

ASSURBANIPAL AND EGYPT: A SOURCE STUDY*

ANTHONY SPALINGER

YALE UNIVERSITY

The numerous accounts of Assurbanipal's military campaigns differ in considerable detail from each other. The purpose of this paper is to unravel these differing traditions with respect to the two Egyptian campaigns. The resultant facts will throw new light on Assyrian-Egyptian relations.

THE TITLE OF THE SEVENTH CHAPTER OF OLMSTEAD'S *Assyrian Historiography* gives a good indication of the problems that beset the historian when dealing with the campaigns of Assurbanipal: "Assurbanipal and Assyrian Editing."¹ This monarch had numerous accounts written as records of his military victories, all of which differ in considerable detail. Our purpose here will be to attempt to unravel these traditions with respect to the two Egyptian campaigns, and by means of this, to throw light on Assyrian-Egyptian relations.

Before we shall deal with the actual events, it is perhaps best to list our sources and to demonstrate the different traditions that are at work in these documents.² With respect to the Egyptian

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¹ *The University of Missouri Studies*. Social Science Series III/1. 1916. 53.

² For the editions of the documents, see Streck, M., *Assurbanipal und die letzten Assyrischen Könige I-III*, Leipzig, 1919; Bauer, T., *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, Leipzig, 1933; Piepkorn, A., *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Assurbanipal*, (A.S. 5), Chicago, 1933 which parallels most of Bauer's edition; Campbell Thompson, R., "A Selection from Historical Texts from Nineveh," *Iraq* 7 (1940), 85-132 and especially 103; Aynard, J., *Le Prism du Louvre*, Paris, 1957; and Millard, A. R., "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh: Assurbanipal," *Iraq* 30 (1969), 98-111 and especially 99-101.

The problems of the interrelationships between these editions had to wait until there were relatively complete editions of these inscriptions. Both Streck, vol. I, CCXXIV-CCXXXVII and especially CCXXXVI, note 1 and vol. I, CCLXXIV-CCLXXIX for the historical outline, as well as Olmstead, 53-59 dealt with this problem

campaigns, there are seven main historical compositions known to us. Unfortunately, despite the fact that they are formally divided into campaigns, they appear to lack a proper chronological arrangement.³ Moreover, these texts often seem

at an early date. It was Piepkorn's volume of Assurbanipal's "annals" which provided a new synthesis of the texts due to the rapid discovery of additional material; his work covers only Prisms E, B, D, and K (which Bauer, II 28, calls Prism G). Piepkorn's pertinent comments on both the dating of these texts and their interrelationships can be seen on pp. 8-9 (Prism E), 19, 22-23 (Prism B), 95 (Prism D), and 101 (Prism K). Tadmor, H., "The Three Last Decades of Assyria," in *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Orientalists*, Moscow (August 1960), Vol. I, Moscow, 1964, 240-241, provides a discussion of the dating of the later prisms of Assurbanipal (from Prism B on). Note that he differs little with Piepkorn and places B and D in 648 B.C. whereas the latter preferred a date of 649 B.C. for B. Aynard before Tadmor outlined the previous scholarship on this matter in her edition of Prism F—see pp. 1-6 and 91 for a comparison in chart form of Prisms B, F, and A. The dating followed in this paper will be based on Tadmor for later redactions and on Aynard for the earlier editions. In addition, we refer the reader to Millard's comments and his concordance on p. 99 as well as Labat's survey of this genre in *Annuaire du Collège de France* 56 (1956), 252-259 and subsequent remarks in *Annuaire du Collège de France* 63 (1963), 294-297.

³ On this matter, see especially Olmstead, *op. cit.* Note that we have omitted discussion of two later historical texts: (1) the Ishtar Slabs (as published in Campbell Thompson, R., "The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh," *AAA* 20 (1933), 71-186, especially pp. 79-113 and Pls. XC-XCVII); and (2) the Babylon Prism (partially published in Nassouhi, E., "Prisme d'Assurbanipal daté de sa Trentième Année, Provenant du Temple de Gula à Babylon," *A/K* 2 (1923), 97-105). The latest discussion

to tell a story and hence might be more correctly described as works of literature than historical annals. The earliest of them was "published" a few years after the accession of Assurbanipal; this is Prism E.⁴ The second of our main documents is Prism B and it can be dated to 648 B.C.⁵ In comparison to E (which is unfortunately very fragmentary), B has already compressed the events; indeed the revolt of the Egyptian princes is completely glossed over. The next two editions of Assurbanipal's prisms are D and K. At most they can be dated to a few years after B and differ little from that inscription.⁶ For that reason they will be disregarded here. Prism F, recently edited by Mlle. Aynard, is an example of the severest editing among our sources.⁷ Dated to c. 645 B.C., it omits Assurbanipal's first Egyptian campaign and begins instead with the invasion of Tanoutamon into Egypt which exactly parallels Prisms B and D. Finally, our last document, Prism A (which is also represented by the famous Rassam Cylinder), is probably to be dated shortly after 643 B.C.⁸ It is unfortunate that most scholars have used this Prism for purposes of historical reconstruction. It is certainly the most interesting of the seven, but it is also the least trustworthy. The reason for this is that it is a blend of E and B, as well as of the Harran Tablets (HT) (for these, see below).⁹ Moreover, there are many independent passages in A which do not occur in any of the previous editions. It should also be

of these two inscriptions is to be found in Tadmor, *ibid.*, 140 (there are additional fragments of the Nassouhi Prism but they do not deal with Egypt). Both of these texts treat the Egyptian affair in a very cursory manner, merely referring to the conquest of Thebes and the booty taken from that city: see the Ishtar Slab line 80 and the Nassouhi Prism column II, lines 7-14. The former composition is dated to c. 640 B.C. and the latter to 639 B.C. In both of them Thebes is called the capital of Egypt (Mûsur) and Nubia (Kûši).

⁴ For E, see Piepkorn, *op. cit.*, 8-17 and Millard, *op. cit.*, 98-101.

⁵ Piepkorn, 10-94.

⁶ Piepkorn, 95-103; note the additional fragment 34 published in Campbell Thompson, *R.*, *op. cit.*, 107 as noted by Tadmor, 240.

⁷ For F., see the edition of Aynard, *op. cit.*, and some unpublished fragments copied by Tadmor from the Oriental Institute, *ibid.*

⁸ See Streck, vol. II, 3-91.

⁹ For these tablets, see Streck, vol. II, 158-174.

stressed that a regular feature of A is the telescoping of events, which is also common to B. Mention should also be made of Prism C.¹⁰ This Prism, of which A is almost an exact copy, is very fragmentary, and we shall only be concerned with it in these introductory remarks. C diverges from A only by mentioning the twenty-two kings of the seacoast who did homage to Assurbanipal on his first campaign. It is dated to c. 646 B.C.

Now in addition to the sources mentioned above, we have one of our most detailed and fully preserved documents in the so-called Harran Tablets (HT).¹¹ They are to be dated very shortly after E, but the precise date is unknown. As Aynard has shown, Piepkorn's date of 667 B.C. is based upon the idea that the sack of Thebes by the Assyrians took place in 667 B.C.¹² However, this event must be placed three years later. In any case, E preserves an older account than HT. This can be seen from the fact that HT, with A, states that it was the officers of the Assyrian army who heard of the revolt of the Delta princes. E uses the singular.¹³ Moreover, as Olmstead has noted, HT adds the affairs of Arvad and Tabal which E lacks.¹⁴ Then too, the account of E preserves a fuller and far more interesting narration of the Gyges affair. But although it seems more preferable to place E before HT, they undoubtedly were issued within a year or two of each other. From HT as well as E, we can see that Assurbanipal did conduct a campaign to Egypt in 669/8 B.C. although he was not at the head of his army—a fact that von Zeissl has observed.¹⁵ Oppenheim's comment that these tablets

¹⁰ There have been many editions of C. For our purposes, Streck, vol. II, 133-141 is the only of importance. See also the comments of Tadmor, on the unpublished fragment (A. 8104) copied by him, *op. cit.* That text gives the exact date, namely the *limmu* of [Na]bū-nādin-ahi: 646 B.C.

¹¹ *Supra*, note 9. For the problem of dating, note Olmstead's comments in *Assyrian Historiography*, 54-55 and the subsequent remarks of Piepkorn, 8-9 and Aynard, 3 and 18-19.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ E ii 49 which is parallel to H VS 43 and A i 128.

¹⁴ *Supra*, note 9.

¹⁵ *Äthiopien und Assyrien in Ägypten*, Glückstadt, 1944, 42. This is still the only detailed survey of the Egyptian and Assyrian evidence but it is unfortunately out of date. The later works of De Meulenaere, H., *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, Louvain, 1951, 21-23 and Kienitz, F.,

are of a "literary type; annals written on tablets" is perhaps the best description.¹⁶

But whereas **E** and **HT** differ little, if at all, there was a great deal of editing from **E** (or **HT**) to **B**. A cursory glance at the connections of **B** to **HT** reveals a very interesting fact, namely, the change from the third person to the first person—from Assurbanipal's army defeating the enemy to that monarch's personal overthrowing his opponent. As noted earlier, von Zeissl had already seen that this difference is good evidence that the original account is **HT** (or **E**) and not **A**.¹⁷ We shall stress here that this editing has already occurred in **B**.

The text represented by the Harran Tablets underlies in part the text of **A**; and so does **B** in passages which do not appear in **HT**. On obv.

Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende, Berlin, 1953, 9-10, and Gyles, M., *Pharaonic Policies and Administration, 663 to 323 B.C.*, 1959, 15-16 only briefly cover this period preferring instead to concentrate on the Saite Period and later. For the Egyptian evidence concerning the Libyan dynasties in Egypt at this time and including comments on the Assyrian interlude, see Yoyotte, J., "Les Principautés du Delta au Temps de l'Anarchie Libyenne," *Mélanges Maspero* IV¹, Paris, 1961, 121-179.

After this paper was completed, I received the recently published volume of *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*, London, 1973. As sections § 353-§ 360, pp. 392-400, parallel much of this work, we have left this study unaltered. The reader is nevertheless referred to this comprehensive and important study as it most certainly will be a standard monograph on this period for many years. We wish to add two remarks here. On p. 393, § 353 note 877 Kitchen equates the city of Ša'nu with Pelusium despite the sibilant problem (see *infra*, note 25). In addition, he claims that there were numerous executions in Sais, Mendes, Pelusium and other cities after the collapse of the revolt of the Egyptian princes. However, the Assyrian evidence does not seem to support this conclusion.

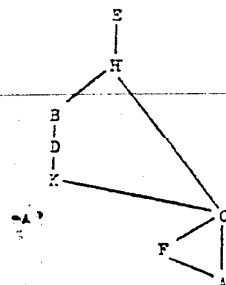
¹⁶ *ANET*², 296b. Note that on 294b he makes Assurbanipal take Thebes on his first campaign, a question which Streck, vol. I, CCLXXVII and von Zeissl, 43, clearly refute. Buaima is not the king of Pitinti but rather of Pitili (or Bintiti), despite the translation on 294b. Then too, the beginning of the Harran Tablets (K. 228+2675) is missing in Streck and Luckenbill (*A.R.A.B.*, II, § 900-§ 907) as well as in *ANET*² 296. For the opening of the text, see Bauer, *op. cit.*, *supra*, note 2, 33 note 3.

¹⁷ *Supra*, note 15.

15 (**HT**), for example, Taharqa is called king of Kush, which undoubtedly he was, since he had been expelled from almost all of Egypt, and had died in his native land by the time this edition was published.¹⁸ In **B** i 78, however, Taharqa is called king of Kush and Egypt; this change is also reflected in **A**. Moreover, **A** 82-89 is derived from **B**, and not from **HT**. **A** i 110-116, which is almost an exact duplicate of **B** has no parallel in **HT**. Then too, **A** ii 3-4 differs from **B** ii 1-2 only in a minor way whereas there is no such parallel in **HT**.

We shall finish our discussion of the sources by noting **C** and **F**. **C**, as we have already seen, was the direct source for **A** in the passages concerning the Egyptian campaign. As Piepkorn describes, "many of the expansions of **A** in the earlier section of the narrative have been taken over practically syllable for syllable from **C**."¹⁹ And **F**, which begins with Assurbanipal's second Egyptian campaign, exactly copies **B** and **D** from then on.

With these facts in mind, we can set up the following *stemma*:



¹⁸ The Assyrian scribes' clear distinction between Egypt and Kush must be stressed. The two are never regarded as one country; all of the Kushite kings are regarded not as native Egyptians but as interlopers from the south. For this distinction in the reign of Assurbanipal, see Piepkorn, *op. cit.*, 10 (**E** i 10: Taharqa is king of Kush), 12 (**E** ii 38: likewise), 14 (**E** ii 50: ditto), 31 (**B** i 52: Taharqa is king of Egypt and Kush), and 32 (**B** i 71: ditto). For Prism **F**, see Aynard, *op. cit.*, 30 (i 37: Tasdamane is king of Egypt and Kush—**B** and **A** omit this passage). For Prism **A**, see Streck, II, 6 (i 53: Taharqa is king of Egypt and Kush), 8 (i 78: likewise—parallel to **B** i 71), 12 (i 123: king of Kush—**A** parallels **E** ii 38). And for the Harran Tablets, see Streck, II, 158 (15: king of Kush—this text follows **E** but not **A** i 78), 160 (30: likewise), 160 (38: ditto), and 164 (66: ditto).

This division is a very interesting one and we hope to comment upon it at a later date.

¹⁹ Piepkorn, 3 note 14. Note that **C** i 12 follows **B-D** (and **K**) ii 18-19 but not **A** ii 28.

Now just before we deal with the divergent historical traditions, in order to show the numerous problems that beset us when attempting to unravel our sources, let us turn to the revolt of the Egyptian kings—the parallels are given at the end of this paper. **HT** and **E** note that Necho, Sharruludari, and Pakruru^{19a} plotted against the Assyrians who were in Egypt. They sent messengers to Taharqa, but those men were intercepted by the Assyrians; the plot failed and the messengers were arrested.²⁰ **HT** then states that Sharruludari and Necho were also arrested and the cities that had supported them were cruelly punished. At Nineveh Assurbanipal showed favor only to Necho and permitted him to return to his city; his son was given the city of Athribis to rule over.²¹

E diverges from **HT** in a very interesting manner, which we noted earlier.²² The beginning of the revolt is the same but **E** adds that an officer heard of the rebellion and captured the messengers.²³ Note further that **HT** and **E** tend to dovetail each other at this point as a glance at our comparison list shows.²⁴

B, however, reflects the first major change from **HT**. Not only are the leaders of the revolt not named (instead a list of the cities is given), but the affair is extremely compressed. The three cities which are named, Sais, Bintiti, and Ša'nu were ruled respectively by Necho (as noted in **HT** and **E**), Pujama (not in **HT** or **E**), and Sharruludari (as in **HT** and **E**).²⁵ (The names of the kings that

ruled over these cities can be determined from the list in **A** 90-109 which reflects the state of affairs before the revolt.)²⁶ In addition, no mention is made of any other prince besides of Sharruludari. We read that he was brought to Assyria and was probably kept in captivity there if not killed; only Necho was allowed to return to Egypt (as **E**, **HT**, and **A** maintain).

to understand this difficulty von Zeissl, op. cit., 53-54, had claimed that Pedubast came to the throne after Sharruludari. However, the passage **A** i 90-109 clearly refutes this.

Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation* (APAW, 1910), 34, believes both writings to reflect the cuneiform transcription of the city of Tanis. But in the list of cities in **A** i 90-109 we definitely have two different rulers named for two different cities. Moreover, Ši'nu cannot be equivalent to Ša'nu on linguistic grounds as Egyptian *D'nt*, Coptic *daane* (Sahidic), *danē* or *dani* (Bohairic), as well as Greek *Tānis* clearly prove that the accent was on the first syllable. And since the usual evolution of *[ā]* to *[ō]* does not take place when a *[']* is present (see Till, *Koptische Grammatik*², Leipzig, 1966, § 52, p. 50), the original Egyptian form was something akin to **Da'n't*. Ši'nu would not at all been derived from this form.

I cannot at present resolve this difficulty except to note that **B** i 95, an older tradition than **A**, mentions Ša'nu as being one of the rebellious cities; **A** i 134 parallels this phrase. It is more probable to see a scribal error in **B** i 95 than in **A** i 91 and 96—in the latter prism the two names were confused. (However, note that **A** i 90-109 is a reflection on the affairs of Egypt in the time of Esarhaddon.) In this paper, we have merely recorded the city as Ša'nu. (For the Egyptian evidence, see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, Oxford, 1947, 199*-201*). We also refer the reader to Kitchen's comments (op. cit., supra., note 15).

In any case, for a full identification of the cities in **A** i 90-109, see the standard work of Ranke, op. cit., and the later studies of Fecht, "Zu den Names ägyptischer Fürsten und Städte in den Annalen des Assurbanipal und der Chronik des Asarhaddon," *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 112-117 and Yoyotte, "Quelques Toponymes Égyptiens Mentionnés dans les 'Annales d'Assurbanipal' (Rm. I, 101-5)," *Rev. d'Ass.* 46 (1952), 212-214 and the references cited there. The city of Punuba (**A** i 101) has been most recently identified with el Santa in the Delta—see Priese, "Der Beginn der Kuschitischen Herrschaft in Ägypten," *ZÄS* 98 (1970), 19 note 18.

²⁶ See the line in **A** i 110-111.

^{19a} We later read of Pakruru in the Dream Stele of Tanoutamon; he apparently was permitted to remain on his throne and probably was not taken to Nineveh, for only Necho was favored by Assurbanipal there. For this problem, see below, p. 8.

²⁰ **HT** 33-65 and **E** ii 27-end, with Millard, op. cit., supra note 2, 100-101.

²¹ *Ibid.*, for the city of Athribis and its importance, see Yoyotte in *Mélanges Maspero*, 161-165 and 173-179.

²² Supra, note 13.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Supra, note 20.

²⁵ **B** i 95-6. Now in **A** 134 we have the city of Ši'nu or Ša'nu (there are two variants to the text here) which revolted against Assurbanipal. From **HT** 33, for example, we do know that Sharruludari was one of the instigators of that revolt. In **A** i 91 this king is called the ruler of Ši'nu whereas Pedubast is named the king of Ša'nu. Clearly, we have two different cities: Ši'nu and Ša'nu which the Assyrian scribes have confused. In an effort

Lastly, **A**, which is our most detailed account, preserves the traditions of **HT**, **E**, and **B**, but does add many interesting points of its own. (As noted in the beginning of this paper, this is quite typical of **A**.) The three cities which revolted are the same which are given in **B**. **A** further mentions the description of the plotting of the Egyptian kings and their sending of messengers to Taharqa. They, in turn were intercepted by some Assyrian officials whose names are not given (following **HT** and not **E** in the use of the plural).²⁷ **A** augments this account by explaining in detail Assurbanipal's clemency. **A** observes, adding to the historical tradition which ultimately derives from **HT**, that Assurbanipal placed Necho's son (who is given an Assyrian name) on the throne of Athribis.²⁸

The above analysis has demonstrated how difficult it is to separate our historical traditions and to determine their veracity. Rather than comparing them at every point, we shall read our sources one by one, beginning with **HT**. **HT** first states that Taharqa failed to do homage to Assurbanipal but instead marched out and took Memphis. Assurbanipal heard of this deed through an express messenger, and immediately sent his army to Egypt. After hearing of the Assyrian advance, Taharqa prepared to do battle with them. This occurred "on the open plain," somewhere south of Karbaniti, not too far from Memphis.²⁹ The Assyrians won, and Taharqa fled to Thebes. But now, and only **HT** is explicit at this point, after receiving news of this in Nineveh, Assurbanipal gave further instructions to his army. A new army was formed of the one which had speedily gone to Egypt, together with native Egyptians (the kings and their forces) as well as fresh troops. It was only after this had occurred that the Assyrians left Memphis.³⁰

When Taharqa heard of the marching south of these troops he left Thebes and crossed the river Nile. Only **HT** among all of our sources describes this.³¹ However, suddenly (to us), **HT** turns to the plotting of the Egyptian kings against

the Assyrians. We read that Necho, Sharruludari, and Pakruru specifically sent messengers to Taharqa in order to ally with him and further attempted to have the Assyrian officials murdered.

Now in conjunction with this account of **HT**, we shall turn to BM 82-5-22,10, first published by Bauer.³² Necho, Sharruludari, and Pakruru are all mentioned; it is clearly evident that we have a fragment of the events dealing with the revolt of the princes. There is also described the Assyrian army's assembling, certainly for the march to Thebes. Pisanhuru, the king of Nathu, was with this army, and it may be that it was he who heard of the revolt. The text, which is unfortunately very fragmentary, after noting the revolt of the three Egyptian kings, which were not connected in any way with Pisanhuru, then goes into a narration of this official addressing the officers of the Assyrian army; these commanders seem to have replied. However, Oppenheim wishes to see Pisanhuru as one of the instigators of the revolt by restoring the text as follows: Pisanhuru "(forgot) the harsh way which (I [Assurbanipal] had treated) Necho, Sharruludari, and Pa(kruru)."³³ But there is no implication in our text that this occurred. First, Pisanhuru certainly would not have addressed the army and urged it to revolt, as it was mainly composed of Assyrians. Moreover, nowhere can we see Pisanhuru supporting the revolt; he is never mentioned in any of our sources as committing treason. Then too, Oppenheim's translation implies that Pisanhuru revolted after Assurbanipal had crushed the three Delta princes; this is chronologically impossible, however, since it is obvious from BM 82-5-22,10 that the Assyrian army had not yet left Memphis to go to Thebes. In other words, the revolt had not yet occurred. Bauer, who sees Pisanhuru as playing a special role in the rebellion against Assurbanipal,³⁴ restores the text somewhat differently. He maintains that Pisanhuru "(... dachte nicht an) das Böse, das Nikkū, Šarru-lu-dāri (und) Pa(kruru) hatten erleiden müssen. . .)."³⁵ But equally, we could restore the phrase as referring

³² ii 56; see also the translation of Oppenheim in *ANET*², 297a.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Supra*, note 32. This passage describes Taharqa as the king of Kush and not the king of Egypt and Kush (see line 10). This is common to **HT** and **E** but not **B**, **D** (and **K**), **G**, and **A**: see the discussion *supra*, note 18.

³⁵ *Supra*, note 32.

²⁷ *A* i 118-ii 19 and note *supra*, note 13.

²⁸ *Supra*, note 21.

²⁹ *Obv.* 15-19.

³⁰ *Obv.* 20-30.

³¹ *Obv.* 31-32; **E** is missing here.

to Pišanḫuru's overhearing of the evil of the three Delta princes, and his speaking of those plans to the Assyrian army.

Instead of referring to a plot of Pišanḫuru, I believe that BM 82-5-22,10 refers to a long narration of the march of the Assyrian army upstream, and the ensuing attempt of the Egyptians to join forces with the Kushites. It is quite possible that, in fact, it was Pišanḫuru who heard of the plan. Certainly his speech to the army would then make more sense. But although we cannot be sure, there is no doubt that the attempt of the Egyptians was very dangerous for the Assyrians. They had messengers sent to Tarharqa telling him of their desire to drive the Assyrians out of Egypt; after that occurred, then the two would divide Egypt between them. And moreover, they had attempted to assassinate the Assyrian commanders.

But fortunately for the Assyrians, the plan was discovered. The cities that had supported it were harshly punished, and according to HT, Sharruludari and Necho were arrested. The first question that arises is what happened to Pakruru. (Observe that E, HT, and BM 82-5-22,10 mention these three kings; B and A are obviously of a different tradition). E, HT, and A also maintain that Necho was the only king who was given clemency by Assurbanipal and permitted to return to Egypt. Now Pakruru is described in the Dream Stele of Tanoutamon as being the leader of the Delta princes.³⁶ He is also called the king of *Pr-Spd* (Pišaptu).³⁷ In other words, apparently he was ruling over his own city some years after he had revolted against Assurbanipal. Hence, it is not unreasonable to see him escaping the wrath of the Assyrian monarch either by betraying his allies or by quickly switching sides; we cannot be certain, however. I think it highly unlikely that he was taken to Nineveh for HT is very explicit at this point (E is broken here, but probably parallels HT)—only Necho and Sharruludari were sent there; B mentions only Sharruludari, possibly because Assyria and Sais were allies at the time B was written and the Assyrian scribe did not want to record the rebel whom Assurbanipal did not punish but rather joined forces with as an ally.

³⁶ *Urk.* III 74 and Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* IV, § 934, p. 432.

³⁷ Pišaptu is *Pr-Spd*: see Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, *supra*, note 25 and von Zeissl, 52 note 283 with references. Also note Yoyotte in *Mélanges Maspero*, 132-133.

Now the entire affair of the Egyptian rebellion is strangely compressed in B. There we read that Assurbanipal conquered the inhabitants of Sais, Bintiti, and Ša'nu and further brought Sharruludari back to Nineveh with him.³⁸ In connection with this event, a rereading of HT bears fruit. As noted earlier, HT surprisingly switches the action from the Assyrian army, which was advancing to Thebes, and immediately delves into the plotting of the Egyptian kings. No further mention is made of the Assyrian army outside of the fact that it was against it that the three kings plotted. Moreover, in none of our other sources do we hear of the progress of this army upstream. It is only in HT that we read that Taharqa was waiting outside of Thebes, on the opposite shore of the Nile, to do battle with the approaching enemy.³⁹

As we have seen above, Assurbanipal carefully prepared his army for this campaign into Upper Egypt. He amalgamated his hastily assembled forces which had already taken Memphis with new troops as well as with some Egyptians. But it never took Thebes.⁴⁰ Faced with a revolt in their own territory which Pišanḫuru possibly discovered, the Assyrian army obviously could not go to Thebes.^{40a} The revolt in Lower Egypt had to be crushed or else the Assyrians would be caught between two hostile groups. This they did, and effectively, it should be added.

So we can now fully explain the divergent traditions with regard to this event. Already in E and HT we have an abbreviated account. The tradition of BM 82-5-22,10 appears not to have been used by any of our historical texts. Both E and H are silent with regard to Pišanḫuru. (E ii 18-25, which unfortunately is missing, undoubtedly parallels HT 30-33, as a glance at our list of comparison shows.) B, which is not derived at all from E or HT at this point, is very terse when dealing with this account. As for A, as expected, it is a combination of E and H, as well as of B, with new details of its own.

³⁸ i 95 - ii 6.

³⁹ E is missing; HT 31-32.

⁴⁰ But see below note 58a.

^{40a} Von Zeissl, p. 44, maintains that the Assyrian army was simply weary from the journey, but this seems very improbable. The army had been carefully prepared and if the account of HT is correct (rev. 30), then the forces might have even reached the walls of Thebes. See our note on p. 14, above.

Unlike HT and B, A mentions another prince who had plotted against Assurbanipal: Pujama, who ruled over Bintiti.⁴¹ The account in A is obviously derived from B. We again have a problem quite similar to that of Pakruru. Perhaps Pujama was killed by the Assyrians during the ensuing crushing of the revolt; perhaps he too sided with the Assyrians as it is likely that Pakruru did.

Now in a long list of cities in an entirely different passage in A 90-109, Assurbanipal mentions that Esarhaddon, his father, had appointed rulers over them. There is no doubt that this list represents a state of affairs at least before the revolt of the Egyptian princes. Sais (which is grouped with Memphis) and Ši'nu are the first mentioned. Nathu, which was ruled by Pišan-huru, as we have seen in BM 82-5-22,10, is mentioned next. Following this city Athribis is listed; the king associated with that city is Bukkunan-

ni'pi (*Bṣk-n-nfy*).⁴² In view of the fact that Necho's son was later put in charge of Athribis by Assurbanipal, it is not improbable that this city was also involved in the revolt. If this is true, that the list in A 90-109 apparently begins with those cities which attempted to side with Taharqa. And in view of the fact that this list represents a geographical arrangement of the cities of Egypt from the North to the South,⁴³ we can easily see that the revolt of the princes was concentrated in the Delta. This is highly reasonable. After all, with an Assyrian army somewhere between Memphis and Thebes, and with a tradition of Pharaonic rule in Sais (which, we should add, was a focal point of anti-Ethiopian opposition years before),⁴⁴ it is no wonder that this rebellion was a serious matter for the Assyrians. No wonder also that the Assyrian scribe edited the campaign so drastically in B, not to mention the rearranging of events in A.

⁴¹ On the reading of this name, see most recently Fecht, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 112-113. Note that we also have another reference to this revolt in a fragment published by Campbell Thompson, R., *Iraq* 7 (1940), 103 No. 24. It parallels the tradition of B and A but not that of E and H, but also diverges from the former two. We give the following comparison list:

Campbell Thompson	B-D	A
4: UKÜ.MEŠ	—	—
4: Sais, Bintiti, and	i 95	i 134
Ši'nu (with the variant		
of Ša'nu)		
4-6: to <i>pi-šunu</i> (re-	i 96-97	—
stored)		
7-8: to <i>uḫallip</i> (restor-	ii 2	ii 4: with minor
ed)		rearrangement
		noted in our
		comparison of
		B and A.
8: LUGAL.MEŠ <i>annūti</i>	—	ii 5.
8-9: to <i>aškuna</i> (restor-	—	—
ed)		
9-10: to <i>kurAššur</i> ^{ki}	—	—
(restored)		
10-11: to <i>kurAššur</i> ^{ki}	ii 6: from <i>ašbat</i>	
(restored)		
11-end	ii 7ff.	ii 20ff.

As can be seen, this fragment is abbreviated like B but it does have some important variants which did not become part of either the B or A tradition.

With the effective end of this revolt, Assurbanipal was faced with a major problem with regard to Egypt. The question was how could the As-

⁴² On this ruler, see Yoyotte in *Mélanges Maspéro*, 163-164 and 173-179 and Habachi, "A Statue of Baken-nifi, Nomarch of Athribis During the Invasion of Egypt by Assurbanipal," *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 68-77.

⁴³ The list runs from the Delta to the South, although the geographical arrangement is not precise (for example, Sais and Memphis are grouped together at the top of the list before their more southerly counterparts) and may indicate the degree of importance among these cities or perhaps the order of involvement in the revolt against Assurbanipal.

⁴⁴ Sais was the house of the Twenty-Fourth Dynasty and later rulers of that city seem to have had pretensions to kingship. For the latest study on the kings of Sais who preceded Necho, the father of Psammetichus I, see Priese, op. cit., supra note 25, 18-19 and especially his chart of these monarchs on p. 19 note 18. Note that he regards the Tefnakht of the Athens Stele (see Spiegelberg, "Die Tefnakhtsstele des Museums von Athen," *RT* 25 (1903), 190-193 and 198 = Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois de l'Égypte III*, Cairo, 1913, 409) as the equivalent of Manetho's Stephinates (Frgs. 68 and 69), the grandfather of Necho of Sais and not the opponent of Piye (Piankhy). For the titles of Necho, the father of Psammetichus and Necho's son, the father of Necho, see Gauthier, *ibid.*, 414-416.

syrians make a peaceful country out of Egypt with the Kushite threat still present. The failure of his army must have forced Assurbanipal to make an about face: namely, his decision to support one of the leaders of the rebellion. And support him he did! Both HT and A are very detailed concerning this.⁴⁵ Necho was treated by Assurbanipal as a friend and ally; no thought was made of his former opposition. It seems that he was deprived of his rule over Memphis (or at least the Assyrian texts are silent at this point),^{45a} but returned to Sais with many gifts. Again HT and A are explicit in stating that Necho received horses, chariots, mules, golden rings, and a golden chain. Furthermore, a treaty was signed. Our two sources are somewhat reticent in referring to it only by saying that it was "(protected by) oaths which greatly surpassed (those of the former ty)." ⁴⁶ It is highly probable that this treaty, although obviously recognizing some type of Assyrian sovereignty over Egypt, also recognized how fragile that hold really was. It apparently was kept by both powers; when Tanoutamon invaded Egypt later on, Sais opposed him, and if Meyer's brilliant suggestion is correct,⁴⁷ and it seems highly probable, Necho lost his life fighting against this Kushite ruler; he did not side with him. Nor, it must be stressed, did any of the other Egyptian cities—the attempted plan of the Delat cities to join with Taharqa was never repeated—in fact, this alliance only occurred when the Assyrians were in a weak position between them and the Kushites. So I think it not overly improbable to see the treaty between Assurbanipal and Necho as being very favorable to the Saite ruler. We do know that Psamtik I, the son of Necho, was able to become the sole ruler of Egypt. In fact, both and his successor supported Assyria. Now how can we explain the friendliness of Sais toward Assyria if not ultimately deriving from Assurbanipal's new Egyptian policy? In addition to richly rewarding Necho for his revolt (!) he also placed Necho's son as king over Athribis which,

as we have already seen, had revolted against Assurbanipal.

The pacific policy of Assurbanipal was the result of his decision that that country was extremely hard to control, especially with a fierce enemy to the south and with the ever-present danger of another revolt in the Delta. In a word, the Assyrians failed in their conquest of Egypt (if they ever dreamed of such a thing) when they failed to crush Taharqa. Unlike the Persians, who had only to fear the native Egyptians and not the Kushites (who were no military threat at all), the Assyrians had bitten off more than they could chew. We should also remember that the only reason that the Assyrians ever moved into Egypt was a result of the meddling, by the Kushitic king, and not by native Egyptians, in the Phoenician cities of Gaza.⁴⁸ As has been stressed, the Assyrians only wanted commercial domination over Phoenicia and Philistia—no invasion and eventual conquest of Egypt or Judah was on the agenda of the Assyrian monarchs.⁴⁹

As expected, the Kushites did meddle again in Egypt. We shall divert our attention from the Assyrian texts for a moment and turn to the Egyptian evidence. The Dream Stele of Tanoutamon is very detailed when describing the campaign of that monarch into Lower Egypt.⁵⁰ Tanoutamon first moved into Thebes which welcomed him with open arms. Then a fast journey down the Nile led Tanoutamon to Memphis, outside of which the Delta princes were drawn up for battle. The agreement of Assurbanipal and Necho was kept; no Egyptian city supported the Kushite king. Tanoutamon won, however, and it is in this battle that Necho probably lost his life. The date must then have been 664 B.C.⁵¹ In any case, Tanoutamon did not immediately attempt to move south. We hear of him first sending orders

⁴⁸ On this matter, see Tadmor's discussion of the Assyrian evidence in *BA* 29 (1966), 86-102 and especially 88-92.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ See *Urk.* III 55-77 and Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, § 921-§ 934, 468-470.

⁵¹ Necho was followed by his son Psamtik I, Psammeticus I. For the latest discussion of this date, see Parker, "The Length of the Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty," *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 208-212 and Hornung, "Die Sonnenfinsternis nach dem Tode Psammetichs I," *ZAS* 92 (1965), 38-39.

⁴⁵ HT 50-65 and A ii 7-19.

^{45a} As noted on the previous page, A i 90, which clearly reflects the state of affairs before the Egyptian revolt, states that Necho ruled over Sais as well as Memphis.

⁴⁶ HT 54 and A ii 9; translation of Oppenheim, *ANET*², 295a.

⁴⁷ *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*, Berlin, 1887, 325; see also von Zeissl, 46.

to repair temples in Nubia.⁵² Apparently at Memphis he was resting in order to consolidate his forces. He did invade the Delta, but that campaign was a failure. Just as when Piankhy invaded the north about sixty years earlier, the Kushites this time again failed to subdue the Delta princes. The latter fled into the swamps and refused to fight or else they holed up in their fortified cities.⁵³

Tanoutamon returned to Memphis, but did make some agreement with these southern rulers.⁵⁴ Naturally, the Dream Stele depicts the Delta princelings as surrendering to Tanoutamon (just as the Piankhy Stele depicts Tefnakht as submitting to Piankhy). But we must continue to treat this document with caution. Pakruru of Pišaptu (*Pr-spd*) apparently reconciled himself to the Kushite monarch. He appears to have been the spokesman for *all* the Delta princes and not, as von Zeissl maintains, the leader of one of the political factions in the south.⁵⁵ Some type of political arrangement (which the Dream Stele omits) undoubtedly was made. And although Necho's son, Psamtik I, succeeded him in that very same year (664 B.C.), and in fact dated his reign from this year, he apparently did not yet have the power to be the leader of the Delta princes.⁵⁶ Temporarily, as it turned out, *Pr-spd* was in the ascendancy.

But then Assurbanipal heard of these events. He obviously had to remove the Kushite from Egypt if for no other reason than his treaty obligation to Necho. Von Zeissl unfortunately relies too heavily upon *A* at this point.⁵⁷ As we stated earlier *A* telescopes events a lot, and it makes no exception here. *HT*, the most reliable source, states that Tanoutamon became king in his land (obviously Kush) and effectively controlled Thebes.⁵⁸ This is quite reasonable. Thebes still was not in Assyrian hands, and we have seen that the Dream Stele is explicit in noting that that city welcomed him with great friendship. Then, *HT* states that Tanoutamon prepared to fight with the army of Assurbanipal. The account of

HT is vague, for nowhere is it stated when the battle took place, or at what location. All we can determine from *HT* is that the conflict obviously took place north of Thebes.

At this point one should note the repetition of a *topos* in *HT*. *HT* rev. 30,^{59a} which refers to the first campaign, strikingly parallels rev. 73. But in this case, the Assyrian army did reach Thebes; there was no revolt in their midst. Tanoutamon fled from Thebes, and that city was taken by the Assyrians. Assurbanipal finally did achieve a complete victory in Egypt. *HT* is very brief when mentioning the tribute brought by the Assyrians back to Nineveh. In fact, the fuller accounts of *B* and *A* only borrow *HT* rev. 2 (see *B* ii 31-32 and *A* ii 40). And with Upper Egypt in their control, the Assyrian army could return home.

It is obvious that *B* as well as *A* (which faithfully follows *B* here) is of a different tradition from *HT*.⁵⁹ In view of the fact that a great deal of editing has happened from *HT* to *B*, it is highly unfortunate that we are lacking the account of *E*. For example, in *B* and *HT*, it is Assurbanipal who gets the credit, as with his first Egyptian campaign, for a personal defeat of the enemy. *B* further states that Tanoutamon made Thebes as well as Heliopolis his stronghold.⁶⁰ This is reasonable, especially in view of the fact that it was only the Delta that Tanoutamon could not take. But then *B* continues with a strange historical sequence. Tanoutamon encircled the Assyrians in Memphis and apparently, according to *B*, it was only after he heard of the arrival of Assurbanipal (actually, the army of Assurbanipal) that he fled to Thebes *without* a battle. The princes, *B* and *A* add, then did homage to Assur-

⁵² *Urk.* III 68-69 and Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, § 929, p. 471.

⁵³ *Urk.* III 69-70 and Breasted, *ibid.*, § 930, p. 471.

⁵⁴ *Urk.* III 70-77 and Breasted, *ibid.*, § 931-§ 934, pp. 471-473.

⁵⁵ *Äthiopien und Assyrien*, 46.

⁵⁶ For the chronology, see *supra*, note 51.

⁵⁷ *Äthiopien und Assyrien*, 45-46.

⁵⁸ *Obv.* 64ff.

^{59a} The question might be asked here whether the Assyrian army did reach Thebes, or at least come within sight of their enemy camped outside of that city in 668 B.C. If this is so, the plot against the Assyrian army commanders becomes extremely interesting. For if *HT* rev. 30 is true, and not merely a stock phrase copied from rev. 73, the omission in our texts by the Assyrian scribe of the failure of the Assyrians to take Thebes during the first campaign makes perfect sense. However, we are not entirely certain if *HT* rev. 30 is copied from rev. 73, or vice-versa. Moreover, both accounts may be true in themselves.

⁵⁹ *B* i 7ff. and *A* i 22ff.

⁶⁰ i 12 (see *A* i 23).

banipal.⁶¹ We must not take this section as containing much truth, however. It is a typical *topos* used by the Assyrian scribes to enhance the might of their king and to demonstrate how dependent his clients were on him.

B has thus clearly changed the historical account from HT. According to HT, it is possible to see Assurbanipal sending forces after Tanoutamon took control of Lower Egypt followed by the defeat of Tanoutamon there. HT simply states that he was defeated whereas A maintains that Tanoutamon fled without facing the Assyrian army. It is obvious that the account of A (which is directly derived from B) has magnified the cowardice of the Kushite monarch. Moreover, the reference to the encircling of the Assyrians in Memphis by B might refer to the surrounding of that city by Tanoutamon, which probably occurred before he took it, as the Dream Stele relates. Nevertheless, B is very confused regarding these events.

So lo and behold! Tanoutamon fled Thebes to Kipkipi (following B), and the capital of Upper Egypt was taken. B interpolates the account of two magnificent obelisks being taken as booty from Thebes to the account of HT, of which Aynard has gone into a fine discussion.⁶² A question could be asked if we have a false interpolation here. I think not; the purpose of B and HT is clear—to show how crushed Egypt and Kush were by Assurbanipal. (Of course, Kush was never taken by the Assyrian monarch and much, if not all, of the booty recorded in B and A undoubtedly was from Thebes.) Both of these prisms give a very detailed account of this booty but prefer to overlook the strange monkeys in Thebes, which HT details instead.⁶³ Anyhow, both B and A close this campaign with the following passage: "Against Egypt and Ethiopia I waged bitter warfare and established (my) authority. With a full hand I returned safely to Nineveh, the city of my lordship."⁶⁴ In other words, for B and for A the Egyptian campaigns are over. There are no more disturbances there; Assurbanipal has shown his fierce power to them. B 37-39 and A 45-46 are essentially colophons to the Egyptian wars. The Assyrian scribes need say no more.

And neither shall we. We have attempted to demonstrate that a careful reading of the numerous Assyrian sources is needed. Too often scholars have relied upon these texts without being aware of their historiographic background. The case of the use (or misuse) of HT is a clear indication of this. We hope to have shown that contrary to what is usually claimed, the Assyrians did not find Egypt an easy land to rule. Moreover, it was not even Egypt who was the real enemy. Kush was the culprit. The Assyrians never failed to make this distinction. It was first Tarharqa, and then Tanoutamon whom Assurbanipal had to face. And even when the Egyptian Delta revolted, he made peace, simply in order to get support to stave off the Kushite takeover of Egypt. For that would have meant a resumption of interference in Assyria's Palestinian hegemony—and this she certainly did not want.

A LIST OF CORRESPONDENCES OF THE SOURCES FOR THE EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGNS OF ASSURBANIPAL*

1. CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN E AND HT

E	HT
(Missing)	Obv. 1-18.
Millard, p. 100: lines 1-5 and 1-10. Minor variation: Millard, l. 4: URU ašar	Obv. 19-15. Line 20: URU LUGAL-ti-šu.
—	Obv. 25: <i>kališun</i> .
ii 11-17.	Obv. 26-30: to <i>uruNi</i> .
ii 18-26: missing and fragmentary.	Obv. 30-32.
ii 27: <i>arkānu</i> .	—
ii 27-49: see the garbled account in line 45 (probably parallel to HT 40-41 and A i 127. Line 47: verb <i>nakāsu</i> .	Obv. 33-43: to <i>annāti</i> . Line 42: verb <i>šūzub</i> .
ii 50-51. Singular: officer.	Obv. 43-44: to <i>šiprāt-šunu</i> . Plural: officers.
ii 52-53.	—
ii 54. Singular.	Obv. 44. Plural.
ii 55. Restoration of Pakruru somewhat in	—

* Very minor variations are omitted. - If a particular source omits portions of the text which appear in the corresponding source this is indicated by: -.

⁶¹ 23-24 (A 32-33).

⁶² B i 33-35, A i 41-43, and Aynard, op. cit., 23-25.

⁶³ HT rev. 3.

⁶⁴ B i 37-39 and A i 45-46; translation of Oppenheim, ANET², 295b.

doubt. See p. 321 in text: only Necho granted clemency at Nineveh; however, by that tradition (A, which is derived from HT and B), we read that officers heard the plot. Hence, we might have an independent tradition here. After all, Pakruru was also treated kindly by Assurbanipal.

(Missing)

Millard, p. 101, lines 1-10. Obv. 46-50: to (Nineveh), restored.

Millard, p. 101, line 11: — URU LUGAL-ti-ja.

Millard, p. 101, line 11: Obv. 50: with *adi*. with *ina*.

Millard, p. 101, lines 12-15. Obv. 51-52: to *panija*. Note the restorations of Bauer, p. 33, note 3. Possibly also restore *šar*, Assur libbu rapšu, as in Millard, lines 12-13.

— Obv. 52.

Millard, p. 101, line 16. Obv. 53.

— Obv. 53.

Millard, p. 101, line 17. —

Millard, p. 101, line 18f. Obv. 54ff.

Rest missing.

2. CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN E AND B/D

E B—D (minor variations from B)

The relationship from E to B and D cannot be effectively determined because of the fragmentary nature of B. However, B i 84 and ii 31 preserve *ana šuzub*, which we have seen, is a common feature of HT (Obv. 42) and not E. However, the passages in B are not parallel to that one in HT. Nevertheless, the similarity should be noted.

3. CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN E AND A

E	A
i 1-21, rest missing, and	—
Millard, p. 100, lines 1-5.	—
ii 1-31.	—
—	i 1-119: to GAL.MEŠ.
ii 32: <i>šabti</i> .	i 119: MUN.

ii 32: AD *bānija*.

— i 119: *ēpussunūti*.

ii 32-45 to Aššur.

ii 45: *gapšātija*.

— i 127.

ii 46.

ii 47-48.

ii 49.

ii 50: note the *išmema*.

— i 128.

ii 51.

ii 52-53.

ii 54: singular.

— i 129: *išmū*.

ii 55.

(Missing)

Millard, p. 101, lines 1-5: to UKT.MEŠ.

— i 132-134, with minor variations.

— i 134-ii 1: to *sittu*.

— ii 1.

Millard, p. 101, lines 5-7: to *ikpudū*. See restoration on line 6.

—

Millard, p. 101, line 7: —

— *amat*.

Millard, p. 101, lines 7-9. ii 2.

—

Millard, p. 101, lines 10-14.

—

— ii 3-7.

— ii 8.

Millard, p. 101, line 15: to *Nikku*.

—

— ii 8: to *birišunu*.

— ii 8.

Millard, p. 101, lines 17-19.

—

(Missing) ii 8-48.

That E was not the main tradition at work on A can clearly be seen in A 128 (parallel to HT obv. 43), A 129-130 (HT obv. 44), and A ii 7 (H VS 50). In all of these passages, it is HT which A has utilized.

4. CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN HT AND B/D

HT	B—D
Obv. 1-8.	—
—	i 50-62.
Obv. 9-10.	i 63-65.
Obv. 11: to šu-šun	—
—	i 66: <i>adki</i> .
Obv. 11.	i 66.
—	i 67.
Obv. 12: to LUGAL.MEŠ.	i 68.

Obv. 12:

—

Obv. 12-1

Obv. 13-1

Obv. 14:

Obv. 14:

Obv. 15:

kur Kūši

HT.A-ia

—

Obv. 15-

Obv. 16.

—

Obv. 17-

Obv. 18

ma.

—

Obv. 66

—

Obv. 67

puṣu.

Obv. 67

—

Obv. 67

ūšibma.

Obv. 67

Obv. 6

—

Obv. 6

Obv. 6

—

Rev. 1

Rev. 1

—

—

—

—

—

—

Obv.

—

Obv.

kur K.

HT.A-

išme.

Obv.

—

Obv.

—

Obv.

—

Obv.

—

Obv.

Obv. 12: ^{lu} NAM.MEŠ.	—	Obv. 41: gapšātija.	—
Obv. 12-13: to urruḫiṣ.	i 68-69: to kurMusur.	Obv. 41.	i 127.
Obv. 13-14: to ḫantiṣ.	i 69-70.	Obv. 42.	i 128: to ḫUL-tim.
Obv. 14: irdū illikū.	—	Obv. 43: to annāti.	i 128.
Obv. 14.	i 70: ardema allik.	Obv. 43.	—
Obv. 15: mTarqu šar ₄	i 70.	—	i 129: iṣmū.
kurKūši ša alāk ERIN.	i 71-72: mTarqu LUGAL	Obv. 44.	i 192-130: to surratēšunu.
ḫA-ia qereb Mempi.	kurMusur u kurKūši qe-	Obv. 45: mŠarrūlādāri	—
—	reb uruMempi alāk gir-	Nikku.	—
Obv. 15-16: to MÈ.	rija.	—	i 130.
Obv. 16.	i 73.	Obv. 45-46: to adi.	i 131-132.
—	—	Obv. 46.	—
Obv. 17-18: to EDIN.	i 74.	—	i 133: DINGIR.MEŠ.
Obv. 18-66: to iṣḫupšu-	i 75-77.	Obv. 46-48: to UKU.MEŠ.	i 133-134.
ma.	—	—	i 134-II 1: to sittī.
—	i 77-II 8.	Obv. 48-49.	ii 1-2.
Obv. 66.	ii 9.	Obv. 50: u šāšun.	—
—	ii 10: EGIR.	—	ii 3-6.
Obv. 67: mTašdamane	—	Obv. 50.	ii 7.
DUMU.	ii 10.	Obv. 51.	—
Obv. 67: DAM-šū.	—	Obv. 52: ana Nikku.	ii 8.
—	ii 10: NIN-šu.	—	ii 8: ulṭi bīrišunu.
Obv. 67: ina gišGU.ZA-šu	ii 11: ūšib ina gišGU.ZA	Obv. 52.	—
ūšibma.	LUGAL-ti-šu.	Obv. 53: rēmu aršišuma.	ii 8.
Obv. 67.	—	Obv. 53-55: to ušarḫis-	—
Obv. 68: uruNi'.	ii 12.	suma.	—
—	ii 12: uruUnu.	—	ii 8-9.
Obv. 68.	ii 12-13.	Obv. 55-61: to uruSā.	ii 10-16.
Obv. 69-rev. 1.	—	Obv. 61-62.	—
—	ii 14-31: to bašū.	—	ii 16-18: to apqid.
Rev. 2.	ii 31-32: from libultī.	Obv. 63.	ii 18-19.
Rev. 3-5.	—	Obv. 64-66: to EN-ti-ja.	—
—	ii 33-40.	—	ii 20.

5. CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN
HT AND A

HT	A
Obv. 1-14.	i 52-77.
Obv. 15: mTarqu šar ₄	i 78: Tarqu LUGAL
kurKūši ša alāk ERIN.	kurMusur u Kūši qereb
ḫA-ia qereb uruMempi	uruMempi I 79: alāk
iṣme.	iṣmema.
Obv. 16-18: to EDIN.	i 79-82, with minor var-
—	iations.
Obv. 18-34.	—
—	i 82-119: to GAL.MEŠ.
Obv. 35: DU ₁₀ GA-ti.	i 119: MUN
—	i 119: ēpussunūti.
Obv. 35: ad bānija.	—
Obv. 35-41: to Aššur.	i 119-127: to kurAššur ^{kl} .

6. CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN
B/D AND A

B—D	A
i 50-54.	i 52-55.
—	i 55.
i 55-56: to <i>ana</i> .	i 56-57.
i 56: <i>ṣm</i> .	—
—	i 57: <i>emūq</i> .
i 58-62: to <i>mišir</i> .	i 57-61.
i 62: <i>KUR-šu</i> .	—
—	i 61: <i>kur.d Aššur-ki</i> .
i 62-65.	i 61-64.
—	i 65.
i 66-67.	i 66-67.
—	i 67-74.
i 68-86: minor variation, line 73 (A i 79).	i 75-89.
—	i 90-109.
i 87: <i>LUGAL.MEŠ</i> .	i 110.
—	i 110: <i>annūti</i> .
i 87: <i>luNAM.MEŠ</i> .	i 110.
—	i 110: <i>qēpāni</i> .
i 87-91: to <i>maškanišu-</i> <i>nu</i> .	i 110-113.
i 91: <i>ulzissunūti</i> .	—
—	i 113: <i>apqissunūti</i> .
i 92-95: to <i>riksēšu</i> .	i 114-116: to <i>riksāte</i> .
—	i 116-134: to <i>UKU.MEŠ</i> .
i 95.	i 134.
i 96-99.	—
—	ii 1-2.
ii 1: <i>ADDA_x.MEŠ-šunu</i> <i>ina gāšiši alul</i> .	ii 3: <i>ADDA_x.MEŠ-šunu</i> <i>ilulū ina gāšiši</i> .

ii 2: <i>KUŠ.MEŠ-šunu ašhuṭ</i> <i>BAD URU uḫallip</i> .	ii 4: <i>KUŠ.MEŠ-šunu iṣ-</i> <i>ḫutū uḫallipū BAD URU</i> .
ii 3-6.	—
—	ii 5-19.
ii 7-10: to <i>maTašdamane</i> <i>DUMU</i> .	ii 20-22.
ii 10: <i>NIN-šu</i>	—
—	ii 22: <i>Sabakū</i>
ii 11-17.	ii 22-27.
ii 18: <i>ašnima</i> .	—
—	ii 28: <i>ina šant girrija</i> .
ii 18-27: to <i>MÈ-ia</i> .	ii 28-36.
—	ii 36: <i>danni</i> .
ii 27-40.	ii 35-48.

7. TRADITION F (i 35-55)

This tradition, which undoubtedly derives from B is, however, one of the most compressed documents that we have. It omits the entire first campaign and instead begins with Assurbanipal's war against Tašdamane. It parallels B ii 20-35 and A ii 29-43 with some important variations. As expected, it is not the source for A (but see (4) below), rather B is. The important differences are as follows:

- (1) i 35-36: only in F.
- (2) i 37: F adds *LUGAL_{kur} Mušur-u-kuṣ Kūsi* for B ii 20 and A ii 23.
- (3) i 41-42: different from B ii 23 and A ii 32.
- (4) i 46: adds *danni*, not in B but in A ii 32.
- (5) F i 48-51: not in the different passages of B ii 28-29 and A ii 37-38.
- (6) i 51: not in B ii 30 or A ii 39.
- (7) B ii 36-41 and A ii 44-49 not in F.

NURSI

AMONG
center of

¹ These 1971 from of Zakho the present rhymes at Raḥamim Sabar (age 58, house contractor) the Jews except Me who immu baby wor On the The Jew Jerusalem Neo-Aran southern includes, Amidia, of Alqos A. J. M. Syriac, C Polotsky Studies, Aramaic F. Rosen and boo *Sefunot*, Homily ed), Int