

## Chapter Five Piankhi's Phoenician Empire

*December 604 - December 601 B.C.*

### The Chronicle

When last we looked at the Chronicle, Nebuchadnezzar had assaulted and captured the city of Ashkelon near the border of Egypt.

He marched to the city of Askelon and captured it in the month of Kislev.  
He captured its king and plundered it and carried off [spoil from it ...] (lines 17,18)

It was November/December 604 B.C. The victory secured for Babylon control of the land corridor leading out of Egypt. In consequence the armies of Menkheperre were land-locked. According to the Hebrew Bible this state of affairs lasted three years.

During Jehoiakim's reign, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon invaded the land, and Jehoiakim became his vassal for three years..... The king of Egypt did not *march out* from his own country again, because the king of Babylon had taken all his territory, from the Wadi of Egypt to the Euphrates River. 2 Kings 24:1,7 (italics added)

The siege of Ashkelon took place near the end of Nebuchadnezzar's 1<sup>st</sup> year. According to the Chronicle, in agreement with the Jewish historians, the Babylonian king roamed at will in upper and lower Retenu, west of the Euphrates, for the next three years.

In his 2<sup>nd</sup> year Nebuchadnezzar "gathered together a powerful army and [marched to the land of Hatti]" where he "marched about unopposed." In his 3<sup>rd</sup> year "the king of Akkad mustered his troops and [marched] to the Hatti-land and brought (back) much [spoil] from the Hatti-land into Akkad". Both comments are innocuous, but they are at least consistent with the testimony of the Hebrew Bible. It is rather in the 4<sup>th</sup> year that the two documents demonstrate their remarkable correspondence.

In the fourth year the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Hatti-land. In the Hatti-land they marched unopposed.

In the month of Kislev he took the lead of his army and marched to Egypt. The king of Egypt heard (it) and mustered his army.

In open battle they smote the breast (of) each other and *inflicted great havoc on each other*. The king of Akkad and his troops turned back and returned to Babylon. (lines 5-7) (emphasis added)

The battle with Egypt took place in the month Kislev (Nov./Dec), precisely three years after the siege of Ashkelon. Two pieces of evidence combine to inform us that Babylon did not fare well in the encounter. In the first place the Chronicle acknowledges extensive losses on both sides. In the second, Nebuchadrezzar returned to Babylon immediately following and did not exit his country the next year. Apparently he needed time to regroup.

Jehoiakim was thus freed from the suzerainty of Babylon precisely three years after it began. And Egypt regained its freedom of access by land to its former Syrian territories. It was November/December 601 B.C.

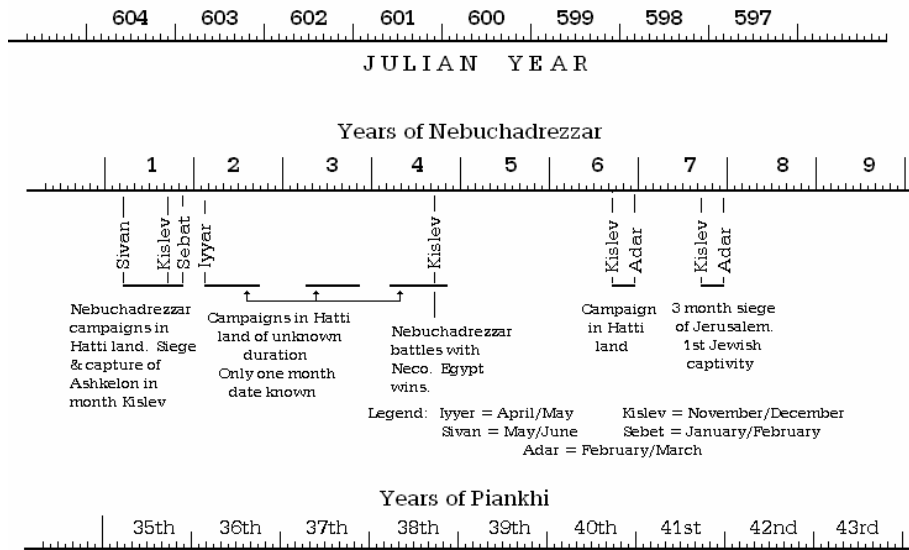
It remains to be seen how well the Annals agree with this data.

To enable the reader to better follow the argument we reproduce below, from our earlier book<sup>67</sup>, a timeline for Nebuchadrezzar's actions during the years 604-597 B.C., based partly on the Babylonian Chronicle and partly on the Hebrew Bible. We have added to the earlier figure the years of Piankhi, based solely on the timeline introduced in chapter two (see figure 4, page 27). These years, of course, correspond precisely to the years of Menkheperre Thutmose in the Karnak Annals, as the argument in chapters two through four of this book have already confirmed.

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<sup>67</sup>See *Nebuchadrezzar & the Egyptian Exile*, figure 10, page 12.

Figure 10: Timeline – Nebuchadrezzar's Wars (604-597 B.C.)



## The Annals

The three years following the siege of Ashkelon correspond to the 36<sup>th</sup>, 37<sup>th</sup>, and 38<sup>th</sup> years of Menkheperre, during which took place his 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, and 13<sup>th</sup> campaigns. According to Breasted the Annals for the first two years are lost. We suspect they were not written. Menkheperre had little to boast about. If we are correct in our revised history of his reign he had no ready access to Zahi where his campaigns typically began. The land corridor leading from Egypt was denied him. His Mediterranean fleet was ill equipped to move tens of thousands of troops, not to speak of supplies, the considerable distance involved. At least not in the time frame given. We expect that Menkheperre spent these two years fortifying the Phoenician ports and otherwise preparing for the inevitable confrontation with Babylon. But this is all conjecture. Our only opportunity to compare the Annals and the Chronicle in this time period rests with the account of his 13<sup>th</sup> campaign.

As we expected, there is no mention of Retenu during the 13<sup>th</sup> campaign

in Menkheperre's 38<sup>th</sup> year (601 B.C.). This is entirely consistent with our argument that he had lost control of Syria in his 34<sup>th</sup> year (605 B.C.). It is, however, the first opportunity we have had to test this aspect of our thesis, since the annals for the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> campaigns are missing.<sup>68</sup> It is therefore gratifying to note that Menkheperre failed to journey to Retenu. Instead he campaigned on the Phoenician coast south of Zahi, an area known as Nuges. We suspect, as we have just argued, that he has been preparing for this campaign for several years and has amassed by degrees an army sufficient for the task at hand. By moving south from Zahi he could regain the Lebanon in a pincer movement which would isolate the Babylonian garrison in the Palestinian region. Breasted summarizes the event.

The king directs his attention to the southern Lebanon region of Nuges again, where he is obliged to subjugate the local princes, who controlled the road northward between the two Lebanons at the seaward bend of the Litany River.  
BAR II 506

Typical of the Annals elsewhere, the record here is nothing more than a summary statement of the campaign, followed by an extensive list of tribute:

[Year 38. Behold, his majesty was in —] on the thirteenth victorious expedition. Behold, his majesty was overthrowing — [in] the district of Nuges (*3n-yw-g-s3*). List of booty which the army of his majesty brought away from the district of Nuges: ... (there follows a list of tribute) BAR II 507-509

Following this whirlwind raid into southern Lebanon Menkheperre returned to Zahi and continued to provision his coastal ports. There was little doubt that Nebuchadrezzar would respond to the recent provocation. The coastline must be secured and prepared for war.

Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each year, in going [northward or] southward; the impost of Lebanon (*R3-mn-n*) likewise; the harvest of Zahi, consisting of clean grain, green oil, incense, [win]e. BAR II 510

The Annals for the year conclude with mention of the tribute forthcoming

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<sup>68</sup>Should the Annals of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> campaigns ever be found, we predict that they too will omit mention of any "tribute of Retenu."

from Egypt's ongoing Mediterranean ventures (Cyprus, Arrapachitis, Punt) and from regions south of Egypt (Kush and Wawat).

It is by now the fall of the year, harvest time. We assume the campaign to Nuges began early in the spring. Menkheperre returned to Egypt in October/November at the latest.

Thus far the Annals and the Chronicle are in perfect agreement. If the critic is wondering why the Babylonian assault on Egypt is not mentioned in Annals for Menkheperre's 38<sup>th</sup> year there is a ready answer. The 13<sup>th</sup> campaign was completed by October/November, as were all campaigns of Menkheperre. The attack by Babylon took place in the month Kislev (November/December), in the interim between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> campaigns

One or two months after Menkheperre left Zahi the anticipated reaction by Nebuchadrezzar commenced. In the month Kislev 601/600 B.C.) the Babylonian king "took the lead of his army and marched to Egypt." Menkheperre was ready. It was apparently a bloody battle, with extensive losses on both sides. Only in respect of the renewed access to Syria could this be deemed a victory for Egypt. We expect that if it were to be mentioned at all by the Egyptian king, its account would be brief. We cannot repeat too often that Menkheperre was loathe to publicize his losses. His attention was centered on the tribute gained from the battles waged. And the encounter with Babylon at the eastern border of Egypt resulted in extensive loss of life for the army of Menkheperre, and absolutely no tribute. In spite of these mitigating factors the battle *is* documented. Predictably it is mentioned in the Annals for the next year.

### The Fallen Ones of Shasu

We are here still concerned with Piankhi's 38<sup>th</sup> year. But since the encounter with Babylon is mentioned in the Annals for his 39<sup>th</sup> year, we produce the beginning of the entry for that year.

Year 39. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the fourteenth victorious expedition, **after** [his] going [to defeat] the fallen ones of Shasu (Šꜣ-sw). BAR II 517 (emphasis added)

Two things are clear from the wording of this brief but significant statement. In the first place a battle took place in the interim between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> campaigns which warranted this unprecedented mention by Menkheperre. And secondly, in the aftermath of this battle Menkheperre was able to re-enter "the land of Retenu", the first time that he has been able to do so since early in his 9<sup>th</sup> campaign. The only question remaining is whether this oblique entry does in fact refer to Egypt's encounter with Babylon. The time is certainly right. Only the identity of Egypt's opponent remains at issue.

Breasted, and virtually all scholars following him, considers that this Annals entry refers to "an excursion to punish the raiding Bedouin on the northeastern frontier of Egypt." There is certainly some warrant for this interpretation. There did exist late in the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty a semi-nomadic ethnic group called the Shasu inhabiting a region near the eastern border of Egypt. The relevant inscriptions have been examined by Raphael Giveon. They describe incursions by the Shasu into the wadi Hammamat region of upper Egypt east of Thebes. Inscriptions found in the Sinai suggest that they inhabited that area.<sup>69</sup> According to Giveon....

The last Egyptian documents dealing with the Shosu as an active factor in history are from the time of Ramses III. In his temple at Medinet Habu there are several reliefs showing them as prisoners of war, and as soldiers in the Egyptian army. Shosu, living in the region of Seir, in southern Transjordan, are mentioned as enemies of Egypt in the historical part of the Great Papyrus Harris. Papyrus Wilbour mentions allotment of land in a region not far from Oxyrhynchos, on a road connecting the Southern Oasis with the Nile Valley. ... It seems that the Shosu, along with other foreigners, were established in the region by the Egyptian administration at the end of the XIXth or the beginning of the XXth dynasty.<sup>70</sup>

Giveon goes on to argue, that by the late period of Egypt, the time of the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties, this ethnic group has ceased to exist, and that the term Shasu has degenerated into a geographical reference.

Other documents of the Late Period, like the "Oracular amuletic decrees" of the XXIst to the XXIIIrd Dynasties, and the Sanam list of toponyms from the time of Taharqa (XXVth Dynasty), use the term "Shosu" merely for "East".<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Raphael Giveon, "The Shosu of the Late XXth Dynasty," JARCE 8 (1969-70)

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 52

If Giveon's reasoning is correct, and if we have correctly identified Menkheperre as the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty king Piankhi, then the mention of the Shasu in the Annals for this year must be understood as a reference, albeit an oblique one, to an encounter between Menkheperre and an unnamed enemy in the *eastern* extremity of Egypt or an unnamed enemy *from the Eastern country*. At minimum the statement, thus interpreted, is consistent with our hypothesis. Based on previous entries in the Annals we did not expect any more detailed account from Menkheperre, who is content to acknowledge the event as an historical fact. In the interim between his 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> campaigns he has fought a battle with a worthy opponent from somewhere in the east. For Piankhi this is enough said.

We could rest our case here but we choose not to do so. If we did the critic would no doubt argue that the interpretation provided by Breasted is equally possible, if not preferable. But that is not the case. It is improbable, if not impossible, that Egypt fought a battle against the Shasu in the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C. We raise the following objections.

Initially we wonder why Menkheperre would even mention a battle against such an inconsequential group of migrants. Remember that this king is loathe to detail significant battles with the great nations of the Near East. Why preserve the memory of this otherwise nondescript band of marauders. Egypt must have endured hundreds of petty conflicts with marginal tribal groups on its borders. Why mention only this soletary encounter? And why does this mention occur as a preface to Menkheperre's entry (or re-entry) into the land of Retenu, as if it were a necessary prelude to that event? But there is an even more fundamental objection. It can be argued that the Shasu did not exist in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

In no other document alleged to originate from the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty of Egypt, with a single exception, is there any reference to "the Shasu". This alone should introduce a note of caution. If the Shasu are a significant enough group to warrant mention by Menkheperre as a worth adversary, then why are they ignored elsewhere in 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C. inscriptions. Why elsewhere do they emerge as a distinct ethnic group in Egyptian documents of the 20th dynasty and not before?

The single additional mention of the Shasu just alluded to is contained in the list of conquests inscribed on the chariot of Menkheperure Thutmose (IV), a king identified by traditional historians as the grandson of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Menkheperre Thutmose. In this list Thutmose (IV) boasts of having conquered Naharin, Babylon, Tunip, Shasu, Kadesh and Takhsy. Needless to say the term Shasu, interpreted as a reference to a migratory bedouin tribal group, is out of place in this list, and the inscription has, accordingly, received considerable attention.<sup>72</sup> The only reasonable explanation for the term Shasu in this list, according to various interpreters, is to understand it as a reference to a country lying immediately “east” of Egypt, either Syria or Palestine. The first hypothesis derives from Giveon in various articles; the second explanation was proposed by Lorton in response to Giveon. Betsy Bryan, author of the classic treatment on the reign of Thutmose IV, entirely side steps the issue by referring the matter to an endnote:

See Giveon's comment on this list [JNES 28 (1969) 56] , where he pointed out the northern emphasis - even Shasu at this time referred to Syria, according to Giveon - as a symbol of Egypt's northern frontier versus her southern one in Kush. This is also shown on the chariot. D. Lorton, reviewing Giveon's book on Shasu, in JARCE 9 (1971-72) 148 has suggested that in this context  $\dot{S}_{sw}$  = Palestine; for Lorton believed such a short list must have represented major nations + Egypt's Asian empire. There is no way to determine which interpretation is correct.<sup>73</sup>

We agree in part with all three Egyptologists. The Shasu reference of Thutmose IV must be interpreted geographically, no matter what region is intended by the reference to “the eastern country”. But this

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<sup>72</sup>The reader will immediately recognize the other names in this list from the Annals of Menkheperre we have been reading. The critic will no doubt argue that this duplication of names proves that the Menkheperre who authored the Annals and the king Menkheperure who authored the chariot inscription were from the same time period. We agree. But as we argue below, and will argue again later in this book, the time period is the 7<sup>th</sup> century. This chariot inscription merely argues the fact that a king by the name Menkheperure Thutmose assisted Piankhi in his campaigns in the region of Naharin and Takhsy, and claimed the successes as his own. Egyptologists are adamant that the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king by this name did not conquer any of the regions or countries named in this list. According to Betsy Bryan, author of the classic treatment on the reign of Thutmose IV, “there is nothing to suggest Thutmose campaigned against any of these cities or peoples unless one accepts seriously a claim (by Thutmose IV) to have ‘trod all difficult northern countries’ and to have ‘overthrown all the lands of all the Fenkhu.’ [Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (1991) 340].

<sup>73</sup>Bryan, op. cit. p. 362, note 59.



understanding all but demands that the Annals reference to “Shasu” be interpreted similarly, thus creating a problem of considerable dimensions for the traditionalist historian, even if the problem is not discussed by any of the three named interpreters. How is it that the term Shasu is used consistently as a directional reference in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, becomes an epithet of a specific nomadic tribal group in the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and reverts back to a directional reference in the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties? There is only one reasonable response to this question. We argue that both the Annals of Menkheperre Thutmose and the chariot inscription of Menkheperure Thutmose were authored by 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings.<sup>74</sup> We argue further that the Shasu as a reference to a Bedouin group appeared in history for the first time during the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and that the name quickly degenerated into a directional term by the time of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty. This tribal group did not exist in the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

This added revelation that a king by the name of Menkheperure Thutmose, a namesake of Piankhi, lived in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century will be the subject of discussion in the next chapter. It is not an entirely novel idea. In the last chapter we mentioned that many of Piankhi's extended family adopted names of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings, a statement which remains to be proved. In the case of Menkheperure, information which suggests that he has been misplaced historically has been known for almost a century. As early as 1904 A. Erman argued that the primary inscription of this king, his so-called “dream stela”, was inscribed during the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty or

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<sup>74</sup>We admit that there is a problem identifying the chariot in question with the 7<sup>th</sup> century. It was found in KV 43, the ransacked tomb of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king Menkheperure. But that tomb had been violated and robbed at least twice, once late in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty and a second time, as we argue in a later chapter, in the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty. The body of the king was removed by the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty priests and later reburied in KV 35 as part of a cache of bodies (discussed elsewhere in this book). The tomb was emptied of all its remaining treasure at that time. When we argue in the following chapters that the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty pharaoh Shabaka was a near relative of those same 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty priests, and that he stole the identity (and probably also some of the remaining grave goods of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king) we may also assume that he used the vacated tomb to bury his own dead. The tomb contained only one body, “that of a boy which had been entirely unwrapped and was left resting upright against a chamber wall.” [Betsy Bryan *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (1991) 191-92] We ask the obvious questions. Why were all bodies removed from this tomb by the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty kings except this one? And why was the magnificent chariot of Menkheperure left intact and alone? We believe the body belongs to one of the sons of Shabaka who died early, possible in battle assisting his father as the latter commanded one of the army contingents under Piankhi. The chariot may have been used by the son. According to Bryan, this mummified boy was probably a son of Menkheperure who “perhaps pre-deceased his father.” We agree, but we think the Menkheperure in question lived in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century.

beyond.<sup>75</sup> The argument by the great German scholar was thorough and irrefutable. It should have resulted in a reexamination of this king's place in history. But almost every explanation conceivable was given to the results of Erman's analyses except that which is most reasonable. Menkheperure's dream stela showed signs of being created during the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty because it *was* created during the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Its author was a 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty contemporary of Menkheperre Piankhi. But here we are getting ahead of ourselves. This is not the place to discuss the family connections of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty patriarch.

The battle with the Shasu was in fact a battle with the Babylonians. The Babylonian army employed by Nebuchadrezzar may well have consisted of conscripts from the Syrian towns recently subjugated by the Babylonian king. Hence the name *Shasu* in the Annals of Menkheperre.

There remains for us the task of examining the sequel to this conflict with "the fallen ones from the eastern country".

### *March/April 600 - March/April 596 B.C.*

March/April 600 - March April 599 B.C.

There is very little to say about the 14<sup>th</sup> campaign of the 39<sup>th</sup> year of Menkheperre. Everything that should have happened, happened.

In the aftermath of the battle with Egypt Nebuchadrezzar returned to Babylon. According to the Chronicle he remained in Babylon during his 5<sup>th</sup> year, clearly licking his wounds and preparing for the next encounter with Egypt.

In the fifth year the king of Akkad (stayed) in his own land and gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers. (line 8)

Meanwhile Piankhi proceeded to reclaim Retenu for Egypt. We have already quoted the Annals but the fact bears repeating.

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<sup>75</sup>A. Erman, "Die Sphinxstele," SB 6 (1904) 428-37.

Year 39. Behold, his majesty was in the land of Retenu on the fourteenth victorious expedition, after [his] going [to defeat] the fallen ones of Shasu (i.e. the East). BAR II 517

As stated earlier, the balance of the Annals for this year consists entirely of a list of the tribute of Retenu, resumed after a hiatus of five years.

The concluding entry records what is by now a yearly event, the re-supplying of Menkheperre's Mediterranean ports.

Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each [year]; in going northward [or southward] — — likewise; the harvest of [Lebanon] ----- [the harvest] of Zahi, consisting of clean grain, incense, oil, — s[ine] ----. BAR II 519

### March/April 599 - March April 598 B.C.

After two years of preparation Nebuchadrezzar was ready to do battle once again. Late in his 6<sup>th</sup> year, in the month of Kislev, precisely two years after the disastrous stand-off battle at the border of Egypt, he returned to the Hatti-land. It was November/December 599 B.C.

In the sixth year in the month of Kislev the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Hatti land. From the Hatti-land he sent out his companies, and scouring the desert they took much plunder from the Arabs, their possessions, animals and gods. In the month of Adar the king returned to his own land. (lines 9,10)

It is apparent from the timing that Nebuchadrezzar waited to re-enter the Hatti lands until after the conclusion of the campaign season of Menkheperre. The strategy was successful. No encounter with Egypt is recorded.

In light of this entry in the Chronicle we expect that the Annals will record for this same year, the 40<sup>th</sup> year of Menkheperre, a 15<sup>th</sup> campaign to Retenu and Zahi. Assuming that Menkheperre followed his usual routine this campaign must have begun in the spring and concluded only weeks before Nebuchadrezzar returned to the Hatti land. Egypt must have occupied Retenu during the six month period from April to October.

The Annals should confirm the fact.

The wall space surrounding the Amun temple sanctuary was by this time filled and the Annals were continued elsewhere, on the back of Pylon 6 at the southern extremity of the temple. Very little of this Pylon remains standing, and the Annals preserved at this location are intermittent at best. What remains is not dated. Breasted has attempted to interpret the scattered remains so as to read into the record at this location an account of three campaigns. But he admits to a certain amount of guesswork. According to him all that remains of the annals of the 15<sup>th</sup> campaign of Menkheperre's 40<sup>th</sup> year is a "tribute-list of Cyprus and the impost of Kush and Wawat". But the names of Kush and Wawat are missing from the record. Breasted supplies them in his reading. There follows without pause further lists of tribute, beginning with that from Retenu and Kheta, then from Kush and Wawat. Breasted attributes these last four tribute lists (Retenu, Kheta, Kush and Wawat) to a 16<sup>th</sup> campaign. But we respectfully disagree. They lack the usual introduction and give every appearance of continuing the list of tribute which began with Cyprus. The mention of Kush and Wawat (which the annals typically place at the end of the yearly record) confirms our suspicion that the entire record thus far belongs to the 15<sup>th</sup> year.

It was an active year for Menkheperre, following up on his repossession of Retenu the year before. For the first time since his 8<sup>th</sup> campaign in 606 B.C. the Egyptian king clearly states that he reached the northern fringes of Retenu and again received diplomatic gifts from the Hittite king (something made of gold is all that is mentioned). It was to be the last intrusion of Piankhi into northern Syria. As we have already noted, a few months after the conclusion of this campaign Nebuchadrezzar was on the move again to the Hatti land.

Once again the Chronicle and the Annals complement one another.

March/April 598 - March/April 597 B.C.

As we saw in our last section, Nebuchadrezzar returned to the Hatti land late in his sixth year, a month following the 15<sup>th</sup> campaign of

Menkheperre. His campaign continued until the month Adar following, February/March 598 B.C., only weeks before Piankhi typically lauched his campaigns. The two kings are apparently avoiding each other, Nebuchadrezzar campaigning in the winter (Kislev to Adar) , Menkheperre from the spring to the fall. The pattern continues through the next year, 598/597 B.C.

In March/April 598 B.C., the beginning of his 41<sup>st</sup> year, a month after Nebuchadrezzar's return to Babylon in the month Adar, Menkheperre initiated his 16<sup>th</sup> campaign. We assume this campaign is the one described on the 6<sup>th</sup> Pylon walls immediately following the lists of tribute we assigned to his 15<sup>th</sup> year.<sup>76</sup> Unfortunately no date is preserved in the Annals entry.

During this 41<sup>st</sup> campaign Menkheperre is forced to suppress rebellion in central Syria. We understand the cause. The return of Nebuchadrezzar the previous winter has emboldened Kadesh and other cities on the fringes of Zahi, and even Tunip on the coast, to challenge Egyptian sovereignty. According to the Annals:

[Year 42 [*which we correct to 41*] ----- the Fenkhu (*[F]nh.w*). Behold, his majesty was upon the coast road, in order to overthrow the city of Erkatu (*ʿr-K3-tw*) and the cities of ----- Kana (*K3-n3*) -----; this city was overthrown, together with its districts.

(His majesty) arrived at Tunip (*Tw-np*), overthrew that city, harvested its grain, and cut down its groves ---- the citizens of the army.

Behold, (he) came in safety, arrived at the district of Kadesh (*Kd-šw*), captured the cities therein.

List of the booty brought from there — ----- of the wretched Naharin (*N-h-ry-n3*) who were as auxiliaries among them, together with their horses; 691 people; 29 hands; 44 horses; -----.

There follows a list of tribute from six areas, including Tunip, Tinay, Kush and Wawat. The names of the other two regions are in damaged sections of the Annals and are not preserved. The harvests of several of these areas are mentioned, indication that the campaign extended into the fall. Included in these lists is the now ever-present reference to the supplying of the Phoenician ports:

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<sup>76</sup>It follows from what we have previously stated that Breasted assigns all of this material to the 42<sup>nd</sup> year of Menkheperre.

Behold, every harbor was supplied with every good thing according to their agreement of each year; the harvest of this country [likewise] ----- BAR II 535.

Nothing more need be said of this campaign except to repeat an observation noted in the last chapter, that auxiliaries from "wretched Naharin" assisted the cities of the district of Kadesh in their resistance to Egypt. These may or may not have been garrison troops left by Nebuchadrezzar to protect his interests in the Hatti lands. If they were Babylonians the Chronicle does not mention them, not entirely surprising since the Chronicler is concerned only with actions of the main Babylonian army.

We assume that the Egyptian army left southern Syria and the Phoenician coast in September/October of 598 B.C. Menkheperre likely journeyed by boat to Egypt. The bulk of the army would have used the land route through Palestine. It would be the last Egyptian army to do so for many years. A month or two later, on schedule in the month Kislev, Nebuchadrezzar returned to the Hatti land. And this time he moved south, as he had late in 604 B.C., to resume control of the land corridor out of Egypt. It is November/December 598 B.C.

In the seventh year, the month of Kislev, the king of Akkad mustered his troops, marched to the Hatti-land, and encamped against (i.e. besieged) the city of Judah and on the second day of the month of Adar he seized the city and captured the king. He appointed there a king of his own choice (lit. heart), received its heavy tribute and sent (them) to Babylon. (lines 11-13).

This two month siege of Jerusalem (the city of Judah) is documented in the Hebrew Bible (2 Kings 24:10ff), and the deposition of its king, Jehoiakin, also receives considerable press. Jehoiakin was not long in office when Nebuchadrezzar invaded Judah. We recall that his father Jehoiakim had had a checkered career. He was installed in office by Menkheperre in 609 B.C. after the Egyptian pharaoh had deposed Jehoahaz, son of Josiah. For five years Jehoiakim's allegiance was to Egypt, until Nebuchadrezzar swept through the country to destroy Ashkelon in the month Kislev, 604 B.C. For three years following Jehoiakim paid tribute to Babylon. With the stand-off battle between Egypt and Babylon in the month Kislev 601 B.C. Judah once again became a vassal of Egypt. And three years later, probably only a month before Nebuchadrezzar invaded Judah, Jehoiakim died. He was replaced

in office by his son Jehoiakin. It was unfortunate timing for the eighteen year old king. In Kislev 598 B.C., a month after he assumed office, his capital was attacked by Nebuchadrezzar. Two months later, thus early in 597 B.C. the capital fell and Jehoiakin was taken captive and deported to Babylon. In his place Nebuchadrezzar installed Zedekiah as king.

Judah was once again a vassal of Babylon. More importantly, Egypt was once more denied land access to Syria and Zahi. But in this instance we are denied the opportunity to compare the Annals and the Chronicle in their discussion of the sequel to the story. For though the Chronicle continues on for four more years before the final tablet ends, the Annals terminate their discussion at this point. Abruptly the record stops.

A single line of text follows the mention of tribute from Kush and Wawat forthcoming from the 16<sup>th</sup> campaign. It alone belongs to Menkheperre's 42<sup>nd</sup> year.

Behold, his majesty commanded to record the victories which he won from the year 23 until the year 42, when this inscription was recorded upon this sanctuary; that he might be given life forever. BAR II 540

Menkheperre Piankhi is by now an old man. He has reigned 42 years in Egypt. He is arguably over seventy years old. The latest action by Nebuchadrezzar, apparently uncontested, was perhaps an indication of Piankhi's lack of resolve. Egyptian coffers were full from twenty years of campaigning in Syria, Kush and Wawat. His opponent Nebuchadrezzar was a young man. His wars were just beginning. Thirty years later the Babylonian king would be fighting still, and would finally fulfill his ambition to conquer Egypt. But Piankhi was now old and tired and perhaps ill. Besides, Egypt still controlled Zahi and the Phoenician coast, access to which could be obtained by ship. And Piankhi still ruled a Phoenician empire which brought him yearly more wealth than he could possibly use. Time to retire from battling in Retenu.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>If Piankhi's reign in Egypt began in 638 B.C., as we have previously argued, then this conclusion to his wars in his 42<sup>nd</sup> year must be dated to the year 596 B.C. It will be argued in future chapters that Piankhi withdrew from Egypt at this time, making Napata his home. There he ultimately died. His burial in the Barkal cemetery near Napata attests the fact that Nubia was now his adopted homeland. We further argue that Shabaka, a near relative, and regional king in Memphis under Piankhi, assumed control of Egypt in Piankhi's absence. Thus the year 596 B.C. marks the beginning of Shabaka's reign in the absence of Piankhi, and thus the technical

Before we leave the Annals entirely we return one last time to the memoirs of Amenemheb. When we last left his memoirs, the venerable army commander was describing the elephant hunt near Niy which followed the conquest of Naharin in 605 B.C. Apparently nothing significant had happened in the seven years following, for his next entry describes the battles in the vicinity of Kadesh in 598 B.C. His comments related to the Kadesh incident are inconsequential. But two statements in particular are relevant to our discussion. The first relates to Amenemheb's promotion in the ranks which has taken place in the interim. He boasts

I made this capture while [I] was an officer of the navy ----- I was the commander of [-] [his vessel] — I was the chief of his associates on the voyage — — — at his beautiful Feast of Opet, when all the land was in acclamation.  
BAR II 591

Apparently Amenemheb has been transformed from a field officer into a commander of the fleet of Menkheperre. Egypt, following its losses in 604 B.C., had turned increasingly to the Sea. Control of the Phoenician ports made Menkheperre the master of the Mediterranean. And Amenemheb, whose life was previously restricted to warfare on land, had become a naval commander. We will have cause to comment on this change of venue later.

A second comment is even more instructive. The final entry on the walls of Amenemheb's tomb concerns the duration of Menkheperre's life following the completion of the Annals in his 42<sup>nd</sup> year.

Lo, the king completed his lifetime of many years, splendid in valor, in [might], and in triumph; from year 1 to year 54, third month of the second season, the last day (of the month) under [the majesty of] King Menkheperre, triumphant. He mounted to heaven, [he] joined the sun; the divine limbs mingling with him who begat him. BAR II 592

Menkheperre Piankhi died at the end of the seventh month of his 54<sup>th</sup> year, around October/November of 584 B.C.. He was buried in a tomb near Napata in Nubia. In a later chapter we will comment further on the Napatan phase of his life. Twenty years after his death much of the

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beginning of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty.



treasure Piankhi accumulated in his campaigns would be lost to Babylon, as the armies of Nebuchadrezzar engulfed Egypt. But that story has already been told in the first book of our *Displaced Dynasties* series.

### *The Phoenician Empire of Menkheperre*

#### Fenkhu = 8<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> Century Phoenicians

We have several times already noted Egypt's increasing involvement in Mediterranean commerce, an enterprise which began with the conquest of the port cities of Zahi as early as 609 B.C. (Menkheperre's 29<sup>th</sup> year). In that year there is reference to the capture of ships harbored at Tunip. Two years later we find Menkheperre supplying the harbors with material goods and two years later still, in his 33<sup>rd</sup> year, we are informed that this was done "according to their contract of each year." Apparently Egypt has reached a treaty agreement with the coastal inhabitants. In the Annals for the next year there is reference to a fleet of ships from various coastal cities visiting the port cities controlled by Menkheperre.

Behold, all the harbors of his majesty were supplied with every good thing of that which his majesty received in Zahi, consisting of Keftiyew ships, Byblos ships, and Sektu ships of cedar laden with poles and masts, together with great trees for the [-] of his majesty. BAR II 492

Menkheperre, while sovereign of the coastal people, was also dependent on them for his growing Mediterranean trade. In that same 34<sup>th</sup> year, 604 B.C., Egypt received tribute from Cyprus for the first time. About this time also Amenemheb was promoted to commander of the fleet. Egypt's attention is increasingly focused on the Sea, the source of immeasurable potential wealth for Menkheperre. Small wonder that Retenu, while remaining a significant source of revenue, was becoming less and less important to the Egyptian king..

Who are these inhabitants of Zahi, who populate cities as far north as Tunip and as far south as Byblos, who are distinguished in the Annals from the Arameans who populate the regions of Upper and Lower Retenu east of the Lebanon Mountains? Only twice do the Annals identify them by an ethnic title. In the aftermath of the battle of Megiddo, where they

are referred to as accomplices of the Arameans, and in the year 41 inscription on the 6<sup>th</sup> Portal at the Karnak temple which we have just read, they are called "Fenkhu".

There is only one possible identification of the Fenkhu historically. Only one people by this name ever populated the eastern Mediterranean coast in the pre-Christian centuries. We know them as the Phoenicians. But in using this name we risk being accused of an anachronism. For according to the traditional history, based on extensive documentation in the Hebrew Bible, the Phoenicians as a seafaring nation, inhabiting the eastern Mediterranean coast at the same time that Arameans populated the Syrian hinterland, existed only in the 10<sup>th</sup> through 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. There is not a scrap of physical evidence for the existence of a people by this name, in this region of the world, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C., apart from the Annals of Menkheperre and other documentary sources contemporary with the Annals. And we assign all of these inscriptions to the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

When the history books discuss the inhabitants of Zahi in the 15<sup>th</sup> century they inevitably speak of them as Canaanites. The precise relationship between the Canaanites and the classical Phoenicians is much debated. We have no interest in engaging that debate. Needless to say we consider the question to be moot.<sup>78</sup> Only one period of Phoenician history concerns us at the moment. We date the Annals, and thus the "Phoenician Empire" of Menkheperre Thutmose, at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. We are therefore concerned exclusively with the history of the 7<sup>th</sup> century Phoenicians. And our only concern is whether an Egyptian king by the name of Menkheperre Thutmose was allied with the Phoenicians at this late date.

Phoenician history from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onward is reasonably well

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<sup>78</sup>If we are correct in our dating of the Annals the Phoenicians did not inhabit the Mediterranean coastline in the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C. It is only because the Annals refer to the inhabitants of Zahi as Fenkhu, and because those same Annals are considered to be the literary product of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, that Phoenicians and their Canaanite ancestors (if indeed the Canaanites are the ancestors of the Phoenicians) are located along the eastern Mediterranean coast on maps of the Ancient Near East for the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The historical error is yet another disastrous result of the same confusion which created the mythical Mitanni and the 15<sup>th</sup> century Hittites in Anatolia. The error will be corrected only when the Annals are finally acknowledged as a 7<sup>th</sup> century inscription.

documented. Many references to the activities of Phoenician kings occur in the Hebrew Bible and in neo-Assyrian documents of the 9<sup>th</sup> through 7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. Memories of significant events in Phoenician history were also passed down in folkloric sagas and were recorded by historians centuries after the fact. According to the combined testimony of these sources the most significant event in the life of this people was the colonization of the Mediterranean coast which began in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest and continued through the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., an expansionist movement motivated by the growing threat of conquest by Assyria, and then Babylon. Most notable of the Mediterranean colonies founded by the Phoenicians during this period was Carthage.

### Finds From the Tombs of Carthage

According to Donald Harden, the excavator of the city, Carthage was founded by Phoenician sailors in the final years of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, 814 B.C. according to one tradition.

The 814 tradition is soundly based and, despite the doubts of some modern scholars, seems to fit the archaeological and historical facts reasonably well. The earliest pottery, in Punic tombs and in the lowest stratum of the Tanit precinct, including Cintas's 'little chapel', can be placed in the eighth century without any distortion of typology.<sup>79</sup>

The interested reader can follow the story in any of the standard works on Phoenician history. There we are told that a Phoenician lady named Elissa, a great-niece of the infamous Jezebel, wife of Ahab king of Israel, set out for Carthage via Cyprus, to seek sanctuary on the North African coast. Whether the story is reliable or not, there is no question that "Carthage, once founded, flourished greatly and seems soon to have become the leader of the Phoenicians in the central Mediterranean ..."

In spite of the historical connection with Ahab, which seems to legitimize somewhat the eighth century etiology, many scholars question the tradition, favoring instead a mid-to-late 8<sup>th</sup> century time frame for the founding of Carthage. Even Harden, one of the few stalwart defenders of

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<sup>79</sup>Donald Harden, *The Phoenicians*, p.66

the traditional date, agrees that "the first historical action taken by Carthage which is recorded is the foundation of a colony at Ibiza in 654-653 B.C."<sup>80</sup> If the city was founded in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century, its floruit did not occur until the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century.

We choose not to enter the debate concerning the foundation date of Carthage. Whether in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century or in the mid-to-late 8<sup>th</sup> century, the fact remains that the establishment of a necropolis for the city must post-date the founding of the city by many decades, and the contents of the graves of the early Phoenicians at this location must date, for the most part, to the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and beyond. It follows that these graves, as well as those at other contemporary Phoenician sites around the Mediterranean world, should not be filled with mementos of Egyptian kings of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty and earlier, including multiple artifacts naming Menkheperre Thutmose. But the fact is - they are! Inscribed relics excavated from Phoenician sites on the mainland coast of Zahi, and scarabs found in the graves of Phoenician colonists at Carthage, agree in confirming our suspicion that Menkheperre Thutmose was a 7<sup>th</sup> century pharaoh. This evidence clearly warrants our attention.

At minimum artifacts excavated at Phoenician sites on the mainland give credence to our thesis. At least two fragments of bas-reliefs and 15 scarabs belonging to Menkheperre have been found at the sites of Byblos and Sidon, attesting the presence of, and suggesting the notoriety of, the Egyptian king.<sup>81</sup> The excavators of these relics reasoned correctly that they could only belong to the king by that name whose repeated campaigns in Phoenicia are extensively documented in the Annals. In consequence these reliefs and scarabs are dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C. But none of these artifacts were found in clearly defined strata. Their dating is based solely on the *assumption* that the Annals are the creation of an 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty king and the further *assumption* that the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty ruled Egypt during the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Neither of these assumptions have ever been validated.

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p.67

<sup>81</sup>Maurice Chehab, "Relations Entre L'Egypte et la Phenicie Des Origines a Oun-Amon," in Wm. A. Ward, ed. *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*, p. 6: "Deux fragments de bas-reliefs et 15 scarabees de Byblos ou de Qaraye pres de Sidon, portent le nom de Thoutmes III, qui remplit de ses exploits la premiere moitie du Xve siecle."

If we are to firmly date the artifacts bearing the name of Menkheperre Thutmose what is needed is a clearly defined and specifically dated context. Thus the importance of Carthage where numerous scarabs of Menkheperre Thutmose have emerged in various 20<sup>th</sup> century excavations of the necropolis.

Pierre Cintas, one of the foremost authorities on the archaeology of Phoenician sites, in his classic *Manuel d'Archeologie Punique*<sup>82</sup>, begins his analysis of the scarabs and amulets excavated from Carthaginian tombs by remarking on the astounding number which bore names of Egyptian pharaohs supposedly long dead when these tombs were constructed. For Cintas, as for all subsequent interpreters of the Phoenician evidence, there was no alternative but to consider these objects as amulets.<sup>83</sup>

Included among the "amulets" in the tombs of Carthage were many bearing familiar names from Egypt's illustrious past. To quote Cintas:

Such are the scarabs - numerous - with the names of Mycenerius (3<sup>rd</sup> millinium B.C.), of Amenemhet III (1850-1800), of *Thutmose III (1504-1450) especially*, and of Amenhotep III (1405-1370) or of Seti I (1318-1298), which, for different reasons, have long been looked up to (by the supplicant) for support.<sup>84</sup> (italics added)

It is the considered opinion of Cintas that the scarabs found at Carthage were treasured for reasons other than their antiquity and the mystique which attaches to ancient objects. *Rather, these "amulets" were of recent construction.*

It is clear that those found at Carthage, like all scarabs found at Carthage moreover (and this point cannot be too strongly emphasized) *have been fabricated only a very short time before they were taken into the tomb....* All the

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<sup>82</sup>Pierre Cintas, *Manuel d'Archeologie Punique*, vol. 1 (1970). See particularly chapter 4, "Les Donnees Archeologiques de Carthage."

<sup>83</sup>Il y a, en effet, deux series differentes de scarabees a Carthage, a considerer ces objets en fonction de l'indication documentaire qu'ils peuvent fournir. La premiere est constituees par tous ceux qui portent les cartouches royaux de personnages de temps si anciens qu'il ne peut pas etre question de les considerer autrement que comme des amulettes ordinaires don't les vertus protectrices dependent du nom sacre qui est grave sur elles. p. 443

<sup>84</sup>Tels sont les scarabees - nombreux - aux noms de Mykerinos (3e millenaire avant notre ere), d'Amenemhat III (1850-1800), de Thoutmes III (1504-1450), surtout, et d'Amenophis III (1405-1370) ou de Seti Ier (1318-1298), qui, a des titres differents, ont de tout temps ete tenus pour de puissants appuis.

scarabs from Carthage that we are concerned with at the moment are of the style of the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. and not that of the second millenium. *In consequence this first series of scarabs provides (us with) no specific chronological information.*<sup>85</sup> (italics added)

It is incredible that this opinion has remained largely unchallenged by scholars in the decades since the excavations at Carthage. Incredible, that is, because it makes absolutely no sense. According to this theory Phoenician sailors, probably illiterate, but certainly unable to read Egyptian hieroglyphs, and equally likely ignorant concerning the life of the pharaoh whose name was depicted on the scarab in their possession, purchased these amulets, newly made for the occasion, in hopes of deriving from them, whether in life or after death, some physical benefit. And in this hope the scarabs were included among the funerary artifacts of the deceased. The reasonableness of this theory can be challenged at several levels.

We wonder, in the first place, what criteria singled out for attention the names of these particular pharaohs, supposedly 600 to 1600 years after their deaths. According to the traditional history none of these kings, with the possible exception of Amenhotep III and Thutmose III, had any historical connection with the Phoenicians of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. And even in the case of Amenhotep and Menkheperre the connection was remote, since those kings were 800 years removed from the 7<sup>th</sup> century and their dealings were with the Canaanites, at best distant relatives of the Phoenician colonists. Mycerinus, one of the kings whose name is prominent in Carthage, best illustrates the problem. This king, successor of the 4<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings Khufu and Chephren, and the builder of the third (and smallest) of the great pyramids, was a distant memory, if a memory at all, in 7<sup>th</sup> century Egypt. His name is all but forgotten in his country of origin. How is it that it occurs so frequently in obscure Phoenician tombs two thousand years after his death?

We also wonder why these newly crafted scarabs, which suddenly appear

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<sup>85</sup>Il est clair que ceux qu'on a trouves a Carthage, comme tous les scarabees trouves a Carthage d'ailleus (et il ne saurait etre trop insiste sur ce point) ont ete fabriques tres peu de temps avant qu'on les ait mis au tombeau. .... Tous les scarabees de Carthage don't nous nous occupons en ce moment sont du style des IXe au VIIe siecles avant notre ere et non pas de celui du milieu du deuxieme millenaire. Cette premiere serie de scarabees n'apporte aucun renseignement chronologique precis, par consequent. p. 444

in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. market place, found their way only into graves at Carthage, and not into graves on the mainland (nor, for that matter, into graves in Egypt). We are informed by scholars that the 15 scarabs bearing the name of Menkheperre Thutmose found during excavations at Byblos and Sidon, those mentioned earlier in our discussion, are the legitimate products of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but that the identical scarabs found in Phoenician tombs at Carthage are instead the product of the 9<sup>th</sup> through 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. On what basis is this distinction made? We are not informed. But the distinction is made consistently.

Mycerinus is again a case in point. Chehab, whom we quoted earlier in reference to the name of Menkheperre on scarabs from the mainland, also discusses artifacts bearing the name of Mycenerius found at the identical locations:

The name of Mycerinus, successor of Chephren, is one of the most frequently attested. It appears at Byblos on five fragments of vases, and a beam and a scarab. The beam bears the inscription "The Horus of gold, Mycerinus, who gives life and joy eternally."<sup>86</sup>

When scholars examine the artifacts belonging to Mycerinus found on the mainland there is no discussion of a possible "late fabrication". The fact that these artifacts include inscribed vases and an inscribed "beam" would seem to preclude that possibility. And thus the scarabs from the mainland are unequivocally dated to the third millennium B.C., while identical scarabs from Carthage are credited to craftsmen who lived during the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. And the question is never raised, much less answered, how these Mycerinus' materials found their way onto Phoenician sites that were non-existent in the third millennium. Excavators at Byblos have found no evidence that the city existed before the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium, a thousand years after Mycerinus supposedly ruled Egypt.

And what are we to make of the dual occurrences of the name of Amenemhet III on the Phoenician coast and in Carthaginian tombs? Again the claim is made by scholars that the materials on the mainline are the legitimate product of the lifetime of Amenemhet, while similar items

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<sup>86</sup>Le nom de Mykerinos, successeur de Khephren, est un des plus attestés. Il figure à Byblos sur cinq fragments de vases, une barre et un scarabée. La barre porte l'expression: "L'Horus d'or, Mykerinos, qui donne la vie, toute joie, éternellement."

from North African tombs are a fabrication of a much later age. According to Chehab:

The kings of Byblos of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries have pretended to be little pharaohs, writing their semitic names in hieroglyphs inside a cartouche, imitating a practice reserved for pharaohs in Egypt. These kings of Byblos, Abi-Chemou and his son Ip-Chemou-Abi, received respectively from the pharaohs (as gifts) the one an obsidian vase inlaid with gold bearing the name of Amenemhet III, a 19<sup>th</sup> century pharaoh, and the other an incense chest of the same material with the name of Amenemhet IV along with an unpolished vase also bearing the name of the pharaoh.<sup>87</sup>

It is disturbing that here again artifacts from a well defined context (Carthage) are treated as forgeries and dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> centuries while sundry materials from a poorly defined context (the mainland) are confidently assigned a specific date in the 19<sup>th</sup> century B.C. This is a rather strange scientific procedure. And in this instance it introduces further historical error. Not only do scholars *assume* that the mainland materials belong to a 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty king named Amenemhet (ignoring the contradictory evidence from Carthage), but they use the arbitrarily assigned dates of this king to provide an historical context for two Phoenician kings, otherwise unknown. One historical error begets another. It is bad enough that Egyptian history is in disarray. Now, that errant history is used to position two foreign kings at least 1000 years before their time.

There is one final reason for rejecting outright this arbitrary and erroneous procedure. When we quoted Cintas regarding the scarabs from Carthage we emphasized his concluding remark: *“In consequence this first series of scarabs provides (us with) no specific chronological information.”*

The error of that statement is obvious. The scarabs from Carthage do provide specific chronological information. The problem is that scholars

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<sup>87</sup>Les rois de Byblos aux XIXe et XVIIIe siecles ont joue au petit pharaon, inscrit leur nom semitique en hieroglyphes a l'interior d'un cartouche suivant un privilege reserve en Egypte au seul pharaon. Ces rois de Byblos Abi-Chemou et son fils Ip-Chemou-Abi recoivent respectivement des pharaons l'un vase en obsidienne serti d'or au nom d'un pharaon du XIXe siecle, Amenemhet III et l'autre un coffret a encens de meme matiere au nom d'Amenemhet IV, ainsi qu'un vase en pierre grise portant le nom du pharaon.



are unwilling to accept the information at face value. And nowhere is that unwillingness more apparent than in the artificial distinction that Cintas makes in classifying the scarabs from the tombs of Carthage. We note in this regard his reference to a "first series of scarabs" recovered at the site. When we continue to read his article we quickly discover that there was a "second series." In the Carthaginian tombs are found not only scarabs bearing the names of kings such as Mycerinus, Amenemhet (III), Thutmose (III), Amenhotep (III), and Seti (I), who in the traditional history lived from 600 to 2000 years before the founding of the city, but also multiple scarabs of kings of the 22<sup>nd</sup> through 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties which are traditionally dated between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. This second group of scarabs is interpreted differently. It is assumed that they are not amulets, but are instead the legitimate creation of the kings whose names they bear, and can therefore be used to date the tombs in which they are found. Though in some instances they sit side by side in the tombs with scarabs of the first group, they are differently conceived. There are two problems with this procedure. In the first place it is arbitrary. In the second, it leaves an obvious gap in the historical record. We leave the reader to form his own opinion regarding the first problem. The second requires a word of explanation.

The second series of scarabs belong, as stated, to kings from dynasties 22 onward. Other than those bearing the name of Menkheperre Thutmose they are by far the most common inscribed objects found in the necropolis. In the first book of our series we remarked on the fact that this second group of scarabs favors a lowering of the dates for the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty by upwards of 100 years. Here we are concerned with a different aspect of the problem. It is curious that this group of scarabs includes the names of multiple kings of dynasties 22-24 and 26, but omits entirely any reference to the pharaohs of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Did Egypt have no involvement with Phoenicia during the lengthy tenure of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings? Every pharaoh of the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty, with the exception of the fictional Psamtik III, is represented at Carthage. Most of the important pharaohs of the late 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> dynasties are also attested, including such an ephemeral king as Pemay, whose reign lasted only a few years. Even the enigmatic Bocchoris, the sole occupant of Manetho's 24<sup>th</sup> dynasty, has left record of his existence at another contemporary Phoenician site. Where are the names of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings,

including Piankhi?

There is only one reasonable explanation for the gap in the historical sequence at Phoenician sites. The 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings must be represented by names not recognized by 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars. We know that Piankhi used the name Menkheperre Thutmose. We have consumed four chapters of our book proving that a king bearing this name engaged in a decades long contest with Babylon for control of the Hatti lands, at precisely the time when Piankhi ruled Egypt. All artifacts from Phoenician sites which bear this name, whether found on the mainland or in the tombs of the colonies, must belong to Piankhi.

But what are we to make of the names of Mycerinus and Amenemhet and Seti found in Phoenician contexts. Clearly they must be dated late. The tombs of Carthage postdate the founding of the city late in the 9<sup>th</sup> or early in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Egyptian kings whose names are inscribed on objects in those tombs must have lived in or after the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Either that, or some other credible explanation must be found for the resurgence of artifacts bearing their names. Where the identical king names occur on the mainland those finds, and the contexts in which they occur, should be dated by reference to the evidence from Carthage. There is no reasonable alternative to this explanation. It alone explains all of the evidence. There is only one conceivable objection on the part of the critic. Egyptian history as presently written argues against this notion. But we are in the process of revising that history. It is seriously in error.

The response of the critic is predictable. The revised history will be challenged either to prove the existence of pharaohs bearing the names Menkhaure (Mycerinus), Nibmaatre (Amenemhet III), Maatkharure (Amenemhet IV) and Menmaatre (Seti I) in the centuries following the foundation of Carthage, or to otherwise explain the presence of artifacts bearing their names. We have taken only the first step in answering the challenge. We have shown that Menkheperre Thutmose belongs to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. The other names will follow in due course. As early as the next chapter we will begin to flesh out the history of the 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, where multiple kings served under Menkheperre Piankhi, some of whom left proof of their existence in Phoenician tombs. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> book of this series we will continue this process, providing the

historical contexts for the Amenemhets and Seti.

We have spent considerable time demonstrating a remarkable correspondence between the Annals of Menkheperre Thutmose and the Babylonian Chronicles of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar. The evidence from Carthage serves only to confirm what amounted to a statistical certainty, that the king who authored the Annals lived a century or so after, not seven to eight hundred years before, the building of the necropolis at Carthage. But this is just the beginning of our investigation. Further surprises are yet in store for the historian. But by now we have come to expect them.