

A PROBLEM OF PEDUBASTS?*

DAN'EL KAHN

danelka@netvision.net.il

Department of the History of the Jewish People
University of Haifa, Israel

Summary: A Problem of Pedubasts?

In this paper I shall try to show that there were two kings with the name of *wsr m3'ct R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt mri Imn*. The first Pedubast is to be identified as a Theban ruler who ascended the throne in Shoshenq III's 8th regnal year. He bears once the epithet *s3 Ist*. The second Pedubast is also called *wsr m3'ct R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt mri Imn* but has the northern epithet *s3 B3stt*. This king probably ruled in Tanis at the end of the 8th century BC and might be identified as Pedubast, the founder of the disputed Tanite 23rd Dynasty. Thus, we can reconstruct a chronology of the 23rd Dynasty, which was based in Tanis (as recorded by Manetho) and ruled northern Egypt from Heracleopolis Magna to the Delta between *715-*671/ *701-*657 BC¹ as semi-independent vassals of the 25th Dynasty.

Keywords: Pedubast – 23rd Dynasty – 25th Dynasty – chronology

Resumen: ¿Un problema de Pedubast?

En este artículo mostraremos que hubo dos reyes con el nombre *wsr m3'ct R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt mri Imn*. El primer Pedubast es identificado como el gobernante tebano que ascendió al trono en el año 8 de Shoshenq III. Él lleva una vez el epíteto *s3 Ist*. El segundo Pedubast es también llamado *wsr m3'ct R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt mri Imn* pero tiene el epíteto del norte *s3 B3stt*. Este rey probablemente reinó en Tanis a fines del siglo VIII a.C. y podría ser identificado como Pedubast, el fundador de la disputada dinastía XXIII tanita. Por cierto, podemos reconstruir una cronología de

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¹ An asterisk indicates postulated dates.

la dinastía XXIII, que estaba instalada en Tanis (como fue registrado por Manetón) y gobernó el norte de Egipto desde Heracleópolis Magna al Delta, entre *715-*671/*701-*657 (*fechados postulados) como vasalla semi-independiente de la dinastía XXV.

Palabras Clave: Pedubast – Dinastía XXIII- Dinastía XXV- cronología

At the end of the ninth century B.C. Shoshenq III from Tanis and Bubastis ruled Egypt.² His monuments are known from the Delta,³ Memphis,⁴ Heracleopolis Magna⁵ and Thebes.⁶ He ruled for *c.* 40 years.⁷ From the distribution of his monuments in the Delta and the northern Nile valley, it seems that he ruled firmly over the north of Egypt. In Thebes, however, a different situation can be detected. A Nile level text is dated to his sixth year.⁸ By his 8th year some kind of crisis over the kingship had arisen and Shoshenq had to share the throne (in Thebes) with a king Pedubast (I) who is known to subsequent history (or better said – some historians) as the founder of Manetho's twenty-third Dynasty.⁹

² In this paper I will not go into the chronological problems of the end of the 9th century BC and the debate of Takeloth II and the Theban 23rd Dynasty (For this topic cf. Aston 1989: 139-153 dating Shoshenq III 835/830-783-778 and Kitchen 1996: xxiii-xxiv who opposes Aston's dating vehemently and dating Shoshenq III's reign 825-786/5). Nor will I discuss the civil war in Thebes between the High priest Osorkon B and his adversaries.

³ Meeks 1979: 668-669.

⁴ Gomaà 1974: 8-11. Pediese, the high priest at Memphis (son and heir of Takelot high priest at Memphis) for *c.* 30 years, is attested between year 28 of Shoshenq III and year 2 of Pimai. He was succeeded by his son Harsiese.

⁵ A donation of 20 aruorae to the god of Heracleopolis Magna in year 26. Meeks 1979: 669 (22.8.26).

⁶ Nile level texts from his years: 6, (12?) a double date with Pedu[bast]'s years 5, 29?, 39. See von Beckerath 1966: 45-47. Quay inscriptions 14, 22-24. Shoshenq III is also attested in the annals of the high priest Osorkon in years 22, 24, 25, 28, 29. Kitchen 1996: 338.

⁷ Dodson 1993: 53-58.

⁸ Kitchen 1996: 335; von Beckerath 1966: 46, 51, no. 23.

⁹ Kitchen 1996: 335-339.

Kitchen assumes that the 23rd Dynasty adopted Leontopolis as its capital.¹⁰ This view was basically accepted until 1986.¹¹

Leahy challenged Kitchen's hypothesis.¹² He argued that Kitchen's view is incompatible with the distribution of the monumental evidence: it does not fit Manetho's information; it is too neat a solution for a turbulent period and it postulates two dynasties reigning cheek by jowl in the Eastern Delta, one of which (23rd) was not "officially" recognized at Memphis ... and yet was able to obtain recognition at Thebes for many decades. Leahy suggests that the kings from Kitchen's 23rd Dynasty did not rule from Leontopolis, but the core of this line ruled from **Thebes**.

Pedubast I's monuments with secure provenance derive from Thebes: Karnak Nile level texts 24, 26-9,¹³ a doorway near the tenth Pylon,¹⁴ the Osiris *hk3 dt* chapel, annals of the high priests of Amun and private statues.¹⁵ In all these monuments the king's names are given as *wsr m3't R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt mri Imn*, once with the epithet *s3 Ist*.¹⁶

¹⁰ Kitchen 1996: 336, and in his preface p. xxviii ff. However, according to his scheme, two opposing dynasties ruled from their respective capitals in the Delta on enclaves along the Nile valley and the Delta, each one recognizing a different overlord. Sometimes monuments of both kings were found at the same site, suggesting a fierce struggle of power in Memphis and in the whole of Egypt. In Heracleopolis Magna a donation stela dated by Shoshenq's year 26 was found. In Memphis two high officials from Heracleopolis Magna and its environs dated land donations according to Pedubast I's regnal years 6 and 23 (*13 and *30 of Shoshenq III). In Memphis the high priest acknowledged Shoshenq's reign. Cf. n. 4.

¹¹ For a Theban 23rd Dynasty see Baer 1973: 4-25; Aston 1990: 131-154. See also n. 12 below. Cf. Spencer and Spencer 1986: 198-201.

¹² Leahy 1990: 178.

¹³ von Beckerath 1966: 46-47, pls. 3-4.

¹⁴ Legrain 1914: 38.

¹⁵ Jansen-Winkel 1985: A11, A 21. Recently a reused block with the cartouche of Pedubast (I) was found at Amheida in the north-western part of the Dakhle Oasis. See Kaper and Demarée 2005: 20-21.

¹⁶ von Beckerath 1995: 9-13; von Beckerath 1966: 46-47, 51, quay inscription no. 24.

Monuments with the name of Pedubast occur further north as well. An unnamed stela from Gurob assigned by Meeks to Pedubast¹⁷ is dated by Kitchen to the reign of Osorkon III.¹⁸

Three donation stelae of Pedubast originate from the Delta or Memphis.¹⁹ Cairo JE 45330 was excavated at Memphis. It dates to year six of *wsr m3^ct R^c stp.n Imn s3 R^c mri Imn P3-di-B3stt s3 B3stt*. The donor is *iw3lhn*, the chief of Per-sekhem-kheper-Re and a priest of Amun of *pr hnw*.²⁰ Both places are in the vicinity of the Fayum.²¹

Stela Copenhagen *ÆIN* 917 bears the name of king [*wsr*]-*m3^ct-R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt s3 B3stt mri Imn* and it is said to come from Memphis,²² but was ascribed by Meeks to the Eastern Delta (?).²³ It was donated by Pmoui, a *mk Khtn* and priest of *hry-š.f* (Arsaphes of Heracleopolis Magna) and mentions a donation of land in connection with the house of eternity of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Shoshenq in the district of *t3-^c.t-n-t3rw*, probably in the Eastern Delta.²⁴ Yoyotte postulates that Pmoui originated from Heracleopolis Parva (probably Tell Belîm) in the Eastern Delta and not from Heracleopolis Magna in the Nile Valley.²⁵

¹⁷ Meeks 1979: 671 (23.1.0).

¹⁸ Kitchen 1996: 352. I thank Dr. Leahy for providing me with a photo of this stela. There is no name of a king or a date and the attribution of this stela to Pedubast I or Osorkon III is based on the name of the donor.

¹⁹ Recently K. Jansen-Winkel published a statue of Ptah dedicated by a Theban official and priest of Amun *Hrw* IX in the days of Pedubast I, the contemporary of Shoshenq III. This statue is, allegedly, another evidence of Pedubast's influence in Memphis, but the name of the king is not mentioned and the historical background of the presence of a Theban official and priest of Amun donating a statue to Ptah are far from being clear. See Jansen-Winkel 1995: 142-145; 1999: 123-139. The historical reconstruction of the events is by no means certain, but should be given further thought.

²⁰ Schulman 1966: 33-41.

²¹ For the location of *Pr hnw* see Yoyotte 1961: 93-94.

²² The date did not survive. See Koefoerd-Petersen 1936: pl. V.

²³ Meeks 1979: 671 (23.1.00).

²⁴ For the location of *t3-^c.t-n-t3rw* in the Eastern Delta see Caminos 1964: 92-93. Schulman 1966: 38; Kitchen 1996: 339, n. 537 who completes: [*h3ty-^c imy-r hmw.w ntr nni ns*] *w hm ntr tpy n hry-š.f nb nni nsw, mk Khtn p3.t M3y*; Leahy 1990: 182; von Beckerath 1995: 10.

²⁵ Yoyotte 1959: 97-100; 1988: 174-175.

Stela Florence 7207 is said to come from Bubastis and recorded a donation to Bastet by one of her temple officials. It is dated to year 23 of *wsr- m3't-R^c stp.n Tmn P3-di-B3stt s3 B3stt mri Tmn* commonly identified as Pedubast I.²⁶ The provenance of the bronze torso in the Gulbekian collection is unknown.²⁷

Pedubast I was acknowledged in Memphis and in Heracleopolis Magna in his year 6 (year 13 of Shoshenq III, Cairo JE 45530) and in Bubastis in his year 23 (year 30 of Shoshenq III (Florence 7207; *AEIN* 917 is not dated), while Shoshenq III was acknowledged in the 26th year of his reign (year 19 of Pedubast) in Heracleopolis Magna, in his 28th regnal year (year 21 of Pedubast) in Memphis,²⁸ in his 28th and 32nd regnal years (=year 21 and 25 of Pedubast) in Imau in the Western Delta, in his 3rd and 31st regnal years (year 24 of Pedubast) in the Western Delta, in his 15th and 18th regnal years (years 8 and 11 of Pedubast) in Busiris, in his 22nd and 30th regnal years (years 15 and 23 of Pedubast) in Mendes,²⁹ and in his 14th and 15th regnal years (years 7 and 8 of Pedubast) in Athribis and Heliopolis.³⁰

If Pedubast *wsr-m3't-R^c stp.n Tmn s3 B3stt mri Tmn* (whose monuments come from Memphis and the Delta) and Shoshenq III were contemporaries, a very complex political situation emerges from the distribution of the monuments of both kings. Both kings were acknowledged in Tanis (?),³¹ Memphis and Heracleopolis Magna, which changed allegiance at least three times between year 5 of Shoshenq III (accession of Pedubast) and year 30 of Shoshenq III. The different Delta cities acknowledged the different rulers without establishing a continuous territorial sphere of influence. Shoshenq III was acknowledged in the Western Delta, Busiris, Mostai,³² Tanis, Athribis, Heliopolis, Memphis and Heracleopolis Magna, while Pedubast was acknowledged in Bubastis,

²⁶ See Leahy 1990: 182. Leahy raises the possibility that this stela comes from another cult centre of Bastet such as Memphis.

²⁷ A bronze torso of Pedubast is attributed to Tanis by Petrie, but its provenance is not reported by Wiedemann, who first published it, nor by any other scholar (Kitchen 1996: 129, n. 212-215).

²⁸ See n. 4.

²⁹ For all the above stelae see Meeks 1979: 668-669.

³⁰ Gomaà 1974: 148.

³¹ See n. 27 above.

³² Kitchen 1996: 343, n. 562. See also n. 10 above.

Memphis, Heracleopolis Magna at specific periods, Leontopolis (?)³³ and in Thebes until his death. From this geographic patchwork of spheres of control and changing of allegiances of Memphis and Heracleopolis Magna, I deduce that either the whole of Egypt was politically very unstable at this period although Shoshenq III and Pedubast reigned for a long time, or that these two kings cooperated so that the country's bureaucracy could function and administer the kingdom although the rival kingdoms were intermingled and parts of one kingdom prevented a territorial continuity of the other. Both options are difficult to imagine.

One must conclude that Pedubast *wsr-m3't-R^c stp.n Imn s3 B3stt mri Imn* and Shoshenq III were **not** contemporaries. Shoshenq III ruled in Northern Egypt while Pedubast I *wsr-m3't-R^c stp.n Imn s3 Ist mri Imn* ruled in Thebes. Schulman suggested that there were **two** Pedubasts named *wsr-m3't-R^c stp.n Imn mri Imn*. One was the founder of Dynasty 23 who ruled in the same period as Shoshenq III (c. 800 BC) and the other was from Dynasty 22 and bore the epithet *s3 B3stt*, but he made no further attempts to identify this second Pedubast.³⁴

According to Leahy, Dynasty 23 of Manetho represents the successors, not the contemporaries of Dynasty 22. He did not discuss the possibility of two Pedubasts *wsr- m3't-R^c stp.n Imn mri Imn*, but opted to identify Pedubast, founder of Dynasty 23 with Sehetepibre Pedubast (commonly identified as *Putubišti* King of Tanis, who ruled c. 670 BC, mentioned in the Assyrian conquest accounts of Egypt),³⁵ and dated him to c. 730, assigning him a short reign between 738 and 730 BC thus contradicting the 25/40 years accredited him by Manetho.³⁶ This suggestion was opposed by Kitchen,³⁷ and more recently by von Beckerath,³⁸ and as far as I know has not received wide acceptance.

³³ If his dynasty's capital was there as Kitchen vehemently asserts (Kitchen 1996: xxviii-xxxi). The distribution of Pedubast's monuments in the Delta would also be difficult to explain if he ruled from Thebes.

³⁴ Schulman 1966: 36-39.

³⁵ See Onasch 1994: 52; Habachi 1966: 69-74.

³⁶ Leahy 1990: 188, 190. For Manetho's figures see Waddell 1964: 161-163.

³⁷ Kitchen 1996: xxvii.

³⁸ von Beckerath 1995: 9-13. But see the comment of F. Payraudeau (2000: 78, n. 20). I thank Dr. Leahy for referring me to this article.

Von Beckerath took the problem one step further and has argued that there were two Pedubasts *wsr-m3^ct-R^c stp.n Imn mri Imn*. He suggested that Pedubast II *wsr-m3^ct-R^c stp.n Imn mri Imn s3 B3stt* was the founder of Dynasty 23. He thinks that it is not necessary to postulate a short reign for Pedubast II between Shoshenq V and Osorkon IV, but rather that Pedubast II might have been a contemporary of Shoshenq V and that he ruled between 760-735. He does not suggest where his capital would have been.

At this period Shoshenq V was acknowledged in the Western Delta,³⁹ Iuput II was acknowledged in the Central Delta,⁴⁰ Shoshenq V was acknowledged in the Eastern Delta and in Memphis.⁴¹ Pedubast II could not have been acknowledged in these areas at the same time as these kings. In c. 735 Osorkon IV ascended the throne of Tanis and Bubastis. In 716 BC he contacted Sargon II, king of Assyria, and strengthened his political and economic ties with him. Osorkon IV was probably immediately punished and deposed by Shabaka in 716/5 BC.⁴² If Osorkon IV was the successor of Pedubast as von Beckerath supposes, his 9 years reign as recorded by Manetho⁴³ does not coincide with the c. 20 years or more deduced from contemporary sources. It must be concluded that the dates suggested by von Beckerath should be reconsidered.⁴⁴

³⁹ The Libyan Chiefs of the Western Delta dated their monuments by Shoshenq V, sometimes omitting his name, but never his regnal years. The only other king who reached or surpassed a year 38 in the Libyan period was the still earlier king Shoshenq III. See Kitchen 1996: 104-105. Stelae of his years 8, 15/17, 19, 30, 36, 38 were found in the Western Delta. See, *op. cit.* table 21A p. 490 and rev. 21A p. 599. Cf. J. Goldberg, who assumes these datings belong to Shoshenq III (1994: 82, n. 100). In my opinion acknowledgement of one king necessarily precludes the acknowledgement of another king in the same area at the same time.

⁴⁰ See Kitchen 1996: 542-543. His year 21 (c. 730 BC) is recorded in a stela of Smendes V of Mendes, and possibly year 11 of <Iuput II> is recorded on a stela of Harnakht (B). This date has been assigned to almost every ruler of this period: Shoshenq V (Gomaà 1974: 28-29; Osorkon III (Kitchen 1996: 543); Shoshenq IV (Leahy 1990: 184).

⁴¹ Year 37 is attested at the Serapeum of Memphis. Shoshenq V controlled firmly the Eastern Delta and Memphis. Cf. Kitchen 1996: 350, 354-355. Shoshenq V was most probably buried in Tanis and his burial is to be identified with the northern sector of the antechamber of tomb NRT I. See Dodson 1994: 96.

⁴² For setting Osorkon IV's accession at c. 735 and his death at 715 see Kahn 2001: Part 1.4., 9-10.

⁴³ Waddell 1964: 161, 163.

⁴⁴ Recently von Beckerath realized that his reconstruction is problematic and revised his opinion about the identification of Pedubast. Now, he disassociates Pedubast *s3 B3stt* from the

SO, WHEN COULD PEDUBAST II HAVE REIGNED?

It can be suggested that Pedubast succeeded Osorkon IV in 716/5.⁴⁵ In *c.* 713 Azuri, king of Ashdod, rebelled against Sargon II, king of Assyria. He was deposed, and the Assyrians appointed his brother Ahimiti as his successor. Iamani, a commoner, usurped the throne of Ashdod and tried to instigate the rulers of the region into rebellion against Sargon. He sought help from Pharaoh, but the latter was unable (or unwilling) to help Iamani.⁴⁶ Before the arrival of the Assyrian forces, Iamani fled to Egypt and found refuge only at the court of the King of Meluhha (King of Kush *i.e.* Shabaka).⁴⁷ It seems that the Assyrian texts made a distinction between the Egyptian ruler, titled Pir'u, who probably resided in the Delta at 713/12, and the king of Kush, who is described in the Iamani affair as Šar māt Meluhha.⁴⁸

pedubast that he places in the time of Shoshenq V and leaves him without an identified throne name. See von Beckerath 2003: 33.

⁴⁵ While commenting on an earlier draft, Leahy noted the difficulty with pushing Pedubast's dates down since his titulary is in "Ramesside" style. The last Pharaohs to use this style in their prenomen are Shoshenq V and Iuput II *c.* 730 BC (von Beckerath 1999: 190-191, 204-205). According to von Beckerath 1999: 202-203, Osorkon IV's prenomen was also Ramesside in style. Payraudeau (see n. 38 above) has recently opted to identify Aakheperre-setepenamon Osorkon with Osorkon the Elder, Pharaoh of the 21st Dynasty. According to Payraudeau, the prenomen of Osorkon IV would remain unknown. This suggestion is possible but not mandatory. By eliminating the prenomen of Osorkon IV a gap of *c.* 20 years would be created between the last attested Pharaohs with Ramesside prenomen and Pedubast's Ramesside prenomen. The Pharaohs of Dynasty 25, 26 (Piankhy changed his prenomen to *snfr-R* in his 21st regnal year after his campaign to Egypt, *c.* 734 BC) and their local contemporaries used different construed names (based on Middle Kingdom name forms and lacking epithets). See von Beckerath 1995: 10.

⁴⁶ Fuchs 1998: 73-74.

⁴⁷ See Kahn 2001: 4-6. For the possible dating of this episode to 711 see Fuchs 1998: 124-131.

⁴⁸ Kitchen 1996: xlii. Kitchen, however, has pointed out that the Nubian rulers perceived themselves and were perceived by other rulers, in Egypt and abroad, as legitimate Egyptian rulers from the beginning. Cf. 2 Kings 18:21, where Pharaoh, King of Egypt, is compared by Rab-shakeh with a splintered reed staff, though this Pharaoh was actually Shabataka, King of Kush. The Assyrian distinction between the king of Egypt and the king of Kush is a propagandistic motif, which only appears half a century later in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, and was motivated by political considerations. See Spalinger 1974: 322-324. Cf. 2 Kings 18:21.

This distinction between the king of Kush and Pharaoh has led Spalinger to date the Kushite conquest of Egypt to 712 BC.⁴⁹ But if we accept the date of 720 for the Kushite conquest,⁵⁰ and accept the disposal of Osorkon IV in **716/5** after the tribute of Shilkani to Sargon, and make a distinction between Pir'u, king of Egypt and the king of the land of Meluhha, we remain with a king of Egypt, titled Pir'u, who did not give Iamani military aid or even asylum when the Assyrian army arrived in Ashdod. This king could have been Pedubast, who was seated at Tanis. For Pedubast to have been acknowledged in his year 6 =*710 BC as south as Heracleopolis Magna and Memphis would have therefore demanded some sort of Egyptian semi-independent/vassal rule over Northern Egypt from Heracleopolis Magna to the Delta, combined with some sort of Kushite approval or withdrawal.

Stelae commemorating the burial of an Apis Bull at Memphis are dated to year 14 of a king who is commonly identified with Shabaka. Another set of stelae is dated to year 4 of a king who is commonly identified as Taharqa.⁵¹ If these stelae commemorate an Apis burial in **Shabaka's** fourteenth year (and Taharqa's fourth year), they should be dated to 708 BC (and to 687 BC) and confirm Shabaka's rule in Memphis in his fourteenth regnal year,⁵² thus refuting

⁴⁹ Identified as Osorkon IV or Bocchoris. See Spalinger 1973: 97. He might even have sent tribute to Sargon in 715, one year after Shilkani sent his tribute. See Fuchs 1998: 131; Tadmor 1958: 78. Further evidence of Egyptian tribute to Sargon can be found in a letter by Marduk-remani concerning tribute bearers to the Assyrian court (ND 2765 rev. 35), see (Galil 1992: 120-121 [in Hebrew]). Galil dates this letter between 716-713.

⁵⁰ For dating the accession date of Shabaka to 721 BC, see Kahn 2001: 8.

⁵¹ But this identification is by no means certain (Vercoutter 1960: 67, fig. I, 69). Mariette found the stelae at the north end of the lesser vaults. The stelae were dated to year fourteen without a Pharaoh's name. Assigning these stelae to Shabaka's reign would give a life span of 12 years to the bull that was interred in Shabaka's second regnal year. Among the stelae dated to year 14 were stelae dated to year 4 of an unnamed king, identified by Vercoutter as Taharqa. A stela dated from year 2/5 of Taharqa commemorated the internment of an Apis bull and was associated with these stelae. If this stela is to be dated to year two, as Malinine was inclined to read, the stelae of year four would not belong to Shabaka's reign. For the accession date of Shabaka in 707/6, see Kahn 2001: 8.

⁵² The time span between the burial of the Apis bull in Shabaka's second regnal year and his *fourteenth would be twelve years (a relatively short period for the life of an Apis bull), and the time span of the Apis bull that was instated in Shabaka's fourteenth year would be 21 years (708-687), a normal life span for an Apis bull.

the suggestion of a semi-independent Egyptian rule over the Delta.⁵³ One can suggest that these two sets of stelae belong to year *4 of Shabatka=year *14 of Pedubast and would be dated to 703 BC,⁵⁴ the year following Shabatka's first arrival in Egypt.⁵⁵ This would eliminate any monuments in Northern Egypt dated according to Shabaka's regnal years, later than his year 6 and allow the dating of Pedubast's accession in Tanis in 716/5 BC immediately after the deposition of Osorkon IV of Bubastis and Tanis. Pedubast was probably **not** from the same dynasty as Osorkon IV and thus Pedubast should be regarded as the founder of a new dynasty. According to Manetho, he ruled for 25 years⁵⁶ and, thus, would have ruled until *691/690 BC. How does this dating fit in Shabatka's reign in Egypt?

In 707/6 Shabatka ascended the throne and immediately extradited Iamani, the rebel king, to Sargon and renewed peaceful diplomatic relations with Assyria. He arrived in 703 in Thebes for the first time, probably stayed there until 701 BC, when he went with his army and with the **Delta kings** and their **sons**,⁵⁷

⁵³ Several undated monuments of Shabaka were unearthed in Memphis and could point to a long period of building activity there. See Morkot 2000: 217-219.

⁵⁴ Assigning 17 years for the Apis from Shabaka's second regnal year (720-*703) and 16 years for the Apis from Shabatka's *fourth year (*703-687). One might object to this argument, as Dr. Jansen-Winkel did in personal communication dated to 17.7.2001, and argue that the Nubians were very pious kings and very concerned with Egyptian religion and tradition. It is hard to believe that they left such an important task as the burial of an Apis (in Memphis, their capital in Egypt) to a vassal in the Delta. Note, however, the opposition to the Egyptian ruler "Seton" from his military class (i.e. the Libyans) to the opponent of Sennacherib in Herodotus II 141.

⁵⁵ von Beckerath 1993: 7-9.

⁵⁶ See n. 36 above. If he is to be identified as the owner of Stela Florence 7207 (see n. 26 above) he ruled for at least 23 years.

⁵⁷ From Rassam prism inscription col. II 78-col III 6 (Luckenbill 1924: 29-34): "*The king/s (šarrānī/šarri) of Egypt (and) the bowmen and chariot corps and cavalry of the king of Kush (Meluhha) assembled a countless force and came to their (i.e. Ekronites') aid. In the plain of Eltekeh, they drew up their ranks against me and sharpened their weapons. Trusting in Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and inflicted a defeat upon them. The Egyptian charioteers and princes (sons of the king/kings of Egypt māri šarri/šarrānī), together with the charioteers of the king of Kush, I personally took alive in the midst of the battle.*" Looking at this text from an unbiased point of view with no earlier knowledge it seems that the Assyrians mentioned the Egyptian king/kings before the Kushite king and that in Assyrian eyes Egypt might have been the overlord in this coalition.

to wage war against Sennacherib in the Levant.⁵⁸ The Kushite and Assyrian armies both claimed victory, but returned to their respective countries without achieving all of their goals. Shabatka left no trace in the Delta during his sixteen years rule, other than one undated stela from Pharbaitos.⁵⁹ It is possible that his authority was not acknowledged in the Delta after his failure in the Levant, or conversely, Shabatka may have been the overlord while Pedubast, king of Tanis and Shabatka's vassal, was acknowledged from Heracleopolis Magna, in the Northern Nile valley to the Delta and his own regnal years were used to date official monuments.⁶⁰

The existence of this territorial realm is also reflected in the prophecies of Isaiah against the dependence of the king of Judah on Egypt's might:

*“Utterly foolish are the princes of Soan, ...
Befooled are the princes of Soan, deluded the princes of Memphis,
And the chiefs of her tribes have led Egypt astray” (Isaiah 19: 11, 13).⁶¹*

In Isaiah 30:4 the messengers of Pharaoh, who resided in Tanis, could only reach Hanes, identified with Heracleopolis Magna (*Hwt-nni-nswt*): “*for his princes are at Soan and his ambassadors have come to Hanes*”.⁶² This

⁵⁸ Shabatka summoned Taharqa from Thebes, where they met and traveled northwards together. See Kawa IV, ll. 7-9; Kawa V, l. 17. Eide *et al.* 1994: 139, 154 (Henceforth *FHN I*).

⁵⁹ Shabatka's donation stela from Pharbaitos should probably date no later than 701, probably before the war with Assyria since his titles recorded on the stela do not correspond with his imperialistic titles that were adopted after the war against Assyria (Meeks 1979: 673 [25.5.00]). A black granite statue and a colossal red granite statue from Memphis can probably also be attributed to Shabatka. See Morkot 2000: 226.

⁶⁰ As might also have been the case with Piankhy and Taharqa. See Kahn 2001: 9-10, n. 48, 50.

⁶¹ In this chapter Memphis and Tanis were important. This fact was recognized by Kitchen 1996: xxxvii, but he used this argument to refute the identification of So' (II Kings 17:4) with Sais. According to Kitchen, “*regardless of the precise dates of the passages concerned – these will not predate the later 8th century, and should not be set after the 7th, given that Tanis lost importance from the 26th dynasty onwards*”. The Kushite hegemony should also be excluded from this period, since Tanis lost its importance in this period too, in contrast to Memphis.

⁶² Verreth (1999: 240, notes 56, 57) has suggested to identify *Hininši* (the Assyrian counterpart of the Hebrew Hanes?), commonly identified with Heracleous mikra polis, with Heracleopolis Magna in Middle Egypt. Cf. Kitchen's objections (Kitchen 1996: 374, n. 749). He identifies Hanes with Heracleous mikra polis in the Eastern Delta. But what would the mention of this isolated, unimportant place mean to the Judean listener?

situation reflects the period of Shoshenq V (c. 767-730 – a period too early to be reflected in this prophecy) and the period of Pedubast (c. *715-*690).⁶³

THE LATER KINGS OF THE 23RD DYNASTY

According to Manetho, Pedubast's successor, Osorthon, ruled 9 (var. 8) years and was named Heracles by the Egyptians. It has been suggested that Heracles was identified with the Egyptian gods Shu, Horus and Khonsu, the Moongod.⁶⁴ This connection of the second king of the 23rd Dynasty with Heracles/Khonsu might point to the poorly attested king of Tanis *iri.n R^c špss-k3-R^c* Gemenef-Khonsu-bak.⁶⁵ His reign could tentatively be dated *690-*681, while the archaeologically unattested Psammus⁶⁶ ruled for 10 years from *681-*671. Forty-four years elapsed between 715 (the deposal of Osorkon IV) and Sharruludari's appointment by Esarhaddon in 671,⁶⁷ the exact time span assigned by Manetho to

⁶³ Cf. Hosea 7: 11; 5: 13; 12: 2.

⁶⁴ Redford 1978: 33-36. Redford identifies this Osorkon with Osorkon III of Thebes. Cf. von Beckerath 1994: 7-8.

⁶⁵ von Beckerath 1999: 213. One of his cartouches bears only the name Khonsu!; Kitchen 1996: 396. Cf. Leahy 1990: 189; von Beckerath 1994: 7-8. I do not think that Osorthon should be identified with Osorkon IV who ruled c. 733-715 on chronological grounds, though I can not explain why *iri.n R^c špss-k3-R^c* Gemenef-Khonsu-bak is remembered as Osorthon. One might speculate that there was confusion because of Osorthon's identification with Heracles who is associated with the moon god. Another possibility is that *iri.n R^c špss-k3-R^c* Gemenef-Khonsu-bak does not belong to this dynasty and Osorthon should be a yet unattested *Osorkon V. Cf. Leahy 1990: 189; von Beckerath 1994: 7-8.

⁶⁶ For a possible explanation of his name, see Leahy 1990: 189-190.

⁶⁷ Verreth 1999: 240-243. This king bears an Assyrian name and could be identified with a certain Šarru-lū-dari LÚ miširaya, who is mentioned in a letter to Shamash as a possible instigator of rebellion against Esarhaddon together with Bel-eṭir, the governor of HAR and Sasiya. Parpola 1993: l. 112 (K 1353) r. 11. The episode of Sasyia is dated to 21.3.675, before Esarhaddon had any contact with Egypt. For this dating see Dietrich 1968: 236; cf. Nissinen 1998: 140. It can be inferred that Šarru-lū-dari was taken prisoner at the battle of Eltekeh in 701 (see n. 57 above), was brought up at the Assyrian court and was appointed as king of Tanis in 671. After the rebellion of the Delta princes in 667 he was taken to Nineveh, never to return. Necho, ruler of Sais, was forgiven and was reinstated and his son was appointed as ruler of Athribis. Cf. LET Vs. 37^a-69^a. Onasch 1994: 107, 109.

Dynasty 23.⁶⁸ He was deposed after a failed revolt against Ashurbanipal at 667/6. The Assyrians appointed Pedubast (*Putubišti* of the Assyrian records) after the revolt of the Delta kings had been quelled. This Pedubast should probably be identified with *Šhtp-ib-R^c* Pedubast.⁶⁹ His rule lasted no more than 10 years since in 657 Psammetichus I is attested in Pharbaitos and in 656 his rule was acknowledged in Thebes.⁷⁰ These two kings, appointed by the Assyrian overlords or with their consent, were probably not mentioned in Manetho's 23rd Dynasty.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Waddell 1964: 163 (according to Eusebius). According to Africanus, the 23rd Dynasty lasted 89 years. See Waddell 1964: 161. I have no explanation for the mention of the mysterious Zeth, who ruled for 31/34 years. Might Zeth be a corruption of *Stty.w* (i.e. Asians/Assyrians)? There is no clear indication when the Assyrian rule over Egypt ceased. Could Psammetichus be an Assyrian vassal during half of his reign and unite Egypt under his authority? We have no answer to these questions. It is clear that Assyria lost control over Egypt in 643 at the latest. See Spalinger 1978a: 406, 408. The death of Gyges, who aided Psammetichus, is recorded for the first time in prism A of Assurbanipal (dated to 643/2 BC). Cf. Cogan and Tadmor 1977: 79. Spalinger noted that "*he (the Assyrian scribe) does not state that any action was directed against Assurbanipal*". Does this indicate that Egypt threw off the Assyrian yoke before Gyges' aid or that the Assyrian scribe tried to avoid the mention that Egypt freed itself from Assyria with Lydian help? No matter how one looks at it, less than 31/34 years elapsed between the beginning of Assyrian rule in Egypt in the summer of 671 BC and 643 BC. One should also consider the presence of the pro-Ashurbanipal Aramaic story of his war (652-648 BC) against his brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, in Demotic script in Pap. Amherst 63 at a time when allegedly the Assyrians did not rule in Egypt anymore. For this text see Steiner and Nims 1985: 61-65.

⁶⁹ Habachi 1966: 69-74. A problem arises with this reconstruction since a king Pedubast is mentioned in the Pedubast cycles where Pemu of Heliopolis caused a foe *šslstny* (commonly identified with Esarhaddon, king of Assyria), chief of the land [...], to retreat eastwards, after the latter had tried to wrest Egypt from the rule of the Pharaoh Pedubast. See Kitchen 1996: 458. This defeat of the Assyrians can be dated to March 673 BC. See Grayson 1975: 126, Chron. 14, 20.

⁷⁰ Kitchen 1996: 400-404. The earliest monument of Psammetichus in the Delta is a donation stela from Pharbaitos dated to Psammetichus' 8th regnal year. In 656 his daughter was adopted at Thebes as the future God's wife of Amon; see Caminos 1964: 71-100. Another poorly attested King Neferkare I... is known from monuments in Tanis and in Athribis together with *wšh-ib-R^c* Psammetichus I in his early years (?); see Kitchen 1996: 396-397, n. 904. A monument of a certain Penamun is known from Tell-el Yahudieh, and he could have reigned at this period (von Beckerath 1999: 213).

⁷¹ According to this dating Dynasty XXIII of Manetho reigned after Dynasty XXIV as was kindly pointed out to me by Dr. J. von Beckerath (private communication 18.9.2001). I have no convincing explanation for this. It might be postulated that the 24th dynasty was inserted before the 23rd Dynasty to avoid the situation that the 24th Dynasty king, who was a contemporary of

AN ALTERNATIVE DATING FOR THE 23RD DYNASTY

Forty-four years also elapsed between 701 BC (the battle between Sennacherib and Shabatka's forces at Eltekeh) and Psammetichus I's consolidation of power in the Delta in 657 (if he did not control the entire Delta before his earliest attested monument). It is possible that it was only after Shabatka's war and setback at Eltekeh in 701 that Pedubast ascended the throne in Tanis and could be acknowledged in Memphis and Heracleopolis Magna as the legitimate ruler.⁷² If Pedubast started to rule in Tanis after Shabatka's setback of 701 BC, his 25 years of reign lasted until *c.* 675, well into Taharqa's second decade.⁷³

Taharqa's recognition is well documented in Thebes for most of his years.⁷⁴ His presence and recognition in the Delta is less well documented. According to Kawa V, l. 15 Taharqa received the crown in Memphis after Shabatka had died. It does not state that he was crowned immediately after his

the first kings of the 23rd Dynasty and ruled in the 8th century BC, would be listed after the last king of the 23rd Dynasty, and be dated in the second quarter of the 7th dynasty. If, on the other hand, we accept a reign of 40 years for Pedubast according to Africanus without changing the dates for the rest of the dynasty, this problem would be resolved. However, in this case we should arrive at the conclusion that Pedubast II ruled in the same period that Osorkon IV ruled over Bubastis. Could Pedubast have reigned in Tanis while Osorkon IV ruled in Bubastis?

⁷² Shabatka might have appointed him as vassal at his ascension to the throne in 706 or at his arrival in Egypt in 703 BC. He could claim real authority over Memphis and Heracleopolis Magna only after the Kushite setback in the Levant. If we take the figures given by Manetho for the 26th Dynasty at face value we arrive at 697/703 for the reign of Ammeris the Ethiopian. Ammeris is assigned 12 years by Eusebius' version as transmitted by Syncellus, and 18 years according to the Armenian version, which gives Stephinates 7 years, Nechepso 6 years, Nechao (I) 8 years, Psammetichus 54 years, Nechao II 6/8 years, Psamuthes (Psammetichus II) 17 years, Uaphres (Apries) 25 years, Amosis 42 years; see Waddell 1964: 171, 173. Cf. Kitchen 1996: 589. Kitchen emends the reign of Ammeris to a possible 20 years and the reign of Nechepsos from 6 to 16 years and thus arrives to the date 715/713 for the beginning of the Saite Dynasty, coinciding with the postulated conquest of the Delta by Shabaka in 715/712.

⁷³ If Pedubast ruled for 40 years as the version of Manetho as preserved by Africanus states, he might have started his reign in 716 BC, after Osorkon IV's deposition. However, since Herodotus' dates for the 22nd and 25th Dynasty are basically wrong, I do not know how credible they are for 23rd Dynasty; cf. Kahn 2001: 5, n. 23.

⁷⁴ Spalinger 1978b: 44-47. To these inscriptions add: year 17 (Hodjash and Berlev 1988: 247-259); year 19 and 26 (van Heel 1997: 81-93; 1998: 91-102; 1999: 135-144). I thank Dr. Koen Donker van Heel for sending me off-prints of his articles and for providing me with much valuable reading material. Year 21: Moussa 1981: 332-337. Year 7 is recorded in a donation stela from Ashmunein (Meeks 1979: 673 [25.6.7]).

predecessor's death, but there is no reason to dismiss his immediate crowning in Memphis.⁷⁵ From his first arrival in Egypt in 701 he stayed in Egypt at least until his sixth regnal year and did not return to Napata.⁷⁶ In his second or fourth year an Apis bull died and was interred in the Serapeum in Memphis.⁷⁷ A stela of his regnal year six was found at Tanis, and Kawa IV, l. 22 also states that Taharqa was in Memphis in his sixth year at the latest.⁷⁸ In Taharqa's eighth to tenth regnal year (683-681) we are informed about contacts with the Levant and the dedication of gardeners/slaves from Bahriya Oasis,⁷⁹ the Levant,⁸⁰ children of chiefs of "every country"⁸¹ and the wives of chiefs of Lower Egypt to the temple of Amun at Kawa.⁸²

Taharqa's dated monuments from the Delta, and indications of his presence in the Delta during these years⁸³ would exclude a rule of Pedubast over Memphis, Heracleopolis Magna and Tanis if the latter's reign started in *701 and lasted until *675. At most, it can be suggested that Pedubast controlled the northern Nile valley and the Delta after 701 only until the accession of Taharqa to the throne, and ruled over Tanis and its environs in Taharqa's first and second decades.

The following kings of Dynasty *23 would also pose a chronological problem. Osorthon would have ruled for nine years, according to this reconstruction, between *676-*667. We would have to assume that the sources of Manetho deliberately ignored the reign of the Assyrian-appointed Šarru-lū-dari between 671-667. Psammous would have succeeded Osorthon on the throne and would have ruled for 10 more years between *667-*657

⁷⁵ (15) *šsp.n.i ḥꜥ m Inb-ḥd m-ḥt ḥr bik r pt*, "I received the diadem in White-wall (Memphis) after the falcon went up to heaven". Eide *et al.* 1994: 153. This means that Shabatka was acknowledged in Memphis as the legitimate king.

⁷⁶ Kawa V, ll. 17-18. Eide *et al.* 1994: 154.

⁷⁷ See above n. 51. If the bull died in Taharqa's regnal year 4, it was interred in his fifth year.

⁷⁸ Eide *et al.* 1994: 142.

⁷⁹ Kawa VI, l. 20 (Eide *et al.* 1994: 172).

⁸⁰ *K3ry.w nfrw nw Mnty.w-Stt*; Kawa VI, ll. 20-21 (Eide *et al.* 1994: 172-173).

⁸¹ Kawa VI, l. 21 (Eide *et al.* 1994: 173).

⁸² *ḥmw.wt wr.wt nw T3 Mḥw*. Or "the Royal Wives of Lower Egypt"; Kawa VI, l. 20 (Eide *et al.* 1994: 172). This piece of information might suggest a reaction to some sort of opposition in Lower Egypt in Taharqa's 10th regnal year (681).

⁸³ See previous paragraph.

when Psammetichus, King of Sais was acknowledged as legitimate king in the entire Delta. According to this reconstruction, Psammous should be identified with *sh̄tp-ib-R^c* Pedubast.

The second option for dating the 23rd Dynasty has caused more problems than it has resolved; therefore I prefer to date the 23rd Dynasty between *715-*671 BC despite the chronological problems noted above.⁸⁴

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⁸⁴ Dr. Jansen-Winkel has suggested (in a private communication 17.7.2001) seeing Pedubast *S3 B3stt* as a ruler in Leontopolis before Iuput II. This would solve a.) The variance with Manetho's statement that in his reign the Olympic festival was celebrated (776-775); b.) The early "Ramesside" style of the name (see n. 45 above); c.) Pedubast left no trace in Tanis (the same is true for Osorkon IV, who ruled probably about 20 years, and left no trace in Tanis and Bubastis). However, placing Pedubast in Leontopolis before Iuput would not solve all of the problems: a.) Iuput II does not occur in Manetho's list, nor do his regnal years fit any of the kings from Manetho's Dyn. XXIII; b.) Pedubast could not have ruled in the central Delta at a time that Shoshenq V ruled over the entire Delta; c.) There is also no evidence of Pedubast in Leontopolis. It seems that no chronological scheme can solve at the moment the problem of the 23rd Dynasty.

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