



ARCHIVUM ANATOLICUM (ArAn)	18/2	2024	453-498
----------------------------	------	------	---------

ASSYRIA-EGYPT RELATIONS FROM THE ASSYRIAN PERSPECTIVE*

Koray TOPTAŞ**

Makale Bilgisi

Başvuru: 27 Ekim 2024

Kabul: 29 Kasım 2024

Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi

Article Info

Received: October 27, 2024

Accepted: November 29, 2024

Abstract

Assyria-Egypt relations constitute one of history's most critical military and political rivalries. The decisive point in this relationship was the dominance of the Levant, which had political and economic importance for both states. While Assyria began to shape their policies over the Levant, particularly driven by commercial interests, during the Neo-Assyrian period, Egypt's political influence in the region had a much earlier history. The Assyrian kings, who gained power in the Neo-Assyrian period, started to expand in the western direction and established direct contact with the eastern Mediterranean cities, which were important commercial kingdoms, which disturbed Egypt and Egypt took some measures against Assyria. At this point, the primary method used by Egypt was to provoke the local kings against Assyria. Thus, rebellions against the Assyria sovereignty occurred frequently in the region and the Assyrian kings had to organise military campaigns to the region. In the face of this situation, the Assyrian kings

* This article was produced during my postdoctoral research at the Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München). I want to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Enrique Jiménez, who invited me to the Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie and supported me during my studies. I extend my thanks to TUBITAK (Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) for supporting me during my study within the scope of the "2219 - International Postdoctoral Research Fellowship Programme for Turkish Citizens" and Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD).

** Assoc. Prof. Dr., Gazi University, Gazi Education Faculty, Department of History Education, Ankara, Türkiye, koraytoptas@gazi.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0003-0897-3918.

decided to carry out military campaigns against Egypt, which encouraged the rebellions in the region, and Esarhaddon organised extensive military campaigns to the Egyptian country. In this study, the progress and consequences of Assyrian-Egyptian relations in the light of Assyrian royal annals and reliefs will be discussed.

Keywords: Assyria, Egypt, Levant, War, Trade.

Asur Perspektifinden Asur-Mısır İlişkileri

Öz

Asur Mısır ilişkileri askeri ve siyasi açılarından tarihin en önemli rekabetlerinden birisini oluşturmaktadır. Bu ilişkide belirleyici olan nokta iki devlet açısından da siyasi ve ekonomik öneme sahip olan Levant bölgesinin hâkimiyetiydi. Asur, Yeni Asur Devri ile birlikte özellikle ticari fayda götüğü Levant üzerinde politikalarını şekillendirmeye başlarken, Mısır'ın bölge üzerindeki politikalarının geçmişi daha eskiye dayanmaktaydı. Yeni Asur Çağı'nda güç kazanan Asur kralları batı yönünde genişlemeye ve önemli ticari krallıklar olan doğu Akdeniz kentleriyle doğrudan temas kurması Mısır'ı rahatsız etmiş ve Mısır, Asur'a karşı birtakım önlemler alma yoluna gitmiştir. Bu noktada Mısır'ın başvurduğu temel yöntem yerel kralları Asur'a karşı kıskırtmak olmuştur. Böylece bölgede Asur hakimiyetine karşı sık sık isyanlar meydana gelmiş ve Asur krallarının bölgeye askeri seferler düzenleme zorunluluğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Asur kralları bu durum karşısında sorunu kökten halletmek için bölgede isyanları körükleyen Mısır'a karşı askeri sefer gerçekleştirme kararı almıştır ve Esarhaddon Mısır ülkesine kapsamlı askeri seferler düzenlemiştir. Bu çalışmada Asur kraliyet yıllıkları ve rölyefleri ışığında Asur-Mısır ilişkilerinin ne şekilde ilerlediği ve doğurduğu sonuçlar ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Asur, Mısır, Levant, Savaş, Ticaret.

Introduction

In order to understand the nature of Assyria-Egypt relations, it is necessary to analyze the reasons and history that shaped Assyria's Western policy. The Assyrian Empire's relations with Egypt were initially based entirely on trade. The Assyrian Empire carried out its commercial activities with other countries through the institution of *kāru*, which royal representatives organized. To understand the peculiar nature of Assyria's economic ties with Egypt, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the

two powers were separated by a desert. Assyria cooperated with the tribes and kingdoms of North Sinai and Southern Palestine to cross this desert and make contact with Egypt. This affected the political status of these groups within the Assyrian Empire. Although the Assyrians controlled the coastal cities of Syria and Palestine, they lacked the ships necessary to maintain maritime trade relations with Egypt. Assyrian and Hellenistic sources indicate that the Assyrians continued their activities in the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean through the Phoenicians and the kingdoms of Southern Levant. Thus, Assyria needed the cooperation of the rulers of the coastal cities in establishing maritime relations with Egypt, and the cooperation of the kingdoms located on the land routes connecting Egypt with Western Asia for the land connection. Although the cities of the Southern Levant, which had an essential place in the supply of products such as gold, fine texture, various aromatics, minerals, papyrus, etc., repeatedly rebelled against Assyria, the Assyrian kings allowed them to maintain their current status in order not to interrupt commercial activities.¹ This attitude actually reveals the fundamental principle on which Assyria's Western policy was based. In addition to providing economic gains by connecting Egypt and the Mediterranean, the region was strategically and politically crucial for Assyria. In these respects, keeping these regions under control and supervision was one of the main objectives of Assyria's foreign policy.² This policy started to be shaped according to the position of the Hittite forces in the north and Egyptian forces in the south during the Middle Assyrian Kingdom. Especially powerful rivals such as the Hittites in the north and Egypt in the West strengthened Assyria's desire to control these regions. However, it cannot be said that Assyria's western expansion in the Middle Assyrian Period was very effective and permanent beyond the Euphrates.³ Especially the Arameans' gaining power caused Assyria to lose its western gains. In the Neo-Assyrian Period, Assyria gained power again and expanded in the Western direction. The Western policy of the Assyrian Empire had a great impact, especially on the kingdoms of Levant, Syria, and Judah. The Assyrian conquest of the Levant (including north-western Syria) was neither a linear nor an easy undertaking. The frequency and recurrence of uprisings by relatively small political units

¹ Moshe Elat, "The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 98, No. 1 (1978): 20

² Ariel M. Bagg, "Assyria and the West: Syria and the Levant", E. Frahm (ed.), *A Companion to Assyria*, (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 268; Cemre Aslan and Okay Pekşen, (2021). "Yeni Asur Dönemi'nde Asur Devleti'nin Batı Seferlerinin İktisadi Kazanımları ve Bu Kazanımların Korunmasına Yönelik Faaliyetler", *Near East Historical Review*, 11/1, (2021): 2-7

³ Aline Tenu, *L'expansion médio-assyrienne* (Approche archéologique BAR International Series 1906), (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009).

created a difficult and frustrating situation for the Assyrian kings and necessitated frequent campaigns to the region. During this period, the Assyrian army organized nearly 70 campaigns to the Levant. As a result of these campaigns, although the states in the region did not lose their independence completely, they were included in the Assyrian provincial system. In the long run, Assyria achieved its goals: Almost the entire region came under Assyrian rule, and raw materials, luxury goods, people, and livestock flowed to Assyria as tribute or taxes.⁴

During the initial phase of Assyria's policy in the southern Levant, after establishing control over the region stretching from Jazira to the Euphrates River, Shalmaneser III conducted 19 campaigns into the Levant, reaching the Mediterranean in the west and the north-western borders of the Kingdom of Israel in the south.⁵ After Tiglath-pileser III, who succeeded Salmanassar III, expanded the empire's boundaries to the south, northwest and west, turned his attention to the Levant, which encompassed Judah, Israel, and Philistine territories along the southern borders of Egypt.⁶ Tiglath-pileser III placed significant emphasis on taxing trade and established Assyrian trade colonies in the southern Levant, particularly following his campaigns in Arpad and its surroundings. These trade stations clearly facilitated the redirection of goods and profits to Assyria. This policy was not limited to the region of Lebanon.⁷ Tiglath-pileser III organized an expedition against Hanuna, the King of Gaza, in 734 BC and defeated him. The motivations behind this campaign were that Gaza was seen as a buffer zone against Egypt and an important trade center.⁸ Tiglath-pileser III ultimately gained control over Egyptian, Arabian, and Philistine trade routes.

The kings who came after Tiglath-pileser III constantly organized

⁴ Bagg, "Assyria and the West: Syria and the Levant", 268.

⁵ Ido Koch, "Israel and Assyria, Judah and Assyria", K. H. Keimer, and G.A. Pierce (eds.), *The Ancient Israelite World*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 694; Nadav Na'aman, "The Northern Kingdom in the Late Tenth-Ninth Centuries BCE.", H. G. M. Wilkinson (ed), *Understanding the History of Israel*, Edited by (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 398; Eckart Frahm, "The Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000-609 BCE).", E. Frahm (ed.), *A Companion to Assyria*, (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell. 2017), 167-70.

⁶ Silvie Zamazalová "Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 B.C.E.: Relations between Egypt, Kush and Assyria", J. Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East - the Crossroads: Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age*, Prague, September 1-3, 2010 (Prague 2011), 301

⁷ Caroline van der Brugge, and Kristin Kleber (2016). "The Empire of Trade and the Empires of Force Tyre in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Periods", C. M. Garcia (ed), *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East, 1300-500 BC*. (Oxford, 2016), 187.

⁸ Hayim Tadmor, "Philistia under Assyrian Rule", *Biblical Archaeologist*, 29, (1966): 88-97.

campaigns to these regions to keep the Mediterranean trade in their hands. During the period of Sargon II and his successors, known as the Sargonid Age, many regional states became vassal states. Assyria pursued a policy of keeping the states in the region in vassal status rather than taking them under its control.⁹ During the reign of Esarhaddon, these kings continued their subversive activities. In particular, the king of Tyre, along with other Phoenician city-states, acted in opposition to Assyrian authority. In the face of these activities, Esarhaddon transformed more than half of Phoenicia into an Assyrian province in 676 BC. However, the city of Tyre continued to maintain its independent status under Assyria.¹⁰ This is probably related to a treaty signed after the Sidon Campaign dated to 676 BC. This treaty reflects Assyria's efforts to keep trade alive in the region by granting certain privileges to Tyre. According to the text of the treaty, Ba'al, the king of Tyre, would be able to use the trade ports owned by Assyria. Thus, the king of Tyre gained access to Akko and Dor, to all parts of Palestine and all Assyrian cities, and the commercial routes and harbours of all Assyrian-controlled cities on the coast. With this treaty, the merchants of Tyre also came under the protection of Assyria. However, Assyria also had some expectations from Tyre in return for this treaty. The most important of these expectations was based on remaining loyal to Assyria and informing Assyria of all commercial activities. In addition, an Assyrian royal representative (*qēpu*) was to operate here and supervise all activities of the king of Tyre.¹¹ This meant that Assyria established its own supervisory organization in Tyre, and although in practice, the city seemed to have an independent status, in fact, the first step was taken to incorporate Tyre into the Assyrian rule.¹² Assyria aimed to weaken the small kingdoms and city-states in the region that could pose a threat to Assyria and to bring them under its control and shaped its policy in this direction.¹³ Assyria's military, economic, and political ambitions in the region disturbed Egypt, another

⁹ Angalika Berlejung "The Assyrians in the West: Assyrianisation, Colonialism, Indifference, or Development Policy?", M. Nissinen (ed.), *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, (Leiden - Boston, 2012), 24.

¹⁰ van der Brugge and Kleber, "The Empire of Trade and the Empires of Force...", 195.

¹¹ SAA 2 5.

¹² Maria Eugenia Aubet, (2008). "Political and Economic Implications of the New Phoenician Chronologies", C. Sagona (ed.), *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement), (Leuven: Peeters Press, 2008), 255.

¹³ Alexander Fantalkin, "Neo-Assyrian Involvement in the Southern Coastal Plain of Israel: Old Concepts and New Interpretations", S. Zelig Aster and A. Faust, (eds), *The Southern Levant under Assyrian Domination*, (Eisenbrauns, 2018), 177-178.; Ariel M. Bagg, "Palestine under Assyrian Rule: A New Look at the Assyrian Imperial Policy in the West", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 133/1 (2013): 131

powerful state of the period. Although not directly, Egypt tried to stop Assyria's progress in the region through local kingdoms.

When the relations between Egypt and Assyria are analysed from the Egyptian perspective, it is seen that Egypt's ambitions in the Levant were determinative in its approach towards Assyria. Ancient Egypt's policy on the Levant and Syria has been shaped in line with both military and commercial interests throughout history due to its geographical and strategic importance. The Levant and Syria were transit zones between Egypt and Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the Eastern Mediterranean, and the domination over these lands was of great economic and security value for Egypt. This situation strengthened the political, commercial, and cultural ties between Egypt and the Levant and led to a particularly serious interaction.¹⁴ These interactions were particularly evident in the sphere of commerce, characterized by an intensive exchange of goods between the regions. Egypt imported oil, wine, bitumen, and other materials from Palestine, as well as copper and turquoise from Sinai. In return, Egyptian goods such as gold, glass, beads, jewellery, palettes, and gypsum vessels were exported to Palestine in varying quantities and frequencies.¹⁵

Egypt's interest in the region dates back to ancient times. Around 2500 BCE, Egypt's connections with the north intensified, and Byblos became its principal trade partner.¹⁶ Egypt, which generally maintained commercial relations with the Levant, endeavoured to increase its influence, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean, by establishing direct contact with the great powers in Asia during the Middle Kingdom Period (2050-1800 BC), but its activities remained limited. However, commercial relations continued to develop, especially with the Canaanite region. While Egypt supplied commercial goods such as copper, silver, precious stones, and wood from the southern Levant, gold and textile products were exported from Egypt. By the New Kingdom Period (1550-1070 BC), Egypt organized numerous military campaigns to the region in order to strengthen its commercial interests in the region. The New Kingdom period is the period when Egypt established its strongest influence over the Levant and Syria. In this period, Egypt both

¹⁴ Gregory D. Mumford, "Egypt and the Levant," M. L. Steiner and A. E. Killebrew (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant*, (Oxford, 2014), 69-76.

¹⁵ Susan L. Cohen, "History of Palestine in Egypt", W. Grajetzki and W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002k7wp5> (2016), 9.

¹⁶ Matthew J. Adams, "Egypt and the Levant in the Early to Middle Bronze Age Transition", F. Höflmayer, *The Late Third Millennium in the Ancient Near East: Chronology, C14, and Climate Change*, (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 2017), 508-510.

established political dominance and secured its commercial interests through military campaigns in the region. Pharaohs organized many campaigns to Syria and the Levant during this period. The Battle of Megiddo in the reign of Thutmose III and the Battle of Kadesh in the reign of Ramses II were among the most important military campaigns of Egypt in the region. With the Battle of Megiddo, Egyptian sovereignty in the region was consolidated, and vassal states were created. Although the Battle of Kadesh did not represent a victory for Egypt, the peace treaty signed afterward ended the struggle and conflict with the Hittites in the region and had a strengthening effect on Egypt's economic activities. By the Late Period, it is observed that Egypt lost its gains in the Levant. The most significant factor in this was the unstoppable rise of Assyria in the Near East.¹⁷ Despite all the difficulties, Egypt tried to maintain its commercial and diplomatic relations with the kingdoms in the region. In the meantime, its incitement of local kings against Assyria led to the Assyrian-Egyptian conflict.

This study analyses the Assyrian-Egyptian struggle in the region, especially the military campaigns to Egypt due to Egypt's increasing provocation activities, based on Assyrian inscriptions and state correspondences. Although this situation reveals a one-sided perspective, the fact that the only source of information shedding light on the Assyrian-Egyptian struggle is the Assyrian documents makes it necessary to evaluate the subject in the light of these documents. Some interpretations other than the Assyrian perspective have also been attempted, albeit partially, based on some data in the Old Testament and Babylonian chronicles.

Assyrian Egyptian Relations and Assyrian Egyptian Policy in the Neo-Assyrian Period

The source of the relations between Assyria and Egypt should be sought in the period before the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In the 13th century BC, while Egypt was engaged in a struggle with the Hittites in Mesopotamia, including Northern Syria, a great wave of migration from the Aegean World upset the balance of power in the region, the Hittite Empire collapsed, and Assyria began to emerge as a great power. Egypt started to lose its gains in the region, and at the beginning of the first millennium BC, the Palestinians increased their power in the Southern Levant and rose to an influential

¹⁷ Ludlow S. Bull, "Egypt and Syria-Palestine", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (1938): 39-41; Felix Höflmayer and Sturt W. Manning, "A Synchronised Early Middle Bronze Age Chronology for Egypt, the Levant, and Mesopotamia", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 81/1, (2022): 1-24

position. In the same period, the Aramaeans, a West Semitic group already present in the region in the Late Bronze Age, increased their influence in southern Syria and the Palestine mountains, and the Late Hittite States, with a majority Aramaean population, emerged in northern Syria. While all this was happening, Egypt was also attacked by invaders and Libyan tribes infiltrated the Nile Valley and the Delta and took over the administration in Egypt and ruled in Egypt from the mid-11th century BC to the end of the 8th century BC.¹⁸ Thus, the Egyptian State lost its effectiveness in foreign politics due to its internal problems and Egyptian-Assyrian relations followed a positive course in this period. As a result of these relations, the Egyptians became the subject of Assyrian sources for the first time during the reign of Aššur-bel-kala and the name of the Land of Egypt was recorded as "*Mušru*"¹⁹ in Assyrian written documents. In the annals of Aššur-bel-kala, "[*The king*] of Egypt sent a large [*female monkey*], a crocodile, [(and) a "*river-man*," beasts of the Great Sea. He displayed (them) to the people of his land]"²⁰ indicates that the Egyptian Pharaoh sent gifts to the Assyrian king, and the relations were friendly initially. By the Neo-Assyrian Period, we see that relations have turned into conflict. This situation is, of course, related to the emergence of Assyria as a great power in the Near East and threatening Egyptian interests.

In the Neo-Assyrian period, the name Egypt was frequently reflected in written documents. The name Egypt is also mentioned as "*Mušur/Mušri*"²¹ during the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. However, during the reign of Ashurbanipal, the name "*Land of Makan*"²² is encountered for the country of Egypt.

The relations of the Neo-Assyrian kings with Egypt were initially based entirely on trade. The Assyrian Empire's relations with Egypt had a unique structure. While Assyria's commercial activities with other countries were conducted through the institution of the *kāru*, organized by royal representatives, there is little evidence for such a structure in relations with Egypt. To understand the distinctive nature of the Empire's economic ties with Egypt, it is necessary to consider that a desert separated the two powers. Assyria cooperated with tribes and kingdoms in North Sinai and Southern Palestine to cross this desert and maintain land or sea communications with

¹⁸ Thomas Hikade, "Egypt and the Near East", D. T. Potts (ed.), *A Companion to The Archaeology of The Ancient Near East*, Vol. II, (Blackwell Publishing, 2012), 846-847.

¹⁹ RIMA 2 A.0.89.6: 5'.

²⁰ ^{KUR} *Mušre* RIMA 2 A.0.89.6: 4'-5'.

²¹ RINAP 1 no. 42: 9'; RINAP 3/1 no. 4: 43; RINAP 4 no. 1: iii 39; RINAP 4 no. 1: vi 8.

²² ^{KUR} *Makan* RINAP 5/1 no. 3: i 49; RINAP 5/1 no. 4: i 38; RINAP 5/1 no. 6: ii 5'; RINAP 5/1 no. 9: i 35; RINAP 5/1 no. 11: i 52.

Egypt. In turn, this dependence affected the political status of these groups vis-à-vis the Assyrian Empire. The Palestine cities enjoyed special status due to their crucial role in trade with Egypt, and even after repeated rebellions against Assyria, the Assyrian kings allowed the Palestinian cities to maintain their status to avoid trade disruption.²³

Neo-Assyrian records reveal that the Assyrian-Egyptian struggle began with the reign of Salmanassar III. In the annals of Salmanassar III, it was stated that there were 1.000 Egyptian soldiers among the coalition troops formed against him in the Battle of Qarqar.²⁴ This situation shows that Egypt supported the kingdoms in the region against Assyria and that Egypt aimed to maintain its interests in the region. In another document of Salmanassar III, he states that he received tribute in Egypt with the following statements:

*"I received the payment of Egypt: two-humped camels, a water buffalo (lit. "a river ox"), a rhinoceros, antelope, female elephants, female monkeys, (and) apes."*²⁵

Although the fact that Shalmaneser III received tribute from Egypt may be considered an indication that he had established his superiority over Egypt, the conflict between Assyria and Egypt initially continued on a more even footing, considering factors such as the struggle for the throne in Egypt. However, the accession of Tiglat-pileser III to the Assyrian throne in 745 BC marked a turning point in the history of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, and the Assyrian sphere of dominance expanded to include a large part of the Near East. Tiglat-pileser III reorganized the Assyrian military system²⁶ and conducted military campaigns continuously during his 18 years on the throne. After expanding the borders of his Empire to the south, north-west, and West, Tiglat-pileser III turned his attention to the Levant, which included Judah, Israel, and Palestine on the Egyptian border to the south. The Assyrian conquest of Gaza, an important city in the region, brought Assyria and Egypt face to face in the same physical space for the first time,²⁷ and Egypt and Assyria became border neighbours for the first time. Meanwhile, there was a dynastic change in Egypt, and the conquest of Egypt's southern neighbour, the Kushites, by conquering Egypt and establishing the 25th Dynasty (747-656 BC) and pursuing an anti-Assyrian policy put the relations between

²³ Elat, "The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt", 20 and 34.

²⁴ RIMA 3 A.0.102.2: ii 89b-102.

²⁵ RIMA 3 A.0.102.89.

²⁶ L. Gürkan Gökçek, *Asurlular*, (Ankara: Bilgin Kültür Sanat, 2015), 156-157.

²⁷ Zamazalová, "Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 B.C.E...", 301; Elat, "The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt", 20

Assyria and Egypt into a tense phase.²⁸ On the other hand, Assyria's control of the Palestinian coast was not welcomed by Egypt because it disrupted the timber trade from Lebanon to Egypt. This situation caused Egypt to participate in the anti-Assyrian coalitions in Southern Syria and Palestine in the following periods.²⁹

This policy of Egypt is also reflected in the Old Testament. From the information in the Old Testament, we learn that Hoshea, the king of Israel in this period, did not pay the tribute he paid to the Assyrian king Salmanassar V with the instigation of the Egyptian Pharaoh and rebelled (725 BC).³⁰ The Assyrian king went on an expedition against the rebellion of Hosea and captured the city of Samaria.³¹ The Old Testament describes the siege of Samaria by Salmanassar V and the exile of the rebels as follows:

"Against him came up Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and Hoshea became his servant and brought him presents. And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So the king of Egypt, and offered no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year; therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison. Then, the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, went up to Samaria, and besieged it for three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away unto Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, on the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."³²

Despite Egyptian activities in the region, Assyria did not take any action against Egypt. One of the main reasons for this was the importance of trade relations between Assyria and Egypt for Assyria. Sargon II, who succeeded Salmanassar V, attached great importance to the continuation of Egyptian-Assyrian trade. Sargon II reactivated the closed Egyptian harbor around the El-Arish Valley to enable Egypt and Assyria to trade.³³ However, with Šabaka's accession to the Egyptian throne, the anti-Assyrian policy in

²⁸ Hikade, "Egypt and the Near East", 847

²⁹ Tadmor, "Philistia under Assyrian Rule", 88-97.

³⁰ Şeyma Ay, "İsrail ve Yahuda Krallıkları Üzerine Düzenlenen Asur Seferleri", *History Studies*, 3/1, (2011): 8.

³¹ Some researchers claim that the fall of the city of Samaria is an event belonging to the reign of Sargon II. See Hayim Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study", *JCS*, 12/1, (1958): 33.

³² 2 Kings 17: 3-6

³³ Amelia Kuhrt, *Eski Çağ'da Yakındoğu (3000-330 BC)*. Vol. II (Çev. Dilek Şendil), (İstanbul, 2013), 209.

the lands of Palestine and Israel³⁴ increased even more. In this respect, Šabaka's becoming the Pharaoh of Egypt brought Assyrian-Egyptian relations to a different point. Egypt pursued a hostile policy against Assyria throughout the Šabaka Period. Hamad rebellion was a result of this hostile policy and Egyptian policy. In the early years of Sargon II's reign, the cities of Arpad, Šimirra, Damascus and Samaria rebelled under the leadership of Yau-bi'di, the king of Hamad, at the instigation of the Egyptian Pharaoh Šabaka.³⁵ This city was essential for Assyria as it was located at the exit of the caravan routes from the Mediterranean to Babylon.³⁶ Sargon II personally dealt with the rebellion in the region due to its strategic importance. Sargon II crushed the rebels, destroyed the city of Hamad, and killed the rebel leaders.³⁷ After this event, Assyria probably gained superiority over the southern Levant and Egypt kingdoms. It may be a proof of this situation that ambassadors from the lands of Judah and Egypt offer tribute in some reports in dated to the time of Sargon II.

Šebiktu, who became Pharaoh after the death of Šabaka, continued the hostile policy against Assyria. Meanwhile, the sudden death of the Assyrian king Sargon II in the summer of 705 BC and the outbreak of a major rebellion in Assyria created the opportunity Šebiktu had been waiting for, and the Egyptian Pharaoh tried to gain power in the Levant.³⁸ The Jewish cities of Lakiš, Ammon, Moab, and Edom, as well as Phoenician city-states such as Arvad (Arados), Biblos, and Sidon, and Palestinian cities such as Aškelon and Ekron, joined this rebellion supported by Egypt and stopped paying tribute to Assyria.³⁹ Thus, the rebellion movement officially started in 703 BC. The Jew Hezekiah led the rebellion. The Jewish king Hezekiah, who declared the cult

³⁴ There are different opinions about the date of Šabaka's accession to the Egyptian throne. While some sources give the year 716/715 BC, some records that he ascended the throne in 712 BC. See Hans Goedicke, "The End of 'So, King of Egypt'", *BASOR* 171, (1963): pp. 64-66; Donald B. Redford, "Sais and the Kushite Invasions of the Eighth Century B.C.", *JARCE*, Vol. 22, (1985): 5-15, 6; Erik Hornung, *Mısır Tarihi* (Çev. Z. A. Yılmaz), (Istanbul: Kabalcı Publishing House, 2004), 137.

³⁵ RINAP 2 no. 81: 4b - 20; Eckart Frahm, "A Sculpted Slab with an Inscription of Sargon II Mentioning the Rebellion of Yau-bi'di of Hamath", *AoF*, 40/1, (2013): 46-47

³⁶ Edward Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*. (Leuven-Paris-Sterling-Virginia, 2000), 249-252.

³⁷ Karen Radner, "Revolts in the Assyrian Empire Succession Wars, Rebellions Against a False King and Independence Movements", J. J. Collins and J. G. Manning (eds.), *Revolt and Resistance in the Ancient Classical World and the Near East: In the Crucible of Empire*, (Leiden, 2016), 49-50.

³⁸ Dan'el Kahn, "The Assyrian Invasions of Egypt (673-663 B.C.) and the Final Expulsion of the Kushites", *SAK*, Bd. 34, (2006): 251.

³⁹ Wolfgang Röllig, "Jerusalem in the Neo-Assyrian Period", Z. Kafafi and R. Schick (eds.), *Jerusalem before Islam*, (BAR International Series, 2007), 41.

center of the Jewish Kingdom as Jerusalem and signed a religious reform for all Hebrews, united the cult center in a single place, gathered all the administration here, and thus provided the necessary material for the rebellion against the Assyrian State.⁴⁰ This rebellion movement is described in the Old Testament as follows:

"for the war? Now on whom dost thou trust, that thou hast rebelled against me? Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it; so is Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all that trust on him. But if ye say unto me: We trust in the Lord our God; is not that He, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and to Jerusalem: Ye shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem? Now, therefore, I pray thee, make a wager with my master, the king of Assyria, and I will give thee two thousand horses if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them. [How then canst thou turn away the face of one captain, even of the least of my master's servants? And yet thou puttest thy trust on Egypt for chariots and horsemen! Am I now come up without the Lord against this place to destroy it? The Lord said unto me: Go up against this land, and destroy it."⁴¹

Fifteen of the vassal kingdoms supported this rebellion, but when they learned that the Assyrian king Sennacherib was going on a campaign, 8 of them obeyed Assyria again. The other kingdoms that continued the rebellion also deposed King Padi of Ekron, who remained loyal to Assyria, and took him captive.⁴² The royal inscription of Sennacherib states that in this rebellion, the rebels in Ekron received help from Hezekiah of Judah and the Egyptian Pharaoh. The inscription says that the Assyrian armies defeated the rebels, captured Egyptian charioteers (and) princes (sons of kings), conquered the cities of the criminals, and punished them. The kingdom of Hezekiah, who had led the rebellion, was also captured, and he was imprisoned like a caged bird in the royal city of Jerusalem.⁴³ This campaign, known as the victory of Lakiš, was also the subject of relief. The relief of Lakiš (Figure 1) depicts the city's capture and the enemies' punishment. The traces of this victory were

⁴⁰ Oded Borowski, "Hezekiah's Reforms and the Revolt Against Assyria", BA, 58-3, (1995): 149-152.

⁴¹ 2 Kings 18: 19-25.

⁴² Robert D. Bates, "Assyria and the Rebellion in the Annals of Sennacherib", NEASB, 44, (1999): 39-40; Sercan Coşgun and Okay Pekşen, "Yeni Asur Devleti'nin Askeri Seferlerinde Ganimet Alınan Hayvanlar ve Bölgeleri", Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Üniversitesi SBE Dergisi, 12/4, (2022): 2592.

⁴³ RINAP 3/1 no. 4: 42-58.

also revealed in the archaeological excavations conducted by David Ussishkin.⁴⁴



Figure 1: A scene from the Siege of Lachish
(BM 124906 © The Trustees of the British Museum)

After this event, there is no record of Egyptian-Assyrian friction in the sources for a certain period. With the accession of Taharka (Tarku) to the Egyptian throne in 690 BC, the conflicts between Assyria and Egypt became stronger again.⁴⁵ However, it is observed that Egypt pursued a peaceful policy during the first 10 years of Taharka's reign. In the last years of his first 10-year reign, Taharka expanded his sphere of influence in the Levant by establishing intensive commercial and military contacts with the Phoenician coastal cities within the Assyrian sphere of domination.⁴⁶ However, although

⁴⁴ David Ussishkin, *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib*, (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1982); David Ussishkin, *Biblical Lachish: A Tale of Construction, Destruction, Excavation and Restoration*. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Biblical Archaeology Society, 2014).

⁴⁵ Anthony Spalinger, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt Preceding the Assyrian Conquest", *Chronique d'Egypte* 53, (1978): 26-33.

⁴⁶ Kahn, "The Assyrian Invasions of Egypt..." 251; Anthony Spalinger, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt Preceding the Assyrian Conquest", *Chronique d'Egypte* 53, (1978): 42.

Taharka, like the previous Egyptian rulers, provided support to the anti-Assyrian elements in Palestine and Israel, the lack of a powerful central administration in Egypt caused this support to remain limited.⁴⁷ In fact, the Assyrian king Esarhaddon radically altered the regional Assyrian policy to address the problem. Esarhaddon realized that to protect his interests in the Levant. Therefore, he had to take the Egyptian threat seriously and drive them away from the borders of the Empire. He believed that he could achieve this only by invading Egypt and pushing the Kushites to the south.⁴⁸

Babylonian and Assyrian chronicles prove that Esarhaddon made three campaigns to Egypt.⁴⁹ Esarhaddon made his first expedition to Egypt in 674 BC but was defeated. Although Esarhaddon's documents do not mention this expedition, the Babylonian chronicles record that an expedition was made to Egypt on the 5th day of Adar 674, and the Assyrian army was defeated.⁵⁰ During this expedition, Taharka must have acted early and moved against Assyria. Taharka probably moved north and made the necessary defense preparations before Esarhaddon arrived. Esarhaddon, on the other hand, must have been worn out by various enemies on his way here and must have suddenly encountered the enemy army while he was continuing his progress toward Egypt. Although this first battle is not described in the Assyrian records, Taharka left the battle victorious.⁵¹ In the chronicles of Esarhaddon, there is information that he also organized an expedition to Ša-amile in the 7th year.⁵² Researchers think that this expedition is related to the Egyptian expedition and that this place should be searched within the Egyptian borders. This place may be located in Pelusium on the Egyptian border. Another view

⁴⁷ Zamazalová, "Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 B.C.E...", 323.

⁴⁸ Kahn, "The Assyrian Invasions of Egypt...", 252.

⁴⁹ Albert Kirk Grayson, (1975). *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (Texts from Cuneiform Sources)*, (New York, 1975), Chronicle 1 iv 16; Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* Chronicle 1 iv 3 - iv 8; Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Chronicle 14 st. 12 -14; Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Chronicle 1 iv 30-32; Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, B. R. Foster (ed.), (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature 2004), 201-204 and 209.

⁵⁰ "On the 5th day of the month Adar in the 7th year, the Assyrian army was defeated in Egypt" Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Chronicle 1 iv 16; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 201.

⁵¹ Susan Wise Bauer, *Antik Dünya İlk Kayıtlardan Roma'nın Dağılmasına* (Çev. M. Moralı), (İstanbul: Alfa Publications, 2013), 432; Dan'el Kahn, "Taharqa, King Of Kush And The Assyrians", *JSSEA*, 31, (2004): 111.

⁵² Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 209; Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Chronicle 14 st. 20.

is that this place may be related to Sise on the Egyptian border.⁵³ However, the contradiction here is that this expedition took place on the 8th day of the month of Adar, just 3 days after the first defeat. This scenario raises more questions than it answers. If Ša-amile was an Egyptian border town, the first battle must have occurred somewhere in northern Sinai, three days' march east of the city, but this would have been an awkward spot for the Egyptians to establish a line of defence. Sa-amile was somewhere in the Delta, it is difficult to imagine why the defeated army should have travelled there, and it is even more challenging to understand what was so important about it as to attract the special attention of Assyrian scribes. B. Landsberger has also rightly pointed to this inference and suggested that it was in southern Babylonia rather than Egypt. In any case, the fact that the Esarhaddon chronicles do not mention the Egyptian campaign, but only the Ša-amile campaign, can be understood as an exclusion of the Assyrian defeat in Egypt and its replacement in the chronology by another military campaign.⁵⁴

Esarhaddon returned to his country after the first defeat and eliminated some problems in foreign policy. His main aim was to avenge this defeat and to establish Assyrian sovereignty in the region. For this purpose, he firstly organised a military expedition against the country of Šubria and won a great victory and wanted to show the power of Assyria to his enemies. This can also be considered as a practice for the Egyptian Campaign.⁵⁵ Esarhaddon, after restoring the reputation and self-confidence of his army, started the preparations for the Egyptian Expedition. Before embarking on this expedition, the Assyrian king consulted his god and tried to obtain information about the expedition's outcome. The text of this query is as follows:

“[Šamaš, great lord], give me a firm positive answer [to what] I am asking you! [Should Esarhaddon, king of] Assyria, strive and plan? [Should he take the road] with his army and camp and go to the [dis]trict of Egypt, as [he wis]hes? [Should he wage] war [against

⁵³ van der Deijl, 2008: 605; Robert G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers*. (London: Rubicon Press, 2000), 264; Gerhard Fecht, “Zu den Namen ägyptischer Fürsten und Städte in den Annalen des Assurbanipal des Assurbanipal und der Chronik des Esarhaddon”, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 16, (1958): 112 - 119; Grayson suggests that it was south of Babylon. However, this is not widely accepted. See Albert Kirk Grayson, “Assyria: Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (704-669 B. C.)”, J. Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, N. G. L. Hammond and E. Sollberger (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History 3/2, The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.*, (Cambridge, 1991), 134.

⁵⁴ Herbert Verreth, “The Egyptian Eastern Border Region in Assyrian Sources”, *JAOS*, Vol. 119, No. 2, (1999): 234- 247, p. 235.

⁵⁵ Bkz. Koray Toptaş, *Asarhaddon: Asur Kralı, Babil Yöneticisi, Mısır Fatih*, (Ankara: Berikan Yayınevi, 2021), 125-132.

Taharka], king of Kush, [and the troops which] he has? [If he go]es, will he [engage in battle] with [Taharka, k]ing of Kush and his army? In waging [this war, will the weapons of Esa[rhad]don, ki[ng of Assyria, and his army, prevail over the weapons of T[aharka], king of Kush, and the troops w[hich he has]? Will (Esarhaddon's troops) ... their ..., take their heaped-up (possessions), defeat them, [... their ...], and overrun them i[n vic]tory, power, might and conquest? [...] Will Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, [return alive and] set foot [on Assyrian soil]? Does your great divinity know it? [Is the] retreat of Taharka, [king of Kush, and the troops which he has be]fore Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, [..... decreed and confirmed in a favourable ca]se, by the command of your great divinity, [Šamaš, great lord? Will he who can see, se]e it? Will he who can hear, hear it?"⁵⁶

The back of the document is broken, and on the reverse side, it appears to contain questions of the same concern, questioning the prophecy that would indicate the outcome of the Egyptian Campaign.⁵⁷ This questioning reflects the nervous and anxious attitude of the Assyrian king in contrast to his confident attitude in his annals.⁵⁸ A document sent to the Assyrian king from Babylon is in the nature of an answer to these questions. In this document, it is recorded that the Assyrian king will kill or capture the Kush king as a result of the expedition.⁵⁹ Having received a favourable prophecy to his questions, Esarhaddon embarked on an expedition against Taharka, who continued his expansion policy in the Palestine region in 671 BC.⁶⁰ Esarhaddon left Assyria in early April and set out for Egypt. He had to cross the Tigris and Euphrates at a time when water level and flowrate were at their highest in the spring.⁶¹ It is noteworthy that Kush and Egypt were referred to as Magan and Meluḥḥa. Magan and Meluḥḥa were known in cuneiform documents from the 3rd millennium BC, and these place names were thought to be in the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea region. However, new information in Esarhaddon's annals indicates that these places were in Egypt and Nubia. This raises a problem and

⁵⁶ SAA 4 84: 1-15.

⁵⁷ SAA 4 84: r. 1- 23.

⁵⁸ Mattias Karlsson, "Egypt and Kush in Neo-Assyrian State Letters and Documents", SAAB, 24, (2018): 39.

⁵⁹ SAA 10 351: b.e. 23 - r. 12.

⁶⁰ Hayim Tadmor, "World Dominion: The Expanding Horizon of the Assyrian Empire", L. Milano, S. de Martino F. M. Fales and G. B. Lanfranchi (eds.), *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East*. (RAI 44, 1997), (Padua: Sargon srl, (1999), 55-62, s. 59; Kahn, "Taharqa, King Of Kush And The Assyrians", 111.

⁶¹ Karen Radner, "Esarhaddon's Expedition from Palestine to Egypt in 671 BCE: A Trek Through the Negev and Sinai", D. Bonatz, R. M. Czichon and F. J. Kreppner (eds.), *Fundstellen: Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Alt Vorderasiens ad honorem Hartmut Kühne*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 307.

controversy about localization.⁶² What is certain in this document is that the main destination of this expedition was Egypt. The process of this expedition and the journey to Egypt are recorded in a document of Esarhaddon with the following statements:

“In my tenth campaign, the god Aš[šur ...] had me take [... (and) made me set out] to [Magan and Meluḥḥa, which are called] Kush and Egypt in (their) native tongue. I mustered the vast troops of the god Aššur, who are in [...]. In Nisannu (I), the first month, I set out from my city, Aššur, (and) crossed the Tigris (and) Euphrates Rivers when they were at flood level, (and) marched over difficult mountains like a wild bull. In the course of my campaign, I set up fortifications against Ba’alu, the king of Tyre, who trusted in his friend Taharqa, the king of Kush, threw off the yoke of the god Aššur, my lord, and kept answering (me) with insolence. I cut off the supply of food and water that sustained their lives. I removed my camp from (this so-called) ‘Egypt’ and headed straight for Meluḥḥa, (covering) a distance of thirty leagues from the city Aphek, which is in the region of Samaria, to the city Raphia (Rapiḥu), which is in the neighborhood of the Brook of Egypt, a place that has no river(s). By means of ropes, chains, (and) sweeps, I provided water for (my) troops drawn from wells. In accordance with the command of the god Aššur, my lord, it occurred to me and my heart [prompted me] (and thus) I col[lected] camels from all of the Arab kings [and loaded them with [water skins (and water containers)]. I advanced twenty leagues distance, a journey of fifteen days, over [difficult] sand dunes, [where (one is always) thirsty]. I went four leagues distance (through terrain full of) alum, muṣu-stones, (and) [...]. (rev. 5) I trampled over four leagues distance, a journey of two days, (through terrain full of)

⁶² Sumerian and Akkadian sources suggest placing Magan and Meluḥḥa at the lower end of the Persian Gulf and on the shores of the Arabian Sea, while Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal-era documents identify Magan with Egypt and Meluḥḥa with Nubia (Ethiopia) (RINAP 4 no. 34: 7'-34; RINAP 5/1 no. 11: i 52-53). This also gives rise to a serious controversy. Landsberger, Weidner, and Leemans have argued that the naming of Egypt and Nubia in Neo-Assyrian sources may be related to the fact that exotic goods, incense, resin, gold, and ivory, which were previously supplied from Magan and Meluḥḥa on the Indus and Persian Gulf coasts, are now supplied from Egypt, so that only the naming can be related to the type of goods supplied, and that Magan and Meluḥḥa should be sought on the Persian Gulf coast. Kramer, however, says that confirmation of a hypothesis involving a name change in cuneiform documents for countries as crucial as Magan and Meluḥḥa must be based on reasonably precise and consistent evidence and implies that these names have always been associated with Egypt and Ethiopia and not transferred from areas east of Mesopotamia. Bkz. John Hansman, “A 'Periplus' of Magan and Meluḥḥa”, BSOAS, Vol. 36, No. 3, (1973): 554-559; Simo Parpola, Asko Parpola and Robert H. Brunswig, “The Meluḥḥa Village: Evidence of Acculturation of Harappan Traders in Late Third Millennium Mesopotamia?”, JESHO, Vol. 20, No. 2, (1977): 129-165, p. 129; Daniel T. Potts, “The Road to Meluḥḥa”, JNES, Vol. 41, No. 4, (1982): 280-281; Mario Liverani, *The Ancient Near East: History, Society and Economy*. (New York: Routledge, 2014), 135.

two-headed snakes ... [... whose venom] is deadly and I crossed over four leagues distance, a journey of two [days] (through terrain full of) [(...)] flying green [dragonflies. ...] four leagues distance, a journey of two d[ays] ...] ... I advanced sixteen leagues distance, a journey of eight days [...] ... very much. The god Marduk, the great lord, came to my aid [...] (rev. 10) he revived my troops. Twenty days (and) seven [...] of the border of Egy[pt], I stayed overnight. [...] from the city Mig[do]l to Me[mphis ...] I advanced a distance of forty leagues [...] that terrain is like [gazelle]-to[oth] stone [...] (rev. 15) like the head of an arrow [...] blood and gore ... [...] a dangerous enemy, together with [...] to the city Ishup[ri ...] ... [...]"⁶³

As it is understood from the document, Esarhaddon's first stop was Tyre, the administrative center of Ba'al, in cooperation with Taharka. Esarhaddon cut off the supply flow of Tyre, took the city under siege and continued on his way. Thus, the Assyrian king eliminated a threat that might come from behind him. After this, he continued on his way and came to the city of Rapihi, which is associated with Tell Rafah. Up to this point, the route of the Assyrian army is almost clear. Rapihi appears to be the last settled station on the road to Egypt. Raphia can be regarded as a kind of buffer zone separating the kingdom of Gaza from Egyptian territory. Esarhaddon made his final preparations at Rapihi.⁶⁴ The route that Esarhaddon followed after this is unclear because the place names in the document are broken. Nevertheless, although some information in the document does not enable us to determine the exact route of the Assyrians from Palestine to Egypt, it can provide an estimated route. Some scholars hypothesize that the Assyrian army followed the route along the Mediterranean coastline. Undoubtedly, this route connected the Gaza-Refah region to the Isthmus of Suez and was in use from that time onwards. In addition, this route had the necessary resources for water supply and could be reinforced from the sea. However, this route could also be easily followed from the Egyptian side.⁶⁵ Verreth thinks that this route could not be valid for the expedition, especially considering the distance travelled by the army and the duration of the journey.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the North Sinai region covering the coastline was under Egyptian control.⁶⁷ In fact, the geographical characteristics of this route differed from those described in the document. The Assyrian king said that he was traveling by waterless.⁶⁸ In this case, the coastline route should not be considered among the options. Radner suggests that Esarhaddon may have used the Sinai Desert route. According to her,

⁶³ RINAP 4 no. 34: Öy. 9 - Ay. 19.

⁶⁴ Nadav Na'aman, "The Boundary System and Political Status of Gaza under the Assyrian Empire", ZDPV, 120, (2004): 62-63.

⁶⁵ Radner, "Esarhaddon's Expedition from Palestine to Egypt in 671 BCE...", 308.

⁶⁶ Verreth, "The Egyptian Eastern Border Region in Assyrian Sources", 236.

⁶⁷ Na'aman, "The Boundary System and Political Status of Gaza..." 62-63;

⁶⁸ RINAP 4 no. 34: Ay. 2-8.

the details in the inscriptions, including records of the journey, may suggest that the Assyrian army continued via the Negev (Najaf). However, the Negev Desert is well connected to the Isthmus of Suez by a network of ancient roads, and by following a westward route through Sinai, Esarhaddon's army had the advantage of being out of range of its enemies. The Turkish army probably also used this route during the Suez Canal Campaign in 1915.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, we do not have enough evidence to say whether the Assyrian army used the 1915 Turkish route or some other route. However, although the exact route is unclear, documentary evidence suggests that the army most likely travelled through the Sinai Desert. Thus, it can be concluded that Esarhaddon travelled from Rapihi in a south-easterly direction through the Negev highlands, crossed into the Negev Desert via Makhtesh Ramon, and then moved in a westerly direction through Sinai to the Isthmus of Suez (Map 1). Especially during the journey, the waterless lands clearly indicate the desert, and the double-headed snakes seen after the journey probably referred to the spurred snakes (eryx) that were present in the Negev. In conclusion, a careful reading of the astonishing records of Esarhaddon's tenth expedition allows us to estimate the route taken by the Assyrian army from Palestine to Egypt and to understand the choice of a route through the Sinai Desert rather than along the Mediterranean coast. In addition, this route may be considered to have some advantages. This route made it impossible for the army to be tracked, and this could have given Esarhaddon the opportunity to make a surprise attack and achieve success.⁷⁰ However, it should be noted that military operations in the Sinai Desert were limited. Considering the water supply problem, the difficulty of marching through arid lands, and the fact that the endpoints of the east-west roads in the desert were controlled by rival political or military entities, traveling through the Sinai Desert route carried a number of risks. On the other hand, traveling across the desert would wear out the army and, besides carrying the possibility of weakening the fighting, would make it almost impossible to turn back in case of defeat. This would mean the destruction of almost the entire Assyrian army.⁷¹ However, despite all the risks, Esarhaddon preferred the Sinai Desert route. When Esarhaddon preferred this route, he

⁶⁹ For the 1915 Canal campaign route, see. Centre route: The route between Ismailia and Beersheba through the center of Sinai. The stopping places between the two points are named after the wells where they are located. Due to the lack of water resources, it is a route that armies advancing in the Egyptian-Palestinian direction would not easily prefer. Because the expeditionary force would have to carry the water necessary for soldiers and animals. Bkz. İsmail Üzen, *Birinci Dünya Savaşında Kanal Seferleri (1915-1916)*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis), İstanbul University Institute of Social Sciences, Department of History, (İstanbul, 2007), 129.

⁷⁰ Radner, "Esarhaddon's Expedition from Palestine to Egypt in 671 BCE...", 307-311.

⁷¹ Israel Eph'al, "Esarhaddon, Egypt and Shubria: Politics and Propaganda", *JCS*, Vol. 57, (2005): 101.

cooperated with the Arabs to solve the water problem, which was one of the most critical problems and used camels owned by the Arabs to carry water bags.⁷² Cooperation with the Arabs also eliminated the risk of attack in the region because the Arab tribes controlled the southern and eastern parts of Sinai.⁷³

Assyrian troops, continuing their march under challenging conditions, eventually reached the city of Magdali, which is likely located near the Egyptian border and is not mentioned elsewhere in Assyrian sources. Magdali, known as Migdol in the Old Testament and Magdolos in Greek sources, was probably a strategic point between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea on the Isthmus of Suez in the east of Egypt. From here, Esarhaddon traveled to Išhupri, which was placed roughly between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. This was probably where Assyrian and Egyptian troops met.⁷⁴ In this battle, Esarhaddon achieved victory over Taharqa's Egyptian troops.⁷⁵ Radner suggests that this victory was the result of a surprise attack launched from the desert.⁷⁶ The Babylonian chronicles and the chronicles of Esarhaddon also confirm this victory.⁷⁷ Esarhaddon recorded his victory in his annals with the statement "*I conquered (Lower) Egypt, Upper Egypt and Kush, whose king Taharka I shot five times with an arrow and ruled over all his lands.*"⁷⁸ The Sam'al Stele, one of the most important documents of the victory, provides essential information about the results of this campaign. The Egyptian campaign is described as follows:

"As for Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Kush, the accursed of their great divinity, from the city Išhupri to Memphis, (his) royal city, a march of fifteen days overland, I inflicted serious defeats on him daily, without ceasing. Moreover, (with regard to) he himself, by means of arrows, I inflicted him five times with wounds from which there is no recovery; and (as for) the city of Memphis, his royal city, within half a day (and) by means of mines, breaches, (and) ladders, I besieged (it), conquered (it), demolished (it), destroyed (it), (and) burned (it) with fire. I carried off to Assyria his wife, his court ladies, Uš-Anaḥuru, his crown prince, and the rest of his sons (and) his daughters, his goods, his possessions,

⁷² Verreth, "The Egyptian Eastern Border Region in Assyrian Sources", 236-237; Kahn, "The Assyrian Invasions of Egypt...", 252-255; Eph'al, "Esarhaddon, Egypt and Shubria...", 99-101; Tadmor, (1966). "Philistia under Assyrian Rule", 99-100.

⁷³ Na'aman, 2004: 63-64; Israel Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th-5th Centuries B.C.*, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), 137-42.

⁷⁴ Verreth, 1999: 236-237; Radner, 2008: 308.

⁷⁵ Kahn, "Taharqa, King Of Kush And The Assyrians", 111.

⁷⁶ Radner, "Esarhaddon's Expedition from Palestine to Egypt in 671 BCE...", 311.

⁷⁷ Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Chronicle 1 iv 23-28; Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Chronicle 14 st. 25.

⁷⁸ RINAP 4 no. 60: 7 - 9a.

his horses, his oxen, (and) his sheep and goats, without number. I tore out the roots of Kush from Egypt. I did not leave a single person there to praise (me). Over Egypt, all of it, I appointed new kings, governors, commanders, customs officers, trustees, (and) overseers. I confirmed sattukku (and) ginû offerings for the god Aššur and the great gods, my lords, forever. I imposed the tribute and payment of my lordship on them, yearly, without ceasing. I had a stele written in my name made and I had inscribed upon it the renown (and) heroism of the god Aššur, my lord, (and) the might of my deeds which I had done with the help of the god Aššur, my lord, and my victory (and) triumph. I set (it) up for all time for the admiration of all of (my) enemies.”⁷⁹

Among the royal inscriptions, there are other records describing Esarhaddon’s victory over Egypt and his subsequent capture of its queens, children, and a substantial amount of booty. However, since these documents have been destroyed, we cannot learn more details.⁸⁰ The Babylonian Chronicles contains records of the invasion of Egypt that support the information contained in the Assyrian royal inscriptions:

“The tenth year, in the month of Nisan, the army of Assyria marched on Mišir. In the month of Dumuzi, the third, the sixteenth, and the eighteenth days, three times, there were massacres in Mišir. On the twenty-second day, Memphis, the [royal] res[idence], was taken, abandoned by its king, (whose) children and br[other were tak]en. (The city) was plundered, its inhabitants held for ransom, their property [loo]ted.”⁸¹

All documents provide almost parallel information and confirm that Taharka’s family was captured as a result of the expedition. Radner states that Esarhaddon did not limit the captives captured during this expedition to the royal family and nobles, but also took a number of specialists, especially highly qualified scientists, to Assyria.⁸² In addition, SAA 7 24, a list of state correspondence dating to the time of Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal, mentions 15 female officials from Kush. These women were probably brought to Assyria due to the Egyptian campaigns and, again, probably functioned as priestesses or music attendants in the temple.⁸³ This is further evidence that

⁷⁹ RINAP 4 no. 98: Ay. 37b-53a.

⁸⁰ RINAP 4 no. 38: r 16' - r 33'; RINAP 4 no. 15: 1'-10'

⁸¹ Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 201-203

⁸² Karen Radner, “Economy, Society, and Daily Life in the Neo-Assyrian Period”, E. Frahm (ed.), *A Companion to Assyria*, (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 223; Karen Radner, “The Assyrian King and His Scholars: The Syro-Anatolian and the Egyptian Schools”, M. Luukko, S. Svärd and R. Mattila (eds.), in: *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, *Studia Orientalia* 106. (Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2009), 223.

⁸³ Karlsson, “Egypt and Kush in Neo-Assyrian State Letters and Documents”, 46.

the people brought to Egypt due to the expedition included qualified Egyptians. Other documents show that a considerable amount of booty was captured as a result of this expedition as well as people. For example, a tablet found in Nineveh, after mentioning that a massacre was carried out in the form of Memphis, people were killed, and their heads were piled up, stated that gold, silver, much jewellery, and horses ready for harnesses, fattened oxen and countless sheep were taken as booty.⁸⁴ Royal letters also shed light on the aftermath of the invasion of Egypt and corroborate the records in the inscriptions and stelae. Document SAA 8 418 contains the following statements about the looting of Egyptian treasures as a result of the campaign:

“When Aššur, Šamaš, Nabû, and Marduk gave Kush and Egypt into the hands of the king [my lord], they plundered them [...] with the troops of the king my lord. [Gold and silver from] their treasury, as much as there was, they brought [into] your royal abode [Ni]neveh [and distributed] booty from them to his servants.”⁸⁵

With this brilliant victory, Esarhaddon realized the conquest of Egypt, which had been the dream of Assyrian kings for nearly a century, and captured an enormous fortune found in the tombs and temples of the pharaohs. The Assyrian king now added new titles to his titles and became the “*Conqueror of Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt*.”⁸⁶ After this victory, Esarhaddon described himself in annals as follows:

“The palace of Esarhaddon, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, governor of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the kings of (Lower) Egypt, Upper Egypt, (and) Kush, king of the four quarters.”⁸⁷

Esarhaddon also punished the king of Tyre on his return from the Egyptian Campaign and had the Sam'al (Zincirli) and Til-Barsip (Tell Ahmar) stelae erected to commemorate these victories (Figures 2 and 3). Immortalizing such a crucial military success was a practice that provided prestige to the Assyrian king. These stelae represent Assyria's absolute superiority over Egypt and Assyria's invincibility. The stelae depict a Phoenician king⁸⁸ standing and begging, while the crown prince of Egypt is

⁸⁴ RINAP 4 no. 1019: o. 18 - r. 42.

⁸⁵ SAA 8 418: 4-9.

⁸⁶ Gökçek, *Asurlular*, 195; Tadmor, “Philistia under Assyrian Rule”, 99.

⁸⁷ RINAP 4 no. 83: 1-3

⁸⁸ Porter claims that the Phoenician king on the stele may be Abdi-Milkūti. However, some contradictions arise at this point. In his annals, Esarhaddon lists the Sidon Campaign as one of his first campaigns (RINAP 4 no. 1: ii 65-iii 38). In Esarhaddon's chronicles, the Sidon Expedition is reported to have taken place in years 4 and 5 (676-675 BC) (Grayson, *Assyrian*

depicted kneeling in front of the Assyrian king.⁸⁹ The depiction of the Egyptian prince on his knees signifies the elimination of the Egyptian threat, which for more than 40 years had played a provocative role in anti-Assyrian actions and had been hostile to Assyria and the Western domination of Assyria. These stelae, which were publicly displayed in both cities, carried the message that the Assyrian army was now invincible. These stelaes, which are products of royal ideology, were expected to serve as propaganda to restore Assyria's damaged military reputation in the West. In addition, the depiction of the king on the stage in larger sizes than other people can be considered a first in Neo-Assyrian art. This feature must have been transferred from Egyptian art to Assyrian art during the Egyptian Campaign.⁹⁰



Figure 2: Sam'al (Zincirli) Stele (Drawing: Koray Toptaş)



Figure 3: Til-Barsip Stele (Porter, 2003, Pl. 18)

and *Babylonian Chronicles*, Chronicle 14 st. 12-14). In any case, this expedition took place well before the Egyptian campaign and resulted in the beheading of the Sidonian king Abdi-Milkūti. Moreover, these stelae were erected to symbolize Assyria's Western dominance and Egyptian victory. Considering that the Western Campaign also took place in Egypt and Tir, it is likely that the second kneeling figure is Ba'al, king of Tir, rather than Abdi-Milkūti, king of Sidon, who had already been dead for many years.

⁸⁹ Barbara Nevling Porter, *Trees, Kings, and Politics: Studies in Assyrian Iconography*. OBO 197. (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck Ruprecht, (2003), 71-72.

⁹⁰ Paul Collins, "The Development of the Individual Enemy in Assyrian Art", *Notes in the History of Art*, 25/3, (2006): 6-7.

A symbol of Esarhaddon's western dominance was the rock relief in Lebanon (Figure 4). Esarhaddon had his own relief erected on Nahr al-Kalb in Lebanon, next to the relief of Ramses II, who was famous for his Mesopotamian campaign, to immortalize his expedition (Figure 5). In this respect, the relief carried a special message, and it is no coincidence that it was placed directly next to the Egyptian relief. However, while the Assyrian relief clearly shares a conceptual basis with its Egyptian neighbor, the living landscape refers to the western expansion of the Assyrian Empire, just as Ramses II referred to the Mesopotamian expansion. The relief depicts Esarhaddon standing in a posture of respect, with divine symbols beside his head. The Assyrian relief stands in stark contrast to the adjacent Egyptian relief, which is an ornately decorated rectangular architectural frame with a cavetto cornice (Egyptian cornice).⁹¹ The Assyrian king's erection of this relief in a secluded place away from the settlement also reflected an ideological idea. The king represented his omnipresence independent of time and space. This stele indicates that the Assyrian king could reach unreachable places.⁹²

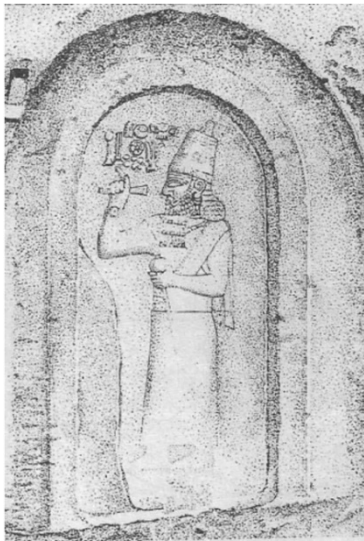


Figure 4: Relief of Esarhaddon (Kreppner, 2002, Fig. 6; Weissbach, 1922, Pl. 7)



Figure 5: Relief of Ramses II (Weissbach, 1922, Pl. 6; Feldman, 2004, Fig. 3)

⁹¹ Marian H. Feldman, "Nineveh to Thebes and Back: Art and Politics between Assyria and Egypt in the Seventh Century BCE", *Iraq*, Vol. 66, Nineveh. Papers of the 49th Rencontre Assriologique Internationale, Part One, (2004): 141-142; Franz Heinrich Weissbach, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb*. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1922). Plates 5-7.

⁹² Florian Anoscha Kreppner, "Public Space in Nature: The Case of Neo-Assyrian Rock-Reliefs", *AoF*, 29/2, (2002): 375.

In addition to these artifacts, another material evidence of Esarhaddon's Egyptian Campaign is the small fragments of painted bricks unearthed in Esarhaddon's unfinished southwestern palace at Kalhu. The scenes on these fragments unearthed by Layard must depict Esarhaddon's Egyptian Campaign. The bricks depict battle scenes, the Assyrian chariot, Assyrian and Egyptian soldiers, prisoners, the Assyrian camp, and the walls of the Egyptian city (Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15).⁹³ The pictorial evidence on the painted brick fragments suggests that the overall movement is in two opposite directions; the cavalry and chariot move from left to right, the array of prisoners moves from right to left, and the attack on the fortress can be centered between the other two scenes. It is possible to reconstruct these scenes together to form a frieze (a straight strip).⁹⁴ These brick fragments are the only visual evidence of the Egyptian Campaign, and they are essential in that they allow us to visualize the scenes of the battle.



Figure 6: Egyptian prisoners (Nadali, 2006, Fig. 2a; Layard, 1853: Pl. 54: 7)

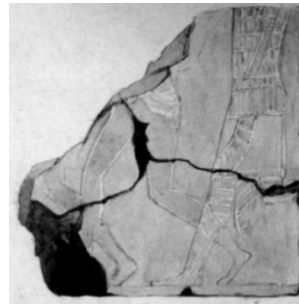


Figure 7: Egyptian prisoner and Assyrian soldier (Nadali, 2006, Fig. 2c; Layard, 1853: Pl. 54)

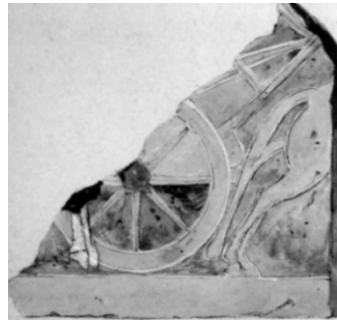


Figure 8: Assyrian chariot (?) (Nadali, 2006: Fig. 4c; Layard, 1853: Pl. 54: 14)



Figure 9: Assyrian chariot passing over Egyptian soldier (Nadali, 2006, Fig. 3a; Layard, 1853: Pl. 53: 3)

⁹³ Davide Nadali, "Esarhaddon's Glazed Bricks from Nimrud: The Egyptian Campaign Depicted", *Iraq*, Vol. 68, (2006): 109-119, 110; Austen Henry Layard, *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh*. (London, 1853): Plates 53 -54.

⁹⁴ Pauline Albenda, "Observations on Egyptians in Assyrian art", *Bulletin of Egyptological Seminar 4*, (1982): 12.

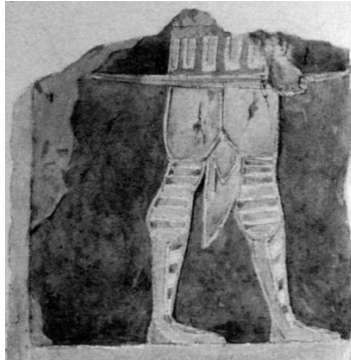


Figure 10: Assyrian soldier (Nadali, 2006, Fig. 4b; Layard, 1853: Pl. 54: 4)



Figure 11: Egyptian soldier (Nadali, 2006, Fig. 2b; Layard, 1853: Pl. 54: 8)

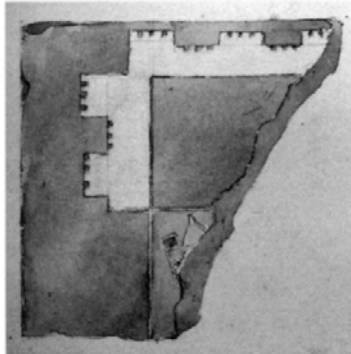


Figure 12: Assyrian camp (Nadali, 2006, Fig. 5b; Layard, 1853: Pl. 53: 2)

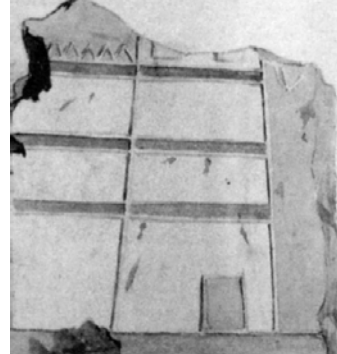


Figure 13: Egyptian city walls (Nadali, 2006, Fig. 5a; Layard, 1853: Pl. 53: 5)

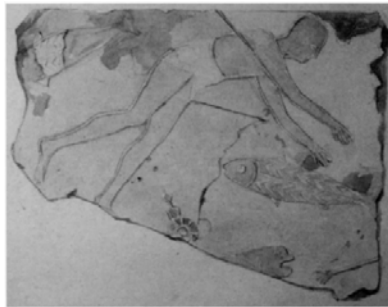


Figure 14: Dead enemy soldier in water (river) (Nadali, 2006, Fig. 3b; Layard, 1853: Pl. 53: 1)

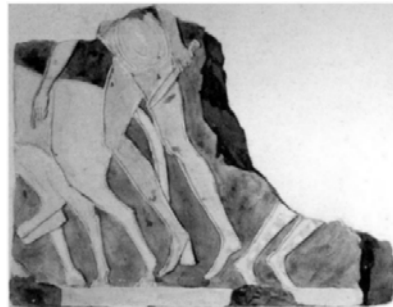


Figure 15: An enemy soldier (left) and an Assyrian soldier (right) (Nadali, 2006, Fig. 3c; Layard, 1853: Pl. 54: 12)

Despite all the successful works of Esarhaddon and his propaganda campaign, Assyria's rule over Egypt was short-lived, and in 669 BC, all rulers except the governor of Sais in Egypt stopped following Assyrian orders and

rebelled against Assyria.⁹⁵ Due to this rebellion movement, Esarhaddon set out for Egypt again while he had just returned to Nineveh, but he died of illness on the way without realizing his goal.⁹⁶ During this campaign, Esarhaddon defeated Ba'al, the king of Tyre, who did not abide by the treaty of 671 BC and sided with Egypt, and defeated the king and captured the city of Tyre.⁹⁷

We can conclude that the Assyrian invasion of Egypt and the sack of Memphis and Thebes cannot be traced only from Egyptian sources. Assyrian sources are needed for this narrative. A few additional thoughts should be added to this observation. We assume that the Egyptian invasions described in Assyrian sources are accurate to a reasonable degree and accept that we cannot trace them as far as we know from Egyptian texts or archaeology. In that case, we must recognize that defeat is a concept foreign to Egypt. But even if the Pharaoh was always victorious, we find that even royal inscriptions during the Kushite period can contain modest hints of self-criticism, which may be traces of actual defeats (though not by the Assyrians, for there is no mention of them at all). In Taharqa's prayer, the king acknowledges that for whatever reason, tribute from Syria-Palestine was no longer flowing into Egypt.⁹⁸ In SAA 6 142 Šusanqu, apparently an Egyptian nobleman, is mentioned in the list of witnesses as "*the king's brother-in-law (hatna šarri)*"⁹⁹ Šusanqu is the Assyrian equivalent of the name Shoshenq, which was popular in the first centuries of the first millennium BC among the various royal families of Libyan origin who laid claim to areas in the Nile Delta and at times to all of Egypt. A possible candidate for the royal wife of Shoshenq¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Bauer, *Antik Dünya...*, 432-433.

⁹⁶ Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 209; Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Chronicle 1: iv 30-32.

⁹⁷ RINAP 4 no. 34: 13'-14'.

⁹⁸ Felix. Höflmayer, "Assyria in Egypt: How to Trace Defeat Ancient Egyptian Sources", K. Streit and M. Grohmann (eds.), *Culture of Defeat: Submission in Written Sources and the Archaeological Record. Proceedings of a Joint Seminar of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Vienna*, October 2017, (Piscataway, NJ, USA: Gorgias Press, 2021), 189-228.

⁹⁹ SAA 6 142: r. 12

¹⁰⁰ Shoshenq was captured and brought to Ninive after the Assyrian army encountered Kushite and Egyptian troops on the battlefield of Eltekeh in southern Palestine in 701 BC. Sennacherib's inscriptions record this event as follows: "In the plain of the city Eltekeh, they sharpened their weapons while drawing up in battleline before me. With the support of the god Aššur, my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. In the thick of battle, I captured alive the Egyptian charioteers and princes (lit. "the sons of the king māri šar Mušuraya"), together with the charioteers of the king of the land Meluḥḥa." (RINAP 3/1 15: iii 18'-25'). Shoshenq, confirmed as royal father-in-law in 692 BC, was probably one of the Egyptian

is Šadditu, daughter of Sennacherib, attested in another legal document (SAA 6 251) from Nineveh during the reign Esarhaddon. What is important here is the policy pursued by the Assyrian king. The marriage of Delta princes to members of the Assyrian royal family gave them a status and role at court that went far beyond simple prisoners of war and gave Assyria diplomatic and political validity in its relations with Egypt and Kush.¹⁰¹ Although it is not clear whether the marriage took place during the reign of Sanherip or Esarhaddon, Esarhaddon may have wanted to use his kinship with Šusanqu, who is thought to have been a member of the Egyptian royal family, to his advantage in Egyptian politics. Unfortunately, the fate of Šusanqu is unclear in Assyrian documents.

Two years after Esarhaddon took Egypt under his sovereignty, Egypt rebelled against Assyria. Pharaoh Taharka rebelled against the Assyrian rule, marched north from Ethiopia, and took Memphis. Esarhaddon died while crossing into Egypt, and the suppression of the rebellion was only achieved during the reign of his son Ashurbanipal.¹⁰² When rebellion news reached Nineveh, Ashurbanipal immediately set out to finalize his father's Egyptian expedition. Taharka, who heard that Ashurbanipal had entered Egyptian territory, left Memphis and took refuge in Thebes.¹⁰³ Ashurbanipal described this event in detail in his annals:

“On my first campaign, I marched to Makan (Egypt) and Meluḥḥa (Ethiopia). (As for) Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Kush, whose defeat Esarhaddon - king of Assyria, the father who had engendered me - had brought about (and) whose land he ruled over, he, Taharqa, forgot the might of (the god) Aššur, the goddess Ištar, and the great gods, my lords, and trusted in his own strength. He marched against the kings (and) officials, whom the father who had engendered me had appointed inside Egypt, to kill (and) rob (them) and to take away Egypt (from them). He entered and resided in the city of Memphis, a city that the father who had engendered me had conquered (and) made part of the

princes mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib (Karen Radner, “Royal marriage alliances and noble hostages”, *Assyrian Empire Builders*, (2023) <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/diplomats/royalmarriage/> (11.10.2023))

¹⁰¹ Karen Radner, “After Eltekeh: Royal Hostages from Egypt at the Assyrian Court”, H. D. Baker, K. Kaniuth and A. Otto (Eds.) *Stories of long ago. Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf*. (Ugarit-Verlag: Münster, 2012), , 472-473; Radner, “Royal marriage alliances and noble hostages”; Koray Toptaş, “Foreign Royal Nobles in the Neo Assyrian Empire”, *Journal of Universal History Studies*, 7(1), (2024): 71-72.

¹⁰² Alan Buttery, *Armies and Enemies of Ancient Egypt and Assyria: Egyptian, Nubian, Asiatic, Libyan, Hittite, Sea Peoples, Assyrian, Aramaean (Syrian), Hebrew, Babylonian, Scythian, 3200 B.C.-612 B.C.*, (Wargames Research Group Published, 1974), 40.

¹⁰³ Grayson, “Assyria: Sennacherib and Esarhaddon...”, 143.

territory of Assyria. A fast messenger came to Nineveh and reported (this) to me. My heart became enraged about these deeds, and my temper turned hot. I raised up my hands (and) made an appeal to (the god) Aššur and the Assyrian Ištar. I mustered my elite forces that (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar had placed in my hands (and) I made (them) take the direct road to Egypt and Kush. In the course of my campaign, twenty-two kings of the seacoast, the midst of the sea, and dry land, servants who belonged to me, carried their substantial audience gift(s) before me and kissed my feet. I made those kings, together with their forces (and) their boats, take the road (and) path with my troops by sea and dry land. I quickly advanced to support the kings (and) officials who were in Egypt, servants who belonged to me, and I marched as far as the city Kār-Bānīte. Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Kush, heard about the advance of my expeditionary force (while he was) inside the city Memphis, and mustered his battle troops before me to wage armed battle and war. With the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), (and) Nabû, the great gods, my lords who march at my side, I brought about the defeat of his troops in a widespread pitched battle. Taharqa heard about the defeat of his troops while (he was) inside the city Memphis. The awe-inspiring radiance of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar overwhelmed him and he went into a frenzy. The brilliance of my royal majesty, with which the gods of heaven and netherworld had endowed me, covered him; he abandoned the city Memphis and, in order to save his (own) life, he fled inside the city Thebes. I seized that city (Memphis) (and then) made my troops enter (and) reside there.”¹⁰⁴

Ashurbanipal stated that Pharaoh Taharka, who was responsible for the rebellion in Egypt, died of fear.¹⁰⁵ During the Egypt rebellion, many kingdoms, including Nikū, king of Sais and Menfis, Šarru-lū-dāri, king of Pelusium, Paqruru, king of Pišaptu, Puṭu-Bāšti, king of Tanis, Monthemhet, king of Thebes, and Pūiama, king of Mendes, rebelled against Assyria.¹⁰⁶ The record of the campaign of Ashurbanipal against these kingdoms is as follows in the annals:

“(As for) Necho, king of the cities Memphis and Sais, Šarru-lū-dāri, king of the city Pelusium, Pi-šan-Ḫuru, king of the city Natho, Paqruru, king of the city Pišaptu, Bokenniṣe (Bukunanni’pi), king of the city Athribis, Naḫkē, king of the city Heracleopolis, Puṭu-Bāšti, king of the city Tanis, Unamunu, king of the city Natho, Ḫur-ši-Ēšu, king of the city Sebennytos, Pūiama, king of the city Mendes, Sheshonq, king of the

¹⁰⁴ RINAP 5 no. 11: i 52 - i 89.

¹⁰⁵ RINAP 5 no. 11: ii 20 - ii 21.

¹⁰⁶ RINAP 5 no. 11: i 90 - i 115; ARAB II 771.

city Busiris, Tap-nahte, king of the city Punubu, Bokennife (Bukunanni'pi), king of the city Aḫni, Eptimu-rtešu, king of the city Trenuthis, Naḫti-ḫuru-ansini, king of the city Pišapdi'a, Bukurninip, king of the city Paḫnuti, Ši-ḫû, king of the city Siut, Lamintu, king of the city Hermopolis, Išpimāḫu, king of the city Thinis, (and) Monthemhet, king of the city Thebes, those kings, governors, (and) officials whom the father who had engendered me had appointed in Egypt, who had abandoned their post(s) in the face of Taharqa's tactical advance, (and) had gone to (lit. "filled") the countryside, where their post(s) were, I reappointed them in their (former) positions. I reorganized Egypt and Kush, which the father who had engendered me had conquered. I strengthened (its) guard more than previously and concluded (new) agreement (with it). With much plunder (and) substantial booty, I returned safely to Nineveh. Afterwards, those kings, as many as I had appointed, sinned against my treaty (and) did not honour the oath(s) sworn by the great gods. They forgot the kindness that I had done for them and their heart(s) plotted evil (deeds). They spoke word(s) of treachery and decided (among) themselves on a profitless decision, saying: "If they remove Taharqa from Egypt, how then can we (ourselves) stay?" To establish treaties and peace, they dispatched their mounted messenger(s) to Taharqa, the king of Kush, saying: "Let peace be established between us so that we can come to a mutual agreement. (Let) us divide the land among ourselves so that no other lord comes between us." With regard to the troops of Assyria, the might of my lordly majesty that I had stationed (there) to help them, they constantly sought out evil plan(s). Eunuchs of mine heard these words; they seized their mounted messenger(s) along with their messages and (then) they saw their deceitful acts. They seized those kings and clamped (their) hands and feet in iron fetters (and) iron handcuffs. The oath (sworn) by (the god) Aššur, the king of the gods, defeated them and my kindness, which I had done for them as a favour, called to account those who had sinned against the treaty (sworn) by the great gods. (As for) the people of the cities Sais, Mendes, Pelusium, and the rest of the cities, as many as had sided with them (and) plotted evil (deeds), young and old, they (my troops) cut (them) down with the sword. They did not spare a single person among (them). They hung their corpses on poles, flayed them, (and) draped the city wall(s) with their skins. (As for) those twenty kings who had constantly sought out evil (deeds) against the troops of Assyria, they brought (them alive) to Nineveh, before me. Among them, I had mercy on Necho and I let him live. I made (his) treaty more stringent than the previous one and I established (it) with him. I clothed him in garment(s) with multi-coloured trim, placed on him a golden hoe, an insignia of his kingship, (and) fastened gold bracelets around his wrists. On an iron belt-dagger with gold mountings, I wrote out my name and I gave (it) to him. I presented him with chariots, horses, (and)

mules to be his lordly transport. I sent with him eunuchs of mine (and) governors to help him. Where the father who had engendered me had appointed him as king, in the city Sais, I returned him to his position. Moreover, I appointed Nabû-šēzibanni, his son, in the city Athribis. I performed more kind (and) good deed(s) for him than the father who had engendered me.”¹⁰⁷

When the Egyptian rebellion was suppressed and the Taharka problem was eliminated, the rebel kings were punished. Taharka was replaced by Tanutamon (Tantamani) as Pharaoh of Egypt. However, like his uncle Taharka, he rebelled against Assyria and conquered most of Egypt. In the same year, Ashurbanipal's army returned and conquered Egypt again. In the face of this attack, Tanutamon abandoned Memphis and fled to Thebes. The fall of Thebes represents the culmination of Assyrian success in Egypt. And this conquest ended the Assyrian-Egyptian struggle in Syria, Palestine and the Jewish lands in favour of Assyria.¹⁰⁸ As a result of this campaign, numerous men and women, various species of animals, and a large quantity of precious stones were brought to Nineveh as booty. Ashurbanipal recorded his campaign against Tanutamon as follows:

“Afterwards, Tanutamon, the son of Shabako, sat upon his royal throne. He made the cities Thebes (and) Heliopolis his fortresses (and) assembled his forces. To fight against the Assyrian troops who were inside the city Memphis, he mobilised his battle array, confined those people, and cut off their escape route. A fast messenger came to Nineveh and told (this) to me. On my second campaign, I took the direct road to Egypt and Kush. Tanutamon heard about the advance of my expeditionary force and that I had set foot on Egyptian territory, he abandoned the city Memphis and, in order to save his (own) life, he fled inside the city Thebes. The kings, governors, (and) officials whom I had stationed in Egypt came to meet me and kissed my feet. I took the road in pursuit of Tanutamon (and) I marched as far as the city Thebes, his fortified city. He saw the assault of my mighty battle array and abandoned the city Thebes; he fled to the city Kipkipi. With the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, I conquered that city (Thebes) in its entirety. Silver, gold, precious stones, as much property of his palace as there was, garment(s) with multi-coloured trim, linen garments, large horses, people - male and female - two tall obelisks cast with shiny zaḫalû-metal, whose weight was 2,500 talents (and which) stood at a temple gate, I ripped (them) from where they were

¹⁰⁷ RINAP 5 no. 11: i 90 - ii 19.

¹⁰⁸ Robert G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers*, (London: Rubicon Press, 2000); Donald B. Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 86-147

erected and took (them) to Assyria. I carried off substantial booty (which was) without number from inside the city Thebes. I made my weapons prevail over Egypt and Kush and (thus) achieved victory. With full hand(s), I returned safely to Nineveh, my capital city.”¹⁰⁹

Although the record of Ashurbanipal’s Egyptian campaign is detailed in the annals, we almost never encounter a depiction of this event in relief. In the reliefs of Ashurbanipal there is a scene of the capture and looting of an Egyptian city (Figure 16).¹¹⁰ In the relief, the Assyrians are attacking the fortress from the hilltop; one of them tries to burn the gate while the others undermine the walls. The prisoners being led out are recognizable as Nubian soldiers of Egyptian, with a single erect feather on their heads; the native Egyptians are represented by a group of civilian prisoners with two children on a donkey. Below is a river with lots of fish and crabs.¹¹¹ However, it cannot be established which of the Egyptian cities is the city in this scene. The scene may be from Ashurbanipal’s campaign in 667 BC or 663 BC, and the city may be Thebes or Memphis.



Figure 16: Assyrian capture of a city in Egypt.
(BM 124928 (1613000292) © The Trustees of the British Museum)

Assyrian rule in Egypt lasted approximately 17 years (+ 671-657). Assyrian royal inscriptions and administrative correspondence show a one-

¹⁰⁹ RINAP 5 no. 11: ii 28 - ii 48

¹¹⁰ Von Hellmut Brunner, “Ein assyrischer Relief mit einer ägyptischen Festung”, AfO, XVI, (1952-1953): 253-62.

¹¹¹ Richard D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 B.C.*, (London: British Museum, 1976), 47, pl. XXXVI; Brunner, *Ein assyrischer Relief mit einer ägyptischen Festung*, 253-62; Julian Reade, “Ideology and propaganda in Assyrian art”, M.T. Larsen (ed.) *Power and Propaganda: a symposium on ancient empires*, (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), 329-43, Fig. 8

way economic system in which the Assyrians received tribute and booty from the conquered or vassal states. During the 17 years of Assyrian rule, although Egyptian rulers supported anti-Assyrian elements in the surrounding regions, this support was necessarily limited in the absence of a strong central administration in Egypt.¹¹² This rule was interrupted from time to time. After the Assyrian troops left Egypt, Psammetikhos I founded the 26th Dynasty and ended the Assyrian domination of Egypt.¹¹³ Psammetikhos I managed to stay on the Egypt throne until 610 BC and put an end to the division of the Delta.¹¹⁴ After this, relations remained stagnant. After the fall of Nineveh, Egypt made efforts to revive Assyria, with which it had previously been in constant conflict, even attempting to send aid to Assyria. Of course, this policy can be considered to be related to the fact that Egypt did not want Babylon to gain power in the region. The effort to make such an attempt may also be related to the fact that in the last days of Assyria, relations were progressing on a softer basis in a favorable atmosphere for both sides. Under these circumstances, Egypt may have perceived Assyria's presence as beneficial while perceiving Babylon as a threat. With this in mind, Egypt made a great effort to provide Assyria with aid.¹¹⁵ Although the Pharaoh of Egypt moved towards Harran to help Assyria, he was delayed on the way by Josiah, the king of Judah. Necho II defeated Josiah's army at Megiddo and moved towards Harran.¹¹⁶ In 609 BC, the Babylonians and Medes defeated the Assyrian-Egyptian alliance in a battle at Harran, and Assyria ceased to exist as an independent state.¹¹⁷ In 605 BC, another Egyptian force fought the Babylonians at Carchemish with the help of the remnants of the old Assyrian

¹¹² Zamazalová, "Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 B.C.E...", 323.

¹¹³ Douglas J. Brewer ve Emily Teeter. *Mısır ve Mısırlılar* (Çev. N. Uzan), (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2011), 62.

¹¹⁴ Hikade, "Egypt and the Near East", 847-848; Anthony Spalinger, "Psammetichus, King of Egypt: I", *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt*. 13: (1976): 133-147; Anthony Spalinger, "Psammetichus, King of Egypt: II", *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt*. 15, (1978): 49-57; Hornung, *Mısır Tarihi*, 140.

¹¹⁵ Although it is claimed in II Kings 23:29-30 that Egypt's arrival in the Levant was to march on Assyria, Eric H. Cline claims that the expedition was for relief purposes and that this narrative in the Old Testament was misinterpreted and translated as going to Assyria. See: Eric H. Cline, *The Battles of Armageddon Megiddo and the Jezreel Valley from the Bronze Age to the Nuclear Age*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 90-92

¹¹⁶ II Chronicles 35:20-25; Dan'el Kahn, (2015). "Why did Necho II Kill Josiah?", J. Mynářová, P. Onderka, and P. Pavúk (Eds.), *There and back again : the crossroads II : proceedings of an international conference held in Prague*, September 15-18, 2014, (Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts 2015), 511-528.

¹¹⁷ Mario Liverani, *The Ancient Near East History, Society and Economy*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), 539; Frahm, "The Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000-609 BCE)", 192.

army, but they were defeated again.¹¹⁸ Thus, Assyria completely disappeared from the stage of history, and the relations between Assyria and Egypt ended.

The Impact of Assyrian-Egyptian Relations on Assyrian Culture

The political, military, social, and economic consequences of the Assyrian-Egyptian relationship in the first millennium BC for both sides are supported by the records in the Assyrian royal inscriptions and the depictions in the reliefs. However, this relationship also led to a cultural interaction. This cultural interaction can be proved primarily through the archaeological material unearthed from Assyrian centers. Especially during the Assyrian campaigns in the 7th century BC, Assyria was exposed to Egyptian art. Many Egyptian artifacts were recovered from excavations in Nineveh. Esarhaddon chastised the king of Tir on his return from the Egyptian campaign and the Sam'al (Zincirli) and Til-Barsip (Tell Ahmar) steles (Figures 5 and 6) and the relief of the Battle of Til-Tuba, which he erected to commemorate these victories, bear the influence of Egyptian art in terms of form and composition.¹¹⁹ The depiction of the king on the Sam'al (Zincirli) and Til-Barsip (Tell Ahmar) stelae in larger sizes than other people can also be considered a first in Neo-Assyrian art. This feature must have been transferred from Egyptian art to Assyrian art during the Egyptian Campaign.¹²⁰ This practice is seen in the reliefs of Ashurbanipal. The relief depicting Ashurbanipal's receiving the spoils from Elam and Babylon is a good example of this situation. In the relief, the king is depicted on his chariot in a large size, so as to be distinguished from other people (Figure 17). The most important innovation seen in the Ashurbanipal period is the narration of the picture in the reliefs together with its story. This style is similar to Egyptian is a feature seen in the art of Assyria. Assurbanipal, who established a strong sovereignty over Egypt, may have carried this Egyptian tradition to Assyrian art.¹²¹ This feature, observed in contemporary comic books, is clearly exemplified in the Nineveh palace relief depicting the victory at Til-Tuba, which is exhibited at the British Museum. The moment of the capture of Teumman and his son

¹¹⁸ Andrew Hill and John Walton, *A survey of the Old Testament* (3rd ed.). (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), 197.

¹¹⁹ Marian H. Feldman, "Nineveh to Thebes and Back: Art and Politics between Assyria and Egypt in the Seventh Century BCE", *Iraq*, Vol. 66, Nineveh. Papers of the 49th Rencontre Assriologique Internationale, Part One (2004): 148-149.

¹²⁰ Paul Collins, "The Development of the Individual Enemy in Assyrian Art", *Notes in the History of Art*, 25/3, (2006): 6-7.

¹²¹ İsmail Coşkun, "Til Tuba Savaşı ve Zafer Töreni". *Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Yıl: 6, Sayı: 77, (2018): 597.

during the battle is given together with the speeches (Figure 18). However, it should be noted that Assyrian palace artisans did not fully adopt Egyptian art, as Assyrian relief art remains easily distinguishable.¹²²



Figure 17: Relief in the North-West Palace depicting Ashurbanipal's reception of booty from Elam and Babylon. (BM 124946 © The Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 18: Battle of Til Tuba (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

¹²² Mattias Karlsson, "Egypt and the Origin of Assyrian Wall Reliefs". Preprint, posted 2016-03-13 in DiVA (Digitala Vetenskapliga Arkivet). Downloadable at (permanent link): <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-280645>., s. 7-8.

The impact of Egyptian art and relations on Assyrian art was not limited to reliefs and steles. Egyptian motifs were used on an Assyrian artifact in the Iraq Museum. In this artifact, which is a furniture plaque, two pharaoh-like figures standing on either side of a branched tree wear a version of the double crown of Egypt with a cobra or uraeus emblem standing in front of it. Despite the use of Egyptian motifs, the artifact is carved in Phoenician style (Figure 19).¹²³ This can be interpreted as a result of the Assyrian desire for Egyptian objects, decorations, and artifacts, which led Phoenician artisans to produce a specific Egyptian motif for the Assyrian royal elites.



Figure 19: Ivory plaque from Fort Shalmaneser. Iraq Museum, 65508 (Winter, 2010: Chap. IX, Fig. 15)

In addition to the artifacts showing Egyptian impact in Assyria, it should be noted that several artifacts of direct Egyptian origin have also been unearthed. The remains of three gigantic statues of Taharqa (Figure 20) were found at the entrance to the palace in Nineveh. These artifacts were probably brought to Assyria after the Egyptian campaign.¹²⁴ The post-war transfer of Egyptian artifacts to Assyria is clearly visible in both royal inscriptions and palace reliefs (Figure 21). In the royal annals, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal clearly state that they carried Egyptian artifacts to Assyria after the Egyptian campaign. In addition, a relief from the reign of Ashurbanipal depicts scribes recording Egyptian artifacts.¹²⁵

¹²³ Irene J. Winter, *On Art in the Ancient Near East Volume I: Of the First Millennium B.C.E.*, (CHANE 34.1), (Leiden/Boston, 2010), 228.

¹²⁴ Allison Karmel Thomason, "From Sennacherib's Bronzes to Taharqa's Feet: Conceptions of the Material World at Nineveh", *Iraq*, Vol. 66, Nineveh. Papers of the 49th Rencontre Assriologique Internationale, Part One (2004): 155.

¹²⁵ Julian E., Reade, "Ideology and Propaganda in Assyrian Art", M. T Larsen (ed.), *Mesopotamia 7 - Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires*, (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), 329-343, Fig. 65

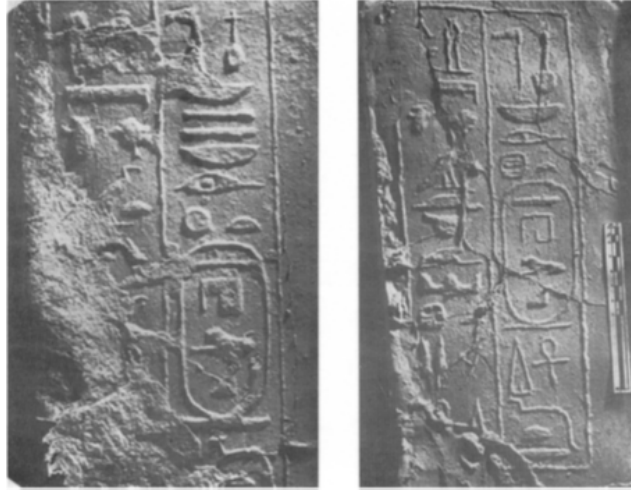


Figure 20: Statues of Taharqa found in the entrance to the arsenal of Nebi Yunus (Thomason, 2004: Fig. 4)

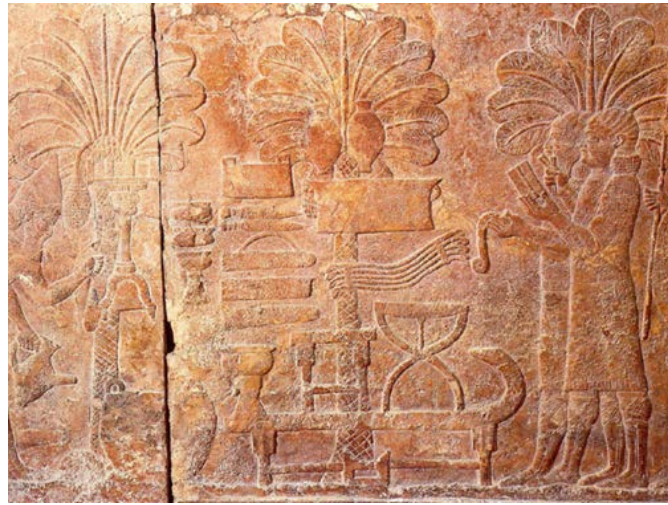


Figure 21: Recording of booty (Reade, 1979: Fig. 65)

References in inscriptions and paintings, and archaeologically confirmed Egyptian objects, indicate the value that certain types of exotics had in Nineveh and Assyria.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Thomason, "From Sennacherib's Bronzes to Taharqa's Feet...", 61.

Conclusion

The struggle between Assyria and Egypt over the Levant and Syria is considered one of the greatest power struggles of the ancient world. The nature of Assyrian-Egyptian relations was largely shaped around Assyria's Western policies and its commercial and strategic interests in the region. Assyria initially built its relations with Egypt on trade and maintained both land and maritime trade through the Levant and the surrounding kingdoms. The Southern Levant was especially critical to Assyria's economic and strategic interests. Despite frequent rebellions in the Levant, Assyrian kings kept this region under control, leaving local kingdoms as vassals in competition with Egypt. Assyria's campaigns against Egypt increased as a result of Egyptian incitement against Assyria in the Levant. This struggle is analysed on the basis of Assyrian documents and reflects the impact of political, military, and commercial power balances in the region.

The westward expansion of the Neo-Assyrian kings with a conquering policy led to a struggle between Assyria and Egypt over the control of the Levant. With the conquests during the reign of Salmanassar III and Tiglath-pileser III, Assyria started to gain an advantageous position in the region against Egypt and became a neighbour to Egypt with the territories it gained in the region. This situation disturbed Egypt, and it carried out a policy of provoking the kingdoms in the region against Assyria. However, Assyria managed to defeat the coalitions formed against it every time. Especially in the time of Sennacherib, an overwhelming superiority was established against the kings of Judah in the region. Until this time, Assyrian kings did not make a direct campaign against Egypt, although they dealt with Egyptian-supported rebellions in the region. After Sennacherib, during the reign of Esarhaddon, Assyria changed its Egyptian policy and put into practice the option of direct contact and war. Although the first attempts of Esarhaddon were unsuccessful, he continued his objectives towards Egypt with absolute determination, entered the Egyptian country, and defeated the rival forces. After Esarhaddon's return to Assyria, the kingdoms in Egypt tried to declare their independence by attacking Assyrian garrisons. Upon the death of Esarhaddon, who went on an expedition against these developments, this task was completed by his son Ashurbanipal, who took over the throne. Ashurbanipal, who travelled to Egypt with a sizeable Assyrian army, re-established his sovereignty in Egypt in 667 BC. However, this rule lasted for 17 years, and Psammetikhos I brought together the scattered tribes in Egypt and regained power in Egypt.

It should not be forgotten that Assyrian-Egyptian relations are predominantly described and evaluated according to Assyrian sources.

Although Assyrian royal inscriptions and Babylonian chronicles clearly contain records of the Egyptian campaigns, the case of the Assyrian invasion of Egypt is a case of how little we know, how unbalanced our sources are, and most importantly, how lacking the archaeological evidence is.¹²⁷

To say that Assyrian-Egyptian relations produced only economic, political, military, and social results may lead to the omission of a positive aspect of these relations. Assyrian-Egyptian relations also produced essential results in cultural life, especially some aspects of Egyptian art that were reflected in Assyrian art, and synthesized products were produced. We can clearly see this effect in the artifacts unearthed from Assyrian capitals.

REFERENCES

- Albenda, Pauline. "Observations on Egyptians in Assyrian Art." *Bulletin of Egyptological Seminar* 4 (1982): 5-23.
- Aslan, Cemre and Okay Pekşen, "Yeni Asur Dönemi'nde Asur Devleti'nin Batı Seferlerinin İktisadi Kazanımları ve Bu Kazanımların Korunmasına Yönelik Faaliyetler", *Near East Historical Review*, 11/1, (2021): 1 - 15
- Aubet, Maria Eugenia. "Political and Economic Implications of the New Phoenician Chronologies." ed. C. Sagona, *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement. 247-260, Leuven: Peeters Press, 2008.
- Ay, Şeyma. "İsrail ve Yahuda Krallıkları Üzerine Düzenlenen Asur Seferleri." *History Studies* 3, no. 1 (2011): 1-14.
- Bagg, Ariel M. "Assyria and the West: Syria and the Levant." Ed. Eckart Frahm. *A Companion to Assyria*, 268-288. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017.
- Bagg, Ariel M. "Palestine under Assyrian Rule: A New Look at the Assyrian Imperial Policy in the West." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 133, no. 1 (2013): 119-144.
- Barnett, Richard D. *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 BC)*. London: British Museum, 1976.
- Bates, Robert D. "Assyria and the Rebellion in the Annals of Sennacherib." *NEASB* 44 (1999): 39-61.
- Bauer, Susan Wise. *Antik Dünya İlk Kayıttan Roma'nın Dağılmasına* (Trans. by M. Moralı). İstanbul: Alfa Publications, 2013.

¹²⁷ Felix Höflmayer, "Assyria in Egypt: How To Trace Defeat in Ancient Egyptian Sources", K. Streit and M. Grohmann (eds.), *Culture of Defeat: Submission in Written Sources and the Archaeological Record. Proceedings of a Joint Seminar of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Vienna, October 2017* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2021), 189-228.

- Berlejung, Angelika. "The Assyrians in the West: Assyrianisation, Colonialism, Indifference, or Development Policy?" ed. Martti Nissinen. *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, 21-60. Leiden ve Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Borowski, Oded. "Hezekiah's Reforms and the Revolt Against Assyria." *Biblical Archaeology* 58, no. 3 (1995): 148-155.
- Brewer, Douglas J., and Emily Teeter. *Mısır ve Mısırlılar*. (Trans. by N. Uzan). Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2011.
- Brunner, Von Hellmut. "Ein assyrischer Relief mit einer ägyptischen Festung." *AfO* XVI (1952-1953): 253-262.
- Bull, Ludlow S. "Egypt and Syria-Palestine." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 33, no. 2 (1938): 39-42.
- Buttery, Alan. *Armies and Enemies of Ancient Egypt and Assyria: Egyptian, Nubian, Asiatic, Libyan, Hittite, Sea Peoples, Assyrian, Aramaean (Syrian), Hebrew, Babylonian, Scythian, 3200 BC-612 BC* Wargames Research Group, 1974.
- Cline, Eric H. *The Battles of Armageddon: Megiddo and the Jezreel Valley from the Bronze Age to the Nuclear Age*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Cohen, Susan L. "History of Palestine in Egypt." In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. W. Grajetzki and W. Wendrich. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002k7wp5> (2016): 1-13, p. 9.
- Collins, Paul. "The Development of the Individual Enemy in Assyrian Art." *Notes in the History of Art* 25, no. 3 (2006): 1-8.
- Coşgun, Sercan and Okay Pekşen, "Yeni Asur Devleti'nin Askeri Seferlerinde Ganimet Alınan Hayvanlar ve Bölgeleri", Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Üniversitesi SBE Dergisi, 12/4, (2022): 2583-2599.
- Coşkun, İsmail. "Til Tuba Savaşı ve Zafer Töreni." *Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 6, no. 77 (2018): 591-600.
- Elat, Moshe. "The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 98, no. 1 (1978): 20-34.
- Eph'al, Israel. "Esarhaddon, Egypt and Shubria: Politics and Propaganda." *JCS* 57 (2005): 99-111.
- Eph'al, Israel. *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th-5th Centuries BC* Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984, 137-142.
- Fantalkin, Alexander. "Neo-Assyrian Involvement in the Southern Coastal Plain of Israel: Old Concepts and New Interpretations." ed. S. Zelig Aster ve A. Faust. *The Southern Levant under Assyrian Domination*, 162-185. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2018.

- Fecht, Gerhard. "Zu den Namen ägyptischer Fürsten und Städte in den Annalen des Assurbanipal und der Chronik des Esarhaddon." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 16 (1958): 112-119.
- Feldman, Marian H. "Nineveh to Thebes and Back: Art and Politics between Assyria and Egypt in the Seventh Century BCE." *Iraq* 66 (2004): 141-150.
- Frahm, Eckart. "A Sculpted Slab with an Inscription of Sargon II Mentioning the Rebellion of Yau-bi'di of Hamath." *AoF* 40, no. 1 (2013): 42-54.
- Frahm, Eckart. "The Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000-609 BCE)." ed. E. Frahm, *A Companion to Assyria*, 162-208, Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017.
- Glassner, Jean-Jacques. *Mesopotamian Chronicles*. ed. B. R. Foster. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004.
- Goedicke, Hans. "The End of 'So, King of Egypt.'" *BASOR* 171 (1963): 64-66.
- Gökçek, L. Gürkan. *Asurlular*. Ankara: Bilgin Kültür Sanat, 2015, 156-157.
- Grayson, Albert Kirk. "Assyria: Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (704-669 BC)." eds. J. Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, N. G. L. Hammond ve E. Sollberger. *The Cambridge Ancient History 3/2: The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and Other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries BC*, 103-141. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Grayson, Albert Kirk. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (Texts from Cuneiform Sources)*. New York, 1975.
- Hansman, John. "A 'Periplus' of Magan and Meluḥḥa." *BSOAS* 36, no. 3 (1973): 554-587.
- Hikade, Thomas. "Egypt and the Near East." ed. D. T. Potts, *A Companion to The Archaeology of The Ancient Near East*, Vol. II, 846-847, Blackwell Publishing, 2012.
- Hill, Andrew, ve John Walton. *A Survey of the Old Testament*. 3. Baskı. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009.
- Hornung, Erik. *Mısır Tarihi* (Trans. by Z. Aksu Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınları, 2004.
- Höflmayer, Felix, and Sturt W. Manning. "A Synchronised Early Middle Bronze Age Chronology for Egypt, the Levant, and Mesopotamia." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 81, no. 1 (2022): 1-24.
- Höflmayer, Felix. "Assyria in Egypt: How to Trace Defeat in Ancient Egyptian Sources." ed. K. Streit and M. Grohmann, *Culture of Defeat: Submission in Written Sources and the Archaeological Record. Proceedings of a Joint Seminar of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Vienna, October 2017*, 189-228, Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2021,
- Adams, Matthew J. "Egypt and the Levant in the Early to Middle Bronze Age Transition", ed. F. Höflmayer. *The Late Third Millennium in the Ancient Near East: Chronology, C14, and Climate Change*, 493-515, Chicago: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 2017.

- Kahn, Dan'el. "The Assyrian Invasions of Egypt (673-663 BC) and the Final Expulsion of the Kushites." *SAK* 34 (2006): 251-267.
- Kahn, Dan'el. (2015). "Why Did Necho II Kill Josiah?", ed. J. Mynářová, P. Onderka, and P. Pavúk, *There and Back Again: The Crossroads II: Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague, September 15-18, 2014*, 511-528, Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts, 2015.
- Kahn, Dan'el. "Taharqa, King of Kush and the Assyrians." *JSSEA* 31 (2004): 109-128.
- Karlsson, Mattias. "Egypt and Kush in Neo-Assyrian State Letters and Documents." *SAAB* 24 (2018): 37-61.
- Karlsson, Mattias. "Egypt and the Origin of Assyrian Wall Reliefs." Preprint, posted March 13, 2016, in DiVA (Digitala Vetenskapliga Arkivet). Downloadable at: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-280645>, pp. 7-8.
- Koch, Ido. "Israel and Assyria, Judah and Assyria." ed. K. H. Keimer and G. A. Pierce, *The Ancient Israelite World*, 693-712, London and New York: Routledge, 2022.
- Kreppner, Florian Anoscha. "Public Space in Nature: The Case of Neo-Assyrian Rock-Reliefs." *AoF* 29, no. 2 (2002): 367-383.
- Kuhrt, Amelia. *Eski Çağ'da Yakındoğu (3000-330 BC)*. Cilt. II. (Trans. by D. Şendil), İstanbul, 2013.
- Layard, Austen Henry. *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh*. London, 1853.
- Lipiński, Edward. *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*. Leuven-Paris-Sterling-Virginia, 2000.
- Liverani, Mario. *The Ancient Near East: History, Society and Economy*. New York and London: Routledge, 2014.
- Morkot, Robert G. *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers*. London: Rubicon Press, 2000.
- Mumford, Gregory D. "Egypt and the Levant." ed. M. L. Steiner and A. E. Killebrew, *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant*, 69-89, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Na'aman, Nadav. "The Boundary System and Political Status of Gaza under the Assyrian Empire." *ZDPV* 120 (2004): 55-72.
- Na'aman, Nadav. "The Northern Kingdom in the Late Tenth-Ninth Centuries BCE." ed. H. G. M. Wilkinson, *Understanding the History of Israel*, 399-418, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Nadali, Davide. "Esarhaddon's Glazed Bricks from Nimrud: The Egyptian Campaign Depicted." *Iraq* 68 (2006): 109-119.
- Parpola, Simo, Asko Parpola, and Robert H. Brunswig. "The Meluḫḫa Village: Evidence of Acculturation of Harappan Traders in Late Third Millennium Mesopotamia?" *JESHO* 20, no. 2 (1977): 129-165.

- Porter, Barbara Nevling. *Trees, Kings, and Politics: Studies in Assyrian Iconography*. OBO 197. Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck Ruprecht, 2003.
- Potts, Daniel T. "The Road to Meluhha." *JNES* 41, no. 4 (1982): 279-288.
- Radner, Karen. "After Eltekeh: Royal Hostages from Egypt at the Assyrian Court." ed. H. D. Baker, K. Kaniuth, and A. Otto, *Stories of Long Ago: Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf*, 471-479, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012.
- Radner, Karen. "Economy, Society, and Daily Life in the Neo-Assyrian Period." ed. E. Frahm, *A Companion to Assyria*, 209-228, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017.
- Radner, Karen. "Esarhaddon's Expedition from Palestine to Egypt in 671 BCE: A Trek Through the Negev and Sinai." ed. D. Bonatz, R. M. Czichon, and F. J. Kreppner, *Fundstellen: Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Alt Vorderasiens ad honorem Hartmut Kühne*, 305-314, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008.
- Radner, Karen. "Revolts in the Assyrian Empire: Succession Wars, Rebellions Against a False King and Independence Movements." In *Revolt and Resistance in the Ancient Classical World and the Near East: In the Crucible of Empire*, ed. J. J. Collins and J. G. Manning. Leiden: Brill, 2016, 41-54.
- Radner, Karen. "Royal Marriage Alliances and Noble Hostages." *Assyrian Empire Builders*. 2023.
<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/diplomats/royalmarriage/>
(accessed October 11, 2023).
- Radner, Karen. "The Assyrian King and His Scholars: The Syro-Anatolian and the Egyptian Schools." ed. M. Luukko, S. Svärd, and R. Mattila, *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, 221-238, *Studia Orientalia* 106. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2009.
- Reade, Julian E. "Ideology and Propaganda in Assyrian Art." ed. M. T. Larsen, *Mesopotamia 7 - Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires*, 329-343, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979.
- Redford, Donald B. "Sais and the Kushite Invasions of the Eighth Century BC" *JARCE* 22 (1985): 5-15.
- Redford, Donald B. *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- Röllig, Wolfgang. "Jerusalem in the Neo-Assyrian Period." In *Jerusalem before Islam*, ed. Z. Kafafi and R. Schick. BAR International Series, 2007, 40-44, 41.
- Spalinger, Anthony. "Psammetichus, King of Egypt: I." *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt* 13 (1976): 133-147.

- Spalinger, Anthony. "Psammetichus, King of Egypt: II." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 15 (1978): 49-57.
- Spalinger, Anthony. "The Foreign Policy of Egypt Preceding the Assyrian Conquest." *Chronique d'Égypte* 53 (1978): 22-47.
- Tadmor, Hayim. "Philistia under Assyrian Rule." *Biblical Archaeologist* 29 (1966): 88-97.
- Tadmor, Hayim. "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study." *JCS* 12, no. 1 (1958): 22-40.
- Tadmor, Hayim. "World Dominion: The Expanding Horizon of the Assyrian Empire." ed. L. Milano, S. de Martino, F. M. Fales, and G. B. Lanfranchi, *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East, RAI 44, 1997*. 55-62, Padua: Sargon srl, 1999.
- Tenu, Aline. *L'expansion médio-assyrienne (Approche archéologique BAR International Series 1906)*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009.
- Thomason, Allison Karmel. "From Sennacherib's Bronzes to Taharqa's Feet: Conceptions of the Material World at Nineveh." *Iraq* 66 (2004): 151-162.
- Toptaş, Koray. "Foreign Royal Nobles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire." *Journal of Universal History Studies* 7, no. 1 (2024): 59-86.
- Toptaş, Koray. *Esarhaddon: Asur Kralı, Babil Yöneticisi, Mısır Fatihı*. Ankara: Berikan Yayınevi, 2021.
- Ussishkin, David. *Biblical Lachish: A Tale of Construction, Destruction, Excavation and Restoration*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Biblical Archaeology Society, 2014.
- Ussishkin, David. *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1982.
- Üzen, İsmail. *Birinci Dünya Savaşında Kanal Seferleri (1915-1916)*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. İstanbul University Institute of Social Sciences, Department of History, 2007.
- van der Brugge, Caroline ve Kristin Kleber. "The Empire of Trade and the Empires of Force: Tyre in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Periods.", ed. C. M. Garcia. *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East, 1300-500 BC*, 187-222. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016.
- Verreth, Herbert. "The Egyptian Eastern Border Region in Assyrian Sources." *JAOS* 119, no. 2 (1999): 234-247.
- Weissbach, Franz Heinrich. *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1922.
- Winter, Irene J. *On Art in the Ancient Near East Volume I: Of the First Millennium BCE*. CHANE 34.1. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Zamazalová, Silvie. "Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 BCE.: Relations between Egypt, Kush and Assyria." ed. J. Mynářová, *Egypt and the Near East - the*

Crossroads: Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, 297-328, Prague: 2011.

ABBREVIATIONS

- RIMA 2: Grayson, Albert Kirk. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2. Toronto: 1991.
- RIMA 3: Grayson, Albert Kirk. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858–745 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3. Toronto: 1996.
- RINAP 1: Tadmor, Hayim, and Shigeo Yamada. *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglat-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 1. Winona Lake: 2011.
- RINAP 2: Frame, Grant. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria (721-705 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 2. Eisenbrauns, 2021.
- RINAP 3/1: Grayson, Albert Kirk, and Jaime Novotny. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 1*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/1. Winona Lake: 2012.
- RINAP 4: Leichty, Erle. *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, RINAP 4. Winona Lake: 2011.
- RINAP 5/I: Novotny, Jaime, and Jeremy Jeffers. *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC), Aššuretel-ilāni (630–627 BC), and Sin-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 5/1. Winona Lake: 2018.
- SAA 2: Parpola, Simo, and Kazuko Watanabe. *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. State Archives of Assyria II. Helsinki: 1988.
- SAA 4: Starr, Ivan. *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*. State Archives of Assyria 4. Helsinki: 1990.
- SAA 6: Kwasman, Theodore. *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I: Dated and Datable Texts*. State Archives of Assyria VI. Helsinki: 1991.
- SAA 8: Hunger, Hermann. *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*. State Archives of Assyria VIII. Helsinki: 1992.
- SAA 10: Parpola, Simo. *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. State Archives of Assyria X. Helsinki: 1993.
- SAA 19: Luukko, Mikko. *The Correspondence of Tiglat-pileser III and Sargon II from Kalhu*. State Archives of Assyria XIX. Helsinki: 2012.

