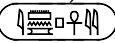


*Appendix D*  
*Meri Amun Piye*

The commonly held opinion that “Manetho makes no mention of the great Sudanese or Cushite warrior Pi<sup>c</sup>ankhy,”<sup>1</sup> who ruled Upper Egypt for a minimum of 31 years,<sup>2</sup> is simply untrue. Manetho’s record of Piye was ignored because present-day historians misdated Piye’s reign by dozens of years (dates varying greatly depending upon which historian is followed).<sup>3</sup> Ancient inscriptions show that Pharaoh Piye also called himself “ Meri Amun Piye (Beloved of Amun, the Living One).”<sup>4</sup> Meri (Beloved) was written by the Greeks as Ἀμμέρις (Ammeris), in Latin *Ameres*, and the like.<sup>5</sup> He was defined in Manetho as “Ammeris the Ethiopian,” the first Pharaoh of Egypt’s Dynasty XXVI at Sais.<sup>6</sup> What we shall discover is that Ammeri (Meri) is readily identified with Taharqa (Tirhaqah) Piye, the famous king of Kush who later also became a Pharaoh of Egypt.<sup>7</sup>

Eusebius points out that Ammeris reigned as the first king of Manetho’s Dynasty XXVI at Sais for 12 years,<sup>8</sup> i.e., from 696–685 B.C.E., after which he placed Stephinates (Tefnakht II) on the throne. Nevertheless, Tefnakht II remained subject to King Piye, who was living at the time in Napata, Kush. Therefore, it is no surprise that the Armenian version of Eusebius gives

---

<sup>1</sup> EP, p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> TIP, p. 142 §114, “a total reign of 31 years, perhaps slightly more,” and p. 152 §123, where a fragmentary bandage appears to give Piye, at minimum, 30 plus years. Therefore, a total up to 39 years as Pharaoh over Egypt is clearly available.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of dates from different historians given to Piye, see *Egyptian Journeys 2003* (phouka.com/pharaoh/pharaoh/dynasties/dyn25/01piy.html). To these we can add Kenneth Kitchen (TIP, p. 468, 747–716 B.C.E., p. 559 §473); Gardiner (EP, p. 450, 751–730 B.C.E.); and many others.

<sup>4</sup> Also translated Meriamon-Piankhi. TIP, p. 152 §123, p. 369 §328; FHN, 1, p. 48, l. e, p. 49, 6. e, p. 50, 9. e, p. 55, l. 2, p. 57, l. 1, p. 65, l. 1, l. 2. Ameri Amun can be translated to mean “Beloved of Amun.” Piye means “the Living One,” see FHN, 1, pp. 1283, 1284.

<sup>5</sup> Manetho, frag. 69a, “Ammeris the Ethiopian,” 69b, “Ameres the Ethiopian”; Sothis, no. 78, “Amaes.” Also see Inter. Arm., p. 9; Sec. Hier. Cod., p. 34, and the discussion in Chap. XI. Those who attempt to identify King Ammeris (Ameri, Meri) with Ta-Nuat-Amun (Tanutamûn, etc.) (e.g., Waddell, *Manetho*, p. 249, n. 1; JEA, 34, p. 60) do so out of whole cloth. Ta-Nuat-Amun only reigned 9 years in Upper Egypt (FHN, 1, pp. 192, 193; SAK, 10, p. 327 & figs. 1, 2, pl. 20/a), not the 12, 18, or 38 years recorded in the above-mentioned sources and other records. Furthermore, Ta-Nuat-Amun only became king in 663 B.C.E. following the death of Tirhaqah II, the last king of Dynasty XXV. He did not rule as a king of Sais prior to Stephinathis (Tefnakht II) of Dynasty XXVI (684 to 677 B.C.E.), as Ammeris is listed as having done. Those who reject this obvious mistake are themselves forced to speculate that Ammeris was an Ethiopian governor placed in the province of Sais by the Ethiopian rulers of Egypt’s Dynasty XXV (e.g., TIP, p. 145 §§116–118, & n. 259). Yet to reach this conclusion, they must ignore the statement from Manetho that Ammeris was one of the “9 KINGS” of Dynasty XXVI at Sais, not a governor.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> See our discussions above in Chap. XI and XII.

<sup>8</sup> Manetho, frag. 69a.

“Ameres the Ethiopian” a longer reign of 18 years,<sup>9</sup> that is, from 696–679 B.C.E. This 18-year reign is explained by the Victory Stela of King Piye.<sup>10</sup> As T. G. H. James notes, Tefnakht of Sais was in a state of rebellion during Piye’s 19th and 20th years as a king of Upper and Lower Egypt.<sup>11</sup> László Török comments:

In Year 19 Piye is at Napata when he receives reports of the southward expansion of Tefnakht’s chiefdom in the western Delta and of his alliance with other chiefs.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless, Piye did not send his army against the rebels until sometime during “his twentieth regnal year,”<sup>13</sup> the entire period of the war falling within the confines of one year.<sup>14</sup> Why did Piye delay in advancing against Tefnakht during Year 19?<sup>15</sup> His hesitation, at first, seems curious. Indeed, at the time when Piye heard the various reports regarding the advancements made by Tefnakht in the revolt, he received them “defiantly, laughing and amused” and then continued to delay.<sup>16</sup>

A number of present-day historians tried to explain away Piye’s hesitancy by claiming that he simply was not motivated to repress the rebellion until one of his main allies, Nimlot, joined the revolt with Tefnakht.<sup>17</sup> Yet this view does not really explain why Piye did not intercede sooner, well before things reached critical mass. Indeed, Piye was fearless and a very religious man. He expressed no doubt that he could easily crush his opponents. Therefore, his joyous and laughing attitude bespeaks of another motive. Evidence indicates that the real reason for Piye’s hesitancy was that he wanted to wait until he was celebrating the year of his *Heb Sed* (the 30-year anniversary as king). He wished to celebrate this special festival with a great victory over his enemies.

Next, Piye’s 30th year as the king of Kush can be equated with his 20th year as a king of Egypt. To demonstrate, the celebration of state festivals and other special occasions were extremely important to Piye. For example, he made sure to observe the required festivals before he left Napata to take command of the war effort against Tefnakht. We are told that only, “After the rites of New Year are performed,” did Piye go north.

<sup>9</sup> Manetho, frag. 69b.

<sup>10</sup> FHN, 1, pp. 62–112.

<sup>11</sup> Noting that the Victory Stela was composed at the very beginning of Piye’s 21st year as king of Egypt, James adds, “The events described in the text, however, began at least two years earlier” (CAH, 3.2., p. 684).

<sup>12</sup> FHN, 1, p. 114.

<sup>13</sup> CAH, 3.2, p. 679; LPIE, p. 147; FHN, 1, p. 114, defines the war as “the events of Year 20.”

<sup>14</sup> Cf. LSTP, pp. 219, 295; FHN, 1, p. 114.

<sup>15</sup> FHN, 1, pp. 65–67, l. 2–7; p. 93; BZS, 9, pp. 46f; CAH, 3.2, p. 684.

<sup>16</sup> Victory Stela, l. 5f; LAIE, p. 478; FHN, 1, pp. 67f, l. 5f, “joyfully, laughing, his heart swelling (with pride)”; ARE, 4, §819, “with courageous heart, laughing, and joyous of heart.”

<sup>17</sup> E.g., T. G. H. James remarks, “Py took little action until he heard that Nimlot, prince of Hermopolis, had deserted his cause and gone over to Tefnakhte” (CAH, 3.2, p. 684). Also see FHN, I, p. 115; EP, 366; BZS, 9, pp. 46f.

The 1st month of the 1st season, 9th day; his majesty went northward to Thebes, and completed the Feast of Amon at the Feast of Opet.<sup>18</sup>

Piye also turned the campaign against Tefnakht into a holy war. When his army arrived at Thebes, for example, Piye ordered them to lay down their arms and purify themselves in the Nile River. He then had them dress in fine linen, forbade them to boast in their power, and commanded them to perform other rituals in dedication to the god Amun.<sup>19</sup>

Subsequently, after overthrowing Hermopolis, Piye performed sacrifices and other duties at the temple of Thoth.<sup>20</sup> It is at this very point in his campaign that we discover the importance of Piye's Year 20. After visiting the temple of Thoth, the army of the Hare nome, now proclaiming their loyalty and submission to Piye, began shouting and singing:

How beautiful is Horus, appeased in his city. The son of Rê, Piye! *ḥꜥk nꜥn ḥb-s(d)* (Will you celebrate with us *Heb Sed*) as you protect the Hare nome?<sup>21</sup>

The fact that Year 20 was the year of Piye's *Heb Sed* (Sed-festival) explains why, during his 19th year, he postponed his attack on Lower Egypt. Piye sought glory for the year of his *Heb Sed*. The *Heb Sed* is a reference to the kings "Royal Jubilee," a "five-day jubilee celebration of the 30th year of a pharaoh's reign."<sup>22</sup> The ritual normally depicts the king running alongside an Apis bull in order to prove his fitness to rule and renew his right to hold royal powers.<sup>23</sup>

For the novice, that Piye would observe his 30-year anniversary in his 20th year as the king of Egypt may seem contradictory. This detail is explained by the fact that the *Heb Sed* was not counted from the beginning of Piye's regnal reign in Egypt, but rather from his 1st year as a king in the land of Kush. Many other kings in Egypt also celebrated their *Heb Sed* in the same way, counting their years for the *Heb Sed* from the time when they were associated on a throne or became co-regent.<sup>24</sup> Zoser I of Dynasty III, for example, celebrated his *Heb Sed* even though he had only governed 19 years and 1 month of his regnal years.<sup>25</sup> Yet Manetho reports that Zoser I actually reigned 29 years,<sup>26</sup> i.e., dying early in his 30th year (which year in the NY system was given to his

<sup>18</sup> LAIE, pp. 480f, l. 24–26, 29; FHN, 1, pp. 76f, 79, l. 24–26, 29.

<sup>19</sup> LAIE, p. 479, l. 12–16; ARE, 4, §823; FHN, 1, p. 71.

<sup>20</sup> LAIE, p. 482, l. 59f; FHN, 1, p. 84, l. 59f.

<sup>21</sup> FHN, 1, p. 84, l. 60f; LAIE, p. 472, l. 60f, pp. 482f, l. 60f; ARE, 4, §848. This line seems best read as a question and not as a statement, as is often done. In either case, it does not change the importance of the statement.

<sup>22</sup> EAE, p. 163.

<sup>23</sup> See [www.touregypt.net/featurestories/sedfestival.htm](http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/sedfestival.htm).

<sup>24</sup> Neglecting any inclusion of co-regencies and other starting points has resulted in such statements as, "Later rulers did not always wait 30 years before celebrating the *heb-sed*" (EAE, p. 163). The criticism goes away once one factors in co-regency periods or begins the count from service on a previous throne in another region.

<sup>25</sup> Turin Kinglist, 3.5.

<sup>26</sup> Manetho, frag. 11, no. 2, Tosorthros; Waddell, *Manetho*, p. 40, n. 3.

successor).<sup>27</sup> It is clear that Zoser I was already co-regent 10 years with his father before he began to count his official regnal years. In this regard, this more ancient version of the festival appears to have been instituted to replace a ritual of murdering a pharaoh who was unable to effectively continue due to his bad health or age.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, Zoser I's depiction of his *Heb Sed* is found on a mortuary temple. Ian Shaw writes:

The complex as a whole seems to have been simultaneously a permanent monumental equivalent of the sed-festival and a celebration of the royal funerary cult.<sup>29</sup>

The ceremony subsequently evolved into the celebration of a Pharaoh's 30th year of reign and an affirmation of his continued ability to rule, beginning from anytime that the king first touched power belonging to a throne. This detail led to the false impression that, against the very meaning of the Jubilee, later rulers would not always wait until their 30th year before celebrating their *Heb Sed*.<sup>30</sup> Actually, these so-called early observances are easily explained by defining the point at which a king would begin his count, i.e., it lies in the difference between the official regnal years—when a Pharaoh had primary responsibility—and his rule based upon co-regency, an association on the throne, or from a previous service rendered on a throne from another area.

Custom also developed that after the 30-year Jubilee celebration, a ruler would then celebrate another *Heb Sed* every 3 years (or 4 as in one case of Amenhotep III).<sup>31</sup> Osorkon II celebrated his *Heb Sed* in his 22nd regnal year,<sup>32</sup> which indicates an 8-year co-regency prior to his official regnal reign. Queen Hatshepsut (Ma'ka-re' Hashepsowe) of Dynasty XVIII is another good example. She was also known as Khnemet-Amun-Hatshepsut,<sup>33</sup> for which the Greek texts of Manetho and the Book of Sothis named her Amessis (Amensis, etc.).<sup>34</sup> Hatshepsut held her *Heb Sed* Jubilee despite the fact that she officially ruled only 21 years and 9 months (22 years), beginning after the death of her brother-husband, Thutmose II.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, she was "always regarded as the true successor of Thutmose I," her father.<sup>36</sup> In this regard, Hatshepsut made the claim that she succeeded her father, Thutmose I, on the throne.<sup>37</sup> As a result, she

<sup>27</sup> The 19 years and 1 month of the Turin Kinglist proves that Zoser I reigned into the first month of his 20th year = the 30th year since beginning his co-regency with his father.

<sup>28</sup> TLP, p. 71.

<sup>29</sup> ExAE, p. 54.

<sup>30</sup> EAE, p. 163. See above n. 24.

<sup>31</sup> EP, p. 207.

<sup>32</sup> BPENR, p. 170; EP, p. 331.

<sup>33</sup> The name Amensis (Amun-si-s) might have derived from part of her personal name, Khnemet-Amun-Hatshepsut.

<sup>34</sup> Manetho, frag. 50, l. 94f, & frag. 52; Theophilus, *Ad Autolyc.*, 3:19, no. 4, where *ēva* (1) is in error for *ēvvēa* (9), see Waddell, *Manetho*, p. 109, n. 1; Sothis, no. 36; HP, 2, p. 236.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* Her highest year documented is an inscription dated to Year 20 (EP, p. 443.).

<sup>36</sup> HP, 2, p. 308.

<sup>37</sup> ARE, 2, §§239f, 243; HP, 2, p. 281, 304–306.

counted her reign for her *Heb Sed* from that point. In support, we know that throughout this period Hatshepsut was co-regent with her husband-brother Thutmose II,<sup>38</sup> who also succeeded Thutmose I at his death.<sup>39</sup> After the demise of Thutmose II, she was co-regent with her brother's son Thutmose III.<sup>40</sup>

Knowing Hatshepsut's history of co-regencies, we can readily see that she had more than enough time to celebrate her *Heb Sed*. Josephus, quoting Manetho, who used alternative throne names for these kings and queen, writes:

Chebron (Thutmose I)<sup>41</sup> who ruled for 13 years, after him Amenophis (Thutmose II)<sup>42</sup> reigned for 20 years and 7 months; then his sister Amessis (Hatshepsut) for 21 years 9 months; then her son (stepson) Mephres (Thutmose III)<sup>43</sup> for 12 years 9 months;<sup>44</sup> then his son Mephramuthosis (Amenophis II)<sup>45</sup> 25 years 10 months.<sup>46</sup>

These figures represent the fact that for 20 years and 7 months Hatshepsut governed as co-regent with her brother-husband, Thutmose II, and the 21 years and 9 months she was co-regent with her young stepson, Thutmose III, until her death, a total of 42 years and 4 months. Thutmose III actually governed 54 regnal years,<sup>47</sup> ascending to the throne as a very young boy before his father, Thutmose II's, death.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, the 20 years and 9 months that are given to Hatshepsut by Manetho represent her period as the guardian of and co-regent with her stepson, Thutmose III. During that time she was the dominant power in Egypt.

<sup>38</sup> ARE, 2, §§340f; HP, 2, pp. 287f; EP, p. 181.

<sup>39</sup> ARE, 2, §§115–118; HP, 2, p. 282.

<sup>40</sup> AEC, p. 32–44; EP, 2, pp. 184; HP, 2, pp. 297f.

<sup>41</sup> The throne name of Thutmose II was *Kheperen*, which Manetho read as Khebron (HP, 2, p. 236).

<sup>42</sup> HP, 2, p. 236, reign of 20 years and 7 months; cf. Manetho, frags. 50 & 51.

<sup>43</sup> HP, 2, pp. 236, 298, from his throne name Menkheperre.

<sup>44</sup> Thutmose III and his supporters counted his 54-year reign from the death of Thutmose II until his own death during his 54th regnal year (ARE, 2, §592). Manetho, on the other hand, only counts those years during which he was neither co-regent with his stepmother Hatshepsut or his son Amenophis II.

<sup>45</sup> HP, 2, p. 236.

<sup>46</sup> Manetho, frag. 50; Jos., *Apion*, 1:15:95ff.

<sup>47</sup> He ruled Egypt 53 years, 10 months, and 26 days (Urk. 180.1; JNES, 25.2, p. 119), see EP, p. 443; HP, p. 236; SIRA, p. 20.

<sup>48</sup> In both an inscription of Thutmose III at Karnak and on a fragment of Karnak Pylon VII, we read that the "1st month of the 3rd season, 4th day," i.e., the 4th day of the 9th month of the year, "was the feast of the king's coronation" (ARE, 2, §§417, 594; HP, 2, p. 26). Meanwhile, the record from Manetho reports that Thutmose II (Amenophis) "reigned for 20 years 7 months" (Manetho, frags. 50 & 51; Jos., *Apion*, 1:15:95; Theophilus, *Ad Autolyc.*, 3:19). Since Thutmose I died just before New Year's Day (for which reason Manetho gives him 13 years with no months), on which day both Thutmose II and Hatshepsut came to the throne (ARE, 2, §§239–240; HP, 2, pp. 281, 306), it means that Thutmose II died at the beginning of his 8th month. Furthermore, Thutmose III reports that he was coronated king while still a youth and while his father, Thutmose II, was still alive (ARE, 2, §§131–162, esp. 151; HP, 2, p. 291–293). Thutmose III writes that he was coronated king "while I was one dwelling in his (Thutmose II's) nest," i.e., while he was very young and living at home.

The temple of Amun in Napata also proves that Piye's *Heb Sed* as a king of Kush took place during his 20th year as a king of Egypt. As Robert G. Morkot so poignantly observed, "Having established Kushite power in Upper Egypt, Piye began to enlarge the temple of Amun at the Holy Mountain of Gebel Barkal," i.e., at "Pure Mountain," located in Napata.<sup>49</sup> Napata was located deep inside the land of Kush, near the Fourth Cataract of the Nile. Piye's enlargement of the temple of Amun at Napata was accomplished in three stages:

. . . the first enclosed the original temple built by Sety I and Ramesses II (rooms B 503–519) with a wall which also created a new hall with altar or dais (B 520–21); the second phase extended the temple by adding a vast columned hall and entrance pylon (Pylon II and B 502); and the last phase added a colonnade forecourt and entrance pylon (Pylon I and B 501).<sup>50</sup>

An epigraphic survey of this temple was carried out in recent years by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.<sup>51</sup> It has given us a new insight into the decorations that were in place on the complex after its last phase. These decorations "demonstrate their close relationship with the account of the invasion of Egypt narrated on the Victory Stela of Piye."<sup>52</sup>

One scene shows the obeisance of the princes before Piye, and was an expanded version of the scene on the stela itself. The accompanying texts were almost identical, even to spelling mistakes. The decoration of the pylon's internal faces (B 502) seems to have shown the capture of Khemenu and a battle. The outer court must, therefore, have been built and decorated after the campaign . . . .<sup>53</sup>

Robert G. Morkot adds another important detail. He comments that, "The fragment of a scene showing Piye running alongside the Apis bull is indicative of Sed-festival scenes." Yet Morkot was not certain whether it was a record of a celebration or simply prospective.<sup>54</sup> He then importantly realized that there was a distinct possibility "that the whole temple was completed in Year 21 when the Victory Stela was set up in the first courtyard."<sup>55</sup> Morkot clearly saw the close connection between the military activities of Year 20 and the Sed-festival of Piye.

<sup>49</sup> BPENR, p. 170.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> BPENR, p. 170 & 314, n. 11, "These are still mostly unpublished in any accessible form but see the Reisner photographs in Dunham 1970: pls. L, LI (also Smith and Simpson 1981: 397, fig. 390) and Kendall 1999"; see TBT, pls. L, LI; AAAE, p. 397, fig 390; Meroitica, 15, pp. 3–117.

<sup>52</sup> BPENR, p. 170.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> BPENR, pp. 170f.

<sup>55</sup> BPENR, p. 172.

On the other hand, Robert G. Morkot is manifestly wrong in his interpretation that the *Heb Sed* was connected with the activities of Year 21,<sup>56</sup> after the Victory Stela was set up in the temple courtyard. Rather, it has to be connected with the events of Year 20 when the war against Lower Egypt took place. Seven points demonstrate this understanding.

- First, the Victory Stela is dated to “Regnal year 21, 1st month of the season of Inundation (Akhet),”<sup>57</sup> i.e., to the 1st month of the Egyptian year. No specific day of the month is mentioned, which by common practice indicates that the stela was set up on the 1st day of that month (Feb. 8th of 676 B.C.E.),<sup>58</sup> in this case, New Year’s Day.
- Second, the details mentioned on the Victory Stela, which was dedicated on the 1st day of the new year, about Piye’s military activities against Tefnakht of Sais indicate that the events spoken of on the stela had to transpire during Year 20.
- Third, the versions of the war found on the temple and on the Victory Stela were almost identical “even to spelling mistakes.”<sup>59</sup> This detail reveals that the composition for both the stela and the temple occurred at nearly one and the same time by the hand of the same scribe. Therefore, the temple of Amun must have also been finished just prior to the 1st day of the new year, i.e., near the end of Year 20.
- Fourth, because (1) the inscriptions on the Victory Stela had to be composed prior to the stela being set up in the courtyard of the temple of Amun, and (2) the painting and inscriptions of the walls of the temple of Amun had to be composed after the temple was finished, it is manifest that the composition of both texts occurred prior to the 1st day of the new year. This detail places all of the events described in both inscriptions in Piye’s Year 20.
- Fifth, Piye could not have composed the details of his military expedition until after he had returned from his campaign against Tefnakht and prior to the 1st day of the new year.
- Sixth, the soldiers in the Hare nome (at the city of Hermopolis),<sup>60</sup> where King Nimlot ruled, shouted out their desire to celebrate Piye’s *Heb Sed* with him during the campaign of Year 20.<sup>61</sup>
- Seventh, the depiction on the temple of Amun showing “Piye running alongside the Apis bull,”<sup>62</sup> which indicates his celebration of the *Heb Sed*, must, therefore, have also belonged to the events of Year 20.

<sup>56</sup> BPENR, p. 172.

<sup>57</sup> Victory Stela, l. 1; LAIE, p. 477, l. 1; FHN, 1, p. 64, main text, l. 1.

<sup>58</sup> HdO, p. 272.

<sup>59</sup> BPENR, p. 172.

<sup>60</sup> Also called the Hermopolite nome (Egyptian: *Wenet*).

<sup>61</sup> FHN, 1, p. 84, l. 60f; LAIE, p. 472, l. 60f, pp. 482f, l. 60f; ARE, 4, §848.

<sup>62</sup> BPENR, p. 170.

Celebrating his *Heb Sed* during Year 20 as the king of Egypt (677 B.C.E.), Piye attacked Tefnakht and his allies, forcing his rivals into submission. Piye returned home towards the end of his 20th year. Meanwhile, the temple of Amun at Napata was being finished so that Piye was able to inscribe the events of Year 20 on both the exterior of the temple and upon the Victory Stela he had set up in the temple courtyard. These details place the beginning of Taharqa Piye's 49-year reign in Kush, as reported by the old Ethiopian King List,<sup>63</sup> to the year 706 B.C.E., but his 1st year as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt to 696 B.C.E. The count of Piye's first 10 years in Kush being followed by his count of his regnal years in Egypt resembles the reign of Kashta, who served his first 12 years as the king of Kush and his 13th and last year also as the king of Upper Egypt and Kush. Therefore, Piye was well positioned as the King of Kush, beginning in 706 B.C.E., to attack Sennacherib in the spring of 701 B.C.E.

When we examine the records from Manetho, who gives Tefnakht only a 7-year reign, we find that his 8th year, the year of his defeat, equals the 20th year of Ammeris (Piye), precisely as indicated by Piye's Victory Stela. Manetho, of course, used the NY system of dating, thus the last year of Tefnakht II was also the first year of Nechepsos and, thus, that entire year was given to Nechepsos. Yet Tefnakht did continue until some time during his 8th year, the year of his defeat. This point is further confirmed by the "Year 8" Athens Donation Stela, on which Shepsesre Tefnakht II makes a dedication to the goddess Neith.<sup>64</sup> It has heretofore been commonly assumed that after Tefnakht's surrender to Piye, the Ethiopian king left him on the throne in Sais. Nowhere does Piye state that this was the result. Neither does it make any sense. The normal practice was to remove the leader of a rebellion from power in order to avoid any further insurrection. Indeed, our close examination of this evidence proves this modern view to be false. Piye actually replaced Tefnakht on the throne with one of Tefnakht's sons, Nechepsos.

That Tefnakht resigned from his kingship in favor of one of his sons is expressly stated in his letter of surrender to Piye, which was recorded on the Victory Stela. While pleading for mercy, Tefnakht not only offered triple the amount of tribute but pleaded that one of his sons should be permitted to stay on the throne of Sais. Tefnakht's letter in part reads:

Weigh with the balance, ascertain with the weights!  
May you multiply them for me in triplicate, (but) *w3h*  
*pr.t* (leave the seed) so you can gather it (the tribute)  
in its season, do not cut down the tree to its roots.<sup>65</sup>

Tefnakht goes on to state:

Cleanse the servant of his fault! Let my property be  
received in the treasury: gold and every sort of gemstone,

<sup>63</sup> CBN, p. 266, Dynasty IV, Dynasty of Menelik I, no. xiii.

<sup>64</sup> RdE, 55, pp. 95-111.

<sup>65</sup> LAIE, p. 476, l. 132f, in context with l. 127-144, cf. pp. 489f.



even the foremost of the horses, repayments in every kind.<sup>66</sup>

Dan'el Kahn realized what was meant by the metaphorical expression “*w3ḥ pr.t* (leave the seed).” He writes:

The combination *w3ḥ pr.t* appears to describe only a metaphor for human seed, the future generations. This seed is written in singular form and thus might point to the remaining offspring of Tefnakht (in l. 28 of the Piankhy Stela it is stated that a son of Tefnakht was killed during the siege on Ta-dehenet-weret-nekhet and l. 80 the capture of another son of Tefnakht in Per-sekhem-kheper-Re is mentioned).<sup>67</sup>

Tefnakht's offer of giving three times the tribute, accordingly, was directly tied to his request to allow one of his remaining sons (one of his “seed”) to rule in his place “so you can gather it (the tribute) in its season.” In doing so, Tefnakht was promising King Piye that he would promptly receive further tribute in its season, i.e., at the same time each year. Piye accepted the conditions of surrender and collected the increased tribute.<sup>68</sup> By accepting the tribute, Piye was also agreeing to allow one of Tefnakht's sons to sit upon the throne at Sais.

Next, the Book of Sothis gives Ammeris (Amas) 38 years over Egypt.<sup>69</sup> This figure is also easily understood. Tirhaqah Piye obtained authority over Egypt when he came out of Kush against the Assyrian king Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. Piye saved the Egyptians from Assyrian conquest. When Sennacherib and the Assyrians retreated from the area, Piye was able to drive northward as far as Asia Minor and westward across North Africa, forming a great empire.<sup>70</sup> Egypt would have been part of Piye's empire. When we begin the 38-year period designated by the Book of Sothis with the year 701 B.C.E., we find that these 38 years of dominance ended with the year 664 B.C.E., the last full year of his son, Nefertem Taharqa (Taharqa II). The next year (663 B.C.E.), King Assurbanipal of Assyria invaded Egypt and conquered as far south as Thebes, forcing the Kushites out of that region. Assurbanipal also seized a great deal of plunder, which he brought back to Assyria.<sup>71</sup> At this point, the Assyrians brought Egypt under the direct control of their empire and forced the Ethiopians out of Lower Egypt. There seems little doubt that at this point Piye, growing old and having already ruled Egypt for 33 years,<sup>72</sup> albeit doing

<sup>66</sup> LAIE, p. 476, l. 137f.

<sup>67</sup> BZS, 9, p. 53, n. 45.

<sup>68</sup> LAIE, p. 476, l. 138–144.

<sup>69</sup> Sothis, no. 78.

<sup>70</sup> Strabo, 1:3:21, 15:1:6; Severus, 1:50; cf. FHN, 1, *Sandstone Stela of Piye*, p. 57, l. 1–4, pp. 58f, l. 2–4; and see our discussions in Chaps. XI and XII.

<sup>71</sup> ARAB, 2, §§900f.

<sup>72</sup> Interestingly, in accordance with this 33-year figure, Kenneth Kitchen suggests Piye's reign in Egypt lasted “31 or 32 years (or just over)” (TIP, p. 559); Robert Draper estimates a reign of 35 years (Nat. Geo., Feb. 2008, pp. 34–59). Therefore, the 33 years as king of Egypt as revealed in our investigation falls well within these accepted parameters.

so mostly from Napata, abandoned his crown in Egypt and spent the remaining 5 years of his life in Napata, Kush.

More confirmation of this chronology is derived from comparing the style and content of a donation stela dated to Year 2 of Nekau I with the Year 8 donation stela of Shepsesre Tefnakht. After examining the styles of these and other items—the method through which the falcon-headed deity keeps his head upright, the use of the tripartite wig, the slender figure of the king, etc.—Oliver Perdu concluded that these two rulers must have been close contemporaries. As a result, Perdu identifies Shepsesre Tefnakht with Tefnakht II (Stephinales of Manetho).<sup>73</sup> Kim Ryholt makes the same identification.<sup>74</sup>

Dan’el Kahn tried to counter Oliver Perdu’s arguments by explaining that these features already appear during the reign of Piye and are even found on “Shoshenq V’s Year 38” donation stela of the Tefnakht. Nevertheless, we must keep in mind that Kahn’s view stems from his belief that the king named Tefnakht who revolted from Piye during the latter’s 20th year was Tefnakht I of Dynasty XXIV.<sup>75</sup> This being the case, the evidence now proves that this understanding is a mistake. Rather than disproving the conclusions of Oliver Perdu and Kim Ryholt, Dan’el Kahn actually confirms it. During Piye’s 13th through 20th years (684–677 B.C.E.), he was the contemporary of Shepsesre Tefnakht II, not Tefnakht I (whose last full year was 712 B.C.E.). According to our chronology, the 38th year of Shoshenq V also falls within the reign of Shepsesre Tefnakht II, the Great Chief of the Libu (Libyans).<sup>76</sup> Therefore, since all three of these kings were contemporary rulers in Egypt, it stands to reason that the styles and content on these objects produced during this period are strikingly alike.

As we shall demonstrate in Appendix I, Tirhaqah Piye’s reign can also be coordinated with that of his son Nefertem Tirhaqah. This evidence will further confirm the accuracy of our chronology (Chart J).

<sup>73</sup> CRAIBL, 146.4, pp. 1215–1244.

<sup>74</sup> JEA, 97, p. 66.

<sup>75</sup> LPIE, pp. 139–148.

<sup>76</sup> The first real attestation of Tefnakht II is dated to Year 36 of Shoshenq V (Stela of Abemayor). In this stela Tefnakht II is called the Great Chief of the Ma, Army Leader, and Great Chief of the Libu (TIP, p. 362, §324; MIFAO, 66.4, p. 153 §48). Ankh-Hor was still claiming this title in Year 37 (Serapeum stela, see TIP, p. 355, §316 & ns. 640 & 641). In Year 38 of Shoshenq V, Ankh-Hor was gone and Tefnakht was ruling (TIP, p. 355, §316 & n. 644; Buto donation stela of Tefnakht, see MIFAO, 66.4, pp. 151–153, §§ 46f, pl. I). He called himself, “Great Chief of the entire land,” i.e., “over the entire principedom of the west, both of Sais and of the Libu,” i.e., the western Delta. Kenneth Kitchen notes that in Year 37 of Shoshenq V, “Ankh-Hor may have been in Memphis in retreat before Tefnakht” (TIP, p. 355, §316). These details fit quite well with the events for Year 18 of Piye, at which time Tefnakht had not yet seized Memphis. Year 19 of Piye, Tefnakht II moved against Shoshenq (Sheshonq) V of Tanis and Bubastis in the eastern Delta. Shoshenq V was replaced by his son Osorkon IV, who was under the authority of Tefnakht in Year 20 of Piye (Victory Stela, l. 19, 106, LAIE, p. 487, l. 19, 106). In Year 19 of Piye, Tefnakht moved against Memphis and then against Heracleopolis. Piye reacted by invading the northern lands early in his Year 20.