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THE EGYPTIAN EASTERN BORDER REGION IN ASSYRIAN SOURCES

HERBERT VERRETH
KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN

The places Magdali, Ishupri, and Kār-Baniti, known from seventh-century Assyrian sources, can be situated in the Egyptian eastern border region, but it is impossible to provide a closer identification. In the list of twenty Egyptian kinglets reinstated by Assurbanipal in 667 B.C. the occurrence of both the city of Si'nu and Sa'nu and the double mention of the city of Natho raise serious problems. The comparison of Assurbanipal's Prism C and Prism A, however, shows that this list is in fact a compilation of two different lists and that both Si'nu and Sa'nu are identical with Tanis, that there is only one Natho in the Egyptian Delta, and that the city of Ḥininšī is identical with Herakleous Polis magna and not with Herakleous Polis parva. Despite several previous attempts of identification Tcharou (Sile) or Pelousion is not mentioned in the Assyrian documents.

The Assyrian accounts of the Egyptian expeditions of Esarhaddon in 673 and 671 B.C. and of those of Assurbanipal in 667 and 663 mention some toponyms that can be located in the Egyptian eastern border region. The Assyrian army passed by or waged war near these localities, or the new authorities installed their own officials or confirmed the local kings in their function.

In the early spring of 673 the Assyrian king Esarhaddon attacked Egypt, but his army was beaten. No geographical details are known about this expedition. In the spring of 671 the invasion succeeded. Esarhaddon crossed the Brook of Egypt and marched from Raphia across the northern Sinai into Egypt, but his exact itinerary is not clear. He apparently crossed the Egyptian border, bypassed a town called Magdali and then reached Ishupri, somewhere in the eastern Delta, where he won a first battle. A second battle was fought somewhere between Ishupri and Memphis. He defeated the Egyptian army for a third time probably near Memphis and finally captured the city itself. Before leaving the country Esarhaddon appointed officials in several cities and confirmed local kinglets in their position, including Necho of Memphis and Sais, Šarruladari of Si'nu (Tanis), Pišanšuru of Nathū (Natho), Pakruru of Pišaptu (Pr-Spdw), []au of Ḥatḥiribi (Athribis), and Naḥkē of Ḥininšī (Herakleous Polis magna), so controlling the Delta and the northern part of Middle Egypt. This list of Egyptian kinglets is preserved in Prism C, while the elaborate list of Prism A is probably a combination of the list of kings appointed by Esarhaddon in 671 and another list of kings appointed by Assurbanipal after the revolt of 667. At least twelve cities acquired new Assyrian names, but only Kār-bēl-mātātī and Limir-išak-Assur can be identified, respectively, as Sais and Athribis; of the other ten places only Kār-Baniti is known from other sources.

Possibly because of problems with Necho and Šarruladari, Esarhaddon was forced to return to Egypt in 669, but he fell ill on the journey and died in the autumn of that year. Esarhaddon was succeeded by Assurbanipal and the Ethiopian king Taharqa took advantage of the situation to invade Lower Egypt. Probably in 667 Assurbanipal's troops marched as far as the town of Kār-Baniti. Taharqa sent out his troops from Memphis, but they were defeated in an open battle. He was pursued south by the Assyrian army and by some Egyptian allies, including apparently Pišanšuru of Natho. In the meantime Necho of Sais, Šarruladari of Tanis, Pakruru of Pr-Spdw, and perhaps some other kinglets, plotted with Taharqa against the Assyrians. The conspiracy was discovered and the

2 For the date, see the sources mentioned below under “Ša-amilê”; Dietrich 1970: 56; Spalinger 1974a: 300.
3 For the date, see the sources mentioned below under “The northern Sinai, Magdali and Ishupri.”
Assyrian army slaughtered the inhabitants of Sais, Bintiti (Mendes), and Tanis. Šarruludari and Necho were arrested and brought to Nineveh. In at least nineteen cities, ranging from the Delta to Thebes, Assurbanipal installed local kings as his governors. Necho was forgiven and reinstated in Sais, while his son Nabushezibanni (Psammetichos I) was installed at Athribis. In 664 the Ethiopian king Tanoutamon, who had succeeded Taharqa, invaded Egypt and overcame the Delta kinglets in a battle. Necho was probably slain there and, according to the Egyptian stele of Tanoutamon, it was Pš-qrr (Pakruru) of Pr-Spdw who was the spokesman of the kinglets at their surrender. The Assyrians invaded Egypt again, drove the Ethiopians from Memphis and Thebes and sacked this city about 663.6

Of the many Egyptian toponyms mentioned in the Assyrian sources of this period only Tanis and Pr-Spdw, perhaps Magdali, and probably also the unidentified Ishupri and Kār-Baniti are situated in the eastern Delta. Despite several attempts at identification, Tcharou (Sile) or Pelousion are not mentioned in the Assyrian documents and no urban occupation is known in the northern Sinai in the early seventh century.

**ŠA-AMIŁÉ**

The Esarhaddon Chronicle mentions an expedition to Ša-amiłé (šuŠa-amiłémeš, “the city of men”?) in the seventh year of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, i.e., in 674/673: “The seventh year: On the eighth day of the month Adar (XII) the army of Assyr [marched] to Ša-amiłé.”8 The Babylonian Chronicle, on the other hand, mentions an expedition to Egypt for the same year and month: “The seventh year: On the fifth day of the month Adar (XII) the army of Assyria was defeated in Egypt.”9

Scholars have often thought that the two Chronicles spoke about the same events. They have situated Ša-amiłé in Egypt, identifying it with Pelousion or Tcharou (Sile) on the eastern border or—because of the etymology of the name—with Andron Polis in the western Delta.10 In that case, a defeat of the Assyrian army somewhere in Egypt in the early spring of 673 would have been followed three days later by a march of that same army to the city of Ša-amiłé. This scenario raises more questions than it answers. If Ša-amiłé is an Egyptian border town, the first battle must have taken place somewhere in the northern Sinai, three days east of the city, but this would be an odd spot for the Egyptians to put up a defense line.11 Also if Ša-amiłé was somewhere in the Delta, it is hard to imagine why the defeated army should have gone there, and even harder to figure out what was so important about it that the Assyrian scribes took special notice of it. B. Landsberger rightly pointed out that it is rather the city of Ša-amiłé, in southern Babylonia, known from other sources, that is meant.12 As the Esarhaddon Chronicle had a definite bias in favor of Esarhaddon, one can readily understand that this Assyrian defeat in Egypt has been left out and replaced by another military expedition.13

As there are no indications at all about the place where the Egyptians beat the Assyrians in 674/673, the suggestion that the expedition was stopped at one of the border fortresses in the eastern Delta, possibly at Pelousion, has nothing to recommend it.14

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6 For the date, which is not explicitly mentioned in the sources, see Kitchen 1986 [= 1973]: 391 (§352), n. 870; Gomaa 1984: 946. Andron Polis: Smith 1929: 85 (against his previous proposal); Hall 1929: 280.


9 Babylonian Chronicle, IV, 16 (Grayson 1975: 84).

10 Pelousion: Smith 1924: 10–11; Tcharou: Peet 1925: 117; Fecht 1958: 116–19 (who saw phonetic links between “Ša-

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11 See Grayson 1975: 12, 29, 30.


14 See Grayson 1975: 12, 29, 30.


16 Esarhaddon, Fragment F, Ro 6–18 (Borger 1956: 112) [ca. 671–670]. Naʾamān 1979: 68–86 and 1980: 95–100 convincingly argued that the Brook of Egypt is identical with the Nahal Basor between Gaza and Raphia, not with the Wadi el-Arish, as often has been maintained.

17 Esarhaddon, Fragment F, Vo 1–19 (Borger 1956: 112–13); older translations are Luckenbill 1927, II: 220 ($559) and Oppenheim 1969: 292–93.
In accordance with the command of my lord Assur, my mind was set and my heart was pondering: I requested camels from all the kings of Arabia and had them carry water bags?1. I marched 30(?) double-hours (ca. 320 km?17) of ground, a journey of 15 days, through huge sand hills. I went 4 double-hours (ca. 43 km) of ground with alum stone . . . 4 double-hours (ca. 43 km) of ground, a journey of 2 days. I trampled on two-headed serpents, . . . whose sight/touch/breath meant death, and I marched on. 4 double-hours (ca. 43 km) of ground, a journey of [2 days, with] yellow [serpents] whose wings were batting(?). I marched 4 double-hours (ca. 43 km) of ground, a journey of 2 days, . . . 15 double-hours (ca. 160 km) of ground, a journey of 8 days, . . . Then the great lord Marduk came to my assistance . . . he kept my troops alive. 20 days, 7 . . .18 on the border of Musur . . . 19 nubattu . . . From Magdali to . . . a distance of 40 double-hours (ca. 427 km) I marched . . . This area like . . . stone . . . like the point of an arrow . . . Dark and clear blood . . . a wicked(? enemy . . . to Isbupri (sic) . . .

The events on the march are not clear. It is only certain that the army left from Raphia and that it finally arrived in Egypt. It apparently crossed the border of Egypt, by-

23 The bēru, "double-hour," is a distance of ca. 10.8 km, but it can also refer to the traveling time of two hours walking; all the distances listed here are therefore only approximate and possibly somewhat high. See Edzard 1976–1980: 218; Veenhof 1981–1982: 70–73.

18 The translation of Luckenbill 1927, II: 220 ($558), "for 27 days," followed by von Zeissl 1944: 37 and Fecht 1958: 118–19, is not to be accepted. Oppenheim 1969: 292 restored "for 20 days and 7 [double miles]," which would give an unlikely daily average of less than 4 km.

19 The name Magan is sometimes read in this passage. Borger 1956: 113, 1. 11 gives ša mi-šīr māt Mu-[sur x] xx KAN nu-bat-ti [ . . . ], but in a note wonders if it might be possible to read Mākan, so that nubattu would mean "overnight stay" (see already Luckenbill 1927, II: 220 ($558): . . . which is on the border of Egypt [toward] Magan, I spent the night . . ."); Oppenheim 1969: 292: "(a town/region) which is on the frontier of . . . Magan. [In . . . ] I spent the night.") Makan/Magan is commonly equated with Egypt (see Kümmel 1980: 1133–34; Heimpel 1988: 196) and in this sense the word is already used in Ro 7 of this same text. I am therefore not inclined to see in this damaged passage the only testimony of an unidentified place or region with the name Magan, as has sometimes been suggested (see Olimstead 1923: 382 and map: a region (?) in the northern Sinai; Luckenbill 1927, II:220 ($558): Arabia?; von Zeissl 1944: 37: near the Bitter Lakes; Fecht 1958: 118: near Lake Timsah).

20 Cambyses did the same for his invasion of Egypt in 525, according to Herodotus, 3, 7–9.

21 The number of days in 1. 4 is not given and the number of days in 1. 6 is restored, but because in 1. 5 and 1. 7 four "double-hours" equal two days, the overall average (see Veenhof, 1981–82: 73), it is not unlikely that it also took two days to cover the four "double-hours" in 1. 4 and 1. 6.

22 For the snakes, cf. Isa. 30:6 (about an embassy to Egypt apparently via the Negev): "Proclamation about the beasts of the Negev: Into the land of distress and of anguish, of lions and roaring lion, of viper and flying dragon, . . ." (see Winckler 1898a: 6). Herodotus, 2, 75, 1–76, 1 also mentions πτέρωτοι δρακάνες, "winged snakes," in a region of Arabia near Egypt.

23 Is there perhaps a link with the march of forty "double-hours" in 1. 13, which according to the average should have taken about twenty days?

24 See Winckler 1898a: 6: "ein Marsch mit fabelhaften Angaben." Against Spalinger 1974a: 298, 302, who thinks that it is a detailed day-by-day narrative.
Magdali (\textit{Ma-ag-da-l} i(?), “Tower”) does not occur elsewhere in Assyrian sources.\textsuperscript{25} It has been suggested that Esarhaddon proceeded along the northern Sinai to the Egyptian Delta and reached the border garrison of Migdol in the eastern Delta, known from biblical and Greek sources.\textsuperscript{26} This identification, however, is a mere hypothesis since the Assyrian text does not permit any geographical location and one can further wonder why this fortress was apparently not guarded, as not even a skirmish is implied. E. D. Oren wanted to locate the place at Tell Kedua since the Assyrian text does not permit any geographical location and one can further wonder why this fortress was not accepted the interpretation of Alt for phonetic reasons, but offered no alternative.\textsuperscript{31} A. Spalinger did not accept the interpretation of Alt for phonetic reasons, but offered no alternative.\textsuperscript{31}

In two other Assyrian sources Isbupri is the place where the Assyrians beat the Egyptian troops. Two Chronicles also give more details on the three battles fought during the expedition of 671, but do not mention any toponyms. The Babylonian Chronicle sets this conquest of Egypt in the tenth year of Esarhaddon, i.e., in 671/670:

\begin{quote}

The tenth year: In the month Nisan (I) the army of Assyria marched to Egypt. On the third, sixteenth, (and) eighteenth days of the month Tammuz (IV)— there was a massacre in Egypt [variant C adds: It was sacked (and) its gods were abducted]. On the twenty-second day Memphis, the royal city, was captured (and) abandoned by its king. His (the king’s) son and brother were taken prisoner. (The city) was sacked, its inhabitants plundered, (and) its booty carried off.\textsuperscript{32}

In the Esarhaddon Chronicle only a battle on the third of Tishri is mentioned: “The tenth year: In the month Nisan (I) the army of Assyria [marched to Egypt]. On the third day of the month Tishri (VII) there was a massacre in Egypt.”\textsuperscript{33} Probably the same battle is referred to in both Chronicles. As it is more probable that it took four months to get to Egypt (Nisan to Tammuz, leaving in spring and arriving in summer), rather than seven months (Nisan to Tishri, leaving in spring and arriving in autumn), the date in the Babylonian Chronicle is probably to be preferred. Moreover, although the two had a common source, the second Chronicle represents a less reliable tradition.\textsuperscript{34}

The same battle is mentioned on a prism of Esarhaddon, but only “on the third day” is preserved at the beginning of the text that continues as follows:

I, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the forehead of my troops . . . went behind their great divinity. With their strong aid I rushed like the onset of a raging storm into their midst. I shattered their battle array. I overpowered [his . . .?] troops, his generals, his brothers, his governors and his drivers . . . from Isbupri to Memphis, a journey of fifteen days. At the command [of Assur?] I deployed daily, without interruption, my battle array and fought [against them?]. I butchered their [heroes?] like sheep . . . who [had fled?] before my terrible weapons . . . they brought out before the gate . . . Taharqa, king of [Kush] . . . to save his servants . . .\textsuperscript{35}

A similar description of the conquest of Egypt is given on the Senjirli monument.

On the troops of Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Kush, the accursed of their great god, I caused a great massacre from Isbupri as far as his residence Memphis, a distance of fifteen days, daily, without interruption. Five

\textsuperscript{25} See Parpola 1970: 233.
\textsuperscript{26} von Bissing 1912: 149; Oren 1984: 34.
\textsuperscript{27} For Oren 1984: 28 the fortress was founded at the end of the seventh century, thus undermining his own “Assyrian” identification. Valbelle 1995: 96–97 considers Tell Kedua a Persian administrative center.
\textsuperscript{28} von Bissing 1912: 149–50, n. 3.
\textsuperscript{29} Alt 1925: 573–78; followed by Fecht 1958: 117–18; cf. Dalman 1924: 50, n. 3.
\textsuperscript{31} Spalinger 1974a: 302 and n. 37.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Babylonian Chronicle}, IV, 23–28 (Grayson 1975: 85).
\textsuperscript{34} See Grayson 1975: 12, 30; Onasch 1994, I: 17.
\textsuperscript{35} Esarhaddon, Nineveh Prism class E, II, 16–28 (Borger 1956: 65–66) [ca. 671–670].
times I hit him with the point of my arrow, inflicting on him an incurable wound. I laid siege to his residence Memphis and conquered it in half a day by means of mines, breaches, and assault ladders; I destroyed, devastated, and burnt it with fire.36

The first and apparently most important battle in Egypt took place near Isbupri on the third of the month Tammuz in the summer of 671; on the sixteenth and eighteenth of that same month other battles took place. It is not known where exactly the second battle was fought. Since it took the army fifteen days to get from Isbupri to Memphis, it is not unlikely that the battle of the eighteenth took place near Memphis. This city was finally captured four days later, after a short siege, on the twenty-second of Tammuz.

Topographical information about Isbupri is scarce and since it is possible to reach Memphis in fifteen days from about every place in the eastern Delta, one can only locate Isbupri roughly somewhere in that region. A more precise position based upon the Assyrian sources is a mere hypothesis, but if one accepts the identification of Magdali and Egyptian Migdol, a location in the eastern part of Wadi Tumilat becomes impossible.37

KĀR-BANĪTI

The place Kār-Banīti is mentioned for the first time under the reign of Esarhaddon in a list of places that have acquired new names after the Assyrians imposed officials on them about 671:

(1) over the town ] the (man) [ ]
(2) over the town Muḫkin-pālē-kussišu (“Bulwark of his dynasty”) the (man) [ ]
(3) over the town Māhre-gērē-šarri (“Confronts the king’s opponent”) the (man) Sā[ ]
(4) over the town Aššur-māssu-urappiš (“Assur broadened his land”) the (man) Šīmur[u’ (Qd-ḫr-] ]
(5) over the town Aššur-nasiḫ-galli (“Assur is a chaser of demons”) the (man) Puṭi[ ] (Pš-di-[ ])
(6) over the town Limmir-īšak-Ăššur (“Let the ruler of Assur be radiant”) the (man) Šīmu-[ ]
(7) over the town Kār-Banīti (“Quay of the [goddess] Baniti”) the (man) Sīn-[ ]
(8) over the towns Bit-Marduk (“House of Marduk”), Ša-Ăššur-taru (“What belongs to Assur, has been brought back”) and [ ]
(9) Urād-Nanā, my purchase official, . . . [ ]
(10) Uarbis in [ ]
(11) Kiṣir-Istar in the town Ša-emūq-Ăššur [ ]38

For these cities, the amount of regular sacrificial offerings for Assur and the great gods is fixed in a fragmentary passage following the list. Two of the officials, whose exact titles are not known, have Egyptian names; the other names preserved are Assyrian. Except for Limmir-īšak-Ăššur (Athribis) and Kār-Banīti, none of the names here is known from other sources, although it is not unlikely that they are mentioned with their Egyptian names in Prism A or in other texts of the reign of Assurbanipal.

The name Kār-Banīti (ušuKār-dBaniti, “Quay of the [goddess] Banit”) has sometimes been considered the translation of an Egyptian name.39 Its occurrence in a list of purely Assyrian names, however, suggests that it is one of the newly created Assyrian names Esarhaddon gave to the conquered Egyptian cities.40 The two examples for which both the Egyptian and the Assyrian names are known—Sais / Kār-bēl-mātti (“Quay of the lord of [both?] countries”)41 and Athribis / Limmir-īšak-Ăššur (“Let the ruler of Assur be radiant”)42—show no etymo-

36 Esarhaddon, Monument A (“Senjirli stele”), Vo 37–42 (Borger 1956: 98–99; see also Onasch 1994, I: 24 and II: 17) [ca. 671–670].

39 Steindorff 1890: 596 and note; Ranke 1910: 37 and n. 2; Hall 1929: 283.
40 This act of Esarhaddon is explicitly mentioned in Assurbanipal, Harran Tablets, Ro 65 (Onasch 1994, I: 108–9 and II: 71) (= Ro 61 in Streck 1916, II: 162–65) [ca. 663]; see also Rollig 1976b: 423; Onasch 1994, I: 35, 38; according to Streck 1916, II: 163, n. 3 actually the name of a Babylonian city has been transferred to Egypt.
41 See Esarhaddon, “Sammetext,” Ro 25 (Borger 1956: 94) [ca. 671–670] and Assurbanipal, Harran Tablets, Ro 65 (Onasch 1994, I: 108–9 and II: 71) (= Ro 61 in Streck 1916, II: 162–65) [ca. 663]; see also Röllig 1976b: 423; Onasch 1994, I: 35, 38; according to Streck 1916, II: 163, n. 3 actually the name of a Babylonian city has been transferred to Egypt.
logical link between the Egyptian and the Assyrian names. It is therefore highly unlikely that there is a connection between Kār-Baniti and the Egyptian city Qarabana near the western border, an identification which is also unacceptable on a geographical basis.\(^{43}\)

In 667 Assurbanipal, confronted with Taharqa’s attack on Egypt, hurried his troops as far as the town of Kār-Baniti. Taharqa sent out his troops from Memphis, but they were defeated in an open battle:

I set the troops on the road to Egypt. With furious haste they marched and went to the city Kār-Baniti. Taharqa, the king of Kush, who heard in Memphis of the coming of my army and was willing to do battle, marshaled his army and drew it up against mine; with the help of Assur, Sin, the great gods, my lords, who went at my side, they defeated him in an open battle. They cut down his elite troops with the sword.\(^{44}\)

A similar account is given in the Prisms B, C, and A. Prisms C and A add to this account that the Assyrians and their Phoenician allies came to Egypt both over sea and by land: “Those kings together with their armies and ships I had them take the same route as my troops over sea and by land.”\(^{45}\) Probably both forces joined before arriving at Kār-Baniti, which would imply a position for this city somewhere in the eastern Delta between the Mediterranean and Memphis, possibly along the most eastern Nile branch.\(^{46}\) Identifying Kār-Baniti and Pelou-

sion, however, is not convincing because the military movements—with an Egyptian army coming from the south, apparently without a fixed defense line, and the Assyrian army coming from the north or the east—do not suggest a battle near a stronghold at the Pelousiac mouth.\(^{47}\) A location near Pr-Spdw, for instance, seems more appropriate.

THE DOUBLE LIST OF DELTA KINGLETS

In 667 Assurbanipal’s troops entered Egypt to protect against the Ethiopian king Taharqa “the kings, governors, and regents” appointed there by Esarhaddon in 671.\(^{48}\) After Taharqa’s defeat Assurbanipal reinstated those Egyptian kings.\(^{49}\) A list of them is given in two classes of prisms. The oldest one, Prism C, composed about 647, mentions six kinglets ruling over seven cities:

(C, 85) Necho, king of Memphis and Sais
(C, 86) Šarruludari, king of Šī-nu (Tanis)
(C, 87) Pîšanhuṣru (P-ṣ-[n]-Hr), king of Naṭḥū (Natho)
(C, 88) Pakruru (P-ṣ-qrr), king of Pišapu (Pr-Spdw)
(C, 89) [ ]au, king of Ḥaṭhīrībi (Athribis)
(C, 90) Naḥkē (Nh-kṣ-ṣ-[n]-Hq), king of Ḥi[n]i[n]iṣi (Herkleous Polis magna).\(^{50}\)

Only Necho, Šarruludari, Pîšanhuṣru, and Pakruru reappear in other contexts and since the order Memphis / Sais – Tanis – Natho – Pr-Spdw is not strictly geographical, they were possibly mentioned first because of their importance.\(^{51}\)

Prism A, composed ca. 643–642, is largely identical with Prism C, except that, in addition to the six kings already mentioned (A, 90–95), another fourteen kings and cities are listed, geographically ranging from the Delta to the city of Thebes (A, 96–109):

(A, 90) Necho, king of Memphis and Sais
(A, 91) Šarruludari, king of Šī-nu (Tanis)

\(^{43}\) P. Harris 1, pl. 77, 1 [Ramses III]; see Brugsch 1879: 854–55; Delitzsch 1881: 314; Breasted 1906, IV: 201 (§405), n. g; Gauthier 1926, III: 116 and 1928, V: 156 (also mentioning other doubtful identifications for Qarabana). Rejected by Steindorff 1890: 596; see also Streck 1916, I: cclxxvi, n. 4.


\(^{45}\) P. Harris 1, pl. 77, 1 [Ramses III]; see Brugsch 1879: 854–55; Delitzsch 1881: 314; Breasted 1906, IV: 201 (§405), n. g; Gauthier 1926, III: 116 and 1928, V: 156 (also mentioning other doubtful identifications for Qarabana). Rejected by Steindorff 1890: 596; see also Streck 1916, I: cclxxvi, n. 4.


\(^{47}\) Cf. Steindorff 1890: 595–96 (eastern Egyptian border); Streck 1916, I: cclxxvi, n. 4 (central or eastern Delta); Smith 1929: 114 (eastern Delta); Röllig 1976–1980a: 422 (Delta). The location of the battlefield in Spalinger 1974b: 320 (“somewhere south of Kār-Baniti, not too far from Memphis”) is just a hypothesis. The element “Kār-” in toponyms is usually connected with an embankment, quay, or harbor; see Oppenheim 1971, VIII: 231–33, s.v. kāru.

\(^{48}\) Against Onasch 1994, I: 30, 33, 149.

\(^{49}\) For these functions, see Spalinger 1974a: 307–16.

\(^{50}\) See Assurbanipal, Prism B = Prism D, I, 57–58, 68–69, 87–91 (Borger 1996: 17–21, 94, 212–13) [649].

\(^{51}\) See Spalinger 1974b: 322, n. 43.
The list in Prism C is usually considered an abbreviation of the longer list in Prism A or—vice versa—Prism A is seen as an extension of Prism C, but some anomalies occur.\(^5\) First, \([\_\]au is king of Athribis in (C, 89), while Bukkunanni'pi holds the same position in (A, 94). Secondly, in Prism A itself the list of new cities starts with Sa'nu and Natho (A, 96–97), two names that apparently form a "doublet" with the Si'nu and Natho higher in the list (A, 91–92).\(^4\) This gives the impression that two different lists were joined.\(^5\) The scribe started copying both lists, but failed to recognize Si'nu and Sa'nu as the tian kinglets from another list, but he mixed them up. The list of Prism C is usually considered an abbreviation of the longer list in Prism A or—vice versa—Prism A is seen as an extension of Prism C, but some anomalies occur.\(^5\) First, \([\_\]au is king of Athribis in (C, 89), while Bukkunanni'pi holds the same position in (A, 94). Secondly, in Prism A itself the list of new cities starts with Sa'nu and Natho (A, 96–97), two names that apparently form a "doublet" with the Si'nu and Natho higher in the list (A, 91–92).\(^4\) This gives the impression that two different lists were joined.\(^5\) The scribe started copying both lists, but failed to recognize Si'nu and Sa'nu as the tian kinglets from another list, but he mixed them up. Did he want to make a kind of update of the kings’ names and so replaced \([\_\]au by Bukkunanni'pi, but forgot to do so with Pšan̄hurū of Natho? Did he want to combine both lists, but failed to recognize Si'nu and Sa'nu as the same city and mistakenly mention the city of Natho twice? It is difficult to offer a plausible explanation for what exactly happened; but there is no reason to suppose that Si'nu and Sa'nu are two different cities or that there are two homonymous places called Natho in the Delta. The hypothesis of two different lists also sheds new light on the identification of the city of Ḥinnisi. Because of its location in Prism A between Athribis and Tanis, it has often been identified with Herakleous Polis parva in the eastern Delta.\(^5\) The position of Ḥinnisi, however, at the end of the list of Prism C favors the identification with Herakleous Polis magna in Middle Egypt.\(^5\)

Nearly everybody agrees that the city of Sa'nu (\(\wedge\)Su2-nu) is identical with the Egyptian Dn, the Greek Tanis.\(^5\) Opinions differ about the city of Si'nu. It has been maintained that Si'nu and Sa'nu are mentioned as two different cities in the same list and cannot therefore be the same. Si'nu is then connected with the Egyptian toponym Sin or Swm, in the Bible rendered as "Sin"; the place is identified with Im.t in the eastern Delta, with Pelousion, or with Tcharou (commonly called Sile).\(^5\) According to G. Steindorff, however, there are no phonetic links between Si'n and Sa'nu and Pelousion in Parpola 1970: 297, 320, 321, 405 is probably due to a slip.\(^5\)


\(^{54}\) As already noted by Vycichl 1940: 92.

\(^{55}\) For the insertion of lists in the prisms of Assurbanipal as a literary structural element, see Fales 1981: 174 and Onasch 1994, I: 40, 85–86, 88.


a variant of the name $\mathrm{Si'nu}$. The most likely option is therefore to consider them both variants of the same toponym and to equate the place with Tanis.62 Most scholars agree that there were two cities with the name Natho in the Delta, locating the Natho of king Pihanuru at Tell el-Yahudiya (Leonton Polis of the Heliopolites; the N$\ddot{\mathrm{e}}$y-t$\ddot{
},hw.t of the New Kingdom sources) and the Natho of king Unamunu at Tell el-Moqdam (Leonton Polis of the Leontopolites; the Natho of the later sources).63 As far as I know, however, except for Prism A no source alludes to the simultaneous existence of two cities with this name and the Assyrian Nathû has probably to be linked with the Natho in the central Delta. For the double mention of Natho in the list a parallel is adduced from Herodotus' "nome list" (Histories, 2: 165), but since according to Onasch the line breaks off immediately before the toponym, the text now may be damaged at this spot.

Herodotus knew two nomes with the name Natho. In fact, it just indicates that only half of the province of Natho was guarded by Hermotybies soldiers. Assyrian sources mention king Pihanuru of Natho once again, but are silent on Unamunu. King Pu\textit{tubis} of $\mathrm{Sa'nu}$ does not occur in other Assyrian sources, but king Sarruludari is well known. In other texts he is never mentioned with the name of his city, but it is often explicitly stated that he has been appointed king in Egypt by Esarhaddon.64 He probably appears for the first time in an oracle question of the time of Esarhaddon.65 It is possible that he rose against the Assyrians—for perhaps together with king Necho—and so provoked Esarhaddon's expedition against Egypt in 669, but the text is too damaged to say anything certain.66 In 667, Taharqa was defeated and left for Thebes, pursued by the Assyrian army. Prism E tells us that the kinglets Necho, Sarruludari, and Pakruru made a deal with Taharqa, but the Assyrians reacted. Necho and Sarruludari were arrested, the inhabitants of the rebelling cities were massacred and their kings brought to Nineveh. Necho was finally forgiven and here the account of Prism E breaks off.67 The Harran Tablets do preserve Necho's fate: he was reinstated in Sais—no mention is made of his rule over Memphis—and his son Nabu\textit{shezibanni} (Psammetichos) was installed in Athisbis.68 The three kinglets are mentioned twice in a very fragmentary text, which also mentions Pihanuru of Natho speaking with the officers of the Assyrian army.69 Th. Bauer thought that Pihanuru was one of the conspirators, but Spalinger rightly pointed out that he was probably one of the Egyptians who had joined the Assyrian army in its pursuit of Taharqa.70

While the above sources were written just after the events, the following documents mentioning Sarruludari and the Egyptian rebellion were composed some twenty years later and record a rather different account. Prism B gives no details about the inception of the rebellion, but only states that the people of Sais, Bintiti, and $\mathrm{Sa'nu}$ were slaughtered because they had plotted against Assurbanipal. Sarruludari was brought to Assyria, but Necho is no longer mentioned.71 Instead of rebellious kings, the names of insurgent cities are mentioned. Sarruludari in

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61 For Assurbanipal, Prism A, I, 134 three of the parallel texts give $\mathrm{Si'nu}$, while "Cylinder A" (BM 91086) gives $\mathrm{Sa'nu}$ according to Streck 1916, I: 12 and n. o and Borger 1979, I: 91, 141; this variant, though, is not mentioned in the editions of Onasch 1994, I: 39, 120–21 and II: 121 and Borger 1996: 22, but since according to Onasch the line breaks off immediately before the toponym, the text now may be damaged at this spot.


66 Assurbanipal, Prism E, Fragment 11, 2–50 (Borger 1996: 178–80, 211–12) [ca. 666–664]. In l. 30 "Necho [and Sarruludari]" (as in Prism C) and "[Sarruludari] and Necho" (as in the Harran Tablets) exist as variants next to each other.

67 Assurbanipal, Harran Tablets, Ro 37–69 (Onasch 1994, I: 106–9 and II: 60–72) (= Ro 33–65 in Streck 1916, II: 160–65) [ca. 663], Steindorff 1890: 361 (note) does not rule out the possibility that another son of Necho may be in question, but Kitchen 1986 [= 1973]: 393 ($\S$353) is certain of the identification.68 Assurbanipal, British Museum fragment 82-5-22, 10, 1–9 (Onasch 1994, I: 91–92 and II: 24–25) [ca. 666?].


this text was apparently the king of Ṣa’nu, which strengthens the idea that Ṣi’nu and Ṣa’nu are identical. Objections can be made against this point of view. Sais was punished because of Necho; but neither the city of Bintiti nor its king Pūjama was mentioned previously among the rebels. It could therefore be suggested that Ṣa’nu is another insurgent city, without any link with Šarruludari of Ṣi’nu mentioned further in the text, but the internal structure of the account makes this very unlikely. One could also consider the form Ṣa’nu a scribal error for Ṣi’nu and refer to the parallel passage in Prisms C and A, where Ṣi’nu is written.71 There is no reason, however, to correct Prism B, which represents an older tradition, especially because one of the texts of Prism A also gives the form Ṣa’nu.

Prism C gives a remarkable composite of traditions in Prisms E and B and in the Harran Tablets. Necho, Šarruludari, and Pakruru are named as conspirators. Necho and Šarruludari are arrested and the inhabitants of Sais, Bintiti, and Ṣi’nu are punished. The two men are brought to Nineveh; Šarruludari is thrown into jail, but Necho is reinstated in Sais, while his son Nabuštēzibanni is appointed in Athisīs.72 Prism A follows Prism C quite closely, but no specific names of conspirators are given; instead, “all the kings whom Assurbanipal had appointed” took part in the revolt. The people of Sais, Bintiti, Ṣi’nu / Ṣa’nu, and “all the other towns which had associated with them to plot” are punished. “Those twenty kings”—apparently referring to the list of (A, 90–109)—were brought to Nineveh; Šarruludari’s fate is not mentioned.73

With these inconsistencies in the sources, it is difficult to establish who exactly took part in the conspiracy against the Assyrians and who actually was arrested and punished. Prism A, the youngest tradition, clearly represents the most exaggerated version, stating that every Egyptian king was involved. It is not really certain whether the city of Mendes was actually one of the conspirators in 667, since it is only mentioned from Prism B on, but for the moment there are no other arguments to dispute this tradition. In any case, the instigation seems to have come from Necho of Sais, Šarruludari of Tanis, and Pakruru of Pr-Spdw. Nothing is heard further about the lot of Pakruru during the revolt. Since he is probably identical with Pš-qr of the city of Pr-Spdw, who, according to the Dream Stele of Tanoutamon, was head of the kinglets in the Delta in 664, he must somehow have survived Assurbanipal’s wrath.74 It is only known for sure that both Šarruludari and Necho were arrested and brought to Nineveh. Šarruludari was thrown into jail, but Necho for unknown reasons was forgiven and even reinstated as king.

If one accepts that both Ṣi’nu and Ṣa’nu refer to Tanis, the relation between Šarruludari and Puṭuḫšštē remains to be clarified.75 The suggestion that the province was divided into two parts, each with its own ruler, is not very convincing. More likely is that both ruled the city at different periods. It was suggested that the change took place between 671 and 667, but this date is not acceptable because Šarruludari was one of the principal rebels of 667 and it is often explicitly stated that he was installed by Esarhaddon about 671.76 Puṭuḫšštē is probably to be identified with the kinglet of Tanis Petoubastis II, also

known in Egyptian sources. He may have ruled Tanis before 671 and been succeeded by Šarruludari, but then it is not clear why he should still be mentioned in the Assyrian list. If Šarruludari was an Assyrian governor appointed alongside Petoubastis, his revolt needs explanation. One might even speculate that Šarruludari is the Assyrian name for Petoubastis, but this hypothesis is difficult to prove. It seems more likely that Petoubastis succeeded Šarruludari after 667 and was a contemporary of the Saite king Psammetichos I.

This brings us to the date of redaction of the two lists of kings installed by Esarhaddon in 671 and confirmed by Assurbanipal in 667 after the defeat of Taharqa. Since Šarruludari is mentioned in the first list, it must describe the situation after the capture of Memphis, but before the rebellion that took place when the Assyrian army was heading for Thebes. Between 671 and 667 the Assyrians apparently controlled the Delta and Middle Egypt up to Herakleous Polis magna. Things are more complicated for the second list, mentioning cities from the Delta all the way to Thebes. The assumption that Thebes was already taken during the expedition of Esarhaddon in 671 is apparently only based upon this list. In 667, after the fall of Memphis, the Assyrians probably marched for one month and ten days in the direction of Thebes; Taharqa even crossed the Nile to the other shore there, but the capture of the city itself never took place. Spalinger rightly thought that the expedition was aborted because of the rebellion in the Delta. One can therefore wonder whether Assurbanipal was in a position to install king Mantiminḥē (Mntw-m-h3.t) in Thebes in 667, as stated in this second list, but the possibility cannot be ruled out. In 663 Thebes itself was captured and Assurbanipal had every chance to appoint a local king. There is an objection, however, against the terminus post quem of 663 for the redaction of the list. Somewhere between 667, Necho’s arrest, and 664, Necho’s death at the battle against Tanoutamon, Psammetichos had been appointed king in Athribis and at some point after 664 he was probably succeeded by Harwa and by his son Haroudja, both officials of lower rank. The mention of king Bukkaninn7pi of Athribis therefore points to a date of redaction before the accession of Psammetichos. That Necho died in 664 might provide a terminus ante quem, but Necho’s name probably occurred only in the first list. For, if the second list was composed after Necho’s arrest and before his reconciliation with Assurbanipal, there was no reason for him to be mentioned, and if it was composed after his reconciliation and before his death, his son Psammetichos would also have been listed. So, although the mention of Thebes would rather indicate a date of about 663, this date is hardly compatible with the absence of Psammetichos in the list. I am therefore inclined to choose a date of composition at some point after the Egyptian revolt of 667 but before the accession of Psammetichos taking place somewhere before 664.

Let us recapitulate the events for each city separately. From 671 to 667 Necho was installed as king of Memphis and Sais. He took part in the revolt of 667 and Sais was sacked. Necho was brought to Nineveh, but became reconciled with Assurbanipal and was reinstated in Sais. He probably died in 664, fighting on the Assyrian side against the Ethiopian king Tanoutamon. In Tanis Šarruludari was king from 671 to 667. He took part in the revolt of 667, after which the city of Tanis was sacked. Šarruludari was imprisoned in Nineveh and was apparently succeeded by King Puḫušši.[66]

From 671 to 667 Piššuḫru was king of Natho. He apparently joined the Assyrian troops on their way to Thebes and therefore was not one of the conspirators. It is not known what happened to him. He was succeeded about 667–664 by King Unamunu.

At least from 671 on, Pakruru was king of Pr-Spdw. He was one of the instigators of the revolt of 667, but for

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[77] See Kitchen 1986 [= 1973]: 396 ($357) and 400–402 ($361) (dated 667/666); he mentions the arrest of Petoubastis in 665, which is not known as such in the Assyrian sources, but probably refers to the arrest of Necho and Šarruludari); von Beckerath 1980: 555 and 1984: 827; Kitchen 1982: 998 (dated ca. 680–665); Römer 1986: 196 and 205, n. 24.

[78] Against Streck 1916, i: 106–5 and II: 58–59 (= Ro 25–32 in Streck 1916, II: 160–61) [ca. 663]. It is clear from Prism E and the Harran Tablets that Thebes had not been captured in 667. In Assurbanipal Prism B = Prism D, I, 84–86 [649], Prism C, II, 83–84 [ca. 647] and Prism A, I, 87–89 [ca. 643–642] (Borger 1996: 20, 94, 147, 212) the phrasing “He (sc. Taharqa) left Memphis and fled, to save his life, to Thebes. This city I seized, I led my troops into it and had them live there” is therefore rather ambiguous. Piepkorn 1933: 35 solves the problem by suggesting that “this city” in fact refers to Memphis and not to Thebes, while Onasch 1994, I: 150 supposes that the sentence is an intrusion from an account of the events of 663.

unknown reasons was apparently not punished. He still held his position when Tanoutamon invaded Egypt in 664.

From 671 to 667 [ ] au was king of Athribis. After the revolt, he was replaced by King Bukkunnanni’pi.84 This king had a very brief reign, for at some point before 664 Assurbanipal installed Psammetichos as king of Athribis.

Naḥkē was king of Herakleous Polis magna at least from 671 to 667 and after the revolt was probably confirmed in his position.

The city of Mendes was probably sacked during the revolt of 667. Pūjama ruled the city after the revolt, but it is not known who was king before.

For all the other kinglets in the list, it is known for certain only that after the revolt of 667 each was in charge of his own city.

84 Bukkunnanni’pi is probably identical with the “prince” Bık-n-nf of Athribis, son of “prince” P3-di-Is.t and “lady” Q3ps, known from a statue of the beginning of the seventh century published by Habachi 1957: 68–77; see Yoyotte 1961: 175; Onasch 1994, I: 43–51. Kitchen 1986 [= 1973]: 393, 395, 490 (§353, 356 and Table 21B), who does not know about King [ ] au, thinks that about 700 Bakennef succeeded his father Petesis, who had possibly ruled since about 728, and was executed by Assurbanipal as one of the conspirators; but this is a mere hypothesis, not confirmed in the sources. If one accepts that Bakennef succeeded [ ] au, he did not rule immediately after his father and this can be added to the arguments of Onasch 1994, I: 51 against “eine rein dynastische Folge in Athribis.”

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