

ESARHADDON, King of Assyria

Josette Elayi

ESARHADDON, KING OF ASSYRIA



Stela of Esarhaddon from Zincirli-Sam'al. Pergamon Museum
Dosseman, CC BY-SA 4.0 via Wikimedia Commons.

ESARHADDON, KING OF ASSYRIA

Josette Elayi



LOCKWOOD PRESS
Columbus, Georgia
2023

Esarhaddon, King of Assyria

Copyright © 2023 by Lockwood Press

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to Lockwood Press, PO Box 1080, Columbus, GA 31901 USA.

ISBN: 978-1-957454-97-9

Cover design by Susanne Wilhelm.

Cover image: Victory stele of Assyrian king Esarhaddon, Zincirli, ca. 670 BCE; Pergamon Museum, Berlin. Photograph by Richard Mortel from Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Elayi, Josette, author.

Title: Esarhaddon, King of Assyria / Josette Elayi.

Description: Columbus, Georgia : Lockwood Press, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022046388 (print) | LCCN 2022046389 (ebook) | ISBN 9781957454979 (paperback) | ISBN 9781957454955 (pdf) | ISBN 9781957454948 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, -669 B.C. | Assyria--History.

Classification: LCC DS73.85 .E43 2022 (print) | LCC DS73.85 (ebook) | DDC 935/.03--dc23/eng/20220930

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2022046388>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2022046389>

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper.

Contents

Abbreviations and Keys	vii
The Chronology of Esarhaddon's Reign	xiii
Maps	xv
Introduction	1
1. A Portrait of Esarhaddon	9
1.1. His Physical Portrait	9
1.2. His Name and Family	10
1.3. His Childhood	11
1.4. His Personality	12
1.5. Propaganda	17
2. Esarhaddon, the Crown Prince	19
2.1. His Designation as Crown Prince	19
2.2. The Opposition against Esarhaddon	22
2.3. The Departure of Esarhaddon from Nineveh	24
3. Esarhaddon's Accession to the Throne	27
3.1. The Conquest of Power	27
3.2. The Investiture of the King	28
3.3. The King's Priorities	29
4. Diviners and Other Scholars in the Court of Nineveh	33
4.1. Their Role in the Assyrian Empire	33
4.2. Their Influence on the King	36
4.3. The Most Influential Scholars	37
4.4. Esarhaddon's Relationship with Them	43
4.5. The Relationship of Naqi'a with Them	44
5. The Rebuilding of Babylon and Other Building Activities	47
5.1. The Decision to Rebuild Babylon	47
5.2. The Falsification of Dates	49
5.3. The Financing and Organization of the Reconstruction	50
5.4. The Question of Statues	55
5.5. Riots in Babylon and Other Problems	56
5.6. Building Activities outside Babylon	57
6. The First Phase of Campaigns (680–675)	63
6.1. The Strategy of the Campaigns	63
6.2. The Campaign against the Sealand	64

6.3. The Campaign against Arzâ and the Brook of Egypt	66
6.4. The Campaign against Cilicia and the Cimmerians	67
6.5. The Campaign against Bit-Dakkûri	68
6.6. The Revolts of Abdi-Milkûti and Sanda-uarri	69
6.7. The Treaty with Ba’alu of Tyre	71
6.8. The Campaign against Bâzu	73
6.9. Problems with Nippur, Bît-Dakkûri, and Melid	75
6.10. Undated Campaigns	77
7. The Second Phase of Campaigns (674–669)	83
7.1. Esarhaddon’s Objective: The Conquest of Egypt	83
7.2. The First Campaign against Egypt	84
7.3. The Campaign against Shubria	85
7.4. The Ninth Year (672)	88
7.5. The Campaign against Tyre on the Way to Egypt	89
7.6. The Conquest of Egypt	91
8. The Problem of Succession	97
8.1. A Recurring Problem of the Dynasty	97
8.2. The Designation of Esarhaddon’s Two Sons as Crown Princes ..	98
8.3. The Consequences of the Double Kingship	101
9. The End of Esarhaddon’s Reign	105
9.1. The Twenty-Two Kings of Hatti	105
9.2. Undated Events of the Last Period of His Reign	106
9.3. Conspiracies against Esarhaddon	109
9.4. The Purge of High Dignitaries	110
9.5. Troubles in Egypt	112
9.6. The Third Campaign against Egypt	113
10. An Assessment of Esarhaddon’s Reign	115
Notes	119
Selected Bibliography	147
Index	151

Abbreviations and Keys

AAE	<i>Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy</i>
ÄAT	<i>Ägypten und Altes Testament</i>
ABL	Leroy Waterman, <i>Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire</i> , Vols I–III. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930–1936
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AfO.B	Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft
AMIT	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AOS	American Oriental Series
AOTU	Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen
ARAB 2	Daniel David Luckenbill, <i>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</i> , Vol. II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies
AW	<i>Antike Welt</i>
BACA	Bahrain Authority for Cultures & Antiquities
BaM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BeO	<i>Bibbia e Oriente</i>
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BM	British Museum
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
CAD	<i>Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1964–
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History

<i>CAM</i>	<i>Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea</i>
<i>CANE</i>	Sasson, Jack M., ed. <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East.</i> 4 vols. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1995. Repr. in 2 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000
<i>CdÉ</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CHANE</i>	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
<i>CIPOA</i>	Cahiers de l'Institut du Proche-Orient ancien du Collège de France
<i>CM</i>	Cuneiform Monographs
<i>CNI</i>	Carsten Niebuhr Institute
<i>CRRAI</i>	Comptes Rendus des Rencontres Assyriologiques internationales
<i>CT</i>	Cuneiform Texts
<i>CWA</i>	<i>Current World Archaeology</i>
<i>ERC</i>	Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations
<i>HANEM</i>	History of the Ancient Near East, Monographs
<i>HdO</i>	Handbuch der Orientalistik
<i>HIMA</i>	<i>Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire Ancienne</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>HSS</i>	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IrAnt</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JCSMS</i>	<i>Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies</i>
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex oriente lux</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal de la Société d'étude des antiquités égyptiennes</i>
<i>LAS</i>	Simo Parpola, <i>Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Part 1-2</i> , AOAT 5/2. Kevalaer: Butzon and Bercker; and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970 and 1983
<i>MC</i>	Mesopotamian Civilizations
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo</i>
<i>MKNAW</i>	Medelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie der Wetenschappen
<i>NABU</i>	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>

NEAEHL	Ephraim Stern et al. ed., <i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> , 5 volumes. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993–2008
OBO	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
OPSNKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund
Or	<i>Orientalia NS</i>
OrAnt	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PIHANS	Publications de l’Institut Historique-Archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PIPOAC	Publications de l’Institut du Proche-Orient Ancien du Collège de France
PNA	Heather D. Baker and Karen Radner ed., <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> , I–III. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998–2011
RA	<i>Revue d’Assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale</i>
RAI	Rencontres Assyriologiques Internationales
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
RGRW	Religions of the Greco-Roman World
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes
RINAP 3.1	Albert Kirk Grayson and Jamie Novotny, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC)</i> , Part 1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012
RINAP 3.2	A. K. Grayson and J. Novotny, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC)</i> , Part 2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014
RINAP 4	Erle Leichty, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC)</i> . Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> . Edited by Erich Ebeling et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–
RMA	R. Campbell Thompson, <i>The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon</i> I–II. London: Luzac, 1900
RSF	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>
SAA 2	Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, <i>Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1998
SAA 4	Ivan Starr, <i>Queries to the Sungod</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990

- SAA 6/1 Theodore Kwasman and Simo Parpola, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh. Part I: Tiglath-pileser III through Esarhaddon*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1991
- SAA 7 Frederick Mario Fales and John Nicholas Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992
- SAA 8 Hermann Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992
- SAA 9 Sarah C. Melville, *The Role of Naqia/Zakutu in Sargonid Politics*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1999
- SAA 10 Simo Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993
- SAA 12 Laura Kataja and Robert M. Whiting, *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995
- SAA 13 Steven W. Cole and Peter Machinist, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Priests to Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1998
- SAA 16 Mikko Luukko and Gretta Van Buylaere, *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002
- SAA 18 Frances Reynolds and Simo Parpola, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon, and Letters to Assurbanipal and Sin-Šarru-İškun from Northern and Central Babylonia*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003
- SAAB *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
- SAACT 4 Philippe Talon, *The Standard Babylonian Creation Myth*. State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2005
- SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies
- SAAS 2 Alan Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire (910-612 BC)*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 2. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1994
- SAAS 7 Martti Nissinen, *References to Prophecy in Neo-Assyrian Sources*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 7. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1998
- SAAS 9 Sarah C. Melville, *The Role of Naqia/Zakutu in Sargonid Politics*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 9. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1999

SAAS 11	Raija Mattila, <i>The King's Magnates: A Study of the Highest Officials in the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> . State Archives of Assyria Studies 11. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2000
SAAS 12	Matthew William Waters, <i>A Survey of Neo-Elamite History</i> . State Archives of Assyria Studies 12. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2000
SAAS 17	Cynthia Jean, <i>La magie néo-assyrienne en Contexte : recherches sur le métier d'exorciste et le concept d'āšipūtu</i> . State Archives of Assyria Studies 17. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2006
SAAS 19	Alan Lenzi, <i>Secrecy and the Gods: The Umman-manda and Its Significance in the First Millennium BC</i> . State Archives of Assyria Studies 19. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2011
SAAS 23	Saana Svärd, <i>Women and Power in the Neo-Assyrian Palaces</i> . State Archives of Assyria Studies 23. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2015
SAAS 28	Shigeo Yamada, <i>Neo-Assyrian Sources in Context</i> . State Archives of Assyria Studies 23. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2018
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SANTAG	Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
ScrHier	Scripta Hierosolymitana
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TMO	Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient
Trans	<i>Transeuphratène</i>
VAT	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WA	<i>World Archaeology</i>
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WAWSup	Writings from the Ancient World Supplement Series
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

Key to Transliterated Words

kibrāt	Akkadian words are indicated by italics
DINGIR	Sumerian word signs are indicated by capital letters

Explanation of Symbols

Single brackets [] enclose restorations

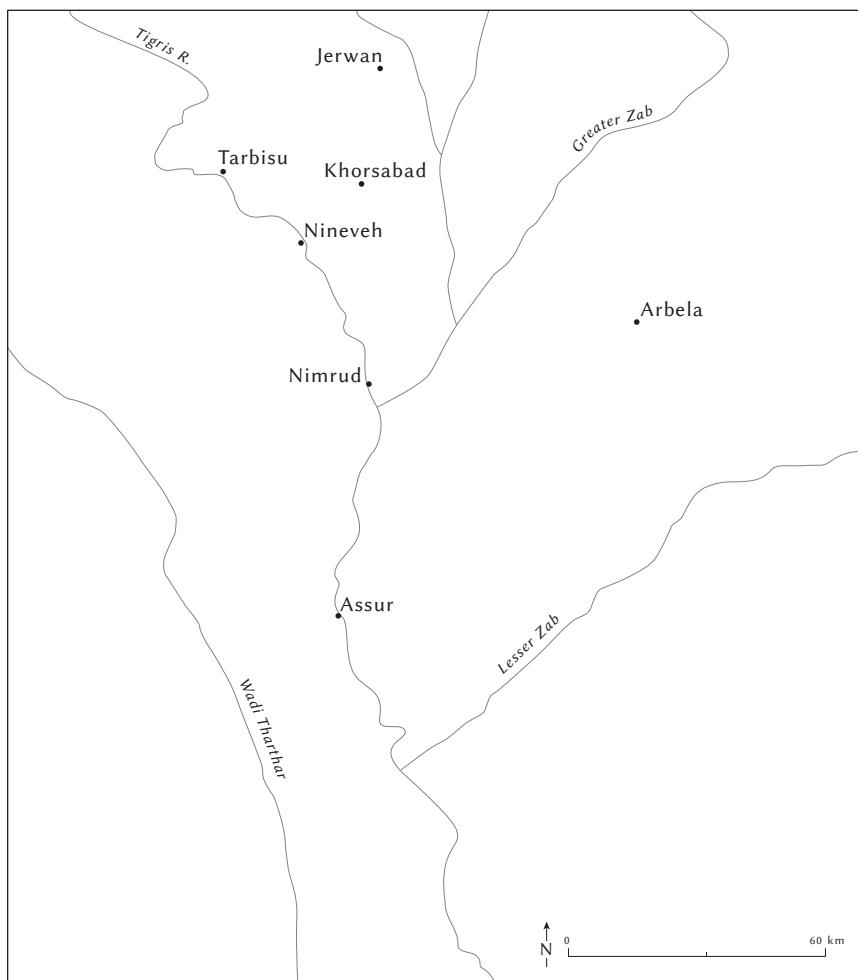
Parentheses () enclose additions in the English translation

A row of dots ... indicates gaps in the text or untranslatable words

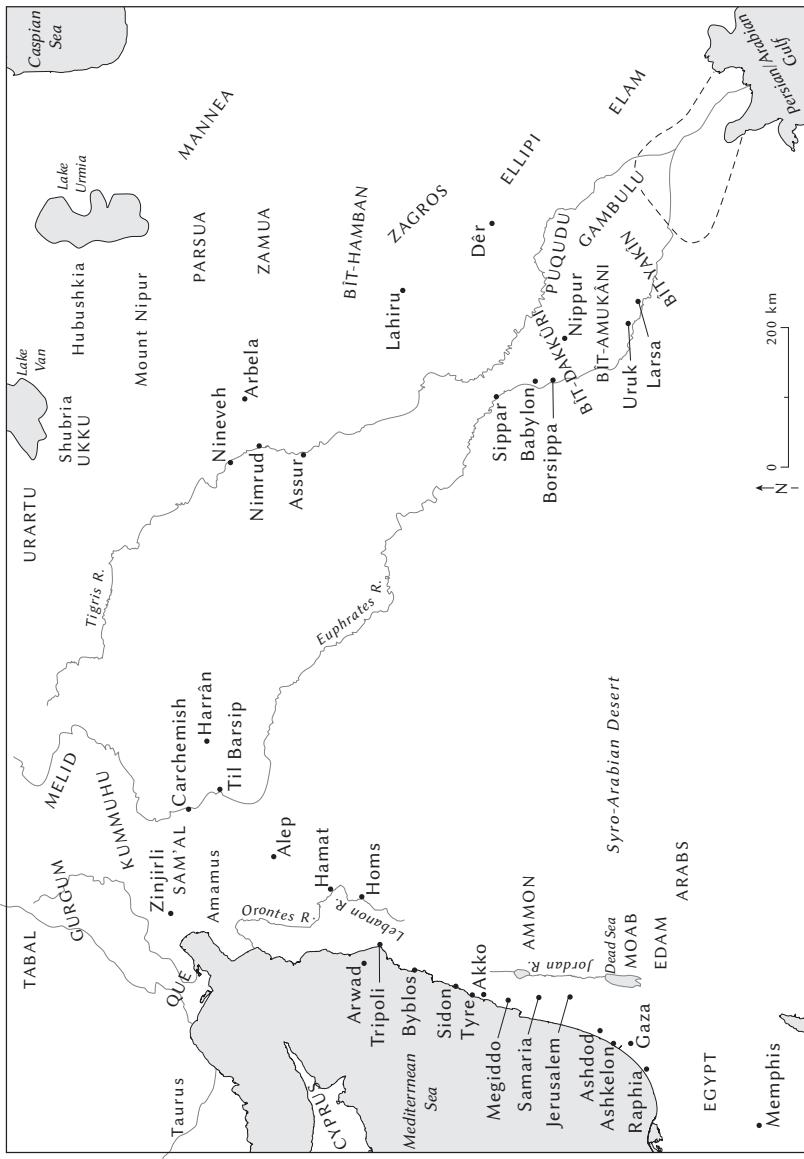
The Chronology of Esarhaddon's Reign

Dates (BCE)	Year of Reign	Campaigns and Activities
681	Accession year	Accession to the throne on the 28th/18th day of Addaru (March).
680	Year 1	False date of the start of the reconstruction of Babylon. Campaign against Nabû-zêr-kitti-lîshir of the Sealand (by Esarhaddon's officer). His brother Na'id-Marduk replaced him.
679	Year 2	Rebuilding of Esharra in Assur. Campaign against Asuhili, king of Arzâ at the Brook of Egypt. Campaign against the Cimmerians and Cilicia (by Esarhaddon's officer).
678	Year 3	Campaign against Shamash-ibni of Bît-Dakkûri, executed with the governor of Nippur.
677	Year 4	Campaign against Abdi-Milkûti, king of Sidon. Sidon became an Assyrian province. Campaign against Sanda-uarri, king of Kundu and Sissû.
676	Year 5	Parade in Nineveh with the cut heads of the two kings. Treaty of vassality with Ba'alû, king of Tyre. Campaign against Bâzu in Arabia. Tribute of Qanâ, king of Dilmun.
675	Year 6	Campaign against Mugallu of Melid.
678–675		Undated campaigns against Mannea, Scythians, Medes, Ellipi, Elam, Til-Ashuri, Gambulu, and Arabs.
674	Year 7	First campaign against Egypt.
673	Year 8	Campaign against Ik-Teshub, king of Shubria. Death of Esharra-hammât, Esarhaddon's wife.
672	Year 9	Succession treaty: Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shumu-ukin crown princes.
671	Year 10	Second campaign against Egypt. Against Ba'alû of Tyre on the way to Egypt. Conquest of Lower Egypt. Conspiracies against Esarhaddon.

xiv		Esarhaddon, King of Assyria
670	Year 11	Conspiracies against Esarhaddon (continued). Purge of high dignitaries.
669	Year 12	Troubles in Egypt. Third campaign against Egypt. Death of Esarhaddon on the 10th day of Arahsamna (November).



The Assur-Nineveh-Arbela triangle. Map by Tina Ross.



The Assyrian Empire ca. 699 BCE. Map by Tina Ross.