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# Shoshenq I and Biblical Šīšaq: a philological defense of their traditional equation\*

Troy Leiland Sagrillo

*Since the late 1980s, as part of proposals to lower the conventional chronology of pharaonic Egypt by one to three hundred years, a number of scholars have identified biblical Šīšaq (1 Kings 11:40, 14:25; 2 Chronicles 12:2-9) with Ramesses II or III, rather than the conventional Shoshenq I, on the basis of rare hypocoristica for 'Ramesses', sšysw, ssw, and ss. Without addressing the chronological issues, this paper examines this proposed re-identification from a philological perspective, concluding that the proposal to identify biblical Šīšaq with any king named 'Ramesses' are unwarranted and implausible.*

## Introduction

In a letter dated 24 November 1828, Jean-François Champollion (1868, 80-81) described his thoughts on viewing the triumphal relief near the Bubastite Portal depicting the 22nd-dynasty king Shoshenq I smiting Asian captives before Amun-Re and the goddess Waset<sup>[1]</sup>:

ailleurs, *Sésonchis* traînant aux pieds de la Trinité thébaine (Ammon, Mouth et Khons) les chefs de plus de trente nations vaincues, parmi lesquelles j'ai retrouvé, comme cela devait être, en toutes lettres, *Ioudahamalek, le royaume des Juifs* ou de *Juda*. C'est là un commentaire à joindre au chapitre XIV du troisième livre des Rois, qui raconte en effet l'arrivée de *Sésonchis* à Jérusalem et ses succès: ainsi l'identité que nous avons établie entre le *Sheschonck* égyptien, le *Sésonchis* de Manéthon et le *Sésac* ou *Scheschôk* de la Bible, est confirmée de la manière la plus satisfaisante.

While it has long been recognized that Champollion's 'Ioudahamalek' is a misunderstanding of one of the toponyms (C29) in the geographic list (W. M. Müller

1887),<sup>[2]</sup> the *communis opinio* within Egyptology holds that Shoshenq I and biblical קשיש *šīšaq* (1 Kings 11:40, 14:25<sup>[3]</sup>; 2 Chronicles 12:2-9) are identical, a view that continues to prevail today with little objection.

However, since the late 1980s and 1990s, a minority of researchers (primarily from disciplines outside of Egyptology) have argued that the equation of biblical קשיש *šīšaq* with Egyptian ššnq [Shoshenq] is invalid upon closer examination,<sup>[4]</sup> and that if this correspondence is without foundation, then any number of alternative chronological schemes may be proposed, free of the need to synchronize the 'two' kings. Leaving aside the chronological arguments,<sup>[5]</sup> the question remains as to

[2] For discussion, see now (among many others) Aḥituv 1984, 147; Kitchen 1996, § 401, note 70; Currid 1997, 192-193; K. A. Wilson 2005, 110-111.

[3] Note well, *ketib* קשיש *šūšaq* in 1 Kings 14:25 (only); confusion between the letters ו <w> and י <y> in the Masoretic tradition is particularly common (Würthwein 1995, 108).

[4] See particularly Rohl 1989/1990, 63; James, Thorpe, Kokkinos *et al.* 1991, 257; Bimson 1992/1993, 31, note 23; Rohl 1995, 158-163; van der Veen 1999; van der Veen 2002; van der Veen 2005; Furlong 2007, 350-400, *passim* (note, however, that Furlong 2010 essentially ignores the issue). As an example, the reign of Shoshenq I is lowered to *circa* 835-815 BC (P. James and R. Morkot, cited in Chapman 2009, 16); for context, see Morkot & James 2009, *contra* Broekman 2011.

[5] Recent major 'conventional' reconstructions of Egyptian absolute chronology for the Third Intermediate Period include Aston & Taylor 1990; Leahy 1990; Kitchen 1996; Depuydt 2006; Jansen-Winkel 2006a; Jansen-Winkel 2006b; Kitchen 2006; Kitchen 2007; Aston 2009b; Kitchen

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[1] For the scene, see Hughes & Nims 1954, pls 2-9.

how valid these alternative theories regarding the identity of biblical שִׁשָּׂאק *šišaq* are in the first place, in terms of the philological issues.

## Šišaq and Ramesses

In rejecting the correspondence between biblical שִׁשָּׂאק *šišaq* and Egyptian *ššnq*, these scholars argue that the Hebrew derives from one of a series of closely related *hypocoristica*<sup>[6]</sup> for the Egyptian name from Egyptian *rꜥ-ms-sw* [Ramesses] – namely *ssysw*, *ssw*, and *ss* – used in a handful of texts by Ramesses II and once by Ramesses III (Sethe 1904, 53-57; Gardiner 1920, 103; Malaise 1966, 248), rather than the conventional identification with the 22nd-dynasty king, Shoshenq I.<sup>[7]</sup>

The first of these, *ssysw*, refers to Ramesses II and occurs as part of three different toponyms mentioned in pBritish Museum EA 10247 [pAnastasi I]:



*p3 dmr n ssysw enḥ <w> d3 s <nb>*

Šumuru<sup>[8]</sup> of Sesysu, *life, prosperity, and health!* (pBritish Museum EA 10247:18,8 [Fischer-Elfert 1986, 162-163; 1992, 124]).



*t3 ʿt n ssysw enḥ <w> d3 s <nb>*

the Dwelling of Sesysu, *life, prosperity, and health!* (pBritish Museum EA 10247:27, 3 [Fischer-Elfert 1992, 151]).<sup>[9]</sup>



*ʿ n w3dyt ssysw enḥ <w> d3 s <nb> m p3yʿf nḥtw wsr-m3ʿt-rꜥ enḥ <w> d3 s <nb>*

2009b; Broekman 2011. While they differ most notably with regard to Dynasty 23, in broad terms Dynasties 22-25 (from the accession of Shoshenq I to the sacking of Thebes by Aššur-bāni-apli [Ashurbanipal]) run from *circa* 943-664 BC.

[6] For hypocoristic names in Egyptian generally, see Ranke 1935, 128-129; Vernus 1986; Quaegebeur 1987.

[7] See further van der Veen 2005, 42 note 1.

[8] Tall Kazal, Syria (Bounni 1997).

[9] cf. *t3 ʿt <n> rꜥ-ms-sw mʾj jmn enḥ <w> d3 s <nb>* ‘the Dwelling <of> Ramesses [II], Beloved of Amun, *life, prosperity, and health!*’ (pBritish Museum EA 10244 [pAnastasi V]:24,8 [Gardiner 1937, 70]).

(the) region of Wadjyet, Sesysu, *life, prosperity, and health!*, in his *nḥtw*-stronghold<sup>[10]</sup> of User-maʿet-Reʿ, *life, prosperity, and health!* (pBritish Museum EA 10247:27, 5 [Fischer-Elfert 1992, 151]).

A fourth example is attested on a fragmentary lotiform frit bowl from Serabit el-Khadim (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology E12114 [Petrie & Currelly 1906, pl. 156/5; McGovern, Fleming & Swann 1993, 18]):



*hq3 ss <y> sw*<sup>[11]</sup>

(the) ruler Sesu

A variant form, apparently to be read as *ssw*, rather than *ssysw*, is attested in pBritish Museum EA 10243 (pAnastasi II, 5,5 [Gardiner 1937, 15/6]):



*p3 bḥn n s{t}sw enḥ <w> d3 s <nb>*

the *bḥn*-fortress<sup>[13]</sup> of Sesu, *life, prosperity, and health!*

Finally, Ramesses III made use of a shortened form, *ss*, but this is known only from a single example on the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu (Kitchen 1969-1990, 5:295/3; The Epigraphic Survey 1970, 13, pl. 636, line 1):



*<n> k3k ss p3 nsw ntry <p3> rꜥ n t3 nb*

*<to>* your *ka*, oh Ses<i>, the divine king, the sun of every land.

## Difficulties

There are a number of significant problems with this suggestion. First of all, *contra* van der Veen’s (1999, 23) assertion that these *hypocoristica* of the name ‘Ramesses’

[10] A *nḥtw*-stronghold was typically used for housing and integrating non-Egyptian prisoners of war designated for service (usually military) in the Egyptian state (Morris 2005, 699-701, 731-734, 820-821). Outside of Egypt they are only securely attested along the ‘Ways of Horus’ (Morris 2005, 821).

[11] Transliterated on the basis of pBritish Museum EA 10247.

[12] The hieratic sign transcribed by Gardiner as *t* is merely a dot and likely otiose. For discussion of the orthography, see Sethe 1904, 55-57.

[13] For the nature of the *bḥn*-fortress – probably a fortified estate or compound – see Morris 2005, 821-823.

were ‘common currency in the Levant’, *ssysw*, *ssw*, and *ss* are all exceptionally rare in the Egyptian record.<sup>[14]</sup> As discussed above, the first, *ssysw*, occurs only in pBritish Museum 10247 [pAnastasi I] and pBritish Museum EA 10243 [pAnastasi II], while *ssw* is utilized on the bowl from Serabit el-Khadim; *ss* is known only from a single example at Medinet Habu. Thus there are only four distinct sources for these *hypocoristica* of ‘Ramesses’, most of which are related to Ramesses II, and of those, the two papyriarescribalexercisesratherthandocumentarytexts.<sup>[15]</sup>

While in theory (ignoring all other problems) it might be argued that the Hebrew scribe(s) of 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles, writing in the late first millennium BC,<sup>[16]</sup> may have somehow known of these *hypocoristica* (making the rather unlikely presumption that they could read Egyptian and had access to a text using at least one of them), it is improbable that they would have made use of them, given that these names were not used by the Egyptians themselves with any real degree of regularity during the New Kingdom or afterwards, and do not seem to have survived beyond the lifetimes of Ramesses II and Ramesses III.<sup>[17]</sup> It is notable that no other Ramesside king other than Ramesses II and III is known to have made use of these *hypocoristica*, but this lack of textual evidence for similar usage(s) by other Ramesside kings has not dissuaded some, such as Furlong (2007, 350-357 *passim*), from making similar arguments with regard to later rulers of Dynasty 20 who are more amenable to their own chronological theories.<sup>[18]</sup>

Further to this, the full name רַעַמְסֵס *ra’amāsēs* (derived from Egyptian *rc-ms-sw*, in reference to the Ramesside residence city of Per-Ramesses [modern Qantir]<sup>[19]</sup>) was known to Hebrew scribes (e.g., Genesis 47:11; Exodus 1:11, 12:37; Numbers 33:3; Judith 1:9), so it would be strange for the (supposed) hypocoristic form קַשִּׁשַׁק *šīšaq*

to be used elsewhere in the Hebrew bible, rather than רַעַמְסֵס *ra’amāsēs*, for no clear reason (see further below).<sup>[20]</sup>

### *The Akkadian and Hittite evidence*

From a philological perspective, there are other serious objections to this proposal. One of the chief difficulties is the putative use of Hebrew ש <š> in קַשִּׁשַׁק *šīšaq* to record Egyptian /s/ as it generally held that Egyptian /s/ is written by Hebrew ס <s> (Muchiki 1999, 67). This difficulty has been explained by comparison to Akkadian texts containing the name of Ramesses, which seem to suggest there was some variability between Egyptian /s/ and Semitic /š/. Rohl (1995, 162) offers a typical example:

I noted that the Akkadian<sup>[21]</sup> writing of Ramesses in the Hittite treaty is Riamashesha,<sup>[22]</sup> and that the hieroglyphic ‘s’ was consistently represented by the cuneiform ‘sh’. The problems faced by the Hittite scribes writing the Egyptian name would have not been far removed from those faced by the biblical redactor who gave us the name ‘Shishak’.

Rohl (1995, 162) and van der Veen (1999, 23; 2002, 116-117) argue that since Egyptian /s/ is written in Akkadian with <š>, and since Akkadian and Hebrew are both Semitic languages, it is possible that Hebrew קַשִּׁשַׁק *šīšaq* may be derived from the Egyptian *hypocoristica*, perhaps via Akkadian (which functioned as a *lingua franca* during the Late Bronze Age), rather than the conventional identification with Shoshenq I.<sup>[23]</sup>

There are significant linguistic difficulties in such a proposed correspondence. The Middle Babylonian form cited by Rohl (1995, 162),<sup>[24]</sup> <sup>m</sup>ri-a-ma-še-ša (Edel 1997, 6-12, *passim*), does seem to support the claim that Egyptian

[14] See also the comments of Rohl (1989/1990, 63).

[15] *Contra* Rohl (1989/1990, 63), who implies that pBritish Museum 10247 [pAnastasi I] is an official government document.

[16] *Circa* fourth-third centuries BC (?) (Holloway 1992, 73-74; Cogan 2000, 97). Na’aman (1999, 3) opts for ‘no earlier than the late-seventh century BCE’.

[17] There is no surviving evidence from Demotic or Greek texts of a folk tradition involving a king ‘Sesi’, or similar; cf. the folk traditions of Greek texts, often with a Demotic *Vorlage*, involving Kheops, Sesōstris (including Sesonkhōsis), Nektanebōs, and other Egyptian kings (Malaise 1966; Lloyd 1982; O’Sullivan 1984; Obsomer 1989; Quack 2001; Gauger 2002; Widmer 2002; Ladynin 2010; Ryholt 2010).

[18] For example, Furlong suggests Ramesses IX, but this is solely a consequence of his proposed absolute chronology.

[19] Redford (2009), however, argues the situation may be slightly more complex.

[20] Rohl’s (1989/1990, 63) contention that it is ‘a small step’ to associate these *hypocoristica* with ‘the legendary king Sesostris, the great conqueror of Asia’ of Hērodotos (*History*, 2.102-104, 106-108, 110, 111, 137) – whom he regards being at least partially inspired by Ramesses II – on the basis that a parallel text of Diodōros of Sicily (*Historical Library*, 1.53-58) names the king as Σεσόωσις [Sesoōsis], is to be rejected, despite a superficial resemblance to *ssysw*, *ssw*, and *ss* (see also Montet 1947, 51). (For discussion, see Sethe 1904, 53-57; Malaise 1966, 247-249.) Indeed, Diodōros’ text is later quoted by pseudo-Ioustinos *marturos* (*Exhortation to the Greeks*, 9.4 [Marcovich 1990, 35]), but who replaces the earlier Σεσόωσις [Sesoōsis] with Σεσόγγωσις [Sesonkhōsis] (Meyer 1914; see also Malaise 1966, 244-249; Obsomer 1989, 38-43; Ladynin 2010), the name used for Shoshenq I in Eusebios’ *epitome* of Manetho (Waddell 1940, 158; Jacoby 1958, 45; Mosshammer 1984, 83).

[21] Specifically Middle Babylonian.

[22] That is, <sup>m</sup>ri-a-ma-še-ša (Edel 1997, 6-12, *passim*).

[23] See further van der Veen 2005, 42 note 1.

[24] See also van der Veen 1999, 23.

/s/ is written in Akkadian with <š>, but this is not as simple as it might first appear. In Eastern Semitic languages, such as Assyrian and Babylonian (both dialects of Akkadian), there is not only confusion and lack of consistency between Egyptian /s/ and /š/, but also within the various dialects of Akkadian itself (both Babylonian and Assyrian [M. Müller 2010, § 4.2.3], as well as Levantine Peripheral dialects, and Hittite and Egyptian uses of Akkadian [Cochavi-Rainey 2011, § 5.1.3, cf. §§ 2.4.2.2, 5.1.9]), not to mention diachronic developments within those dialects. For example, standard Middle Babylonian /š/ was very often written with <s> in Middle and Neo-Assyrian, while Assyrian <š> is often written <s> in Babylonian (von Soden & Mayer 1995, § 30; Buccellati 1997, § 1.3.5; Huehnergard & Woods 2008, § 3.8.1.1; M. Müller 2010, § 4.2.3).

With regard to the use of Akkadian in the Levant in particular, Cochavi-Rainey (2011, § 1.14), following Jucquois (1966, 267),<sup>[25]</sup> notes

Babylonian š corresponds to Amorite s and to s in Canaanite of the southern Levant and other areas where there was Amorite influence; and in the southern Levant the š comes from the classical orthography in contrast to the s that testifies to outside influence, and thus in Egyptian personal names because s and ś in Egyptian names [are] always transcribed by cuneiform signs with š.

This tendency may be seen during the Late Bronze Age in the Amarna Letters, such as <sup>m</sup>a-ma-an-ma-ša (EA 113:36, 43; EA 114:51 [Albright 1946, 10 [3]; Moran 1992, 380; Hess 1993, 30 no. 20]),<sup>[26]</sup> Egyptian *jmn-ms-(sw)* (Amenmose [Ranke 1935, 1:29/8, 9]); <sup>m</sup>ha-a-ra-ma-aš-ši (EA 20:33, 36 [Albright 1946, 12 [11] (cf. pp. 10-11 [5-6] as well); Moran 1992, 382; Hess 1993, 73-74 no. 69]), Egyptian *hrw-ms* (Harmose [Ranke 1935, 1:249/1]); <sup>m</sup>pi-iš-ia-ri (EA 162:71 [Moran 1992, 383; Hess 1993, 125 no. 131]),<sup>[27]</sup> Egyptian *p3-sjrw* (Pasiru [Ranke 1935, 1:117/12])<sup>[28]</sup>; <sup>m</sup>táḥ-[m]a-aš-ši (EA 303:20 [Albright 1946, 21-22; Edel 1948, 17-18; Hess 1993, 156 no. 166]), Egyptian *ptḥ-ms* (Ptahmose [Ranke 1935, 1:140/9]). During the Ramesside Period, similar cases occur in the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence, such as <sup>m</sup>šu-ta-ḥa-ap-ša-ap (KUB 3 70:obv. 1 [Albright 1946, 21 [57]; Edel 1994, 1:34 doc. 9 vs. 1, 2:364; Cochavi-Rainey 2011, 191]), Egyptian *swth-<hr>-ḥpšf* (Sutekh-her-khopesh-ef [Ranke 1935, 1:322/26]), clear evidence of Akkadian <š> being used for both Egyptian /s/ and /š/. During the Iron Age, examples may be seen in two cases where Egyptian

ššnq is written in Neo-Assyrian (albeit not in reference to Shoshenq I himself): <sup>m</sup>su-si-in-qu<sup>[29]</sup> (Ranke 1910, 34, 59; Onasch 1994, 1:118/100, 2:109; Borger & Fuchs 1996, 21 AI:100) and <sup>m</sup>šu-sa-an-qu<sup>[30]</sup> (Kouyunjik 324:rev. 12 [Johns 1924, 241, number 324:rev. 12; Struve 1927, 66; Kwasman 1988, 385; Zadok 1992, 139]).<sup>[31]</sup>

Beyond dialectical and diachronic issues within varieties of Akkadian, there is another significant issue with <sup>m</sup>ri-a-ma-še-ša specifically. As Rohl (1995, 162) mentions in passing, while the name indeed occurs in a Middle Babylonian text, it is one composed in a Hittite context – the so-called peace treaty between Ramesses II and Ḫattušili III (Edel 1997, 6-12, *passim*). Examples of ‘Ramesses’ in Hittite proper (rather than Akkadian) include <sup>m</sup>ri-a-maš-ši (Edel 1948, 17/XII) and <sup>m</sup>ri-a-ma-aš-ya (Edel 1948, 18-19/XIII), as well as a probable further example of <sup>m</sup>ri-a-ma-še-ša (Edel 1948, 17/XI), albeit not in reference to a king.<sup>[32]</sup> Another example of the name may possibly occur on a fragmentary tablet from Qantir: [<sup>m</sup>ri-a-ma]-še-ša (?) (Pusch & Jakob 2003, 148). As with the treaty texts, the tablet is written in Middle Babylonian, but likely in a Hittite context (Pusch & Jakob 2003, 149).<sup>[33]</sup>

This Hittite context is significant, as Hittite <š> was pronounced /s/ and not /š/ (Gamkrelidze 1961, 409-411 [19]; Melchert 1997, § 28.3.1.3; Hoffner & Melchert 2008, §§ 1.92-1.193). For example, the Hittite royal names <sup>m</sup>mur-ši-li and <sup>m</sup>ḥa-at-tu-ši-li were respectively recorded in Egyptian as *mrsr* and *ḥtsr* (Hall 1922, 219; Edel 1997, *passim*; see also Edel 1973). Thus, the supposed phonetic /š/ is the result of an orthographic convention in Hittite but does not reflect actual Hittite pronunciation. With respect to the peace treaty of Ramesses II cited by Rohl, Hittite – or more likely, Egyptian<sup>[34]</sup> – scribes recorded Egyptian names in Middle Babylonian Akkadian, but using Hittite orthographic rules. If this is taken into account, the Hittite orthography of <sup>m</sup>ri-a-ma-še-ša (and related forms) accurately reflects contemporary Egyptian pronunciation of *rḥ-ms-sw* ‘Ramesses’ with /s/. Not only does this fail

[29] Shoshenq F (Onasch 1994, 1:53; Kitchen 1996, § 356).

[30] A son-in-law of Sîn-aḥḥē-erība [Sennacherib] (Struve 1927).

[31] For other Iron Age examples, see Edel 1980, *passim*; Leahy 1983; Onasch 1994, 1:36 and *passim*; Borger & Fuchs 1996, 20-21, *passim*.

[32] See further Edel 1994, 2:364.

[33] See also Cochavi-Rainey 2011, § 4.1 p. 191, and Edel 1994, *passim*, for other examples, all of which come from Hittite contexts.

[34] Cochavi-Rainey (2011, § 0.2.29) notes that ‘it is possible to say with certainty that the Babylonian version of the Peace Treaty . . . was written by an Egyptian scribe’ due to the presence of an Egyptian grammatical substratum that is lacking in other Akkadian texts from Boğazköy. If so, Rohl’s (1995, 162) comment regarding ‘the problems faced by the Hittite scribes writing the Egyptian name’ is misleading.

[25] See also Gelb 1961, 34-40.

[26] For an example from an Ugaritic context, see Gröndahl 1967, 300.

[27] cf. <sup>m</sup>pa-ši-ia-ra (Edel 1978; Edel 1994, 1:33 doc. 8 vs. 1, 2:364; Cochavi-Rainey 2011, 4.1).

[28] See also Cochavi-Rainey 2011, § 4.1, *passim*.

to support the argument that hypothetical *\*(ri-a-ma-)še-ši* (i.e., Egyptian <s>*sjsw*, *ssw*, *ss*) is reflected in Hebrew קשיש *šišaq*, but in fact it would be rather the opposite: *\*(ri-a-ma-)še-ši* would accurately reflect the Egyptian pronunciation using /s/ if recorded according to Hittite orthographic conventions (as well as Assyrian).

### *The evidence from Hebrew and Northwest Semitic languages*

In addition to problems with the Akkadian evidence and interference from both Hittite and Egyptian, there is a complete lack of correspondence between Northwest Semitic /š/ (including Hebrew) and Egyptian /s/, which would otherwise be required if biblical קשיש *šišaq* is to be equated with Egyptian *ssysw*, *ssw*, or *ss*. Muchiki (1999) concludes in his study of Egyptian proper nouns and loanwords in Northwest Semitic languages – including Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician, Punic, and Ugaritic – that there is no evidence of confusion between Egyptian /s/ and /š/ in Northwest Semitic, despite general assumptions to the contrary.<sup>[35]</sup> Muchiki (1999, 315) writes

the difference in the phonetic value /s/ and /š/ was undoubtedly recognized by N[orthwest] Semitic scribes who represented Eg[yp]tian s by Sem[itic] ס, Eg[yp]tian š by Sem[itic] ש, while in Akk[adian] confusion of /s/ and /š/ is evident. . . . However, again, this confusion should not be extended to the correspondences between Eg[yp]tian and N[orthwest] Sem[itic].<sup>[36]</sup>

Given that Egyptian /s/ is consistently rendered ס <s> in Northwest Semitic languages, and not by ש <š> or ש <ś>, an ostensible Hebrew form of Egyptian *ssysw*, *ssw*, or *ss*, should have been written with ס <s>, presumably ססיק *\*sisiq*, if modeled after קשיש *šišaq*. (The ק <q> would still need to be accounted for; see discussion below.)

There is, however, a somewhat potential case where Egyptian /s/ is perhaps rendered in Hebrew by ש <ś> (Muchiki 1999, 255-256). The Hebrew word שכיות *šakīyōt* ‘ships’ [Isaiah 2:16] likely derived from Egyptian *sktjw* ‘ships’ (Erman & Grapow 1926-1953, 4:315.9; Faulkner 1962, 252; Jones 1988, 145-146 [68]; Koehler, Baumgartner, & Stamm 2001, 2:1327). The Hebrew may be a loanword direct from Egyptian, but it is more likely that the Egyptian entered Hebrew indirectly *via* Canaanite (ancestral to Hebrew) during the second millennium BC, a period of time when Egyptian /s/ corresponded to Northwest Semitic /t/ (cf. Ugaritic *ikt*), and only later realized as <ś> in Hebrew, although <š> is expected (Schneider 1992, 385; Hoch 1994, 429-430); if so, the

[35] For example, see Rohl 1989/1990, 63; Rohl 1995, 162; van der Veen 1999, 22.

[36] See also Vergote 1980, 92.

single known example in Hebrew may be a pointing error (ש <ś> for ש <š>).

Peter van der Veen (1999, 22; 2002, 115-116) does point to a few cases he considers to be possible instances where Egyptian /s/ is realized as Hebrew ש <ś>. For example, Hebrew משה *mōšeh* [Moses] has long been considered to be derived from Egyptian *msj* ‘to give birth; to fashion; to create’, and regarded as a *hypocoristicon* of names such as ‘Ahmose’, ‘Amenmose’, ‘Thutmose’, or the like.<sup>[37]</sup>

The disparity between Egyptian /s/ and Hebrew ש <ś> in משה *mōšeh* may be accounted for in one of two ways. One, argued by Quack (2000), is that Egyptian *msj* entered Northwest Semitic during the second millennium BC as /t/, which then shifted in pronunciation (as expected) to /š/ in Hebrew during the first millennium BC (Hoch 1994, 415, 417).<sup>[38]</sup> The other possibility, and the simplest one, is that there is no phonological relationship between משה *mōšeh* and Egyptian *msj* at all. משה *mōšeh* has a perfectly legitimate meaning in Hebrew (‘[one] who is drawn out’; derived from the root משה ‘to draw’ [van Gemeren 1997, 2:1120-1121 [5406]; Koehler, Baumgartner, & Stamm 2001, 1:642]) and is, therefore, not *a priori* Egyptian in origin. As has been noted already, this is strengthened by recognizing that in the clear case where Egyptian *ms* does occur in Hebrew – רעמסס *ra’amāsēs* from Egyptian *r<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw* – the expected ס <s> is encountered (Gardiner 1936, 194; Vergote 1980, 92-93; Muchiki 1999, 217; Redford 2009).<sup>[39]</sup> It is therefore unlikely that Hebrew משה *mōšeh* is related to Egyptian *msj* in any way, save possibly as a bilingual pun of sorts (Garsiel 1991, § 0.1.2.3; Kitchen 2003, 297), but this is unrelated to the phonological issue.<sup>[40]</sup>

Similarly, van der Veen (1999, 22; 2002, 116), following Albright (1925, 83-84) and Griffiths (1953, 230), argues that the Hebrew personal name ענמש *nmš* (found on an ostrakon discovered at Samaria [Reisner, Fisher & Lyon 1924, 1:234-235, 240 (24)]) is best interpreted as a hybrid Hebrew-Egyptian name meaning ‘(the goddess) ‘Ana(t) is born’. Despite Albright’s arguments, this is unlikely. There is no good reason for the terminal <t> of ‘Anat to be dropped – it is always present in both Semitic languages<sup>[41]</sup>

[37] See, among many others, Gardiner 1936, 192-194; Griffiths 1953; Beegle 1992, 911; Hoffmeier 1996, 140-142; Görg 1997, 143-145; Quack 2000; Koehler, Baumgartner & Stamm 2001, 1:642-643.

[38] cf. Egyptian *r<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*, which entered directly in to Hebrew during the first millennium as רעמסס *ra’amāsēs*.

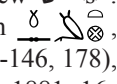
[39] *Contra* Griffiths 1953, 229. For other objections, see Gardiner 1936, 192-194.

[40] If an Egyptian origin for Hebrew משה *mōšeh* is insisted upon, Griffiths (1953, 226) lists several possibilities (which he does reject), none of which require Hebrew /š/ being equated with Egyptian /s/.

[41] For examples, see Huffmon 1965, 201; Gröndahl 1967, 111, 321b, 378a; Hess 1993, 34-35 no. 24, 144-145 no.

and Egyptian borrowings<sup>[42]</sup> – calling into question a ‘hybrid’ origin at all. In all likelihood the Hebrew name has as its source the Egyptian personal name *ḥn-m-š* ‘the beautiful/pleasing/kind one is on the lake’ (Ranke 1935, 1:61/15; Lemaire 1977, 54; Muchiki 1999, 220). If so, Egyptian /š/ is written with Hebrew <š>, as is expected.

Two other possible examples of where Egyptian /s/ may be rendered Hebrew by ש /š/ cited by van der Veen (1999, 22; 2002, 116) are קדבש *qdbš* for Egyptian \**qd-bs* and גושן *gōšen* [Goshen]. Neither case is secure. An Egyptian equivalent of קדבש *qdbš* is not attested, although \**qd-bs*<sup>[43]</sup> could have in theory existed, presumably being modeled after *qd-ptḥ* (Ranke 1935, 1:337/4) and similar names (Ranke 1935, 1:337/2-5, 8). Because Egyptian /d/ is consistently realized as ט <ṭ> – not ד <d> – in Hebrew, and almost without exception<sup>[44]</sup> in all other Northwest and Eastern Semitic languages as well (Muchiki 1999, 317; Peust 1999, § 3.3.4; Takács 1999, 245), it is improbable that Hebrew קד *qd* has its origin in Egyptian *qd*. Given that the suggested correspondence between Egyptian \**qd-bs* and Hebrew קדבש *qdbš* would violate two phonological rules (קטבס\* *qtbs* is expected), it should not be used as support for purported phonological relations.

The question regarding גושן *gōšen* [Goshen] is more problematic. The Egyptian equivalent (assuming there is one) of Hebrew גושן *gōšen* is not known with any degree of certainty, making it difficult to use as support for the notion that Egypt /s/ can be written as Hebrew ש <š>. One possibility is that *gōšen* may derive from  *gsmt* (?) (Gauthier 1925-1931, 5:145-146, 178), the name of a town (Šaft al-Ḥinnah? [Brugsch 1881, 16; Gomaà 1987, 127-128]) or locality in the 20th Lower Egyptian *nome* known primarily from geographical lists in Ptolemaic temples<sup>[45]</sup> (Gardiner 1918; Naville 1924,

154, 234; Koehler, Baumgartner & Stamm 2001, 1:860; cf. Septuagint *Αναθ* [Anath] (Koehler, Baumgartner & Stamm 2001, 1:860).

[42] cf. the Egyptian personal names *ḥntj-mnḥw* (Ranke 1935, 1:69/15; Schneider 1992, 72/N131), *ḥntj-mntj* (Schneider 1992, 72-73/N131 & N132), *bn-ḥntj* (as well as other forms [Schneider 1992, 91-92/N177-N180]), *bškt-ḥntj* (Schneider 1992, 99/N200), and *tš-qzj-ḥntj* (Schneider 1992, 240/N515).

[43] Meaning ‘(the god) Bes creates’.

[44] The very few exceptions that exist are found in Imperial Aramaic (Muchiki 1999, 190), but none in Hebrew (Muchiki 1999, 267). One example where ד <d> is used for Egyptian /d/ in Imperial Aramaic is a single occurrence of אבוד *ʾbwd* (typically אבוט *ʾbwṭ*; cf. Coptic ⲁⲃⲟⲩ [Abōt (Abydos)]) for Egyptian *šbdw* [Abydos] (Texidor 1964, 285, 286; Muchiki 1999, 159). Phoenician never used ד <d> to represent any Egyptian consonant (Muchiki 1999, 54).

[45] However, cf. an ostensible *gsm* in pUCL 32157 [pKahun 55.I], 2,14 (Gomaà 1987, 127), which dates to Dynasty 12. Collier & Quirke (2004, 18, pl. 2) reject this reading, opting instead for *šsm* on the grounds that the first hieratic sign is ḏ *šs* not ḏ *g*.

26-27; Gomaà 1987, 127-128).<sup>[46]</sup> This is problematic as the hieroglyphs are better read as *šsmt* and not *gsmt*, on the basis that ḏ is most commonly transliterated *šs* rather than being a miswriting of ḏ *g*.<sup>[47]</sup> There are also pertinent unresolved questions regarding the relationship between Egyptian *gsmt* and Hebrew גושן *gōšen vis-à-vis* the Septuagint’s Γέσεμ [Gesem], particularly with regard to the terminal letter (<n> vs. <m>), as the Egyptian is closer to the Greek, not the Hebrew.

Others (Rabinowitz 1956, 6-7; Eph’al 1984, 213; Knauf 1988, 101-102; Redford 1992, 409; Ward 1992, 1076; Hoffmeier 1996, 121-122), however, reject any Egyptian origin for ‘Goshen’. Instead they argue Hebrew גושן *gōšen* and particularly Septuagintal Γέσεμ [Gesem] are to be connected with Gešem, a ruler of the Arabian Qedarite tribal confederacy, mentioned in Nehemiah 2:19, 6:1-2, 6, and also perhaps in a Lihyanic inscription (JS 349 lih. [Rabinowitz 1956, 7; Winnett, Reed & Milik 1970, 115-117]) found at Qabūr al-Ġundī, north of the al-Ulā oasis (ancient Dedan), and with an Imperial Aramaic text engraved on a silver bowl discovered in a North Arabian cult center at Tell el-Maskhuta, which names גשמ מלך קדר *gšm mlk qdr* ‘Gešem, king of Qedar’ (Rabinowitz 1956, 9; Eph’al 1984, 212-213; Vittmann 2003, 182). It is generally argued the Hebrews somehow associated his name with the region around Tell el-Maskhuta as the biblical ‘land of Goshen’. If so, there is no reason to expect an Egyptian equivalent. Similarly, Cazelles (1977) connects Hebrew גושן *gōšen* with an area of southern Judah that may have been only confused secondarily with an Egyptian locale in the Exodus tradition.

Given these difficulties, it is perhaps best to set aside any further discussion regarding גושן *gōšen* until a clear Egyptian cognate can be identified, and the μ <m> of the Septuagint’s Γέσεμ [Gesem] relative to Hebrew ג <n> and Egyptian <m> can be accommodated (Gardiner 1918; Ward 1992, 1077). At present neither is the case.

Finally, another possible example cited as evidence by van der Veen (1999, 22; 2002, 116) is the personal name אשר *ʾšr-šlh*, which is Phoenician (as he rightly notes), not Hebrew. He claims that the first element, אשר *ʾšr*; is perhaps the Egyptian deity *wsjr* ‘Osiris’.<sup>[48]</sup> If this were the case, it would be unique as all other examples of *wsjr* in Phoenician and Punic are categorically written in the expected form of אסר *ʾsr* (Muchiki 1990; 1999, 15-44, *passim*).

[46] See also Israelit-Groll 1998, 190; 1999, 159.

[47] See the extensive discussion in Gardiner 1918, as well as Montet 1957-1961, 1:207-209; Vergote 1959, 184-186; Ward 1992, 1076; cf. Harris 1961, 132; P. Wilson 1997, 1030.

[48] For the second element אלה *šlh*, see also Tsevat 1954.

### The qôp and arguments for a pun

Assuming the problem of Egyptian /s/ not equating to Hebrew ש <š> were somehow to be resolved, there is another highly problematic issue remaining: the ק <q> of Hebrew שישק *šišaq* is completely without an equivalent in Egyptian *ssysw*, *ssw*, or *ss*.

Van der Veen (1999, 23-24; 2002, 117-118), followed by Rohl (1995, 162-163),<sup>[49]</sup> claims this is due to the biblical redactor making a pun on the name of a hated non-Yahwist. A clear example of this phenomenon may be found in the Phoenician name of ‘Jezebel’,<sup>[50]</sup> יזבל *y-zbl*<sup>[51]</sup> – meaning ‘where is the Prince<sup>[52]?</sup>’ – which was changed by adversarial Hebrew scribes to אִיזְבֵּל *’i-zebel* ‘where is the dung?’ (Garsiel 1991, § 1.1.1.1 [3]; Yee 1992, 3:848; Koehler, Baumgartner & Stamm 2001, 1:39).

In the case of שישק *šišaq*, it is suggested that it is a pun on the Hebrew name ששק *ššaq*, attested in a tribal genealogy of the descendants of Benjamin (1 Chronicles 8:14, 25). Van der Veen (1999, 24; 2002, 118) argues this name is derived from a geminated form of the verbal root √שק *šqq*,<sup>[53]</sup> which he would translate as ‘to rush at’ or ‘to rush upon [the spoils]’,<sup>[54]</sup> explaining this would be ‘a particularly suitable epithet from Ramesses II, the Egyptian pharaoh who plundered Jerusalem’. Rohl (1995, 163) goes a step further, translating the derived meaning of this verb rather theatrically as “‘one who crushes [under foot or under wheel],” or more simply, “The Assaulter”’.

There are significant problems with this suggestion. Firstly, there does not seem to be any reasonable explanation as to why √שק *šqq* would have been altered to שישק *šišaq* in the first place as both ששק *ššaq* and שישק *šišaq* are

meaningless in Hebrew.<sup>[55]</sup> For puns to be meaningful, there must be wordplay of some sort involved, something impossible if the words are meaningless. Van der Veen (1999, 24, 25 note 19; 2002, 118, 120-121 note 30) argues that the meaning of ‘to rush at’ or ‘to rush upon [the spoils]’ for the Benjaminite name ששק *ššaq* was suggested by Davidson (1855, DCCXXXVIII), who claims that it is written (i.e., a mistake?) ‘for ששק *ššaq* eagerness’.<sup>[56]</sup> In turn, neither Davidson nor van der Veen offer any further explanation as to why this should be so, failing to account for the missing medial ק <q> in ששק *ššaq*. Assuming there is a legitimate relationship with √שק *šqq*, it is highly improbable that a reader would associate an unattested ששק *ššaq* with the Benjaminite name ששק *ššaq* and then make the further leap to שישק *šišaq* for the pun to work. There are too many hypothetical steps to get from √שק *šqq* to ששק *ššaq* to שישק *šišaq*, never mind relating it even further to the name of an Egyptian Ramesside king via an obscure *hypocoristicon*. Further, no explanation is offered as to why ששק *ššaq* and שישק *šišaq* should be associated with one another as a pun in the first place (never mind that ששק *ššaq* is only attested in 1 Chronicles 8:14, 25, and not in the chronologically earlier 1 Kings).<sup>[57]</sup>

It should be pointed out that since the name ששק *ššaq* attested in 1 Chronicles 8:14, 25 is itself meaningless in Hebrew, it is generally regarded as being derived from Libyco-Egyptian *ššnq*, as with שישק *šišaq* (Willett 1992; Muchiki 1999, 228; Koehler, Baumgartner & Stamm 2001, 2:1666). Finally, it should be noted that the root √שק *šqq* does not mean ‘attack’ (Wildberger 1972-1982, 3:1284; Greenberg 1996; *contra* Rohl 1995, 163; Koehler, Baumgartner & Stamm 2001, 2:1647)<sup>[58]</sup> or ‘rush at’ (van der Veen 1999, 24, 25, note 19; 2002, 118, 120-121, note 30), but rather ‘to yearn’ and, by extension, terms denoting the vocalization of intense desire, such as ‘cry, groan, make a noise’ (Greenberg 1996),<sup>[59]</sup> making it perhaps not quite as appropriate for a militant Egyptian king.<sup>[60]</sup>

[49] Rohl cites van der Veen’s views, which were, at that time, unpublished; see Rohl 1995, 416, chapter 7, note 18.

[50] The Phoenician wife of king Ahab of Israel.

[51] Written on a ninth century BC Phoenician seal (Avigad & Sass 1997, 275 number 740; Stern 2001, 92 fig. 1.48; Kitchen 2003, 13, 502 note 8, pl. 8A).

[52] i.e., Ba’al.

[53] This is unrelated to Aramaic שק *šqq* (Hoftijzer & Jongeling 1995, 2:1189), originally meaning ‘street, place’, and later referring to part of a tomb; cf. Hebrew שוק *šūq* ‘street’ (Koehler, Baumgartner & Stamm 2001, 2:1449). The Aramaic is likely a loanword from Akkadian *suqāqu* ‘alley, narrow street’ (Brinkman, Civil, Gelb et al. 1956-, 15:398), derived from the verb *sāqu* ‘to become narrow, tight’, ‘to constrict, make narrow’ (Brinkman, Civil, Gelb et al. 1956-, 15:169; cf. *sūqu* ‘narrow’, ‘street’ [15:400-406]).

[54] cf. the *hitpalpel* imperfect form יִשְׁתַּקְּשֵׁן *yīštāqšəqūn* ‘to rush upon’ [Nahum 2:5] (Gesenius & Kautzsch 1910, § 55h; Koehler, Baumgartner & Stamm 2001, 2:1647); however, see Greenberg (1996, 240), who translates this as ‘raise a din’. (See further below.)

[55] Compare with the example of אִיזְבֵּל *’i-zebel* ‘where is the dung?’, which has meaning in Hebrew.

[56] cf. Jewish Palestinian Aramaic שקשק *šqšq* ‘to rinse off’ (Sokoloff 2002, 566).

[57] ‘However, the name Shishak, as it is found in the narrative, could well be an example of the name game based on the existing Hebrew personal name *Shashak* (1 Chronicles 8:14)’ (van der Veen 1999, 24).

[58] Compare also ‘to run about, jump, prowl’, ‘rush about, leap’ (Hartley 1997) or ‘hurry’ (Benton 2009, 309).

[59] cf. שוק *šōqēq* in Proverbs 28:15 with regard to a bear (Greenberg 1996, 339-340), and Isaiah 33:4 with regard to locusts.

[60] This is not to deny the possibility that a pun may be involved. For example, Marx (1999) argues שישק *šišaq* is related to ששק *ššakə* (cf. Septuagint Σεδεκίος [*sic*], presumably a transcription error for \*Σεδεκίος) found in Jeremiah 25:26, 51:41, an *atbaš*-cipher for Hebrew בָּבֶל *bābel*



Most recently, van der Veen (2005) proposes a possible explanation for the ק <q>. While still (mistakenly) arguing that the Egyptian /s/ in *ssysw*, *ssw*, and *ss*, can be equated with Hebrew ש <š>, he suggests that the ק <q> of Hebrew קישק *šišaq* may be a later misunderstanding or reinterpretation of paleo-Hebrew ו <w>, made during a period of time when the forms of both letters were almost identical paleographically. He therefore suggests ‘it is remotely possible’ that the ancient Hebrew scribes mistakenly misread \**sysw* as \**sys(a)q* when they wrote it the later Aramaic script. While an ingenious proposal, this does assume that *sysw* (etc.) was recorded at an early date by a scribe using the linear paleo-Hebrew script (for which there is currently no evidence), in spite of the fact that the full name, רעמסס *ra’amāsēs* was known. It also does not account for the serious problem of equating Egyptian /s/ with Hebrew ש <š>, so while ‘remotely possible’, it is decidedly improbable.

Lastly, the claim made by James, *et al.* (1992, 127) that the ק <q> ‘may have been added by a scribe more familiar with Libyan royal names than with the popular terminology of Ramesside times’ is perhaps a case of special pleading that is best set aside.<sup>[61]</sup>

In summary, the case for Hebrew קישק *šišaq* corresponding to Egyptian *ssysw*, *ssw*, and *ss* involves an excessively high number of rather significant assumptions:

1. The scribes of the Hebrew Bible used the Egyptian name *r<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw* [Ramesses] in the form רעמסס *ra’amāsēs* only as a toponym, but referred to a king of this name as קישק *šišaq* on the basis of their supposed knowledge of the rare *hypocoristica* *ssysw*, *ssw*, and *ss*, despite that

[Babylon] (Koehler, Baumgartner & Stamm 2001, 2:1666). In this way he seeks to connect the biblical narrative of the attack of Jerusalem by Šišaq with the later desolation of Jerusalem by the Neo-Babylonian king, Nabû-kudurri-ušur II [Nebuchadrezzar]. While his reasoning for doing so is perhaps questionable (the lack of ו <n> in the Hebrew; no mention of Jerusalem in the Egyptian account of Shoshenq’s campaign; etc.), and he fails to explain why ק <q> is used for קישק *šišaq* rather than כ <k>, Marx does not, however, deny that Shoshenq I campaigned in Palestine. His primary argument is that the Hebrew narrative has been manipulated for literary reasons.

[61] It might be argued, however, that Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca* (Waddell 1940, 158; Jacoby 1958, 45; Mosshammer 1984, 83) shows the influence of the name of Shoshenq I (Dynasty 22) on the name of the earlier Senwasret I (Dynasty 12), that is, ‘a scribe more familiar with Libyan royal names’. However, as Ladyinin (2010, 124, 129-139, esp. 134) points out, the use of Σεσόγγωσις [Sesonkhōsis] for Senwasret I occurs rather as the result of a desire to equate both historical kings with Hērodotos’ legendary warrior-king Sesōstris, who was referred to by later writers, such as Eusebios, as Sesonkhōsis (first encountered in Dikaiarkhos’ *Bios Hellados* frag. 58 [Ladyinin 2010, 124]). See further, note 20 above.

these are barely used within Egypt, and written in scripts Hebrew scribes probably could not read.

2. The /s/ of Egyptian *r<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw* → *ssjsw* (or better *ssw*) was written with ש <š> in Hebrew despite overwhelming and consistent evidence that Egyptian /s/ was realized as ס <s> and never ש <š> in Northwest Semitic languages. (Evidence from Eastern Semitic Akkadian is irrelevant at best, or contradictory at worst, even without consideration of contamination from the Hittite context from which much of it derives.)
3. The presence of the ק <q> is due to either A) the existence of a sophisticated literary pun where the unattested form קישק\* *\*šāqšāq* is recorded in a minor Benjaminite genealogy as קישק *šāšāq* (and having no meaning in Hebrew) and subsequently later ‘repunned’ as קישק *šišaq*; or B) scribal confusion between paleo-Hebrew ו <w> and ק <q>. (Neither explanation accounts for point 2 above.)

### The conventional view

As Kitchen (1991, 236) points out, Egyptian *ss* ‘has not one single consonant in common’ with Hebrew קישק *šišaq*, while in the case of *ssysw* there is only Egyptian semi-vocalic /y/ and Hebrew י /y/. Given the clear correspondence between Egyptian /š/ and Northwest Semitic ש /š/, as well as the inadequately explained presence of ק <q> in Hebrew, it is highly problematic to suggest any valid correspondence between Hebrew קישק *šišaq*, and Egyptian *ssysw*, *ssw*, or *ss*.<sup>[62]</sup> As summarized above, the sheer number of ‘exceptions to the rule’, supposed misunderstandings on the part of the Hebrews, and other mental gymnastics to support the equation between Hebrew קישק *šišaq* and one of the *hypocoristica* for ‘Ramesses’ make this decidedly implausible.

Conversely, there is very little realistic objection on linguistic grounds to equating Libyco-Egyptian *ššnq* with Hebrew קישק *šišaq*, as has been the conventional stance since Champollion’s day. No other Egyptian royal name can be demonstrated to be as close in philological terms. As is well known, the only minor problematic issue is the lack of <n> in קישק *šišaq* as compared with Egyptian *ššnq*. However, even in Egyptian attestations of the name, the <n> is very often omitted in writing (Bonhême 1987, 95-141, *passim*), including in two texts of Shoshenq I: Karnak Priestly Annals Fragment 4B (Kruchten 1989, pls 3 and 18; Jansen-Winkel 2007, doc. 12.49) and Ġabal al-Silsilah quarry stela 100 (Caminos 1952, pls 10-13; Jansen-Winkel 2007, doc. 12.27, *passim*); the latter also has examples where the <n> is present (lines 4, 5).

[62] This point has likewise been addressed in Kitchen 1996, § MM; Jansen-Winkel 1999, 7; Jansen-Winkel 2002, 113; Kitchen 2002, 7.

Despite the variable orthography of Egyptian texts, Rohl (1995, 128) and Bimson (1992/1993, 22-23; 2002, 125-126) have tried to raise an objection on the grounds that the <n> is lacking in Hebrew קשיש *šišaq*, where it might be expected when compared with other non-Egyptian examples, namely Neo-Assyrian <sup>m</sup>*su-si-in-qu* and <sup>m</sup>*šu-sa-an-qu*.<sup>[63]</sup> Bimson argues that since the <n> is ‘retained in the Greek form employed by Manetho and his excerptors. . . we should probably not expect the Israelite scribes to omit it’. He even goes so far as to point out that since the <n> is present on the statue base from Byblos<sup>[64]</sup> and the stela fragment from Tel Megiddo,<sup>[65]</sup> the scribes of the Hebrew Bible should have been aware of it (Bimson 1992/1993, 22, figs 1 and 2; Bimson 2002, 125-126, figs 2 and 3).

Despite these objections, it is highly doubtful that Hebrew scribes would have had access to these Egyptian texts when they were compiling the biblical record. It is even more unlikely they would have possessed the ability to read the Egyptian even if they did. As pointed out above, it is well known that the name *ššnq* is frequently written both with and without the <n> in Egyptian,<sup>[66]</sup> including texts concerning Shoshenq I. Its use, therefore, on two texts from the Levant is not in the least surprising, nor is its lack in some texts from Egypt.

Another example of a non-Egyptian attestation of the name lacking <n> comes from an Akhaemenid marriage contract from Susa. The text, written in Neo-/Late Babylonian, involves several individuals with Egyptian names, including one named <sup>m</sup>*si-su-qu* (Zadok 1992, 146). It clearly lacks the <n> and is quite close to Hebrew קשיש *šišaq*.<sup>[67]</sup> In a northern (that is, Assyrian) or Peripheral context, where Babylonian <s> is replaced by <š> (M. Müller 2010, § 4.2.3), this could well have been written <sup>m</sup>*šī-šu-qu*, a form almost identical to the Hebrew.

A number of possible explanations for the lack of 𐤍 <n> in Hebrew קשיש *šišaq* can be proposed. It is possible that by the time the Hebrew Bible was written, well after the death of any king named Shoshenq, the /n/ in Hebrew had been dropped in pronunciation. (This may also be the case

in the Akhaemid Neo-/Late Babylonian example above.) The assimilation of 𐤍 <n> with a following consonant is not uncommon in Hebrew (Gesenius & Kautzsch 1910, § 19/2a) or Aramaic (Muchiki 1999, 203), and while it is not clear if such is the case here, the possibility certainly exists and would not be unexpected. Indeed, in the majority languages where the name is vocalized, the <n> appears in a cluster with the following consonant: -VOWEL + *nq* (Neo-Assyrian), -VOWEL + *nkh-* (Greek), -*onk-* (Armenian<sup>[68]</sup>), or -*onch-* (Latin<sup>[69]</sup>). This strongly suggests the pronunciation of Egyptian [nq] was the velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/, particularly in light of the Greek evidence.<sup>[70]</sup>

As the velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/ is lacking in both Egyptian and Semitic, it is not at all surprising there is a great deal of orthographic variation in recording this non-Egyptian and non-Semitic name (ultimately of Libyco-Berber origin<sup>[71]</sup>). One particularly telling example comes from Regnal Year 2 of Shoshenq I, Karnak Priestly Annals Fragment 4B (Kruchten 1989, pls 3 and 18; Jansen-Winkel 2007, doc. 12.49) mentioned above, where the name is recorded in group writing as *šš=šš=q*. This can be contrasted with the ‘Abydos Stela’ (Cairo, JE 66285 [Blackman 1941, pls 10-12; Jansen-Winkel 2007, doc. 10.7]), which dates to the period before Shoshenq I became king. Here the name is also written with group writing, but in the form *šš=šš=n=q* (lines *x+1* and *x+5*), with the <n> clearly present. In contrast, a limestone stela of the Great Chief of the Meshwesh, Chief of Chiefs, Shoshenq (i.e., the future Shoshenq I [Jansen-Winkel 2007, doc. 10.8]) has *both* forms with and without the <n>, indicating some confusion on the scribe’s part. Had the <n> been clearly and *distinctly* pronounced, its presence should have been expected given the nature of the orthography.<sup>[72]</sup>

Something similar seems to be attested in Sahidic Coptic. Peust (1999, § 3.3.7) observes that ‘the sequence 𐌢𐌢 may be replaced by 𐌢𐌢 in native Sahidic words . . . This seems to happen only at the end of a word (or syllable?). The phenomenon is unknown in Bohairic’. After rejecting

[68] *Sēsonk ‘usis* (Awgerean 1818, 1:128, 2:25, 162).

[69] *Sesonchosis* (Helm 1956, 1:79; Jacoby 1958, 45).

[70] In this regard, Syriac [*sa*]*sanūkīs* (Brooks 1910b, 12; Brooks 1910a, 23) – with metathesis *iškanosūs* (Chabot 1899-1910, 4:41) – and Arabic *sasūnāḥūsīs* (al-Bīrūnī & Sachau 1878, 90; al-Maqrīzī & Wiet 1922, 65) are atypical, but entirely consistent with Syriac practices for recording non-Syriac names from Greek (here, Eusebios), as well as Arabic borrowings from Syriac.

[71] An exact cognate is not known. It is perhaps related to Old Libyan (Numidian) *šnk* (Colin 1996, 1:71-72, 2:61-88), although this does not seem particularly likely.

[72] See also the writing *ššnq* on an openwork gold pectoral (JE 72171 [Montet 1951, fig. 13, pl. 28; Jansen-Winkel 2007, doc. 10.6]).

[63] The latter is overlooked by both Rohl (1995, 128) and Bimson (1992/1993, 22-23; 2002, 125-126). A Neo-/Late Babylonian form without <n> (<sup>m</sup>*si-su-qu* [Zadok 1992, 146]) is discussed below.

[64] Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum 3361 (Lemaire 2006, 1700); see Montet 1928, fig. 17; Schipper 1999, fig. 11; Jansen-Winkel 2007, 12.30.

[65] Rockefeller Archaeological Museum I.3554 (Fisher 1929, figs 7-9; Schipper 1999, figs 7-8; Jansen-Winkel 2007, 12.29).

[66] Including Demotic; see Lüddeckens, Thissen, Brunsch *et al.* 1980-2001, 105, 970/1, 5, 15; Colin 1996, 2:74-88.

[67] It might even be argued that the biblical text is roughly contemporaneous with the Akhaemenid marriage contract.

the possibility that this may represent [ng]/[ŋg].<sup>[73]</sup> he concludes that ‘[ŋ] is certainly the most straight forward solution’ and notes this phenomenon occurs in several other languages worldwide. It does not, therefore, seem immoderate to suggest this may also have been the case in Dynasty 22 Egyptian, giving rise to the variable orthography of this particular name in both Egyptian and other languages lacking a standard grapheme to record this phoneme.

Accordingly, as opposed to the various proposals to see Egyptian *ssysw*, *ssw*, or *ss*, lurking behind Hebrew *שִׁשָּׂאק* *šišaq*, every consonant of Egyptian *ššnq* is accounted for without violating otherwise accepted phonological rules. Even the lack of <n> in the Hebrew form of the name, and indeed even in the Egyptian, is readily explained as an understandable difficulty in recording the velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/ due to the limitations of Hebrew and Egyptian orthography, or as simple assimilation with the following consonant. Therefore, there seems absolutely no reason to seriously entertain any further attempts to deny the conventional equation of Hebrew *שִׁשָּׂאק* *šišaq* with Egyptian *ššnq*, particularly if the alternatives suggested involve the type of arguments for special circumstances suggested above in order to be valid. The evidence seems incontrovertible.

## Who was Šišaq?

Having established that Egyptian *ššnq* is doubtlessly to be equated with Hebrew *שִׁשָּׂאק* *šišaq*, it remains to determine precisely which Shoshenqide king is to be identified with the Šišaq of the Hebrew Bible. The traditional candidate has of course been Shoshenq I. Once the objections of Rohl, van der Veen, James, Bimson, and others, are set aside on philological grounds, there is really no reason to seriously doubt this. Of all the kings bearing the name ‘Shoshenq’ *only* Shoshenq I engaged in martial activities in the Levant, or indeed anywhere outside the borders of Egypt. This is evidenced most prominently by his great topographical list at Karnak (Hughes and Nims 1954, pls 2-9; Jansen-Winkel 2007, doc. 12.20), as well as the stela fragment from Tel Megiddô (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum I.3554 [Fisher 1929, figs 7-9; Schipper 1999, figs 7-8; Jansen-Winkel 2007, 12.29]). The remnants of a topographical list from the *pronaos* of the temple at el-Hibeh (Feucht 1981; Jansen-Winkel 2007, doc. 12.16), the cartonnage of Hori iii (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam E 8.1896 [Jansen-Winkel 1985, 252-253 Text B5; Jansen-Winkel 2007, doc. 17.27]), and (perhaps) the victory stela Cairo TR 3/12/24/1 (Grdseloff 1947, 95-97; Jansen-Winkel 2007, doc. 12.19), all further point to the king’s activities in greater Palestine. No other Shoshenqide king exhibits any evidence for military activity in the Levant whatsoever, and most definitely not with this level of intensity.<sup>[74]</sup>

[73] *apud* Loprieno 1995, 41.

[74] Only the son of Shoshenq I, Osorkon I, may have

Even if, despite the lack of evidence, other Shoshenqs were to be seriously considered as candidates, none of these later kings had the opportunity or military resources to campaign in the Levant. Heqakheperre Shoshenq IIa<sup>[75]</sup> was dead before assuming the throne independently (Kitchen 1996, § 269). Shoshenq III’s reign was wracked by division and probable civil war (Caminos 1958, *passim*; Kitchen 1996, §§ 295-297; Broekman 2008), while almost nothing is known of the reigns of Tutkheperre Shoshenq IIb (Lange 2004; Effland 2012) and Shoshenq IV (Rohl 1989/1990, 66-67; Dodson 1993; Rohl 1995, 378) save their existence. Shoshenq VI’s<sup>[76]</sup> reign was localized in Upper Egypt (Kitchen 1996, § 303), and Aakheperre Shoshenq V ruled the rump of Dynasty 22 in the eastern Delta, while in the west the Great Chief of the Libu, Tefnakht, was growing in power immediately prior to the Napatian invasion of Egypt; both Shoshenqs lacked the martial efficacy to engage in conflicts abroad as are described in the biblical record. In short, the only king named ‘Shoshenq’ who had the means and opportunity to invade the southern Levant, and for which there is a great deal of firm evidence that he in fact did so, is Shoshenq I.<sup>[77]</sup>

## Conclusion

Continued debate over the chronology of the Third Intermediate Period among Egyptologists and others is indicative that there is scope for adjustments, particularly as new evidence comes to light or known information is re-examined, leading to new interpretations and discoveries.<sup>[78]</sup> The existence of Shoshenq IV, for example, had only been hinted at by Montet (1960, 8-9), but placed on firm ground by van der Veen, Rohl (1989/1990, 66-67; 1995, 378) and Dodson (1993), something now accepted by even the most conservative of scholars (Kitchen 1996, § Y; von Beckerath 1997, 94, note 387, 191). However, the evidence must lead the conclusions, not the hoped-for conclusions leading the evidence (or rather its interpretation).

Of course the available evidence is rarely crystal clear, and indeed there can occasionally be anomalies and ‘exceptions to the rule’ that are otherwise difficult to explain. Nevertheless, these must still fit within general trends, whether historical or philological. Arguments appealing to such ‘exceptions to the rule’ that are further coupled with more ‘exceptions to the rule’ to bolster the initial ones are decidedly less probable than a straightforward reading of the material, no matter how elegant the result.

attempted military action in Levant (Kitchen 1996, § 268).

[75] The numbering here follows that of Broekman, Demarée & Kaper 2008; Kaper 2008, 39.

[76] The former ‘Shoshenq IV’.

[77] See generally K. A. Wilson 2005, albeit his conclusions *vis-à-vis* the biblical narrative are not to be accepted (Hoffmeier 2008; Jansen-Winkel 2008; Kitchen 2009a).

[78] See further the comments of Dodson 2012, ix-xi; 2013.

In the case of identifying Shoshenq I with biblical **שִׁשָּׂא** *šišaq*, Champollion (1868, 80-81) was admittedly on shaky ground in terms of supporting evidence when he wrote his letter in November 1828, barely six years after his famous letter to Bon-Joseph Dacier (Champollion 1822) and only four years after the publication of his *Précis du système hiéroglyphique des anciens égyptiens* (1824). With our profoundly greater understanding of Egyptian language,<sup>[79]</sup> history, absolute<sup>[80]</sup> and relative chronologies,<sup>[81]</sup> art history,<sup>[82]</sup> and archaeology, Champollion's enthusiastic identification of biblical **שִׁשָּׂא** *šišaq* with Shoshenq I is assured on balance of the evidence now available, and with the principle of *lex parsimoniae*. Conversely, the proposals to equate **שִׁשָּׂא** *šišaq* with Ramesses II or III (or any other Ramesside king) on the basis of the rare *hypocoristica* *ssysw*, *ssw*, and *ss*, seem far from probable (or even plausible) on philological grounds, never mind the significant problems such an equation creates in both the absolute and relative chronologies for Egypt and surrounding areas.

## Addendum

As I was not able to attend the original 2011 workshop in person, Peter van der Veen has kindly allowed me to respond to the views put forth in his paper contained in this volume. I thank him for his generosity. However, despite

[79] For example, Libyan Period texts are more often written in *Spätmittelägyptisch* (Jansen-Winkel 1996), rather than 'high' Late Egyptian, as was the case during the Ramesside Period. Over time the vernacular develops into early Demotic by Dynasty 26 (el-Aguizy 1992), which is of course significantly different from the grammar utilized in late Ramesside texts.

[80] See note 5 above. To this may be added recent arguments for lunar data that appear to be broadly in line with 'dead-reckoned' dates (Krauss 2005; Krauss 2006, 408-414; Broekman 2009b, 91-92; see, however, Leahy 2010). It should be noted that despite claims to the contrary (Chapman 2009, 16; Morkot & James 2009, 43), it is possible to 'dead-reckon' the accession date of Shoshenq I exclusively on the basis of Egyptian evidence to *circa* 941-938 BC, without recourse to biblical synchronisms, save as a 'check' (Shortland 2005; Kitchen 2006; Kitchen 2007, §§ 6-10; Broekman 2011). Recent high-precision radiocarbon dates (Bronk Ramsey, Dee, Rowland *et al.* 2010; Shortland & Bronk Ramsey [eds] 2013; Taylor 2013) rule out the rather extreme adjustments to the conventional chronology that have been suggested.

[81] Although the issue needs to be addressed thoroughly elsewhere, the diachronic development of hieratic paleography between the late New Kingdom and early Saite Period rules out significant chronological overlaps (cf. Möller 1927; Möller 1936; Wimmer 1989; Verhoeven 2001).

[82] For example, the typological development of several object classes, such as coffins (Niwinski 1988; Taylor 2003; Aston 2009a, 269-290; Broekman 2009a; Taylor 2009), funerary stelae (Munro 1973; Saleh 2007; Leahy 2009; Loth 2009), and statuary (Brandl 2008; Brandl 2009).

being afforded this opportunity, I remain unconvinced and do not see the necessity of modify my own views in any significant way.

I do not doubt that there were one or more written sources (perhaps from the Iron Age<sup>[83]</sup>) that ultimately served as some sort of basis for the Šišaq narrative in 1 Kings, but what exactly these were remains highly debatable. Whether they were in a narrative format similar to the existing text, as van der Veen argues, is both unknowable and unlikely. (I certainly do not accept van der Veen's contention [citing 2 Chron. 12:15] that 'it seems safe to assume that this material was written up by [the prophet Shemaiah] or by one of his pupils at or near the time' of the Egyptian invasion.) For example, van Seters (1983, 301-302) and Na'aman (1997a; 1997b) have suggested the basis for the biblical text might be something as prosaic as accounting records with some limited historical information – the names of the kings involved when 'tribute' was paid out of the temple treasury – and only later 'filled out' by the authors of the biblical narrative. In any event, regardless of whether the historical event took place in the Ramesside or Third Intermediate Period, the text of the Hebrew bible referring to Šišaq's campaign was not recorded in the form we now have until long after the event itself.

As I have argued, once the issue of a midrashic pun is set aside (which van der Veen and I both agree is best abandoned), the remaining philological concerns with the name revolve around the issue of the sibilants /s/ vs. /š/, and the explanation for the <q> in Hebrew **שִׁשָּׂא** *šišaq*, if Egyptian *ssysw*, *ssw*, or *ss* is lurking behind it. My view continues to remain that evidence for any *definitively* attested case of Egyptian /s/ occurring in a Northwest Semitic language as <š> is lacking; the various examples that have been proposed can all be accounted for in other, less radical manners; none of these proposals are definitive and involve (often considerable) doubt.

In principle, van der Veen is correct, however, in pointing out that the *orthographic* of conventions used to record various sibilants may have been 'updated' by a later copyist, regardless of any change in actual pronunciation. As we both recognize, one example of this may possibly be found in Egyptian *sktjw* 'ships', entering Hebrew as **שְׂכִיּוֹת** *šakiyōt* (Isaiah 2:16. However, as I pointed out, this word likely firstly entered Canaanite (cf. Ugaritic *ikt*), and then was retained in what became Hebrew as the ancestral language developed (thus Egyptian /s/ ≈ Canaanite /t/ → Hebrew /š/, or, with a pointing error, /š/). However, using this as an explanation for why Egyptian *ssysw*, *ssw*, or *ss* was written in Hebrew with <š> raises the question of *how much* time has passed between the lifetime of the Ramesside king and the final form his name takes the Hebrew bible, during which knowledge of just how it was to be pronounced came to be lost. Under the *Centuries*

[83] While the source material probably dated to the Iron Age, the redacted text of Kings likely dates to the late 7th century BC (Dever 2010, 518), or later.

of *Darkness* model, this cannot be a great deal, making it less likely. (Compare this with Egyptian /s/ in *pr-rꜥ-ms-sw* entering Hebrew as *samekh* (רַעַמְסֵס *ra'amāsēs*), roughly 550 years<sup>[84]</sup> after the foundation of the city on the conventional chronology but far less under the *Centuries of Darkness* model.)

For purposes of discussion, I fully accept the possibility of van der Veen's ingenious notion that an Iron Age Hebrew might have misunderstood a Bronze Age *wāw* as *qōp*, but I very much question the probability of this being so in this case. For this proposal to work we have to assume there was a Bronze Age text to be read in the first place (the purported eye witness account recorded by the Prophet Shemaiah?) and that (from our perspective) the Iron Age (or later) redactor was simply – but understandably – confused by what he read. While this is certainly a plausible explanation for this single issue, I certainly would not want to bolster a major reworking of (at a minimum) Egyptian and Levantine absolute chronology upon what van der Veen himself describes as 'a scribal corruption during the long process of transmission', particularly when less radical explanations, based on a straightforward reading of the available evidence, remain possible. This becomes even less probable when other objections that have been raised are taken into account.

One point of agreement that I do share with van der Veen is that Shoshenq I was very likely regarded by later generations as the preeminent 'conquering pharaoh' of the early first millennium BC, impacting folk traditions in and outside of Egypt, including the Levant. Likewise, I have little doubt that this memory influenced the *Sesostris/Sesonkhis Romance* and related stories, including some versions of the *Alexander Romance*.<sup>[85]</sup> However, using this as an additional explanation for the <q> in שִׁשַׁק *šīšaq* remains in my mind special pleading to otherwise explain away an anomaly.

A point not addressed by van der Veen, however, is whether such a memory of any Ramesside king with regard to the Hebrew bible may be reasonably claimed. Like their contemporary Assyrian and Babylonian counterparts, several Egyptian kings of the Third Intermediate and Late Periods are mentioned *by name* in the biblical text, most frequently when their activities impacted the Levant.<sup>[86]</sup>

[84] Redford (2009, 175, and note 9) argues that Egyptian <s> was rendered as *samekh* in 'Hebrew and other West Semitic languages no earlier than the end of the 8th Cent. BC as no certain examples of the equivalence *s/š* with Hebrew *samekh* occur before this time'.

[85] See Sagrillo, forthcoming.

[86] Excluding Šīšaq, the following are attested: Tihâqâ (i.e., Taharqo [Dynasty 25]; 2 Kings 19:9; Isaiah 37:9); Nəkö (i.e., Nekau II [Dynasty 26]; 2 Kings 23:29-35; 2 Chron. 35:20-22, 36:4; Jeremiah 46:2); Hâpōra' (Wahibre' (Greek: Apries) [Dynasty 26]; Jeremiah 44:30). Osorkon IV, as 'Sô' (2 Kings 17:4), should be included as well (Dodson 2012, 150-151).

What is lacking, however, is any clear reference to a single king of the New Kingdom (save as part of a toponym), or indeed, any knowledge of the Egyptian empire whatsoever. If one of the Ramesside kings were to be identified with Šīšaq this gap would be most surprising. For example, if Šīšaq is Ramesses III (as the *Centuries of Darkness* model favors), it is extraordinary that Merenptah (never mind Ramesses II), who certainly campaigned in the Levant, is unknown to the Hebrew bible, despite reigning only a generation before; if Šīšaq is Ramesses II the issue is even more pronounced.<sup>[87]</sup> Conversely, if Šīšaq is Shoshenq I, there is no issue at all as the Libyans did not reestablish a permanent presence the Levant beyond (at the very best) Osorkon I, and even this can be accommodated within the sphere of the post-Solomonic kingdoms.

Finally, I wish to briefly emphasize some of my concluding remarks once again. Hebrew שִׁשַׁק *šīšaq* can be – for sake of discussion – equated with Egyptian *ssysw*, *ssw*, or *ss*, but it must be recognized that to do so means acceptance of a *significant* number of quite intricate explanations to account for what would otherwise be quite anomalous. Conversely, equating it with Egyptian *ššnq* does not necessitate this at all; the reading is straightforward and, indeed, expected. Only the missing <n> in the Hebrew needs to be accounted for, but as discussed in my paper, this is not at all uncommon or unexpected, even in Egypt. The conventional reading as *ššnq* seems, therefore, all the more likely given that the Babylonian example of an Egyptian named <sup>m</sup>*si-su-qu* (Zadok 1992, 146) is attested, a form that in Assyrian would likely have occurred as <sup>m</sup>*šī-šū-qu*, essentially identical to the Hebrew *šīšaq*. This seems much more probable (and plausible) than the alternative explanations that have been suggested, both by van der Veen and others.

[87] The geographical extent of the Egyptian empire under Ramesses III during the reigns of Solomon and Rehoboam remains to be addressed as well, but this remains outside the focus of van der Veen's paper.

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