

‘The Queen of the South’ is ‘the Queen of Egypt’

David Austin

Biblical and geographical arguments support the idea that The Queen of Sheba of 1 Kings 10:1, referred to as ‘The Queen of the South’ in Matthew 12:42), was The Queen of Egypt, not Arabia. The reigns of The Queen of Sheba and Queen Hatshepsut were also contemporaneous. This fact and others vindicate Immanuel Velikovsky’s chronology, which was basically correct, although in error in some areas.

Geographical proof

William Whiston’s and Paul Maier’s translation and commentary on Josephus¹ states: ‘that this Queen of Sheba was a Queen of Sabea in South Arabia’. Patrick Clarke, in his reply to David Down,² asserts:

“An atlas will clarify any confusion as to where the Lord Jesus was indicating Sheba lay; *Arabia, not Egypt, lies south of Jerusalem*. The Lord called her ‘Queen of the South’ precisely because the land of Sheba, her homeland, lies due south of Jerusalem, and it is the ‘ends of the earth’ metaphorically speaking [emphasis added].”

An atlas, certainly, will ‘clarify any confusion’ but not in the way that Clarke states. As a matter of fact the land of Sheba, Arabia, is not, if we look at an atlas with its longitudes and latitudes, due (i.e. precisely), south of Jerusalem (figure 1). Geographically, taking the countries between the longitudinal 35° and 40° lines, starting from the northern position of Israel and Syria (Syria sits ‘on top’ of Israel), we find, moving latitudinally south, that *the countries that lie directly south in our current maps are not Yemen or Southern Arabia, but part of Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Sudan*. These last four countries are all in Africa. Yemen lies between the 40° and the 55° longitudinal lines.

Considering that Jerusalem is almost on the 35° line of longitude, it is impossible to find Southern Arabia as ‘directly’ south of Jerusalem whichever way we look at a map. Even if we do not follow the lines of longitude but follow in a parallel line the edge of the atlas page and ‘drop a plumbline’, we cannot ‘reach’ Africa south of Jerusalem. Egypt, geographically, is south of Syria and south of Jerusalem.³

Biblical proof

Biblically, the ‘king of the North’ (Daniel 11:8–11) refers to Syria and the ‘king of the South’ refers to Egypt. The following statements are made, concerning these verses in Daniel, by respected conservative biblical scholars.

E.J. Young states:

“In the OT the word ‘south’ usually applies to the Negev, the land south of Palestine, but in this

chapter it refers to Egypt, as is shown by vs. 8 where the North is placed in opposition to Egypt.”⁴

In Daniel 11:5 we are told that one from among the princes of the king of the South will prevail in strength above the king himself.

He continues:

“The king of the South is Ptolemy Soter, the son of Lagus, a Macedonian, and an extremely capable and able general of Alexander who, after Alexander’s death, obtained Egypt ... The prince of Ptolemy is Seleucus also an officer of Alexander’s who received the satrapy of Babylonia ... When he was forced to flee, because Antigonos had taken Babylonia from him, he came to Ptolemy who appointed him a general and so recovered Babylonia in 312 BC the date from which the Seleucid’s era is reckoned.”⁴

Now Matthew’s Gospel gives clear evidence of its familiarity with the book of Daniel (e.g. Matt. 24:15—“spoken by Daniel the prophet”), and the golden rule ‘Scripture interprets Scripture’ should be applied here. The Queen of Sheba would not have established her kingdom in the desert of Negev, south of Palestine. In checking other references in Scripture of ‘north’ and ‘south’, I did not find anywhere a ‘south’ that was a location in Southern Arabia or Yemen. By the only alternative left, geographically and biblically, I have to conclude that the Queen of Sheba’s territory was in Africa, not Arabia.

According to Philip Mauro:

“After the partition of Alexander’s dominions, the Jewish people came into contact with only two of the four kingdoms which succeeded him—the *Seleucids*, the kings of Syria (‘the kings of the north’) and the *Ptolemies*, the rulers of Egypt (‘the king of the south’).”⁵

Concerning Daniel 11:6, Mauro further states:

“Answering to this very definite prophecy we have historical records of an alliance between the two rival kingdoms, when Ptolemy Philadelphus (of Egypt—mine) gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus Theos of Syria, upon condition that he should put away his wife.”⁵

John Calvin states:

“Here the angel begins to treat of the kings of Egypt and of Syria. He does not mention the king of Syria yet, but will do so in the next verse; but he begins with the king of Egypt, the neighbouring monarchy to that of Israel. He says, the king of the south, meaning, the king of Egypt, would be brave.”⁶

Having been convinced that ‘the queen of the South’ reigned in Africa, not Arabia, we find that there are some questions that need to be answered.

Did such a region as ‘Αἰθιοπία’ (Ethiopia) exist in the times of Solomon, Rehoboam, Queen Hatshepsut, The Queen of Sheba, Thutmosis III, Sheshonk, or Shishak?

Patrick Clarke states:

“So for Josephus to mention Ethiopia as already existing in Hatshepsut’s time generally suits the supporters of the VIC [Velikovsky’s Inspired Chronology]. However, there was in fact no such thing as ‘Ethiopia’ at the times of Hatshepsut/Solomon.”⁷

I could not find any proof of this. In fact I found it quite possible that Ethiopia did exist in the times of Hatshepsut/Solomon. In checking Homer’s two poems, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*⁸ which were apparently written or authored about the 8th century BC or before, it was found that Αἰθιοπία (Greek) is written as such about five times and is seen in the poems, already as an *established country ready for war, etc.* Even if these poems were ‘legendary’ or ‘mythical’, I do not believe that Homer would write concerning a non-existent region. We have the same situation with the creation myths. Jerry Bergman⁹ in *The Big Argument*, says:

“Creation stories are commonly classified into a few basic groups, and many myths contain elements from two or more groups. This is additional evidence that, although altered in time, *most creation myths had their origin in an actual set of events or records* [emphasis added].”

Now, Solomon reigned until about 3 years before the 8th century BC began, i.e. 943–903 BC. When Homer lived is controversial. Herodotus is one of the more reliable historians. He has been called ‘The Father of History’ since he was the first historian known to collect his materials systematically and test their accuracy. He arranges them in a well-constructed and vivid narrative. Herodotus estimates that Homer lived 400 years before his time. Herodotus lived from about 484–425 BC. Four hundred years before 484 BC would have been 884 BC, about 19 years after the death of Solomon, and remember Homer wrote about Αἰθιοπία as though it was already an *established country ready for war, etc.* So, we see that it is quite possible that Ethiopia did exist in Solomon’s days.

Many readers would perhaps have difficulty in placing the Queen of Sheba in Africa, as concluded above, considering that William Whiston, the 19th-century translator of *The Works of Flavius Josephus*,¹⁰ has 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.”

However, I have some difficulty in accepting all the interpretations of the translator. Concerning Judges 3:30, and despite the fact that the KJV, NIV, NASB and the NKJV all clearly state that under Ehud the Israelites had 80 years rest, not *eight*—it is the same translator¹¹ that, because Josephus calls those 80 years ‘hardly a breathing time’, takes the 80 years and changes it to eight.

How can this be if Sheba is only in Southern Arabia?

Possible answer: there is according to The Moody Bible Atlas,¹² a Sheba in Arabia and a Seba in Africa (Map 21). Refer also to Psalm 72:10. Here, in these maps, Sheba is mapped in Yemen, Southern Arabia and Seba is found along the African Coast, somewhere near present-day Eritrea and Ethiopia. Since the two territories are separated only by a narrow channel, it is quite possible that, at various times, the regions were of the same kingdom (Sabean), and included territory in both Yemen and Ethiopia. Martin Pope states¹³ in his Anchor Bible Commentary on Job: “The North Arabian and the Southern Arabian Sabaeans must be kept apart from a third group who lived in Africa.” Concerning the difference in spelling (‘sh’ and ‘s’), Patrick Clarke states:¹⁴

“When the Hittite scribes were, as an example, preparing the treaty text between Rameses 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 substitute the Egyptian *s* with *sh* and vice versa.”



Figure 1. Map showing Egypt, not Southern Arabia, directly south of Jerusalem.

Illustration: Wikimedia/FunkMonk

Josephus, in his *Antiquities*, identifies Saba (Sheba) as an Ethiopian royal city. He writes: “Saba, which was a royal city of the Ethiopia”¹⁵ He also says that its name was subsequently changed to Meroe by Cambyses. Josephus could have been referring to a Sheba in Ethiopia that existed in the time of Solomon.

Joseph Alexander was a great biblical scholar, possibly one of the greatest and of ‘conservative’ and Reformed conviction. His classic commentary on Isaiah is evidence of this. This commentary I consider a privilege to have. On the very day before his death, he enjoyed his usual portion of Scripture in the six languages in which it had been his daily habit to read it. On Acts 8:27¹⁶ he states:

“Ethiopia is the Greek name corresponding to the *Cush* of the Old Testament, but less extensive, being restricted to the country watered by the Nile, south of Egypt, corresponding to the Nubia of modern geography, with the adjacent parts of Abyssinia. ... *Candace* (was) a common or hereditary title of the queens who for many years succeeded one another in the island of Meroe, belonging to the ancient Ethiopia, as we learn from Strabo, Dio Cassius, and Pliny.”

In his article on Hatshepsut¹⁷ Clarke states Whiston, who, in referring to parts of Matthew 12:42 and Luke 11:31 (e.g. “she came from the utmost parts of the earth”), claims that these “descriptions agree better to this Arabia than to Egypt and Ethiopia”. To answer this inference on distances and remoteness it is noticed that Meroe, which is a known location not far from Khartoum, is about as far away from Jerusalem as is Yemen in Southern Arabia, and, according to Peter James’ map,¹⁸ is found down past the 5th cataract in Butana. To reach Meroe requires a journey of more than 60 days southward from Aswan.

Concerning the ‘Sailing’ to the land of Punt from Ethiopia by Queen Hatshepsut:

If, as Clarke states, “The region now known as Ethiopia was the probable location for Punt,”¹⁷ and Queen Hatshepsut lived somewhere close to, or in, the Upper or Lower Egypt region, why does Clarke seem to agree with Breasted that there was a sailing to the land of Punt?¹⁹ It is reasonable to question whether the ‘Punt’ was in Africa because of the need of ships and particularly the trouble Hatshepsut took with her ‘sailing’ arrangements. Apparently the number of ships was five, each measuring over 20 m (70 ft) long with 210 sailors and rowers. If these ships were ‘ships of that time’, then to withstand the beating of the high seas they were outfitted with ‘hogging trusses’, mighty thawers strung from bow to stern over a row of stanchions. All Queen Hatshepsut would have had to do if ‘the probable location for Punt’ was in Ethiopia was to get from ‘somewhere close to Ethiopia’ to Ethiopia. *Even if Sheba/Hatshepsut lived in Southern Arabia, and ‘Punt’ was in Ethiopia, all the queen had to do was cross a narrow channel.* The shipping preparations Hatshepsut made would rather indicate, for example, a trip around the bottom part of Arabia, up the Gulf of Aqaba to Ezion-geber, then overland on to Jerusalem.

But if the Queen of Sheba was ‘The Queen of the South’ (Egypt), has she a contemporary in a reduced ‘Egyptian chronology’?

Evidence has been given above to show that both *biblically* and *geographically* the Queen of Sheba reigned in Africa, not Southern Arabia. The next question is: were they contemporaneous? To establish this fact a correct Scriptural chronology is required so that it can be related to a *reduced* Egyptian chronology. In the dates provided below you will find dates that are at variance, around 82 years, from the conventional dates as we find them in most biblical commentaries. The reason for the variation is that chronologists have ‘created’ an unsubstantiated gap of about 80–82 years between the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity and the commencement of the 490 years (70 x 7) of Daniel 9:24–27.²⁰

To be able to synchronize Queen Hatshepsut and the Queen of Sheba, I need first a ‘key anchor event’ from Scripture that can be synchronized with an Egyptian event or pharaoh and where a reasonably accurate biblical date will establish an Egyptian date. So far, in my studies, I have found several of these. We will take Merneptah (conventional dates of reigning are about 1213–1203 BC), who was the 13th son of Rameses II. He reigned about the time Samaria was taken in the 9th year of Hoshea, king of Israel, ca. 639 BC, (2 Kings 18:10).

On Merneptah’s stela, Petrie found written, “*Israel is laid waste, his seed is not.*” The context of the lines on the stela show that Merneptah was talking about the ‘destruction’ (of Israel), not lack of grain in the time of the judges. I cannot imagine Petrie, who found the stela in 1896, getting so excited and saying after he had read the word ‘Israel’ how much he would be remembered for his discovery if the stela had only mentioned that Israel had ‘run out of food’. The official translation of the statements found on the stela, e.g. “Tehenu is destroyed”, “Canaan is captive like its demons”, “Ashkelon is conquered”, “Gezer is captured”, “Yanoam became non-existent”, “Israel is devastated, it does not have more seed”, “*All these countries are pacified*”—these indicate the result of war, not famine.

It is impossible for Merneptah’s Israel stela to be referring to the times of the ‘*Period of the Judges*’, a position held by Hasel²¹, who states:

“Turning to the meaning of the Egyptian word prt, ‘seed’, there are only two possibilities, ‘grain’ or ‘offspring’. Based on the use of prt in other Egyptian texts, Hasel deduces that it refers to grain. Thus, the phrase ‘its seed is not’ indicates that Israel’s food supply was no longer in existence This is exactly the picture we have of Israel from the Old Testament. Gideon lived close to the time of the Merneptah Stela, and he was a farmer living in a small village” (Judges 6).

Both conventional and biblical chronologists have Merneptah, being the 13th son of Rameses II, reigning well after Akhenaten and the El-Amarna Letters. These letters were written about the time of David, Solomon, Suppiluliuma

I, etc.²² It cannot refer to the time of Gideon which occurred about 317 years earlier.

As stated, the inscription on the stela seems clearly to emphasize destruction, not famine. Merneptah was quite simply making a report of the general situation of Egypt and its neighbours.

Those who have tried to equate Merneptah with the Pharaoh of Egypt in the times of Moses should be embarrassed. How could Israel be in Palestine with no food when, supposedly, Merneptah was drowned in the waters of the Red Sea at the time Israel had only left Egypt? Conventional chronology tells me that Merneptah's reign, towards its end, seemed to be a peaceful one.

“Semantically the Egyptian word, *pri*, can have 2 meanings as stated by Hasel. This could be comparable with the Hebrew word used in the Scriptures, ‘zehrah’, Strong’s #2233, which in Genesis 1:11 has reference to the herb and the fruit tree yielding fruit, while in Genesis 4:25 where it states: ‘God ... hath appointed me another seed’ it has reference to ‘offspring’.”

Having established Merneptah as a ‘key anchor point’, we turn to conventional chronology where, by adding the reigning years of each pharaoh from the commencement of Thutmose III's/Hatshepsut's reign until the end of Merneptah's reign, we find a span of approximately 277 years. From this history, I am able to establish approximate *conventional* dates and years of reigning for pharaohs. Shaw,²³ Rohl,²⁴ and Wikipedia,²⁵ have a span of about 277 years between Hatshepsut and Merneptah (table 1).

Shaw's figures tell us that the conventional dates in this period are in error by approximately 555–565 years because the biblical date of the time when Samaria was taken in the 6th year of Hezekiah's reign, (2 Kings, 18:10–11—‘And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel’) was 639–640 BC (refer to articles mentioned above), not 722 BC (about 80–82 years difference), nor 1203 BC (conventional). *Velikovsky was correct in showing us the need for reduction.*

We can assess how far conventional listing is out when we find approximately 53 kings and 523 years between Merneptah (1213–1203 BC, conventional) and Tirhakah (690–664 BC, conventional). Yet in comparing 2 Kings 18:10, (6th year of Hezekiah when Israel was ‘taken’) with 2 Kings 18:13 (14th year of Hezekiah), and also 2 Kings 19:9 when Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia ‘is come out to fight’, we find only a span of a few years between these two pharaohs!!!

Further confirmation on synchronization from Thutmose III's reign

The dates after Queen Hatshepsut's co-regency etc. of approximately 21 years, would be about 1458–1425 BC, conventional. 555–565 years difference (see table 1), means that Thutmose III (Shishak) would have commenced his reign close to the beginning of the 8th century BC. *On that basis he would be the pharaoh reigning in 898 BC, the biblical 5th year of the reign of Rehoboam.*²⁶

Table 1. Shaw's figures

Queen Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III	54 years	1479–1425 BC
Amenhotep II	25 years	1425–1400 BC
Thutmose IV	10 years	1400–1390 BC
Amenhotep III	38 years	1390–1352 BC
Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten	16 years	1352–1336 BC
Tutankhamun/Smenkare	9 years	1336–1327 BC
Ay	4 years	1327–1323 BC
Harmheba	28 years	1323–1295 BC
Rameses I	1 year	1295–1294 BC
Seti I	15 years	1294–1279 BC
Rameses II	67 years	1279–1213 BC
Merneptah	10 years	1213–1203 BC
SPAN = 277 years		

Another synchronism ‘proving’ Velikovsky's chronology

Solomon's reign (biblical chronology) was about 943–903 BC. He commenced building the temple in his 4th year (1 Kings 6:1). It took him 20 years to build the house of the Lord, and the King's house (1 Kings 9:10). There was little time between 1 Kings 9:10 and 1 Kings 10:1 “when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon”, maybe 2–3 years. This would bring us to about 916 BC, so this very much makes the Queen of Sheba and Queen Hatshepsut (1479–1459 BC, conventional, less about 565 years = 914 BC) contemporaneous. As there were no other queens mentioned so ‘honourably’ about this time, it also makes for strong possibility that these two queens were the one and the same person, and both reigned in Africa, not Arabia.

Concerning Thutmose III, Clarke asserts: “For Thutmose III to be the biblical Shishak he would have needed to capture Rehoboam's fifteen fortified cities and Jerusalem (making 16 in all).”²⁷ Also, the caption on figure 3, reads: “The 15 fortified cities of 2 Chronicles 11:5–12 are numbered differently and with Jebus (Jerusalem) represents the locations seized by Shishak.”²⁸ Concerning Jerusalem, this is incorrect. Jerusalem was not ‘captured’, nor was it ‘seized’, and this explains why Thutmose did not list Jerusalem. David Rohl, on the contrary, states:

“1 Kings 14:25–26 and II Chronicles 12:2–9 confirm, Shishak, king of Egypt, invaded Judah in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, son of Solomon, and took away the treasures of the temple of Yahweh as his price for not ransacking Jerusalem [emphasis added].”²⁹

Rehoboam repented of wrong and so the Lord, when He saw that

“... they humbled themselves, the word of the Lord came to Shemaiah, saying, *They have humbled themselves; therefore I will not destroy them, but I will grant them some deliverance; and my wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak*” (2 Chronicles 12:7).

To confirm whether Shishak's treasures included 'everything' and were to be found on the walls of the Karnak temple, it is necessary that we look at the use of the Hebrew word *kol* ('all'), which is used relatively, not absolutely, in 1 Kings 14:25–26. Clarke³⁰ would give us the impression that the Hebrew word *qol* indicates that the temple and palace were stripped bare; 'all' meaning 'everything that one has; entire possession'. But it is impossible to give *kol* that meaning here. If it means that Shishak took away the 'everything that one has; entire possession' then why add to these verses an extra statement that "He also took away all the gold shields which Solomon had made"? The word 'all' is used relatively in both Hebrew and Greek. In 1 Kings 14:25–26 'all' is used relatively where it has reference to its antecedent, the 'whole' of the treasure found in the treasure house. This incident of plundering the treasure occurred in the 5th year of the reign of Rehoboam (898 BC). A later incident (1 Chron. 13:10–11), in the time of Abijah, king of Judah and son of Rehoboam, and who reigned from 885–883 BC, confirms that the 'all', in the possible sense that Clarke gives it, was not taken from the temple by Shishak. Facing a battle with the break-away ten tribes, Abijah climbed a hill, insisted that Judah had not forsaken the Lord, and also acknowledged that the sons of Aaron and the Levites were "waiting upon their business". They burned incense (the golden altar), "The showbread also set they in order upon the pure table; and the candlestick of gold with the lamps thereof." I also presume that the Ark of the Covenant was there in the time of Abijah, otherwise they would not be using the golden altar, the table of showbread or the candlestick of gold. *These vessels 'stayed at home'*. We do not know exactly what 'treasures' are to be found on the walls of the temple at Karnak, and so 'the problem' of finding certain articles to prove whether Shishak and Thutmose III were contemporaneous is somewhat superfluous.



Painting: Claude Lorrain

Figure 2. Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba by Claude Lorrain.

Abraham Sachs

There has been a basic mistrust of Immanuel Velikovsky's revolutionary ideas. *This article agrees that many of his theories were astray*. But his chronology was basically correct.

As an example of mistrust, concerning one of the works by Velikovsky, Patrick Clarke quotes Abraham Sachs, who states: "Not being a cuneiformist, Dr. Velikovsky is not aware that tens of thousands of economic texts dated in the civil calendars of Mesopotamia contradict every one of his statements."³¹ In his article on Queen Hatshepsut, Clarke seems to be quite willing to refer to this expert cuneiformist and mathematician and his forum address of 15 March 1965,³² where apparently Sachs exposed Velikovsky's lack of competence. Part of Sachs' address was included in Clarke's article to counter the 'VIC' position, but does Clarke also agree with later statements made in the same address of that day? Namely:

"More than 100 pages of Dr. Velikovsky's *Ages in Chaos* (Vol. I) pursue the consequences of his theory that some five or six hundred years in the conventional historian's history of Egypt have to be eliminated, so that, for example, Egyptian kings and events which Egyptologists date to the 14th century BC are really to be dated to the 9th century BC. One of these consequences is that the so called Amarna Letters . . . [are to be dated according to Velikovsky to the 9th century BC]. Hundreds of details in scores of Amarna Letters are matched up by Dr. Velikovsky with details of Biblical history of the 9th century BC as well as Assyrian historical texts of the same period. It takes very little blowing to collapse this house of cards."

Time and space prevent me from fully answering this statement by Sachs. But David Down and John Ashton answer this admirably.³³ They show that the Amarna letters must have been written about the 9th century BC, in the times of Akhenaten, Solomon, and David. Peter James in his *Centuries of Darkness*³⁴ has Supililiumas I reigning about the same time as Akhenaten and Tutankhamen, which must also be about the same time as when Tutankhamen's wife, Ankhesenamun, wrote to Supiliumas I after the death of her husband, asking for a new husband. Velikovsky was again correct in his chronology here.

The 'Sea Peoples'

It is here that we will turn to Pacini, rather than David Down, to take up the cause of Velikovsky's chronology. I found Pacini's article 'Of Philistines and Sea Peoples'³⁵ most instructive. In it he states:

"But Immanuel Velikovsky has convincingly shown that Rameses III belongs in the fourth century and the 'Sea Peoples' were Persians who, in typical Persian fashion, had organized an enormous expedition to attack Egypt by land and sea in an effort to regain control of Egypt."

Bill Cooper, in his book *After the Flood*,³⁶ states:

“It is currently but wrongly believed that the Philistines did not appear until the 13th century BC, and that they are to be identified as the ‘Sea Peoples’ of Egyptian literature. But this view is erroneous.”

Now turn to *Unwrapping the Pharaohs*.³⁷ Velikovskiy was also right concerning the ‘Sea Peoples’. Space prevents me from giving further examples that he was correct with his synchronizations.

Conclusion

The importance of chronology, above all other disciplines, cannot be overestimated. It is chronology that leads the way to the ‘setting in place’ events. However much we might ‘thrash out arguments of for and against’ in respect of any study on petrography, geography, architecture, archaeology, stratigraphy, etc., we will always be ‘groping’ for a solution if we do not place a person or thing in its proper time frame. We must ‘get the dates right’ and synchronize these with biblical chronology and then perhaps our petrography, etc. will be clearer. It will be well, I trust, to be reminded again of the statement of Floyd Jones on chronology:

“Chronology is the science of measuring time by regular intervals and assigning dates to events in their proper order. Without it, we would find it impossible to understand the sequence of historical events, Biblical or non-Biblical. As chronology is the very foundation on which history rests and the skeletal framework giving it structure and shape, the events of history can only be meaningful and properly understood as long as they are kept in their proper time sequence.”³⁸

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