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# MANETHO'S TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY AND THE LEGITIMIZATION OF KUSHITE RULE OVER EGYPT

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## **Abstract: Manetho's Twenty-third Dynasty and the Legitimization of the Kushite Rule over Egypt**

This paper considers the identification of the kings in the epitomes of Manetho's Twenty-third Dynasty and their function in the historiographical traditions of ancient Egypt. Despite the long-standing rejection of Manetho's Twenty-third Dynasty as ahistorical, it is here argued that the names preserved in the Twenty-third Dynasty are part of an authentic historiographical tradition originating with the Kushite king, Taharka. The paper goes further to suggest specific reasons why, and an historical reconstruction of the process whereby, the Twenty-third Dynasty became integrated with other king-list traditions. Additionally, it identifies specific functions for the as-yet unidentified names Psammous and Zet in Julius Africanus' version of the epitome of Manetho. The argument considers the political and cultural perspective of the Kushite kings who were responsible for a strand of king-list tradition and offers some interpretations of Kushite royal practices in light of these conclusions.

**Keywords:** Manetho – King-list – Twenty-fifth Dynasty – Kushite – Twenty-third Dynasty – Julius Africanus

## **Resumen: La Dinastía XXIII de Manetón y la legitimación del gobierno kushita sobre Egipto**

Este artículo considera la identificación de los reyes en los epitomes de la Dinastía XIII de Manetón, y su función en las tradiciones historiográficas del antiguo Egipto. A pesar del rechazo de larga data de la Dinastía XXIII de Manetón como ahistórica, aquí se argumenta que los nombres preservados en la Dinastía XIII son parte de una auténtica tradición historiográfica originada con el rey kushita Taharka. El artículo va aún más allá para sugerir razones específicas de por qué la Dinastía XIII fue integrada con otras tradiciones de listas reales, así como una reconstrucción histórica de tal pro-

ceso. Más aún, éste análisis identifica funciones específicas para los nombres que aún no han sido identificados, Psammus y Zet, en la versión de Julio Africano del epitome de Manetón. El argumento considera la perspectiva política y cultural de los reyes kushitas que eran responsables de una rama de la tradición de la lista de reyes y ofrece algunas interpretaciones de las prácticas reales kushitas a la luz de estas conclusiones.

**Palabras clave:** Manetón – Lista real – Dinastía XXV – Kushita – Dinastía XXIII – Julio Africano

## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The Byzantine chronicler George Synkellos preserves Julius Africanus's epitome of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, recording the rulers of Egypt's Twenty-third Dynasty as follows:

### *The Twenty-third Dynasty of four kings of Tanis*

1. Petoubates	40 years
During his reign, the Olympic games were held.	
2. Osorcho	8 years
The Egyptians call him Heracles.	
3. Psammous	10 years
4. Zet	31 years
Total	89 years <sup>2</sup>

In contemporary scholarship, there is general agreement that Petoubates and Osorcho are to be equated with the kings Pedubast and Osorkon III,<sup>3</sup> known from the epigraphic record. Identification of Psammous and Zet, however, has remained problematic. Historians have traditionally used Manetho's epitomes to reconstruct the chronology of Egyptian rulers, assuming an underlying king-list tradition akin to the Turin Canon. Within this methodological framework, Psammous and Zet are frequently found incompatible with

<sup>1</sup> It is my great pleasure to dedicate this study to Alicia, who shares with me a broad interest in Egyptian history and archaeology.

<sup>2</sup> Translation and text format from Adler and Tuffin 2002: 105. Typographic error of "Thirty-third" corrected here to "Twenty-Third". This paper deals solely with Africanus' version of the epitome, since it is closer to the original than that used by Eusebius', and, generally, is considered to be better. See Verbrugghe and Wickersham 2001: 117–118; Redford 1986: *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Kitchen 1986: 123–128.

established sequences, and are thus written off as manuscript transmission errors.<sup>4</sup>

This paper takes an alternative approach to Manetho's Twenty-third Dynasty, beginning from the premise that Africanus preserves an authentic Manethonian sequence itself derived from a variety of ancient sources. Rather than trying to understand Manetho's sequence in terms of the historical chronology, the argument here delineates the historiographical circumstances which shaped the "Twenty-third Dynasty" list. Despite the long-standing rejection of this list as ahistorical, it is argued here that the names preserved in the Africanus epitome are indeed part of an authentic historiographical tradition. Specifically, this paper traces this tradition to Taharka and the legitimization strategies of the Kushite rulers of Egypt.

## THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY

In the middle of the tenth century BCE, Sheshonq I (founder of Manetho's Twenty-second Dynasty) ushered in a brief period of strong central authority centered on the Delta city of Tanis. During the reigns of his successors, Takelot II and/or<sup>5</sup> Sheshonq III (mid-late ninth-century BCE), however, the country splintered, and a series of rebellions took place in Thebes.<sup>6</sup> The period from these rebellions up to the northern campaign of the Kushite, Piye, in the mid-eighth century BCE, is one of the least understood eras in Egyptian history. Narrative textual sources are scarce, and reconstruction of the administration of the country during this period must be made primarily by means of attestations of royal names in the epigraphic record and family genealogies.<sup>7</sup>

The status of Egypt at the end of this dark period is illuminated by Piye's own description of the rulers he encountered on the campaign of his 20<sup>th</sup> year. At that time, the country was divided between a number of individuals from different regions claiming the titles of kingship—Tefnakht of Sais, Nimlot of Hermopolis, Peftiuawwybast of Herakleopolis, Iuput of Leontopolis, Osorkon of Tanis—and several other provincial rulers claiming a variety of other titles.<sup>8</sup> The epigraphic record, too, yields numerous additional royal

<sup>4</sup> Petrie 1914; Helck 1956; Kitchen 1986: 126, n.199; 451; Redford 1986: 310-317; Dautzenberg 1987; Kitchen 2009: 173.

<sup>5</sup> On the dispute of the placement of Takelot II, see Aston 1989; 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Documented, in part, in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon; Caminos 1958.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Kitchen 1986.

<sup>8</sup> See the Victory Stele of Piye; Grimal 1981; English translation by Ritner 2009: #145.

names from this period.<sup>9</sup> This dark century, then, witnessed the fragmentation of the Twenty-second Dynasty's power and the rise of numerous kinglets. This era of petty kingdoms, however, is memorialized by Manetho through only the four names of his "Twenty-third Dynasty."

The identities of the "Twenty-third Dynasty" rulers, and their relationship to the multiple contemporary ruling lines known epigraphically, have been debated for over a century.<sup>10</sup> Despite the fact that these arguments maintain the Manethonian designation "Twenty-third Dynasty", most scholars have departed significantly from the list preserved in Manetho. Beginning with the names in Manetho's list, scholars have identified Pedubast<sup>11</sup> and Osorkon III,<sup>12</sup> in the epigraphic record, particularly from the dates according to their respective reigns on several Nile level inscriptions on the Karnak quay.<sup>13</sup> The texts of the Nebneteru-Hor genealogy establish the relative sequence of kings: Osorkon II (Twenty-second Dyn.), Pedubast (Twenty-third Dyn.), Osorkon III (Twenty-third Dyn.).<sup>14</sup> The Nebneteru-Hor family was Theban, and therefore, these kings were the ones recognized in Thebes in this specific sequence. Since Osorkon II is a scion of the Twenty-second Dynasty, these texts demonstrate that at some point in the reign of Osorkon II, Pedubast became legitimately recognized in Thebes.<sup>15</sup> While scholarship agrees that Osorkon III succeeded but did not descend from the same family as Pedubast, there is still disagreement over his origins.<sup>16</sup>

With Pedubast and Osorkon III identified, many scholars have attempted to flesh-out the "dynasty" with other royal names on the basis of family relationships provided by epigraphic evidence. The result is a variety of proposals for the sequence of successions in this "dynasty": K. Kitchen reconstructs eight kings,<sup>17</sup> whereas K. Baer argues for only five.<sup>18</sup> J. von

<sup>9</sup> Kitchen 1986: 85–137.

<sup>10</sup> Legrain 1900; Petrie 1914; Yoyotte 1961; See, recently, Aston 2009 for a detailed discussion of current competing chronologies and lists of kings.

<sup>11</sup> Usermaatre Setepenamun, Pedubast.

<sup>12</sup> Usermaatre Setepenamun, Osorkon Meryamun, Si-Ese. Osorkon III can be differentiated from the similarly-titled Osorkon II on the basis of a number of factors; see Kitchen 1986: 88–94.

<sup>13</sup> von Beckerath 1966; Pedubast: nos. 24, 26–29; Osorkon III: nos. 5–8, 14.

<sup>14</sup> See Kitchen 1986: §177 for sources and interpretation.

<sup>15</sup> Aston and Taylor 1990; Leahy 1990, esp. pp. 181–186; Aston 2009.

<sup>16</sup> See Leahy 1990: 182–184; Kitchen 2009: 178–183.

<sup>17</sup> Kitchen 1986: 588. Aston also gives 8 but his last three kings are different from Kitchen's Aston (1989), and the interpretation of the sequence by Jansen-Winkeln's 8 is different, still (Jansen-Winkeln 2006).

<sup>18</sup> Baer 1973.

Beckerath places eight kings often associated with the Twenty-third Dynasty into a “22. Dynastie: Oberagyptische Linie” and leaves three other kings in his Twenty-third Dynasty, all of whom no other scholar places there.<sup>19</sup> Other approaches use the terminology of Manetho’s “Twenty-third Dynasty” as a catchall for any ruler competing with the Twenty-second Dynasty.<sup>20</sup> Baer, an early proponent of this strategy, constructs the “dynasty” primarily from local autonomous Libyan lords who are poorly attested and have little in common other than they are not the same as the Twenty-second Dynasty, yielding the awkward: Dynasty XXIII (Leontopolis), Dynasty XXIII (Hermopolis), Dynasty XXIII (Heracleopolis), Dynasty XXIII (Theban), and Dynasty XXIII (Tanite).<sup>21</sup> Out of this paradigm, others have argued that Manetho’s Twenty-third Dynasty was derived from the Dynasty XXIII (Theban).<sup>22</sup>

In terms of historical succession, most agree that Pedubast was eventually succeeded by Osorkon III.<sup>23</sup> Near the end of his reign, Osorkon took Takelot III as his co-regent, and their co-rule is celebrated in the Osiris Heqa-Djet temple at East Karnak.<sup>24</sup> The following period becomes obscured due to fragmentary evidence. Takelot’s rule appears to have been very short, and the attestation of Rudamun, another son of Osorkon III, with royal titles suggests that he succeeded.<sup>25</sup> This same figure is known to have been the father-in-law of the Peftjau’awybast who appears as a kinglet in Herakleopolis in the Piye stele.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, other titled individuals are considered by some to be candidates for inclusion in this “dynasty”.<sup>27</sup>

Within this discussion, scholarship has had difficulty finding plausible explanations for Manetho’s Psammous and Zet, and these entries are typically written off as copyist mistakes and, consequently, removed from the discussion of historical chronology. For Psammous, D.B. Redford argues that the

<sup>19</sup> von Beckerath 1997: 191.

<sup>20</sup> A strategy originating with Yoyotte (1961).

<sup>21</sup> Baer 1973, following Yoyotte 1961.

<sup>22</sup> Spencer and Spencer 1986; Aston 1989; Aston and Taylor 1990. See, now, Aston 2009, for overview and discussion.

<sup>23</sup> Aston 1989. Some argue for an intervening ruler, Iuput I, who may not have outlived his coregency with Pedubast; Kitchen 1986.

<sup>24</sup> Nile-level text #13 attests year 28 of Osorkon III as equivalent to year 5 of Takelot III and Text #4 does not double date, citing only Takelot III year 6, indicating that Osorkon III died since the last level record. Legrain 1900: 125–136, 146–149; von Beckerath 1966; Redford 1973: 16–30.

<sup>25</sup> Redford 1973: 16–30; Kitchen 1986: 127–128; Jansen-Winkeln 2006.

<sup>26</sup> See Jansen-Winkeln 2006.

<sup>27</sup> See summary in Jansen-Winkeln 2006: 255ff.

Egyptian *p3 s3* might underlie the Greek *Psa-*, and *Mwt* may underlie *-mou* (-s, Gk. nom.), yielding an Egyptian vorlage *P3-s3-Mwt*, “Son of Mut.”<sup>28</sup> The epitome’s note for Osorcho is: “the Egyptians call him Herakles,” Herakles being the Greek form of Khonsu, son of Mut. Redford therefore proposes that the Psammous entry was somehow connected with the previous entry of Osorkon III, and only after poor transmission was the succeeding king’s name lost, and “Psammous” then migrated to the 10-year entry and became a “king” in its own right.

Zet, a name given only by Africanus, cannot be matched up linguistically with any name of any known king. W. M. F. Petrie offered the suggestion that Zet was a contraction of Greek *ζητείται*, meaning, “a question (remains).” Thus, for whatever reason, either Manetho or his epitomizer was unsure about the remaining 31 years of the dynasty, and, over time, this notation was misconstrued as a royal name.<sup>29</sup> More recently, N. Dautzenbergar guess that Psammous is a gloss for Takeloth III on the basis of his known succession from Osorkon III. He suggests that in the manuscript transmission, the names following Osorkon III became damaged or dirty, resulting in the clarification of the Takelot III entry with Psammous and the tabulation of the rest of the unreadable names following as Zet, following Petrie’s understanding of the Greek.<sup>30</sup> One potential problem with Petrie and Dautzenberg’s proposals, however, is that the heading of the entry clearly states four kings of the dynasty.<sup>31</sup> So, in addition to their copyist problems, Petrie and Dautzenberg must also posit that the heading was changed. Additionally, the usage of *ζητείται* in this manner would be unique in the epitomes and not at all regular in Greek texts. In other cases of lost kings’ names in the Manethonian epitomes, the epitome is careful to note this error. See, for example, the Twenty-second Dynasty:

<sup>28</sup> Redford 1986: 311–312.

<sup>29</sup> Petrie 1914: 32; Redford 1986: 311; Waddell 1940: 161, n.4; see also Read 1916: 150. For a similar view, see Helck 1956.

<sup>30</sup> Dautzenberg 1987: 33–43.

<sup>31</sup> Thanks to J. David (personal communication) for this observation.

*Twenty-second Dynasty of Nine Kings of Boubasitis*

1. Sesonchis	21 years
2. Osorthon	15 years
3, 4, 5. Three others	25 years
6. Takelothis	13 years
7, 8, 9. Three others	42 years
Total	120 years <sup>32</sup>

Such attempts to flesh-out the “historical” dynasty and identify Psammous and Zet with known successors of Osorkon III, or simply to dismiss them, overlooks the complexity of Manetho’s sources, his historical method, the variety of genres to which he had recourse, and the peculiarity of Pharaonic perceptions of the royal past. With regard to the *Aigyptaka*, the pertinent questions are how and why Manetho’s sources preserve the sequence Pedubast, Osorkon III, Psammous, and Zet. While manuscript transmission errors are certainly plausible explanations, they should be carefully deployed only when historiographical explanations have been exhausted.

## NOTES ON MANETHO AND HIS SOURCES

It is widely agreed that some of the key sources for Manetho’s chronology were king-lists.<sup>33</sup> King-lists existed in a variety of forms in ancient Egypt, and they performed a variety of functions, such as cultic lists (not necessarily complete or in order of rule), e.g. the Karnak List of Thutmose III,<sup>34</sup> and calendars of kings (presumably) intended to be complete lists in correct chronological sequence, e.g. the Turin Canon.<sup>35</sup> This last document dates from the Nineteenth Dynasty, and Manetho may have had recourse to similar documentary sources for portions of his chronology.<sup>36</sup> However, it is not clear that such an ostensibly thorough list continued to be maintained beyond the New

<sup>32</sup> Translation and text format from Adler and Tuffin 2002: 105.

<sup>33</sup> Helck 1956; Malek 1982; Redford 1986: 206–230; Verbrugghe and Wickersham 2001: 103–107. However, few suggest that any one complete official king-list existed from which Manetho would have inherited his chronology; but see Redford 1986: 297f.

<sup>34</sup> Redford 1986: 29–34.

<sup>35</sup> Redford 1986: 1–18; The Turin Canon is now recognized as a sloppy copy of an imperfect original; Ryholt 2004. Riddled with inconsistencies and errors, it is difficult to determine its purpose, and the intent of the Turin Canon to be complete and accurate is unverifiable, though accepted as such by most scholars.

<sup>36</sup> Ryholt 2004. See also Redford 1986: 297–302; Adams 2011; Adams forthcoming.



Kingdom.<sup>37</sup> In fact, the more confused chronology of Manetho for Dynasties Twenty-one through Twenty-five suggests that he did not have access to such document for this period and had to do his own chronological research from multiple sources of differing genres, including shorter lists of kings (probably of the cultic type), monuments, and folklore.<sup>38</sup>

There is considerable evidence that many of Manetho's dynastic divisions for the New Kingdom and earlier kings were based on concepts already in place in documents such as the Turin Canon.<sup>39</sup> However, the dynastic divisions for the post-New Kingdom era may have been constructions of Manetho, himself. The concept of a "dynasty" deployed by Manetho, was not necessarily intended to convey the idea of a ruling family, but rather another common feature of the sequence of rulers, such as their place of origin or seat of rule.<sup>40</sup> The note introducing the Twenty-third Dynasty supports such an interpretation: "The Twenty-third Dynasty of four kings of Tanis,"<sup>41</sup> where Tanis was the seat of a contemporary ruling line, the Twenty-second Dynasty, from which both lines originated. Discerning Manetho's criteria for separating out a dynasty is not always possible, and in many cases Manetho's divisions do not coincide with a change in the succession paradigm, place of origin, or capital of a dynasty's constituent rulers.

On the basis of the types of sources that Manetho may have had at his disposal, we can hypothesize that he was able to construct a sequence of kings by comparing king-lists (both cultic and administrative<sup>42</sup>) and annalistic texts (e.g., *gnwt* <sup>43</sup>) with other types of evidence, such as business documents.<sup>44</sup> From this new, patchwork sequence, and from literary-historical tales that he had collected, he would have constructed his chronology and made his dynastic divisions.

<sup>37</sup> Contra Redford 1986: 302–305.

<sup>38</sup> For the Twentieth Dynasty, the epitome does not list any names; it simply summarizes total kings and tabulation of years; Adler and Tuffin 2002: 105. The Twenty-first Dynasty is witnessed remarkably well, but the Twenty-second Dynasty is jumbled and contains multiple admissions of not knowing the names of kings—for a total of six unknown, see above; Kitchen 1986: 450–451; Adler and Tuffin 2002: 105.

<sup>39</sup> Malek 1982; Verbrugghe and Wickersham 2001: 98, 105–106; Ryholt 2004: 146.

<sup>40</sup> Redford 1986: 305; Verbrugghe and Wickersham 2001: 98.

<sup>41</sup> Verbrugghe and Wickersham 2001: 98.

<sup>42</sup> Helck 1956: 15–16.

<sup>43</sup> Redford 1986: 65–96.

<sup>44</sup> See the document types to which Manetho may have had access as a priest compiled by Redford 1986: 215–225.

In sum, Manetho's sources were varied. While he appears to have relied on a Turin-Canon-like document for many aspects of the chronology of his first nineteen dynasties, he was faced with a more complex group of documents with which to construct his chronology of his Twentieth through Twenty-fifth Dynasties. Despite the fact that he had to contend with varied, contradictory, and perhaps fragmentary sources, he did make use of pre-Hellenistic sources. In terms of chronology, the sequence preserved in Manetho's Twenty-third Dynasty must ultimately derive from a pre-existing strand of king-list tradition, and it ought to be reevaluated in this light.

### THE "TWENTY-THIRD" DYNASTY AND THEBES

Manetho gives the origin of his four Twenty-third Dynasty kings as Tanis, perhaps recognizing a connection to the Twenty-second Dynasty rulers centered there. It is unclear if he also thought that they had ruled from this city. Regardless, the regimes of both Pedubast and Osorkon III can be intricately tied to Thebes. Despite Kitchen's (and others') attempts to locate the "Twenty-third Dynasty" in the Delta,<sup>45</sup> the epigraphic evidence for Pedubast and Osorkon III points specifically to recognition in the Theban region, with no evidence for activity in the Delta.<sup>46</sup> The monuments of Pedubast and Osorkon III are concentrated in Upper Egypt (Herakleopolis to Thebes), including the chapel of Osiris-Heqa-Djet which celebrates the kingship of Osorkon III and his co-regent Takelot III and features Osorkon's daughter, Shepenwepi, in the office of God's Wife of Amun—the most powerful position in Thebes.<sup>47</sup> All of the few inscriptions from those kings found in the Delta are on small, movable objects.<sup>48</sup> After Sheshonq III, Twenty-third Dynasty names

<sup>45</sup> In K. Kitchen's treatment of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty he argued that the 23<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty ruled from Leontopolis in the Delta (Kitchen 1986: §102). He relies on the fact that Piyankhy locates one Iuput II there and the argument that Iuput is a scion of the dynasty. His assignment of Iuput II in the Twenty-third Dynasty, however, is far from secure, and his argument is circular. Compare Kitchen 1986: §101, where he states without evidence that Iuput belongs to the dynasty, with §102, where he argues as though he's proven the fact. The reasoning is circular, and there remains no other evidence to place Iuput in the Twenty-third Dynasty or to locate their seat of power in Leontopolis. See also Spencer and Spencer 1986.

<sup>46</sup> Baer 1973: 4–25; Spencer and Spencer 1986: 198–201; Aston 1989: 139–153; Aston and Taylor 1990: 131–154; Aston 2009.

<sup>47</sup> See Redford 1986: 311ff.; Kitchen 1986: §128; Spencer and Spencer 1986: 199.

<sup>48</sup> Spencer and Spencer 1986: 200.

replace Twenty-second dynasty names on Theban monuments.<sup>49</sup> None of these kings were recognized in Memphis; dated inscriptions found there all name Twenty-second Dynasty kings.<sup>50</sup> The autobiography of the Theban official, Djedkhonsefankh, describes his relationship with an Osorkon in such a way that he seems to have had daily access to the king in his palace, suggesting that a residence of Osorkon III was in Thebes.<sup>51</sup> Finally, a Ptolemaic text refers to “the tomb of King Usersten” in the west of Thebes, and process of elimination suggests that it must refer to Osorkon III.<sup>52</sup>

The balance of the evidence strongly supports Pedubast’s and Osorkon’s dominion over Thebes.<sup>53</sup> Specifically, it is Osorkon III, in his capacity as king in this region, and his daughter, Shepenwepi, in her capacity as the ruler of the domain of Amun, that had to contend with the Kushite power emerging in the south.

## THE “TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY” AND THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY

While the Libyan dynasts of Egypt were sorting out the difficulties which ultimately led to a split in power between the Twenty-second Dynasty in the Delta and Pedubast and then Osorkon III in Upper Egypt, changes were brewing far to the south in Nubia. The development of a chiefdom in Nubia

<sup>49</sup> See Kitchen 1986: §131; Spencer and Spencer 1986: 199.

<sup>50</sup> It would be an awkward and unprecedented situation that a Delta political entity exerted power over the Theban area while being separated geographically from it by a separate political entity controlling Memphis.

<sup>51</sup> See Redford 2004: 68. Note also that the *Old Chronicle* locates the Twenty-third Dynasty in Diospolis: “The 23<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty of kings of Diospolis, in 2 generations, for 19 years” (Waddell 1940). Of the three Diospolis’s, Diospolis Parva could be ruled out most easily—not only is the town an unlikely location for a Dynastic center, but the site itself has yielded no material remains between the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and the Ptolemaic period. The recent excavations by A. J. Spencer at Diospolis Inferior (Tell el-Balamun) have turned up some inscriptions from exactly the period in question, but the royal names attested, including Sheshonq III, belong to the Twenty-second Dynasty, indicating that this region of the Delta was controlled by the Tanite line. Overall, Diospolis Magna (Thebes) is the most convincing option for the Diospolis that the *Old Chronicle* author intended. It is perhaps worth noting that the years assigned to Osorthon and Psammus in Africanus’ epitome total 19—“two generations for 19 years”. This may indicate that the “Pseudo-Manethonian” *Old Chronicle* is in some way based on Manetho. See also Waddell 1940: 234, fn. 1.

<sup>52</sup> P. Louvre E 7128; Malinine 1953: 86, no. XI, ln. 2; Redford 1986: 313.

<sup>53</sup> In all probability, Osorkon III ruled from Herakleopolis, the residential city of the High Priests of Amun, and held Thebes within his power. This would explain the location of Peftiuawybast there in Piye’s year 20 campaign.

centered on el-Kurru in the tenth and ninth centuries BCE led to a sequence of strong eighth and seventh century rulers with a significantly Egyptianized ideology centered on the old Egyptian imperial god, Amun.<sup>54</sup>

Later rulers hail the early eighth-century individual Alara, as the Nubian dynasty's founder, but no contemporary sources support this later memory.<sup>55</sup> The earliest epigraphic evidence of a Kushite king is of Kashta, who erected a stele at Elephantine, in which he is heralded as King of Upper and Lower Egypt,<sup>56</sup> indicating that he held a claimover Egypt and backed it up with the occupation of Elephantine. Here, in the mid-eighth century BCE, this claim would have brought the expansionist Kushite rulers into direct conflict with the Theban kings.

The antagonist in this conflict, Osorkon III, had installed his daughter, Shepenwepi, as the God's Wife of Amun. The title has a long history going back to the New Kingdom, but at this time it was reserved for the female governor of the domain of Amun, essentially equivalent to the High Priest title of old.<sup>57</sup> Commensurate with such a powerful position, Shepenwepi adopted a throne name, "United with the Heart of Amun," and a Horus name, "Horus who produces herself like Khepri,"<sup>58</sup> enclosed her personal name in a cartouche, *šp-n-wp(t) mrjt-Mwt*, and, unprecedentedly for the office, took the epithets "Lord of the Two Lands" and "Lord of Appearances" (the only God's Wife to do so). The king-like status of Shepenwepi is further documented on the reliefs of the Osiris-Heqa-Djet temple, where she is shown in the following scenes typically reserved for kings: (1) an offering scene with Osorkon III, in which she is positionally closer to the gods than her father;<sup>59</sup> (2) two scenes in which she is suckled by a goddess;<sup>60</sup> and (3) a coronation scene in which she receives a crown from Amun.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Török 1997: 109–126.

<sup>55</sup> The earliest attestation of Alara comes from Piye's wife, Tabiry, whose funerary stele from El-Kurru gives her parents as Alara and Kasaqa. Neither parent is qualified with the titles typical of kingship (though Alara's name appears in a cartouche) or queenship, and it is unclear if Alara was a king in his own right or if he was yet considered a founder figure. Though there is no reason to doubt Tabiry's genealogy, it is not until the reign of Taharka that Alara is presented as king and a founder figure (Kawa IV, 17 and VI, 22).

<sup>56</sup> Eide, Hägg, Pierce, and Török. 1994: #3; Török 1997: 145.

<sup>57</sup> See Graefe 1981; Ayad 2009 b.

<sup>58</sup> Török 1997: 148, n.184.

<sup>59</sup> Ayad 2009a: 33–34.

<sup>60</sup> Ayad 2009a: 35–36.

<sup>61</sup> Ayad 2009a: 37; Ayad 2009b: 16f., 35–39.

The evidence of the Theban-Kushite conflict is insufficient to create a working narrative of events,<sup>62</sup> but we can identify two specific results. First, Kashta claimed the traditional titles of an Egyptian king, as indicated in the Elephantine stele. Second, Kashta's daughter, Amenirdis, was adopted by Shepenwepi as the heir to the title of God's Wife of Amun<sup>63</sup> and, therefore, heir to the estate of Amun, itself. How these two results were negotiated remains difficult to reconstruct, but the surrender of succession of God's Wife of Amun is a clear acknowledgement of Kushite dominance and of the subjugation of the Theban polity and the domain of Theban Amun.

Kashta's son and successor, Piye, acceded the throne fully immersed in the new role of Kush as overlord of Egypt as contracted with the Theban polity. Piye adopted a throne name imitating that of Pedubast I, Osorkon III, and Takelot III, *Wsr-m3ʿt-rʿ*,<sup>64</sup> apparently seeing himself as their legitimate successor.<sup>65</sup> His Horus name "Strong Bull, Appearing in Thebes" makes it clear that he was crowned in Thebes,<sup>66</sup> and by his fourth regnal year, at least, he was celebrating the kingship-confirming Opet-festival there.<sup>67</sup> Additionally, Piye's titulary included the epithets characteristic of "Twenty-third Dynasty" kings: *z3-b3stt* and *z3-jst mry jmun*.<sup>68</sup> His inheritance of the domain of Amun, granted to him by his sister's acquisition of the role of God's Wife of Amun, afforded him the imperialist perspective espoused in his Sandstone Stele of year 3:<sup>69</sup>

*Amun of Napata appointed me to be ruler of very foreign land. The one to whom I say: "You are Chief," he becomes chief. The one to whom I say: "You are not chief," he does not become chief. Amun in Thebes appointed me to be ruler of Egypt. The one to whom I say, "Make your appearance (as king)," he appears as*

<sup>62</sup> But, see the reasonable and peaceful hypothesis by Török 1997: 149–150.

<sup>63</sup> See Wadi Gasus graffito for the double dating inscription of Shepenwepi and Amenirdis; Leclant 1965: 383; Note also the systematic integration of Amenirdis into the Osiris-Heqa-Djet temple reliefs with Shepenwepi (Ayad 2009a: 38–46).

<sup>64</sup> This specifically as Takelot III had taken it, i.e. without an epithet.

<sup>65</sup> Török 1997: 154, especially n.213; also Bonhême 1987: 127.

<sup>66</sup> von Beckerath 1999: 207 and Török 1997: 154.

<sup>67</sup> For example, *Urk.* III, 78f.; For other examples, see Török 1997: 155, n.222.

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, the two papyri dated to his years 21 and 22 as well as the Dakhla stela of year 24. See Kitchen 1986: §123; von Beckerath 1999: 206–207.

<sup>69</sup> For the dating of the text see Török 1997: 154, n.214.

*king. He to whom I say, "Do not make your appearance (as king)," he does not make appear..."*<sup>70</sup>

The security of Kushite hegemony over Egypt was finalized with Piye's crushing of the northern coalition of rebels in his twentieth year,<sup>71</sup> and was reinforced by his successor Shabaka's move of his court to Memphis, where he made a specific effort to tap into the ancient heritage there for purposes of legitimacy.<sup>72</sup>

### THE ACCESSION OF TAHARKA AND THE KUSHITE MATRILINEAL SUCCESSION PARADIGM

Shabaka was succeeded by his son Shebitku, who in turn passed the throne on to his cousin, Taharka. There may have been some discussion about this collateral succession, and Taharka appears to have been at pains to legitimize his claim with a variety of rhetoric:

*"[Amun], you have caused me to discover that he whom you have caused to accede is [...] people who had not known about me;" "[Amun] you foretold that for me when you had not yet caused that I appear as [king...];"*<sup>73</sup> *"Now, I came from Nubia in the midst of the royal brethren whom His Majesty [Shebitku] had called up from there, so that I might be with him, since he loved me more than any of his brothers and more than any of his children, with the result that I was more distinguished than they by His Majesty."* (Kawa V, 13–14; cf. Kawa IV, 9.)

He also attributed a prophecy of his birth to the time of his ancestor, Alara, (Kawa VI, 24–25).

This prophecy is cited by Taharka on two occasions (Kawa IV and VI). According to Taharka's recollection, his ancestor, Alara had formally dedicated his sisters to the service of Amun. Among these sisters was Taharaka's grandmother, pregnant with Taharka's own mother (Kawa VI, 22). During the dedication, Alara beseeches the great god:

<sup>70</sup> Ritner 2009: 463.

<sup>71</sup> Reported in his Great Triumphal Stele; Ritner 2009: 464–492.

<sup>72</sup> Adams forthcoming.

<sup>73</sup> Karnak Sanctuary Blocks, translation by Ritner 2009: 508, 544.

*O excellent god! ... May you look after my sister-wife for me, she who was born together with me in a single womb. You have acted for her just as you have acted for [me]... when you repelled evil plots against me, and you elevated me as king. May you act for my sister similarly, distinguishing her children in this land... just as you have done for me” (Kawa VI, 23–24).<sup>74</sup>*

The prayer is elsewhere recalled, “May you look after the wombs of my female relatives for me; may you establish their children on earth; may you act for them as you have acted for me; may you cause that they attain prosperity” (Kawa IV, 18–19).<sup>75</sup> Taharka follows the recollection by proclaiming the success of this entreaty: “As [Amun] hearkened to what [Alara] said, so [Amun] elevated me as king just as [Amun] had said to [Alara]” (Kawa IV, 19).<sup>76</sup> Taharka considers himself the fulfillment of Amun’s promise to distinguish the children of the female line of Alara, claiming legitimacy through this matrilineal succession. At the same time, he legitimizes the practice of descent through the female line, making it a dynastic ordinance.

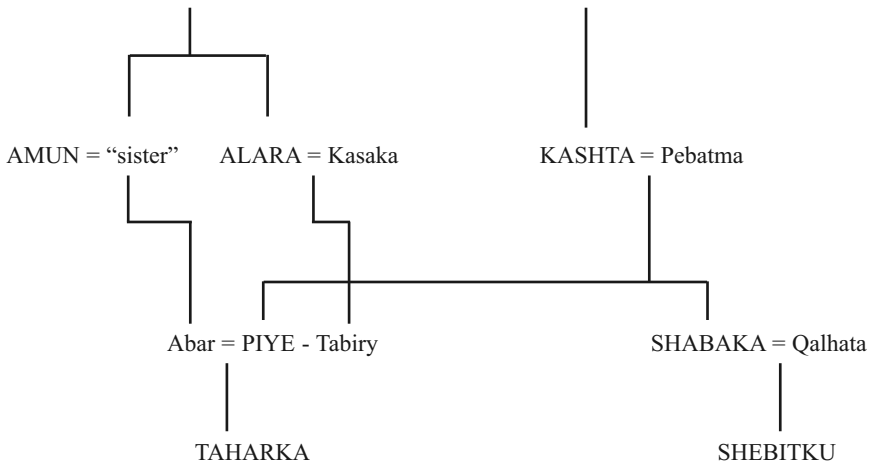


Figure 1.

Schematic family tree of the Kushite kings illustrating the succession paradigm

<sup>74</sup> Translation after Ritner (2009: 552) with modifications.

<sup>75</sup> Translation by Ritner 2009: 538.

<sup>76</sup> Translation after Ritner (2009: 538) with modifications.

On the basis of Alara's prayer, Taharka could claim legitimacy, descended from Alara's sister, by way of her daughter, Abar (wife of Piye; Taharka's mother; Fig. 1). The prayer also served the function of connecting the female line directly to Amun, granting divine sonship to the royal wife's offspring as sons of Amun.<sup>77</sup>

For Taharka, this prophecy may also have been a conscious attempt to connect with the broader question of the legitimacy of the Kushite dynasty in Egypt, and specifically, Thebes. The original Kushite claim to Egypt was politically established when Osorkon III allowed his daughter, the God's Wife to Amun, Shepenwepi, to adopt Kashta's daughter, Amenirdis, as her successor in Thebes. Taharka's depiction of Alara's sisters' dedication to Amun recalled the ancient practice of dedicating royal daughters to Amun as God's Wife to Amun, who, in turn, guaranteed the kingship of their kin. The subtext of Alara's prayer provided multiple avenues of legitimacy for the Kushite monarchy, and reinforced direct royal descent from Amun through a female line.

Taharka's construction of a legitimate matrilineal succession paradigm for himself had a significant repercussion on the future of Kushite queenship. Alara's prayer invested power in the female line and therefore elevated the Queen Mothers (as the bearer of kingship) to the particularly special status of divine Queenship. Taharka's mother, Abar, plays an important role in his succession narrative already when she is in the womb of her own mother and receives the benefactions of Amun in response to Alara's prayer for the female line (Kawa VI). In the temple of Mut at Napata (where the goddess is celebrated as Taharka's divine mother), Taharka's Queen Mother, Abar, and his Chief Queen, Tekhatamani, appear, both addressed by the dual title "King's Sister and King's Wife."<sup>78</sup> Both are depicted with Taharka making offerings to Amun and Mut.

In the important inscription of the wondrously high Nile of year 6 (Kawa V), Abar plays a particularly prominent role. Abar appears with her son before Amun in the lunette. In the same inscription, Taharka recounts his mother's journey from Nubia to visit him (in Memphis?) upon his accession to the throne:

<sup>77</sup> Török 1997: 234; Gozzoli 2010a.

<sup>78</sup> Ritner 2009: 516–524.



*She was exceedingly joyful after beholding the beauty of His Majesty, just as when Isis beheld her son Horus crowned upon the throne of this father Osiris, after he had been but a youth within the swamp of Chemmis. Upper and Lower Egypt and every foreign country were bowing to the ground for this Queen Mother, being exceedingly festive—their elders in company with their juniors—as they acclaimed this Queen Mother, saying: “Isis has received Horus even as the Queen Mother has been united with their son...”<sup>79</sup>*

The equation of the Kushite Queen Mother with Isis as the mother of Horus originates here with Abar and Taharka, and remains an intricate part of Queen Mother-ship during the Kushite/Napatean era.<sup>80</sup>

Prior to the reign of Taharka, Queens and Queen Mothers play no significant role in the ideology of kingship. The inscriptions of Kashta, Piye, Shabaka, and Shabitku are virtually silent on the issue of special status royal women (with the exception of the unique roles of God’s Wives of Amun). The innovation of matrilineal legitimization of kingship and the consequential elevation of Queen Mothers and Chief Queens (i.e. future Queen Mothers) appears to be part of Taharka’s strategy.<sup>81</sup> The construction of the tradition of the founder figure Alara, too, must be a product of Taharka’s efforts. This person, to be sure, was an ancestor of the Kushite regime,<sup>82</sup> about whom we know almost nothing, but the prayer attributed to him by Taharka legitimizing his rule (Kawa IV and VI) must be Taharka’s own innovation and must belong to the contemporary trends of manufacturing the past to legitimize institutions of the present (compare Shabaka’s “Memphite Theology”).

Taharka’s emphasis on Queen Mothers and matrilineal succession rights began an often-utilized tradition in Kushite/Napatean kingship. The role of the Queen, and particularly the Queen Mother, would remain an important

<sup>79</sup> Translation by Ritner 2009: 544.

<sup>80</sup> Török 1997: 234–235.

<sup>81</sup> I would argue on the basis of the model provided here that the enigmatic Katimala inscription, which features a particularly strong and independent Queen, should be dated to a period after Taharaka’s innovation. It has become vogue in some academic circles to date this text as early as the tenth century BCE (Darnell 2006: 45–48; Gozzoli 2010a; 487–488; Gozzoli 2010b: 197), which is otherwise incongruous with the archaeological evidence for political structures in the area.

<sup>82</sup> See funerary inscription of Queen Tabiry, Ritner 2009: 494–495.

component of royal legitimacy for the remainder of the Napatean state. The sixth-century BCE king, Aspalta, for example, in his "Election Stele" is granted the throne on the basis of his genealogy, which is recited by Amun and consists of seven generations of royal females.<sup>83</sup> And, even the first-century BCE Greek historian, Nicolaus of Damascus, would observe simplistically that, "Ethiopians have a particular respect for their sisters; the kings do not leave the succession to their own, but to their sister's sons."<sup>84</sup>

Taharka's legitimizing program initiated a new viable succession strategy that would be deployed by Napatean kings when appropriate.<sup>85</sup> He based this strategy on his own personal situation in succeeding Shabitku, his cousin, and on the method by which the Kushite kings had achieved legitimate power over Thebes, the adoption as God's Wife of Amun of the Kushite princess, Amenirdis, by Osorkon III's daughter Shepenwepi. These two influences helped contributed to a legitimate matrilineal succession paradigm and the rise in prominence of Kushite Queen Mothers.<sup>86</sup>

## THE DESCENT OF KINGSHIP TO THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY

From the point of view of the city of Thebes, the succession of legitimate rulers during the course of the Third Intermediate Period, specifically in the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, was complicated by a number of factors, including rebellions in Thebes (e.g., Pedubast and Prince Osorkon), the royal status of God's Wives of Amun (e.g., Shepenwepi I used a cartouche, and apparently maintained dates by her reign<sup>87</sup>), and the Kushite invasion. Keeping track of these rulers was essential for such practical tasks as dating documents and recording legal and cultic time. For example, the Nile level records on the Karnak quay attest the task of documenting the height of the Nile flood required the dating by reign of the recognized ruler.<sup>88</sup> There, heights are dated according to the attestations of Twenty-second Dynasty kings such as

<sup>83</sup> See Ritner 2009: 449–455.

<sup>84</sup> See Török 1997: 255, n.286. Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 4.2. *FGrH* 90 F 103m, Eide, Hägg, Pierce, and Török.1996: #158 (transl. T. Eide).

<sup>85</sup> See, for example, the examples of King Aspleta (Ritner 2009: 449–455) and King Atlanersa (Török 1997: 234–241).

<sup>86</sup> Note, also, that the office of Queen Mother established by Taharka would follow a similar succession strategy as the God's Wife's, namely the regular adoption of the successor Queen Mother by the former (Török 1997: 239–241).

<sup>87</sup> See the Wadi Gasus Graffito; Ritner 2009: 460.

<sup>88</sup> von Beckerath 1966.

Osorkon II, the rebel Pedubast, and the father and son Osorkon III and Takelot III, all of whom represent separate and competing monarchies who wielded power in Thebes at different times.

On the basis of dates attested in Thebes, the sequence of kings who were recognized in the Theban area during this time was as follows:

Osorkon II  
 Pedubast<sup>89</sup>  
 Osorkon III / Takelot III<sup>90</sup>  
 Shepenwepi I / Amenirdis I  
 Piye  
 Shabaka  
 Shebitku  
 Taharka

The events which led to the empowerment of the Kushite kings required their recognition of themselves as successors to the kings of Thebes. The Kushite perception of their own royal family tree through which they traced the descent of power depended specifically on Shepenwepi, the one God's Wife of Amun who took the royal titles and regalia.<sup>91</sup> From the point of view of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, it was the adoption of Piye's sister Amenirdis as the God's Wife of Amun by Osorkon III's daughter Shepenwepi that provided legitimacy to Piye's power in Thebes. Since Shepenwepi, in the capacity of God's Wife, not only took the cartouche for her names but also adopted the titles "Lord of the Two Lands" and "Lord of Appearances" (titles reserved for kings), she can be seen as passing the kingship through herself from Osorkon III to the Kushite dynasty. Taharka was able to capitalize on this in his legitimizing program and his tracing of the descent of kingship through his mother's line. For Taharka's purposes, Shepenwepi was an adopted mother of Piye, and the royal female line from which Piye could claim the kingship of Egypt. And, thus, the thread of his matrilineal succession not only reinforced his claim to succeed his immediate Kushite predecessors (legitimizing his collateral succession), but also reinforced the broader Kushite claim to succeed

<sup>89</sup> Plus a double dating with aluput as coregent; Nile Level Text 26, von Beckerath 1966.

<sup>90</sup> Plus a double dating with his son Takelot III as coregent; Nile Level Text 13, von Beckerath 1966.

<sup>91</sup> Best example of the king-like nature of Shepenwepi's titulary is in the Osiris-Heka-Djet temple. See Legrain 1900: 125–136, 146–149; Redford 1973: 16–30; Ayad 2009a; 2009b.

the Theban line of Osorkon III. In this paradigm, Taharka would have recognized the following sequence of kings as his immediate royal ancestors:

Osorkon III  
Shepenwepi I  
Piye  
Shabaka  
Shebitku

These two independently acquired sequences of rulers, those considered legitimate in Thebes and those considered the legitimate predecessors of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, provided an historical and ideological framework from which Manetho's "Twenty-third Dynasty" may have emerged.

#### THE IDENTIFICATION OF MANETHO'S PSAMMOUS AND ZET

Manetho's Psammous and Zet can be explained in light of the legal succession sequence in Thebes and the legitimate matrilineal descent of Taharka's kingship. Shepenwepi I is the specific link between the Theban and the Kushite kingships; she held royal power in Thebes and took the titulary of kingship. If one of Mantho's sources for this particular period was indeed a strand of the king-list tradition descended from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty's legitimizing program, as argued above, Shepenwepi then is a logical candidate for Psammous, the name that follows Osorkon III in Manetho's Twenty-third Dynasty.

In their role as the spouse of Amun, Shepenwepi and her successors were firmly identified with Amun's divine consort, Mut. As such, the God's Wives would frequently take throne names and epithets referring to Mut.<sup>92</sup> Shepenwepi's name, attested ubiquitously at the Osiris-Heqa-Djet temple at Karnak, is *šp-n-wpt-mri(t)-mwt*.<sup>93</sup> She was the first of the God's Wives to take the epithet "Beloved of Mut," which she included as part of her name within her cartouche.<sup>94</sup> Redford has already suggested that the name of the goddess *Mwt* might underlie the Greek -μοῦς of Psammous.<sup>95</sup> Following this observation and taking into account the legitimizing program of Taharka reviewed

<sup>92</sup> Török 1997: 148 and references.

<sup>93</sup> See von Beckerath 1999: 198–199. For Osiris-Heqa-Djet temple, see de Lubicz 1999: 645–647, pl. 233–237; Legrain 1900: 125–136, 146–149; Redford 1973: 16–30; Ayad 2009a; 2009b.

<sup>94</sup> Legrain 1900: *passim*; Legrain 1906: 46.

<sup>95</sup> Redford 1986: 311–312.

above, the name of this significant God's Wife, Shepenwepi-Mery-Mut, is the best identification for Manetho's Psammous.

This identification is supported by the linguistic developments of Late Egyptian and by known transliterations of Egyptian words into Greek. In Late Egyptian, the pronunciation of *mry* had been reduced to *ma*, as indicated in various Akkadian transcriptions of the Ramesside names.<sup>96</sup> The final /t/ in syllables and words was frequently dropped or weakened to an aleph, affecting *wpt* and *Mwt*, and /r/ had transitioned to a glottal stop.<sup>97</sup> Thus, Egyptian - *mry-Mwt* (*ma-mu*) could quite logically be rendered—μμοῦ—in Greek, where there was a tendency for adjacent nasal consonants to assimilate. The contraction of *šp-n-wp(t)-* to Ψα may be explained by the proximity of /p/ to /n/, known to cause sonorization in Late Egyptian and Coptic (/p/+n/ > /b/ and/or /n/+p/ > /b/),<sup>98</sup> which is supported by the alternative spelling of Shepenwepi's name by replacing /p/ with /b/ at the Osiris-Heqa-Djet temple.<sup>99</sup> Finally, Greek Ψα- is often used to render Egyptian *p3-s-* as in *p3-šhnty* > ψχέντ<sup>100</sup> or *p3-š-* as in *p3-šrj-(n)-Mwt* > ψάμμουθις.<sup>101</sup>

Given that the development of the Egyptian script was very conservative compared to the more rapid developments of the language itself, and that Greek transliteration of Egyptian words was imperfect and informal at best,<sup>102</sup> the transformation of *šp-n-wpt-mri(t)-mwt* into ψάμμουσις plausible. Considering also the historiographical arguments provided above and Shepenwepi's role in the transfer of kingship to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the identification appears probable.

<sup>96</sup> Loprieno 1995: 38.

<sup>97</sup> Junge 2001: 35; Loprieno 1995: 38.

<sup>98</sup> Loprieno 1995: 41–43, for /b/ and /p/ developments in first millennium and sonorization in proximity of /n/. Note also the reduction of -wp- which might occur when rendering Egyptian w as a vowel in Greek, as in *wh3t* (Oasis) > ὄασις; McGready 1968.

<sup>99</sup> Legrain 1900: *passim*.

<sup>100</sup> McGready 1968: 252.

<sup>101</sup> Waddell 1940: 178; von Beckerath 1999: 224–225. Alternatively, on the basis of this last example, *tA-st-Mwt*, “The Daughter of Mut”, referring also to Shepenwepet, masculinized to *pA-sA-Mwt* might be a possible pedigree of the name Psammous. Compare Redford's suggestion, above.

<sup>102</sup> McGready 1968.

In the reconstruction of the Kushite sequence of legitimate rulers presented above, Osorkon III and Shepenwepi should be followed by Piye. In Manetho's epitome, it is at the point at which Piye would be expected that the enigmatic Zet appears, who is assigned a 31-year reign. A minimum of 30 years can be assigned to Piye on the basis of the Sed-festival reliefs at the Great Temple of Gebel Barkal, and most scholars accept a regnal length of 31 years.<sup>103</sup> While there does not appear to be a linguistic connection between the Greek Ζήτ and any part of the titulary of Piye,<sup>104</sup> both the location of Zet in Manetho's sequence and the number of years assigned to him seem to suggest that Ζήτ was intended as Piye.

### BOCHCHORIS AND MANETHO'S TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY

It has been argued here that the sequence of kings recognized by Taharka as his legitimate successors is that which Manetho encountered in his sources—specifically, Osorkon III, Shepenwepi I, Piye, Shabaka, and Shebitku. However, Manetho breaks this sequence with the insertion of his Twenty-fourth Dynasty as follows, according to the epitome of Julius Africanus:

#### *The Twenty-fourth Dynasty*

Bochchoris of Saïs

6 years

During his reign a lamb spoke, 990 years.<sup>105</sup>

The insertion of Bochchoris here must be dependent on Manetho's reconciliation of the Taharka legitimacy source with the source which also provided an anecdote for Shabaka: "Sabakon, who, after taking Bochchoris captive, burned him alive."<sup>106</sup> Based on the relative chronology acquired from these sources, Manetho placed Bochchoris immediately preceding Sabakon. Additionally, Manetho also had a source concerning a prophecy by a lamb during Bochchoris' reign.<sup>107</sup> Thus, three documents, a king-list constructed by Taharka, a lamb's prophecy, and a third tradition concerning the conflict

<sup>103</sup> See Kitchen 1986: §114.

<sup>104</sup> Perhaps a contraction of the rare Horus name *sHtp-tAwtj.fj*? See attestation via von Beckerath 1999: 206–207.

<sup>105</sup> Translation and text format from Adler and Tuffin 2002: 106.

<sup>106</sup> Adler and Tuffin 2002: 106.

<sup>107</sup> See the Prophecy of the Lamb preserved in the 8 BCE Papyrus Vienna D 10,000, which recounts the prophecy of a lamb during the reign of Bakenrenef (Bochchoris); Smith *et al.* 2003: 445–449.

between Bochchoris and Sabakon,<sup>108</sup> represent the variety of sources from which Manetho built his history of Egypt.

This scenario provides a rare insight into Manetho's methodology. His sources were varied, ranging from king-list fragments to historical anecdotes to ancient literature. These sources were often either conflicting or in need of rough integration, and, therefore, the chronology which Manetho constructed based upon them was limited both by his sources and by his ability to interpret them.

## CONCLUSION

Despite the long-standing rejection of Manetho's "Twenty-third Dynasty" as ahistorical, the sequence of names preserved therein are indeed part of an authentic historiographical tradition. Manetho had access to a wide variety of documents from which he constructed his chronology. While documents similar to the Turin Canon appear to have been at his disposal for many periods, no single document provided the complete sequence of rulers for him. Consequently, he had to reconcile conflicting data from a variety sources. One of the most difficult periods for him to reconstruct was that of the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties, during which numerous kinglets claimed royal authority in a variety of regions.

Manetho's source for the names of his "Twenty-third Dynasty" was likely a product of Taharka's campaign to legitimize the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. His program provided validity for his collateral accession by way of his matrilineal descent, and he bolstered this claim with the manufactured tradition of Alara's dedication of royal women to Amun. Additionally, this succession paradigm, in combination with his dynasty's link with Shepenwepi, provided a mechanism for legitimizing Kushite rule over Egypt. From Taharka's perspective, the proper succession of the rightful kings of Egypt was Osorkon III, Shepenwepi, Piankhy, Shabaka, Shebitku, to himself, exactly the succession Manetho preserves in his Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth Dynasties. Further, the insertion of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty shows that Manetho was capable of deductive reasoning and not simply a passive witness to ancient testimony.

In addition to the intended consequences of Taharka's program, there were far-reaching side-effects. His new matrilinear succession paradigm would become a peculiarity of Kushite/Napatan kingship for the next six centuries.

<sup>108</sup> See also the testimony of Herodotus (2.137–2.140) which appears to make use of a similar tradition for the conflict between Sabacos and Delta ruler.

Kushite royal women, especially those who were to be the vehicles for passing on the kingship, would be dedicated to Amun on the model of Taharka's Alara tradition. And these would be the primary influences for the exceptional prominence of Kushite Queen Mothers.<sup>109</sup> Overall, Taharka was a great innovator, establishing new and lasting traditions of Kushite kingship.<sup>110</sup>

Taharka's strategy of appealing to a revised past and reinventing tradition to support his claim to the throne should not be seen in isolation. His efforts were part of a broader trend in legitimization strategies of the late-eighth and early-seventh century BCE in the ancient Near East. In the eighth century, the usurper Sargon II revised the Assyrian King-list, doing away with the traditional citations of parentage and, instead, emphasizing his descent from Baltil (most ancient Ashur), stressing ancient roots for his kingship. His grandson, Esarhaddon, too, uniquely invoked a dynastic founder from a thousand years in the past.<sup>111</sup> The Judahite Josiah's Deuteronomic reform found legitimacy in an ancient book discovered in the temple purporting to contain the forgotten laws of Moses (2 Kings 22; 2 Chron 34). In Sparta, traditions and laws established in the fifth century BCE were backdated to the eighth century founder-figure and law-giver Lykourgos for legitimacy.<sup>112</sup> In all of these attempts at legitimacy, archaism and the appeal to founder figures and ostensibly ancient documents were key components. The invention of tradition, by definition, requires the manufacture of a history to support it.

Historians in the ancient world frequently used sources that had been affected by the revised history of these legitimization strategies. The chronologies of Africanus and Eusebius were both influenced by the revised king-list of the Sargonids.<sup>113</sup> The Deuteronomic Historians and the Chronicler bought into Josiah's "Mosaic" laws and reforms and compiled a history to compliment them. Spartans continued to appeal to Lykourgos well into Roman times, universally impacting the work of historians and other writers.

These revisions of the past and their use by ancient historians create a significant barrier for modern historians' reliance on ancient documents, especially king-lists and ancient histories. Consequently, scholarship is at great pains to separate authentic history from manufactured tradition.

<sup>109</sup> Contra Török (1997: 255–262) and others who interpret the prominence of Queen Mothers in Kushite society as the influence for the matrilineal succession paradigm, the inverse of what is argued here.

<sup>110</sup> See also Gozzoli 2010b: 200–201.

<sup>111</sup> Tadmor 1981: 26–30.

<sup>112</sup> Malkin 1994.

<sup>113</sup> Adler and Tuffin 2002.



Taharka's Alara tradition, for example, is called upon to reconstruct early Kushite history and political organization.<sup>114</sup> The New Kingdom development of the founder figure, Menes, continues to dominate scholarship on the formation of the Egyptian state.<sup>115</sup> The reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah and the systematization of "Mosaic law" continue to influence the archaeology of Israelite origins.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Török 1997: 128, 230–234; Jansen-Winkel 2003; Gozzoli 2010a; Gozzoli 2010b: 187.

<sup>115</sup> Adams 2011; Adams (forthcoming).

<sup>116</sup> Finkelstein and Silberman 2001.

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