bocchoris), see *Orientalia*, NS, 70.1, pp. 10f; CAH, 3.2, p. 689; *Kush*, 8, p. 66; CAW, p. 82; LPIE, p. 141; HdO, p. 261, n. 189; TIP, pp. 141f. Also see above App. F, pp. 490f.