

Why Pharaoh Hatshepsut is not to be equated to the Queen of Sheba

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This article looks at the linguistic, textual and other problems of equating the Pharaoh Hatshepsut with the Queen of Sheba. This is one of the central pillars of the revised chronology of the Ancient Near East, particularly Egypt, first mooted by Immanuel Velikovsky in the middle of the last century, and taken up by other writers since, including works that are very popular in creationist circles. The conclusion is that this Hatshepsut/Sheba identification is not tenable in the light of the available evidence.

Many Christians today are greatly influenced by the revisionist claims of four people in particular. Firstly, Immanuel Velikovsky, a Russian-born psychoanalyst, who authored a number of books in which he proposed numerous radical interpretations of history. In *Ages in Chaos* (1952),¹ Velikovsky, who would not have called himself a Bible-believer, described what he thought were parallels between Egyptian history and the biblical accounts covering the period from the Exodus to the early years of the Divided Monarchy. This ignited a fierce debate on the chronologies of the Ancient Near East (ANE) that continues to this day. Secondly, Donovan Courville² had much to say about Egyptian chronology in *The Exodus and Its Ramifications*. Thirdly, Emmet J. Sweeney introduced further controversy to this area in his book *Empire of Thebes: Ages in Chaos Revisited*.³ And finally, archaeologist David Down, principal author of *Unwrapping the Pharaohs*.⁴ Courville, Sweeney, and Down have to a greater or lesser degree been influenced by and built on Velikovsky's ideas. The above-mentioned authors' ideas will be referred to as the Velikovsky-Inspired Chronology (VIC).

The chronology debate is a serious issue. There is always the risk that believers may base their thinking more on secular history rather than the Bible. They may have problems believing Bible history because the findings of archaeology can give a very different interpretation of the evidence, and some Bible commentaries are also unhelpful.⁵ Believers seeking for solutions to apparent conflicts with the biblical chronology may unwittingly be beginning their thinking, not with the solid foundation of Scripture, but with the ideas of various revisionists. If these rest on a foundation of sand, the Bible's credibility is further harmed.

The author presupposes (in general agreement with many other creationist writers) that:

- The Bible is authoritative and its chronology totally accurate.
- The Conventional Egyptian (Manethian) chronology, as it presently stands, is erroneous and in need of significant revision.

However, any scheme of revision proposed must be based on sound scholarship, and be consistent with the available historical (including biblical) evidence.

Whilst having every sympathy for the motivations of these authors who have proposed revising ANE chronologies

so that they line up with the Bible, their interpretation of the evidence raises serious questions about their methodology and often their expertise in the area. For example, Velikovsky's lack of competence as a historian was brutally exposed in 1965, by the expert cuneiformist, Abraham Sachs, in a forum at Brown University, Rhode Island.⁶ Sachs had much to say about Velikovsky's claims on Mesopotamian history. This is part of what Sachs had to say:

"In 1896, an excellent dictionary of Akkadian contained 790 pages; today [1961], the latest torso of an Akkadian dictionary—with only one-third of the dictionary published in 8 volumes already runs to more than 2500 pages. I mention all this only to underline the sad fact that anyone who, like Dr. Velikovsky, is not a student of cuneiform, runs the very high risk of finding non-existent facts, false translations, and abandoned theories that have foundered on the rocks of new textual material when he relies, as Dr. Velikovsky does, on books and articles that are 80, 50, 40, and in some cases, even 20 years old."

And in reference to an earlier work by Velikovsky, Sachs said:

"On pp. 274–275 of *Worlds in Collision*, Dr. Velikovsky says, [and I quote him]: 'Reports concerning earthquakes in Mesopotamia in the eighth and seventh centuries are very numerous and they are dated.' Go to the source referred to in the footnote, and you will find that it is not the 8th–7th centuries but the fourth–third centuries. On page 315 of the same opus, Dr. Velikovsky reports a value for the length of daylight from what he calls [quote] 'the Babylonian astronomical tablets of the eighth century' [unquote] B.C. When one goes to the source, one finds that the date of the texts is 3rd century B.C., not eighth. At various places, Dr. Velikovsky talks about Babylonian calendars and length of year and length of month. Not being a cuneiformist, Dr. Velikovsky is not aware that tens of thousands of economic texts dated in the civil calendars of ancient Mesopotamia contradict every one of his statements."

Velikovsky was never able to refute Sachs's criticisms.

VIC theory rests upon a number of mutually supportive pillars. The two most important of these are the

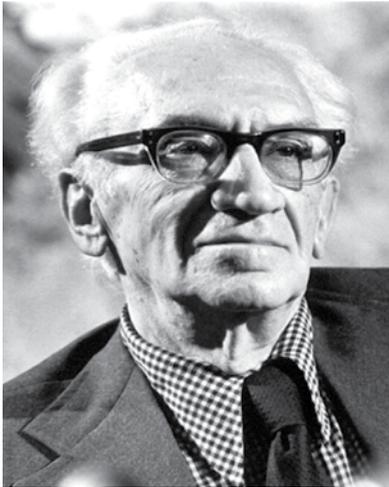


Figure 1. Immanuel Velikovsky (1895–1979), author of *Ages in Chaos*.

identification of the Pharaoh Hatshepsut with the Queen of Sheba, and the identification of the Pharaoh Thutmose III with the biblical Shishak.⁷ A third pillar, related to the first, concerns the location of the ancient Egyptian land known as Punt.

The author's contention from a study of the evidence is that *all* these pillars are constructed from

a poor grasp of the ancient Egyptian language, history and literary devices. But for space considerations, this article will focus on just the Sheba/Hatshepsut connection. This will necessitate some reference to the land of Punt, but a proper discussion of the other two VIC pillars (Punt's location, and the Thutmose/Shishak identification) must wait.

Erecting the pillars

Velikovsky, in *Ages in Chaos*, developed the revolutionary idea that the early years of the 18th Dynasty corresponded to the beginning of the Monarchy period in Israel.⁸ This involved lowering the conventional dates of the 18th Dynasty by almost six centuries. In Chapter III of *Ages in Chaos*, Velikovsky erected the first main supporting pillar of his thesis by equating the Egyptian Pharaoh Hatshepsut's famous expedition to the land of Punt with that of the Queen of Sheba to the court of King Solomon. He achieved this by comparing information from the 'Punt Colonnade' at Deir el Medina⁹ (also known as the Punt reliefs, the Deir el Bahari texts, or simply the 'Punt texts') with events in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles in the Bible. To this he added carefully selected fragments from the Ethiopic *Kebra Negast*, and *Antiquities of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus. Velikovsky attracted a devoted following who have continued to press for these revisions to be accepted. This investigation begins where Velikovsky wrote:

"If Solomon was really a renowned king, as the Hebrew sources describe him, then the absence of any contact between this queen and this king is difficult to explain. It would, indeed, be very singular, for these two rulers were no ordinary occupants of throne halls, but very excellent suzerains. Nor would it fit our notion of the adventure-loving character of Queen Hatshepsut, or the words of praise: 'Thy name reaches as far as the circuit of heaven, the fame of Maakare (Hatshepsut) encircles the sea,'¹⁰ and 'her fame has encompassed the Great Circle'¹¹ (ocean). Neither would it accord with our idea of King

Solomon, whose capital was visited by ambassadors from many countries¹² and who had personal contact with many sovereigns: 'And all the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon' (II Chronicles 9:23), and 'all the earth sought to Solomon ...' (I Kings 10:24). Was the queen of Egypt excluded from 'all the kings'?'¹³

Velikovsky succeeds in planting in the average reader's mind (by simply presupposing it) the notion that Solomon and the Pharaoh Hatshepsut were contemporaneous. In the same book, he claims that Hatshepsut's visit to Punt was in fact the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon (as in the well-known biblical account¹⁴). In support, he quotes extensively from the Punt texts. His citations (all taken directly from Breasted¹⁵) include these three:

1. "Sailing ... to the land of Punt ... according to the command of the Lord of gods, Amon, Lord of Thebes, Presider over Karnak, in order to bring for him the marvels of every country, for he so much loves the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ..."^{16,17}
2. "... a command was heard from the great throne, an oracle of the god himself, that the ways to Punt should be searched out, that the high-ways to the Myrrh-terraces should be penetrated: 'I will lead the army on water and on land, to bring marvels from God's-Land for this god, for the fashioner of her beauty'."^{18,19}
3. "I have hearkened to my father ... commanding me to establish for him a Punt in his house, to plant the trees of God's land beside his temple, in his garden."^{20,21}

Velikovsky's summary at the end of that chapter states:

"The complete agreement in the details of the voyage and in many accompanying data makes it evident that the Queen [of] Sheba and Queen Hatshepsut was one and the same person."²²

However, the surviving Punt texts,²³ including the above citations 1–3, actually demonstrate the very opposite. The texts indicate the main reason for this expedition; to find the route to Punt in order to bring pleasing things by direct trade, as had been the norm in previous centuries.²⁴ Hatshepsut refers to "[a decree of] my majesty commanding to send to the Myrrh-terraces, to explore his ways [for him,] to learn his circuit, to open his highways, according to the command of my father, Amon."²⁵

Then there was the ambitious concept of constructing a terraced garden using Punt's flora in Amun's temple; the god gave his reasons for doing this during Hatshepsut's reign as being his special love for her. None of this corresponds to the biblical account. The Punt texts make no mention of any king (i.e. Solomon), nor of a desire to test him "with hard questions"²⁶

The Bible mentions that the Queen of Sheba brought gifts *for* Solomon.²⁷ Velikovsky claims that she intended to get gifts *from* Solomon.²⁸



Figure 2. Location of Cush during pharonic times.

The Bible indicates that her principal motive was to test Solomon “with hard questions”,²⁹ and not to obtain goods through an oracle of her god, as the Egyptian text recounts.

Further, the Punt texts explicitly mention the searching out of the highways to the Myrrh-terraces (of Punt). If Jerusalem was the Punt of Velikovsky’s theory, there would be no need to search for highways, because these were established and known to the Egyptians long before the days of Hatshepsut.

The Ethiopian problem

The VIC authors seek to bolster their case with the works of Flavius Josephus. Velikovsky cites Josephus’ account of the Queen of Sheba’s journey: “Now the woman who at that time ruled as queen of Egypt and Ethiopia ...”³⁰ Again quoting Josephus: “And the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia ... returned to her own country.”³¹ And VIC author Down, popular in creationist circles, stated on a DVD program:

“He [Christ] calls her ‘The Queen of the South’.

Well, in Daniel, chapter 11, we have the King of the North and the King of the South, and there the King of the South is identified as the King of Egypt. And so, if the King of the South is the King of Egypt, well, then surely the Queen of the South must be the Queen of Egypt. And that is what Josephus, the ancient historian, says; he identifies her as the Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia.”³²

Although the presenter provides a rationale for his deduction that the Queen of the South was the Queen of Egypt, no attempt is made to explain Josephus’ use of

‘Ethiopia’ in the title he gives her—but it is this which actually weakens the case for VIC authors, as will be shown.

Josephus—a child of his time

It is well known to most scholars of antiquity that much of what authors during the Classical Period, such as Josephus, had to say about Egypt and the Ancient Near East in general, when they covered events not in their own time or their recent past, carries errors, both great and small. Scholars do not ignore these classical sources, but they are studied with considerable caution, and conclusions are primarily based on the more ancient sources. So, the general rule among scholars is that acceptance of any such details from the later classical sources must be deferred unless they are confirmed by the more ancient evidence. Thus Josephus’ reference to “the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia” may be considered a reasonable substitution for the biblical ‘Queen of Sheba’ only when a contemporary record covering this matter supports it. For supporters of the VIC, this is bad news; there is no such record.

But there is more. The region now known as Ethiopia was the probable location for Punt, a land with which Egypt eventually had trading interests. But the VIC needs to have Punt be, instead, Israel—to the north. So for Josephus to mention Ethiopia as already existing in Hatshepsut’s time generally suits the supporters of the VIC. However, there was in fact no such thing as ‘Ethiopia’ at the times of Hatshepsut/Solomon. So for Josephus to use this term actually highlights that his title for the Queen was *in error* here.

Some might point to various Bible translations which mention Ethiopia existing in ANE times. But the original Hebrew Masoretic text only ever says Cush, *not* Ethiopia, simply employing the Hebrew word כּוּשׁ *Cush*. This is variously rendered in Bible translations as Ethiopia, Nubia, Sudan and even Somalia. However, it is well-known to scholars that the real, biblical Cush was an ancient African state centered on the confluences of the Blue Nile, White Nile and River Atbara in a part of what is now modern Sudan (see map figure 2). Greco-Roman records render Cush incorrectly as either Nubia or Ethiopia, but earlier sources, *whether biblical or Egyptian*, always referred to this geographical location as Cush.³³ The Septuagint (the 3rd Century BC translation of the OT into Greek, possibly one of the sources relied on by Josephus) also misleadingly translates Cush as ‘Aethiopia’.

Importantly, also, no Egyptian records, nor any other records contemporaneous with them, ever show a Pharaoh being called the ruler of ‘Egypt and Cush’, let alone of Egypt and the then non-existent Ethiopia. In short, Josephus’ use of the word Ethiopia shows him to have been recycling the Greco-Roman misconceptions of his time.

The fact is that at the time of the Bible’s description of the queen’s visit to Solomon there *was* a real country called Sheba, well attested as a kingdom in the Old Testament.³⁴ This makes it difficult to see why the plain, face-value statements of Scripture about the lady who was its queen are sidelined in favour of Josephus’ much later description,

which has been shown to be misleading by invoking a land non-existent at the times being described.

No less an authority on Josephus than William Whiston, the 19th century translator of *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, observed:

“That this queen of Sheba was a queen of Sabea in South Arabia, and not of Egypt and Ethiopia, as Josephus here asserts, is, I suppose, now generally agreed; and since Sabea is well known to be a country near the sea, in the south of Arabia Felix, which lay south from Judea also; and since our Saviour calls this queen ‘the queen of the south,’ and says, ‘she came from the utmost parts of the earth’ (Matt. xii, 42; Luke xi, 31); which descriptions agree better to this Arabia than to Egypt and Ethiopia, there is little occasion for doubting in this matter.”³⁵

Velikovsky, however, evades this by claiming that Sheba was not the name of any region, but the name of the queen herself. He wrote in 1973:

“Neither of the two Talmuds contains any clear historical reference to the mysterious adventurous queen. However the opinion is expressed in the Talmud that ‘Sheba’ in the name Queen of Sheba is not a geographical designation but a personal name.”³⁶

And in a footnote nearly 30 pages later: “Shwa (the Hebrew for Sheba) might be the last part of the name Hatshepsut.”³⁷ Not all Egyptian names are found with a hypocoristic form,³⁸ and no such form of Hatshepsut is known, therefore, no one has the faintest idea as to what the shortened form of her name might be, even if such were to exist. This suggestion—that there is not only a short form of the name Hatshepsut, but that it just so happens to be the same name as the real kingdom of Sheba—is simply an *ad hoc* proposal to support a preferred hypothesis. But in any case, it fails on other grounds. The last part of Hatshepsut’s name is represented by the Egyptian ꜥꜣ *šps*, (which may be pronounced *shepsu* or *shepsi*, if it was ever pronounced).³⁹ It is impossible to squeeze either *shwa* or *shba* from the Egyptian *šps*. Another problem for this idea is that in the ancient world, people had names which meant something tangible. Isaac meant ‘Laughter’, Djoser of Step Pyramid fame meant ‘Sacred’; Velikovsky and his followers have never been able to show any meaning of the alleged name ‘Sheba’. Velikovsky’s proposal concerning the last part of Hatshepsut’s name is simply untenable.

The Hebrew Bible: Sheba is a region

But then, the whole notion that Sheba is the name of the queen, rather than the region she ruled, is untenable. In 1982, Velikovsky added this:

“... the Septuagint (‘translation of the seventy’) that dates from the third century before the present era and similarly the Vulgate (the earliest Latin translation) see in Shwa (Seba) the personal name of the Queen (*Regina Seba*), not the name of a region.”⁴⁰

Once again, we see Velikovsky quoting from later translations of the original biblical text rather than the earlier text. It is not difficult to see why; the original biblical text clearly intends the reader to understand that Sheba is the name of a region, not a personal name, which is inconvenient to his thesis. The Masoretic text designates the Queen of Sheba as שְׁבָא מַלְכָּה *malkat shba*, where *malkat* in grammatical terms is known as the *status constructus*,⁴¹ that is, a form which indicates that the word following it is in a genitival relationship, thus ‘Queen of Sheba’. If the Masoretic text wanted to say ‘Queen Sheba’, with Sheba being the personal name of the queen, the first word would have been written as *malkah shba*.

In any case, in the Bible, the usual epithet for an Egyptian monarch was the title ‘Pharaoh’.⁴² Until around the 10th century BC in the biblical timeframe, the term Pharaoh stood alone, without any personal name. In subsequent periods, the name of the Egyptian king was often attached.⁴³ Following the standard practice of the day in ancient Egypt, Moses, who was trained in his early years as an Egyptian, omitted the pharaoh’s throne name, opting instead for the title, Pharaoh. He even omitted the name of the Pharaoh whom Jacob blessed and Joseph served (Gen 47:7). This is further evidence of the faithfulness of the biblical accounts in Genesis to the historical events described. Moses wrote centuries after both that particular Pharaoh and his Dynasty had vanished into the mists of history, showing that a Pharaoh’s name was not recorded in Genesis and Exodus for one reason: Moses, familiar with the customs of the Royal Court of Egypt (Acts 7:22), was following the established customs of his time. The Bible’s record of events and customs of this period is absolutely correct and consistent with the archaeological evidence. This custom was not known by later biblical writers, who gave the name of the Pharaoh.⁴² Or by many modern translators, who did not have Moses’ Egyptian training.

In the Hebrew, ‘King of Egypt’ is *melek mitsraim*. The term ‘Queen of Egypt’ is not found in the Old Testament; but were it to have appeared, it would have been rendered *malkat mitsraim*. The reverse, ‘King’ or ‘Queen’ followed by a personal name does occur, but always by a peculiarity of Hebrew, with the definite article ‘the’ attached. In 1 Kings 1:1, David is called *ha-melek dawid*, translated correctly as ‘King David’. However, a definite noun loses its definite article in the status constructus, so that, for example, *ha-malkah ashta* translates as ‘Queen Vashti’ though it seems to say ‘the Queen Vashti’, while *malkat shba* translates as ‘the Queen of Sheba’ though it seems to say ‘Queen Sheba’. Thus Velikovsky’s interpretation, ‘Queen Sheba’, is incorrect since, to agree, it must be expressed as *shba ha-malkah* ‘Sheba the Queen’—but it isn’t.⁴⁴

In short, the Hebrew grammar of the Bible makes it plain that the queen who visited Solomon was not called ‘Sheba’, but was the ruler of a land called by that name. She was the Queen of *Sheba*, not of Egypt. Sheba is a region that is repeatedly mentioned by name in the Bible, and also known from other historical texts. It was somewhere around

modern-day Yemen. Contradicting the Bible is not exactly the best way to defend it, yet that is a necessary (if unintentional) consequence of the perceived need to uphold VIC theory.

Another notion fails

Some VIC writers try to uphold the Sheba/Hatshepsut connection with even more ‘ingenious’ ideas. Emmett Sweeney, for instance, claims the biblical King of the South was a Ptolemaic Pharaoh.⁴⁵ He derives this from the liberal Christian belief that the Book of Daniel should be dated to around the first century BC.⁴⁶ The secret to Sweeney’s unusual method of demonstrating that Hatshepsut was “a Queen of Sheba”⁴⁴ is in ‘knowing’ how to turn the name Waset, the Egyptian name for Thebes, into Sheba.

Sweeney claims that the native name of Thebes was represented by a sceptre glyph *wa-se* or *wa-she* (written as *uas-t* by Budge) and another sign of a plant and an arm *shema* or *sh-a*.⁴⁷ Thus the city’s name morphs into *uas-sha* or *was-sha*. He then appeals to a Lisa Lael, claiming her to be an authority on *both* cuneiform and hieroglyphic scripts. Since I know of no scholar who would claim competence in *both*, I emailed Lael, who confirmed in her reply that “I’m much more well versed in cuneiform texts and semitic languages than I am in hieroglyphics.”⁴⁸ Sweeney announces that, in Lael’s opinion, the word should read as *se-wa* or *she-wa* and states: “... if Thebes’ Egyptian name is really Shewa (Sheba) then a whole host of hitherto mysterious facts become comprehensible.” The only fact he is interested in is that: “... we now know where the Greeks got the word Thebes (Theba).” He invokes ‘linguistic mutation (lispings)’ where, apparently, an *s* or *sh* turns into *th*. Budge, whom Sweeney quoted as an authority for this, was an advocate of liberal Christianity⁴⁹ and devoted to comparative religions.

However, here is how a competent modern Egyptologist would understand the matter: the sceptre glyph is $\dagger w3st$ and the plant/arm sign is $\dagger sm'$ (*shema*), which is just a variant of $\dagger sm'$ (variant signs are not an unusual occurrence). What does *shema* mean? ‘Upper (South) Egypt’; this was always the case. Even if the glyph *waset* was coupled with *shema*, it simply reads in modern parlance as ‘Thebes in Upper Egypt’. When the Hittite scribes were, as an example, preparing the treaty text between Ramesses II and Hattusilis III, they readily transcribed the hieroglyph *s* (sin) with the cuneiform *sh* (shin). Semitic scripts of the Ancient Near East, in fact, often substituted the Egyptian *s* with *sh* and vice versa.^{50,51} Thebes, however, is a Greek designation, *Thebai* Θηβαί, from the Egyptian word *Opet* (from the Coptic *ta-pe*, Ta-opet became Thebai). The Opet Festival was the highlight of the Theban religious calendar. There is no simply no mandate to adopt Sweeney’s bizarre approach.

Rumours of fame

Another of Velikovskiy’s points concerns the biblical text in 2 Chronicles 9:1 which gives as the motivation for the Queen of Sheba’s journey the reputation of Solomon: “Now



Hatshepsut and Seshat, Red Chapel, Karnak.

The picture—and the real story

One more bizarre interpretation of Egyptian texts used in attempts at forcing a Pharaonic link with Sheba in the Bible concerns the Muslim author Dr. Ossama Alsaadawi. A photograph on his website like the one here bears the caption: “Queen of Sheba in a celebrated visit to the Prophet King Solomon.”⁶¹ This is actually a well-known relief on a wall block of Hatshepsut’s restored ‘Red Chapel’ at Karnak. In the relief, Hatshepsut is standing on the left wearing the Atef Crown along with the strap-on beard, and the goddess Seshat stands on the right: both are driving in the measuring poles for a temple building.⁶² Those responsible for creating this block in the chapel never meant there to be any doubt as to who was who, or what was being celebrated. Hatshepsut’s praenomen, *m33t-ka-re* $\circ\circ\circ\circ$ appears twice, once above and to the left of her crown, and again between the measuring poles, and the symbol above the goddess declares her identity: there is no Solomon and no Queen of Sheba to be found here.

when the Queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon she came to Jerusalem” 1 Kings 10:1 uses almost the same words: “Now when the Queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon concerning the name of the Lord, she came. ... [to Jerusalem—v.2].” And in 1 Kings 10:6–7, the queen exclaims how his prior reputation was amply confirmed by her visit. Josephus, as quoted by Velikovskiy, makes the same point: “... when she heard of Solomon’s virtue and understanding, [she] was led to him by a strong desire to see him which arose from the things told daily about his country.”^{52,53}

To seek support for his thesis that the queen was Hatshepsut, Velikovsky chose only one passage from the Punt reliefs, which makes a rather oblique reference about reputations of any sort: “It was heard of from mouth to mouth by hearsay of the ancestors...”⁵⁴ This is a tiny part of a very long speech of Amun-Re, and in context is clearly part of his emphasis on the long period when Egypt and Punt had no trading relations.⁵⁵ But in any case, this passage actually undermines Velikovsky’s argument—because if this reputation came to the queen ‘by hearsay of the ancestors’ it goes without saying that Solomon would have long been dead. Obviously, no queen would desire to journey long distances, to see and test with hard questions, someone who had died long before she was born.

Wrapping up

Velikovsky’s ‘revised chronology’ has been rejected by nearly all mainstream historians and Egyptologists. As this article has sought to show, this cannot be lightly brushed aside as simply due to establishment bias or anti-biblical agendas. Focusing on only one of the main pillars of the chronology at this stage, it is clear that Velikovsky’s use of proof material was, to put it mildly, very selective and erroneous. This is not surprising to those who have carefully studied the issues—as the eminent Abraham Sachs stated: “Wherever one turns in Dr. Velikovsky’s works, one finds a wasteland strewn with uncritically accepted evidence that turns to dust at the slightest probe.”⁵⁶

This has very much been the author’s experience, too. Not surprisingly, then, the same sort of thing is repeatedly experienced in examining the works of those who rely so heavily on Velikovsky’s premises. One would hope all believers would agree that twisting the data in an attempt to prove a hypothesis is not the manner in which scholarly research should be conducted—nor the way in which to honour the Word of God, no matter how worthy one’s motivations.

Postscript

Further volumes of *Ages in Chaos* appeared in 1978. That year, a conference of scholars was held in Glasgow, Scotland, under the auspices of the *Society for Interdisciplinary Studies*, to review the whole matter of the ANE chronology in the light of the controversy surrounding Velikovsky’s ideas. These scholars were in the main sympathetic to a need for revision. They included such as James (who co-authored *Centuries of Darkness*, which highlighted the need for revision),⁵⁷ Bimson (a biblical archaeologist who co-authored a paper proposing a revised chronology to match the archaeological data with the biblical timeline),⁵⁸ Gammon,⁵⁹ and Rohl (an Egyptologist who later authored *A Test of Time* which also proposed a dramatic shortening of the Egyptian chronology).⁶⁰ The final conclusion on Velikovsky’s work: that his revised chronology was simply untenable.

References

1. Velikovsky, I., *Ages in Chaos, vol. I*, Doubleday & Company, Garden City, New York, 1952.
2. Courville, D., *The Exodus Problem and Its Ramifications: A Critical Examination of the Chronological Relationships Between Israel and the Contemporary Peoples of Antiquity*, Challenge Books, Loma Linda, CA, 1971. Though also inspired by Velikovsky, Courville’s work will not be specifically scrutinized here.
3. Sweeney, E.J., *Empire of Thebes or Ages in Chaos Revisited*, Algora, New York, 2006.
4. Ashton, J. and Down, D., *Unwrapping the Pharaohs*, Master Books, Green Forest, AR, 2006.
5. Taken from the *NIV Bible*, 6th impression, Hodder & Stoughton, 1997. *The Land of the People of the Bible*, G10: “Sumeria. This probably forms the background culture to Genesis 1–11. It is the oldest culture of which we know, and dates to at least 4,500 BC...” and “Egypt. Egyptian civilization is very old and reaches back at least to 3,000 BC.” Bible-believers find problems accepting these dates.
6. Address of Abraham Sachs at Brown University, 15 March 1965. Full text of address can be accessed at: abob.lib.uga.edu/bobk/vsachs.html.
7. The debate as to whether Thutmose III is a candidate for the biblical Shishak is the intended subject for a subsequent article. This will cover the following five compelling questions:
 - The *Annals of Thutmose* at Karnak, do they speak of the conquest of Jerusalem by this king?
 - The *Annals of Thutmose* at Karnak, do they show the treasures of Solomon’s Temple?
 - Could there be other more likely candidates for the person of Shishak?
 - If the Thutmose/Shishak synchronism fails, what then for the revised chronology of the VIC?
 - If the Hatshepsut/Queen of Sheba synchronism fails (as the current article demonstrates is indeed the case), can Thutmose indeed be Shishak?
8. Velikovsky, I., *Ages in Chaos, vol. I*, Abacus ed., Sphere Books, 1973; p. 103.
9. Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple on the West Bank, Luxor, Egypt.
10. Breasted, J.H., *Ancient Records of Egypt, vol. II*, sec. 269, Russell and Russell, New York, 1906; reprinted 1962. See Naville, E., *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Memoirs of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, vols. 12–14, 16, 19, 27 and 29, London, 1894–1908.
11. Breasted, ref. 10, sec. 325.
12. 1 Kings 10:1 and 2 Chronicles 9:23.
13. Velikovsky, ref. 8, pp. 100–101.
14. 1 Kings 10:1–13 and 2 Chronicles 9:1–12.
15. James Henry Breasted, (1865–1935) was an American archaeologist and historian, and the first US citizen to obtain a PhD in Egyptology.
16. Breasted, ref. 10, sec. 253.
17. Velikovsky, ref. 8, p. 109.
18. Velikovsky, ref. 8, p. 110.
19. Breasted, ref. 10, sec. 285.
20. Velikovsky, ref. 8, p. 120.
21. Breasted, ref. 10, sec. 295; again Hatshepsut is the one speaking.
22. Velikovsky thought that *Shwa* (the Hebrew for Sheba) could be the final part of the name Hatshepsut. However, Engelbach, R., (1888–1946), in *The Problem of the Obelisks*, George H. Doran & Company, New York, 1923), considered her name to be *Hatshepsowet*, where the final *t* is not vocalised. Naville considered it to be Hatshepsu.
23. Only 30% of the original Punt texts are available to us today.

24. Breasted, ref. 10, sec. 287; these are undoubtedly part of the god Amun's words: "No one trod the Myrrh-terraces which the people (Egy. *rmt*) knew not; it was heard of from mouth to mouth by hearsay of the ancestors... The marvels brought thence under thy fathers, the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, were brought from one to another, and since the time of the ancestors of the Kings of Upper Egypt, who were of old, as a return for many payments; none reaching them except thy carriers."
25. Ref. 10, sec. 294; in saying "my majesty" she is referring to herself.
26. 1 Kings 10:1 and 2 Chronicles 9:23.
27. 1 Kings 10:10.
28. Velikovsky, ref. 8, pp. 101, 115–119.
29. 1 Kings 10:1.
30. Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, book VIII, ch. VI, sec. 5, Thomas Nelson & Peter Brown, Edinburgh, 1831, quoted in Velikovsky, ref. 8, p. 102.
31. Josephus, ref. 30, quoted in Velikovsky, ref. 8, p. 118.
32. Digging up the past: by David Down; DVD Disc 1: Pyramids of Egypt and Temples and Tombs, Part 2: Tombs and Temples, Adventist Media, 2006 (although originally copyrighted in 1987, as stated in the end titles of the DVD).
33. Cush began just south of Egypt's Semna and Kumna fortresses at the 2nd cataract. Nubia (Egyptian *Wawat*) lay to the north of the forts and extended northwards to ancient Abu (Elephantine) at modern-day Aswan.
34. See: Job 6:19; Psalm 72:10,15; Jeremiah 6:20, Ezekiel 27:22,23 and 38:13.
35. See note on the Queen of Sheba in: *The Works of Flavius Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews*, Nelson & Brown, London, p. 226, 1831.
36. Velikovsky, ref. 8, p. 102, and notes 9 and 10 on p. 131.
37. Velikovsky, ref. 8, p. 130 and note 103 on p. 136.
38. Hypocoristic: *adj.* endearing, as a pet name, diminutive, or euphemism.
39. The Egyptian sign 𓆎 *šps*, also *špsy*, can be used as either an ideogram *špsy* meaning *dignified*, or as a determinative meaning *deceased official*. In Collier, M. and Manley, B., *How to read Egyptian hieroglyphs*, British Museum Press, London, 1998; p. 30, the same sign is written as *špswt* with the designated meaning *distinguished women*. This demonstrates the point that there is no certainty in the translation or the pronouncing of this sign. Velikovsky's efforts are little more than guesses.
40. Velikovsky, I., New Evidence for Ages in Chaos; in: *Collected Essays of Immanuel Velikovsky*, www.varchive.org/ce/newev.htm, accessed 15 April 2010.
41. The *status constructus* or construct state is a noun form occurring in Afro-Asiatic languages. It is particularly common in Semitic languages such as Hebrew, and in the extinct Egyptian language. In Hebrew, it occurs when a semantically definite noun is succeeded by another noun in a genitive relation to the first.
42. The title 'Pharaoh' comes from the Egyptian word meaning 'Great House' (Egy. *pr-'3*). During Egypt's earlier periods the word was used for the royal palace, and not until around the beginning of the 18th Dynasty was it commonly used as an epithet for the Egyptian monarch.
43. See: 2 Kings 23:29, 33, 34 (Pharaoh Neco: Heb. פִּרְעוֹה נֶכֶח); Jeremiah 44:30 (Pharaoh Hophra: Heb. פִּרְעוֹה הֹפְרָא). By this time, 'Pharaoh' had become an epithet for the king of Egypt.
44. Throughout *Ages in Chaos*, Velikovsky continually refers to the Egyptian *Shwa* as being the Hebrew for Sheba. But the Hebrew *beth* is never pronounced like the English *w*. However, it is pronounced like the German *w*, which is pronounced like *v* in English. Thus a possible explanation for Velikovsky's repeated error (which his devotees, sadly, seem unaware of) may be that he was, though Russian-born, immersed in Germanic language/culture during some 20 years in Austria. (There is apparently a Jewish tradition of using the *v* sound for *beth* in reading the Hebrew Old Testament, a pronunciation that also appears in Modern Hebrew. Originally *beth* exclusively represented the sound *b*. At some point in Hebrew history, the *b* sound was modified and explains why it is pronounced two different ways in the Masoretic text. Sometimes it is pronounced as a *b* and sometimes as a fricative, i.e. more like English *v* or German *w*); the Masoretic text differentiates the two by placing a dot inside the letter *beth* בֵּ when it is to be pronounced *b* and omitting the dot ב for the fricative sound.)
45. Collier and Manley, ref. 39.
46. The book of Daniel has become a modern battleground between liberal scholarship which believes the book was written in the middle of the 2nd century BC, and the conservative view that it was written by Daniel in the 6th century BC.
47. *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary, With an Index of English Words, King List and Geographical List with Index, List of Hieroglyphic Characters, Coptic and Semitic Alphabets, etc.*, John Murray, London, 1920; reprinted, Dover Publications, New York, 1978.
48. Email from Lisa Lael to the author 10 March 2010, in response to the author's email of 3 March 2010. Oddly, in another forum, www.specialtyinterests.net/sheba.html (accessed 9 May 2010) Sweeney's alleged authority on the topic morphs seamlessly from "Lisa Lael of Israel" to "Brad Aaronson of Israel", with a near-identical description, including the claim of competence in both scripts.
49. Liberal Christianity, is a general term that covers diverse, philosophically informed religious movements and ideas within Christianity from the late 18th century and onwards. The word *liberal* in this context refers to the manner of thought and belief associated with the philosophical and religious paradigms developed during the Age of Enlightenment.
50. The correct term is not 'lispings', rather metathesis: the transposition within a word of letters, sounds or syllables, as in the change from Old English *bridd* to modern English *bird*.
51. For further details see: Rohl, D., *A Test of Time: The Bible—From Myth to History*, Century, London, 1995; pp. 156–157.
52. Velikovsky, ref. 8, p. 102.
53. Flavius Josephus, ref. 30.
54. Velikovsky, Ref. 8, p. 113.
55. Breasted, ref. 10, sec. 287.
56. Address of Abraham Sachs at Brown University, 15 March 1965. Full text of address can be accessed at: abob.libs.uga.edu/bobk/vsachs.html.
57. James, P.J., Ages in Chaos? *Proceedings of the Glasgow Conference*, 1978, Society for Interdisciplinary Studies, pp. 34–52, 1982.
58. Bimson, J.J., Can there be a revised chronology without a revised stratigraphy? *Proceedings of the Glasgow Conference*, 1978, Society for Interdisciplinary Studies, pp. 16–26, 1982.
59. Gammon, G.J., *Proceedings of the Glasgow Conference*, 1978, Society for Interdisciplinary Studies, pp. 12–15, 1982.
60. Rohl, ref. 51.
61. www.tutatuta.com/Egyptology/operations/news.htm
62. This symbolic ceremony for laying foundations was known as 'Stretching of the rope' (Egy. *pdj-šs heb*). Seshat was the goddess of measurement and writing.

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